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**Camille IMBAULT-HUART**

**THE CHINESE  
CONQUEST OF  
TURKESTAN  
1758-1760**

Official account of  
**The Chinese conquest of Turkestan (1758-1760)**

from :

Official account of  
**THE CHINESE CONQUEST OF  
TURKESTAN (1758-1760)**

translated from Chinese and annotated  
by **Camille IMBAULT-HUART (1857-1897)**

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Inscription recalling the pacification of the Mohammedan tribes, engraved on the Yarkand stele
  
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## FOREWORD

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p.087 This account is translated verbatim from the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lio*, Description of the *New Frontiers* (Dzongarie and Chinese Turkestan), written and published by order of the emperor *Tao-Kouang*, a very important work of which we have already given a brief analysis. (102 ). Compiled from the empire's archives by the commission that presided over the drafting of the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lio*, it is absolutely authentic and has the value of an official report or document: as such, it cannot fail to be of the greatest interest to those concerned with the history of China and Turkestan.

It is well known that in China the official history of a dynasty, destined to appear in the annals of the empire, is only written and brought to light after the dynasty has ceased to reign: the statutes of the State, as well as precedents and traditions, are formally opposed to the publication of the incomplete history of a family still reigning. As the Tartar-Manchu dynasty of the *Ts'ing*, currently in control of China's destiny, has been on the throne since 1644, we have only dubiously authentic information on events, wars, etc., that have taken place since that time (103 ). The work in question, drawn p.088 from the most authoritative sources, to which no one, without the permission of the Son of Heaven, can have access, gives us the substance of the pages which will later be devoted, in the Chinese annals, to the campaigns of the armies of the emperor *K'ien-loung* in Turkestan. It very happily corroborates, completes and rectifies in certain points our knowledge of this period of history which we owe mainly to the French missionaries, then in favour at the court of Peking and contemporaries of the events they recounted in the style and manner of writing the history of their time (104 ).

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The importance of these corrections can be seen by examining the notes, of which there are perhaps too many, which we felt would shed light on our text.

It is important to add that this piece is written in the best Chinese historical style, sober and concise, but always precise and clear, free from the literary allusions that often make Chinese works so difficult to read: it is the model of its kind ([105](#)).

A historian of the present dynasty, *Oueï Yuan* ([106](#)), who by virtue of his position was able to consult the documents kept at the office of the historiographers, also devoted a chapter of his work, the *Cheng vou ki*, to the account of the campaigns in Turkestan. In some respects, his work is more complete than that of the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-liao* commission. We shall one day publish a translation.

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[THE OFFICIAL STORY]

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In the twenty-second year of *K'ien-loung* (1757), after the pacification of the *Ili* ([107](#)), difficulties arose on the Mohammedan borders (in Turkestan).

When the Dzungars exercised their tyrannical authority over the Mohammedan tribes ([108](#)), the leader of the Mohammedans was *Mohammed* ([109](#)); for generations, his family had lived in the two cities of Kachgar and Yarkand ([110](#)) and were respected by all. *Galdan Tseriyng* ([111](#)) called him to his side and had him thrown into prison. He also imprisoned *Mohammed's* two sons, the elder *Bourhân-uddin* ([112](#)) and the younger *Khodjo-Djân* ([113](#)). It was to them that the names Great and Little *Khodja* ([114](#)) were given.

By the time our army pacified the *Ili*, *Mohammed* was already dead. *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân* came to meet our troops to make their submission. Marshal *Pan-ti* ([115](#)) asked the emperor for authorisation to set them free: he had *Bourhân-uddin* escorted back to Kachgar so that he could administer his former subjects, and he invited *Khodjo-Djân* to stay and maintain order among the Mohammedans living in *Ili*.

Both brothers were untrustworthy: *Khodjo-Djân* proved more disloyal than *Bourhân-uddin*. During *Amur-Sana's* revolt ([116](#)), *Khodjo-Djân* helped *Amur-Sana* and attacked the *Taidji* and *Tsaisang* ([117](#)) who were supporting the emperor.

When *Amoursana*, defeated, fled to the *Khassaks* ([118](#)), *Khodjo-Djân* found a way to take refuge in Yarkand with a view to stirring up the Mohammedans. At that moment, *Tchao-'houei* ([119](#)), Marshal of the *Ili*, sent *Amintaô* ([120](#)), Brigadier General of the Manchu troops, with a mission to go to the Mohammedan cities and examine the state

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of affairs. *Khodjo-Djân* seized *Amintaô* and had him put to death.

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Then, together with *Bourhân-uddin*, he occupied the city of *Yarkand* and openly rebelled. Both of them invited the other Mohammedan cities to submit to them and they waited for their call to be answered.

In the spring of the twenty-third year (1758), *Yarkhachan* ([122](#)), a marshal with the title of *ts'ing-ni* ([123](#)), set out at the head of our army to punish them. In the fifth month, he arrived in front of the town of *Kou-tché*, which he attacked, but without success ([124](#)). *Khodjo-Djân* came to the rescue of the town with the people of *Chayarh* ([125](#)). *Ts'ebouteng Tchabou*, prince of *Kalkas* ([126](#)), went to meet him and built *Khorkhos* ([127](#)); there he took prisoner a *tsaisang* named *Ouotchot'o*. The brigadier general of the Manchu troops *Aïlounga* ([129](#)) again reached *Khodjo-Djân* on the banks of the river *Oken* ([130](#)) and made a great slaughter of the rebels. In this encounter *Khodjo-Djân* lost his standard. This battle has been called the victory of *Khorkhos* ([131](#)).

*Khodjo-Djân* withdrew with his disbanded soldiers to the town of *Kou-tché*, closed the gates and prepared to defend it. Shortly afterwards, at the head of four hundred horsemen, he took advantage of the night to break through the lines of the besiegers and flee in a westerly direction.

In the seventh month, our army recaptured the town of *Kou-tché* ([132](#)). *Mahmoud* ([133](#)), former bey of *Chayar*, surrendered the town of *Chayar*, and *Akouas* ([134](#)) and *Pokai* ([135](#)), Mohammedans from *Sairim*, surrendered the latter town. At this point, *Yarkhachan* was punished for having shown

p.090 too indulgent towards the rebels ([136](#)) and *Tchao-'houei*, a marshal with the title of *ting-pien* ([137](#)), replaced him.

In the eighth month, the army of *Tchao-'houei* arrived at *Tchorkotcho* ([138](#)) and retook *Khoten*: the former bey *Khodjîs* ([139](#)) brought the cens of the population and the submission of the town ([140](#)).

This *Khodjîs* was from a highly respected family in *Ouché*; he had distinguished himself in the past by accompanying the army that had defeated and made



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prisoner *Dawatchi* ([141](#) ). When *Khodjo-Djân* had come to the aid of *Kou-tché*, he had urged *Khodjîs* to take sides with the rebels and had invited him to reside at *Aksou* to await events. When he returned beaten, the people of *Aksou* *did* not receive him; so *Khodjîs* urged him to go to *Ouché*. At the head of his men, *Khodjo-Djân* arrived in front of this town, which also closed its gates to defend itself. The inhabitants of these two towns then offered their submission to the Marshal. This is how *Aksou* and *Ouché* were recaptured ([142](#) ).

In the ninth month, our army headed for *Yarkand*. *Khodjo-Djân* defended the city with four thousand cavalry and six thousand infantry. In addition, *Bourhân-uddin*, with three thousand cavalry and two thousand infantry, came from *Kachgar* to join him. They drove all the people from the countryside back into the city, cut off all the rice fields, dug wide ditches near the city and built high towers (redoubts) in order to resist ([143](#) ).

On the sixth day of the second month, our army arrived in front of *Yarkand* ([144](#) ). *Tchao-'houei* and his officers kept up the ardour of the troops and divided them into corps of the centre, the left wing and the right wing. Each corps had a vanguard and a rearguard. *Tchao-'houei*, at the head of the officers of the imperial guard, *Oche*, *Fou Ling-an*, etc., commanded the central corps; his vanguard was led by *Ming-joueï* ([148](#) ), military sub-governor; his rearguard, by *Kaô Tien-chi*, brigadier general of the Chinese troops. On the left wing, *Omoupou*, brigadier general of the Manchu troops, commanded the vanguard; *Aïlounga*, brigadier general of the Manchu troops, the rearguard. On the right wing, *Yéoudoun*, brigadier general of the Manchu troops, commanded the vanguard; *Touan tsipou*, general supervisor, the rearguard; *Mandjortou* ([155](#) ), honoured with the title of *Batourou* ([156](#) ), the Eleuthe, *Tasi Ts'erigng*, chamberlain of the imperial guard, the ambush troops.

The army lined up in battle to the east of the town. The troops of the two wings and of the ambush moved forward and took the towers (redoubts). From each of the eastern and western gates came out four

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or five hundred rebel horsemen. The army remained motionless, in battle order, in front of them. Ten officers led by *Omoupou* and *Ming-joueï* led the best troops against them. The rebels came out (of the town) in even greater numbers, but they were defeated in three battles. Once again, three or four hundred horsemen came out of the northern gate to attack us from the rear: they were stopped by *Yéoudoun*, who killed a large number of them and prevented them from advancing. The battle lasted from six in the morning until four in the evening. Defeated, the rebels returned to the town to defend it ([160](#)).

The spies having given notice that the cattle and baggage of the rebels were on the mountain *Ingge dsipan* ([161](#)) to the south of the town, it was decided to change the camp in order to divide the forces of the rebels. On the thirteenth day, *Tchao-'houeï* sent *Aïlounga* to occupy the road to Kachgar by which help could come, then, from the east of the city, he moved his camp, bypassing the walls, to attack the southern part. Our troops began to cross the *Khara-ousou* ([162](#)); barely four hundred horsemen had crossed when the bridges broke and a mass of around ten thousand rebels advanced to give battle.

*Tchao-'houeï* divided his troops into three corps: he himself placed himself in the centre; *Yéoudoun* placed himself on the right, and *Omoupou* on the left. The three corps moved together and attacked the enemy from the front and the rear. The defeated rebel cavalry returned to harass our army on the flanks, but the horses no longer had enough strength and could no longer gallop. *Kaô Tien-chi*, brigadier general of the Chinese troops, *Sanko*, brigadier general of the Manchu troops, *Oche* and *T'ot'oungô*, officers of the imperial guard, killed a large number of these rebels. This was the battle of *T'oungkouslouk* ([165](#)).

Our army crossed the *Khara-ousou* again and headed east, where it firmly established itself in a huge camp ([166](#)). The rebels dug ditches to divert the waters, but our troops resisted them as circumstances dictated. While digging in the middle of the camp, our soldiers found silos filled with grain; they

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also collected a lot of bullets and cannonballs. By the third intercalary month, the troops did not appear to be starving and had retained all their vigour. This was known as the siege of the Black River.

Shortly before, the emperor *Kao-tsoung-choan* (168), considering ; that *Tchao-'houei* and *Fou-tô* (169) had been in the army for a long time and that their mothers were advanced in age, had appointed Count *Namoutchari* (170), a marshal with the title of *ts'ing-ni*, and the ministry director *San-t'ai* (171), a military deputy governor, to go and replace *Tchao-'houei* and *Fou-tô*.

They arrived at the Black River and were defeated (172). *Ailounga* had returned to *Aksou*; together with *Choukhedé* (173), military sub-governor of *Aksou*, he came to the rescue with an army. Sub-marshal *Fou-tô* joined them.

On the sixth day of the first month of the twenty-fourth year (1759), they arrived at *Khourman* (174) and defeated *Khodjo-Djân* who had come to meet them and fought against them. The next day, the rebels again occupied high hills to resist our army. *Fou-tô* attacked them with impetuosity, and the battle lasted a day and a night.

On the eighth day, the rebels advanced on all sides to halt our advance. Our army marched in battle order, forded the river of *Yarkand* and then, turning around, once again fought a battle that lasted a day and a night.

Meanwhile, *Alikoun* (175), military deputy governor, came from *Barkoul* at the head of a thousand horses to join the army. *Alikoun* and *Opoche* divided their troops into two corps and brilliantly attacked the rebels, who were terrified and scattered. These two officers then joined forces with *Fou-tô*. From then on, our imposing army inspired great terror.

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*Nousan* and *Opoche*, at the head of the right wing, attacked the rebels, while *Alikoun* and *Aïlounga* took them from behind with the left wing, and *Fou-tô*, with the central corps, gave battle to them at the same time. More than a thousand rebels were killed. *Bourhân-uddin* was shot in the side: he was taken seriously wounded into the town.

On the fourteenth day, the siege (of the camp on the Black River) was lifted and our army, led by its chiefs, returned to *Aksou* (178).

When *Tchao-'houei* had first attacked *Yarkand*, he had detached *Tsiring-tchabou* and *Kobouchou*, officers of the <sup>p.093</sup> imperial guard, as well as the Mohammedan chief *Huduï*, to go and invite *Khoten* and the six towns dependent on it to submit (181). When the camp on the Black River was besieged, *Khodjo-Djân* sent one of his followers *Abdou Kerim*, with about six hundred men, to travel between *Khoten* and *Yarkand*, to make incursions and harass the first of these towns; *Tsiringtschabou* and his officers divided up to defend the three towns of *Ylitsi*, *Kharakhach* and *Ouroung khach*. As for the other three towns, they sided with the rebels (183).

When our army returned to *Aksou*, the brigadier generals of the Manchu troops *Batoutsirkhar* (185), *Hourki* (186), etc. were sent to *Tsiringtchabou's* aid; (when they arrived), they attacked the rebels by surprise under the cover of a thick fog, and had the heads of the rebel chiefs *Abdou'kailik* (187) and *Khodjias* (188) cut off in front of the battle lines; the rest fled. *Khoten* was recaptured (189).

In the sixth month, our army set out from *Aksou* (190) and advanced by different routes. *Tchao-'houei*, passing through *Ouché*, took the road to *Kachgar*; *Fou-tô*, passing through *Khoten* took the road to *Yarkand* (191). *Bourhân-uddin* fled from this town to *Kashgar*. There he took away some cattle, expelled a thousand inhabitants, crossed the mountains and headed west.

On the third day of the sixth intercalary month, *Ming-jouei*, at the head of the vanguard, took the country as far as *Yk'os* (192). Six chiefs,

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including *Kharatohko* and *Tsimor* ([193](#) ), came to submit to him. We advanced as far as the town of *Kashgar*. The Mohammedan inhabitants came to meet our troops, knelt down and offered oxen and wine. *Kashgar* was thus recaptured.

The former beys of *Yarkand* surrendered the city. *Yarkand* was thus recaptured ([194](#) ).

The two brothers, leaders leaders, wanted to throw themselves into the *Badakhchan* ([195](#) ), their supporters wanted to take refuge in *Andjidjan* ([196](#) ). They were unable to reach an agreement.

*Ming-joueï*, at the head of the vanguard, reached the rebels at *Khoskhoulouk* ([197](#) ); the latter hid their baggage and their women, and, numbering six thousand, climbed the heights to resist. Our army attacked, fought furiously for six hours and cut off the heads of several hundred rebels.

p.94 The others fled in the direction of *Badakhshan*. Believing that our soldiers were pursuing them, they stopped and set up an ambush between the two mountains of *Artchour* ([198](#) ). Then, with troops of poor appearance, they tried to attract our soldiers.

At that moment, our entire army arrived. *Fou-tô* commanded the central corps, assisted by *Khodjîs*, prince of the third class, *Hudui*, duke, and *Touansipou*, troop commander. *Ming-joueï* and *Akoueï* ([199](#) ), military sub-governors, led the left wing, assisted by *Opoche*, troop commander. *Alikoun* and *Barou*, military sub-governors, assisted by *Oumoupou*, troop commander, led the right wing. *Hourki* and *Yéoudoun*, troop commanders, led the elite troops on the left and right. *Ortengo*, *Laôkok'obeisat*, etc., officers of the imperial guard, honoured with the title of *batourou*, commanded the reserves. *Tsiringtchabou* formed the rear guard. The battle lines having been solidly laid out, the army advanced like a wall.

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Then the two mountains on the left and right, which the rebels occupied, were taken by the elite corps on the left and right. Having taken control of the heights, they drove the rebels back down and killed many of them. The rebels, unable to hold out, scattered in disorder. At this sight, the soldiers of the rearguard of the reserves and the vanguard of the right wing rushed forward, competing in ardour with the corps in the centre. The left wing, right wing and centre rearguard charged with equal force. The attack was made with the greatest bravery. The rebels were unable to resist and fled in all directions. Our troops pursued them for about twenty *li* and killed a good number of them. They seized countless weapons and standards.

However, the rebels gathered again and, defending a high peak, tried to resist. While the troops of the left and right wings attacked them head-on, the elite corps of the two wings and the reserves secretly turned the heights and at the same time took them from behind. In addition, the corps in the centre detached a few troops who were ordered to pretend to loot the baggage in order to attract the rebels to that side.

p.95 The rebels, terrified, crossed the heights and fled. Then the corps in the centre, followed by the right wing, rushed forward and killed them; with the left wing, the troops attacked in this way simultaneously in front and behind. The flight turned into a rout. We more than four thousand rebels were massacred and dozens of beys taken prisoner ([203](#)).

In the seventh month (September 1759), our troops, pursuing the rebels, arrived at *Siri-koul*, otherwise known as *Yéchi koul nor* ([204](#)). *Bourhân-uddin*, who had fled with the first two hundred men, occupied the hills to the west of the lake; he had established his refuge there. *Khodjo-Djân*, pressing before him a mass of about ten thousand men, had taken refuge on the mountains to the north of the lake; he also held and guarded the peaks to the east.

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*Fou-tô* first ordered *Alikoun* to run straight for the western hills via the southern shore of the lake; then he himself attacked the rebels via the eastern peaks. The rebels were confident in their position and the natural obstacles it presented. Our army rushed to the attack and even mounted large cannons on the heights; but as the attack remained unsuccessful after several hours of fighting, *Fou-tô* chose several dozen skilful riflemen who climbed the heights by passing to the north of the mountains and attacked the rebels who were on the summits of the peaks. Then he sent *Khodjîs* and *Huduï* to plant Mohammedan banners on the peaks and order the recently subjugated Mohammedans to shout at the rebels to surrender.

Suddenly several thousand Mohammedans on the mountains, holding their children by the hand, cried out for submission. The noise they made was like thunder. They were scattered in the mountains, hidden in the heights, and they ran down. *Khodjo-Djân* could not stop them; he only struck several of them with his sabre. This only increased the number of fleeing men.

When *Alikoun* had run to the southern shore of the lake, he had found sheer rocky outcrops. The horsemen could not advance there, so he marched on foot at the head of his soldiers and climbed the heights, shouting loudly. With firearms he attacked the rebels on the northern mountains from afar.

The base of these heights is bathed by the lake. There, the path is p.96 narrow, allowing only one car or one person to pass at a time. rider. Many of the rebels' baggage and servants blocked the riverbank. Separated from the rebels by the river, he spent the night fighting the enemy from afar; it was impossible for him to climb the heights.

The next day, with much lamentation, the rebels demanded that their submission be accepted. The number of those who surrendered was about twelve thousand. A standard and a Mohammedan sword were taken from them, along with more than ten thousand head of cattle ([205](#)).

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*Khodjo-Djân* took advantage of the night to go round the mountains and flee to *Badakchan* with *Bourhân-uddin*. *Fou-tô* sent an emissary to inform the khan of this country, *Sultan Shah* (206), of the crimes of the two rebel chiefs and enjoined him to take them prisoner and hand them over to him (207).

*Sultan Shah* hastened to bind *Bourhân-uddin*, then, with his troops, surrounded *Khodjo-Djân* on Mount *Alkhoun tchou-kha* (208). The rebels withdrew to the banks of the river *Boo tsinar* (209). *Sultan Shah* advanced with his men. The rebels were unable to resist and were wounded in the back, legs and chest (210). They were taken prisoner and imprisoned in *Tchaidjab* (211), a place used as a prison in *Badakhshan*.

*Sultan Shah* then sent one of his men to the Marshal to offer his submission. He had *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân* put to death. The body of *Bourhân-uddin* having been stolen, he only then delivered, in an envelope, the head of *Khodjo-Djân* (212). He came to make his submission at the head of one hundred thousand families of his tribe and thirty thousand families of *Bolor* (213).

In the second month of the twenty-fifth year (1760), the army of the west returned victorious (214).

In the thirtieth year (1766), *Sou Tch'eng* (215), governor of *Ouché*, and *Abdullah, Hakim bey*, whose administrative principles were flawed, mistreated the Mohammedan population.

In the second month, the bey *Kaihemtoula* (218) and several others took advantage of the situation to stir up trouble. They massacred the civil servants and officers and, once in control of the town, revolted openly. *Ming-joueï*, Marshal of *Ili*, put down this revolt. On the fifteenth day of the eighth month, our army entered the city. *Uché* was once again pacified (219).

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## APPENDIX I

### List of descendants of the prophet Mohammed, several of whom reigned in East Turkestan

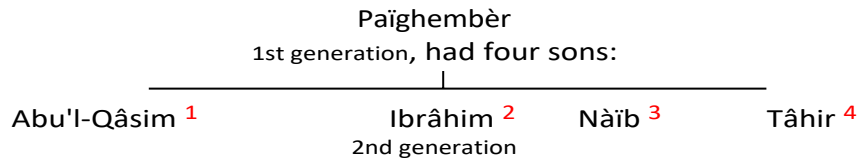
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p.97The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* gives, in book XI, p. 7, recto, and following under the title of 派噶木巴爾族屬, the genealogy of the descendants of the *Païghembèr* or prophet Mahomet<sup>1</sup>. We published it in 1881, according to a summary of the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* written in German by Klaproth which exists in manuscript at the Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (Fonds chinois), in our work entitled [\*Recueil de documents sur l'Asie centrale \(appendice II, p. 64 à 67.\)\*](#) The comparison of this work with the actual text of the Dictionnaire géographique et biographique de l'Asie centrale, which we did not possess at the time, and the observations, remarks, etc., which we owe to M. Clément Huart, drogman at the French embassy in Constantinople, particularly with regard to the names in 'houei cited by the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, have enabled us to rectify Klaproth's spelling and transcriptions very happily. We therefore believe it useful to reproduce here, with the necessary corrections, the genealogy in question. p.098

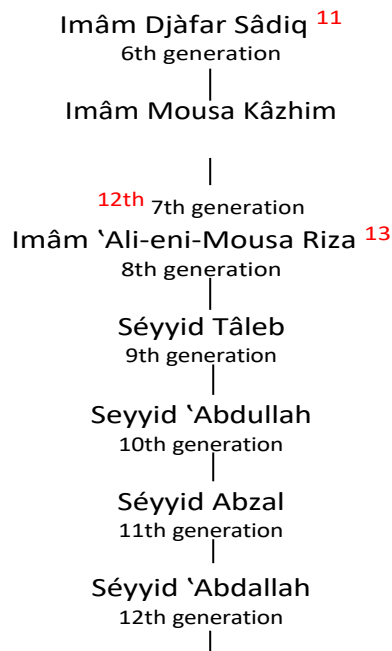
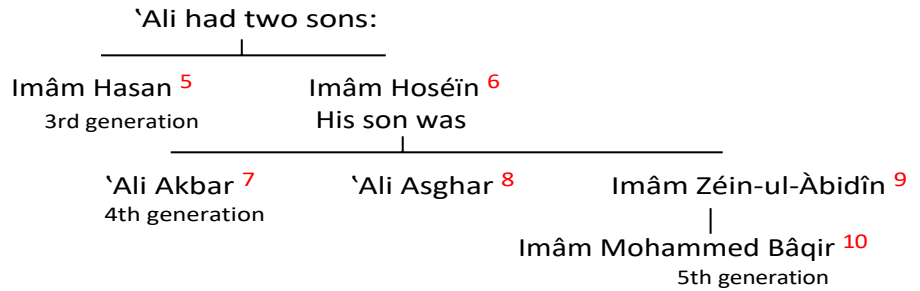
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<sup>1</sup> *Païghembèr*, a Persian word meaning *envoy or prophet*, is transcribed into Chinese as 派噶木巴爾, 派罕巴爾 et 別請拔爾 and explained by 天使, sent from heaven (*Si-yu t'oung ouen tché; Cheng-vou-ki*, etc.). The *Ming che* (Annals of the Ming) transcribes Mahomet as 謨罕壽德 and *païghembèr* as 別請拔爾 (*Ming che, Si-yu tchouan*, Description de l'Asie centrale).

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`Ali  
 son of Abu-Tâleb, who had the same grandfather as Païghembèr ;  
 As the four sons of the Païghembèr all died young, the Prophet gave his  
 daughter in marriage to `Ali, who spread the (Muslim) religion.

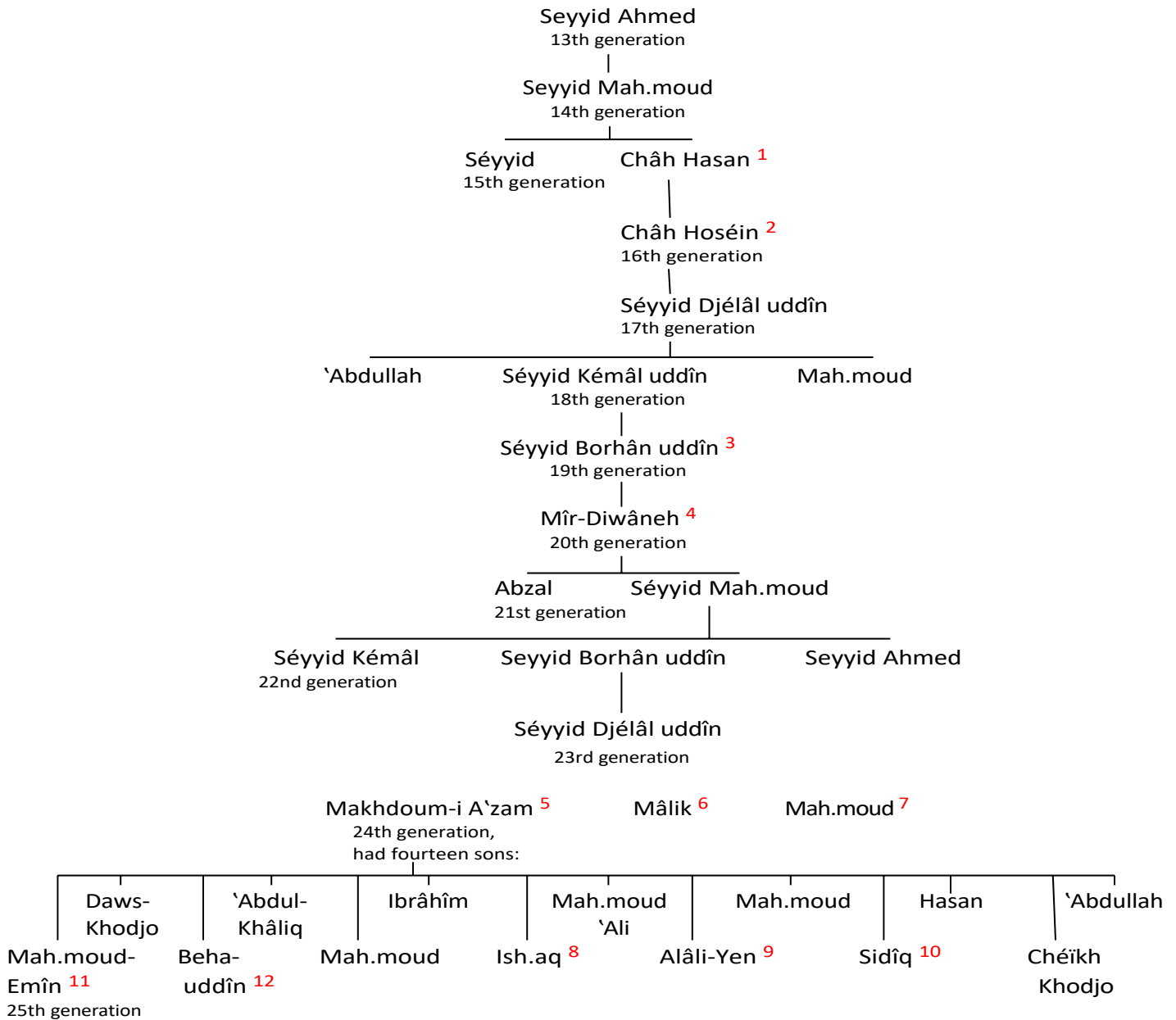


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- <sup>1</sup> In Arabic: the father of Qâsim. This is one of Mohammed's nicknames.
  - <sup>2</sup> Arabic name for Abraham.
  - <sup>3</sup> (Manchu and Mongolian *Taib*) *Naïb*, Arabic: lieutenant, vicar.
  - <sup>4</sup> (Restored from Mongolian), a fanciful spelling of the proper name Tahir, meaning *pure*.
  - <sup>5</sup> (Manchu-Mongol: Imam asan) Imâm Hasan, eldest son of `Ali and one of the imâms recognised by the Shi'ite sect.
  - <sup>6</sup> Imâm Hoséïn, brother of Imâm Hasan, killed at Kerbéla.
  - <sup>7</sup> `Ali Akbar, `Ali the great.
  - <sup>8</sup> `Ali Asghar, `Ali the little one.
  - <sup>9</sup> Imâm Zéin-ul-àbidîn, name of the fourth imâm of the Shiites.
  - <sup>10</sup> Imâm Mohammed, fifth imâm.
  - <sup>11</sup> Imâm Djàfar Sâdiq, sixth imâm.
  - <sup>12</sup> Imâm Mousa Kâzhim, seventh imâm.

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<sup>13</sup> Imâm 'Ali-bin Moura Ridha (Riza), eighth imâm and son of the previous imâm.

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<sup>1</sup> King Hasan.

<sup>2</sup> King Hoséin.

<sup>3</sup> Read Séyyid Borhâm-uddîn.

<sup>4</sup> The 'houei' is illegible. It looks like Mindi-Uanèh. Reading Mîr-Diwânèh, it would mean, in Persian, the Mad Amir.

<sup>5</sup> Read, according to Mongolian, Makhdoum-i A'zam, 'the great master'.

<sup>6</sup> Mâlik, in Arabic: prince, governor.

<sup>7</sup> Empty above.

<sup>8</sup> Arabic name for Isaac.

<sup>9</sup> Mongolian and Manchu: Alalyen.

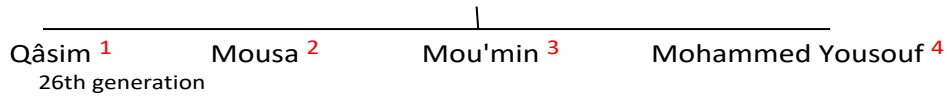
<sup>10</sup> Perhaps Siddîq, *the Truthful*, Abu-Bekr's nickname.

<sup>11</sup> Mah.moud, the man you can trust.

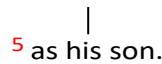
<sup>12</sup> The 'houei' gives Bâhâ-oudîn, for Béha-uddîn, splendour of religion (?). The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tché* adds here: "the twelve branches, from Béha-uddin to Abdullah, went to live in the regions of Bokhara and Indoustan: we have no information on the genealogy of their sons and grandsons."

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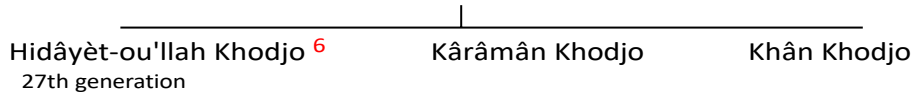
Mah.moud Emîn, eldest son of Makhdoum-i A`zam, had for son



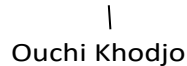
Daws Khodjo, second son of Makhdoum-i A`zam, had Mous.t.afâ



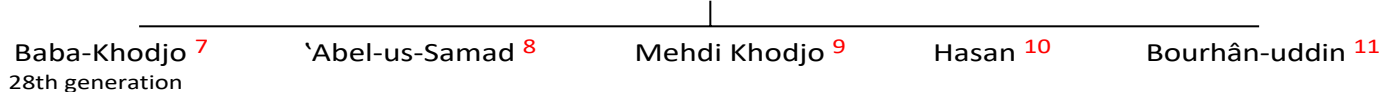
Mohammed Yousouf, fourth son of Mah.moud Emin, had for son



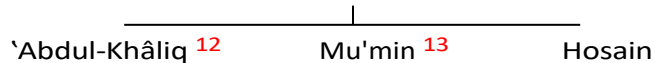
Mous.t.afa, son of Daws Khodjo, had for son



Hidâyèt-ou'llah Khodjo, Mohammed Yousouf's eldest son, had as his son



Kârâmân Khodjo, second son of Mohammed Yousouf, had the following sons



<sup>1</sup> Empty above, 2nd generation. The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* adds: Qâsim and Mousa went to settle in Bokhara: we have no information on the genealogy of their sons and grandsons.

<sup>2</sup> Arabic name for Moses: "His descendants settled in Balkh: we have no information on the genealogy of his sons and grandsons".

<sup>3</sup> For Mou'min, a true believer, a faithful Muslim.

<sup>4</sup> Yousouf, Joseph. According to the *Si-yu chouei tao-ki*, book I, p. 3, Mohammed Yousouf went to settle in *Kashgar*: "It is from this period that the origin of the religion of Islam in *Kashgar* dates". (*loc. cit.*)

<sup>5</sup> Mous.t.afâ, the chosen one (of God).

<sup>6</sup> The *'houei'* gives: H.iclayatou-'llah Khodjo; Arabic, read Hidâyèt-ou'llah Khodjo (a Deo datus magister).

<sup>7</sup> Mongolian and Manchu: Yaya Khodjo.

<sup>8</sup> The *'houei'* gives: *'abdo Samat*, read `Abd-us-Samad.

<sup>9</sup> His descendants settled in Indoustan: we have no information on the genealogy of his sons and grandsons.

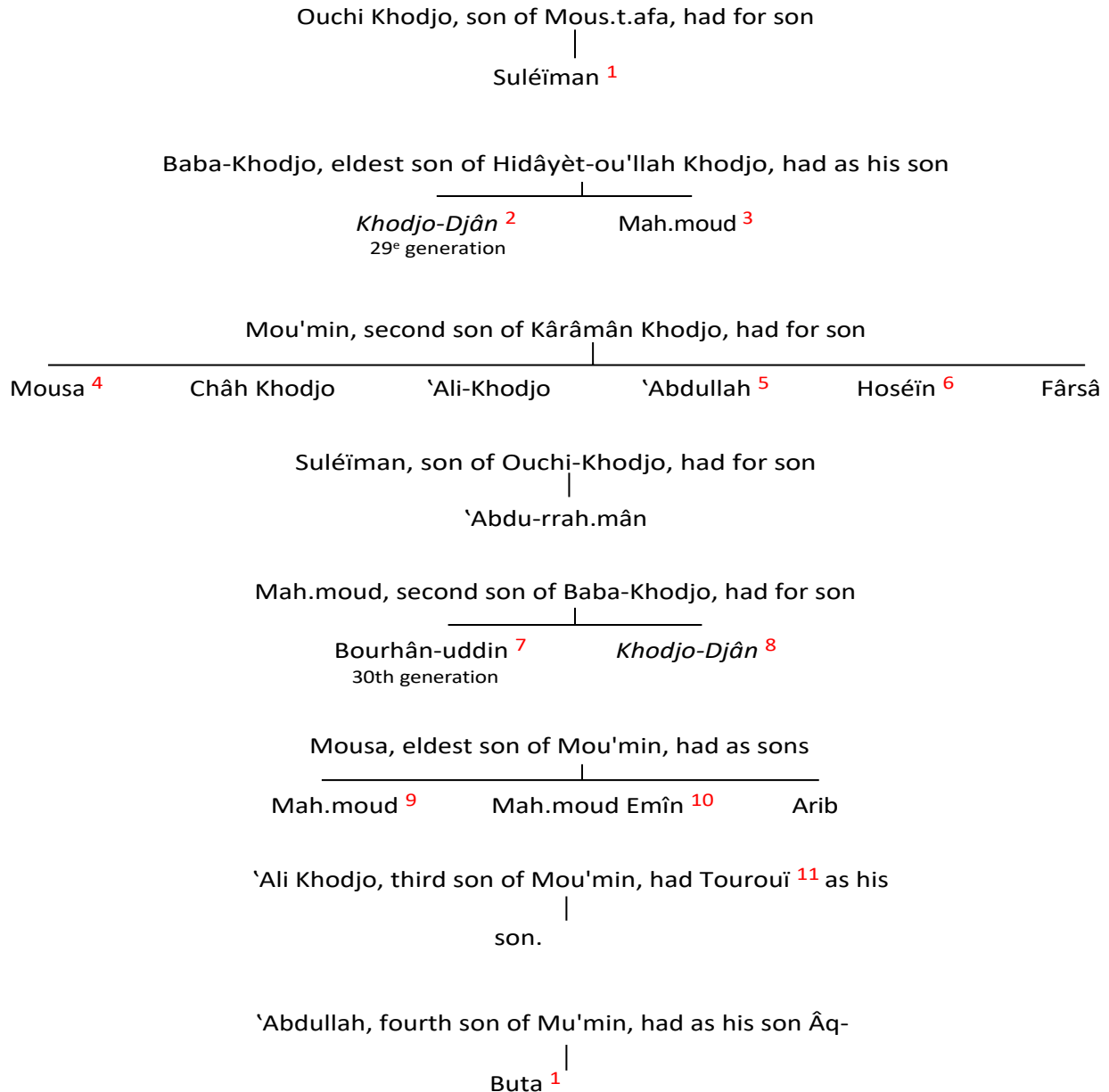
<sup>10</sup> Empty above.

<sup>11</sup> Bourânoudoun, corruption of Bourhân-uddin. Mongolian and Manchu: Bouranidoun.

<sup>12</sup> Empty above.

<sup>13</sup> Empty above.

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<sup>1</sup> Suléïman (Salomon).

<sup>2</sup> Mongolian and Manchu: Kodjidjan.

<sup>3</sup> Mahmout, read Mah.moud. The *Si-yu ki* (or *Si-yu ouan kien lou*) is transcribed as follows: 木墨特 (book VI). Our official account: 瑪哈墨特.

<sup>4</sup> Empty above.

<sup>5</sup> Empty above.

<sup>6</sup> Empty above.

<sup>7</sup> Manchu and Mongolian: *Boronidou*. The *'houei* gives *Bourounoudou*, a corruption of *Bourhân-uddin* (vide supra). The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* adds here the explanation of the word *Ho-tcho-mou* that we have translated in a note in the *Official Narrative*. This *Bourhân- uddin* is the one against whom *K'ien-loung's* armies had to fight.

<sup>8</sup> Empty above. This is what the *Official Narrative* is about.

<sup>9</sup> Empty above.

<sup>10</sup> Empty above.

<sup>11</sup> Manchu-Mongol: Tourdou.

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Hosein, fifth son of Mou'min, had as son Kachin-  
|  
Khodjo <sup>2</sup>

Abdu-rrahmân, son of Suléïman, had for son  
|  
'Abdu-'nnâçir

Mah.moud, Mousa's eldest son, had Baba-  
|  
Khodjo <sup>3</sup> as his son.  
31st generation

This is the end of the list of Mohammed's descendants from the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*; it is followed by a list of the members of the family of Obaïdou 'llah *prince of Hami* (see our memoir on Hami, separate edition, p. 75).

According to the *Cheng-vou-ki* of *Oueï Yuan*, *Bourhân-uddin* had two sons, Abdoul (?) and Samok <sup>4</sup>. The eldest son was Djihanguir <sup>5</sup>, who rebelled against Chinese rule during the reign of Tao-kouang (1820-1828). *Djihanguir's* son, *Bourzouk* <sup>6</sup>, played a major role in the Kashgarie insurrection of 1864 and was supplanted by *Ya-koub-bey* (see our *Recueil de documents sur l'Asie centrale*, col. Kuropatkin, *Kashgaria*, etc.).

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<sup>1</sup> Aq-Bouta, in East Turkestan: *white shoot* or *offshoot*. Manchu-Mongol: *Akboto*.

<sup>2</sup> Manchu-Mongol: *Kesin Khodjo*.

<sup>3</sup> Empty above.

<sup>4</sup> *Sarim-Sak* or *Sarwin-Sak* (?). See Kuropatkin, [Kashgaria](#), p. 136.

<sup>5</sup> The *Djengir Khodja* of Kuropatkin: *Khodja Sarvim-Sak* had three sons: *Med Yusoof Khodja*, *Pakhavvedin Khodja* and *Djengir Khodja* ([Kashgaria](#), p. 187).

<sup>6</sup> Kuropatkin's *Boozrook-Khodja* ([Kashgaria](#), p. 158). Lansdell's *Buzurg Khan* ([Chinese Central Asia](#), 1893, vol. II, p. 58).

## APPENDIX II

### Inscriptions relating to the pacification of Chinese Turkestan

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p.106 After the campaign of *K'ien-loung's* armies against *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân*, some steles bearing of inscriptions which

These two epigraphic monuments have been preserved in the *Sin-kiang tche-lïo*, book serving as an introduction, p. 43 ff: a translation is given below.

The inscription on the *Yarkand* stele is written in the half-prosaic, half-poetic style that the Chinese call 辭 *ts'eu*: all the sentences are four characters or words long, and some of them rhyme between them. The rhymes have been indicated with care, when they occur by the authors of the *Sin-kiang tche-lïo*. This inscription is a monument of high literature and, as a result, rather difficult to understand: we have contented ourselves with rendering its meaning exactly, preserving as far as possible the physiognomy of the original without seeking to explain the many difficulties of the text or the literary allusions it contains: indeed, it would have been necessary to add a philological commentary which would be irrelevant here. The text of the *Yeshil-kul* is simpler in style and relatively easy to read.

These two inscriptions did not fall from the brush of the emperor *K'ien-loung* like most of the pieces reproduced in the *book serving as an introduction to the Sin-kiang tche-lïo*: they must have been written by Marshal *Tchao-'houeï* himself, or by some skilful scholar under his direction, and submitted to the emperor before being engraved on the steles. It is easy to convince oneself of this by going through them.

It would be interesting to know whether the first of these stelae still exists in *Yarkand*. As for the second, it would appear to be



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now in the Tashkend museum. In [\*The Pamirs by the Earl of Dunmore, 1893, vol. II, p. 167\*](#), we read that the promontory at the eastern end of *Yéchil-koul* is called Surma-tach, the black stone:

"What the history of the Black-stone is, Abdul Kerim was unable to tell us", continues the author; "all he knew about it was that the Russians had put it upon a horse and carried it away". That some legend is attached to it, then is no doubt,  
p.107 but these Kirghiz are strangely ignorant regarding anything in the shape of folk-lore belonging to their own country.

And Lord Dunmore adds here in a note:

"I saw the stone afterwards in the Museum at Tashkend, and got the translation of the writing of it, which is as follows :

"On the crest of the mountains 10,000 men laid down their arms. The Chinese soldiers, coming from the four points of the compass, then went unopposed as if penetrating into an uninhabited country. The two ringleaders, therefore, seeing that further efforts would be in vain, took to flight, whilst our soldiers in the pursuit resembled tigers and leopards, chasing hares and foxes. Before our soldiers had advanced far after them, and when they were still crossing the mountains, our men were in good fighting order.

If we compare the previous translation with several passages in our own, we are struck by the similarities that exist: it would seem to be no more than a summary or a truncated fragment of the original inscription as given in the *Sin-kiang tche-lio*. The question deserves to be completely clarified.

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I. - Inscription recalling the pacification of the Mohammedan tribes, engraved on the Yarkand stele

Researching the origins of the Mohammedans  
(we find) that these come from Arabia, which is also  
called Mecca

and again *T'ien t'ang* (paradise)

*Ta-che*<sup>1</sup> under *Yuan*<sup>2</sup>

the Uyghurs<sup>3</sup> living under the T'ang<sup>4</sup>, are  
all (peoples) almost identical.

What is said about them is not detailed. Our  
august Ts'ing dynasty,

pacified and conquered the Chinese empire. p.108

By the force of the principle of social relations,  
everything was returned to civilisation.

The Dzungars were once powerful: blinded,  
they did not submit.

Taking advantage of obstacles and remoteness,  
they really resisted our civilising action. They  
mistreated their multitude,

They treated their people cruelly:

they treated the Mohammedans like sheep, employing  
them to plough and weed,

profited from the trade in which they excelled,  
and enjoyed a lucrative business.

They seized the two (Mohammedan)

chiefs and made them live on the banks of

the *Ili*<sup>5</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> *Tazy*, name given to the Arabs by the Annals of the *T'ang* dynasty (see Bretschneider, *Notices of the Medieval geography and history of Central and Western Asia*, § 39, *fine*).

<sup>2</sup> The Mongol dynasty, 1280 to 1378 AD.

<sup>3</sup> *Houei-'hou*: under the *T'ang*, this name designated the Uyghurs; in the Annals of the *Yuan*, it applies to the Mohammedans. (Cf. Bretschneider, *Notices*, etc., § 41.) It therefore seems that we should read:

The *Ta-che* lived under the T'ang,  
The *Houei-'hou* we saw under the Yuan...

<sup>4</sup> T'ang dynasty, 618 to 907 AD.

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<sup>5</sup> Allusion to the forced stay of *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodj-djan* in Dzongarie.

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The four great Mohammedan tribes <sup>1</sup>  
paid them leases and offered them taxes. The tenga <sup>2</sup>  
was what they gave them,  
the Dzungars <sup>3</sup>, that's what they feared. Could  
they stand such treatment? They were on the  
verge of perishing.  
In front of (their enemies), their intimate feelings, how  
could they express them?  
The barbarous Dzungars having been  
pacified, all the Mohammedans, looking up at  
the sky, said: "From now on, we'll eat our fill  
and sleep in peace.  
We sent their chiefs home <sup>4</sup> to bring  
peace to your country, to restore  
prosperity <sup>5</sup>. p.109  
Could we have suspected that they would revolt?  
Benevolence was only rewarded with ingratitude. They  
helped our rebellious frontiers <sup>6</sup>,  
they massacred our envoy <sup>7</sup>.  
That's why we raised an army,  
we exposed their crime and went to punish them. But they  
dared to resist us.  
Cries of war resounded throughout the region. Having  
been despised outside their country,  
they should have pacified their constituents.

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<sup>1</sup> i.e. the populations of the cities of Kachgar, Yenghi Hissar, Yarkand and Khoten (see our [collection of documents, p. 19, note](#)).

<sup>2</sup> 騰格, currency of account worth 25 Chinese sapèques or 2 1/2 d., according to [Lansdell \(Chinese Central Asia, t. I, p. 343, t. II, p. XVI, observanda\)](#); Giles ([Dictionary](#), p. 1080, sub *t'eng*, n° 10.892) says: *tanga*, the silver coin of Turkestan = 50 *pul* copper cash one of which = 10 Chinese cash.

<sup>3</sup> The text gives 衛拉 for 衛喇特, Weirad. Cf. [Mayers, Chinese Government, p. 84, no. 518, in fine](#).

<sup>4</sup> Allusion to the return of *Bourhân-uddin* to *Kashgar* by *Pan-ti*.

<sup>5</sup> To revive the dead and put flesh back on the bones.

<sup>6</sup> Allusion to the support given by *Khodjo-Djan* to *Amoursana* against the imperial armies.

<sup>7</sup> Allusion to the murder of *Amintao* sent to Turkestan by *Tchaô-houei*.

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Why were they so violent? As for their hearts, they were closed.

They slaughtered people for pleasure, they ravished women to debauch them: they lost everyone's affection entirely; we had nothing but hatred and contempt for them.

By three roads at the same time our troops advanced: On all sides they attacked together.

The rebel chiefs knew they could not resist; they took everything they owned themselves, and in less than twenty days, they galloped off without a trace. Even though you left no trace, we had to pursue you to the end.

Our troops rushed forward like a torrent, bravely. Consecutive battles were all victories.

At one point our troops were delayed: the chiefs then entered a foreign country <sup>1</sup>.

The latter, torn between fear and affection (for us), raised the standard and helped our efforts.

The rebel leaders could not hide.

Then the foreign country came to offer their heads: the two rebel chiefs were massacred, the Mohammedans will enjoy eternal peace.

We established civil servants, set taxes and destroyed the bad administration (of the chiefs).

In the past, all Mohammedans, in the morning they fought, at night they spied. p.110

Now, peaceful and happy, each of us looks after our own existence.

In the past, all Mohammedans were the subjects of the barbaric Dzungars,

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<sup>1</sup> In Badakhshan.

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Now we call their country "neighbouring border": they call themselves subjects of the Emperor!

They call themselves subjects of the emperor!

Who among you is (still) in distress? Plant your millet!

Raise your sons and grandsons! In

the past, in the year Ki-sseu <sup>1</sup>,

We have pacified Khi-tch'ouan <sup>2</sup>.

Now we have pacified the Mohammedan tribes. - It is also in the year Ki-mao <sup>3</sup>.

The years are coming together, we're writing the Annals; happiness is accumulating; prosperity is building up.

We hold the abundance, we protect the peace, but make every effort to watch over it!

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## II. - Inscription recalling the pacification of the Mohammedan tribes, engraved on the Yéchil-Koul stele

There are circumstances in which you think all is lost, but in which you end up triumphant: this is what excites the zeal of far-sighted men but influences narrow-minded people. There are questions which, at first, seem to require a great deal of work but which, in the end, bring rest. This is what stimulates the energy of strong men, but it is what weak men dread.

This is how the submission of the Mohammedans was achieved: two rebel chiefs were massacred; each battle was a victory <sup>4</sup>; we

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<sup>1</sup> Cyclical year corresponding to 1749.

<sup>2</sup> *Ruisseau d'or*, native tribe inhabiting the mountainous parts of the province of *Sseut-ch'ouan*, against whom the troops of *K'ien loung* made several difficult expeditions. (See [F. P. Smith, Vocabulary of Chinese proper names, p. 51](#), *Histoire de Mailla*, etc.).

<sup>3</sup> A cyclical year which corresponds to 1759. By the expression *the years agree* in the following sentence, the author means that the cyclical terms *Ki-sseu* and *Ki-mao* have that in common that they both contain the same cyclical character *Ki*.

<sup>4</sup> The siege of the Black River and the failure of *Namondjar* are not mentioned.

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took everything we attacked. This result was due to the efforts of the two marshals <sup>1</sup> and the deputy governors, as well as to those of the officers and soldiers who were in the ranks. But what comforted me deeply <sup>2</sup> during this war was that, working even at night for five years and not daring to steal a single moment of rest, I drew up plans of campaign which were crowned with success. Fortunately, our warriors brought about the submission (of the rebels) and were thus able to respond to His Majesty's kindnesses, satisfy the views of the former sovereigns, and moreover avoid the blame that frivolous suggestions would have deserved.

In *Yéchil-koul*, our sub-marshal *Fou-tô* and others, relentlessly pursuing the two rebel chiefs, reached the border of *Badakhchan* and seized ten thousand men who surrendered: only the two chiefs escaped. An emissary was sent to demand the prisoners; later, their heads were offered and the army returned victorious. Everyone's conduct was highly commendable.

This place is backed by mountains and bathed by the waters (of the lake) <sup>3</sup>: a single horseman can pass through it. But our people rushed forward impetuously on all sides, and no obstacle stopped them: it was as if they were entering an uninhabited country. The rebels could not be on their guard in front or behind. Our troops raised a Mohammedan standard to summon those who wished to surrender: the latter arrived covering the rocks. *Khodjo-Djân*, sword in hand, stopped them, but some of the fugitives turned their weapons on him. This is why the two rebel chiefs, seeing all lost, fled into the distance, galloping off, all panting.

Our troops had first reached them at *Khoskoulouk*, then beaten them at *Artchour*: each time a small troop of soldiers triumphed over a crowd. Our troops took impregnable positions. It looked like

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<sup>1</sup> *Tchao-houeï* and *Fou-tô*.

<sup>2</sup> The use of the pronoun *yu = I, me*, shows that the inscription is not from the emperor; he would have used the pronoun *Tcheng*, which is personal to him.

<sup>3</sup> *Yeshil-kul*.

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they were actually hunting tigers and leopards and chasing foxes and hares. The band of turbans and long-nosed people <sup>1</sup> were in great confusion. At the sight of our troops, they fled in all directions. News of their arrival spread throughout the foreign country <sup>2</sup>, which, frightened by their movements, stopped the rebels and helped our army. Our troops had not penetrated deep into *Badakhshan*, so the army that was punishing the rebels did not devastate an innocent country; they were kindly sent an emissary: *Badakhshan* knew how to distinguish between rebellion and obedience; it took the rebels prisoner and offered their heads.

p.112 This is why, the general-in-chief having considered the circumstances and the times, our warriors enjoyed a little rest: the war came to an end and its happy outcome was announced to the emperor. The plans that had been made were not hindered in any way.

The origins and demise of the Mohammedan tribes have already been described in the inscription engraved on the *Yarkand* stele: they will not be mentioned again here. This is why we are content to indicate the date and engrave it on stone.

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<sup>1</sup> The ordinary nose is *high, elevated* (kaô), whereas the Chinese have a flattened, crushed nose.

<sup>2</sup> *Badakhshan*.



### APPENDIX III

#### Biographical notes on some generals of the reign of K'ien-loung

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p.113 The following notes are summarised from the biographies of the illustrious men of the current dynasty contained in the *Kouo tch'ao sien tcheng che lio* by 李元度 Li Yuan-tou. They complete the biographical section of [Mayers' Chinese Reader's Manual](#).

##### I. - Pan-ti

*Pan-ti* was of the yellow Mongol banner with a border: his surname was 博爾濟吉特 *Po-eul-tsi-ki-t'o*. He began his career at the *Nei-ko* or *Great Chancellery*; in 1731, he was promoted to *nei-ko-hio-che* or deputy chancellor; in 1727, he was appointed director of the *Li fan-yuan* or *director of the colonies*. Briefly demoted for negligence in his duties, we then see him successively employed at the *Kiun-ki-tch'ou* or *Grand Council* (1733), director at the Ministry of War (1736), then viceroy of *Hou-kouang* (1739). The following year, he went into mourning for his mother (1740): once his mourning was over, he was once again attached to the *Kiun-ki-tch'ou* (1741). In 1742, he was appointed one of the presidents of the Ministry of War and councillor in charge of the *Li-fan-yuan*. In 1748, as intendant general of the *Kin-tch'ouan* army, he was given the title of vice-tutor to the heir apparent. Once again demoted and put in charge of a ministry, in 1749 he went, as brigadier general of the Manchu troops, to manage the affairs of *Kouko-nor*. The following year he went to Tibet where he put down a rebellion. Shortly afterwards he was recalled to Peking by the emperor, who appointed him major general, member of the *Kiun-ki-tch'ou*, in charge of *Li-fan-yuan* (1752).

fter managing the viceroyalty of the two *Kouangs* for a time (1753), he was sent to the *Pei-lou* army as sub-marshal of the left *Ting-pien p. i*. He took part in the expeditions against the *Dzongars*, distinguishing himself

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*there*. He took part in the expeditions against the Dzungars, distinguished himself there, and, as a reward for his services, received the

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title of *baron (tseu)* with limited heredity, the rank of commander of the imperial guard and a gift of a thousand taels. He then became *ting-pien* marshal, and had an audience <sup>p.114</sup> with the emperor, to whom he reported on military operations (1754).

A year later, accompanied by *Amoursana*, he campaigned against *Dawatsi*, chief of the Dzungars, and won the submission of a large number of *daidji* and *tsai'sang*, as well as that of the Khodjas (*Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djan*). Following these successes, the emperor showered him with gifts and conferred on him the title of duke of the first class *ch'eng-young* (sincerity and bravery). When *Amoursana* revolted, there were only 500 men in Ili: Pan-ti led them against the rebels, fought a battle, was besieged and, seeing all was lost, put an end to his life.

The emperor deplored *Pan-ti's* death: on his orders, Pan-ti's son, *Barou*, inherited the title of duke of the first class that *Pan-ti* held. *Pan-ti* was canonised under the title of *y-lié* (patriotism and bravery), his portrait was placed in the *Tseu-kouang-ko* and sacrifices in his memory were instituted at the *Tchao-tchoung-tseu*, a temple erected in honour of those who had shown loyalty. The emperor himself composed the eulogy of this general.

## II. - *Tchao-'houei*

*Tchao-'houei* was of the plain yellow Manchu banner: his family name was *vou-ya*; his literary and colloquial appellation, *'Ho-fou*. He was the son of *Fo-piao*, major general of the Manchu troops.

Initially a *bitkechi* or clerk, he then held various posts in the Grand Chancellery (*Nei-ko*), and in 1742 was appointed brigadier general of the Manchu troops and put in charge of the Ministry of Justice. Six years later, he was intendant general at the camp of the *Kin-tch'ouan* army and asked the emperor for permission to campaign with the troops, but he was ordered to go to *Ouliyasoutai* as troop commander. In 1750, he was sent to *Si-lou* (western circuit). He was in command at *Palik'oun* (Barkoul) during the *Amoursana* revolt. When the *Ili* was once again pacified, he was

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put in charge of

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by the emperor to reorganise the country from the left (1756). The same year, he was appointed sub-marshal *ting-pien*.

In 1757, in the middle of winter, he put down a revolt by the Eleutherans and was rewarded with the title of Count First Class with unlimited heredity. The emperor presented him with a purse and various other items for his personal use. Shortly afterwards he was promoted to Major General. He continued the campaign against *Amoursana*, whose nephew, *Tachi Tseriyng*, he took prisoner. *Amintao*, whom he had sent to Turkestan, having been massacred by *Khodjo-Djân*, the emperor ordered him to go and put down this rebellion as marshal, *ting-pien*. But he still had to fight the Dzungars <sup>p.115</sup> while *Yarkhachan* was fighting the Mohammedans, The Dzungars being on the eve of being reduced, the emperor invited *Tchao-'houei* to assemble at *Yarkhachan* and subdue the *Bourouts* or Black Khirghiz. The latter submitted (1758).

*Yarkhachan* having been disgraced after the siege of Ouché, *Tchao-'houei* asked to remain in the army with a view to completing western affairs. The emperor praised him on this occasion and conferred on him the two-eyed peacock feather. *Tchao-'houei* took command of the army and marched on *Yarkand*. He distinguished himself in the various battles fought under this city and particularly during the siege of the Black River camp by the Mohammedans. He was then appointed duke of the first class *vou-y mô young*, with unlimited heredity (1759).

After the defeat of the Khodjas, the emperor gave him a purple bridle, the right to enter the imperial palace on horseback, the rank of member of the imperial family (yellow belt), showered him with gifts, received him with great pomp outside Peking and ordered that his portrait be placed in the *Tseu-kouang-ko* (1761).

Shortly afterwards, *Tchao-'houei* was appointed Grand Chancellor and entrusted with the duties of President of the Ministry of Justice, and carried out various missions concerning the repairs to be made to the imperial canal and the inspection of the ports of the province of Tche-li, on the return of which he received the title of tutor to the heir apparent. He

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died in 1764.

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The emperor wrote a play of poetry on the occasion of his death, appointed high dignitaries to oversee his funeral and decreed sacrifices and ceremonies in his honour. He canonised him under the title of ouen-siang. He promised *Tchao-'houei's* son *Tcha-lan-t'ai*, a princess of the imperial family, in marriage. This marriage took place in 1779 and, on the same date, *Tcha-lan-t'ai* inherited the title of duke of the first class held by his father.

*III. - Ming-joueï*

*Ming-joueï* was of the yellow Manchu banner with a border: his family name was *Fou-tch'a*, his literary and colloquial name, *Yun-t'ing*. His father's name was *Fou-ouen*.

From the rank of officer of the imperial guard (2nd class), he rose to that of brigadier general of the Manchu troops and was sent in this capacity to the army of *Si-lou* (western circuit). He accompanied *Tartangga*, Marshal *Tieng-pien* when the latter pursued *Amoursana* fleeing to the Khassaks: he distinguished himself in several affairs and, in 1769, was awarded the title of duke *tch'eng-en y-young*. He then followed Marshal *Tchao-'houei* in his campaign against the Khodjas and his fine conduct in <sup>p.116</sup> various circumstances earned him the two-eyed peacock feather, as well as the heredity of his title of duke.

In 1761, with *Ili* and the Mohammedan tribes pacified, an imperial decree ordered his portrait to be placed in the *Tseu-kouang-ko*. The following year, he was appointed Marshal of *Ili*. Although he had retaken the town of *Ouché* and put down the uprising that had occurred there, he incurred the Emperor's censure for not having conducted a serious investigation into the causes of this revolt, and he was degraded while retaining his position.

In 1767, during the troubles in Burma, the emperor appointed him to manage the affairs of the viceroyalty of *Yun-Koueï*, and shortly afterwards restored his rank of marshal. In this capacity, *Ming-joueï* took part in the Burma campaign at the head of 3,000 Manchus and 20,000 soldiers from *Yun-nan* and *Sseu-tch'ouan*. He initially won several victories, rewarded

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with the yellow belt and several other gifts



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But in a later engagement, beset by a large Burmese force, wounded, seeing his troops in disarray, and fearing to fall into enemy hands, he galloped to a spot twenty *li* from the battlefield, quietly dismounted, cut off his own tail and hair and gave them to his men, and hung himself from a tree. Those who had followed him hid his body under tree leaves and went to announce his defeat and death <sup>1</sup>.

The emperor was deeply saddened by *Ming-jouei's* death and celebrated the general with a poem. When the coffin containing *Ming-jouei's* remains arrived in Peking, *K'ien loung* went to meet it and had sacrifices made in memory of the deceased. He canonised *Ming-jouei* under the name of *Kouo-lié*, erected a special temple for him with sacrifices in the spring and autumn, wrote his eulogy, etc.

*Ming-jouei's* son, *Houai-loun*, inherited the title of duke of the first class.

#### IV. - *Alikoun*

*Alikoun* was of the yellow Manchu banner with a border; his family name was Niéou-kou-lou; his literary and colloquial name, Soung-aï. His father *Ynn-tô* had reached the rank of commander of the imperial guard.

After graduating from the officers of this guard, *Alikoun* was successively director of the *Neï-vou-fou*, brigadier general of the Manchu troops, then director at the Ministry of War (1739-1740). He carefully accomplished several missions in Chan-toung and Manchuria. In 1750, he was appointed viceroy of *Hou-kouang*, then of the two *Kouangs*. When his mother died, he returned to the capital where he became director of public works at the Ministry of Finance. He then became commander of the Peking gendarmerie (1754), president of the Ministry of Justice (1755), division general and president of the Ministry of Finance.

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<sup>1</sup> See our memoir entitled [Histoire de la conquête de la Birmanie par les Chinois, sous le règne de Tç'ienn-long \(Kien-long\)](#), translated from the Chinese. *Journal asiatique*, 1878.

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In 1756, he was ordered to go to the *Si-lou* army (western circuit) as a troop commander. He distinguished himself in several expeditions. The following year, he commanded troops at *Pali K'oun* (Barkoul). In the meantime, he inherited the title of Duke of Kouo-y from his relative Marshal Tartangga, but shortly afterwards was made Director of the Ministry of Finance and Brigadier General for having let *Amoursana* escape. At the time when *Tchao-'houei* attacked Yarkand and maintained the siege of the Black River, he became vice-governor of the army, then, as major general and president of the Ministry of War, he campaigned against the Mohammedans and distinguished himself on various occasions. He was at the battle of *Artchour* with *Ming-joueï* and *Akoueï*. At the end of the war, he was ordered to administer Yarkand with the title of military vice-governor. The emperor awarded him the two-eyed peacock feather.

In the summer of 1760, he was called to Peking by the emperor, who granted him the privilege of entering the imperial palace on horseback. Back at his post, he put down an uprising by the Mohammedans, for which he was praised by *Kien-loung*. His portrait was placed in the *Tseu-kouang-ko*.

In 1761, he became *Acting* President of the Ministry of Rites; two years later, he was *Acting* Governor of Chen-si, with the title of tutor to the heir apparent. He then became president of the Ministry of Finance (1764), *acting* viceroy of *Yun-Koueï*, sub-marshal (1768) and took part in the second expedition against the Burmese (1769). In the last month of that year, he fell ill and died in camp.

His death was mourned by the emperor, who canonised him under the title of *Siang-tchouang* and instituted sacrifices in his memory at the *hien-léang- t'ien*, Temple of the Wise and Virtuous. His eldest son *Foung-chen-ô* held a number of high positions, including division general, sub-marshal, president of the Ministry of Finance and commander of the Peking gendarmerie. He was awarded the two-eyed peacock feather, the title of first-class baron and had his portrait placed in the *Tseu-kouang-ko*.

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*V. - Akoueï*

*Akoueï* was of the blue Manchu banner: his family name was *Tchang-kia*; his literary and colloquial name, *Kouang-t'ing*, his nickname *Yun-yen*. His father *A-k'o-toun*, who <sup>p.118</sup> was canonised under the title of *Ouen-k'in*, rose to the rank of deputy grand chancellor.

*Akoueï* loved literature: he passed all his exams with flying colours and held various junior posts in the Ministry of War. In 1743 he was involved in the disgrace of a senior official in charge of fighting the *Kin-ch'ouan* and was thrown into prison. He was released thanks to the intervention of the emperor, who greatly esteemed his father, who was old at the time and had no other sons. In 1752, he was appointed provincial judge in Kiang-si. A few years later, he distinguished himself in the campaign against *Amoursana*: the death of his father hurried him back to Peking. He then became military vice-governor, brigadier general and then deputy marshal *ts'ing-ni p. i.*

In 1758, as director of the Ministry of Public Works, he commanded the *Tarbagataï* garrison, 5,000 strong, and took part in the campaigns against the Dzungars and the Mohammedans. In the latter, he distinguished himself at the battle of *Artchour*. In 1760, after the Mohammedan cities had been pacified, he returned to *Ili* and took part in the administrative and military organisation of the region. When the emperor had the portraits of the fifty principal officers who had distinguished themselves in the *Si-yu* war (Central Asia) placed in the *Tseu-kouang-ko*, *Akoueï's* was placed seventeenth.

In 1761, he was appointed president of the Ministry of Public Works, division general, with the privilege of entering the palace grounds on horseback. He carried out several hydrographic missions and, as a reward for his services, was given the title of tutor to the heir apparent, and switched to the plain white banner.

In 1764, during the troubles in *Kin-ch'ouan*, he managed the viceroyalty of *Sseu-ch'ouan*. At the time of the revolt of the Mohammedans of *Ouché*, the emperor invited him to go without delay to *Ili*, in order to occupy the

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important passes in the region. He fell into disgrace for having shown indulgence towards the *Ouché* rebels, but soon afterwards, however, he returned to favour and was appointed Marshal of *Ili* (1767). A year later, after *Ming-jouei's* death in Burma, he accompanied the general-in-chief *Fou-'Heng* and distinguished himself in the second expedition against the Burmese. It was to him that we owe the repression of the *Kin-tch'ouan* tribes. On his return from this campaign, the emperor went to receive him outside Peking, as he had done for *Akouei* returning from *Si-yu*, conferred on him the two-eyed peacock feather and the title of duke of *tch'eng-mî yng-young*, and gave him numerous gifts: on his order, *Akouei's* portrait was placed at the head of the gallery of the *Tseu-kouang-ko*. At this time, *Akouei* was appointed a member of the *Kiun-ki-tchou* (1771).

In 1775, he carried out various missions in China, and from 1781 to 1784, he led expeditions against the Mohammedan rebels of *Lan-tchéou* and neighbouring places. In 1786, he reached the age of seventy. On this occasion he received further marks of imperial favour. He died in 1796. The emperor himself wrote his eulogy and instituted sacrifices in his memory at the *hien-leang-tseu*.

*Akouei's* eldest son, *A-ti-sseu*, inherited the title of duke of the first class that his father had earned: he rose to the rank of director at the Ministry of Finance and general of *Kou-pei-k'eou* (Great Wall); his second son, *A-mi-ta*, was director at the Ministry of Public Works. His grandson, *Na-yen-tch'eng*, played a role in the *Djihanguir* rebellion in Chinese Turkestan <sup>1</sup>.

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<sup>1</sup> See our [Collection of documents, p. 44 et seq.](#)

## NOTES

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(102) p.120 Cf. [Le pays de 'Hami ou Khamil, description, histoire, d'après les auteurs chinois](#). (*Bulletin du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques*, section de géographie, année 1892, tirage à part, p. 4), The National Library does not possess this work. There is a copy in the Saint Petersburg Library, which was once lent to Stanislas Julien: this sinologist translated part of Book I, which deals with the hydrography of the *New Frontiers* (the name given to Turkestan and Ili after K'ien-loung's campaigns), (a translation first published in the *Journal asiatique*, then reproduced in the *Mélanges de géographie asiatique*, by the same author, on which see Cordier, *Bibliotheca sinica*, col. 1266). Our account, under the title **平定回疆紀事** *P'ing-ting Houei-kiang Ki-che*, Histoire de la soumission des frontières mahométanes, is found in Book III. It is followed by descriptions, with specific maps, of Kachgar, Yenghi-Hissar, Yarkand, Khoten, Aksou, Ouché, Koutché, Kharachar, Tourfan and Hami.

(103) Compare what Abel Rémusat once said on this subject, [Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, 1820, t. II](#), p. 50.

(104) Cf. in particular de Mailla, *Histoire générale de la Chine ou Annales de cet empire*, traduites du *Tong-kien-kang-mou*, [Paris, 1780, t. XI, p. 563 et seq](#), (It is well known that this work is in no way a translation of the Chinese book indicated in the title; it is a compilation drawn from various sources, in which the author has often given free rein to his imagination, especially when he places in the mouths of sovereigns, generals, etc., speeches they never made or which are distorted as if at pleasure); Abel Rémusat, *Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques*, 1829, t. II, *Études biographiques : Kao- tsoung*, Paris, 1780, t. XI, [p. 563 et seq.<sup>1</sup>](#); Abel Rémusat, [Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, 1829, t. II, Études biographiques : Kao- tsoung, p. 48-49](#); D. C. Boulger, *History of China*, London, 1803 (a sometimes unreliable work, in which proper names are very often incorrectly written); A. N. [Kuropatkin, Kashqaria, Historical and geographical sketch of the country](#), etc., translated from the Russian by W. E. Gowan, Calcutta, 1882, pp.

108 ff; [Klaproth, Magasin asiatique, t. I](#), Paris, 1825, *Notices*

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<sup>1</sup> [c.a.: it should be noted, however, that as Mailla's father died in 1748, he was not the author of the text referred to by C. I.-H. Mailla's father stopped his work when Kang-hi died, and it was the editor of the *History*, Le Roux Des Hautesrayes, who

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wrote the end of volume XI, and therefore the text concerned here].

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*géographiques et historiques sur Khôkand, Andudjan, Marghilân, etc.*, translated from the *Thai-thsing y thoung tchi*, pp. 91-92; t. II, 1826, *Relation des troubles de la Dzoungarie et de la petite Boukharie*, translated from the Chinese, pp. 187-208 (We regret not having been able to consult this memoir); *Description de la Chine occidentale*, by Father Gueluy, published in the *Muséon*, Louvain, 1887, a very imperfect translation of the *Si-yu ouen kien-lou*, Cf. [our memoir on Hami, cited above, pp. 8-9 and note 1 on p. 9](#)); [Memoir on Thibet and the Kingdom of the Eleuthes, etc.](#), and in [Lettres édifiantes et curieuses](#), ed. 1835, vol. XXXVII, p. 210 ff.

Mr Dabry de Thiersant, in his work [Le mahométisme en Chine](#), Paris, 1878, gave no details of the subjugation of Turkestan by K'ien-loung's generals: this is not the only omission in this work, which is highly open to criticism from various points of view.

The *China Review*, issue of May and June 1888, published an article by <sup>p.121</sup> M. E. H. Parker, entitled *Mandchu relations with Turkestan*; it contains a summarised translation of several chapters of the *Cheng vou-ki*: unfortunately, the memoir in question is uncritical and leaves much to be desired.

On the orders of the emperor *K'ien-loung*, the victories and main events of these wars were drawn by several Catholic missionaries then in Peking (the fathers Castilhoni, Attiret, etc.): these drawings, sent to France, were engraved under the direction of C. N. Cochin fils. There is a magnificent copy in the *Cabinet des estampes* de la Bibliothèque nationale de Paris (for more details, see H. Cordier, *Bibliotheca Sinica*, col. 265); some of these engravings have been reduced and form plates 70, 71 and 72 of [La Chine ou Description historique, géographique et littéraire de ce vaste empire](#), première partie, by G. Pauthier, Paris, 1838 (see *L'Univers*, Firmin Didot). On the subject of engravings, see also the [letters of Father Benoist, Lettres édifiantes et curieuses, 1835 edition, vol. 38](#).

(105) As a result of their literary education and their turn of mind, which is the result, Chinese writers generally suffer from a kind of mania for wit, and peppering their works with historical or literary allusions (*tien-kou*) that are often very difficult to hear. Here, there is nothing of the sort. The narrative has all the trappings of a military report: the style is simple and bare, but elegant in its simplicity, and its brevity has a positive air about it.

(106) See [our note on the life and works of Oueï Yuan](#), in the *Journal asiatique*, August-September 1881, pp. 263-267. M.

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Jamotel has given a list of the parts of *Cheng-vou-ki*, the main work of *Oueï Yuan*, and one of the most interesting from our point of view, which have been translated into English and French (*Revue de l'Extrême Orient*, t. I, n° 4, October-November-December, p. 573). To these should be added: *Histoire de la pacification du Thibet sous le règne de l'empereur Kien-loung*, translated by M. Jamotel (*Revue de l'Extrême-Orient*, t. I); [\*Mémoire sur les guerres des Chinois contre les Coréens de 1618 à 1637\*](#), by C. Imbault-Huart (*Journal asiatique*, 1879); [\*Histoire de la conquête de Formose par les Chinois en 1683\*](#), translated from Chinese and annotated by C. Imbault-Huart (*Bulletin de géographie historique et descriptive*, 1890); [\*Deux insurrections des mahométans du Kan-sou \(1648-1783\)\*](#), translated from Chinese by C. Imbault-Huart (*Journal asiatique*, 1890).

(107) The country called *Ili*, *Kouldja*, *Dzongarie*, is situated, as is well known, to the north of the T'ien-chan or Celestial Mountains: 1° *Ili* is one of the names of the main town of the region, which is, so to speak, the capital, after that of the river on the left of which it is built; 2° *Kouldja* (Mongolian and Manchu spelling *Goûldjo*, Kalmyk name which, according to Klaproth, means *mountain goat, capra ammon*), is another name of the town of *Ili* (*Ili* in Kalmyk = *radiant, resplendent*) and was by extension given to the country (cf. Klaproth, [\*Magasin asiatique\*, t. I, p. 173, note 1](#)); 3° *Dzongarie* comes from *Dzongar*, the name given to a Kalmyk people of Mongol origin living in the region: this word *Dzongar*, transcribed in Chinese by 準噶爾, *Tchoun-ko-cul*, is a corruption of the Mongol *Dsegun ghar*, left hand. The immense army of Tchinggis-khan or Gengiskan was divided into three corps, the centre (*kul*), the right wing (*Baraghon ghar*, lit. right hand), and the left wing (*dsegun ghar*, left hand); cf. [\*D'Ohsson, Histoire des Mongols\*, t. I, p. 332](#) and Abel Rémusat, [\*Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques\*, t. II, p. 30](#). Some authors write *Songarie* and *Songars*.

p.122 The missionaries of the last century called the Dzongars *Éleutes* or *Éleuthes* (Abel Rémusat, *loco citato* Oelets) from the Chinese name 厄魯特 or 額魯特, *O-lou-t'o*, given to the Kalmyks (on this name, cf. Howorth, *History of the Mongols*, p. 497) or Western Mongols. It probably comes from 衛喇特 *oueï-la-t'o*, in Mongolian *oirad*, ally (the Dzongars were divided into four tribes called *Durben oirad*, in Mongolian, the four allies; see [\*Mayers, Chinese Government\*, p. 84](#)).



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According to the missionaries, *Tchong-kar* (Dzongàr) was "the title of the principal king of the Eleuthes" (cf. de Mailla, *Histoire*, t. XI, passim, and the [Mémoire sur le Thibet et le royaume des Éleuthes in Lettres édifiantes et curieuses](#), ed. 1835, vol. XXXVII, p. 317): it is a Tartar-Mongol word meaning the *eastern hand*, because *tchong* or *giong* means *east* and *kar* means *hand*. It was, in fact, the custom of the ancient Tartar princes to divide their families and their armies, in part from the east, and in part from the west, called *Parountale* (?); and the most illustrious was that of the eastern hand, or the eastern wing. Moreover, the Chongkar has a vast domain... In the time of the emperor Cang-hi, the Tsong-kar was said to belong to the Mongol branch of the princes from whom Tamerlane descended ([Memoir](#), etc., quoted above, p. 318). We can see that the missionaries were aware of the Mongol origin of the word *Dzongar*, and that they were unaware that it was not the "title of the principal king of the Eleuthes", but the name of the Kalmyk people who inhabited *Ili* at the time.

On the wars of the emperors K'ang-hi and K'ien-loung against the Dzongars or Eleuthes and on the pacification or conquest of the Ili, see de Mailla, [Histoire](#), t. XI; the [memoir](#) already cited, p. 219 et seq; [Abel Rémusat, Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, t. II](#); Biographies de [K'ang-hi](#) et de [K'ien-loung](#); col. A. N. [Kuropatkin, Kashgaria, etc., p. 106 et seq.](#) (in this work, the Russian spelling has been retained: the words *Dzongarie*, *Dzongar*, *Galdan*, etc., are thus transcribed *Djoongaria*, *Djoongar*, *Holdan*, etc.); [Boulger, History, chaps. XI and XIII](#).

After the Dzongars were pacified, the country they inhabited was called by the Chinese 天山北路, *T'ien-chan-pei-lou*, the circuit north of the Celestial Mountains, and the town of *Ili* or *Kouldja* was given the name 惠遠城 *Houei-yuan-tch'eng*.

(108) The Dzongars held sway over part of Turkestan (Chinese Turkestan or Little Bukharia), see the works cited above.

(109) 瑪哈墨特 *ma-'ha-mo-t'o*. In the Dictionnaire géographique et biographique de l'Asie centrale intitulé *K'in-ting Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* (on which see our [memoir on Hami, p. 7](#)), this name is written 瑪哈木特 *Ma-han-mou-t'o* (this last character is indented, smaller, which indicates, according to the system followed in this work, that only the initial consonant *t* should be pronounced, a replacement for *d* which does not exist in the literary Chinese language). The Manchu transcription gives *Makhanmout*: the equivalent 'houei' word is

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*Mah.mout*, an obvious corruption of *Mah.moud* or *Mohammed*.

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This *Mohammed*, whom Kuropatkin calls *Ahmet* ([Kashqaria, p. 108](#)), was, according to the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, a descendant of the *Païghembèr*, (in Persian *sent, prophet*) or prophet Mahomet (cf. our [Recueil de documents sur l'Asie centrale, Paris, 1881, p. 64](#)). On this subject, see [Appendix I](#) for the list of *Païghembèr's* descendants drawn up according to the aforementioned dictionary.

(110) As the towns of Chinese Turkestan are now very well known, we think it unnecessary to go into a few details about them. We will only

p.123 Note that their names are variously transcribed by authors who have dealt with this country. Thus *Yarkand* is written *Irguen, Yerguen, Ierkim* or *Yerkim* by the missionaries and those who followed them, such as Abel Rémusat, Pauthier, etc., *Yarkend* by Kuropatkin, *Yarkiang* by Timkowski, and so on.

(111) *Galdan Ts'eriying* (Manchu spelling in the *Geographical Dictionary*) was the eldest son of *Ts'ewang Arabdan*, khan of the Dzungars elected in 1720, from an ancient family of the *Tchoross* tribe (one of the *durben oirad* or four tribes of the Dzungars): the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* gives the genealogy of this family (book VII). On *Galdan Ts'eriying*, see de Mailla, *Histoire*, t. XI and Kuropatkin, [Kashqaria,](#)

[p. 106](#); the proper names are so disfigured in these two works that it is often difficult to recognise them: thus *Ts'ewang Arabdan* becomes *Tséouang-rabdan* in de Mailla, and *Tsapad-kaptan* in Kuropatkin; the latter author writes the name of *Galdan Ts'eriying* in this form: *Haldan-shirin*. Another Russian writer, Abramoff (*Proceedings of the Imperial Russian geographical Society for 1861*, p. 160), refers to *Galdan Ts'eriying* as *Haldan-shirin*, and says that his second son was called *Tsavan-dorizi-atcja-namiyal*. The latter's name is transcribed **策妄多爾濟那木札勒** by the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book VII, p. 5, verso, and the Manchu-Mongol equivalent is *Ts'ewang-dordji-namdjah*.

(112) **波羅泥都** *po-lo-ni-tou*. The spelling is the same in the *Geographical Dictionary*: we read *pou-la-ni-toun* in the biography of Obaïdou'llah and his descendants (taken from the '*Houeï-kiang t'oung-tche*, liv. II, and translated by us, [le pays de Hami, tirage à part, p. 63](#)), *pou-na-toun* and *po-lo-ni-tou* in the *Cheng-vou-ki* of Oueï Yuan (cf. our [Recueil de documents, p. 6](#)), etc.; see on this subject Appendix I.

The Manchu and Mongol equivalents of this name are, according to the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, Boronidou: the word '*houeï*' given afterwards is

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*Bourânoudoun*, a probable corruption of *Bourhân-uddin* (cf. [the country of Hami, separate edition, p. 63](#)).

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The name *Bourhân-uddin* has been written in several ways: *Boronitou* by Klaproth ([Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 91 et seq.](#)); *Boorkhan-eddin* by Kuropatkin ([Kashgaria, p. 108 et seq.](#)); *Barhanuddin* by Boulger (*History*, p. 167).

(113) 霍集占 *Houo-tsi-tchan* (same spelling in the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, the *Houeï-kiang t'oung-tche* and the *Cheng-vou-ki*). Manchu and Mongol (*Dict. Geogr.*, Book XI, p. 21, verso) give *Khodjidjan*, the 'houeï,

*Khodjo-Djân*. Klaproth had adopted the spellings *Khodzidjan* and *Khozidchan* (cf. our [Recueil de documents, p. 66](#); [Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 91](#)): we have followed the latter in our *Mémoire* sur Hami. Kuropatkin did not know that *Bourhân-uddin*'s brother was called *Khodjo-Djân*: he always refers to him as *Khan Khodja* ([Kashgaria, chap. IV](#)).

(114) 即斫謂大小和卓木者也 The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* says (liv. XI, p. 23 recto and verso) that the Mohammedans called *Bourhân-uddin* the *Ki-ho-tcho-mou* (*hotchom*), meaning the *great hotchom*, and *Khodjo-Djân*, the *Ki-tsi-k'o* (*Kitsik*) *ho-tcho-mou* (*hotchom*) or *small hotchom* (*Kitsik*, according to this work, would have the meaning of *small*). In the article *Boronidou* ou *Bourhân-uddin* (p. 23, recto), he adds: *Hotchom*, it's like saying 'moi le hotcho'.

和卓 *ho-tcho* (old spelling 火者, p.124 cf. [le pays de Hami, separate edition, p. 39, note 4](#)) is the phonetic transcription of the well-known Persian title *Khodjah, master, lord, teacher, etc.*; the Chinese seem to have confused *Khodjah* with *Khodjé-m* which means *gentleman*: *ho-tcho-mou* or *hotchom* would be a corruption of the latter word.

The missionaries took *hotchom* to be a proper name:

There were," says de Mailla, "two Mohammedans, by the name of Ho-tchom, one of whom made laws in *Yerquen* (*Yarkand*), and the other in *Hashar* (*Kasgar, i.e. Kashgar*): they were distinguished by the name of the *great Ho-tchom* and the *little Ho-tchom* ([Histoire, t. XI, p. 564](#))".

Another missionary said, according to Father Amiot:

"([Mémoire sur le Thibet, etc.; Lettres édifiantes](#), ed. 1835, t. XXXVII, p. 225).

Chinese authors write *ho-tcho* and *ho-tcho-mou* interchangeably. (*hotchom*) to transcribe the word *khodjah*.

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According to the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* (liv. XI, p. 23, recto), *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân* were descendants of the Païghembèr in the thirtieth generation (see appendix I).

Kuropatkin claims that Mohammed, whom he calls *Khodja Ahmet*, was imprisoned by the Dzungars before *Galdan Tseriyng* (*Haldan-shirin*) took power. Cf. [Kashgaria, p.](#)

[106](#). The Dzungars are said to have intervened in an internal war between two Mohammedan chiefs and to have dethroned Mohammed, one of these chiefs, in favour of his rival. De Mailla ([t. XI, p. 563](#)) is more accurate.

(115) 班第. He belonged to one of the Mongol banners. See Appendix III, *Biographical notes on some of K'ien-loung's generals*.

The historical fact reported in our text escaped de Mailla and Kuropatkin. The former is content to say ([t. XI, p. 563](#)):

"As soon as Hotchom (read *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân*) was informed that the imperial armies were marching towards *Ily* (*Ili*), he showed the greatest eagerness to be subjected to China. Generalissimo Panti, in the name of the emperor, set him free and returned his states to him, with the promise that the court of Peking would protect him against his enemies. Kien-long confirmed Panti's promises: he treated the Mohammedan prince as if he were of his own blood and gave him back his subjects, who were shamefully grovelling at the court of *Tchong-kar*.

(read: who were under the domination of a chief, a former rival of *Mohammed*, supported by the Dzungars). As for Kuropatkin, he is silent on this point, which is nevertheless of historical importance.

(116) 阿睦爾撒納. On *Amoursana's* revolt against Chinese authority, see principally de [Mailla, Histoire, t. XI](#), and Kuropatkin, [Kashgaria, chap. IV](#) (as a Chinese text, book II of the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-liao*). There are some interesting details about *Amoursana* and his family in the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book X, p. 31, verso.

(117) 台吉 或 宰桑. "The *daidji* are hereditary nobles, claiming descent from the founders of the Mongol sovereignty or from the *Khans* or titular They were called "princes" and "dukes" of the various tribes. Amongst the Oelöt tribes, the title *tsai-sang* (*dzai-sang*) was employed in the place of *daidji* for their hereditary nobles" ([Mayers, Chinese Government, p. 89](#)).

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A number of these hereditary nobles had sided with the Chinese and lent their support to *K'ien-loung's* armies.

(118) 哈薩克. On the Khassaks, see [Klaproth, \*Magasin asiatique\*, t. I, p. 98 et seq;](#) p.125 our [Recueil de documents, p. 115 et seq;](#) [Timkovski, \*Voyage à Peking\* à travers la Mongolie en 1820 et 1821](#), French translation, Paris, 1837, t. I, p. 215 et seq; [Mayers, \*Chinese Government\*, p. 87](#). Details of the campaign against *Amoursana*, his defeat, his flight, etc., can be found in the works cited above (de Mailla, Kuropatkin, etc.).

(119) 兆惠. On this famous general, see Appendix III, *Biographical notes*, etc.

(120) 阿敏道. De Mailla reports it differently:

"It was thought that this prince (the Hotchom, i.e. *Khodjo-Djân*) would be bound by honours and benefits; he was mistaken: it was not long before he disregarded the hand that had served him and became ungrateful. He persuaded himself that he would be no less enslaved under the emperor's protection than he had been under the Eleutheans, and he wanted to be entirely free. The failures that the imperial troops had just suffered led him to believe that he could raise the banner of revolt with impunity. Panti tried to bring him back to his commitments, but all his attempts were in vain. With the same intention, he sent Ngao-min-tao at the head of a hundred men to make a last attempt, but the Mohammedan barbarian slit the throats of Ngao-min-tao and the hundred horsemen. Swelling with pride, and putting his trust in his firearms, his strongholds and the help of his neighbouring Mohammedans, he prepared to defend himself, convinced that he could resist the forces of China ([History, p. 563-564](#)).

Instead of *Panti* and *Ngao-min-tao*, it should read *Tchao-'houeï* and *Amintaô* (a name that *Oueï Yuan* writes *Amint'ou*). In Kuropatkin *Tchao-'houeï* is transcribed Tchjao Hoi. Boulger contradicts the Chinese historians when he says, p. 167, that the Chinese had not put *Bourhân-uddin* on the throne.

(122) A Manchu, as his name suggests. He had taken part in the expedition against *Amoursana* (cf. de [Mailla, \*Histoire\*, t. XI](#)).

(123) 靖逆 *who pacified the rebels*.

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(124) According to Kuropatkin, who rarely quotes his authorities, this first unsuccessful attack was made by *Tchao-houei* and not by *Yarkhachan* :

"On receipt of the first news relating to a rising in Kashgaria, Tchjao-Hoi, ruler of the province of Ili, moved from the town of the same name with a detachment of 2,000 Kalmucks and a small number of Mandjoor and Turkestanese, over the Moozart pass, to the town of Koocha (*Kou-tché*). This town was prepared to make a stout resistance, so that the small force that had been sent from Hi had to return without success ([Kashgaria, p. 114](#)).

De Mailla has no details of this period of the campaign against the Mohammedans.

(125) 沙雅爾 *Chayar*, a town near *Koutche*, lat. 41° 41', long. 82° 45' ([Playfair, The cities and towns of China](#)). According to the *Houei-kiang t'oung tche (the country of Hami, separate edition, p. 64)*, a rebel chief named *Abdou Kholem* had first come from *Aksou* to the aid of *Kou-tche*, but he had been beaten and put to flight. It was then that *Khodjo-Djân* arrived with 5,000 men (*loco citato*). Kuropatkin claims that the latter had 10,000 men with him, which seems exaggerated, and cites Ritter (*Eastern Turkestan*) as an authority, who confuses *Khodjo-Djân* with *Bourhân-uddin*:

"Tchjao Hoi now despatched a fresh force, numbering 10,000 men composed of Mandjoors and Chinese, by the route *viâ* Koonya-Toorfan to Koocha (*Kou-tche*). On the other hand the Yarkend *Khodja* (*i. e.* p.126 *Khodjo-Djân*) sent a reinforcement to the people of Koocha, composed of 10,000 selected troops.

*Oueï-Yuan* (*Cheng-vou-ki*, book IV):

"The two *Khodja* brothers (*Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân*) came to the rescue with around 10,000 soldiers armed with rifles.

(126) Cf. [Mayers, Chinese Government, p. 82](#). - On which see appendix II, *Biographical notes*, etc.

(127) 和落霍滿. *Oueï Yuan* calls 和托爾, 'Ho-t'o-young, the place where the first battle took place. This is a misprint: it should read 托和爾, (*K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lio*, book I, p. 9, verso). This locality is 80 *li* to the east of *Kou-tche* (*op. cit.*):

(129) Manchu name.



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(130) The river **渭 干**, *oueï-kan*, which is formed by several streams flowing from the mountains to the north-west of Kou-tché, first flows in a southerly direction, then bends almost abruptly to the east to join the river **塔 里 木**, Tarim: it thus passes ten *li* to the north of *Chayar*. It is in this part of its course that it is called the River Oken. See **西 域 水 道 記**, *Si-yu choueï-tao ki*, treatise on the hydrography of *Si-yu* or *Central Asia*, a very important work on the rivers and lakes of *Si-yu*, published during the reign of *Tao-kouang*, which Wylie did not mention in his useful *Notes sur la littérature* (book II, p. 12, recto and 15, recto, and the map on pages 33, verso and 34, recto, at the end of this book).

*Oueï Yuan* refers to *Aïlonga* as *ling-toueï tâ-tch'en*, commander of the troops. According to him, the battle took place on the 16th of the sixth month.

(131) *Oueï Yuan's* account is consistent with our text. De Mailla and Kuropatkin did not mention these facts. The latter simply writes

"The Chinese having driven off the reinforcement laid siege to the town ([Kashgaria, p. 115](#)).

(132) In the *Cheng-vou-ki* we find interesting details about the siege of Kou-tché. Here is a translation of the passage:

"The two *Khodjah* brothers (according to the author, *Bourhân-uddin* had come with his brother to the aid of *Kou-tche*) having had their retreat cut off (by *Aïlonga*, after the fight at the river *Oken*), gathered together about eight hundred men and took refuge in the town of *Kou-tche*. Our army then rejoiced that the two rebel chiefs had thrown themselves into the net and that it would be possible to capture and slaughter them.

*Huduï* (one of the officers of the besieging army <sup>1</sup> said (to *Yarkhachan*):

"The rebels will certainly not remain locked up in the town; they will certainly try to escape. To escape, they have two routes: one to the west of the town by the river *Oueï-kan* which they can ford; the other by the pass or defile of the northern hills, in the direction of the *Aksou* desert. I ask you

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<sup>1</sup> Transcription of the name *'houeï*, *Huduï* (cf. *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, liv. XIII, p. 11, verso). He was an *akim beg* who had rallied to the imperial cause.

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authorisation to place a thousand men in ambush in each of these important locations.

Yarkhachan did not take the measures suggested: he spent his days playing chess; he did not even make rounds in the entrenchments. p.127

"On the 24th (of the sixth month), towards evening, some of *Solon's* soldiers (Manchus from the Amur region) heard camels in the town shouting as if they were being heavily loaded to go far away. They secretly informed the Marshal. That night, the two rebel chiefs and Bey Abdou secretly left the town with 400 horsemen through the western gate and fled through the defile of the northern hills. However, the general of the Manchu troops, *Chountona*, who was guarding the western gate, heard the news, but as it was still dark, he did not send any troops (in pursuit). It was only in the morning that he sent a hundred men after the fugitives, but they had already crossed the River *Oken* and cut the bridges.

To cover up his responsibility, the Marshal accused *Chountona* (of having let them escape); he attacked the town with vigour. The town, built on high ground, was defended by walls of sand and earth and by palisades against which cannon were useless. So the general of the Chinese troops, *Mâ Tô-cheng*, had his soldiers dig the ground to make mines: they worked under his orders day and night without interruption. The mines had already been dug up to two metres from the square, when the rebels guarding the walls saw a glimmer of light underground: they made counter-mines where they burnt straw. Around 600 of our soldiers were burnt to death. Once again, to cover up his responsibility, the marshal accused the general, but he was careful not to ask for him to be punished himself.

In the eighth month, *Abdou*, the Mohammedan leader who was defending the town, fled during the night and broke through the lines of the besiegers. The remaining Mohammedans opened the gates and surrendered.

The emperor (informed of what had happened) flew into a rage and, to set an example, had *Yarkhachan*, *Chountona* and *Mâ Tô-cheng* put to death...

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Kuropatkin speaks of the siege of Kou-tche in these terms:

"The Chinese carried their saps to within a *li* of the town, and had arrived sufficiently near to make an assault, when all at once the besieged let out some water, drowning 10 officers and 600 soldiers of the Chinese forces. The position of the besiegers was not indeed especially favourable, and they had thought of raising the siege but the flight of the Khodja from Koocha aided them. The inhabitants of the town, after the Khodja's flight, not wishing to make any further resistance, opened the gates. Notwithstanding this spontaneous surrender, about a thousand of the Koocha troops were slain by the conquerors on their entry into the town. The Chinese emperor Tsian-Loon (*Kien-loung*), on receiving the report that the Chinese leader had allowed the offending Khodja to escape, and that he had slaughtered some of those who had surrendered, ordered him to be executed, and he at the same time ordered Tchjao-Hoi, the Governor of Ili, and his colleague, Foo-De, to move against Kashgaria with fresh forces. ([Kashgaria, p. 115.](#))

(133) 烏哈墨第 . This is the spelling of our text: but there must be a transcription error here, or a printing error. We believe that *Makhmout* should be read as *Mah.moud, beg de Chayar* according to the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book XII, p. 14.

(134) 阿瓜斯 . Manchu-Mongol: *Akouwas*; in Persian: voice (*Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book XIII, p. 5, verso). In the same work, book XII, p.128 p. 16 recto, we see 阿瓜斯巴奇, whose Manchu and Houei equivalents are : *Akouwasbaki* and *'avâz-bâqi* (*bâqi* means, in Arabic, *lasting, eternal*). It is obviously this *'Awâz-bâqi* is referred to in the text: he was indeed (*loc. cit.*) *akim-beg* of *Sairim*.

(135) 伯凱 . This name is not found in *Sairim*'s list of begs (*Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book XII, p. 16 et seq.). Perhaps this is an erroneous transcription of *bâqi* (see note above)? and then it should read *'Awâz-bâqi* instead of two names. However, we should add that *bâqi* is usually transcribed phonetically in Chinese as 巴奇 (*Si-yu t'oung ouen tche, passim*).

(136) See note *above* on the siege of Kou-tche.

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(137) 定邊 , who fixes or pacifies borders. See [Mayers, Chinese Government, p. 92, no. 559](#) (marshal or military governor).

(138) We were unable to discover the exact location of this town.

(139) Manchu-Mongol: *Khodjîs*; 'houei: *Khodjîs* (*Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book XI, p. 31 recto).

(140) De Mailla and Kuropatkin make no mention of this fact, which they seem to have ignored.

(141) 達瓦齊 . *Dawatchi* (Manchu and Mongol equivalents of *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book VIII, p. 19, recto), second son of *Nam-djal Tasi* (*loc. cit.*), was khan of the Dzungars. On his fight with *Amoursana*, see [de Mailla, Histoire,](#)

[t. XI, p. 545 et seq](#); Abel Rémusat, [Vie de Kao-tsoung, Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, t. II](#), p. 46; Kuropatkin, [Kashgaria, p. 187](#); Abramoff, *Proceedings of the Imperial Russian Society for 1861*, p. 160, etc. De Mailla calls it *Taoua-tsi* (or *Débatchi*), [p. 545](#), and Kuropatkin, *Tavatsi*. See also Boulger, *History*, chap. XIII (*Davatsi*). *Amoursana*, *Dawatchi*'s rival, was supported by the armies of *K'ien-loung* and triumphed over the khan of the Dzungars, who was taken prisoner and taken to Peking where he received the titles of *ho-che ts'in-ouang*, prince of the first class, and *tô-lô ô-fou*, husband of an imperial princess (*Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book VIII, p. 19, recto; cf. [de Mailla, Histoire, p. 549](#)). *K'ien-loung*'s idea seems to have been to keep *Dawatchi* at his court with the intention of opposing this khan, if necessary, to *Amoursana*, but *Dawatchi* died of grief shortly afterwards.

(142) All these details are new and are not found in either de Mailla or Kuropatkin. The latter simply states: "Having reached Aksu, Tchjao-Hoi took possession of this town". ([Kashgaria, p. 115](#)). He makes no mention of the capture of *Ouché*, which took place at the same time.

*Oueï Yuan* (*Cheng-vou-ki*, book IV) reports the same facts:

"At that moment (after their exit from *Kou-tché*) the two Khodjah fled to Aksou. The beg of this town, *Khodjîs*, was the same one who had received a noble title for having once taken *Dawatchi* prisoner. He closed the town gates and did not receive them; he encouraged them to go to *Ouché*. But *Uché* didn't want to receive them either. So the little khodjah (*Khodjo-Djân*) fled to *Yarkand*, and the great khodjah (*Bourhân-uddin*), to *Kachgar*. *Tchao-'houei* commissioned *Huduï* to

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pacify *Khoten* and *Khodjîs* followed the army.

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(143) *Oueï Yuan*'s account tallies exactly with ours; we also know that he was able to consult the official documents deposited at the historiographers' office:

"the little *khodjah* (*Khodjo-Djân*) had repaired the walls, devastated the p.129 the countryside, cut off the rice fields and drove the inhabitants back into the town, so that our army would find nothing to take. Five li (two kilometres) to the east of the town, he had ditches dug and redoubts built to resist and tire us out. For his part, the great *khodjah* (*Bourhân-uddin*) occupied the city of *Kashgar* and thus faced it.

However, *Oueï Yuan* does not mention the reunion of the two brothers in *Yarkand*.

(144) The *Cheng-vou-ki* gives the same date.

(148) See Appendix III, *Biographical notes*.

(155) 瑞綽爾圖. He was from the tribe of *Solon* (Amur region). *K'ien loung* wrote a play of verse about him (*K'iu-ting sin-kiang tche-lïo*, introductory book, p. 31).

(156) Cf. [Mayers, Chinese Government, p. 67](#), no. 465. *Batourou* means *brave* in Manchu.

(160) Our story is much more detailed than that of *Oueï Yuan*.

(161) According to the *Cheng-vou-ki*, *ying-ki-pan*. The *Si-yu t'ou tche* describes this mountain (cf. our [Recueil de documents, p. 96](#)<sup>1</sup>).

(162) This is the *Yarkand déria* or *Yarkand* river.

"The northern river, which descends from the *Ts'oung-ling* (*Bolor tagh* range), passes outside the city of *Kashgar*; the southern river, also descending from the *Ts'oung-ling*, passes outside the city of *Yarkand*. The natives call *tch'e choueï 'ho*, *the river of red waters*, the northern river (*Kachgar déria* or *Kizil sou*, red water) and *'hei choueï 'ho*, *the river of black waters*, the southern river (*Yarkand déria*).

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<sup>1</sup> Here is the article that the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* devotes to this mountain: "The *Ingge dsipan tagh* (mountain of *Ingge dsipan*): primitive transcription *Ingichi dsipan*; *Ingichi*, in the *Houeï* language, has the meaning of *going down the slope* or *hillside of a hill*; *dsipan*, in Persian, means *one who grazes sheep* (shepherd). At the bottom of the mountain, there is a lot of pasture (Book IV, p. 33, verso).

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Chinese author's note: in `h o u e i , red is said *oulan*, black, *khara* (*khara*); water is said *ousou*. Consequently the *Ulan ousou* is the *Kachgar déria* and the *Khara ousou*, the p.130 *Yarkand déria*. Since the English and Russian explorations, these two rivers have become very well known.

(165) 通古思魯克. This is the name of the place where the battle took place <sup>1</sup>.

(166) The camp was called 黑水營, *hei choueï yng*, the camp of the Black River, because it was established near the *Khara-ousou* or *Yarkand déria*, to the east of this river.

(167) Here is the story of *Oueï Yuan*:

"*Tchao-`houeï*, having detached 800 men, instructed *Aïlonga* (to take command of them and) to occupy the road to *Kachgar* by which help might come. Moreover, having learned from his spies that the rebels' herds were at the foot of the *Yng- k'i-p'an* mountain, he resolved to cross the river (the *Yarkand déria*) and seize it in order to provide the army with supplies.

On the thirteenth day, he left troops to guard the camp on the Black River, and at the head of about 1,000 horsemen, he headed south from the east. No sooner had he led 400 cavalry across the river than the bridge suddenly broke and 5,000 rebel cavalry rode out of the town to cut off our retreat. Our troops had just vigorously attacked the rebel cavalry, when around 10,000 rebel infantrymen supported them, who deployed in two wings, enveloped us and attacked us from behind. Our army, separated by the river, could not come to the rescue. What's more, the ground was soggy and it was difficult to advance. Fighting back, our troops swam across the river and tried to reach the camp. Halfway across, they were cut off by the rebels, who separated several companies (from the rest of the troops): everyone had to fight for themselves. The fight lasted from morning until evening. About 1,000 rebels were killed, but most of our horses got bogged down, several hundred officers and soldiers died in the fight, and an equal number were killed.

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<sup>1</sup> According to the *Si-yu choueï tao ki* or *Treatise on the hydrography of Si-yu or Central Asia*, this locality is also called *Si-po* (cf. this work, book I, p. 17 verso). It is to the south of the *Khara-ousou* or *Yarkand déria*.

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wounded. *Tchao-'houei* charged the rebels left and right with the greatest impetuosity. He had several horses wounded or killed under him, and changed horses as he went along. *Ming-joueï* was also wounded: the brigadier general of the Chinese troops *Kaô T'ien-chi* and other officers died fighting.

The rebels then crossed the river to attack us. For five days and five nights our army fought, while building entrenchments. For their part, the rebels built a large entrenchment to surround us on all sides and lay siege to us. On the night of the 17th, *Tchao-'houei* sent to *Aksou*, by different routes, five soldiers charged with announcing the critical position in which he found himself. *Choukhedé* (who was in *Aksou*) informed the emperor by express mail.

The rebels diverted the course of the river upstream to flood the camp, but our troops made the water flow downstream through canals that they dug. The camp backed on to a wood where bullets and cannonballs fell like rain. <sup>p.131</sup> Our troops cut down the trees and found an innumerable quantity of projectiles which they used to fire back.

In the meantime, the *Buruts* (Black Khirgis) attacked *Kashgar* just as our army was attacking and burning the rebel camp (in front of the town). The rebels, suspecting that the *Bourouts* were in agreement with our troops, the great *khodjah* (*Bourhân-uddin*) sent an emissary to discuss peace: *Tchao-'houei* seized him and, by means of a letter attached to an arrow that was shot into the middle of the rebels, replied that he could not accept submission until *Khodjo-Djân* had first been delivered to him.

Our troops found water by digging wells, and grain by discovering silos made by the rebels. In the third month, the army was not yet in distress. The rebels were frightened and believed there was some genie (deity) with us."

Comparing the two passages, it will be noticed that the official historians are more sober with details and do not attribute such a critical character to the position of the army of *Tchao-'houei*: it is difficult for them to admit clearly



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that the troops of the Son of Heaven, who should always be victorious, suffered a serious defeat. Foreign authors have nothing to say about the siege of the camp on the Black River: de Mailla's *History* makes no mention of it.

(168)高宗皇癩帝, *Kaô-tsoung-choun 'houang-ti*. This is the emperor who is usually called *K'ien-loung*, after the years of his reign.

(169)富德. The *Fouté* of the missionaries, the *Foo-De* of Kuropatkin. He was a Tartar-Manchu from the *Solon* tribe. He distinguished himself in the campaign against *Amoursana*.

*"Fouté* made himself formidable to the Tartars, and, after *Tchao-'houeï*, there is no general who deserved more from the empire in the war against the Eleutes; nevertheless he was almost condemned to lose his head on returning from his glorious expeditions. A small mandarin in whose district *Fouté* had demanded horses for the army with a little too much rigour, accused him of embezzlement; and he was convinced, in fact, of having embezzled for his own benefit some horses, which he had sent to the stud farms he owned in Tartary. He deserved to die, but in recognition of his services, the emperor, who had decorated him with the title of *héou* (marquis) and given him honourable posts, was content to take them away from him and condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, without wishing to make use of him in subsequent wars. His freedom was not restored until 1771, on the occasion of the general amnesty, when the empress mother celebrated her eightieth birthday. The emperor made him one of his guards, but constantly refused to employ him in the army destined to attack the kingdom of *Mien* (Burma), despite the entreaties of the grandees and ministers ([De Mailla, Histoire, t. XI, p. 555, note 1](#)).

*Fou-tô* and *Yarkhachan*, having fallen into disgrace, were not admitted, in spite of the services they had rendered to China, to the number of famous men of the reigning dynasty (Cf. appendix III, *Biographical notes*).

During the absence of *Tchao-'houeï*, who commanded the expedition against *Yarkand*, *Fou-tô* administered *Ili*. He had therefore not followed the army, and Kuropatkin is mistaken when he says: "Tchjao-Hoi moved on the

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Yarkend, directing his colleague Foo-De to follow with the infantry" ([Kashgaria, p. 116](#)).

(170) 納木札爾, *Namoudjar*, a Manchu. He was given the title of Count p.132 for having taken prisoner a chief of the *Khalkas* who had revolted against the emperor (*K'in-ting sin-hiang tche-lio*, introductory book, p. 23).

(171) *San-t'ai*, also Manchu. The *Cheng-vou-ki* gives *San-ko*. There is a misprint in the latter work, for in the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lio*, book serving as an introduction, p. 23, poetry by the emperor *K'ien-loung* entitled *Chouang y che*, a verse piece on the two patriots, we see that it refers to *San-t'ai* and not *San-ko*.

(172) 遇害, *yu-hai*, to *meet with misfortune*. When fortune does not smile on Chinese arms, historians avoid saying that the troops are beaten or defeated: to reconcile the truth of history with the dignity of the Son of Heaven, they resort to deft and brief euphemisms in the taste of the one we have just quoted. In the *Cheng-vou-ki*, for example, we find the expressions 不利 *pou li*, they didn't get the benefit (the advantage),

失利 *che li*, they lost the profit (the advantage). See our paper entitled: [Deux insurrections des mahométans du Kan-sou \(Journal asiatique, 1890](#), separate edition, p. 19, note 4).

*Yuei Yuan* :

"*Tchao-houeï* had ordered *Aïlonga* to return to Aksou with some troops to press the relief army. *Aïlonga* met the (new marshal of) *ts'ing-ni* and others (*Namoutchar* and *San-t'ai*) who were advancing with 200 cavalry; he could not stop them, they suffered a defeat (*yu hai*, same expression as that of the official historians <sup>1</sup>).

(173) 舒赫德, a Manchu. See his [Mémoire sur le Thibet, Lettres édifiantes](#), ed. 1832, t. XXXV, p. 245.

(174) locality whose location is unknown to us.

(175) of a Manchu banner, see Appendix III, *Biographical notes*.

(178) *Oueï Yuan* :

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<sup>1</sup> *Namoudjar* and *San-t'ai* perished in this encounter. On the subject of their deaths, *K'ien-loung* wrote a piece of verse entitled 雙義詩, *about the two patriots*, which has been preserved by the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-liô*, book serving as an introduction, p. 22 ff.

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"*Fou-tô* was then in the *Pèi lou* (i. e. *T'ien chan pèi lou*, the circuit to the north of the Celestial mountains = Dzungarie or *lli*): learning of the critical situation of the besieged of the Black river, he left at once, through the snows, to bring them help, at the head of 2.000 men from Solon and Tchakhar (a nomadic Mongol tribe outside the Great Wall), and around 1,800 soldiers from *Pèi lou*.

On the sixth day of the first month of the twenty-fourth year (1759), he arrived at Khourman where he met 5,000 rebel horsemen: he fought as he advanced, the battle lasting four days and four nights. As there was no water in the middle of this sandy desert, his troops ate ice to quench their thirst. The horses were exhausted and half the men had to walk. On the third day, he crossed the river of *Yarkand*: he was still three hundred *li* away from the army of the Black River. As the rebels became more and more numerous, he was unable to advance any further.

(Another edition of the *Cheng-vou-ki* adds a sentence here:

"The two Chinese armies were thus enveloped, outside the Great Wall.") p.133

"In the meantime, *Alikoun*, governor of *Pa-li-k'oun* (Barkoul), arrived during the night and, by order of the emperor, with 600 men leading 9,000 horses and 1,000 camels, had made his junction with the approximately 1,000 soldiers of *Aïlonga*. From a distance, he saw fires stretching for about ten *li*, and realised where our troops were fighting the rebels. In addition, meeting soldiers who had been sent to loot the (rebel) camp, he learnt that our troops were in great need of help. So he deployed his troops in two wings and advanced rapidly, causing them to shout loudly: the noise mingled with the dust. He marched straight to the rebel entrenchments and attacked them vigorously with *Fou-tô* at three different points. As it was pitch dark, the rebels were unaware of the number of our troops; they killed each other (in the darkness) and finally fled. Our troops rushed forward with impetuosity. A few dozen *li* before reaching the camp on the Black River, they again defeated the rebels.

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However, *Tchao-'houei*, seeing the number of rebels besieging him diminish every day, hearing gunfire and cannonade in the distance, seeing great clouds of dust coming from the east, and noticing that the wells dug in the camp were suddenly running dry (?), knew that the relief army had been assembled. So, while moderating the ardour of his soldiers, he broke through the lines of the besiegers, killed more than 1,000 rebels and completely burnt down the entrenchments. The defeated rebels withdrew into the town. Our two armies joined forces and returned to Aksou.

(181) The *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lio*, Book III, *Khoten*, gives a list of these six localities:

"There are six towns or villages of Mohammedans: 1° the town of *Y-li-tsi* (Ilitchi); 2° the town of *H'a-la-ha-che* (Kharakhach), 70 li to the north-west of Ilitchi; 3° the village of *Yu-loung-ha-che* (Ouroung-khach) <sup>1</sup> without walls (it is not a walled town), 10 li to the east of the town of Ilitchi; 4° the village of *Ts'o-lo* (Tchira?), without walls (not a walled town), 230 li south-east of Ouroung-khach; 5° the town of *K'o-li-ya* (Kiria), 180 li north-east of the village of *Ts'o-lo*; 6° the village of *T'a-k'o-nou-la* (Tak-noura), without walls (not a town), in the mountains 350 li south of Kiria.

A few comments on this passage are in order:

1° Ilitchi or Itchi is the modern name of the town of *Khoten* or *Khotan*.

"Eelchi (Ilitchi) was anciently called *Khoten*, but at present there is no town bearing that name (*Khoten*) which is now applied to the whole district, distant about ten or twelve days' journey from *Yarkand* (W. H. Wathen, *Notices of Chinese Tartary and Khoten*, in [Chinese Repository](#), t. XII, p. 236) ;

*Khoten* is, as we know, the land of jade (cf. [Abel Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan](#); H. von Schlagintweit, *Reisen in Indien und Hochasien*; Fisher, *Allgemeine Zeitung*, 2 February 1881; [Élisée Reclus, Nouvelle géographie universelle](#), t. VII, *Asie orientale*, p. 132);

2° *Kharakhach* or *Karakach* is located not far from the river of that name (cf. É. Reclus, *Géographie, loc. cit.* ) ;

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<sup>1</sup> Some geographers write *Yurong-khush* and *Yurang-khash*.

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"In 'houei, says the *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book VI, p. 23, recto, p.134 *Kharakhach* means black jade (*khara* or *kara* = black; *khach* or *kach* = jade). The name comes from the fact that black jade is found in the river. This river is the *Vou-yu-'ho*, river of black jade, situated to the west of the country of *Yu-tien* (Khoten) mentioned in the annals of *Tsin*" (Cf. *Visits to High Tartary, Yarkand, etc.*, by R. Shaw, 1871, p. 474; [Abel Rémusat, Histoire de la ville de Khotan](#); Reclus, *Geography; Bulletin de la Société de géographie de Paris*, 7th series, t. XII, 4th quarter 1891, p. 418, etc.);

3° *Ouroung-khach*, situated near the river of the same name; etymology of *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche*, book VI, p. 22, recto :

"In 'houei, *ouroung* means to fetch, *khach*, jade. The locals collect jade from this river, hence its name.

According to Rémusat ([Khotan, p. 108](#)), *Ouroung Kasch* (Eastern Turkish *Yorong- kasch*) means white jade. On the *Karakach* and *Oroung Kach* rivers, see Reclus, who has summarised the most recent knowledge we have <sup>1</sup> ;

4° *Ts'o-lo* must be transcribed *Tchira*, the place mentioned by [Reclus, p. 131](#) ;

5° *Kiria*, west of *Tcherchen* (Reclus, p. 131), five days' journey from *Ilitchi* according to *Wathen* (*loc. cit.*);

6° *Tak-noura*; there is a place called *Tak* and another called *Noura* (the latter visited by M. Dutreil de Rhins in 1891). This may be due to confusion on the part of Chinese geographers <sup>2</sup>.

(183) The three other towns (or villages) are *Ts'olo*, *Kiria*, and *Tak-noura*, *vide supra*.

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<sup>1</sup> Since the publication of Reclus's work, a number of explorers have visited the Khoten region: the most recent include Colonel Piévtzoff, Captain Koborovsky, Lieutenant Kozloff, the geologist Bogdanovitch (Piévtzoff mission), Captain Grombchefskey, who is continuing the work of the famous General Prjévalsky, Captain Younghusband, Messrs. (*Bulletin de la Société de géographie*, report by Mr Maunoir, 7th series, t. XII, 4th quarter 1891).

<sup>2</sup> *Si-yu choueï-tao ki* (Book I, p. 97):

"*Ilitchi*: in 'houei, means population surrounding a town; *Kiria*: in 'houei, means to think that someone is coming without being sure; *Tchira*: in 'houei, means to bring water to the land; *tak* or *tagh*, (mountain): this name comes from the fact that the place is in the middle of the southern mountains (*nan chan*).

The two other localities mentioned in this work are *Karakach* and *Ouroungkach*, without giving any new details about them. It should be noted that he considers *nou la* (*noura*) as the old spelling of *Tchira* (?), and not as forming a single name with *Tak* (*Tak-noura*).

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(185) 巴圖濟爾哈爾 . He was, as we learn from a play by K'ien- loun on this expedition, a *tsai-sang* of the Eleuthes (cf. *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-liao*, introductory book, p. 19, recto).

(186) 瑚爾起 . He was from an ancient family in *Girin* (cf. *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-liao*, introductory book, p. 19, recto).

(189) This is the land of *Khoten*, *Khoten* referring to the region of which *Ylits'i* (Iltchi) is the main town. - *Oueï Yuan* is less complete, but it does give us the exact date of the expedition against *Khoten*:

"In the fourth month of the summer of the following year (1759), troops were first sent to rescue *Khoten* and recapture the three towns that had fallen into the hands of the rebels.

(190) According to *Oueï Yuan*, 30,000 men, 30,000 horses and 10,000 camels had been assembled at *Aksou* for a new campaign against *Yarkand*.

(191) The same details are given in the *Cheng-vou-ki*, which adds, however, that each of the two corps consisted of 15,000 men.

(192) *Ykhos* or *Ykhse*, locality unknown.

(193) It's hard to know whether we're talking about two or three people.

(194) De Mailla makes no mention of the first unsuccessful attack on *Yarkand*. Here's what he says about the second:

"The Hotchoms, beaten on all sides, withdrew to Yerquen (Yarkand) with the remnants of their army. The two Chinese armies followed them there with the intention of besieging them; but the Hotchoms, not believing themselves safe, did not wait for them and fled, taking with them those who offered to follow them. *Tchao- 'houeï* sent his colleague in pursuit and laid siege to the town, summoning it to surrender. The garrison did not know that the Chinese army had been halved by the departure of *Fouté*: they did not believe themselves strong enough to resist, and invited the general to come and take possession of Yerquen. *Tchao- 'houeï* entered in triumph to the acclamations of the people, who hastened to offer him refreshments, and to whom he declared that he would not be allowed to enter Yerquen.

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would not change its customs or religion. The town of Haschar (Kashgar) also surrendered ([History, p. 564-565](#)).

According to Kuropatkin, *Tchao-'houei* took over *Yarkand* before *Kashgar* ([Kashgaria, p. 116](#)). These two authors therefore seem to contradict our text. Kuropatkin even claims that, from *Yarkand*, *Tchao-'houei* marched on *Khoten* where the *Khodjah* had taken refuge:

"The *Khodja*, accompanied by his adherents, fled to the town of *Khotan*... From *Yarkand* *Tchjao-Hoi* moved on *Khotan*. *Khan Khodja* (*Boorkhan-Eddin's* brother) advanced to meet him, but was defeated and had to fly the town surrendered without a blow. Sending his colleague, *Foo-De*, from *Khotan* towards *Badakhshan* to follow after the *Khodjas*, *Tchjao-Hoi* moved on *Kashgar*, which he also took without opposition.

There is no trace of this march on *Khoten* in our account: as for the *Cheng-vou-ki*, it does not even give details of the capture of *Kashgar* and *Yarkand*.

On the state of affairs in *Kashgaria* at the time of the final conquest, and on the administrative measures taken by *Tchao-'houei* to reorganise the country, see [de Mailla, Histoire, t. XI, p. 565 ff](#); Kuropatkin, [Kashgaria, p. 117 ff](#); [Mémoire sur le Thibet, Lettres édifiantes](#), ed. 1832, t. XXXV, p. 227 ff.

(195) 拔達克山. See our [Recueil de documents, p. 194](#), note.

(196) 安集延. According to *Oueï Yuan*, the supporters of the *Khodjas* wanted to withdraw to 敖罕, *Ao-'hon* (*Afghanistan*):

"The two brothers, rebel chiefs, wanted to go to *Badakchan*; their followers wanted to throw themselves into *Afghanistan*. Emissaries were sent to both countries, but *Afghanistan* did not respond, so they all went to *Badakchan* (*Cheng-vou-ki*).

(197) 霍斯庫魯克.

"Mount *Khoskou*," says *Oueï Yuan*, "is the summit of the *Ts'oung-ling* p.136. There is a lake there called *heï-loung-tch'e*, the pond of the black dragon; it is several hundred *li* in circumference; in the *'houei* language it is called *'ha-la-nao-cul* (*Khara nor*, black lake; *nor* is a contraction

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from the Mongolian *naghor*, lake). This is what the Buddhist canons call *A-noung-ta* (Lake *Anavatapta*, cf. [Eitel, Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism, p. 9](#)).

*Khara-nor* must be *Kara-koul* (*koul* = *nor*, lake), located on the Pamir plateau.

(198) 阿爾楚爾. Due to a misprint, 阿爾楚山, *Art-chou-chan*, mountain of *Artchou*, in the *Cheng-vou-ki* (de Mailla, *Atchour*). *Artchour* is the *Alitchour Pamir* (cf. [The Pamirs, by the Earl of Dunmore, London, 1893, t. II, p. 171](#)). According to *Oueï Yuan*, the battle of *Artchour* took place on the seventh day of the seventh month.

(199) 阿桂 See [Appendix III, Biographical notes](#).

(203) The *Cheng-vou-ki* is more concise, but its account, in broad outline, agrees with ours. *Uei Yuan* adds: "Our army had only one casualty", which is hardly believable.

"Several rebel leaders died in the action, including one of the bravest, named *Abdou* (*Cheng-vou-ki*).

(204) 色勒庫爾, *So-lo-koul* (*Siri-koul*<sup>1</sup>). According to our text, this is another name for 洱西洱庫爾淖爾, *yé-chil koul nor*. - It is important to note, with the *Siéyu t'oung ouen iche*, book VI, p. 23, verso, that *koul* is synonymous with the Dzongar or Mongol word *nor*, a contraction for *naghor*, lake. *Koul* is the transcription of the Turkish *göl* in the sense of *lake* (Grigoryer, *Supplément à la géographie de Carl Ritter*, quoted by [Reclus, t. VII, p. 112, note 3](#)). - The *Geographical Dictionary* (*loc. cit.*) tells us that 伊西洱 is the old transcription of *Yé-chil*: the new one it has adopted, and which is found on most modern maps, is 葉什勒: the word *yé-chil*, in 'houeï, it adds, means *green*, (and not *yellow* as written by Klaproth, [Magasin](#)

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<sup>1</sup> "In 'houeï, *Khoskhou-louk* means *two ears*, *chouang eul* (note in *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche lio*, introductory book, p. 34, recto).

*Sirikoul*, *Sirikul* or *Sirikol* (these various transcriptions can be found on our most recent maps) is also, according to some travellers, the name of the lake known as *Lake Victoria* (the *Gaz.kul* on Captain Younghusband's map).

"This name, *Sariq-qol*, is derived from *Sariq*, "yellow", and *qol*, the Kirghiz name for a wide valley, as distinguished from *Jilga* "a gorge". The name has been wrongly supposed to be that of a lake, after the manner of *Issigh-kul* "Hot lake", which is formed with *Kul*, lake, spelt with a different guttural, and pronounced with a different vowel. *Sariq-qol* is a mountainous district on the south western frontier of the province of *Kashgaria* and it certainly does not belie its appellation, as the hills of the country are of a creamy yellow" ([The Pamirs, by the Earl of Dunmore, t. II, p. 24](#)).



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[asiatique, t. I, p. 93](#)). *Yéchil koul nor* therefore has the meaning of *green lake* or *green water* (we could also consider *koul* as a transcription of the Mongolian *gol*, river, and explain by *lake (nor) of the green river (koul)*. The *Yéchil koul* or *Yachil koul*, a lake whose position is well known today and which has been visited by several explorers, p.137 (cf. [Reclus, t. VII, p. 108](#)), in fact receives a river called *Yechi derak* <sup>1</sup> :

"The *Altchoukha* (or *Alkoûn tchoukha*) mountain range is a very high branch of the *Thsoung ling* (*Ts'oung-ling*), topped with peaks; the *Yechi derak* river (*Issi derik* on Manchu-Chinese maps) has its source in the southern flank of the *Ts'oung-ling*; it flows northwards, crossing *Badakhchan* and *Bolor*, and arrives in the *Yechi derak* canton, which gives it its name. There it divides into two branches: one flows northwards into *Lake Tous-koul* (Salt Lake); the other flows south-westwards at first, but soon takes a northerly course and falls into *Yechil koul* (Yellow Lake). This lake, named *Issi kul* in ancient accounts, lies on the border of *Yarkiang* (*Yarkand*).

(Klaproth, [Magasin asiatique, t. I, Notice sur le Badakhchan, translated from Tai ts'ing y t'oung tche, p. 93](#); cf. our [Recueil de documents sur l'Asie centrale, p. 194](#)).

Very close to *Lake Yechil koul* is *Lake Bouloun koul* (*Bulun-kul*): the latter is the *pou-loung koul* of the Chinese ([de Mailla, t. XI, p. 572, Pou loung kol](#)). The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* gives the etymology of this name: *pou-loung* (*Bouloun*) in *Dzongar* (Mongolian) and in *'houei*, means *border, limit* (liv IV, p. 24, recto). The *Yechil kul* (*Yashil kul*) and the *Bouloun kul* (*Bulin kul*) are joined by a small river no more than half a mile long and form, so to speak, a single lake. On the most recent maps they are marked as having no communication between them (cf. [The Pamirs, by the Earl of Dunmore, 1893, t. II, p. 166](#)). This lake is the largest of the Pamirs after the *Karakul* (*Kara Kul*): it has an altitude of 13,120 English feet above sea level (*The Pamirs, etc., loc. cit.*).

*Oueï Yuan*: "On the third day (of the seventh month) our troops arrived at the river of 伊西洱庫 (for 伊西洱庫勒, the old spelling of *Yechil Koul*, see above): this is the border of *Badakhshan*. On both banks

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<sup>1</sup> The River Ghund (cf. [The Pamirs, t. II, p. 167](#))?

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are the mountains known as Khochchouk (*Kochikou tchouk daba*, cf. [Recueil de documents, p. 108](#)).

(205) Here is de Mailla's account:

"The rebels fled towards Badakhshan and arrived at Pouloukckol (*Bouloun koul*) on the tenth of the seventh moon. Fouté forced his way forward and, making 100 *li* a day, reached them in the same place at sunset. Not wishing to enter the gorges of this mountain (*i.e.* the heights near *Bouloun koul*) without a reliable guide, he detached a few horsemen with a trusted officer to explore and find someone who could guide him through this unknown country. In the meantime, he rested his horses, who needed it no less than the men. The next day, *Patoutchirhan* (the officer's name) sent word through one of his soldiers that he had seen the enemy, but that the road to him was impassable. He had hired a *Pourouth* (*Bourout*) who was perfectly familiar with the country and knew all the twists and turns. This *Pourouth* (*Bourout*), when questioned by the general, replied: "Your enemies have already broken through the mountain and are not far from Badakchan; but before they get there, they still have a very high mountain to cross. This mountain is between two lakes, the one below it is called *Pouloungkol* (*Bouloun koul*) and the one beyond it *Tsilkol* (*Yéchil Koul* or *Yachil Koul*). Although there are paths along both lakes, these paths are so narrow that only one man can pass at a time if he wants to go on horseback. After passing Lake *Pouloung Kol* (*Bouloun Koul*), you will have to climb the mountain, which is very steep. When you reach the top, you will see Badakchan, and you may see your enemies' army, as it must not be very far away.

Following these instructions, Fouté encouraged his troops and mounted his horse. Towards the middle of the day they had already passed the lake and were gathered at the foot of the mountain; one of his riders came to tell him that the rebels were in the centre of the mountain, where it was difficult to attack them. After having had a meal and a little rest, Fouté wanted to make the most of the rest of the day to get as close to them as he could: he met up with them.

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At last, as night fell, they opened fire on him. Fouté charged at them, and in spite of the night continued to fight until the Ho-tchom (*Khodjas*), fearing to fall into his hands, fled towards Badakchan with all those who could follow them; Fouté saw that the rebels were no longer defending themselves, and he stopped the carnage. Almost all the soldiers had followed their leaders or died fighting. The remainder, more than 12,000, were taken prisoner. 10,000 cannons, rifles, sabres, arrows and other weapons were found on the battlefield, and more than 10,000 oxen, sheep and other animals were taken, not counting the horses, which were not in fact very numerous, because the fugitives had ridden them to move more quickly ([History, p. 572-573](#)).

As we can see, the official historians are more complete and precise than the missionaries (Comp. [Mémoire sur le Thibet, Lettres édifiantes](#), ed. 1832, vol. XXXVII, p. 239).

*Yueï Yuan :*

"The Great Khodja (*Bourhân-uddin*) and his men defended the heights to the west of the river (the *Yechil derak*) in order to protect their retreat. The Little Khodja (*Khodjo-Djân*), with 10,000 men, occupied the heights to the north and the peaks to the east. They were determined to fight to the death. *Fou-tô* first ordered *Alikoun* and the others to run to the western heights via the southern river, then attacked the rebels on the western heights in person. He went up and fought for several hours without success. Then he chose several dozen riflemen who climbed the heights and, from the northern summit, fired down on the rebels. Meanwhile, *Alikoun's* troops, passing along the southern bank, fired from the heights, from afar, at the rebels to the north of the heights. The base of the mountains is narrow, bordered by water and only suitable for one rider. What's more, the rebels' baggage and servants were blocking the path. Our two army corps then divided and occupied the paths by which the rebels could escape: the latter no longer had any means of escape. *Fou-tô* then ordered *Hudui* and *Khodjîs* to plant a large Mohammedan standard and to shout at the rebels to surrender. Those who surrendered came down from the heights with a noise

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about 12,000 Mohammedans surrendered in this way, and more than 10,000 head of cattle were taken. The two Khodjas, taking their wives and children, as well as 300 or 400 of their former servants, withdrew to Badakchan.

A comparison of this passage with our account and the similarity of certain phrases and expressions in the two texts show to the point of evidence that *Oueï Yuan* drew on the same sources (no doubt the reports to the throne of *Tchao-houeï* and *Fou-tô*) as the official historians.

(206) p.139 Sultan Shah, khan of Badakhshan.

(207)

"The two rebels fled into Badakhshan, closely pursued by the troops of *Fou-tô*. On arriving at the border of this country, *Fou-tô* sent one of his officers to deliver a letter to the k'an *Sultan cha*, in which he enjoined the latter to take Boronidou (*Bourkhân-uddin*) and K'odzidchan (*Khodjo-Djân*) prisoner and hand them over to him, who, full of ingratitude for the kindness and special favour with which the emperor had always treated them, had dared to raise the banner of revolt against him.

(*Notice sur le Badak'chan*, translated from *Si-yu t'oung tche*, in our [Recueil de documents, p. 195](#)).

(208) The *Altchoukha* (or *Alkoûn tchoukka*) mountain range is a very high branch of the Thsoung ling (*Ts'oung-ling*), surmounted by peaks; it ends at the border of Badakhchan (Klaproth, [Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 93](#)).

(209) "The *Tsinar* (or *Boo tsinar*) river is on the southern border of Badakhchân" (Klaproth, [Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 94](#)).

(210) From the text, which we translate literally, it seems that we are talking here about all those who had followed the Khodjahs, but perhaps we are really only talking about *Bourhân-uddin* and *Khodjo-Djân*.

(211) Tschiab?

(212) The foreign and Chinese authors we have been able to consult do not always agree on these facts.

Kuropatkin ([Kashgaria, p. 116](#)) simply states:

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"Foo-de (sent towards Badakhchan to follow after the Khodjas) overtook them and utterly routed their band of adherents. Four Khodjas were slain in the fight and two were taken prisoners. Boorkhan-Eddin's son, Sarwim Sak or Saali-Khodja, alone escaped.

Boulger (*History*, p. 167):

"The two brothers fled over the Pamir to Badakshan, but the chief of that country caused them to be slain, and sent their heads as a peace offering to the Chinese. Fouta pursued the relics of the Khoja force wherever they were to be encountered, and it is said that the only member of the ruling family to escape was a boy named Sarimsak, who was the ancestor of the Khoja adventurers who at different times during the present century put forward their pretensions to the throne of Kashgar.

W. H. [Wathen \(\*Notices of Chinese Tartary, Chin. Rep., vol. XII, p. 240\*\)](#):

"Ai Khojeh (*Bourhân-uddin* or *Khodjo-Djân*) and his followers, finding it impossible to continue the contest, fled to Badakshan; but the prince of that country betrayed him, and gave him up to the Chinese, who put him to death. In retribution for this treachery, his country (the people of Yarkand believe) has been visited by the miseries that have since befallen it and fell an easy prey to Mohammed Muradbeg, of Kanduz, who some years ago invaded and conquered it <sup>1</sup>. When Ai Khojeh was thus delivered into the hands of the Chinese, his son and his grandson, Jehanguir Khojeh (*Djihanguir*), fled to Andejan (*Andidjan*). Some years afterwards, Ai Khojeh's son died, leaving his son Jehanguir Khojeh, then a youth, under the care of the Khan of Kokan (*Kokand*). About ten or eleven years ago, observing how unpopular the Chinese had become, he formed a plan for regaining the possession of his forefathers.

(The story of the revolt of <sup>p.140</sup> Djihanguir follows: compare *Histoire de l'insurrection des Tounganes sous le règne de Tao-kouang, 1820-1828*, according to the *Cheng-vou-ki* of Oueï Yuan, in our [Recueil de documents](#)).

Another author (*Notices of modern China, Chin. Rep., tit. V, p. 273*) expresses himself as follows:

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<sup>1</sup> See J. Wood, *A personal narrative of a journey to the source of the Oxus, etc.*, London, 1841, p. 249; collect. Yale, *Marco Polo*, vol. I, p. 155.

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"One of them (*of the Khodjah*) apparently fled to Badakshan and was put to death by the mir of that country to malle favor with the Chinese or to avert their displeasure. The other perished also ; but both left sons. Abdallah, the son of Pulatun (*Bourhân-uddin*)

should," said the present emperor (*Tao-kouang*) in one of his edicts, "have been destroyed also, but the then reigning emperor (*K'ien-loung*) compassionated him on account of his youth and spared his life, commuting death to domestic slavery under great officers of state. During the third year of my reign, continues His Majesty, I liberated him, in consequence of his having lived long in slavery and behaved quietly, and placed him and his family under the White Mungkee (*Mongol*) standards (*banners*), and gave him employment ".

This edict was published after the rebellion of Jehanguir (*Djihanguir*) who was grandson of Pulatun (*Bourhân-uddin*), whose father appears to have sought refuge with the khan of Kohan (*Kokand*) where Jehanguir (*Djihanguir*) was born and seems chiefly to have lived. Moorecroft speaks of him as reciding under the protection of Omar, khan of Kohan (*Kokand*) in 1822.

De Mailla ([Histoire, p. 573](#)) is more explicit:

"Fouté summoned the Sultan of Badakchan to hand over the two Ho-chom (*Khodjahs*) and the principal officers of their retinue. The sultan feared that he would be besieged; however, he replied that he would find out about the quarrel between the Chinese and the Ho-tchom (*Khodjahs*), and that if the latter were guilty, he would have them punished himself according to the laws of the country and of his religion. The Chinese were not very happy with this reply, but chance served them beyond their expectations. One of the Ho-tchoms (*Khodjah*) died of wounds received in battle; it turned out that the other had insulted the Sultan of Badakchan in the person of one of his relatives, whom he had cruelly killed a few months earlier. The sultan also learned that the Ho-tchom (*Khodjahs*), not content with having laid waste to several of his allies' lands and causing great damage, had also seized the inhabitants of a village who had tried to resist them. He had the second of the Ho-chom (*Khodjah*) put to death, and his head was taken to Peking and presented to the king.

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the emperor, who had it displayed in an iron cage near the busiest gate in the capital <sup>1</sup>.

Let's compare what the Chinese texts say: *Oueï Yuan (Cheng-vou-ki liv. IV)*:

"When the great and the little Khodjah had pushed their people in the direction of the west, their intention was to seize the country of *Badakhchan*. At that time, as the chief of that state had not come to receive them in person, they cut off the head of his envoy in anger and joined forces with the neighbouring tribes to ravage the region. Then the chief of *Badakhchan* raised troops to resist them: he fought them at the *Alkhoun chukha* mountain and took the two brothers prisoner. The marshal (*Tchao-'houei*) demanded them: their heads were sent wrapped. *Note from the Chinese author*: This year only the head of *Khodjo-Djân* was sent: the body of *Bourhân-uddin* had been stolen; it was only in the twenty-eighth year that the *Badakhchan* recovered his body and arrested his wife and children to offer them (to the Chinese).  
p.141

*T'ai ts'ing y t'oung tche (Notice sur le Badakhchan, translated by Klaproth, Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 91)*:

"The two chiefs fled to the territory of *Badakhchan*. General *Fou-te* followed them at the head of an army corps and sent one of his officers to the *Sulthan Shah* to request their extradition. *Boronitou (Bourhân-uddin)* and *Khodzidjan (Khodjo-Djân)* had hidden in *Siknan*, situated in the country of *Badakhchan* and belonging to *Chamour bek*. *Sulthan Shah* did not comply with the Chinese general's request; he simply arrested *Boronitou (Bourhân-uddin)* and placed him under military guard. *Khodzidjan (Khodjo-Djân)* went to the *Alkhoûn tchou kha* mountain, pillaged the neighbourhood and soon retreated further, beyond the *Boo tvinar* river. Finally, he was caught and kept in prison at *Tchaidjab*. *Fou-te*, dissatisfied with the conduct of *Sulthan shah*, repeated his request for the extradition of the rebels; and to have it carried out, he entered *Wakhan*, inhabited by a tribe of *Hindustan*, and from there he approached the town of *Badakhân*.

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<sup>1</sup> See [Mémoire sur le Thibet, Lettres édifiantes](#), t. XXXV, p. 241 et seq.

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(*Faizabad*), with the intention of seizing the brothers of *Khodzidjan* (*Bourhân-uddin's* brother?) and *Tarbadjé* (?) by deception. However, once these rebels had understood his plan, they headed for Badakhshan with their troops. *Sulthan Shah* would have liked to hand them over to the Chinese, but as they were from the family of the *Paighamber* (or the prophet Mohammed), he feared the resentment of the other Muslim tribes. However, the Chinese army arrived under the walls of his capital (*Faizabad*), and *Fou-te* declared in the name of the emperor that he wanted to be obeyed, and that a refusal to comply with his orders would have unfortunate consequences; *Sulthan Shah* then changed his mind and had the two chiefs killed. The body of *Boronitou* (*Bourhân-uddin*) having been stolen, he sent only the head of *Khodzidjan* (*Khodjo-Djân*) in a box to be presented to the emperor.

*Si-yu t'ou tche* (*Notice sur le Badakhchan*, translated in our [Recueil de documents, p. 195](#)):

"When, in the eighth month of the twenty-fourth year Tç'ienn- long (September 1759), the two rebels *Boronidou* (*Bourhân- uddin*) and *K'odzidchan* (*Khodjo-Djân*) had been defeated on the banks of Lake *Yéchi* (*Yéchil koul*), they fled into *Badak'chan*, pursued at close quarters by the troops of the sub-marshal *Fou To*. On arriving at the river in this country, *Fou To* sent one of his officers to deliver a letter to *K'an Sultan cha*, instructing him to take *Boronidou* and *K'odzidchan* prisoner and hand them over to him, as they had dared to raise the banner of revolt against him, full of ingratitude for the kindness and special favour with which the emperor had always treated them.

At this time, the two rebel chiefs had fled to the village of *Sik-nam* <sup>1</sup>, which depended on the beg *Chamour*, vassal of the *K'an* of *Badak'chan*. They falsely claimed that they wanted to pass through this country on their way to Mecca. The two rebels took advantage of the fact that beg *Chamour* was at that time in the capital of *Sultan cha* (*Faizabad*) to pillage and ravage villages and hamlets at their leisure. *Chamour* (who was rushing to the scene) met in

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<sup>1</sup> *Shigan* or *Chignan*, cf. *The Pamirs*, by the Earl of Dunmore, t. II.



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The latter, following the instructions contained in Fou To's dispatch, seized Boronidou and put him in irons. He then surrounded the troops that K'odzidchan had been able to assemble on the Arhounjouk (*Arkoun Ichoukha*) mountain, but they were able to withdraw beyond the Baotsinar (*Boo Tsinar*) river, where he attacked them. The rebels <sup>p.142</sup> could not withstand the shock of his troops: K'odzidchan, whose wound and stout build prevented him from fleeing easily, was taken and thrown into the prison of Badak'chan which bears the name of Djaipjab.

Sultan Cha hastened to send an emissary to Fou To to tell him that he was submitting and that he had taken the two rebel chiefs. Fou To saw that his submission was genuine and sent one of his officers to order him to hand over the prisoners immediately. At the same time he sent his army to Ouak'ana (*Wakhan*) and established himself there to await events.

At this point, the Industan troops approached Badak'chan with the intention of capturing Boronidou and K'odzidchan; they were about to cross the kingdom of Tarbas, an enemy of Badak'chan, to attack the latter country.

However, Sultan cha, who had originally wanted to hand over the two rebel chiefs to Fou To, feared that the neighbouring tribes would not agree and would prevent him from doing so, because they were descended, like him, from the family of Paigembar (the prophet Mohammed). On learning that Fou To knew the reason for his hesitation, he hurried to write him a letter which read as follows:

"My subjects are also those of the Emperor of China; they must hate those whom he hates. What's more, can we allow thousands of men to perish because of these two criminals?

and had Boronidou and K'odzidchan massacred. The corpse of the former was stolen, and Sultan cha could only deliver the head of K'odzidchan... In the twenty-eighth year (1763) he delivered the body of Boronidou (which had been found) as well as the wife and children of this descendant of the K'odjas.

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The *Si-yu t'oung ouen tche* does not indicate the descendants of the two Khodjahs. According to the *Cheng-vou-ki*, *Bourhân-uddin* had two sons named *Abdoul* and *Samouk*: *Abdoul* is said to have had *Djihanguir* as a son. The latter's son is said to have been *Bourzouk*? See our [Recueil de documents \(p. 63\)](#), [Liste de membres de la famille des K'odjas d'après le Cheng-vou-ti](#).

(213)

"Sulthan Shah submitted with all his people, made up of 100,000 families, and his country was enclosed within the limits of the empire, as was that of *Bolor*, which was 36,000 families strong and situated in the vicinity". (*T'ai ts'ing y t'oung tche*, *Notice sur le Badakhchan*, Klaproth, [Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 92](#)).

"In 1749 (read 1759) the prince of *Bolor*, *Chakhou Chamed* (perhaps *Chahkou chah Amed*) submitted to the Chinese and his country was enclosed within the limits (*loc. cit. Bolor*, p. 96)."

"Sultan cha made his submission with the 100,000 families of his own tribe, and the 30,000 families of the tribe of *Bolor*." (*Si-yu t'oung tche*, *Notice sur le Badakhchan*, in our [Recueil de documents, p. 197](#).)

"The chief or king of *Bolor*, *Shah Chamod*, made his submission at the same time as *Badak'chan*, in the twenty-fourth year of *Tçienn-loung* (1759). The following year (1760), he sent the beg *Chah* to court, whom the emperor invited to a feast, etc." (*loc. cit.*, [Notice sur le pays de Bolor, same work, p. 206](#)).

(214) *Oueï Yuan* completes our official account by giving us some details on the rewards given by the emperor to the principal officers and on the reception given by *K'ien-loung* to the victorious army:

"*Tchao-'houeï*, by the time he was besieged (in the camp on the Black River) had already received the title of duke 武貂謀勇 (*Warrior intrepidity and bravery of good counsel*) of first rank.

class. At this time the emperor also conferred on him the rank of clerk of the imperial family and gave him a gift of a saddle and bridle of honour; *Fou-tô*, at the time when he had gone to the rescue (of *Tchao-'houeï*) had received the rank of count (*perfect bravery*): at this time the emperor conferred on him the rank of marquis of the first class; the officers and soldiers as well as the Mohammedan chiefs *Emin*,

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*Khodjïs, Aotouei*, etc., who had distinguished themselves, each received rewards. A tablet (to commemorate the victory) was erected in the imperial college and inscriptions <sup>1</sup> were engraved on all the battlefields.

In the second month of the following year, the victorious army returned. The emperor went to meet them in person: 3 *li* south of the town of *Léang-chiang* (province of Tche-li, not far from Peking), an altar was erected and the imperial standard was planted. The emperor himself gave thanks to the heavens, and after him, the marshal and his officers, in full field dress, the princes, dukes and high dignitaries performed the customary ceremonies. When this was done, the emperor took his place in the yellow (imperial) tent and granted audience to the marshal and his officers, who prostrated themselves and kissed his knees. Shortly afterwards, ambassadors from the countries of Burut, Afghanistan, Bolor, Kokand, Andidjan and Badakhshan came to the court (to offer their submission)."

De Mailla ([History, p. 574](#)):

"The war having thus ended happily, K'ien-long had peace published and recalled his troops. He gave rewards to the officers and soldiers, each according to their degree of merit, and appointed some of his grandees to ensure that no one was displeased. He decorated general *Tchao-'houei* with the title of count, with all the honours enjoyed by regulators; and he allowed him, as well as the lieutenant-generals Fouté, Ming-joui and Arikouen, to enter the courtyards of his palace on horseback; he granted the same favour to Chouhedé.

Abel Rémusat (*Études biographiques, Kao-ts'oung*, in [Nouveaux mélanges asiatiques, p. 49](#)):

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<sup>1</sup> "After the reduction of the Muslim tribes, the emperor Khian-loung had a monument with an inscription of his own erected on the banks of the Yéchi koul, celebrating the victories won over the Mohammedans (*T'ai-ts'ing y t'oung tche, Notice sur le Badakhan*, trans. by Klaproth, [Magasin asiatique, t. I, p. 93](#)"). The text of this inscription, as well as that of other similar productions relating to the campaigns of *lli* and Turkestan, can be found in the introductory book of the *Kin-ting sin kiang tche-liô*, see Appendix II.

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"Khian-loung, seeing himself the sole master of the central regions of Asia, wished to conform to the rites that the ancient emperors practised at the end of a war that had been happily ended. He went 10 leagues from Peking, on the road by which the general Tchao-'houeï was to return, to a place where an altar and several tents had been erected, one of which was intended for the emperor's meeting with his general. When they were close to the altar, Khian-loung dismounted and said to Tchao-'houeï, who had just come out of his tent: "You have happily returned after so many fatigues and glorious exploits. It is time for you to enjoy some much-needed rest with your family. I want to be your conductor myself, but first we must give solemn thanks together to the spirit of victory". He approached the altar, performed the ceremonies and then returned to the tent with General Tchao-'houeï, Foute and other officers. He sat down and, having seated Tchao-'houeï, presented him with a cup of tea. The general wanted to receive it on his knees, as is customary for anything that comes even indirectly from the emperor, but this prince <sup>p.144</sup> objected. They then set off in the midst of an immense crowd, with a magnificent procession. The emperor was under a canopy, preceded by Tchao-'houeï on horseback, helmet on head and armed with his cuirass. 30 Turkish prisoners walked behind in chains. This triumph took place in April 1760. Comp. [\*Mémoire sur le Thibet, Lettres édifiantes\*](#), t. XXXV, p. 250 ff.

(215) He had the rank of general of Manchu troops. He committed suicide at the time of the revolt (this detail is given in a song by *K'ien-loung* about the capture of *Ouché*; see *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lïo*, introductory book, p. 86, recto).

(218) He was killed by an arrow during the siege of *Ouché* by *Ming Joueï's* troops (*K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lïo*, introductory book, p. 39, verso).

(219) See our [collection of documents, p. 7](#); the *K'in-ting sin-kiang tche-lïo* (introductory book, pp. 35 to 40) provides some information on this local revolt.

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