

关于卡尔梅克人 1771 年由沙俄到中国的回归

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最后向清朝归降的卫拉特人是生活在伏尔加河流域的卡尔梅克人。他们中的大多数人组成了土尔扈特部，也就是卡尔梅克人中人口最多的部落。卡尔梅克人的首领渥巴锡制定了率众逃离沙俄的计划。这支卡尔梅克人在渥巴锡的带领下于 1771 年 1 月启程前往准噶尔，于 1771 年 6 月到达。渥巴锡计划逃离沙俄的举动得到了一些卡尔梅克贵族的支持，如策伯克多尔济，班巴尔等。土尔扈特部的一个台吉舍楞在准噶尔叛乱惨败后于 1758 年逃入俄国境内，而此次他也在回归的队伍当中。到达俄国后不久，他成为了回归祖国的激励倡导者。许多采用俄国历史的研究者都对卡尔梅克人在迁移到 Jungaria 之前的东贵行动及在途中遇到的哈萨克人的重重阻碍进行了详细的描述。英国汉学家 Barkman 博士就卡尔梅克人最终抵达中国边境这一主题进行了全面的调查研究并指出：“来自哈萨克人和布鲁特人的沉重打击以及穿越中亚的长途跋涉使他们筋疲力尽，无力进入新疆，也忽视了中国在那一地区的统治力量。”

不同史料对到达 Jungaria 的卡尔梅克人的总数的估算也不同。蒙语版的清史“Ch'inting Wai Fan Meng-ku Hui pu wang Kung piao chuan”，名曰“Ilsekel Shastir”一书中指出有 3 万户卡尔梅克人离开了沙俄。我们在“Meng-ku yu mu chi”中也找到了与之相同的数字。据最权威的汉语资料《大清史录》记载“有 3 万 3 千户，约 16 万 9 千人离开沙俄，却只有半数（约 85000 人）到达中国。在对汉语资料，包括乾隆皇帝的讲话进行了认真研究的基础上 Ch. Baekman 得出了这一结论：“土尔扈特部回归中国的确切人口数字似乎是乾隆皇帝给出的，即约 85000 人，总之是少于 10 万人。如果回归的人数更多的话皇帝就会得意的提及此事。”他给出的数字与当代学者 A.Chernyshev 估计的约 8 万卡尔梅克逃亡者这一数字并无太大出入。

长入跋涉以使他们疲惫不堪，又由于各种原因损失近 10 万人，有被屠杀的，被俘虏的，还有死于寒冷、饥饿和感染疾病的。卡尔梅克人最终到达了 Jungaria 的边境地区，暂时停留在了一个靠近中国管辖范围的地方叫 Tamuha 的地方。伊犁部队统帅立刻派当地政府代表接见土尔扈特部已得知其回归原因，同时催促他们归降。

卡尔梅克人在清帝国边境的意外出现使得当地政府以及清中央政府都忧虑颇深。皇帝的一些臣子对这一好斗的游牧民族产生了怀疑。他们的忧虑是基于那些由沙俄返回的新定

居者会又将 **Jungaria** 作为其新得领土的扩张野心这一假设。因为有一位土尔扈特部的台吉舍楞也在回归的队伍当中。就是这位台吉在清军平定准噶尔叛乱的战争用“伪降计”杀害了清军副督统唐喀禄。所以清政府认为他是一个造反者，是先前叛逃沙俄的大清国的叛乱分子。

清当地政府采取了一些针对卡尔梅克人的预防措施：从喀尔喀蒙古和内蒙古调派增援部队前往伊犁地区。统帅色布腾巴勒珠尔受命与清廷将所有的军事力量集中在他的指挥之下，万一卡尔梅克人反抗当地政府，他将随时采取行动严惩那些卡尔梅克王公。但不久事实就证明了这些顾虑是站不住脚的，卡尔梅克人的归顺是真诚的。可汗渥巴锡及其亲信和人民归降清朝并向清朝皇帝保证了他们的忠诚。于是他们出现在了中国的领土之上。清政府见其情境悲惨便给予其援助。当地政府第一次给了他们生活必需品：牛、帐篷、米、茶叶、毛毡等。

得知卡尔梅克人回归的消息后，乾隆皇帝立刻派有经验的大臣与穆斯林部的 **Shu-ho-de** 一起前往伊犁与渥巴锡汗谈判。**Shu-ho-de** 当时在 **Ushi**(天山南部)。**Shu-ho-de** 之所以能发挥作用是因为清政府担心伊犁地区的军事政府可能无法妥善处理此事，在这种情况下 **Shu-ho-de** 就取代了伊犁督而被任命为军事政府。

清朝皇帝通过 **Shu-ho-de** 向渥巴锡汗和一些大台吉发出邀请。他邀请他们前往承德避暑山庄朝觐。那里是王室避暑的地方也是清王朝的第二座都城，那里还拥有大型的皇家猎场。

在卡尔梅克王公去承德之前，卡尔梅克人暂时栖身在蒙古西部和 **Jungaria** 一带伊犁军事政府和当地军事统帅色布腾巴勒珠尔把用来放牧的草场分配给了卡尔梅克人。在这之前清政府就警示过前者要让卡尔梅克人生活在国家的腹地而并非伊犁地区边境。清政府想避免卡尔梅克人在将来发动战争的可能性。

渥巴锡和一些重要的卡尔梅克王宫于乾隆 30 年（1771 年）6 月 15 日前到达承德并在木兰围场受到皇帝的接见。据“**Iledkel Shastir**”记载，当渥巴锡一行人等到达时，他们被邀请进入了皇帝的住所，乾隆皇帝正式接见了他们。他用蒙语和他们交谈，在得知了他们的真实想法以后，乾隆皇帝赐礼服给他们并命他们脱去毡服。

之后皇帝前往避暑山庄。这座规模宏大的宫殿特意建在承德郊区，用以举行接待游牧民族使节的重大仪式。当卡尔梅可望工们来到山庄并在山庄内享受御宴之时皇帝安排了一些庆祝仪式，晚上他还下令点亮各种各样的灯，燃放烟火，并赐给每位客人银、彩缎及许多贵

重礼物。

即将返程之时，渥巴锡献给皇帝两把宝刀：其中一把嵌有七颗宝石，另一把没有。他说那两把刀是他的曾祖父可汗阿育卡在 **Khongghor**（可能是北高加索地区）国时期传下来的。那位可汗在遗嘱中告诫子孙要为他们自己而世代保护好那两把刀。但渥巴锡却献出了这两把刀作为他们将永远成为大清臣民，永不发动战争的象征。渥巴锡和卡尔梅克贵族代表被授予了满族的封建头衔。渥巴锡被封为捉哩克图汗（意为英勇的汗）

卡尔梅克王公中的卡尔梅克喇嘛首领受到了清朝皇帝的最热情的接待。清朝皇帝还确保了卡尔梅克人的宗教信仰自由。

卡尔梅克人的自愿归顺被清政府看作是天之子这一政策的正面典范。在此情形下，乾隆皇帝赋诗几首以赞扬这一重大事件。

卡尔梅克人的愿望是重返文明，重返黄教盛行的国度。卡尔梅克官员归顺清朝使乾隆皇帝得以骄傲地宣称：“当我们神圣的王朝建立了新的统治以后，蒙古在我监督之下，也确保了他们中各部的和平与秩序，现在蒙古各部皆为我大清臣民。”

从沙俄到中国卡尔梅克人的回归有着悲惨的结果：伏尔加河西岸的卡尔梅克人没能随行。曾经团结一致的民族分裂了，被分成了两部分。他们后来的发展也是在不同的社会政治环境下进行的。

On the arrival of the Kalmyks from Russia to China in 1771

Ochirova Nina (Elista)

The last of the Oirats who surrendered to the Ching empire were the Kalmyks of the Volga region. The majority of them constituted the Torguts, the most numerous tribe among them. Ubashi, the vice-roy of the Kalmyk khanate arranged the flight of the most of it from Russia. Led by Ubashi this group of the Kalmyks departed for Jungaria in January of 1771 and arrived there in June of 1771. In this plans to leave Russia Ubashi was supported by some people of the Kalmyk aristocracy, such as Tsebek Dordzi, Bambar and some others. The Torgut tayishi Shereng who escaped to Russia in 1758 after the crushing defeat of the Jungar khanate, was also among them. Having arrived in Russia he later became a strong advocate of returning to his native land. The former events which took place in the Kalmyk khanate before the migration of the Kalmyks to Jungaria and many obstacles met on this march through the harsh Kazakh steppes are described in every detail by many researchers who used the Russian sources. The English Sinologue Ch.D.Barkman having thoroughly investigated this subject wrote about the Kalmyks who finally reached the Chinese border: “The terrible blow,s they had received at the hands of the Kazaks and Buruts... and the long trek through Central Asia had left them utterly exhausted and without the strength to force their way into Sinkiang and to ignore Chinese power in that region”

The total number of the Kalmyks who reached Jungaria is differently estimated in various sources. In the Mongolian version of the Ch'ing source "Ch'in ting Wai fan Meng-ku Hui pu wang kung piao chuan", named "Iledkel shastir", it is pointed out that more than 30 thousands of the Kalmyk tents (families) left Russia.ⁱ The same number we find in "Meng-ku yu mu chi".ⁱⁱ The most authoritative Chinese source "Ta Ch'ing shi-lu" says that 33000 families or 169000 people left Russia, of whom only one half (about 85000 people) reached China.ⁱⁱⁱ Having made a careful study of some Chinese sources, including the statement of the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, Ch. Barkman came to such a conclusion that "the likeliest number of Torghuts who reached China seems to be that given by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, i.e. approximately 85000, but in any case less than 100000 people. Had there been many more, the Emperor would have mentioned this with pride".^{iv} The figure given by him does not greatly differ from the estimation by the present-day author A. Chernyshev who evaluated the number of the Kalmyk fugitives as 80 thousands.^v

Worn-out by the hard journey and having lost tens of thousands of people for some reason or other: losses in the killed, the captives, those, who died of cold, hunger and infectious diseases, the Kalmyks reached the border of Jungaria at last and stopped over at a locality named Tamuha, near the Chinese watches. The representatives of the local authorities sent by Il'is military governor immediately came to them in order to find out the causes of their arrival and at the same time impel them to surrender.

The unexpected appearance of the Kalmyks on the border of the empire greatly worried both the local authorities and the central Ch'ing government. Some advisers of the emperor regarded the bellicose nomads with suspicion. Their apprehensions was based on the assumption that those newcomers from Russia could have harbored some expansionist designs concerning the newly-won territories in Jungaria in their minds. The more so, as there was a Torgut tayishi Shereng among them. It was the same taishi Shereng who had treacherously killed one Manchu high official Tankalu during the war with the Jungars. So he was considered by the Ch'ing authorities as an insurgent, a "rebellious subject" of the Ch'ing empire who had previously flown to Russia.

The local Ch'ing authorities took some preventive measures against the Kalmyks: supplementary troops were sent to the Ili region from Khalkha and Inner Mongolia. The commander-of-chief Sebden Baldzur received an order from the court to keep all the forces under his command ready to action and in case of their insubordination to the local authorities to punish the Kalmyk princes in a strict and severe way. But it soon became obvious that all these apprehensions were groundless, the submission of the Kalmyks was genuine. The khan Ubashi and his close surrounding with their common people had to surrender and to pledge their allegiance to the Ch'ing emperor. They were settled on the Chinese territory and the Ch'ing government lent them aid when it saw their disastrous situation. The local authorities gave them everything necessary for the first time: cattle, yurts (felt tents), rice, tea, fabrics and so on.

Having received the news about the Kalmyks arrival, the emperor Ch'ien-lung hurriedly dispatched his experienced adviser for the affairs with the Muslim tribes

Shu-ho-de to Ili to negotiate with the Kalmyk khan Ubashi. Shu-ho-de was at Ushi (in the south of T'ien-Shan mountains) at that time. Shu-ho-de's making use was caused by the fear that the military government of the Ili region I-lie-du might not be able to cope with the situation and on this ground Shu-ho-de was appointed as a military government (chien-chün) instead of I-lie-du.^{vi}

The emperor transmitted an invitation to the khan Ubashi and the principal tayishis though Shu-ho-de. He invited them to the audience with him to the Chengde Mountain Resort where the imperial court escaped the summer heat and which was actually an alternate capital of the Ch'ing dynasty. There also were vast hunting grounds of the imperial family there.

Before the Kalmyk princes went to Chengde the Kalmyks were settled on the territory of Western Mongolia and Jungaria. The allotting of the land among the nomads for pasture was carried out by the military governor of Ili I-lie-du and the commander-in-chief of the local military units Sebden Baldshur. Both of them were warned beforehand by the Ch'ing government that the Kalmyks had to be settled in the deepest regions inside the country, but not in the borderland of the Ili region. The government wanted to avoid any possibility of flight of the Kalmyks in the future.

Ubashi and several principal Kalmyk princes came to Chengde before the 15th day of the 6th month of the 36th year during Ch'ien-lung's reign (1771) and they were received by the emperor at the Mulan Imperial Hunting Ground. According to the "Iledkel shastir", "when Ubashi with his people came there, they were invited to the emperor's residence and the emperor granted an audience to them. He spoke Mongolian to them and after having asked them about their true thought, bestowed ceremonial dresses upon them and ordered to take off their felt clothes that they wore".^{vii}

Then the emperor proceeded to his magnificent country palace Bi-shu-shan-chuan which was specially built in the outskirts of Chengde for the solemn reception ceremonies of the envoys from the nomadic peoples. When the Kalmyk princes were brought to the palace and entertained at a banquet in Bi-shu-shan-guan, the emperor arranged festal ceremonies in the palace greenhouse and the palace shrine, and in the evening he commanded to set fire to various lanterns and fireworks and bestowed silver, colored silk and many other valuable presents upon every guest.^{viii}

The Kalmyk khan Ubashi, in his turn, presented the emperor two sabers: one of them was decorated by seven precious stones and the other was gilded. He said that those sabers had been taken off by his great-grandfather khan Ayuka from the country Khongghor (presumably the Northern Caucasus). That khan bequeathed his sons and grandsons to save those sabers for themselves from generation to generation, but Ubashi presented those sabers as a token of that he "became a subject of the Heavenly empire (i.e. China) for ever and he would not have to exhaust himself by wars". Ubashi and the representatives of the Kalmyk aristocracy were granted the Manchu feudal titles. The title of khan was reserved for Ubashi with conferring him the title of honour "Dzorigtu" ("The Brave").

The chief Kalmyk lama who was among the Kalmyk princes was most hospitably entertained by the Ch'ing emperor and assured that the Kalmyks could freely practice

their religion.

The voluntary submission of the Kalmyks (the Torguts) was regarded at the Ch'ing court as a sure sign of the excellent rule of the Son of Heaven. On this occasion the emperor Ch'ien-lung wrote a memorial and verses where he glorified such an important event.

The wish of the Kalmyks to “return to civilization”, to “the country where the Yellow Church flourishes”, their official submission to the Ch'ing dynasty allowed the emperor Ch'ien-lung to state with pride: “After Our Heavenly Dynasty established the new rule, taking the Mongols under its wardship and restoring peace and order among them, all the Mongol tribes became our subjects now”.

The exodus of the Kalmyks from Russia to China had tragic consequences: the Kalmyk khanate on the Volga river was liquidated, the once unified people was split and divided into two parts. Their subsequent development continued in different socio-political conditions.

ⁱⁱ Men-gu-yu-mu-tsz. *Zapiski o mongol'skikh kochev'iakh*. Translated by P.S. Popov. St. Petersburg, 1895, P. 144.

ⁱⁱⁱ Barkman, C.D., *op. cit.*, p. 107.

^{iv} Barkman, C.D., *op. cit.*, p. 107.

^v Chernyshev A.J., *O perekochevke volzhskikh kalmykov v Dzhungariiu v 1771 godu.-in: XV-aia nauchnaia konferentsiia “Obshchestvo i gosudarstvo v Kitae”*. Tezisy dokladov. Chast' 2. Moskva, 1984, p. 160.

^{vi} *Iledkel shastir*, ch. 101, folio 27.

^{vii} *Iledkel shastir*, ch. 101, folios 30-30v.

^{viii} *Iledkel shastir*, ch. 101, folio 31 v.