

Relocation of Oyirad Groups in Manchuria and Hulun Buir

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Relocation of Oyirad Groups in Manchuria and Hulun Buir

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In 18th century, the Qing transferred several Oyirad groups, which had formerly been subject to the Zunghar, from Western Mongolia and the Altai Mountains to Manchuria and Hulun Buir (Kölün Buyir). The Qing's main purposes in relocating them were: firstly, to prevent them from escaping or revolting; secondarily, to save them from poverty. Some of them were assigned comparatively independent administrative positions after their relocation and became the bases of present ethnic groups, while the others were incorporated into the Eight Banner garrisons or distributed as slaves and soon dissolved into surrounding groups.

Key words: population transfer, Qing, Zunghar, Manchuria, Kölün Buyir

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1. Introduction

The present population of Manchuria (Northeast China) and Hulun Buir¹⁾ area includes descendants of several groups of Oyirad origin which were transferred from Western Mongolia or the Altai Mountains by the Qing government. Their relocation was undertaken intensively in three periods, 1720–22, 1728–33 and 1757–58, when the long-lived war between the Qing and so-called Zunghar (Jegün yar) khanate met great turning-points. In 1720–22, shortly after the restart of the war, Qing army marched deep into the western part of Mongolia and the Altai Mountains. In 1728–33, the Yongzheng emperor tried to make a definitive attack against the Zunghars, but as a result of the latter's counterattack, both sides felled into stalemate



Photo 1 An Oyirat *ovoo* (*obuy-a*), altar of area's "owner," seen as of today (Ewenki Autonomous Banner, Hulun Buir).

at last. In 1757–59, the Qing took a series of measures for the reconstruction of political and social order in the northwestern frontier area after the conquest of the Zunghars. In all these three periods, many groups which had belonged to the Zunghars entered under the Qing's control, and some of them were transferred afar to Manchuria or Hulun Buir.

From those who were relocated in the areas, only a few groups which today still keep a certain of ethnic substance, such as Kirghiz and Yeke Mingyan Mongols of the Fuyu County and Ögeleds of the Ewenki Autonomous Banner are comparatively well-researched (Hashimoto 1943; Nasunöljei 1990; Dorji 1990; Wu 2004; Yanagisawa 2005; Hu 2006; Aoleqi 1987; Bo Shaobu and Herimoqi 2001). On the other hand, we have much less knowledge of the groups which have dissolved into other ethnicities and stopped to be recognizable ethnic groups. Oyuunzhargal made a rather comprehensive survey on the process of relocation and reorganization of the Oyirad people, including resettlement in Manchuria and Hulun buir, but she doesn't refer in detail to all groups which were relocated in the areas (Oyuunzhargal 2009).

In present paper, based mainly on official documents of the Qing's central and local government, we overview each group's origin and the process of relocation at first, then make a survey on the Qing's purpose of relocating them, their situation after resettlement and their relation to present ethnic groups.

2. Origin and Relocation Process of Each Group

2-1. The First Stage: 1720-1722

① Telenggut

In August (of the lunar calendar) of 1720, the Kangxi emperor ordered to transfer more than 400 “Ülets” collected under the control of General Furdan toward the Hulun Buir area (*MZZJB* 11–08, *HJYD* 1–1720: 206–217). This was the first case of relocation of Oyirad people to Hulun Buir and Manchuria. They are called “Ülets” in the imperial edict, but afterward it was reported that they all had proved to be “Telengguts.” After their arrival in the Heilongjiang area in March of 1721, General Centai of Heilongjiang accommodated them with food, cattle and household goods, then settled them around the junction of the Geni River with the Nomin River, which flows into the Non River from the west, to make them cultivate the land. There were 305 people at their departure from the army camp, while 293 people of 68 families arrived at the destination for some of them died on the way (*HJYD* 1–1721: 39–41, 91–100; Oyuunzhargal 2009: 42–43).

② Tabun and Ker Sahal

In October of 1722, 643 people of the Tabuns and Ker Sahals sent from Generals Furdan and Kilidei were extradited to agents of the Heilongjiang side in Hulun Buir. Then they passed the Hinggan (Daxing’anling) Mountains and arrived in the Butha area in December. The number of them had decreased to 640 at the time of arrival. The general of Heilongjiang decided to settle them along the Yal River, which flows into the Non River from the west, and organize them into companies (*niru*, *zuoling* in Chinese) together with Telengguts (group ①) (*HJYD* 1–1722: 128–137; 3–1722: 213–214; Oyuunzhargal 2009: 42–43). The two groups are called collectively “Uriyanghais” in some documents.

The groups ① and ② initially composed six companies under the command of supervisors-in-chief (*uheri da*, *zongguan* in Chinese) of Butha, but afterward they were all incorporated into the Eight Banner garrisons of Cicigar (Qiqihaer), Sahaliyan Ula (Aihui) and Mergen (Moergen, present Nehe) in 1731 (*MZZ* 580: Zhuoerhai, Minzu, Mengzu).

These relocations of Oyirad groups were closely related to the activity of Qing and allied Mongol army in the Sayan and Altai mountains since 1715. It is difficult to clarify where the groups originally dwelled and how entered into the control of the Qing’s side in detail, but we can find some pieces of information from the following facts about the general situation of various groups in the areas.

- A) In 1708, the Qing protested against Russian building of a fort at Honggoroi (a land near the Yenisei River to the north of the Sayan Mountains), insisting that there had originally lived the Kirgises, Uriyanghais and Modors subject to Gendun (a Khalkha prince), but afterward the Zunghars had taken many of them away in 1702, then only some Modors had remained there (*Xuanbian* No. 140).
- B) Cering, a vice-general of Khalkha, remarked in his palace memorial in March of 1725 that Ts’ewang Rabtan, the lord of Zunghar, claimed the Kirgises, Minggats, Telengguts and Uriyanghais who lived in Kem Kemcik (present Tuva) and Honggoroi should have been subject to the Zunghar; In 1715, when Qing army had advanced there, the Zungars had taken them away, but some of them had submitted to the Qing side; The

Telengguts subject to the Zunghar still lived around Lake Altan Noor (a lake on the northern side of the Altai Mountains, present Lake Teletskoe) (*MZZ* 928: Celing, Minzu shiwu, Mengzu). Danjindorji, another vice-general of Khalkha, also stated in his palace memorial in 1728 that the Telengguts subject to the Zunghar lived around Lake Altan Noor (*MZZ* 359: Danjindorji, Minzu shiwu, Mengguzu).

- C) Sebten, who surrendered to Qing army in 1720 (see ④ below) on the southern foot of the Altai, stated that he had originally had the Uriyanghais, Telengguts and Ker Sakals (=Ker Sahals) under his control, but after his surrender Būbei, the successor of Gendun, had taken the Uriyanghais away, and the Telengguts had also been relocated separately (*YZD* 1(1): 320–324).

Analyzing carefully these fragments of information, we can suppose that the Telengguts dwelled in the Altai Mountains before their submission to the Qing, whereas it is possible according to B above that they had moved there from the Yenisei basin.²⁾ The connection between the Telengguts and Altai are also supported by the facts that the people who were organized into the two banners of Altan Noor Uriyanghais after the conquest of the Zunghar called themselves “Telengguts” (Lü 1991), and there remains a subgroup called Telengit among the Altai who live in the same area today (Levin and Potapov 1956: 329–330).³⁾

We have no detailed information about Tabun, it is worth while paying attention to the fact that there was a group called Taban in the Yenisei Kirghiz (present Khakas) in 18th century (Butanaev, Khudyakov 2000: 157), and that there is a clan name “Daben” in present Kirghiz of the Fuyu County (Hu 2006: 144). As to Ker Sahal, we have no information about their origin except a slight reference to them in A above. We only can acknowledge that they were speakers of Turkic language for “ker” is supposed to be equal to “kīr” (“gray”) in present Turkish.⁴⁾

2-2. The Second Stage: 1728–1733

③ Uriyanghai

In December of 1728, the Yongzheng emperor ordered to transfer some of Uriyanghais subject to Būbei to the Cicigar area, pointing out that they had fallen into difficulties in livelihood. Following the imperial edict, 429 people were escorted to the Butha area (*MZZ* 733: Nasutu, Minzu, Mengzu), then further to the basin of Tungken and Fuyur rivers. They were organized into two companies there (*HJYD* 4–1730: 535–537, 625–630; Oyuunzhargal 2009: 45). However, in 1731, the government decided to distribute them to several garrisons of Jilin and Shengjing (Liaoning), thus 104 adult men and their families were transferred there (*MZZ* 580: Zhuoerhai, Minzu, Mengzu; 733: Nasutu, Minzu, Mengzu).

According to a palace memorial of the vice-general Cering in 1726, there were 1,082 families of Uriyanghais who paid tributes to Būbei, while 736 families paid to the brothers Ceringwangbu and Sebtenwangbu⁵⁾ at that time. The former mainly dwelled in following areas: 1) along the Tes River which flows westward on the south side of the Tangnu Mountains then into Lake Ubsa; 2) Toji and Ciggit, both of which are located in the eastern part of Tuva (*MZZ* 925: Celing, Junwu, Renshi). Those who moved to Manchuria are supposed to have been the people selected from these parts of Uriyanghais.

④ Ület

We only give a simple explanation of this group here for they were once focused on in another paper [Yanagisawa 2005]. They surrendered to Qing army in 1720 on the southern foot of the Altai. They then were organized into two companies under the command of Sebten, the former chief (*jaisang*) of them, and located in the Cahar area. In February of 1732, Yongzheng suggested to them migrating to Hulun Buir pointing out that surrounding people had suspicions against them for a gang of Oyirads closely related to them had recently escaped away (*HJYD* 1–1732: 113–118). They arrived in Hulun Buir in August and were accommodated with a vast pasture to the south of the Kailar River. The two companies of them were kept unchanged, and Sebten was appointed supervisor-in-chief who supervised both companies. There were 217 families with 771 people at that time (*HJYD* 2–1732: 289–293). As we see C above, they originally included Uriyanghais, Telengguts and Ker Sakals, while some sources call them collectively “Uriyanghais” (*HJYD* 1–1732: 113–118).

⑤ Kirgis

This group was originally subject to the Sebtenwangbu but had a strong tendency of defection (*YZD* 3(3): 184–186). In 1732, when Sebtenwangbu were going to migrate eastward to the Kalka River,⁶ he intended to take them together. However, the Kirgises were reluctant to unite with him, and some of them dispersed on the way. Sebtenwangbu then proposed presenting them to the emperor (*YZD* 6(2): 262–266; 5:2(2): 158–161). Yongzheng accepted his proposal and ordered to relocate them in the Cicigar area. In 1733, 276 people of Kirgises arrived at Cicigar and were incorporated separately into companies of Cicigar, Sahaliyan Ula (Aihui) and Mergen (*MZZ* 734: Nasutu, Minzu, Jierjisi; *YZZ* 9: 261–269; Wu 2004; Oiuunzhargal 2009: 45–48).

According to A and B above, they had originally lived in the Yenisei basin and enlisted separately under the control of the Zunghar and Qing in 1710–20s.⁷ The Kirghiz who live in the Fuyu County today, whom some scholars consider to have a close relation to the Khakas of the Yenisei basin in language and clan names (Hu 2006: 102–144), are supposed to originate from this group.

2-3. The Third Stage: 1757–1758

In 1755–56, with the “rebellion” of Amursana (Amursanay-a), many Oyirad groups which had once submitted to the Qing defected one after another. After the suppression of the rebellion, the Qing massacred the most suspicious people and made the others slaves, while relocated several groups with considerable circumstances in Hulun Buir and other areas without dispersing them. Although the author mentioned these groups in another paper (Yanagisawa 2005) and Oyuunzhargal also made a survey on the process of their relocation (Oyuunzhargal 2009: 85–98), now we give a supplementary explanation referring to some new sources.

⑥ Minggat

In March of 1757, when the Qianlong emperor ordered to punish the suspicious groups, some of Minggats were also made to be slaves. But as to a group headed by a *demci*⁸ named Basutai, the Qing made a decision to transfer to Hulun Buir without making slaves for they “had willingly submitted” and “cooperated with us to capture Uriyanghai rebels.” There were 120 people of 26 families at first, but the number decreased to 105 when they arrived in Hulun

Buir in November of the same year. They were then settled along the Ulan Burgasutai River in the eastern part of Hulun Buir (*HJYD* 4–1757: 236–265, 576–583).⁹⁾

Minggats were also one of “the Later 12 tribes” of the Zunghar which had 3,000 families. According to B above, they seem to have lived in the Yenisei basin and afterward moved to the Altai. They are supposed to have been speakers of Mongolian for we find in the same source, a palace memorial of Cering, such an explanation: “Minggats are not equal to Uriyanghais. They are of Mongolian bone (*Monggo giranggi*).”

⑦ G‘aldzat(Galjid)

The G‘aldzat people headed by *demcis* Dambai and Gendun submitted to the Qing one after another since 1756 and were temporarily incorporated into the Jahacins. Whereas the Qing had seen them suspiciously, but finally decided to transfer them to Hulun Buir without making them slaves for “they have kept obedient without any trouble since their submission.” 578 people of 147 families at the time of departure decreased to 532 people when they arrived in Hulun Buir in October of 1757. They were then settled along the Dulimbai Eyur River in the eastern part of Hulun Buir (*HJYD* 4–1757: 374–383, 755–762).

G‘aldzat was also one of “the Later 12 tribes” which had 4,000 families. Their residence was probably located in present Qobuysayili according to such a passage in *Fanglüe*: “the G‘aldzat tribe dwell in Heboke (和博克) and surrounding places” (*Fanglüe* vol. 29: 3rd day of 7th month of Qianlong 21).¹⁰⁾ By the way, Qianlong ordered to pursue another group of G‘aldzats which had defected from the Qing and left for the Irtish River in the beginning of 1757 (*Fanglüe* vol. 38: 17th day of 3rd month of Qianlong 22).

⑧ Durbet-1

Once Durbet was, needless to say, one of main components of “the Four Oyrads (*Dörben Oyrad*)”, but a great part of them headed Cereng submitted to the Qing in 1753 (Oyuunzhargal 2006). However, several nobles (*taiji*) Butuku, Banjur and others who submitted afterward with their subjects were unwilling to live together with Cereng and petitioned for migration. Qianlong ordered to transfer them to Hulun Buir or Tungken Huyur (*HJYD* 1–1757: 145–148). Because it was reported that the former had better environment, the government decided to relocate them there (*HJYD* 3–1757: 286–291). Whereas there were about 70 families at departure, they could not reach the destination, the Ulan Burgasutai River, within that year, and besides, some of them (41 people of 9 families) fell behind on the way (*HJYD* 7–1757: 295–301, 4–1757: 961–967).

The groups ⑥–⑧ were incorporated into the two companies of the group ④ in 1790, thus obtained the treatment similar to the Eight Banner garrison.

⑨ Ike (Yeke) Minggan

They seem to have belonged to Hoit, another main component of the Four Oyrads. After two nobles, Abdasi and Basang led their respective subjects to submit to the Qing in 1754–56, they were accommodated with pasture along the Tamir River. When a great part of the Hoits defected from the Qing, Basang and Abdasi did not join them (Biaozhuan 115: Biographies of Basang and Abdasi; Aoleqi 1987, 1990). Therefore they were relocated in Tungken Fuyur after the suppression of the rebellion without any punishment. 52 people of them arrived in Hulun Buir in September of 1757 with the Minggats (group ⑥), and left further for Tungken Fuyur (*HJYD* 4–1757: 576–583, 710–713). On arriving there, they were organized into a

banner of their own, and Abdasi was designated as *jasak* (Administrator).

The reason why they were called “Ike Minggan” is that Basang and Abdasi had such a clan name. The name “Ike Minggan” can be found in *Zhungaer quanbu jilüe* and *Zhungaer bu jiu guanzhi* (see Note 3) as one of the 9 classes (*angji*, *anggi* in Monglian) which compose the Hoit (Feng 1990; Onuma 2009). Other groups of Hoit origin which were organized into banners by the Qing in various areas all had the leaders of this clan name (*Biaozhuan* vol. 86: Biography of Gongge, vol. 100: Biographies of Damalin and Luobuzang).

⑩ Durbet-2

Beši Agasi, a prominent prince of the Durbets, submitted to the Qing in 1756 apart from Cereng (*Biaozhuan* vol. 95: General explanation of the Durbets). However, he soon died. His relatives then tried to join Cereng but fell into such poverty as “they have nothing to eat or drink.” Therefore the Qing decided to transfer Bodonci and Dawajit, a son and a brother of Beši Agasi, with their subjects to Tungken Huyur. 47 people departed, but decreased to 39 people at their arrival in Hulun Buir in December of 1757 (*HJYD* 7–1757: 315–322, 4–1757: 1094–1099). They seem to have joined the Ike Minggans (group ⑨) though we have not found yet a direct mention to it in sources.

⑪ Minggat, Coros, Telenggut, Kirgis and Orcok

As mentioned above, in March of 1757, the Qianlong emperor ordered to dissolve several Oyirad groups, which had taken part in defection from the Qing and then submitted again, and distribute as slaves to officers and soldiers of Butha and Hulun Buir. Whereas he only mentioned to three groups, Telengguts, Kirgises and Urgan Jarans¹¹⁾ in the imperial edict, as a result of a detailed investigation, 636 people of 181 families of Minggats, Coros, Telengguts, Kirgises and Orcoks were finally selected as the objects of making slaves. They departed as three convoys. Because a considerable number of people died on the way, only 570 people of 176 families arrived in Hulun Buir in July. 346 people (60% of them) given to officers and soldiers of Butha were continuously sent to Butha, while 224 people (40%) were left in Hulun Buir (*HJYD* 4–1757: 236–265; *Fanglüe* vol. 38: 14th day of 3rd month of Qianlong 22).

From these groups, we already mentioned Telenggut, Kirgis and Minggat as included in “the Later 12 tribes” of the Zunghar. Urgan Jaran also composed a tribe together with Orcok (Feng 1990; Onuma 2009).¹²⁾ But it is unclear why the name Urgan Jaran which Qianlong initially mentioned became unseen afterward. Coros was not a tribe name, but the clan name of ruling families of the Zunghar and Durbet.

Besides above mentioned groups, the Qing government also temporarily planned to transfer the subjects of Dasidawa, another prominent prince of the Zunghars, to Tungken Fuyur (*HJYD* 4–1757: 236–265), but afterward changed the destination to Rehe (Chengde) (Oyuunzhargal 2009: 99–115).

3. Several Aspects of the Relocation

3-1. The Qing’s purpose and control system

The Qing’s main purpose in transferring above-mentioned groups was, needless to say, to remove them from the front for fear of their escape. In 1720, when the Kanxi emperor decided to transfer the very first group, he stated: “From now on, a lot of (Oyirad) people will

be captured or surrender one after another. If hundreds or thousands people come to us, how can we settle them in our military camps? The camps are situated so near from the front that it will be easy for them to escape” (*MZZJB* 11–08; *HJYD* 1–1720: 206–217). The direct motive of Yongzheng for transferring Ülets (group ④) was the fact that another Oyirad group closely related to them had escaped. The Kirgises (⑤) were transferred to the Cicigar area separately from their master Sebtengewbu because of their inclination to defection from him. As for G‘aldzats (⑦), in the background of their relocation lay the Qing’s suspicion that “They are untrustworthy. We cannot be free from fear of their revolt” (*HJYD* 4–1757: 374–383).

We also find in sources another rationalization that the purpose in relocating Oyirad people is to save them from poverty. For instance, Yongzheng ordered to explain to the Uriyanghai people (③) before their departure for Manchuria that “Now animals around the pasture of *beile* Būbei (the master of the Uriyanghai people) have all escaped away, so you cannot hunt them. You are the people who depend on hunting. Lacking animals, you will fall into difficulties. ... The Cicigar area, where is abundant in woods and animals, is the place suitable for you.” On ordering to transfer the Durbets (⑩), Qianlong expressed his anxiety that their extreme poverty should have a negative influence upon Cereng and his subjects if they might live together (*HJYD* 7–1757: 315–322).

Manchuria and Hulun Buir had adequate conditions for such aims. Above all, the existence of Eight Banner garrisons gave convenience for watching newly introduced people. And besides, these areas were thought to have sufficient room for newcomers because there was no large population.¹³⁾

The Qing’s control system over the resettled people can be classified into three types. The most basic type is to assign a group a block of land without dispersing them (①–④, ⑥–⑩). In such cases, the government often selected as their destinations basins of tributaries of the Non River such as Tungken and Huyur or the Hulun Buir area. We find such explanations about environments of these areas: “The junction area of the Nomin and Geni rivers is a good land. There are woods near, the land is adequate for cultivation, stockbreeding and nomadic life” (*HJYD* 1–1721: 91–100); “The Huyur and Tungken rivers are abundant of big and small fish, surrounding plain is very extensive, pasture and water are of good quality. There are plenty of birds and animals in woods” (*HJYD* 4–1730: 535–537); “Around Hulun Buir and the Kalka River lies a great expanse of plain, pasture and water are of good quality there. There are woods and plenty of animals and fish as well. It is a good land suitable for your nomadic life” (*HJYD* 1–1732: 113–118).

The second type is to dissolve a group and incorporate the members separately into the Eight Banner garrisons. As to the groups ①–③, whereas the first type was adopted at the beginning, several years later the Qing government decided to “incorporate them into *gūsa* (banner) and *niru* (company), arm them and give them stipends” for they had been suffering from unstable living after their resettlement. As to the Kirgises (⑤), probably in view of former failure, the government adopted the second type from the very beginning, saying that: “If we leave them without observation, we will not be free from fear of their revolt or escape. If we arm them in garrisons, they not only will have supervisors, but also can live in comfort with receiving stipends and grain every month” (*HJYD* 2–1733: 635–640).

The third type is to distribute people to officers and soldiers of the Eight Banner garrisons.

sons as slaves (⑪). In this case, the Qing's purpose was not simply preventing them from escaping, but also inflicting punishment on them.

3-2. Difficulties after resettlement

A serious problem the relocated people encountered in the new country was their maladjustment to the environment. The Non River basin, contrary to frequent discourses on it as a "good land", does not seem to have been an ideal place to live for the resettled people. For instance, The Telengguts (①) appealed to the Qing local government in the next year of their arriving in the designated area, the Geni River, that their livestock had all died of infection and they had no food to eat (*HJYD* 3-1722: 199-201). We also find the fact that the Uriyanghais (③) lost their livestock from infection in 1730 just after their resettlement (*HJYD* 4-1730: 628-621). As mentioned above, the government was compelled to incorporate the groups ①-③ into the Eight Banner garrisons in 1731 because: "Since the Old and New Uriyanghais were resettled, their horses and other livestock have not increased and wild animals around them have been driven afar. If we continue to hold them at the present place, it might be unprofitable for their life" (*MZZ* 580: Zhoerhai, Minzu, Mengzu). By the third period of intensive relocation of Oyirad groups (1757-58), even the government had become to regard the Tungken Huyur area as a land "where the pasture is not so good, occurs a lot of horseflies and mosquitoes in summer" (*HJYD* 6-1757: 262-267). On the contrary, the high valuation on the Hulun Buir area remained basically unchanged. We find such a comment of the resettled people in a document of 1790: "Since His Majesty favored us ... with resettling us in Hulun Buir, we have been enjoying ourselves for many years on the vast plain with good grass and water" (*MLZ* 3277-028/147-2337). However, we also learn that the congestion of pasture had already become a serious problem in the third period from such a complaint of a Supervisor-in-Chief of the Solon and Barhū Eight Banners about the relocation of the G'aldzats (⑦): "(If they come,) the pasture of the Solons and Barhūs will become too narrow" (*HJYD* 4-1757: 374-383).

The resettled groups sometimes faced conflicts with local residents or troubles among themselves. When the Telengguts (①) suffered from above-mentioned famine shortly after their resettlement, the General of Heilongjiang blamed Supervisors-in-Chief of Butha who had the responsibility of taking care of them, saying that: "You did not accommodate the Telengguts with grain to eat, did not dispatch officials and soldiers to watch them, thus have left them without any help" (*HJYD* 3-1722: 199-201). When the Uriyanghais (③) suffered from infection, the General criticized again Supervisors pointing out that: "Although Uriyanghais have lost their means of living as a result of the extinction of their domestic animals from an infectious disease, you have not presented a single report to give a clear explanation of the fact" (*HJYD* 4-1730: 618-621). These episodes tell us that the local officials of Butha had least concern about the living of the resettled people. As to Ūlets (④) relocated in Hulun Buir in 1731, their leader Sebden soon began to antagonize Bolbunca, a supervisor-in-chief of the Solons which had been transferred simultaneously with the Ūlets from the Non River area to Hulun Buir (Yanagisawa 2005). Although we must be careful not to overestimate such individual cases, generally speaking, the native groups such as Solons and Dahūs do not seem to have welcomed the Oyirad newcomers.

Turning our attention to troubles within resettled groups, we can find a case of Uriyang-hais (③). Soon after they had arrived in the Tungken Huyur area in 1730, a senior of them named Gajarak appeared at the office of supervisors-in-chief of Butha and appealed: “Since we got settled altogether in one place, we often made troubles among ourselves and have become enemies of one another. We cannot go on at peace. I am anxious lest the people should kill one another or escape away in future” (*HJYD* 4–1730: 293–295). This appeal was the direct cause of their incorporation into the Eight Banner garrison of Cicigar. As to the Ülets (④) of Hulun Buir, many people led by vice-supervisor (*ilhi da, fuguan* in Chinese) Namja and company commander Dzambu accused their leader (supervisor-in-chief) Sebden in 1739 (Yanagisawa 2005).

It is supposed that the Oyirad groups met many difficulties and complications other than the examples observed above in the process of adjusting themselves to the circumstances of Manchuria and Hulun Buir. We hope to make another investigation on these affairs in future.

4. Relationship between the relocated Oyirads and present ethnic groups

Generally speaking, in case the Qing government gave some Oyirad people a comparatively independent administrative position and maintained it for a long time, it offered them a basic condition to keep or form their ethnic substance. For example, the Ülets of Hulun Buir (composed of the groups ④, ⑥, ⑦, ⑧) had kept two companies under their own supervisor-in-chiefs up to the end of the Qing dynasty, while the Ike-Minggans of the Huyur River basin (composed of ⑨, ⑩) remained to be a banner under the control of their own administrator (*jasay*). These administrative organizations became the bases of present ethnic groups. Although both the Ülets and Ike-Minggans were composed of several groups of various origins, cultural differences between the subgroups are not so prominent today. However, they have not fully forgotten original subgroups. As to the Ülets, clans which originated from group ④ are called “Old Ülets,” while clans of ⑥–⑧ origins are called “New Ülets” (Yanagisawa 2005).

On the contrary, those who were incorporated into the Eight Banner garrisons or distributed as slaves are supposed to have dissolved quickly into surrounding groups, thus it is scarcely possible to identify their descendants. However, we can find an exception of the Kirghiz of the Fuyu County. In view of the location of the Wu-jia-zi Village where the most of them live, their origin is supposed to be the people who were incorporated into the Cicigar garrison out of group ⑤. Notwithstanding they were distributed to several companies at that time, why they have lived together in one village and have kept their peculiar cultural elements? This is a subject for further investigation.

Abbreviations

- HJYD* : Heilongjiang jiangjun yamen dang’an (compilation number: pages)
MLZ : Manwen lufu zouzhe (compilation number: document number/ microfilm number: exposure numbers)
MZZ : Manwen zhupi zouzhe (compilaiton number: person, sort, item)
MZZJB : Manwen zhupi zouzhe jigou bao (compilaiton number: microfilm number:

- initial exposure number)
- YZD* : Yuezhe dang (compilation number: pages)
- Biaozhuan* : *Waifan Menggu Huibu wang gong biao zhuan* (in *Siku quanshu*)
- Fanglüe* : *Pingding Zhungaer fanglüe* (in *Siku quanshu*)
- Xuanbian* : Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an guan (The First Historical Archives of China) ed. *Qingdai Zhong E guanxi dang'an shiliao xuanbian*. Di yi bian (The first compilation). Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981

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Notes

- 1) In present paper, we basically use transliterations from Manchu for proper nouns and historical terms, while employ common spellings or transliterations from other languages such as Mongolian and Chinese on occasion.
- 2) The direct origin of group ① might be the people of whom Sebten mentioned as relocated separately.
- 3) We find the name “Telenggut” in some works compiled after the conquest of the Zunghar by the Qing, such as *Zhungaer quanbu jilüe* and *Zhungaer bu jiu guanzhi*, as one of the “the Later 12 tribes (*otuy*)” under the reign of Galdan Cering. It is said that this *otuy* had 4,000 people. According to Onuma Takahiro, “the Later 12 tribes” were “reorganized on the bases of the groups which the Zunghars had absorbed in the process of their expansion” (Onuma 2009). Assuming it is the fact, they might be organized into an *otuy* after their relocation from Yenisei to Altai.
- 4) “Sahal” or “sakal” means “a beard” both in Turkish and Mongolian.
- 5) The brothers’ father Arabtan, who had been an Oyirad prince, submitted to the Qing in 1702. After his death, the two sons were admitted to rule over some parts of Uriyanghais (*Biaozhuan* vol. 77: Biography of Arabtan).
- 6) Sebtenwangbu and his subjects had lived in the Kalka River basin for several years, then were relocated again in the western part of Mongolia and organized into a banner near Kobdo. See Oka (1994).
- 7) We find the name “Kirgis” as one of “the Later 12 tribes” of the Zunghar (see commentary 3), which had 4,000 families.

- 8) *Demci* is an official title of the Zunghar. The Qing regarded it as correspondent to Company Commander (*nirui janggan, zuoling* in Chinese). See Feng and Cheng (2006, p. 83).
- 9) Basutai, the initial *demci*, died before arrival in Hulun Buir. Yangtemur, who was appointed to *demci* instead, also soon died, thus Korima became the third *demci* (*HJYD* 4–1757: 1102–1103).
- 10) Feng (1990) points out that their pasture was possibly located in the Ili River basin.
- 11) Qianlong remarked that the three groups were “all accomplices of Gūrban Hojo.” This statement is related to the fact that a group of Telengguts and Kirgis headed by Gūrban Hojo defected and tried to join Amursana (*Fanglüe* vol. 29: 6th day of 7th month of Qianlong 22).
- 12) The Orcoks are supposed to have been a group closely related to the Altai Mountains because we can find OortsaG as a subgroup of the Altai-Uriyanghais which were organized into seven banners by the Qing after the conquest of the Zunghar. See Bi Batuba (2004).
- 13) Besides Hulun Buir and Manchuria, the government often selected the Cahar area, where the Eight Banner system was also carried out, as the destination of relocated people. However, it had already become difficult to find out an empty land there in 1750s (*HJYD*: 1–1757: 145).