surrender or to offer supplies will be vanquished. When the [Qing] generals arrive, the [Dalai Lama's] military accomplishments should be clearly recorded and rewarded before returning home.

I am dispatching this edict to clearly inform my loyal subjects that even those who might have previously been forced into rebelling will be pardoned without fear of further prosecution as long as they show remorse for their crimes and wholeheartedly surrender. The Dalai Lama's military forces must implement strict discipline and prevent any disturbance. You all should remain law-abiding and your actions not raise any suspicions and cause regrettable behavior.

Announce and follow my orders! Imperial decree 3rd day, 8th month, 13th year of the Kangxi reign.

## 1.4 QING RULERS PROMOTING AND PRESERVING MANCHU IDENTITY (1635–1850)

The Manchu rulers faced a complex set of issues as they conquered China and established the Qing dynasty. On one hand, they sought to adopt Chinese methods of imperial rule. On the other, they simultaneously sought to retain their distinctive cultural identity. Beginning with Hongtaiji (1592–1643) the founder of the Qing dynasty, Manchu rulers aggressively sought to maintain their own ethnic identity while preventing the assimilation of Han Chinese cultural practices. With frequent threats and harsh enforcement, the Manchu leadership aggressively promoted their distinctive language, dress, and martial skills among the Manchus. As part of their Manchu identity, they cultivated the notion that they shared an affinity with Mongol and Tibetan peoples and actively promoted themselves as patrons of Mongol and Tibetan culture. These measures helped to preserve Manchu unity while advancing the Manchu's desire to create a multiethnic and cosmopolitan empire.

#### Questions

- 1. Why did the Qing emperors place such a premium on Manchu identity? What elements did they most cherish?
- 2. Are pro-Manchu sentiments implicitly anti-Han Chinese?

### Hongtaiji on the Adoption of the Term Manchu (1635)

Our *gurun* (tribe, state) originally had the names Manju, Hada, Ula, Yehe, and Hoifa. Formerly ignorant persons have frequently called [us] *jušen*. The term *jušen* refers to the Sibo and Chaomergen barbarians and has nothing to do with our *gurun*. Our *gurun* establishes the name Manju. Its rule will be long and transmitted over many generations. Henceforth persons should call our *gurun* its original name, Manju, and not use the previous demeaning name.

#### Hongtaiji on Maintaining Manchu Traditions (1636)

Nowadays sons are only acquainted with roaming the streets and planning plays and music. In the old days when everyone was poor, we were happy if a hunt was announced. Very few had servants; everyone looked

over their horses, cooked food, and saddled up to go. Even with hard-ship everyone still unceasingly put forth their best effort. . . . Nowadays when there is a hunt, many youngsters say, "My wife or son is sick," or "I'm busy with affairs at home." If they're clinging to wife and babies and don't know how to exert themselves, how can the nation not be weakened?

## Qianlong on Manchu Women Adopting Chinese Style Clothing (1759)

When I inspected the *xiunii* [marriage draft] this time, there were girls who emulated Han Chinese clothing and jewelry. This is truly not the Manchu custom. If they do this before me, what is willfully worn at home? . . . Although this is a small matter, if we do not speak to correct it, there must gradually be a change in our customs, which are greatly tied to our old Manchu ways. Take this and have the banner high officials proclaim it to the **bannermen**.

### Qianlong on Manchus Adopting Chinese Names (1767)

Recently the Board of Rites nominated Manjishan, the son of Mamboo. The name Manjishan is really using "man" as a surname. I have changed Manjishan's name to Jishan. Jishan is a *juelo*, which is very prestigious. But Jishan doesn't honor this, instead he takes "man" as a surname, like Han people. Where's the principle in this? The Imperial Clan Court ought to pay attention to prevent this kind of thing.

## A Reminiscence by Yihuan (Prince Chun) on the Royal Family's Skill at Archery (c. early 1850s)

During the Xianfeng reign [1851–1861], I accompanied eighth brother . . . and ninth brother . . . to reside in the Agesuo. We would be summoned to test our literary and martial skills for glory or shame. One day the emperor ordered me, followed by fourth elder sister . . . to compete in archery. Eighth brother put four arrows into the cloth target, ninth brother thirteen arrows, and the emperor gave each of them a jade piece. I hit the target three times, but I was not rewarded. Instead, he ordered a tiny pigeon five *cun* [inches] in size to be hung and said to me, "if you hit this pigeon, you'll get a reward." At this point fourth sister bent her bow and took her first shot, hitting the target. I then shot and with my second arrow I hit it. I was summoned in front of the emperor and he personally handed me a jade lion.

# 1.5 QING'S 29 REGULATIONS FOR REORGANIZING TIBET (1792)

By the mid-seventeenth century, the Qing extended their political and military influence over Tibet. The depth, nature, and precise extent of Chinese control in Tibet waxed and waned over time, but there was almost continuous military and political presence in many areas of Tibet. The following document denotes the high-water mark of Chinese imperial influence (and aspirations). The document was drafted by Fukang'an (a Manchu general), Lama Kyiron Hutuktu (representing the Dalai Lama), and a representative of the Panchen Lama. The document

XIUNÜ—A selection process used by the imperial household to select Manchu women as partners for the Qing emperors and princes.

#### BANNERMEN (QIREN)—

"Banners" were large civilmilitary units, organized along ethnic (Manchu, Mongol, or Han) and hereditary lines, though during the Qing, the term "bannermen" became synonymous with being Manchu.

JUELO (GIORO)—Imperial kinsmen who, because of their relationship to the imperial line, received special treatment and titles.

#### DALAI LAMA—

Conventionally viewed as one of the two highest reincarnated lamas of Tibet's main Buddhist order (Gelugpa). Since the seventeenth century, the Dalai Lama has been the head of the Tibetan government based in Lhasa. In 1959, the Fourteenth Dalai Lama fled China and established a government in exile in neighboring India.

#### PANCHEN LAMA—A

reincarnated Tibetan
Buddhist religious leader in
Tibet's Gelugpa Buddhist
order, second only to the
Dalai Lama. The Panchen
Lama is traditionally
based at the Tashilhunpo
Monastery near Shigatse.