

# The Politics of Rituals in Early Qing: Manchu-Mongol Relations through Rituals

Sun-ae LEE

Gyeongsang National University

*The Journal of Northeast Asian History*  
Volume 17 Number 1 (Winter 2020), 137-173

Copyright © 2020 by the Northeast Asian History Foundation. All Rights Reserved.  
No portion of the contents may be reproduced in any form without  
written permission of the Northeast Asian History Foundation.



# The Politics of Rituals in Early Qing: Manchu-Mongol Relations through Rituals\*

Sun-ae LEE

Gyeongsang National University

## Introduction

During Nurhaci's reign, the Later Jin's relations with the Inner Mongolian tribes, including the Inner Khalkhas and the Khorchins, was complex and unstable in the sense of wavering between cooperation and enmity. At that time, the Later Jin was yet to gain predominance over the Mongols. Ligdan Khan of the Chahars remained undiminished from his alliance with the Ming dynasty and the Later Jin was yet to solidify its friendship with the Khorchins who dominated eastern Inner Mongolia. Nurhaci's policy toward the Inner Mongolian tribes foremost aimed at securing allies, which is why the Later Jin formed a generally equal alliance with such tribes.

However, Hong Taiji began to seize the upper hand in the relations which his predecessor Nurhaci established with the Mongols. He joined forces with the Mongols to counter the Chahars and the Ming dynasty, gain an advantage over the Khorchin leader Ooba, and lead expeditions. He brought Mongol tribal leaders and troops, if indirect, under his military command and appointed some Mongol tribal leaders as governors (Ma.

-----  
\* This article is translated from the Korean manuscript originally published in *Sachong* 史叢 93, 2018: 155-93.

*jasak*). Also, in 1636, the first year of the Chongde era, Hong Taiji dispatched government officials to each Mongolian tribe to restructure the tribes into companies (Ma. *niru*) so as to more effectively mobilize Mongol troops and tighten the Manchus' political hold on the Mongols. Hence, during Hong Taiji's reign, particularly around the fourth to the fifth year of the Tiancong era when the Manchu regime launched an all-out war against the Chahars and the Ming dynasty, the scales tilted toward the Manchus in terms of their relations with the Mongols.

For the above reasons, many scholars focused their research on the policies and frameworks Hong Taiji adopted toward the Inner Mongolian tribes. While exploring Qing laws involving the Mongols, Shimada Masao examined the military command issued to the Mongols under Hong Taiji's reign, and through an in-depth analysis of Shimada's findings, Kusunoki Yoshimichi studied the process through which Hong Taiji broadened his influence over the Mongols by issuing military commands.<sup>1</sup> Tayama Shigeru looked into the creation of banners (Ch. *qi*, Ma. *gūsa*) and the organization of companies (Ma. *niru*) in Mongolia prior to Hong Taiji's reign while studying the league and banner (Ch. *mengqi*) system and the governor (Ma. *jasak*) system which the Qing dynasty installed in the Mongol region.<sup>2</sup> Da Lizhabu, Guo Chengkang, and Oka Hiroki also examined the creation of leagues and banners and noted the fact that in 1636 government officials of the Later Jin were dispatched to Inner Mongolian tribes for that very purpose and appointed banner generals (Ma. *niru janggin*) to the Eight Banner System.<sup>3</sup>

-----

<sup>1</sup> Shimada Masao, *Shinchō mōko rei no kenkyū* [A Study on Rules for Mongols in the Qing Dynasty] (Tokyo: Sōbunsha, 1982); Kusunoki Yoshimichi, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū* [A Historical Study on Policies Toward Mongols in the Early Qing] (Tokyo: Kyūko Shoin, 2009).

<sup>2</sup> Shigeru Tayama, *Qing dai Menggu shehui zhidu* [The Social Structure of the Mongols in the Qing Dynasty], Pan Shixian, trans. (Beijing: Shangwu Yinshuguan, 1987). Originally published as *Shin jidai ni okeru mōko no shakai seido* (Tōkyō: Bunkyo Shoin, 1954).

<sup>3</sup> Da Lizhabu, "Qing chu nei zhasake qi de jianli wenti" [The Jaska System's Establishment in the Qing Dynasty], "Qing chu dui Menggu youyi sanwanhu de zhengceji qi beijing" [The Thirty Thousand Mongol Right Wing Household Policy and Its Background in the Early Qing Dynasty], "Qing chu 'waifan Menggu shisan qi' zakao" [Various Contemplations on the 'Thirteen Outer Mongolian Banners' in the Early Qing Dynasty], in *Ming Qing Menggushi lungao* (Beijing:

Changes in the Manchu-Mongol relations manifested not only in political and military aspects, but also in the rituals carried out between the Khan of the Later Jin and the Mongol tribal leaders. By and large, rituals at a national level represent an intense combination of political ideas and power structures on the ground that the main purpose of the rituals is to illustrate hierarchy embedded in that combination. Similarly, international rituals can reflect the distribution of power between nations. When a leader or an envoy visits from a foreign country, the manner in which s/he is treated not only indicates how the country is perceived, but also imparts its stature.<sup>4</sup> The Manchu regime prior to entering the Shanhai Pass in 1644 was no exception. The way Nurhaci and Hong Taiji handled the Mongol nobility changed in tandem with changes in political circumstances and their perception of the Mongol nobility. The rituals, held between Nurhaci and the Mongol nobility, demonstrated friendship and alliance rather than a hierarchy between them. In contrast, as Hong Taiji began to exercise dominance over Mongol tribal leaders, rituals between them gradually developed into a formula, which became hierarchical, and increasingly emphasized the authority of the Khan of the Later Jin.

In this line, the changes in the rituals that the Manchus held with the Mongols inform us of the process through which Hong Taiji strengthened his influence over the Inner Mongolian tribes and redefined his relationship with their leaders. Early Manchurian sources such as the *Old Manchu Chronicles* (Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse), the *Old Manchu Archives* (Fe Manju dangse), and the *Early Manchu Archives of the Imperial Historiographical Office* document in detail the rituals carried out when the Khan of the Later Jin met with Mongol tribal leaders. Such

-----  
 Minzu chubanshe, 2003); Guo Chengkang, "Huang Taiji dui Monan Menggu de tongzhi" [Hong Taiji's Rule over Monan Mongolia], *Zhongyang minzu xueyuan xuebao*, no. 5: 3-9 (1987); Oka Hiroki, *Shindai Mongoru meiki seido no kenkyū* [A Study on the Mongol Banner System in the Qing Dynasty]; Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū* (Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, 2007).

<sup>4</sup> James Hevia's study on the British ambassador George Macartney's meeting with the Qianlong Emperor clearly acknowledges the fact that rituals are symbolic, cultural acts and bear substantive, political meaning. James L. Hevia, *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney Embassy of 1793* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

sources include descriptions about welcoming rituals the Later Jin performed when Mongol tribal leaders visited, the form of greeting such leaders exchanged with the Khan of the Later Jin, the type of banquet held for such occasions, and the kinds of gifts bestowed or offered as tribute. The sources reveal that the form of rituals between the Khan of the Later Jin and Mongol tribal leaders changed over time, implying that their perception of each other and the dynamics of their relationship also had changed. Those rituals can serve as important clues that are as meaningful as politics, military affairs, and diplomacy in studying the changes in the Manchu-Mongol relations during the early years of the Qing dynasty.

Aware of this potential, Du Jiayi briefly examined descriptions in early editions of the Manchu Archives (Ch. *Manwen dangan*) regarding the act of embracing practiced between the Khan of the Later Jin, the Mongol nobility, and Manchu lords (*beile*). Du stressed the political significance by analyzing the changes in the act of embracing prior to 1644.<sup>5</sup> More recently, Li Zhiguo launched a comprehensive investigation into the Manchu-Mongol relations to reexplore rituals diachronically from those between the Ming dynasty and Jurchen tribes to those between the late Qing court and the *fanbu* (藩部), or the feudatories in the west and the northwest of the Qing empire. Li also categorized rituals into several different types, such as “rituals involving physical action” or “rituals involving the exchange of gifts” to examine the meaning, assigned to each type of ritual over time, and identify the political significance behind the order of Qing rituals.<sup>6</sup>

Through historical research on early Qing court rites and music, Qiu Yuanyuan finds that such rites and music, based on Manchu and Mongol customs prior to 1644, did not merely imitate those of the Ming dynasty but later developed into rites and music unique to the Qing court. Li’s research reevaluates the previous understanding that the court rites and music

-----

<sup>5</sup> Du Jiayi, “Cong ruguan qian dangankan manzu baojian lisu” [A Review of Archival Records on Manchu Etiquette and Customs Prior to 1644], *Lishi dangan*, no. 2 (1998): 81-83.

<sup>6</sup> Li Zhiguo, *Qingdai fanbu binli yanjiu: Yi Menggu wei zhongxin* [A Study on Qing Hospitality Rituals Toward Outer Feudatories: With a Focus on the Mongols] (Huhehaote: Neimenggu daxue chubanshe, 2014).

of the Qing dynasty were an extension of those of the Ming dynasty and locates the viability of the Manchu streak running through Qing court rites and music.<sup>7</sup>

Highlighting the way the Qing emperor used rituals and exchanged gifts to integrate Inner Asians into his empire, Dorothea Heuschert-Laage determined that *Lifanyuan* (理藩院), the office in charge of administering the outer regions, played an important role in formalizing and institutionalizing the personal relationships the Qing emperor had with Inner Asian leaders.<sup>8</sup> Heuschert-Laage pointed out how the Manchurian sources' documentation of gifts which the Khan of the Later Jin exchanged with the Mongol nobility shifted from recording what the Khan received to what the Khan bestowed. Such a shift, according to Heuschert-Laage, can be interpreted as a narrative device to emphasize the Qing emperor's beneficence and generosity and thereby portray the emperor as a benefactor and an omnipotent figure.

Along this line, this paper seeks to examine the changes that occurred in the Later Jin's political and military relations with the Mongols through rituals between the Khan of the Later Jin and the Mongol tribal leaders. It also argues that the rituals between the Qing royal family and the nobility of outer feudatories resulted from merging and modifying Manchu traditions and Chinese customs instead of merely imitating Ming rituals. In so doing, this paper will chart a historical process in which on top of Ming practices Inner Asian elements and the Mongols' political relations with the Later Jin had a major influence upon the formation of rituals the Qing court kept with its northern feudatories.

This paper first examines how Nurhaci's diplomatic relations with the Mongol tribal leaders materialized into certain rituals inseparable from the political circumstances under Nurhaci's reign in search for the Inner

-----  
<sup>7</sup> Qiu Yuanyuan, *Qing qianqi gongting liyue yanjiu* [Court Rites and Music in the Early Qing] (Beijing: Shehuikexue wenxian chubanshe, 2012).

<sup>8</sup> Dorothea Heuschert-Laage, "From Personal Network to Institution Building: The Lifanyuan, Gift Exchange and the Formalization of Manchu-Mongol Relations," *History and Anthropology* 25, no. 5 (2014): 648-69.

Mongolian tribes as indispensable allies. Next, this paper analyzes changes in rituals under Hong Taiji's reign when he realigned the Manchu-Mongol relations with a view of expanding his influence as the Khan of the Later Jin. Finally, this paper examines the investiture rites in 1636 with a focus on how the hierarchy between the Manchu royal family and the nobility of Inner Mongolian tribes was reshaped through a new set of rites and how this development reflected the power structure of the Qing empire in Northeast Asia.

## Rituals and Relations with the Mongols under Nurhaci's Reign

Manchu greeting customs can be classified into the act of inquiring after someone (請安禮) or the act of embracing (抱見禮). The former was practiced widely among the sovereign, his subjects, bureaucrats, and common Manchu bannermen (Ch. *qiren*) even after 1644. The latter gradually fell out of practice due to lack of elegance and was only performed on rare occasions between a Manchu ruler and his subjects.<sup>9</sup> Embracing each other's waist or shoulders was allowed as a friendly greeting between equals regardless of their gender. Because it blurred hierarchy and accepted physical contact between males and females, the act of embracing, considered inappropriate from a Confucian perspective, was replaced by bowing on both knees or kowtowing.<sup>10</sup>

The act of embracing, commonly practiced in Manchu society prior to 1644, symbolized a firm alliance between the Later Jin and the Mongol

-----

<sup>9</sup> Du, "Cong ruguan qian dangankan manzu baojian lisu," 81. The act of embracing or *tebeliyeme acambi* was a Manchu custom of greeting one another with an embrace as a gesture of intimacy. The form of embracing differed depending on the status of the people taking part in the ritual. One form was to embrace the waist or draw closer to embrace the shoulders. The other was for the junior to kowtow to and embrace the legs of the senior. Compared to embracing while kneeling, simply embracing was a gesture of intimacy between equals. Embracing was a common way of greeting among Manchus that disappeared around 1644 or by the middle of the Qing dynasty due to the Han Chinese culture's influence. Wei Ze, "Manzu de baojianli" [The Manchu Ritual of Embracing], *Manyu yanjiu*, no. 1 (2007): 90-94; Li, *Qingdai fanbu binli yanjiu*, 63.

<sup>10</sup> Li, *Qingdai fanbu binli yanjiu*, 62-63.

tribal leaders. Securing allies was a priority for Nurhaci as he established the Later Jin and competed for dominance with the neighboring Jurchen and Mongol forces. These political and diplomatic circumstances of the Later Jin can be seen from the rituals of hospitality the Later Jin held for Mingan Taiji of the Khorchins, who was the first Mongol to enter into a matrimonial alliance with the Manchu regime.

Along with the four Haixi Jurchen tribes, Mingan Taiji of the Khorchins attacked Nurhaci and suffered humiliating defeat. He nevertheless managed to form friendly relations with the Later Jin by marrying his daughter to Nurhaci. Before meeting with Nurhaci in person, Mingan Taiji sent his sons over to the Later Jin to maintain friendly relations.<sup>11</sup> And when the news reached the Later Jin that Mingan Taiji was on his way to meet Nurhaci in the first lunar month of 1617, Nurhaci brought his wife, brothers, and children as far as twenty-four miles outside his castle and camped there for two days in order to personally greet Mingan Taiji.

Upon Mingan Taiji's arrival, Nurhaci "greeted him with an embrace" (Ma. *tebeliyeme acambi*). Whereas Mingan Taiji's sons were said to have "kowtowed when they were received in audience" (Ma. *hengkileme acambi*) by Nurhaci, Mingan Taiji was embraced while on horseback, which means that Nurhaci treated him as an equal.<sup>12</sup> Nurhaci had Mingan Taiji stay for thirty days during which he held a small banquet every day and a larger banquet every other day. Nurhaci also gave all sorts of gifts, including forty households and forty suits of armor, as well as other goods including silk and hemp. When the time came for Mingan Taiji to leave, Nurhaci traveled seven miles outside his castle and camped there overnight to bid Mingan Taiji farewell.<sup>13</sup>

The greeting, banquets, and gifts Nurhaci prepared for Mingan Taiji

-----  
<sup>11</sup> *Manbun Rōtō* [The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty], Manbun Rōtō Kenkyūkai (Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko, 1955-63), trans., vol. Taizu 4: 48-49, the ninth and tenth lunar months of 1615.

<sup>12</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 5, the first lunar month of 1617, 76-77; *Da qing lichao shilu* [Veritable Records of the Qing Manchus] (Taipei: Taiwan huawen shuju yinxing, 1964), vol. 4: 145-46, the first lunar month of 1617.

<sup>13</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 5: 76-77, the first lunar month of 1617.

demonstrated the utmost respect a Manchu khan could show to a Mongol leader. Moreover, it was unprecedented for Nurhaci to personally travel twenty-four miles outside the castle to greet a guest or seven miles outside the castle to bid a guest farewell. Nurhaci showed such preferential treatment toward his father-in-law Mingan Taiji because it was his first visit to the Later Jin. More than anything, the rituals of hospitality held for the head of the Khorchins clearly illustrate how desperately Nurhaci sought allies shortly after establishing the Later Jin.

The *Old Manchu Chronicles* (滿文老檔) offers a detailed description about Mingan Taiji's visit to the Later Jin after his previous participation in the battle in which nine tribes, including the Khorchins and the four Haixi Jurchen tribes, joined forces to attack Nurhaci.

. . . The Mingan beile previously joined the clans Yehe, Hada, Ula, Hoifa, Mongol, Sahalca, and Sibe to go to war with the Great Genggiyen Han, and upon their defeat, he was forced to escape on an unsaddled horse without his pants. Twenty years later, he sent his daughter to the Great Genggiyen Han. In 1617, the sixth year since sending his daughter and the twenty fifth year since his defeat in the joint attack, he himself paid a visit.<sup>14</sup>

Since Mingan Taiji was the first among the Mongols to become in-laws with Nurhaci after being defeated by him, Mingan Taiji's visit was an opportunity for the Later Jin to advertise its matrimonial alliance with the Khorchins. Hence, a propaganda effect may have been what Nurhaci had in mind as he gave exceptional treatment to Mingan Taiji.

Apart from the Khorchins, the Five Khalkhas were other Mongol tribes that directly acknowledged the expansion of the Later Jin's influence. Also referred to as the "Inner Khalkhas" or the "Five Otoy Khalkhas," these five tribes were led by the descendants of Alchu Bolad, the fifth son of Dayan Khan who united eastern Mongolia in the late fif-

-----  
<sup>14</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 5: 77, the first lunar month of 1617.

teenth century. The Five Khalkhas consisted of the Jarud, Baarin, Onggirat, Bayaud, and Öjjiyed; each of them maintained different relations with Nurhaci at different times. As the Later Jin took over the Liaodong Paninsular, which included some areas of trade for the Ming dynasty such as the Chang'an Fort and Guangning, the five tribes ran into difficulties in securing supplies from Ming China. These difficulties caused them to either grow hostile toward Nurhaci or develop friendly relations with him.

Among the Five Khalkhas, the Bayaud were relatively early in forming friendly relations with Nurhaci. Enggeder, the eldest son of the Bayaud leader Darhan Baturu, visited Nurhaci and presented him with twenty horses in 1605. In the twelfth lunar month of the following year, Enggeder dedicated the title of Kundulen han (恭敬汗) to Nurhaci on behalf of the leaders of the Five Khalkhas.<sup>15</sup> In 1617, Nurhaci had Princess Sundai, the daughter of his brother Šurhaci, marry Enggeder. The Bayaud Enggeder thereby became a member of the Manchu royal family as an efu (額駙), or son-in-law of the Khan. Bayaud leaders succumbed to the Later Jin one after the other from 1621 onwards. Sanggarjai, Enggeder's third younger brother, surrendered to the Later Jin in the third lunar month of 1623, and four months later, Enggeder also announced his intent to become a vassal of Nurhaci, saying that he had "come to depend on Genggiyen Han."<sup>16</sup>

Upon his surrender, Nurhaci bestowed Enggeder with 434 men from the Pinglu Fort. Among the men, Enggeder was to select those without a criminal record and capable of communicating in Chinese in order to organize them into ten households and form a manor. Nurhaci also had horns and shells blown to welcome or bid farewell to Enggeder and Princess Sundai whenever traveling back and forth between their manor and the Later Jin. On the first day of the first month of 1624, when Enggeder efu led Mongol nobles with the title of *taiji* (臺吉) to offer their New Year's greetings to Nurhaci, their turn to kowtow to Nurhaci came immediately after

-----  
<sup>15</sup> Goryeo Daehakkyo Minjong munhwa yeonguwon Manjuhak senteo Manju sillok yeokjuhoe, trans., *Manju sillok yeokju* [An Annotated Translation of the Veritable Records of the Manchus] (Seoul: Somyeong chulpan, 2014), 138; *Da qing lichao shilu* 3, 123-24.

<sup>16</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 57: 833-34, the seventh month of 1623.

Nurhaci's son Daišan who held the title of *amba beile* (大貝勒), or grand lord.<sup>17</sup> Their turn to kowtow usually came after the lords (*beile*) of the Manchu royal family, but that day, they were placed ahead of all the *beile* of the Manchu royal family except for Daišan. Once Enggeder and the Mongol *taijis* finished paying their respects to Nurhaci, Enggeder was seated next to Daišan and Enggeder's younger brother Manggūltai was seated next to Hong Taiji, implying that the two brothers were treated on terms equal to the four *amba beiles* of the Manchu royal family.<sup>18</sup>

Part of the reason Nurhaci granted such privileges to Enggeder as well as the Bayaud leaders who accompanied him was to win over other Mongol forces. Nurhaci sent letters to persuade the leaders of Bayaud tribes yet to become vassals of the Later Jin, announcing that they would be able to enjoy the glory of "living in a tall house with many households under their control." Nurhaci also urged them to honor their pledge and join forces with the Later Jin to attack Ming China, accusing some Bayaud leaders of breaking their pledge and assisting Ming China.<sup>19</sup> Nurhaci thus utilized the surrender of Enggeder's family to encourage other leaders of the Five Khalkhas to make peace with or surrender to the Later Jin.

During the reigns of Nurhaci and Hong Taiji, the key figure in the Later Jin's relations with the Mongols was Ooba Khung Taiji, an influential leader among the Khorchins, particularly the Khorchin Right Wing.<sup>20</sup> Ooba entered into an alliance with the Later Jin near the end of Nurhaci's reign, and as Nurhaci's son-in-law, Ooba was ranked as an equal to Nurha-

-----

<sup>17</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 60: 881, the first lunar month of 1624.

<sup>18</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 60: 901-03, the first lunar month of 1624.

<sup>19</sup> *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizu 43: 632-34, the twenty-second day of the first lunar month of 1623.

<sup>20</sup> The Khorchins were led by the descendants of Jo'chi Qasar, a brother of Genghis Khan. Genghis Khan enfeoffed his three younger brothers with the Da Hinggan Range (Da Xing'an Ling), which is why they are often collectively referred to as the "Three Princely Houses of the Eastern Regions." The second younger brother Jo'chi Qasar was enfeoffed with a territory that expanded between the Ergune River, Hulun Lake (Hunlun Nuur), and Hailar River. The descendants of Jo'chi Qasar led several tribes including the Muumingyan, the Aru Khorchin, the Dörben keüked, and the Urad. The Khorchins mentioned in this paper refer to the nomadic Non korcin around the Nen River basin. Da Lizhabu, *Ming dai Monan Menggu lishi yanjiu* [A Historical Study on Monan Mongols During the Ming Dynasty] (Hailar: Nei Menggu wenhua chubanshe, 1998), 142-43.

ci's sons. Ooba therefore saw himself as equal to Hong Taiji even after his enthronement. Hong Taiji, on the other hand, sought to subdue Ooba in order to dictate joint forces with the Mongols.<sup>21</sup> Rituals reflected the difference between Nurhaci and Hong Taiji in their attitude toward Ooba as well as the changes in the Later Jin's relationship with the Khorchins.

Ooba initially did not consider an alliance with the Later Jin until he suddenly had to seek for help around 1625 when threatened by Ligdan Khan of the Chahars. Ooba knew that an alliance with a representative of both the Khorchin Left Wing and the Right Wing such as himself would be an opportunity for the future of the Later Jin. The rituals, set for Ooba, did show the utmost respect for the leader of an ally on equal terms with the Later Jin.

On the sixteenth day of the fifth lunar month of 1626, Nurhaci learned that Ooba was coming to visit and sent his sons Manggūltai beile and Hong Taiji beile to greet Ooba. At Zhonggucheng (中固城), which was under the jurisdiction of Kaiyauncheng, the two Manchu grand lords met and embraced Ooba. Five days later, then, Nurhaci visited a Tangse shrine, kowtowed there, and headed to a tent pitched about two miles outside the castle to sit and wait for Ooba's arrival. When Ooba knelt before Nurhaci and tried to embrace him while kowtowing, Nurhaci rose from his seat and stepped forward to embrace Ooba. Apart from Ooba, all the other Mongol *taijis* performed the act of kowtowing before Nurhaci.

When Ooba set out toward home on the tenth day of the sixth lunar month after spending nearly one month in the Later Jin, Nurhaci brought his sons and court officials along to camp overnight to send off Ooba. Nurhaci traveled as far as Nanqi (南邱) in Puhecheng (蒲河城) to the north of Shenyangcheng (審陽城) before returning to his palace; he ordered his

-----  
<sup>21</sup> For Korean language research papers on the relations between the Later Jin and Ooba of the Khorchins, refer to Noh Ki-shik, "Hong Taiji eui ban Rikdan Manmong yeonmaeng hwakdae wa iyong" [The Expansion of the Manchu-Mongol Anti-Liqdan League and Hong Taiji's Exploitation], *Junggukhak nonchong*, no. 13 (2000): 167-98; Kim Sung-soo, "17 segi cho Manmong gwangye wa naeryuk Asia: Manju-Horeuchin Monggol gwangye reul jungsim euro" [Manchu-Mongolian Relationship During the Early Seventh Century: Focusing on the Manchu-Khorchin Mongol relations] 82 (2013): 61-92.

sons Daišan and Amin to accompany Ooba until Tielingcheng (鐵嶺城). The fact that Nurhaci passed away only two months after Ooba left for home suggests that, despite his failing health, Nurhaci exerted himself in welcoming and sending off Ooba. Also, as for Ooba's request, Nurhaci betrothed Ooba with Junje Gege, the daughter Nurhaci had adopted from his brother Šurhaci.<sup>22</sup>

Unlike the way he treated his father-in-law Mingan *beile*, Nurhaci ranked and treated Ooba on terms equal to his sons. Nevertheless, Nurhaci could not turn a blind eye on the authority Ooba possessed as a Khorchin leader. Ahead of his meeting with Ooba, Nurhaci sent his sons Manggūltai and Hong Taiji to greet Ooba. Keeping in mind the fact that Ooba represented both wings of the Khorchins, Nurhaci personally went two miles outside his castle to welcome Ooba whom he embraced instead of allowing Ooba to kowtow. Such treatment hints that the Later Jin and the Khorchins formed an alliance as equals at the time.

Meanwhile, the privileges Nurhaci extended to Ooba were different from those extended to Enggeder of the Five Khalkhas. Enggeder and Ooba were sons-in-law to Nurhaci but the manner in which they were received implies that they were of different status in the eyes of the Later Jin. From the moment Enggeder, the son of a Bayaud leader, was dispatched to make peace with the Later Jin, he kowtowed to Nurhaci. Although Enggeder rose in rank according to custom after his submission to the Later Jin, he was treated as an equal to the offspring of Nurhaci. Ooba, on the other hand, was embraced by Nurhaci himself instead of being allowed to kowtow to him. The fact that Nurhaci personally sent Ooba off at the end of his visit demonstrated a more tight political alliance between the Later Jin and the Mongols as well as ordinary in-laws.

The rituals which Nurhaci conducted with Inner Mongolian tribal leaders wholly reflect the power dynamics at play between the Later Jin and the Mongols at the time. During the reign of Nurhaci, the Later Jin was in rivalry with Ming China and oscillating between alliance and enmity

-----  
<sup>22</sup> *Da qing lichao shilu*, vol. 8: 401-07, the fifth lunar month of 1626.

with Inner Mongolian tribes. Securing the Manchu-Mongol alliance was definitely crucial to the Later Jin's survival. Nurhaci employed the act of embracing to show that he was in an equal and intimate relationship with Mongol leaders who were friendly toward the Later Jin, thereby strengthening the alliance. Once Hong Taiji became the Khan of the Later Jin, the Manchu regime began to gain dominance in its relations with the Mongols and this change in the Manchu-Mongol alliance affected the procedure and format of the above rituals.

### Changes in Meeting Rites during the Tiancong Era

The process through which Hong Taiji strengthened his influence over the Inner Mongolia and redefined his relationships with the Mongol leaders can be explored through changes in rituals. The Manchu court prior to 1644 had been taking Manchu traditions into consideration to establish standards and procedures for rituals. The way Nurhaci and Hong Taiji treated the Mongol nobility changed according to the Later Jin's circumstances as well as their perception of and political ties with the Mongol nobility. The Mongol nobility's perception of the Later Jin can be also detected from the rituals they performed.

From 1627 when Hong Taiji's reign began, what emerged was a new ritual tradition in which to mix the act of embracing with the act of bowing on both knees.<sup>23</sup> When the tribal leaders of the Aohan and Naiman who had been under the command of the Chahars led their people to submit themselves to the Later Jin in the seventh month of 1627, Hong Taiji traveled two miles with *beiles* across the Liaohe River at Durbi to welcome his new subjects.<sup>24</sup> Hong Taiji offered to embrace the Aohan and Naiman leaders, but the leaders refused and chose to kowtow upon their audience with

-----  
<sup>23</sup> Li, *Qingdai fanbu binli yanjiu*, 64.

<sup>24</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju* [An Annotated Translation of the Old Manchu Chronicles], Goryeo daehakgyo Minjongmunhwa yeonguwon Manmunnodang yeokjuhoe, trans. (Seoul: Somyeong chulpan, 2017), vol. Taejong 1: 146; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 7: 89, the fourth day of the seventh lunar month of 1627.

the Khan. Instead of remaining seated as the leaders kowtowed, Hong Taiji rose and stepped forward to embrace them as an expression of respect.<sup>25</sup> This meeting ritual that combined embracing with kowtowing, or bowing on both knees, thus conveyed both the authority of the Khan and the respect he wished to show to the Mongol leaders who would surrender to the Later Jin.

On the first day of the twelfth month of 1627, when Dorji Ildeng Taiji of the Alakchuote (阿拉克綽特部) under the Chahars' command led his wife, children, and people to submit themselves to the Later Jin, he knelt and kowtowed from afar alongside his followers and then approached Hong Taiji to kneel and kowtow again before embracing him.<sup>26</sup> This case involved a combination of bowing on both knees and embracing with the addition of two kowtows, one from afar and another further up close to the Khan.

Such ritualistic changes that began to occur from the first year of the Tiancong era echoed the Khan's rise to a dominant position in the Manchu-Mongol relations after having maintained an alliance of equals during Nurhaci's reign. As the tribes under the command of Ligdan Khan of the Chahars surrendered to the Later Jin one after the other, the Manchu regime was able to solidify its grip over the Inner Mongolian tribes. By then, the Mongol nobility from tribes, surrendering to the Later Jin, were no longer able to gain a rank equal to the Manchu khan Hong Taiji.

Unlike smaller tribes that succumbed to the Later Jin, the Khorchins were able to retain an equal relationship with the Later Jin as a major political and military ally, at least until the early years of Hong Taiji's reign. There was, of course, a certain degree of tension surrounding the Later Jin's dominance over the Inner Mongolian tribes at the beginning of the Tiancong era, but through marriage ties with the Manchu royal family, the Khorchins managed to settle as the most loyal outer feudatory of the Qing

-----  
<sup>25</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 146-49; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 7: 89-91, the fifth day of the seventh lunar month of 1627

<sup>26</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 176; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 8: 108, the first day of the twelfth month of 1627.

dynasty.<sup>27</sup> This status of the Khorchins during the early stage of Hong Taiji's reign can also be attributed to the internal power structure of the Manchu regime at the time. While Nurhaci was alive, Hong Taiji was but one of the four *amba beiles* alongside his brothers Daišan, Manggūltai, and Amin. Even after his enthronement, Hong Taiji had to share his power with the other three *amba beiles*. The fact that his brothers Daišan, Manggūltai, and Amin sat beside Hong Taiji facing south as government officials kowtowed to them at rituals proves that Hong Taiji's power had been far from absolute in the Tiancong era.<sup>28</sup>

Hong Taiji's relations with Mongol tribes was another testament to his insecure political status shortly after his enthronement. In specific, Hong Taiji's clash with the Khorchin leader Ooba had a significant impact on the Manchu-Mongol relations for the rest of Hong Taiji's reign. As a son-in-law of Nurhaci, Ooba considered himself as equal in rank to Nurhaci's sons including Hong Taiji who later became the Khan of the Later Jin. Ooba's withdrawal of troops without orders from Hong Taiji was what sparked the conflict between Hong Taiji and Ooba but the underlying cause

<sup>27</sup> The Inner Khalkhas were on the verge of dissolution from attacks by both the Later Jin near the end of Nurhaci's reign and Ligdan Khan of the Chahars. The Jaruds who were hostile toward the Later Jin sought refuge with the Chahars whereas most of the Inner Khalkhas migrants headed to Khorchin territory. Ooba sent a letter to Hong Taiji for orders on how to deal with the Baarins and Jaruds who surrendered to the Khorchins, but secretly asked whether the migrants could settle down at an area lying between the Later Jin and Khorchin territories. Meanwhile, Hong Taiji sent a message to Khorchin tribal leaders, asking them to meet Šendu and his parents who were among the Jaruds that surrendered to the Khorchins. Refer to "Letter by Tüsiyetü Qayan to Hong Taiji regarding the Bavarin and Jaraxud tribes" and "Letter sent by Hong Taiji to the nobles of the Nayun Qorč'in urging them to build a fortress" in Nicola Di Cosmo and Bao Dalizhabu, *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest: A Documentary History* (Leiden: Brill, 2003), 38-39, 144-45. Once he subdued Ooba, Hong Taiji eagerly accepted Inner Khalkha migrants, which proves that those migrants had previously been a source of tension between the Later Jin and the Khorchins. *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 318-21; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 14: 191-93, the twelfth lunar month of 1628.

<sup>28</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 5; *Manbun rōtō*, Taizong Tiancong vol. 1, the first day of the first lunar month of 1626. ". . . daci manju gurun i doru hengkilere de, amba beile, amin beile, manggūltai beile be, ilan beile be ahūn seme kunduleme han i juwe ashan de tebuhe, yaya bade inu han i adame tebure dabala, fejile teburakū bihe, . . ." [Out of respect for the elder brothers of the Khan, the *amba beiles* including Amin beile and Manggūltai beile were seated on either side of and never beneath the Khan according to Manchu customs.]

was rooted in the difference between their perceptions of each other.<sup>29</sup> From Hong Taiji's viewpoint, he had to subdue Ooba in order to gain dominance over Inner Mongolia. Ooba eventually did capitulate against Hong Taiji's hardline approach. The royal court ritual, held to receive Ooba when he came to the Later Jin to ask for a pardon, reveals the change in his relationship with Hong Taiji.

The year after Ooba withdrew troops at his own discretion, he had an audience with Hong Taiji in the first lunar month of 1629. Accompanied by the three *amba beiles* Daišan, Manggūltai, and Amin as well as other *beiles*, Hong Taiji traveled two miles outside his castle to greet Ooba. What was different from their previous meetings was the fact that on this occasion Ooba knelt before embracing Hong Taiji. Such a greeting was not meant for equals but for a hierarchical relationship. Compared to embracing, which was a gesture of intimacy between equals, adding the stage of kneeling prior to embracing signified the superiority of Hong Taiji to Ooba.<sup>30</sup> By receiving from Ooba the treatment which his father Nurhaci had declined, Hong Taiji made a statement to the outside world that the Khorchins were no longer equals to the Later Jin. Ooba's authority as a representative of the Khorchin Left Wing and Right Wing continued to be recognized thereafter but his relationship with Hong Taiji changed after Ooba began to kowtow to the Manchu khan.

After Ooba's submission, Hong Taiji declared a Manchu-Mongol joint attack on the Ming dynasty in the tenth lunar month of 1629, which prompted the Inner Mongolian tribes to convene at a designated meeting point. The following excerpt is from the *Old Manchu Chronicles* that offers a detailed description about the rituals at the time when Khorchin nobles, including Ooba, met with Hong Taiji and the Manchu nobles.

On the fifteenth (of the tenth lunar month), twenty-three *beiles* including Tūshiyetu Khan (Ooba) of the Mongol Khorchins and . . . led their

-----  
<sup>29</sup> Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū*, 117-18.

<sup>30</sup> *Qing Taizong shilu* [Veritable Records of Emperor Taizong] (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), vol. 5, the fourth day of the first lunar month of 1628.

troops to meet with the Khan. Upon their arrival, the Khan came half a mile out with two *amba beiles* and several *taijis* in order to greet them. They dismounted from their horses and kneeled three times and kowtowed three times for each kneel toward the southern sky. Everyone thereafter proceeded into the tent where the Khan sat at the center. The two *amba beiles* were seated on either side of the Khan. The *taijis* were seated beside each *amba beile*. Tüshiyetu Khan and his (Mongolian) *beiles* dropped to their knees and kowtowed. Tüshiyetu Khan then approached to kowtow to and embrace the Khan. He thereafter exchanged kowtows and embraces with the two *amba beiles*. He went on to exchange kowtows and embraces with the *taijis* from the eldest to the youngest. Khongor mafa and the leaders under his command were next to step forward to kowtow to and embrace one by one the Khan, the two *amba beiles*, *taijis*, the Chahar *beiles*, (Inner) Khalkhas *beiles*, Barin *beiles*, and Jarud *beiles*. When the greetings were completed, Tüshiyetu Khan and Khongor mafa offered the Khan and the two *amba beiles* the distilled spirits they had brought. Tüshiyetu Khan and a Tumei *beile* were then seated on the right side. Khongor mafa was seated on the left side. The remaining *beiles* were assigned to sit on either side.<sup>31</sup>

As above mentioned, Ooba was the first to bring his nobles forward to pay his respects by kowtowing to and embracing Hong Taiji and then exchanging kowtows and embraces with the two *amba beiles*. This was followed by an exchange of greetings between the Mongol and Manchu nobles in the order of eldest to youngest, which suggests that apart from the Khan of the Later Jin, there was no difference in rank between the Manchu and Mongol nobles. Seating Ooba on the right and Khonggor mafa on the left can be understood as a means to maintain a balance between the representatives of the Khorchins' Right Wing and Left Wing.

As the Later Jin proceeded to a full-fledged war against the combined

-----  
<sup>31</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 384-87; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 17: 233-34, the fifteenth day of the tenth lunar month of 15, 1628.

Mongol forces, the Chahars, and the Ming dynasty around 1631, the procedure of kowtowing to Hong Taiji began to grow complex and formulaic. On the sixth day of the fourth lunar month of 1631, Sun Dureng of the Ongniuds, Ooba and Khongor of the Khorchins, and the leaders of the Aru Mongols had an audience with Hong Taiji. The nobles under Sun Dureng's leadership knelt and kowtowed once from afar and when Sun Dureng stepped forward and knelt, Hong Taiji rose to receive his kowtows. When Sun Dureng knelt for the third time, Hong Taiji also knelt, kowtowed, and embraced Sun Dureng. Hong Taiji then remained seated as the nobles of Sun Dureng offered their kowtows. The Aru Khorchin leader Dalai Cuhur and his nobles went through the same procedure to present themselves to Hong Taiji.

Sun Dureng was a leader and doyen of the Ongniuds, which is why Hong Taiji stood to receive his second kowtow and joined him on his third kowtow to express mutual respect. Apart from kowtows by tribal leaders, Hong Taiji remained seated while other Mongol nobles or aristocrats kowtowed, drawing a hierarchical distinction among Mongol nobles.<sup>32</sup> This format of greeting was also applied to the Khalkha nobles' audience with Hong Taiji a few days later on the ninth day of the fourth lunar month when the nobles of the Khorchins, the Dörben keüked, and other Mongol tribes entered into a covenant.<sup>33</sup>

A few months earlier on the twenty-second day of the second lunar month, when Khongor *beile* of the Khorchins came to visit the Manchu royal court, Hong Taiji traveled three and a half miles with two *amba beiles* as well as a group of *taijis* and court officials in order to greet him. When Khongor *beile* and his entourage knelt and kowtowed once from afar, Hong Taiji and his *beiles* faced them and knelt to receive their greeting. When Khongor *beile* and his entourage drew closer to kneel, kowtow, and embrace, Hong Taiji rose and bent his knees to return their embrace.

-----  
<sup>32</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 810-13; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 37: 497-98, the sixth day of the fourth lunar month, 1630.

<sup>33</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 2: 818; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 37: 502, the ninth day of the fourth lunar month of 1630.

This was followed by an exchange of kneeling, kowtowing, and embracing with Daišan, Manggūltai, and the other *beiles* in the order of the eldest to the youngest.<sup>34</sup> Khongor of the Khorchins was not only Nurhaci's father-in-law, but a brother to the Khorchin chief Manggus who was Hong Taiji's father-in-law. Then, Hong Taiji showed respect for him as an elder by kneeling to receive Khongor's first kowtow and rising from his seat and bending his knees to receive Khongor's second kowtow.

The way Hong Taiji received Khongor seems more intimate and respectful than the way he treated the Ongniud leader Sun Dureng. Hong Taiji even made an exception by personally traveling three and a half miles to greet Khongor. Apart from the twenty-four-mile trip Nurhaci made to greet Mingan Taiji, the Khan of the Later Jin usually traveled one mile or two and a half miles to greet Mongol nobles or princesses. Hong Taiji's treatment of Khongor had therefore resulted from the marriage ties and political collaboration the Later Jin formed with the Khorchin Left Wing and Right Wing.<sup>35</sup>

In 1631 when kneeling and kowtowing thrice while approaching the Khan from afar began to settle as the standard format of kowtowing, Hong Taiji issued a military command with several Mongol tribes to launch an expedition against Ligdan Khan of the Chahars. This military command, established through a 1631 covenant between the Mongol tribes and the Later Jin, placed the Mongol troops and leaders under the Manchu khan's command, indicating that the Later Jin was in the early stages of gaining legal control over the Mongol tribes. As the Manchu khan's authority grad-

-----  
<sup>34</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 2: 778-80; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Tiancong 35: 477-78, the twenty-second day of the second lunar month of 1630.

<sup>35</sup> Amba mama was a key figure in the intimate marriage ties between the Later Jin and the Khorchin Left Wing. Amba mama and her daughter-in-law Ajige mama visited the Later Jin/Qing ten times over the seventeen years of Hong Taiji's reign and six of those visits were made in the Chongde era after Hong Taiji proclaimed himself emperor. The rituals during their visits and the imperial gifts they were bestowed with will be covered in detail through future studies. For in-depth studies on the marriage ties between the Manchu royal family and the Khorchin Left Wing as well as the roles Amba mama and Ajige mama played, refer to *Du Jiaji, Qing chao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu* [A Study on Manchu-Mongol Marriages in the Qing Dynasty] (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 2003), 4-13; Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū*, 93-100.

ually pervaded the subjugated Inner Mongolian tribes, the procedure of rites grew complex and heavily hierarchical. Such rites varied depending not only on hierarchy, but on a Mongol noble's political prominence and level of intimacy with the Manchu khan. For instance, some Mongol leaders only kowtowed to the Khan once from afar mainly because they were powerless and their relations with the Later Jin were far less intimate.

According to Li Zhiguo's classification, there were two types of rites when the Mongol nobility were granted an audience with Hong Taiji during the Tiancong and Chongde eras.<sup>36</sup> One was the rites held when he met with the Khorchin nobility. When Hong Taiji came out to greet a Khorchin noble and his entourage, they would kowtow to Hong Taiji from a distance and step closer to offer their second kowtow, upon which Hong Taiji and his *beiles* would rise from their seats. Hong Taiji would then acknowledge their third kowtow by facing them to kneel, bow, and embrace his guests. A Mongol noble would thus kneel thrice and kowtow thrice each time he kneeled whereas Hong Taiji would only kneel once to offer a single kowtow.

There were other types of rites applied to the nobility of other Mongol tribes attending the Manchu royal court for an audience. A Mongol noble and his entourage would bow once to Hong Taiji from a distance and then the Mongol noble would approach the Khan alone to kowtow once and embrace the Khan's knees. The fact that Hong Taiji does not kowtow back and allows his knees instead of his waist to be embraced suggests that the Mongol nobles who engaged in this type of rites belonged to a status lower than those who engaged in the first type of rites. These procedures and formats that started since the Tiancong era gradually developed to accentuate the Manchu khan's authority and draw a distinction among Mongol tribes based on their political and military relations with the Later Jin.

Meanwhile, visiting the Later Jin, the Mongol nobility would first hold a meeting rite with the Khan, exchange greetings with the Mongol royal family, and pay their respects according to a certain order and proce-

-----  
<sup>36</sup> Li, *Qingdai fanbu binli yanjiu*, 65-66.

cedure. As the examples mentioned above indicate, age rather than rank determined the order in which the Mongol nobility and the Manchu royal family paid their respects to each other. To put it differently, the procedure of such rites did not seem to reveal the Manchu royal family's superiority over the Mongol nobility. The greeting rituals between the Manchu *beiles* and the Mongol nobility later evolved into a set of meeting etiquettes called *xiangjianyi* (相見儀) during the Qing dynasty. *Neiwai wanggong xiangjianyi* (外王公相見儀) refers to a set of meeting etiquettes defined for meetings between the nobility of outer feudatories and the Qing royal family and nobility.

For instance, if a *waifun qinwang* (外藩親王), an outer feudatory prince of the first rank, visits a *nei qinwang* (內親王), a son or brother of the Qing emperor, the *nei qinwang* emerges from his quarters and descends the stairs to greet the *waifun qinwang*. With the *nei qinwang* standing on the left and the *waifun qinwang* standing on the right, the two proceed through the inner gate side by side and enter the host's quarters. The host stands to the east facing west while the guest stands to the west facing east to kneel twice and kowtow thrice to each other with each kneel. After exchanging greetings, the guest is seated on the west side while the host is seated on the east side. Upon concluding their meeting, the guest kneels and kowtows once, which the host thereafter replicates. Then the host accompanies the guest down the stairs to see the guest off.

If the visitor is a *waifun junwang* (外藩郡王), an outer feudatory prince of the second rank, a Manchu *nei qinwang* does not descend the stairs to greet his guest. The host waits outside his quarters to usher the guest inside once the guest reaches the top of the stairs. Inside, the guest kneels twice and kowtows thrice with each kneel and the host replies by kneeling once to kowtow thrice. When a *waifun qinwang* visits a *beile* of the Manchu royal family, the *beile* waits outside his door to greet his guest and allows the guest to cross the threshold ahead of himself. With the guest standing on the west side and the host standing on the east side, they each kneel once to exchange three kowtows. When the guest is ready to leave, the host helps the guest rise from his seat and accompanies the guest out-

side to see him off.<sup>37</sup>

Meeting rites between the Manchu and the Mongol nobility were classified according to rank. The Manchu *beiles* and Mongol nobility were basically equal as per the rules of rites, but in actuality, their status was not entirely equal. The titles the Mongol nobility were bestowed with during the Qing dynasty were *heshuo qinwang* (和碩親王 Ma. *hošoi cin wang*), *duoluo junwang* (多羅郡王 Ma. *doroi giyūn wang*), *duoluo beile* (多羅貝勒 Ma. *doroi beile*),<sup>38</sup> *gushan beizi* (固山貝子 Ma. *gūsa beise*), *zhenguo gong* (鎮國公 Ma. *gurun-be dalire gung*), *fuguo gong* (輔國公 Ma. *gurun-be aisilara gung*), *taiji* (臺吉 Ma. *tayiji*), and *tabunang* (塔布囊). *Taiji* and *tabunang* were of equal rank and subdivided into the first rank, the second rank, the third rank, and the fourth rank.<sup>39</sup>

*Junwang* was ranked below *qinwang*, which is why a Mongol *waifun junwang* was treated with less courtesy than a Mongol *waifun qinwang* when visiting a Manchu *nei qinwang*. As the host, a *nei qinwang* did not have to descend the stairs to greet a *waifun junwang* and knelt and kowtowed half as many times as the guest(s) finished kneeling and kowtowing. A *beile* was also ranked below a *qinwang* thus a Manchu *nei beile* was expected to treat a Mongol *waifun qinwang* as his superior. The level of courtesy was thus determined by rank, not by ethnicity. Yet, when a Manchu *nei qinwang* met a Mongol *waifun qinwang*, the *waifun qinwang* was expected to kneel and kowtow ahead of the *nei qinwang* even though the two were of equal rank and exchanged the same number of kowtows. This rule demonstrated that *waifun qinwangs* were of a status lower than that of *nei*

-----  
<sup>37</sup> 欽定大清會典 卷 34, 「禮部」, 「儀制清吏司」 相見禮條.

<sup>38</sup> The titles 和碩親王, 多羅郡王, 多羅貝勒 have each been transliterated according to their Manchurian pronunciation as *hošoi cin wang*, *doroi giyūn wang*, and *doroi beile*. The “i” in *hošoi* and *doroi* stands for the preposition “of” so *hošoi cin wang* can be understood as the *cin wang* of *hošo* and *doroi giyūn wang* or *doroi beile* can be understood as the *giyūn wang* or *beile* of *doro*. In Manchurian, *hošo* means corner, angle, or direction, but in Mongolian, it can be translated as *otoγ*, a nomadic, social unit equivalent to the military unit *qi* (旗). The *hošo* used in titles given during the Qing dynasty is therefore assumed to be of Mongolian origin. *Doro* means duty, morality, ruling ethic, or politics.

<sup>39</sup> The titles *taiji* and *tabunang* are equal in rank. Only the Tümeds and the Kharchins had *tabunangs* while other Inner Mongolian tribes had *taijis*.

*qinwangs*.<sup>40</sup> Hence, while the Manchu royal family and the Mongol nobility may have been assigned the same titles, the Manchu royal family was recognized as superior in rank to the Mongol nobility.<sup>41</sup>

Both rites, dictated by rank, and the Manchu royal family's superiority over the Mongol nobility began to be defined from the Shunzhi era, but their origin can be traced back to 1636 when Hong Taiji established the Qing dynasty. As soon as he ascended to the throne as emperor, Hong Taiji devised a ranking system for the Manchu royal family and the Mongol nobility. What characterized the Mongol outer feudatories under Qing rule was the fact that through the ranking system their leaders became incorporated into the Qing order. Titles given to Qing imperial family members were also bestowed upon the leaders of outer feudatories to draw them into a single imperial hierarchy. Hence, in addition to the administrative, legal, and military control the Qing empire exercised over its outer feudatories, the ranking system was a means to govern such feudatories through their leaders.

Having been nominated as emperor by the Manchu, Mongol, Han Chinese nobility and officials, Hong Taiji bestowed the Mongol nobility with Manchu titles to begin absorbing them into the power structure of his imperial regime. In the tenth month of 1636, detailed instructions were announced on how a *heshuo qinwang* (Ma. *hošoi cin wang*), *duoluo junwang* (Ma. *doroi giyūn wang*), or *duoluo beile* (Ma. *doroi beile*) was expected to treat court officials and the rescripts they delivered, which were all aimed at underlining the Qing emperor's authority.<sup>42</sup> Also, detailed rules were is-

-----  
<sup>40</sup> Oka Hiroki, "Shinchō kokka no seikaku to Mongoru ōkō" [The Characteristics of the Qing Dynasty and Mongol Princes], *Shiteki*, no. 16 (1994): 55-56.

<sup>41</sup> According to records on *bīngke qīnglǐsī* (賓客清吏司) and *wānghuì qīnglǐsī* (王會清吏司) in the *Lifanyuan* (理藩院) section of *Da Qing huidian* (大清會典), specifically across the Kangxi (康熙), Yongzheng (雍正), and Qianlong (乾隆) versions of *Da Qing huidian*, the following hierarchy was established in the tenth year of the Shunzhi era: a Mongol *cin wang* was beneath a Manchu *cin wang*, a Mongol *giyūn wang* was beneath a Manchu *giyūn wang*, a Mongol *beile* was beneath a Manchu *beile*, a Mongol *beise* was beneath a Manchu *beise*, and a Mongol *gong* was beneath a Manchu *gong*.

<sup>42</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Tacjong 4: 2126-30; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Chongde 31: 1336-39, the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month of 1636.

sued on how to handle weddings between the Manchu royal family and the Mongol nobility as well as their expenses.<sup>43</sup> The Mongol nobility thus began to be subjected to rites dictated by rank.

There was no rule stipulating that the Mongol nobility were ranked below the Manchu royal family but the disparity did grow apparent over the Chongde era based on the way the seats were arranged when the Manchu and Mongol nobility gathered together to attend a banquet or offer holiday greetings to the emperor. The order of bowing to the emperor was fixed: the Manchu royal family and court officials went first, followed by the Mongol nobility, and then the Han Chinese. The order among the Mongol nobility for bowing to the emperor was determined by the rank of their individual title. As leaders of outer feudatories invested by the Qing emperor, the Mongol nobility were no longer guests but standard participants in Qing rituals alongside the Manchu nobility and the Han Chinese officials.

Meeting rites between the Manchu *beiles* and the Mongol nobility were documented in detail in Manchu historical sources composed prior to 1644 as a narrative device to underscore the Manchu khan's authority over the Mongol nobility. Records of Nurhaci's reign feature how cordially the Khorchin nobility, including Mingan Taiji, were treated as allies whereas records of Hong Taiji's reign primarily highlight the "generous advantage" extended to the Inner Mongolian tribal leaders. Records of Hong Taiji's meetings with the Mongol nobility reveal how the ritual performances paved the way for a hierarchy of power with the Qing emperor at the top and the Manchu royal family, court officials, and nobility of outer feudatories below him.

## The Political Significance of the 1636 Investiture Rites

In the third lunar month of 1636, forty-nine *beiles* of sixteen Mongol tribes visited the Later Jin to dedicate a title to honor the Khan.<sup>44</sup> And on the

-----  
<sup>43</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 1: 2130-49; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Chongde 31: 1339-51, the sixteenth day of the tenth lunar month of 1628.

<sup>44</sup> *Qing Taizong shilu*, vol. 28, the twenty-second of the third lunar month of 1636.

eighth day of the fourth lunar month, missives in Manchurian, Mongolian and Han Chinese nominating Hong Taiji as emperor were presented to Hong Taiji by 1) Dorgon, a *hošoi beile* of the Bordered White Banner, 2) Badari, a Tüshiyetu jinong efu, and 3) Kong Youde, a military commander (*duyuanshuai* 都元帥).<sup>45</sup> A few days later, Hong Taiji headed to the Temple of Heaven with Manchu, Mongol, and Han Chinese officials in order to hold a ritual to worship heaven, mark his enthronement as emperor, and proclaim the empire as Great Qing (*Da Qing* 大清) and the era name as Chongde (崇德). The Khan of the Later Jin thereby gained legitimacy to rule over the Manchus and Mongols in the Great Qing State (*Daiqing gurun* 大清國).

The enthronement ceremony on the eleventh day of the fourth lunar month, 1636 clearly displayed the Qing Empire's power structure that placed Hong Taiji at the pinnacle and consisted of power groups including members of the imperial family, the Mongol nobility as well as Mongol and Han Chinese officials. And such power groups had to be ranked in order for them to form a structure. Therefore, the first task Hong Taiji undertook as the Qing emperor was to perform investiture rites that bestowed titles on the Manchu, the Mongol nobility, and the Han Chinese officials. Such rites represented the Inner Mongolian tribal leaders' integration into the Qing court's framework of power.

Shortly after his enthronement on the eleventh day of the fourth lunar month, Hong Taiji bestowed titles on the Manchu royal family and the Mongol nobility on the twenty-third day.<sup>46</sup> Badari, the son of the Khorchin Right Wing leader Ooba, was given the title *hošoi tüshiyetu cin wang* while the Khorchin Left Wing leader Ukšan was given the title *hošoi joriktu cin wang*. The title *hošoi cin wang* was also given to Ligdan Khan's son Ejei also called *gurun i efu* as a son-in-law of Hong Taiji. Būteči, the Khorchin

-----  
<sup>45</sup> *Qing Taizong shilu*, vol. 28, the fourth lunar month of 1636, 己卯條.

<sup>46</sup> Qing titles can be grouped into those given to the Manchu imperial family, meritorious retainers, and the Mongol nobility. The rank of titles given to each group followed an identical hierarchy: *hošoi cin wang* (和碩親王), *doroi giyün wang* (多羅郡王), *doroi beile* (多羅貝勒), and *gūsa beise* (固山貝子). This framework was created early on through the investiture rites held in 1636.

Right Wing leader Ooba's brother, was invested with the title *doroi jasaytu giyūn wang*, and Manjusiri, a brother of the Khorchin Left Wing leader Ukšan, was invested with the title *doroi baturu giyūn wang*. To Hvng baturu of the Naimans the title *doroi darhan giyūn wang*, to Sun Dureng of the Ongniuds the title *doroi dureng giyūn wang*, and to *gurun i efu* Bandi of the Aohans the title *doroi giyūn wang* was given. As an elder of the Khorchin Left Wing, Khongor was titled *bingtu wang* while Dung Daicing, a brother of Sun Dureng of the Ongniuds, was titled *doroi darhan daicing*. Ömbu of the Dörben keüked was titled *doroi darhan joriktu*, Gurushiyab of the Kharchins was titled *doroi dureng*, Shamba of the Tümeds was titled *doroi darhan*, and Genggel of the Tümeds was titled *doroi hiya beile*. In addition, various rewards were bestowed upon the nobles of each Mongol tribe.<sup>47</sup>

In total, three were given the title of *hošoi cin wang* and five were given the title of *doroi giyūn wang*. The titles of *bingtu wang*, *doroi darhan daicing*, *doroi darhan joriktu*, *doroi during*, *doroi darhan*, *doroi hiya beile* were honorary rather than formal titles. Among the fourteen men who were invested with a title, five of them were Khorchin nobles who all received high ranking titles. According to Kusunoki Yoshimichi, *bingtu wang* was not a formal title but can be considered as identical in rank to other titles that included the character *wang* (王) instead of *doroi*, *darhan*, or *daicing*.<sup>48</sup> Bestowing such high-ranking titles upon Khorchin leaders reflects how firm their ties had been with the Later Jin.

Besides the Khorchins, leaders of the Aohans, Naimans, Ongniuds, Dörben keükeds, Kharchins, and others were also invested with titles. Such leaders were all Borjigin nobles who were descended from Genghis Khan. As such, Hong Taiji had bestowed titles to the nobility of both the Aisin Gioro and the Borjigins. The reason Hong Taiji gave the title *hošoi cin wang* to Ligdan Khan's son Ejei was not only because Ejei married his daughter Princess Makata with the title *gurun i gungju*, but because he ac-

<sup>47</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 3: 1619-21; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Chongde 9: 1014-21 the twenty-third day of the fourth lunar month of 1636.

<sup>48</sup> Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū*, 171, 182.

knowledgeed Ejei's legitimacy as a direct descendant of Genghis Khan.

Hong Taiji thus sought to gain legitimacy for his rule over the Mongols by having a direct descendant of the Yuan imperial family as his son-in-law. As a *gurun i efu*, Ejei was granted the privilege of being invested with *hošoi cin wang*, a title of the first rank within the Manchu imperial family. Bandi of the Aohans was also a *gurun i efu* from marrying Hong Taiji's eldest daughter. The Khorchin nobles, who were given these titles, had marriage ties with members of the Manchu imperial family including Hong Taiji himself. Hence, the investiture rites of the Manchu and Mongol nobility were in a sense meant to display their firm political and military alliance as well as their familial ties formed through marriage.

A few days later on the twenty-seventh day of the fourth lunar month, Hong Taiji respectively gave the titles *ginggun ijishūn wang* (恭順王), *gūnin ijishūn wang* (懷順王), and *bodohonggo ijishūn wang* (智順王) to the Ming generals Kong Youde (孔有德), Geng Zhongming (耿仲明), and Shang Kexi (尚可喜) who surrendered to the Qing dynasty.<sup>49</sup> Other Han Chinese officials were also promoted commensurate to their contributions. Whereas the investiture rites for the Manchu imperial family and the Mongol nobility were held on the same day, the Han Chinese were excluded from such rites and bestowed with titles on a different day. Kusunoki Yoshimichi pointed out that the investiture rites were fairly characteristic of a Chinese dynasty but the Qing governance framework, stemming from such rites, featured "North Asian" traits.

The North Asian framework, Kusunoki Yoshimichi previously mentioned, refers to an Inner Asian power structure that revolves around a Khan and consists of the royal family, aristocrats, and the troops under their command. In the case of the Qing dynasty, the structure was concentric with Hong Taiji and the three banners under his direct command at the center, surrounded by the Manchu *beiles* and the five banners under their control. The Manchu-centered formation was supported by Mongol tribal lead-

-----  
<sup>49</sup> *Manmunnodang yeokju*, vol. Taejong 3: 1633-36; *Manbun rōtō*, vol. Taizong Chongde 9: 1023-25, the twenty-seventh day of the fourth lunar month of 1636.

ers and the outer banners they governed. This structure tends to have been ideologically reinforced through the investiture rites for the Manchu and Mongol nobility.<sup>50</sup>

There are several different discussions with respect to the Qing order but they commonly acknowledge its stratification. In other words, the framework had a dual structure: a Chinese dynastic structure with the emperor at the core encircled by the central government, regional governments, tributaries, and trading partners on the one hand and a governance system revolving around the Khan who is surrounded by the imperial family, eight banners, outer feudatories, and governors (*Ma. jasak*) on the other.<sup>51</sup> When stating the purpose of holding investiture rites, Hong Taiji mentioned that he “draws no distinction between inner (Ch. *nei* 内) and outer (Ch. *wai* 外) and considers them as one,” indicating that the outer Mongol nobility was as much a core component of the Qing order as the inner Manchu imperial family.<sup>52</sup> The Han Chinese, however, were given non-

-----

<sup>50</sup> Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū*, 173.

<sup>51</sup> Kataoka Kazutada, “Chōga kitei kara mita shinchō to gaihan, chōkō koku no kankei” [The Qing Dynasty System through Policies toward Its Outer Feudatories and Tributaries], *Komazawa shigaku*, no. 52 (1998): 259-61.

<sup>52</sup> Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū*, 173. Kusunoki Yoshimichi examined Manchu records on the emperor’s enthronement in 1636 included in Vol. 11 of *Manwen guoshiyun-dang* (滿文國史院檔) housed at the Chinese First Historical Archives (中國第一歷史檔案館). The records had been kept in the same box as Vol. 10 of *Manwen guoshiyun-dang* that contained the records related to the ceremony for Hong Taiji’s enthronement as emperor that Ishibashi Takao examined. The records related to Hong Taiji’s enthronement ceremony are filed under the Manchurian title *Fulgiyan singgeri aniya duin biyai de narhūn bithe han be amba soorin toktobuha tangse*, which can be translated as “A Secret (or Detailed) Record of the Khan’s Enthronement as Emperor in the fourth lunar month of 1636.” The records offer details regarding the Qing emperor’s enthronement ceremony but do not mention anything regarding the process through which Hong Taiji became appointed as emperor. That process has been documented in a separate book, which Ishibashi Takao referred to as *Chongde yuannian fengwang beile shu* (崇德元年封王貝勒書). Since the original source is inaccessible, the quoted phrase is a requote from Kusunoki Yoshimichi’s paper/book. Through *A Secret (or Detailed) Record of the Khan’s Enthronement as Emperor in the fourth Lunar Month of 1636*, Ishibashi Takao analyzed the circumstances under which Hong Taiji transformed from the Khan of the Later Jin to the emperor of the Qing dynasty and the process through which the emperor gained power within a multi-ethnic state. Ishibashi Takao 石橋崇雄, “清初の皇帝権の形成過程—特に”丙子四年四月<秘録>登ハシ大位檔”にみえる太宗ホンタイジの皇帝即位記事を中心として—” [The Formation of the Power of the Early Qing

standard titles through investiture rites that were carried out separately, which implies that they were peripheral to the North Asian framework upon which the Qing order was grounded.<sup>53</sup>

After the 1636 investiture rites, kneeling thrice and kowtowing nine times settled as a standard greeting ritual for the Mongol nobility when they met the Qing emperor. This switch from the act of embracing, which signaled a more equal and friendly relationship, meant that the Mongols submitted themselves to the Khan of the Later Jin and became integrated into the Manchu regime's power structure. The rituals, practiced during the transition from embracing to kneeling and kowtowing, suggests that the Manchu regime gradually transformed its Mongol allies into its outer feudatories (Ma. *tulergi golo*). Rituals in early Qing therefore not only reflected changes in its external relations but served as a means to visually expand and reproduce the authority of the Khan/Qing emperor. And the definitive among such rituals was the enthronement ceremony and investiture rites in 1636.

## Conclusion

At the time when Hong Taiji succeeded Nurhaci as Khan, eight *beiles* were jointly overseeing the state affairs of Aisin gurun, which made it impossible for any one of the *beiles* to arbitrarily exercise power. To keep other *beiles* in check and take exclusive control over the state, Hong Taiji remodeled central organs after the Ming system and appointed Manchus, Mongols, and Han Chinese outside the imperial family as government officials.<sup>54</sup> Still, there were powerful *beiles* dominating each banner (Ma. *gūsa* 旗) and taking part in a stable council that continued to determine state af-

Emperors: The Significance of the Ascension of Hong Taiji as Emperor of the Da-Qing Empire According to the Manchu Archives, Fulgiyan Singgeri Aniya Duin Biya (i) DE (Narhun Bithe) Han Be Amba Soorin Toktobuha Tangse], *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 53, no. 1 (1994): 98-135.

<sup>53</sup> Kusunoki, *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū*, 174.

<sup>54</sup> Liu Xiaomeng, *Yeojin burageseo Manju gukgaro* [From a Jurchen Settlement to a Manchu State], Lee Hun, Lee Sun-ae, and Kim Seon-min, trans. (Seoul: Pureun yeoksa, 2013), 394-424.

fairs. Under such circumstances, external factors such as battling with the Chahars and the Ming dynasty and establishing relations with Mongol tribes played a crucial role as Hong Taiji strove to gain dominance. And during this period, the Manchu-Mongol relations underwent changes at an unprecedentedly new phase.

Under Nurhaci's reign, the Inner Mongolian tribes interacted with the Later Jin on fairly equal terms that allowed a certain degree of compromise. However, after Hong Taiji ascended to the position of Khan, the balance of power shifted to the Later Jin. Hong Taiji had the Manchus join forces with the Mongols, designated the Chahars and the Ming dynasty as their common enemy, and secured an advantage over the Khorchin Right Wing leader Ooba. Such changes in the Manchu-Mongol relations subsequently altered rituals involving the Inner Mongolian tribes in a way that would more prominently display Hong Taiji's authority. Meeting rites between the Manchu khan and the Mongol nobility grew standardized and hierarchical. A stark example of this new phase was the ceremony for Hong Taiji's enthronement as the Qing emperor. The embraces Nurhaci exchanged with Mongol nobles reflected how the Later Jin was in desperate need of allies. The act of kowtowing, then, was introduced to meeting rites as Hong Taiji began to dominate Inner Mongolian tribes and after the investiture rites in 1636, the act settled down in the form of three kneels and nine kowtows.

Through rituals, the Manchu regime attempted to visually highlight the Khan's superiority over the Mongol nobility and create a hierarchy among Mongol tribes to differentiate them based on their relative political importance. For instance, the Khorchins were an important ally to the Later Jin, but Hong Taiji's attitude toward its left wing and right wing was different. As leader of the Khorchin Right Wing, Ooba served as the representative of both wings to form intimate political and military relations with the Later Jin since Nurhaci's reign. However, from Hong Taiji's perspective, Ooba had to be subdued in order to increase his own influence over the Inner Mongolian tribes. To check Ooba, Hong Taiji strengthened his marriage ties with Manggus of the Khorchin Left Wing and displayed his intimacy with Manggus' family through rituals. After withdrawing his troops

without Hong Taiji's consent, Ooba eventually succumbed to pressure from Hong Taiji and personally traveled to Shenyang to kneel and embrace Hong Taiji's knees, viz., a gesture that symbolized his recognition of the Manchu khan's superiority.

In the process of monopolizing power, Hong Taiji actively recruited officials among the Han Chinese to refer to the Ming dynasty's institutional practices in reforming his own government. The investiture rites for the Manchu imperial family, Mongol nobles, Han Chinese generals, and empresses and royal concubines as well as the rules for greeting envoys, established around the time of Hong Taiji's enthronement ceremony, resembled Han Chinese traditions. These series of rituals and rules were further standardized and refined beyond 1644. Yet, rather than simply imitating the rites of the Ming dynasty, the Qing dynasty shaped them in more detail according to Manchu cultures, traditions, and politics instrumental to its relations with the Mongols.

As the Manchu regime redefined its relations with the Mongols, rituals not only reflected the dominance the Khan of the Later Jin gained over the Mongols, but also visually contributed to the expansion and reinforcement of the Khan's authority. The ritual of offering three kneels and nine kowtows served as a means to widely declare that the Manchu khan stood at the pinnacle of a political structure that encompassed both the Manchus and Mongols. The Manchu imperial family and the Mongol nobility were expected to take part in rituals in the order of seniority so as to demonstrate that the Manchus and the Mongols belonged to the same family. Meanwhile, such rituals revealed a distinct hierarchy among the Mongol nobles depending on their political importance and the level of intimacy with the Khan of the Later Jin, viz., a refined political ideology embedded in the new rituals at that time.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY

- Da, Lizhabu 達力扎布. *Ming dai Monan Menggu lishi yanjiu* 明代漠南蒙古歷史研究 [A Historical Study on Monan Mongols During the Ming Dynasty]. Hailar: Nei Menggu wenhua chubanshe 內蒙古文化出版社, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Ming Qing Menggushi lungao* 明清蒙古史論稿 [Historical Discourses on the Mongols of the Ming and the Qing Dynasties]. Beijing: Minzu chubanshe 民族出版社, 2003.
- Da Qing lichao shilu 大清滿洲實錄 [Veritable Records of the Qing Manchu]. Taipei: Taiwan huawen shuju yinxing 臺灣華文書局發行, 1964.
- Di Cosmo, Nicola, and Dalizhabu Bao. *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest: A Documentary History*. Leiden: Brill, 2003.
- Du, Jiaji 杜家驥. “Cong ruguan qian dangankan manzu baojian lisu” 從入關前檔案看滿族抱見禮俗 [A Review of Archival Records on Manchu Etiquettes and Customs Prior to 1644]. *Lishi dangan* 歷史檔案, no. 2: 81-83, 1998.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Qing chao Man Meng lianyin yanjiu* 清朝滿蒙聯姻研究 [A Study on Manchu-Mongol Marriages in the Qing Dynasty]. Beijing: Renmin chubanshe 人民出版社, 2003.
- Goryeo daehakkyo Minjong munhwa yeonguwon Manjuhak senteo Manju sillok yeokjuhoe 고려대학교 민족문화연구원 만주학센터 만주실록역주회, *Manju sillok yeokju* 만주실록 역주, trans. [An Annotated Translation of the Veritable Records of the Manchus]. Seoul: Somyeong chulpan 소명출판, 2014.
- Goryeo daehakkyo Minjong Munhwa Yeonguwon Manmunnodang Yeokjuhoe 고려대학교 민족문화연구원 만문노당 역주회, *Manmun nodang yeokju* 만문노당 역주, trans. [An Annotated Translation of the Old Manchu Chronicles], 4 vols. Seoul: Somyeong chulpan 소명출판, 2017.
- Guo, Chengkang 郭成康. “Huang Taiji dui Monan Menggu de tongzhi” 皇太極對漠南蒙古的統治 [Hong Taiji’s Rule Over Monan Mongolia]. *Zhongyang minzu xueyuan xuebao* 民族學院學報, no. 5: 3-9, 1987.
- Heuschert-Laage, Dorothea. “From Personal Network to Institution Building: The Lifanyuan, Gift Exchange and the Formalization of Manchu-Mongol Relations.” *History and Anthropology* 25, no. 5: 648-69, 2014.
- Hevia, James L. *Cherishing Men from Afar: Qing Guest Ritual and the Macartney*

*Embassy of 1793*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995.

Hudianguan 会典馆, ed. *Qinding Da Qing huidian: Lifanyuan* 欽定大清會典事例: 理藩院 [Imperially Endorsed Collected Statutes of the Great Qing: Lifanyuan]. Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe 中國藏學出版社, 2006.

Ishibashi, Takao 石橋崇雄. *Daecheong jeguk* 대청제국 [The Great Qing Empire]. Translated by Hong Sung-gu 홍성구. Seoul: Humanist 휴머니스트, 2009.

\_\_\_\_\_. *Daishin teikoku* 大清帝國 [The Great Qing Empire]. Tokyo: Kodansha 講談社, 2003.

\_\_\_\_\_. “清初の皇帝権の形成過程—特に 丙子四年四月<秘録>登ハン大位檔にみえる太宗ホンタイジの皇帝即位記事を中心として—” [The Formation of the Power of the Early Qing Emperors: The Significance of the Ascension of Hong Taiji as Emperor of the Da-Qing Empire According to the Manchu Archives, Fulgiyan Singgeri Aniya Duin Biya (i) DE (Narhun Bithe) Han Be Amba Soorin Toktobuha Tangse]. *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 東洋史研究 53, no. 1: 98-135, 1994.

Kanda, Nobuo 神田信夫, Matsumura Jun 松村潤, and Okada Hidehiro 岡田英弘, trans. *Naikokushiin tō: Tenchō hachinen* 舊滿洲檔 天聰九年 [Early Manchu Archives of the Imperial Historiographical Office: Eight Years of the Tiancong Era]. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 1972.

Kataoka, Kazutada 片岡一忠. “Chōga kitei kara mita Shinchō to gaihan, chōkō koku nokankei” 朝賀規定清朝外藩・朝貢國關係 [The Qing Dynasty System Through Policies toward Its Outer Feudatories and Tributaries]. *Komazawa shigaku* 駒澤史學, no. 52: 240-63, 1998.

Kim, Sung-soo 김성수. “17 segi cho Manmong gwangye wa naeryuk Asia: Manju-Horeuchin Monggol gwangye reul jungsimeuro” 17세기초 만몽 관계와 내륙아시아: 만주-호르친·몽골 관계를 중심으로 [The Manchu-Mongolian Relationship During the Early 17th Century: Focusing on the Manchu-Khorchin Mongol Relations]. *Jungguksa yeongu* 중국사연구, 82 (2013): 61-92.

Kusunoki, Yoshimichi 楠木賢道 et al., trans. *Naikokushiin tō: Tenchō hachinen* 內國史院檔 天聰八年 [Early Manchu Archives of the Imperial Historiographical Office: Eight Years of the Tiancong Era]. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 2009.

Kusunoki, Yoshimichi 楠木賢道. *Shinsho tai Mongoru seisakushi no kenkyū* 清初對モンゴル政策史の研究 [A Historical Study on Policies toward Mongols in the Early Qing]. Tokyo: Kyūko shoin 汲古書院, 2009.

- Li, Zhiguo 李治國. *Qingdai fanbu binli yanjiu: Yi Menggu wei zhongxin* 清代藩部賓禮研究: 以蒙古爲中心 [A Study on Qing Hospitality Rituals toward Outer Feudatories: With a Focus on the Mongols]. Huhehaote: Neimenggu daxue chubanshe 內蒙古大學出版社, 2014.
- Liu, Xiaomeng 劉小萌. *Yeojin burageseo Manju gukgaro* 여진부락에서 만주국가로 [From a Jurchen Settlement to a Manchu State]. Lee Hun 이훈, Lee Sun-ae 이선애, and Kim Seon-min 김선민, trans. Seoul: Pureun yeoksa 푸른역사, 2013.
- Manbun rōtō kenkyūkai 滿文老檔研究會. *Manbun rōtō* 滿文老檔 [The Secret Chronicles of the Manchu Dynasty], 7 vols. Tokyo: Tōyō Bunko 東洋文庫, 1955-63.
- Noh, Ki-shik 노기식. “Hong Taiji eui ban Rikdan Manmong yeonmaeng hwakdae wa iyong” 홍타이지의 반리단 滿蒙聯盟 확대와 이용 [The Expansion of the Manchu-Mongol Anti-Liqdan League and Hontaiji’s Exploitation]. *Junggukhak nonchong* 중국학논총, no. 13: 167-98, 2000.
- Oka, Hiroki 岡洋樹. “Shinchō kokka no seikaku to Mongoru ōkō” 清朝國家の性格とモンゴル王公 [The Characteristics of the Qing Dynasty and the Mongol Princes]. *Shiteki* 史滴, no. 16: 54-58, 1994.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Shindai Mongoru meiki seido no kenkyū* 清代モンゴル盟旗制度の研究 [A Study on the Mongol Banner System in the Qing Dynasty]. Tokyo: Tōhō shoten 東方書店, 2007.
- Qinding Da Qing huidian shili* 欽定大清會典事例 [Imperially Endorsed Collected Statutes of the Great Qing, with Administrative Precedents]. Taipei: Xinwenli chuban gongshe 新文豐出版公社, 1976.
- Qing Taizong shilu* 清太宗實錄 [Veritable Records of Emperor Taizong]. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju 中華書局, 1986.
- Qiu, Yuanyuan 邱源媛. *Qing qianqi gongting liyue yanjiu* 清前期宮廷禮樂研究 [Court Rites and Music in the Early Qing]. Beijing: Shehuikexue wenxian chubanshe 社會科學文獻出版社, 2012.
- Shimada, Masao 島田正郎. *Shinchō mōko rei no kenkyū* 清朝蒙古例の研究 [A Study on Rules for Mongols in the Qing Dynasty]. Tokyo: Sōbunsha 創文社, 1982.
- Tayama, Shigeru 田山茂. *Qing Dai Menggu shehui zhidu* 清代蒙古社會制度 [The Social Structure of the Mongols in the Qing Dynasty]. Pan Shixian 潘世憲,

trans. Beijing: Shangwu yinshuguan 商務印書館, 1987.

Wei, Ze 韋澤. “Manzu de baojianli” 滿族的抱見禮 [The Manchu Ritual of Embracing]. *Manyu yanjiu* 滿語研究, no. 1: 90-94, 2007.