

@

Camille IMBAULT-HUART

HISTORY OF THE TOUNGAN INSURRECTION

under the reign of Tao kang (1820-1828)

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

Histoire de l'insurrection des Tounganes sous le règne de Tao kouang~ (1820-1828) d'après les documents chinois, constitutes the first part of the

**COLLECTION OF DOCUMENTS ON
CENTRAL ASIA**

by **Camille IMBAULT-HUART (1857-1897)**

Publications de l'École des Langues Orientales Vivantes, volume XVI.
Ernest Leroux, Paris, 1881. Pages V-XI and 1-68 of XII+226 pages.

Text edition by Pierre
Palpant

www.chineancienne.fr
November 2013

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction

History of the Tounganes insurrection during the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

- I. A look at the history of East Turkestan since the Mongol invasion. - Establishment of the Mohammedan religion in Turkestan. - Chinese war against the Eleutes and the two K'odjas.
— Creation of a Chinese administration in the conquered country. Incapacity of the governors; their bad conduct; Ouché's revolt.
- II. Poor administration by civil servants; their abuses. - Uprising of some Bourout tribes. Their leader, who he was, his family. - He is defeated in a first encounter. - Pi tsing~, an incapable governor, is replaced. - Djihanguir infests the frontier (1824-1825). - Defeat of Pa yenn t'ou. - Djihanguir, at the head of considerable forces, crosses the frontier; arrives at Kachgar; triumphs over the Chinese troops; concludes a treaty of alliance with K'okand; his bad faith; seizes the four western towns.
- III. Preparations for a new campaign. - Notice of Chiang~ ling. - The Mohammedans march on Aksou. - Battle lost by the Chinese. - Various battles under Aksou. - Battle of Orping~. - Events at K'oten. - Recapture of this town.
- IV. Campaign of 1827. - Notice of Chiang~ ling~. - March of the Chinese forward. - Battles of Yang~abat', Chaboudour, Aouabat'. - March on Kachgar. - Fight under this city. - Siege of Kashgar, which falls to the Chinese. - Djihanguir escapes and wanders among the Bourouts.
— Capture of Yenghi Hissar, Yarkand and K'oten by the Chinese.
- V. Fight in the Ts'ong~ ling~ between the Chinese and the K'okandians. - Plans by Tchang~ ling~ and Vou ling~ a for the pacification of Turkestan. - Na yenn tcheng~ commissioned to pacify the country. - Chiang~ ling~ ambushes Djihanguir. - Djihanguir crossed the border again, fought and lost the battle of K'artiekai and was taken prisoner (1828). - Rewards awarded to Chinese officers; erection of commemorative columns; triumphal reception of troops by the emperor. - Regulations of Na yenn tcheng~. - New attack by the K'okandians (1829); peace is again restored by Chiang~ ling~.

Appendices

- I. Imperial decree on the pacification of Turkestan in 1878.
- II. Note on the Si yu t'ou tché or Description of the Si yu accompanied by maps.
- III. 1. List of members of the K'odja family according to the Cheng~ vou tçi.
2. List of the descendants of the Paigambar (prophet Mohammed), several of whom reigned in Eastern Turkestan, taken from the Si yu t'ong~ ouenn tché.

Map of Chinese Turkestan.

INTRODUCTION

@

p.v East Turkestan was not definitively subdued by Chinese arms until 1759, and since then it has almost never been conquered without considerable revolts. The Mohammedans who live there, turbulent and jealous of their freedom, have seized every opportunity to take up arms again and try to shake off the yoke of the Chinese. One of the most important of these uprisings was certainly that of 1820 ¹, during which, after having expelled the Chinese troops from the garrisons they held in the main towns, and triumphed over the corps sent to reduce them, they were on the point of recovering their independence for ever.

Until now, there has been no special work on this war in Europe: more or less complete information and more or less truthful facts have been published here and there in various European works: we will mention for the record the *Notices of modern China* published in the *Chinese Repository*, and the *Report of a mission to Yarkund*, by Mr T. D. Forsyth; but no one had yet really written the history. A Chinese historian of great merit, Oueï Yuann, having written an account of this war, we have translated it, and it is more or less what we are offering to the public today ². There will be no doubt that the facts put forward by the Chinese author are the most complete and the most authentic, when it is known that this account, as well as being the most accurate, is the most complete and the most authentic.

¹ The insurrection of 1862 was as terrible as that of 1820, since the Chinese, after having seen the birth of the independent kingdom of Kashgaria, have only just tamed it thanks to the talents of their general Tso Tsong~-t'ang~; but the documents we possess on this war, scattered in various European works or newspapers, would only suffice with great difficulty to trace a somewhat complete history of it. We believe that we can be of use to future historians of this insurrection by publishing in Appendix I a translation of the decree issued on the occasion of the submission of Turkestan by the emperor 光緒 Kouang~ siu, or rather by the regency council charged with to administer the affairs of state during the minority of this young prince, which presents a short summary of the campaign waged by the Chinese troops.

² See on Oueï Yuann and his work 聖武記 *Cheng~ vou tçi*, or History of the wars of the current dynasty, the [Journal Asiatique, n° February-March 1878, page 135 and following](#).

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

than all those which make up the instructive *History* of Oueï Yuann, has been written entirely from p.vii the reports sent by the officers who took part in the war, their memoirs which have remained unpublished, and documents of all kinds contained in the Historiographers' Office and the secret archives, documents which are destined to serve as the basis, one day, for the official history of the present Ts'ing~¹ dynasty.

Finally, we feel we should make a few observations on the various names given to East Turkestan and its inhabitants. Since the time of the 'Hann dynasty (206 BC - 264 AD), whose armies criss-crossed Central Asia, East Turkestan has been included with the K'anats of Kokand, Bok'ara, Tashkend, Samarkand, Afghanistan and Persia, under the name西域 Si yu, the western regions, an expression which has been used for centuries.

often corresponds very well to our appellation "Central Asia". Since the conquest of 1759 it has been known as新疆 Sinn tçiang~, New Frontier, and天山南路 T'ienn chann nann lou, Province south of the Celestial Mountains, as opposed to天山北路 T'ienn chann peï lou, Province north of the Celestial Mountains or Dzungarie; it is also known p.viii as回疆 'Houëi tçiang~ or Mohammedan Frontiers. The Chinese often use the expression回部 'Houeï pou, tribes of the 'Houeï or Mohammedans, to designate the whole region.

and the people who live there. The Chinese give the inhabitants the generic name of回回 'Houëi 'Houëi², an expression we already find in the遼史 Léao ché, Annales de la

Leao dynasty. The name Tungans, by which these Sino-Mahometans, if I may put it this way, are known to their Turkish co-religionists, is completely unknown to the Chinese.

The name Tounganes has given rise to many conjectures

¹ Preface to the Cheng~ vou tçi, see *Journ. As. loco citato*.

² The Chinese also give Mohammed's followers the name回子 'Houeï tseu, but although this name is fairly widespread, some scholars seem reluctant to use it. It should be noted that the character回 is sometimes written, no doubt to show contempt for the Mohammedans, with the radical dog on the left. 狇

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

on its origin and etymology: it has been variously explained by the scholars whose sagacity it has exercised. Thus, according to W. H. Wathen ¹ the Tounganes are descended from a colony of soldiers left behind by Alexander, and the very name they bear, derived from several Turkish and Persian words, means "left behind" ² and indicates its origin. According to others, this colony was left behind by Tamerlane. M. Vámbéry translates this name as "converted" ³. We read in Shaw "that this name is commonly derived from the Turkish root 'trông' meaning to stay, and," adds the author, "they are in fact sometimes called Tronganes". Shaw also reports the explanation given by "one of the best authorities on these subjects, on this side of China", according to which the word Toungane is derived from the two Chinese words 屯人 T'ounn jenn, meaning "military colonists" ⁴. Last but not least,

for the singularity of the fact, let us point out the strange explanation given in a Russian military journal and quoted by p.x M. Bretschneider ⁵. According to this newspaper, shortly after Islamism had spread throughout Central Asia, the Chinese government, fearing the growing power of the Mohammedans, transferred a certain number of the latter from Turkestan to the province of Kann sou, from where they gradually spread throughout China; this is why the Chinese call the Mohammedans T'ong~ kann sou, an expression meaning "the same as the (Mohammedan) inhabitants of Kann sou"!

The map that accompanies our work is translated from 西域圖志 *Si yu t'ou tché*, historical and geographical description of *Si yu* (Asia)

¹ *Journal of the Asiatic society of Bengal*, Calcutta, 1835.

² Mr Elphinstone, in his *Travels into Bokhara*, 2nd ed. T. III, p. 186, also speaks of these Tungans claiming a Greek origin: "they boast of being descended from Alexander's soldiers, not from the conqueror himself, as are many of the chiefs of the Indus and Oxus valleys". Marco Polo also said: "And all those of this lineage are descended from the king Alixandre and the daughter of the king Daire, who was lord of the great reign of Persia" (Pauthier edition).

³ Colonel Yule, Marco-Polo ed., T. I, p. 255.

⁴ Robert Shaw, *Visits to High Tartary, Yârkand and Kâshgar*, London, 1871, p. 35.

⁵ *Notices of the mediaeval Geography and history of Central and Western Asia*, by M. E. Bretschneider, London, 1876, p. 51.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

Central) with maps, from which we have also extracted much of the information given in the notes. This important and interesting work, which M. Stanislas Julien regretted not being able to consult, is extremely rare in China: M. St. Julien had it searched for many years without ever being able to obtain it. A copy of this extremely rare work was acquired at a sale in Paris, ^{after} several ups and downs, for a friend of ours who kindly gave it to us. We shall extract from it various not uninteresting fragments on the geography and the ancient and modern history of the peoples of Central Asia, who can only be well known through Chinese books: we know that at several periods in their history, the Chinese travelled as conquerors through Central Asia and even carried their arms as far as the shores of the Caspian Sea, and that for many years they had regular relations with the peoples of Western Asia.

Appendix II contains a detailed note on the *Si yu t'ou tché*: this will show the economy of this academic work and the kind of information it provides.

@

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

道光重定回疆記

**HISTORY OF THE
TOUNGAN INSURRECTION**

**UNDER THE REIGN OF TAO
KOUANG (1820-1828)**

ACCORDING TO CHINESE DOCUMENTS

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

| 1

@

A look at the history of East Turkestan since the Mongol invasion. - Establishment of the Mohammedan religion in Turkestan. Chinese war against the Eleutes and the two K'odjas.
- Creation of a Chinese administration in the conquered country; incapacity of the governors; their misconduct; Ouché's revolt.

p.003 When the Mongols, like the overflowing waters of an impetuous river, burst forth from their steppes to sweep across Asia
First of all, the East Turkestan, whose states had hitherto been tributaries of the Chinese Empire without forming an integral part of it, was obliged to follow the destiny of the other countries of Central Asia, and came under the domination of 成吉思汗 Tchinggis k'an. On the death of this formidable conqueror, he constituted part of the yurt or apanage of his second son 哈薩台 Tchagataï ², whose descendants and vassal princes reigned for many years, at the same time that the Empire Mongol had ceased to exist ³.

However, the religion of Mohammed, or as the Chinese say, the *flowery sect* ⁴, had spread throughout Asia, had penetrated into Turkestan at the time of the dynasties of the Soueï and the T'ang~ ⁵, had ended up insensibly by expelling from it, or as Oueï Yuann speaks, by sweeping away the Buddhist religion, and reigning there almost completely. Around

¹ The account of Oueï Yuann occupies chapter V of book IV of his history. The details that follow, up to the creation of a Chinese administration in Turkestan, are taken from the first four chapters containing the story of the subjugation of the Dzungars and Mohammedans under Tç'ienn long~.

² This name is usually better transcribed by 察合台.

³ On this period of history see: D'Ohsson, *Histoire des Mongols*, tome I, p. 320; Erskine, *History of India under the two first sovereigns of the House of Taimur, Bâber and Humâyun*, London 1854, Introduction; passim, princip. Section III and Appendix B; Major David Price, *Chronological Retrospect*, London 1821, tome III.

⁴ 花門 'Houa meunn. The Chinese more commonly refer to the religion of Mohammed as 回教 'Houeï tçiao, religion of the 'Houeï or Mohammedans.

⁵ The Soueï dynasty ruled China from 581 to 618 CE; that of the T'ang~, from 618 to 907.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

At the end of the Ming~ ¹ dynasty, a twenty-sixth-generation descendant of Mohammed, named 瑪墨特 Ma mo t'o (Mahmoud), no doubt attracted by the Mohammedans settled in the region, came to settle at Kachgar and was the first Mohammedan p.005 ruler or king ². All the The last Mongol princes withdrew beyond the Celestial Mountains. Then arose the formidable power of the Cælet or Eleutes, a Mongol tribe established to the north of the T'ienn chann, who descended into the plains of Turkestan, subdued the entire region and had the main Mohammedan chiefs sent as hostages to Ili. The chief of this tribe, the famous 噶爾丹 Galdan, eager to repeat the exploits of Tching~ gis k'an, extended his conquests eastwards, but there he had to contend with the Chinese armies that the Kalka Mongols had called to their aid. Defeated not without difficulty, he could not prevent his troops from dispersing, and was about to be forced to surrender into the hands of the emperor K'ang~ chi, when he died suddenly ³.

One of the Mohammedan chiefs left hostage in Hi, 阿布都實特 A pou tou ché t'o, made his submission to the emperor K'ang~ chi, who had him taken back to Yarkand (1696). His son 瑪罕木特 Ma'hann mou t'o (Mohammed) suffered painfully under the laws imposed on him by the Chinese, but his two sons, kept as hostages, were the tokens of his loyalty. The elder of his sons was 博羅尼都 Po lo ni tou (Boronitou) ⁴, the younger 霍集占 'Houo tsi tdchann (K'odzidchan): they are known in history as the Great and Little K'odja. Put in In 1755, K'odzidchan returned to Yarkand to govern while Boronitou remained in Hi. When the Amoursanan revolt broke out, Boronitou sided with the rebels and, once they had been defeated, sought the help of K'odzidchan.

¹ The Ming~ dynasty held the throne from 1368 to 1644.

² See Appendix III.

³ The emperor 康熙 K'ang~ chi, who was a contemporary of Louis XIV and who deserved to be compared to the Great King both for his long reign and for his talents, occupied the throne from 1662 to 1722. The war he had to sustain against the Eleutes was terrible and bloody;

Details can be found in Father de Mailla's *Histoire générale de la Chine*, tome XL See also Rémusat, *Nouveaux Mélanges Asiatiques*, volume II.

⁴ Some authors write 布那敦 Pou na tounn and 布拉呢敦 Pou la ni tounn.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

a refuge with his brother. The Chinese general Chao 'Houeï demanded that he return and take himself prisoner; the two brothers responded by raising the banner of revolt: the war was fierce and bloody, but the Mohammedans, despite their courage and prodigious valour, were unable to triumph over the skill of Chao 'Houeï and the discipline of his troops. The two defeated K'odjas had to flee for their lives and thought they would find sanctuary in Badak'chan; their hopes were dashed: the K'an of this country came to meet them with all his forces, fought the remnants of the Mohammedan army, and had no trouble being victorious and capturing the two K'odjas. On hearing this, Chao 'Houeï demanded that they be handed over to him: only the head of K'odzidchan was presented to him; as for the corpse of Boronitou, taken no doubt by one of his own men, it was only found after some time and immediately handed over to the Chinese general ¹.

p.007 Once the conquest of Turkestan had been completed and the region fully subjugated, a civil and military administration had to be established to keep the Mohammedan population in check. For this while leaving the 伯克 Po k'o (begs), or magistrates, in charge.

辦事大臣 Pann ché ta tch'enn, or governor, was established in each town, with a certain number of tax collectors, subordinate magistrates and clerks under his command, and, to assist them in their dealings with the natives, several

筆帖式 Pi tié ché or interpreters ². All the governors reported to the 參贊 Ts'ann tsann or secretary residing in Kashgar, who was himself under the jurisdiction of 將軍 Tsiang~ tçiunn ³, marshal commander in Ili ⁴.

¹ On these facts, consult Father de Mailla, *loco citato*; Klaproth, *Magasin Asiatique*, t. II.

² *Pi tié ché* is the Chinese transcription of the Manchu word *bit k'esi*, scholar; *Pi tié ché* also act as clerks.

³ The full official title of this high dignitary was 總統伊犁等處將軍 marshal governing in chief the Ili and other places; this post was created in the twenty-seventh year Tç'ienn long~ (1762).

⁴ Ili is the name given both to the region to the north of the Celestial Mountains and to its capital 固爾扎 Kouldja; the Chinese city, which bears the name 惠遠 'Houeï yuann, was built in the twenty-ninth year Tç'ienn long~ (1764).

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

The choice of these governors was not made with great care from the outset, and although there were many who were equal to their duties, there were also some who almost stirred up the Mohammedan population against Chinese domination. Thus the governor of Ouché, 蘇成 Sou tch'eng~, addicted to drink, plunged

One fine day he was assassinated in his praetorium, the Mohammedans ran to arms and in a moment the country was on fire. The defeat of the governor of Aksou, who had thought he could suppress this movement with the small number of troops under his command, did little to spread the rebellion, and all the towns in the east might even have shaken off their rebellion in a short time.

yoke of the Chinese, had not the Marshal commanding at 明端 Ming~ Joueï, the very man who was to perish on the plains of Burma a few years later ¹, rushed in with all his forces and taken up the cause.

after a bombardment lasting several days, s e i z e d Ouché, from which he put all the inhabitants to the sword ².

¹ See *Histoire de la conquête de la Birmanie par les Chinois sous le règne de Tç'ienn long~* in the [Journal Asiatique, February-March 1878, p. 159](#). Printed separately, p. 29.

² The wars between the Tounganes and the Chinese are always fought with unprecedented cruelty; when the former revolt, they massacre the Chinese garrisons; when the Chinese regain the upper hand, they put to the sword the inhabitants of the towns they seize: This is how, a few months ago, the newspapers reported the massacres carried out by the victorious Chinese after General Tso Tsong~ t'ang~ had suppressed the dreaded uprising of 1862.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)



@

Poor administration by civil servants; their abuses. - Uprising of some Bourout tribes. - Their chief; who his family was. He is defeated in a first encounter. - Pi Tsing~, an incapable governor, was replaced. - Djihanguir infests the frontier (1824-1825), defeat of Pa yenn t'ou. - Djihanguir, at the head of considerable forces, crossed the frontier; arrived at Kashgar; triumphed over the Chinese troops. - Concluded a treaty of alliance with K'okand; his Bad Faith; seized the four western cities.

p.009 The Chinese government, enlightened by this revolt and knowing what the cause had been, chose with the utmost care the most suitable candidates for the rebellion.

The governors of the Mohammedan cities were chosen from among the Manchu dignitaries recommended by their superiors and from among the great civil servants who, for some fault, had been lowered in rank: this was a kind of exile for the latter, but an honourable exile which enabled them to be still useful to their country. By reconciling the interests of the Chinese and the Mohammedans, these governors were able to win the love of the people, to such an extent that they were regarded by them as envoys from heaven ¹. From then on, tranquillity reigned throughout Turkestan.

Unfortunately, this state of affairs was not to last long; the good administration, and consequently the tranquillity of the region, were to be short-lived, and trouble was to break out again, because in the long run the same care was no longer taken in appointments. Officers of the imperial guard and temporary garrisons were employed beyond the Great Wall; they, seeing their office only as a means of enriching themselves ² and knowing well that their stay in the Mohammedan cities was not of long duration, hastened to pressurise the begs, and the populations already overburdened with taxes, saw them create new ones every day. In Kashgar, the taxes amounted to eight or nine million euros.

¹ 仰朝使如天人

² 視挽防爲利藪

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

enfilades of poultry per year ¹; in Yarkand about ten thousand, in K'oten five thousand. Added to this were taxes in kind or on the products of the country, such as carpets, satin, cloth, gold ingots and other extraordinary contributions demanded of the inhabitants. The officers and the begs shared the fruits of their exactions: only two tenths of the taxes were reserved for the governors who, being independent of each other, far from Ili, where the marshal resided, and therefore fearing neither control nor surveillance, did not hesitate to take a share for themselves. The interpreters, seeing their superiors getting richer, wanted to do the same, seized everything they could, tried every means possible to gain wealth ², and, p.011 seizing native women or girls, treated them like slaves and passed them around. The Chinese had thus come to be despised and hated by the populations; the Mohammedans were only waiting for an opportunity to rise up: this opportunity was not long in coming.

In the twenty-fifth year of the reign of 嘉慶 T'chia t'ing~ (1820), an incompetent man plunged into vice, 斌靜 Pi Tsing~, was ts'ann tsann or governor of Turkestan: he had alienated the spirit of the people by his vexations and injustices. Some Bourout ³ tribes, who had had problems with him, thought the situation was favourable and came in their hundreds of horsemen,

¹ The 普爾 *pou eul*, poul, in Arabic *fels*, is a copper coin worth 1 centime and 38 thousandths; 55 pulses are worth one tenga (in Chinese 騰格 *t'eng~ ko*) or silver coin of 76 centimes. The Tungans call Chinese coins k'ara poul, or *black pulses*. We do not know how much a 緡 *minn* or enfilade is worth.

² 工搜括

³ The 布魯特 *Pou lou t'o* (the 勃律 *Po liu ou* 布露直 *Pou lou tché* of the ancients time. Cf. T'ang~ chou, *Annales des T'ang~*; Si yu tchouann, *Description de l'Asie centrale*) or, as the Manchus write, Bourouts, are the nomadic tribes known as K'ara Kirghiz, Black Kirghiz, who roam the mountainous confines of the Kashgar territory and the K'anat of K'okand. These Bourouts are divided into two hordes: one from the east and one from the west. The first, comprising five otok or tribes, lives in south-west Dzungarie, north-east of the K'anat of K'okand: it has been subject to China since 1758. The other, consisting of fifteen otok, resides in the mountainous region north of Kashgar: since 1759 it has been tributary to China (*Ta ts'ing~ y t'ong~ tché*; *Si yu t'ou tché*; see also Nazarov's [Voyage à Khokand](#), translated from the Russian and published by Klaproth in the first volume of the *Magasin Asiatique*).

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

make rapid incursions on the frontiers, hoping that if their attacks were successful, many Mohammedans from the interior would join them. At the head of these Bourouts was a man who deserved to be their leader as much by his birth as by his talents, and who would soon counterbalance the Chinese power in Turkestan; he was a descendant of the two K'odjas: Djihanguir ¹. His father, 薩木克 Sa mou k 'o, son of

Boronitou, had taken refuge on the death of the latter, first in Badak'chan, then in Afghanistan ¹; of the three sons he had, the second was Djihanguir. The latter, poor and exiled, was reduced to earning his living by singing psalms from tribe to tribe for a long time: thanks to his birth, he had just been chosen by several Bourout tribes to command them. His following grew steadily, and the conduct of the Chinese authorities did much to increase it. For example, a native chief 蘇蘭奇 Sou lann tçiu had come to tell Pi Tsing~ of the

He was repulsed and chased away by the secretaries to whom he turned, but reunited with his people and joined the rebels. However, despite all the strength he had, Djihanguir did not get off to a good start: beaten in an encounter with Chinese troops who were better disciplined if not braver than his own, he was forced to seek his salvation by fleeing. Followed by barely thirty of his followers, he was able to escape from the pursuing troops; p.013 he even almost got caught crossing the border again: the Chinese arrived at his bivouac shortly after his departure and found his fires still blazing.

To prevent the causes of this revolt from reaching the emperor's ears, Pi Tsing~ ordered, in the middle of a feast he was giving in Kashgar on the occasion of the mid-autumn festival, that all the "gods" of Kashgar should be arrested.

¹ The name of this famous Mohammedan leader is written 張格爾 Tchang~ko-eul (the syllable *eul* most often represents *r* in Chinese transcriptions of foreign words); the Manchus pronounce it Tsanggar. The English have written this name Jehangir, which should be pronounced Djihanguir. Djihanguir, which in Persian means "conqueror of the world", was the name of Akbar's famous son who reigned in Delhi from 1605 to 1627.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

The prisoners, about a hundred in number, who had been seized, were to be put to death: this was done. This massacre did him no good: the emperor, 道光 Tao kouang~², who had just ascended the throne, found Pi Tsing~'s report vague and ambiguous, and was surprised that the causes of the rebellion had not been explained. His growing suspicions were confirmed by numerous placets sent by native magistrates and Manchu officers, in which Pi Tsing~'s incapacity and unjust and tyrannical conduct were revealed. The marshal then commanding at Ili, 慶祥 Tçing~ Siang~, was ordered to go and conduct a search for Pi Tsing~.

to make a thorough investigation into all that had happened and to examine whether the complaints were well-founded. As soon as he arrived in Kashgar, Tçing~ Siang~ received placets and memoranda from all sides in which Pi Tsing~ was accused of allowing his subordinates and servants to overwhelm the begs with insults every day, of indulging in p.014 the most disordered debauchery, and in all sorts of injustices and vexations; he verified the accuracy of these accusations and sent his report to the emperor: Pi Tsing~ was degraded and called to Peking~ to stand trial. He was replaced by 永芹 Yong~ Tçinn, but the latter, not being up to the emperor's standards either, was dismissed.

The Minister of State 長齡 Tchang~ Ling~ replaced him as Marshal Commander in Ili.

In the meantime, Djihanguir, at the head of a few Bourout corps, had infested the frontiers and spread alarm among the garrisons (1824-1825); from time to time, when he was in too much of a hurry from the troops sent in pursuit, he amused the Chinese authorities with words of submission; then, as soon as he had gathered a few troops, he began the fight again. He always escaped pursuit, having been warned in time by the Mohammedans of the arrival of the Chinese troops or of the direction they were taking.

¹ The Chinese write 敖罕 Ao'hann or 愛烏罕 Aï-vou-'hann.

² Emperor Tçia Tç'ing~, in whose favour his father Tç'ienn long~ had abdicated in 1796, died on 2 September 1820; his successor Tao Kouang~, during whose reign the first European war with China took place, died in 1850.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

of the interior, most of whom acted as his spies. For example, 阿布都拉 A pou tou la (Abdallah), Tçing~ Siang~'s maternal uncle, in whom Tçing~ Siang~ had full confidence, served the cause underhand.

the rebels and passed on information to Djihanguir, which was not useful to him. While the forces of the rebels were growing, a small success increased both their audacity and their numbers. One day in the ninth month (October 1825), the commander 巴彥圖 Pa yenn t'ou, alerted to the

Djihanguir was in the vicinity, he crossed the border and set off in pursuit: he travelled forty leagues without being able to meet him. He contented himself with massacring to the last the women and children of a Bourout tribe whose camp was on his route and, satisfied with this exploit, took the same route by which he had come. The chief of the tribe, on hearing of this massacre, wanted to take revenge: hastily gathering two thousand of his people, he set off in pursuit of the Chinese troops and reached them as they were crossing a valley: the Chinese, marching in disarray, without observing their ranks, surprised unexpectedly and fighting with the disadvantage of their position, did not defend themselves, so to speak, and were killed to the last man. This success had considerable results: many Mohammedans came to join the Bourouts and a corps of troops from Andidchan ¹ came to join them.

¹ Andidchan or Endidjan, in Chinese 安集延 Ann tsi yenn, currently one of the main towns of the K' Anat of K'okand, was the capital of the ancient province of Ferghana; Sultan Bâber described the region at the beginning of his memoirs (see the French translation by M. Payet de Courteille, Paris 1871, tome I, pp. 1-86).

10); a few details from Chinese authors may not be out of place here:

"Under the dynasty of 'Hann (206 BC - 264 AD), it was one of the most important dynasties in Europe.C.) the territory of Andidchan was part of the kingdom of 大宛 Ta yuann (宛 read here as *yuann* and not *ouann* according to K'ang~ chi's dictionary; under the Oueï dynasty (386-535) it was known as 洛那國 Lo na Kouo, kingdom of Lo na ; from the time of the Soueï dynasty (581-618) it was known as 鑠汗 Po 'hann; under the T'ang~ (618 to 907) it formed part of the kingdom of 寧遠 Ning~ yuann. Located fifty leagues northwest of Kashgar, to the east it touches the borders of Kashgar, to the south it touches the Ts'ong~ ling~, to the north it is washed by the river Naryn (那林 Na linn, so the Chinese call the Syr déria; to the northwest it borders the territory of Namanghan." Under the name of Andidchan the Chinese often also include the entire K' Anat of K'okand, because it is the city with which they have the most commercial relations; since 1759, when General Tchao 'Houeï, pursuing K'odzidchan, arrived at Andidchan, the whole region has been considered subject to China. (Ta tsing~ y t'ong~ tché; Si yu t'ou tché. See also

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

p.016 the flags of Djihanguir. The latter, seeing himself at the head of sufficient forces, crossed the frontier and invaded the territory of the Mohammedan cities; he first went to the tomb of the ancient K'odjas to make a pilgrimage: this mausoleum, called Matsa by the Mohammedans ¹, is situated eight leagues from Kashgar; it consists of three enclosures and has a tower two kilometres long ². On hearing the news of Djihanguir's approach, Tçing~ Siang~ ordered the vice-regent to go to Kashgar.

governor 舒爾哈善 Choy eul 'ha chann and the commander 烏凌阿 Vou ling~ a to attack it with around a thousand men. The battle took place not far from the mausoleum: four hundred Mohammedans lost their lives; the others managed to take refuge in the tomb; the position was strong, the Mohammedans could have put up a vigorous resistance and stopped the efforts of the Maoists for a long time.

the besiegers; but, attacked from several sides at the same time, they took advantage of the fact that the Chinese troops were spread out to make a sortie and break through their lines.

p.017 Djihanguir, who had thus escaped, gathered up the remnants of his army, then, receiving help from around ten thousand men, once again boldly pushed forward. The Chinese, too outnumbered to resist, abandoned the border posts and retreated to Kashgar. Tçing~ Siang~ set up three camps around this town and gave command to Vou ling~ a and 穆克登布 Mou k'o teng~ pou; but instead of waiting for the insurgents to arrive, he made the mistake of going out to meet them and give battle. The battle took place on the banks of the river 渾 'Hounn: Tçing~ Siang~ perished in the fire.

action with a large number of his own men. The survivors, cut off in their retreat by the victors, were unable to return to Kashgar; seven of them were killed.

History of Central Asia by Mir Abdoul Kerim Boukhary, published, translated and annotated by M. Schefer, Paris 1876).

¹ The two words 瑪雜 Ma tsa are a transcription of the Arabic word *Mezar*, the tomb of a saint or great person who is visited on pilgrimage. The most famous Mezar in Kashgaria is that of Hazreti Afaq, who died in 1693.

² The Chinese count distances in li or tenths of our leagues. In the course of our translation we will only hear about French leagues.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

hundred of their number only managed to escape to Aksou.

As victorious as he was, Djihanguir feared that the troops garrisoned in the T'ien chann peï lou would soon be gathered and sent to the aid of Kashgar: he thought about obtaining allies and sent an emissary to sign a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance with the K'an of Kokand. The troops of Kokand, and especially those of Andidchan, are reputed to be the bravest and most courageous of the Mohammedan troops, so much so that it is said in proverb: "A single Andidchan warrior is worth a hundred Mohammedan soldiers" ¹. It would therefore be a great help to Djihanguir if he could attract the K'an to his side. p.018 His emissary succeeded in his mission beyond all hope and concluded a treaty with the K'an under the terms of which the latter promised active help to the insurgents, on condition that he would keep the children and girls who were taken from the towns and that he would cede the town of Kashgar and its territory. As a result of this treaty, the K'an of Kokand arrived at the camp of Djihanguir during the seventh month (August) at the head of ten thousand men. Djihanguir, who had learned from his spies that Kashgar would not be rescued, had repented of having signed the treaty: he did not want to fulfil the conditions laid down in it. The K'an, outraged at such a lack of faith, ordered his troops to attack the city; the assault not having succeeded, he feared that the insurgent troops would cut off his retreat and that he would thus have to fight enemies from two sides, so he withdrew with his troops during the night. Djihanguir, on learning of this retreat, sent emissaries to try to bring back some of the Kokandian corps: around two or three thousand men returned to make common cause with the insurrection; the descendant of the K'odjas made them his guard of honour.

Incontinently afterwards, on the 20th of the eighth month (September), Kashgar, attacked by superior forces, no longer having any hope of being conquered by the enemy, was taken by the enemy.

¹ 百回兵不如一安集延.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

rescued in time, surrendered to the insurgents; and in a short time Yenghi Hissar, Yarkand and K'oten also fell to Djihanguir.

p.019 The territory of the four western cities was therefore lost to the Chinese ¹.

¹ The Chinese call 西四城 Si sseu tch'eng~, the four cities of the west, the cities of Kashgar, Yenghi Hissar, Yarkand and K'oten. Kachgar, in Chinese 喀什噶爾 K'a ché ko eul, the capital of the kingdom of 疏勒 Sou lo from the time of the 'Hann (see Appendix IV), is situated ninety-two leagues south-west of Ouché: it has 66,413 inhabitants; it is the most populous and important city in Turkestan. The garrison numbered only 959 men, namely 334 Manchu infantrymen and cavalymen under the command of a Tsann ling~ or battalion commander, and 625 Chinese infantrymen and cavalymen under a Tsann tsiang~ or colonel. During the reign of K'ang~ chi, Kashgar was the headquarters of the K'odja Boronitou.

Yenghi Hissar, 英吉莎爾 Yng~ tçi cha eul or 英噶薩爾 Yng~ ko sa eul, is a small town halfway between Kashgar and Yarkand, is garrisoned by 280 men, 80 Manchurians and 200 Chinese.

Yarkand, 葉爾羌 Yé eul tçi'iang~, is fifty leagues south-east of Kashgar. It is the 莎車國 tçi'ou kouo, kingdom of Cha tçi'ou, of the 'Hann. The Chinese know it only as under the name of Yarkand since the Ming~ dynasty (1308-1644). The natives call it 葉爾奇木 Yerkim. The town, built on an eminence, has a very strong foundation; the streets are winding, the numerous houses close together; it is about a league around. The garrison numbers 891 men: 211 Manchu under a tso ling~ or captain, 680 Chinese under a fong~ tsian or lieutenant-colonel. The main product of the region is jade, blocks of which are found in the river (the Yarkand déria); the pieces vary in size from a bushel (斗) to a fist or a plum; some weigh as much as three or four hundred tçinn (Chinese pounds), and come in a variety of colours: white like snow, yellow like wax, cinnabar red, ink black and sapphire green. Cotton and canvas were exported.

The fourth of the four western towns is 和闐 'Ho tienn, the ancient 于闐 Yu tienn mentioned in the *Ts'ienn 'Hann chou* or Annals of the Earlier 'Hann; this name is sometimes written 玉闐 Yu tienn, 玉 Yu meaning jade, no doubt in allusion to this precious stone, one of the main products of the region; 瞿薩旦那, Tçin sa tann na is the transcription of its Sanskrit name Koustana, udder of the earth. On maps recently published in China and Japan, it is known as 伊里齊 I li tsi or 額里齊 O li tsi (Il'tchi), which is the real name of the region's capital, K'oten. K'oten has a population of 44,603 and a garrison of just 232 Chinese and Manchu soldiers commanded by a Tou sseu or major. The region produces millet, hemp, mulberry trees and herds of mules and camels. The jade of K'oten is reputed to be the most beautiful and therefore the most highly prized: it is already mentioned in the 史記 Ché tçi or Historical Memoirs of Sseu ma Tç'ienn. (See *Ta ts'ing~ y t'ong~ tché* and *Si yu t'ou tché*; Timkouski's journey to Peking, whose picture of Turkestan is translated from 西域聞見錄 Si yu ouenn tçienn lou, Résumé de ce qui a été vu et appris de l'Asie centrale, by the Manchu officer 七十一 Ts 'i ché y. See also the *Report of a mission to Yarkand* by Forsyth, *High Tartary* by Shaw, the *Notices sur les pays et les peuples étrangers* by M. Stanislas Julien in the *Journal Asiatique*, August-September 1846, and Abel Rémusat, *Histoire de Khotan*.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)



@

Preparations for a new campaign. - Notice of Chiang~ ling. - The
Mohammedans march on Aksou. - Battle lost by the Chinese.
- Various fights under Aksou. - Fight at Orping. K'oten. - Events at
- Recapture of this town.

On hearing of the increasingly considerable successes achieved by the insurrection, the emperor Tao kouang~^{p.020} ordered 楊遇春 Yang~ Yu-tch'ounn, then acting viceroy of the Chăn kann¹ to place himself, with the title of imperial commissioner, at the head of the five thousand men quartered in the viceroyalty, to go on forced marches^{p.021} to 'Hami² to join the troops there and from there to march forward. At the same time he appointed 鄂山 Ao chann, then acting governor of Chänn si, acting viceroy of Chänn kann, and enjoined 盧坤 Lou k'ouann, acting governor of Chänn si to go to 肅州 Sou tchéou³, to prepare the necessary supplies for the army during the campaign that was about to begin.

It was foolhardy to undertake with so few troops a difficult campaign against an enemy superior in numbers and made more enterprising by its victories. The emperor Tao kouang~, who drew up the plan from the depths of his palace, could not have been aware of the many obstacles along the way.

¹ The viceroyalty of 陝甘 Chänn kann comprises the two Chinese provinces of 陝西 Chänn si (which is usually written Chenn si, although it is pronounced *Chann*, to distinguish this province from that of 山西 Chann si, which is pronounced the same) and 甘肅 Kann sou.

² The important town of K'amil or 哈密 Hami is located at the eastern end of the Celestial Mountains. It is the ancient 伊吾盧 Y or lou. It forms two cities: the old and the new one. The first, repaired in 1717, is situated in the middle of a plain and has a circumference of about two kilometres; the houses are built of earth. The second, built in 1727, is less than five hundred metres in circumference: it is here that the Chinese authorities and the garrison of 800 men, both Chinese and Manchu, reside.

³ Sou tchéou, the Siccu of Marco Polo (see Pauthier, ed. of Marco Polo, p. 163), is a county town in the province of Kann sou, situated on the road leading from Turkestan to China, and is a large commercial warehouse, a vast emporium.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

commander at Ili, Tchang~ ling~, a remarkable statesman, had already resided for a long time in Turkestan and was experienced in Mohammedan affairs: knowing perfectly well the closed field where the struggle was about to be engaged, he addressed a memorandum to p.022 the emperor, on the conduct to be adopted in these conjunctures:

The whole country is on fire," he said, "all the Mohammedans are on the move. Kashgar, which has become the headquarters of the insurgents, is two hundred leagues from Aksou and the road linking these two towns, which has to cross a large part of the Gobi desert, offers serious dangers. It is not with the six thousand men stationed at Ili or Ouroumtsi ¹ that we will be able to triumph over the insurgents and take back from them the towns that have fallen into their hands. There is only one way, and that is to act with superior forces: forty thousand men must be sent as soon as possible: fifteen thousand will guard the towns or villages where the food and ammunition depots are, while the other twenty-five thousand will march forward.

Tao kouang~ saw clearly that Chiang~ ling~ was the only man capable of directing the operations: he appointed him general-in-chief. At the same time he ordered Vou ling~ a, governor of the province of Chann tong~, to take command of three thousand horsemen from the Manchu provinces of吉林 Girin and黑龍江 'Hei long~ tçiang~ and to go and make his junction with Yang~ Yu-tch'ounn under the walls of Aksou. All the preparations for the campaign were made with care and diligence p.023 on the advice of the emperor himself: Tao kouang~ saw to everything. According to his orders, the intendant-general ² drew on maps the routes the troops were to follow, the stages they were to take, the places they were to visit, and so on.

¹ Ouroumtsi (烏魯木齊 Ou lou mou tsi), whose Chinese name is迪化州 Ti 'houa tchéou, the北庭 Peï t'ing~ of the T'ang~ dynasty, the Bichbalik of the Middle Ages, is an important town situated in the T'ienn chann peï lou, to the north of Pidchan. This is where the main road to Ili passes; a都統 Tou t'ong~ or general, under the command of the marshal of Ili, lives there.

² 總理糧餉大臣

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

where they were to stop. The same care was taken with food supplies: at first they had started to collect food and ammunition at Sou tchéou, which would have been transported from there to 'Hami by the road that passes through Tçia yu kouann ¹; but then it was decided, with good reason, that Sou tchéou was much too far from the theatre of operations. Consequently, it was decided to transport to Aksou the foodstuffs gathered in Ouroumtsi and the grain bought in Ili; in this way, more than half the time that would have been needed to bring them from China itself was saved. As for weapons and ammunition, they were transported by the northern route from Ouroumtsi, through the 冰嶺 Ping~ ling~ (Mountains of Ice) ². p.024 coins were melted down with the copper extracted from the mountains. Several thousand camels, twenty thousand horses and three thousand dromedaries offered as tribute by the Mongol princes were gathered in the colonial settlements of Ulyasutai ³ and Ili, so that they would be on hand if needed. Finally, to further increase the army's contingent, the emperor was asked to authorise the selection of two thousand men from among the floating population and the exiles of the provinces of 四川 Sseu tch'ouann and 湖南 Hou nann, most of whom had been forced into exile by the Mongols, who had been members of the national guard or bourgeois militia, were already accustomed to the profession of arms.

At that time, the Mohammedans, masters of the four western cities, indulged in all sorts of disorder and set the country on fire.

¹ 嘉峪關 Tçia yu kouann, the pass or border post of the Beautiful Valley, which depends on Sou tchéou (vide supra), is situated in the western part of the province of Kann sou and constitutes one of the main gates of 萬里長城 Ouann li tch'ang~ tch'eng~, the long wall of ten thousand li or Great Wall, on the western side.

² Ping~ ling~ means ice-covered mountain pass in Mongolian *musun dabaghan*. This passage is ten leagues long; it is made up of blocks of ice interspersed with large rocks; when the ice cracks and opens up, you can see bottomless abysses. You can only climb the mountain using ladders, which you have to carry with you from one place to another. In winter and summer there is nothing but heaps of snow; there are no birds or quadrupeds; there are no plants or trees (*Sinn tçiang~ tché lio*, Book I).

³ 烏里雅蘇臺 Ou ly a sou tai, situated in the territory of the Sain Noin Kalkas 喀爾喀三音諾顏 Mongolian tribe, is the capital of 斜布多 Kobdo. It is the seat of the 定邊左副將軍 Ting~ pienn tso fou tsiang~ tçiunn or sub-marshal guardian of the marches (or borders), the military governor of the region.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

blood. Continuing their success, they gradually advanced northwards: the troops they encountered were massacred; the populations of the towns and villages on their route were put to the sword. In this way they reached the banks of the river 渾巴什 'Hounn pa ché (K'ounbach), barely eight leagues from the town of K'ounbach.

of Aksou. On hearing of their approach, this town, along with Ouché and Koutché, prepared for a ^{p.025} vigorous resistance. The governor of Aksou 長清 Tchang~ Tsing~ tried to stop the march of the insurgents: the battle was fought at 都齊 Tou tsi and lost by the Chinese. Following this success, Djihanguir's troops occupied both banks of the river: they were already only a league away from Aksou. Even though there was only a garrison of less than a thousand men in this town, two hundred were again detached to stop the attack.

momentarily the enemies. During the eighth month (September) five or six thousand Yarkand soldiers were defeated by the Chinese troops and at the same time help arrived from Koutché under the command of 達凌阿 Ta ling~ a, and from K'arachar

under 巴哈布 Pa 'ha pou. These generals first helped Aksou, then, dividing their troops, ran to the aid of Ouché, which was under siege; a battle took place under the walls of this town: it turned to the advantage of the Chinese; three hundred Mohammedans lost their lives; the others fled. But just as their troops were thought to have been routed, they retreated.

reformed into several bodies, crossed the river upstream during the night and came to ravage the area around the town.

Tchang~ tsing~ sent against them a hundred horsemen: the horses, galloping on the sand, sent whirlwinds of dust flying around them and made a dreadful noise. The enemies, believing that a considerable body of troops was marching against them, withdrew to the southern bank of the river: ^{p.026} the Chinese crossed the river after them, but on seeing the considerable troops advancing, they retreated to a camp. Twice the Mohammedans attacked the entrenchments, twice they were repulsed. They then decided to remain under observation in front of the

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

Chinese troops without daring to venture onto the northern bank. In these various battles, they lost eleven hundred of their own men, who either perished in the action or had their heads cut off by the victors.

The Chinese army, which was initially much inferior to that of the insurgents, received reinforcements from time to time, and towards the tenth month (November) it presented a strength of ten thousand men, established in Aksou and the surrounding area. The Mohammedans were not far away: they occupied 柯爾坪 O eul p'ing~, (Orping~) thirty leagues from Aksou,

There were hills, natural obstacles, defended by the insurgents. There were some hills, natural obstacles, defended by the insurgents, and which seemed only capable of being removed with difficulty: the general 楊芳 Yang~ fang~, detached with some troops, succeeded in taking them and hold on to it.

At about the same time the beg of K'oten, having been able to assemble two thousand of his own, suddenly seized the Mohammedan governor who was in command there and handed him over bound hand and foot to the Chinese; at the same time he returned to the Chinese the seal of the former Chinese governor. It might seem strange at first p.027 that the Mohammedans of K'oten, united with the insurgents by religion, interest and love of independence, should behave in this way towards their compatriots. This was because the beg of K'oten and the inhabitants of that town were Mohammedans with black turbans, whereas Djihanguir and his followers were Mohammedans with white turbans ¹.

¹ It would perhaps be risky to claim that these names 黑 or 白 回 mahométans noirs ou blancs, 黑 or 白 帽 回 mahométans à turbans noirs ou blancs are vestiges of the two great Turkish tribes the Kara Koinlou and the Ak Koinlou or tribes of the Black Sheep and the White Sheep, names which they took because their standard was decorated with the figure of these animals (see. Malcolm, *Histoire de la Perse*, trad. franc, chap. XIII, end). We rather believe that these are the remains of the quarrel that arose between the house of Abbas and the impostor Mocanna. The followers of the latter, who rose up in Khorassan against the Khalifa Medhy, wore white clothes and turbans to distinguish themselves from those who obeyed the Khalifa, whose colour, as well as that of all the Abbasids, was black (see D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Oriental. sub voce* Mohaiedhoun; and a learned note by [Silvestre de Sacy, Chrestomathie arabe, trad. tome I, p. 49, note 48](#); cf. also Gust. Weil, *Geschichte der Chalifen*, Mannheim, 1846-51, tome II, p. 216, in the note). In the the *T'ang~ chou* or Annals of the T'ang~, a Chinese text on 唐書

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

what rivalry exists between these Mohammedans, what quarrels and incessant struggles take place between them. Originally, the Mohammedans of K'oten had ardently embraced Djihanguir's cause, even though they were not of the same colour as him; but soon seeing continual quarrels between themselves and his followers, and suffering under Djihanguir's tyranny, they wanted to throw themselves into the arms of the Chinese. The beg of Aksou伊薩克 p . 028 I sa k'o (Isaac) hastened to send emissaries to K'oten to keep the inhabitants on their toes and bring them round to the Chinese cause; he even urged the Chinese general to send troops to retake possession of the town. Unfortunately, winter had come and the snow covering the mountainous regions through which the troops were to pass prevented them from reaching K'oten; the white-turbaned Mohammedans, having been warned of what was happening, took advantage of the fact that the beg of K'oten was left to its own forces to return in numbers and occupy the town once again: the opportunity was therefore lost to the Chinese.

@

It has been translated and annotated by M. Bretschneider in his opusculum *On the Knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies*, p. 9, to which we refer for further details. It mentions波悉林 Po si linn (Abu Mouslim) who, taking up arms against 末換 Mo'houann (Merwan II), ordered his followers to dress in black. Elected king, 阿婆羅拔 A po lo pa (Aboul Abas) retained the black colour as that of his party, and the Arabs who until then had been called the 白衣大食 Po y Ta ché, the Ta ché (Arabs) with white clothes, were from then on called 黑衣大食 black-clad Arabs.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

IV

@

Campaign of 1827. - Notice of Chiang~ ling~. - March of the Chinese forward. - Battles of Yangabat, Chaboudour, Aouabat'; march on Kachgar; battle under this city. - Siege of Kashgar, which falls to the Chinese. - Djihanguir escapes and wanders among the Bourouts. - Capture of Yenghi Hissar, Yarkand and K'oten by the Chinese.

In the spring of the seventh year (1827) Tchang~ ling~ sent a report to the emperor Tao kouang~, telling him of all that had happened up to that time. p.029 Tao kouang~ drew up the plan for the new campaign that was about to begin: the army was to be divided into two corps; one, the main corps, was to pass along the central road (which leads from Aksou to Kashgar) and advance to meet the enemies; the other, intended to play the role of scout, was to cross the Uché steppes and emerge from them not far from Kashgar to cut off the retreat of the insurgents that the first corps would have driven back in front of it; garrisons were to remain in the main towns. Chiang~ ling~ made some judicious observations on this plan:

Beyond the border posts of the territory of Ouché," he says in a memoir, "as far as the mountain 巴爾昌 Pa eul tch'ang~ (Bartchang), the region, bristling with hills, cut off from the rest of the world by the sea and the mountains, is a real paradise. by the Gobi desert over an area of several dozen kilometres. Moreover, at least half of the Bourout tribes whose territory we have to cross have been incited to resistance by the insurgents: it is not with an army as small as ours that we could advance into the heart of the country. In fact, if we leave four thousand regular troops in Aksou, the same number in Ouché and about five hundred in Koutché, not counting the five thousand men from the provinces of Sseu tch'ouann and Yunn nann who have not yet arrived, there will only be twenty-two thousand infantrymen and cavalymen left to hold the campaign.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

How can we hope to bring the war to a successful conclusion if the small army is divided into two corps which will be about twenty days' march apart and will consequently have very little news of each other? If, therefore, we do not have a single large army to act by the central route and march directly on Kashgar, it will be difficult not to experience failure. Moreover, as it is to be feared that the insurgents, once defeated, will try to flee into the territory of neighbouring tribes, the Mohammedans in black turbans must be secretly ordered to go to Kashgar to prevent them from doing so.

Chiang~ ling~'s advice was followed and on the 6th of the second month (March) the Chinese army entered the campaign; on the 14th it reached巴爾楚 Pa eul tch' ou (Bartchouk) ¹ where the road divides: one road leads to Kashgar, the other to Yarkand. As this strategic point was This was a very important place, either to support the army, or to ensure its communications with the rest of Turkestan, or to cover its rear, and three thousand men were garrisoned there. On the 22nd the army arrived at大河拐 Ta 'ho k'ouai.

Throughout this march, no enemy was encountered. All that could be seen was a devastated country unable to provide any sustenance for the troops, who, having exhausted the food they had brought with them, were reduced to eating their camels, weakened by the march, or their horses, emaciated by deprivation. This state of affairs threatened to continue for a long time: it was feared that the Mohammedans, uselessly pursued, would cause the people to withdraw to

¹ At Bartchouk the road divides into two branches: one follows the course of the Kachgar Déria, which in this part of its course is called Oulan ousou 'ho or Red River (It should be Oulan ousou or Oulan 'ho, since *ousou* in Mongolian and *'ho* in Chinese both mean *river*. The Chinese name for this part of the Kashgar deria is紅水 'hong~ chouei, red water, an exact translation of Olan ousou). This road, called Chou ouo tseu tao, heads west to Kashgar. The other branch runs south-east to Yarkand (*Sinn tçiang~ tché lio*, Book I).

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

As the Chinese army approached, they left only sufficient garrisons to defend them, and devastated the region to starve out their enemies. At every moment, the Chinese hoped to encounter the insurgents, as they expected to seize their provisions and supplies after the battle.

On the night of the 22nd, the Chinese camp was suddenly attacked by around three thousand insurgents: they were repulsed with losses, but did not consider themselves beaten. A first attack having failed, they tried to kill the Chinese under the waters or at least hinder their progress by causing a nearby river to overflow ¹: the road had become impassable; the Chinese had to lay down their weapons p.032 and start digging canals to drain the waters. This attack was no more successful than the first: the Mohammedans saw this and withdrew. The Chinese army resumed its march and soon arrived at 洋阿巴特 Yang~ a pa t'o: at this point the desert flattens out and widens, but a chain of hills blocks the road; twenty thousand insurgents were ranged in battle, occupying the heights over a stretch of several kilometres.

The Chinese army made arrangements to attack: Chiang~ ling~ and Yang~ Yu tch'ounn took command of the centre; Vou ling~ a placed himself on the left wing, Yang~ fang~ on the right wing; the battle began in this order. The Mohammedans, who had the advantage of the position, put up a vigorous resistance, but, soon forced to give in to the tenacity and ardour of the Chinese troops, they gave up and fled: some of them took refuge in the neighbouring villages and hamlets; the others fled southwards. The victory was marked by the capture and massacre of the latter corps, the beasts of burden, livestock, grain and provisions of all kinds that the victors took and which amply compensated the soldiers for the fatigue and hardships they had endured up until then.

The Chinese, animated by a new ardour, marched again

¹ Probably the Ulan Usu we have just been talking about.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

On the 25th they reached the Mohammedan town of 沙布都爾 Chabou tou eul (Chaboudour). The position of this town, where a large number of Mohammedans had taken refuge, was such that all of All around were lakes and marshes; the town itself was surrounded by a belt of groves and gardens. The insurgents had caused the lakes to overflow so as to make the ground muddy and marshy and thus prevent the movements of the Chinese cavalry; some of their troops had formed up in battle behind a canal; the others had hidden in ambush behind the town so as not to be shot at. From the outset, the troops attempted to cross the canal through a thousand dangers: a bloody battle was fought on its banks. During this attack, cavalry troops advanced on the left and right wings of the insurgents and, crossing the canal in shallow places, charged at the enemy lines. At that very moment, the powder magazines in the Mohammedan camp caught fire and exploded; the Chinese, taking advantage of the disturbance this explosion caused in the ranks of the insurgents, fell on them with vigour, putting them to rout and pursuing the fugitives for a long time. Many flags and drums fell into the hands of the victors and more than ten thousand insurgents were taken prisoner and put to the sword.

The rebels who had been lying in ambush in the woods behind the town were flushed out and the help that reached them by the bridge over the river that runs around it was also defeated. At the point where this last battle took place, the road is bordered on one side by the river and on the other by high ground, and is also surrounded by ^{p.034} thick woods. The Chinese generals, fearing that this place could be an ambush, left a body of troops in observation near the bridge. The army continued its march along the southern bank.

However, the Mohammedans, although beaten in several encounters, were not completely defeated; always defeated, they were always to be defeated. Various bodies of troops, escaping from the previous defeats and forming a strength of around ten thousand men,

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

had established themselves at 阿瓦巴特 A oua pa t'o (Aouabat'), a town situated on a hill and backed by a river. The Chinese army, on the march towards this town, was only about five leagues away when all of a sudden it saw herds of cattle fleeing into the countryside in panic.

and sheep; the general, whose scouts had announced the arrival of the In the vicinity of the enemy, fearing that it was a trap set by the insurgents, he forbade his soldiers to seize anything and to leave their ranks in pursuit of anyone. He stopped his army a league from the Mohammedans and set up camp in a good position; then, during the night, he sent five hundred horsemen from the Manchu province of Girin to reconnoitre the roads on the right and left and arrive on the enemy's rear the following day.

The next day, the army ranged itself in battle, facing the position occupied by the insurgents, the infantrymen of the provinces of Sseu tch'ouann and Chann si forming the centre, and the cavalry developing on the two wings: p.035 the combat thus began. The insurgents, attacked, pretended to flee, wanting to draw the Chinese in pursuit and with the intention, as soon as they reached the heights, of suddenly turning around, falling on them and throwing them down; but the Chinese did not allow themselves to be taken in: they rained down a hail of machine-gun fire on the enemy entrenchments; then a swarm of soldiers dressed in tiger skins and carrying wicker shields ¹, rushed forward with bravery and swept down on the entrenchments. The Mohammedans' horses, frightened by this completely new costume for them, seized with fear, threw the lines into turmoil; the lines were beginning to float when the Mohammedans, who had been hiding behind the town, came running to the aid of their own; a terrible battle ensued. In the middle of the action, the Manchu cavalry sent the previous night suddenly appeared on the rear of the insurgents: they suddenly fell on the Mohammedans, who were beginning to lose their footing.

¹ 藤牌兵虎衣. It was these soldiers that the Europeans called *tigers*.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

a complete rout. At least half of the insurgent army remained on the battlefield or, having fallen into the hands of the Chinese, were massacred after the action. Two generals from the town of Andidchan remained in the square. The victors pursued the fugitives as far as the river 洋達瑪 Yang~ ta ma (Yandam), eighteen leagues from Kashgar, and the Chinese were killed.

The next day the Chinese army ^{p.036} reached the northern bank of the river 'Hounn: it was only a few kilometres from Kashgar.

On hearing the news of his approach, the Mohammedan troops established themselves firmly both in the town itself and in the surrounding area: they built entrenchments which they pierced with loopholes so that they could place cannon in them, and, in their shelter, ranged themselves in parallel lines occupying a stretch of land of about two leagues; their numbers amounted to one hundred thousand men. These troops, no doubt to frighten their opponents, never stopped beating drums and blowing trumpets: the noise filled the air.

When night fell, the Chinese general detached a few determined soldiers with the mission of worrying the enemies and keeping them on their toes until morning with false attacks. During the night, the south-westerly wind blew, stirring up the trees and raising whirlwinds of dust to such an extent that the sky was obscured. Chiang~ Ling~, considering the small number of his men, and fearing that the insurgents would take advantage of the darkness to surround his army, wanted them to withdraw to some distance and entrench themselves solidly in a good position. Yang~ Yu-tch'ounn, called to the council, objected to this plan; he argued that in the middle of the darkness the Mohammedans would not be able to discern the small number of their enemies; that they should rather hasten to seize this opportunity and take advantage of the night to attack. Moreover, he added, an offensive army, surrounded by enemies such as ours, is only good ^{p.037} for striking swift and decisive blows and not for remaining inactive for long. His opinion prevailed; consequently a thousand Manchurian cavalymen were detached, who had to make a diversion and attempt to cross the Kachgar river downstream, so as to draw part of the insurgent forces to this side; Yang~ Yu-

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

tchounn himself, at the head of his troops, made his passage upstream: the advance guard, made up of soldiers armed with harquebuses, rained down a hail of bullets on the enemies: the crackling of the gunfire was not replaced by the noise of the gusts of wind; confusion soon set in among the enemy ranks. At daybreak, the wind suddenly stopped and the darkness dissipated: the Chinese, who had almost all passed through, took advantage of this clearing and the indecision of the enemy troops to rush at them and rout them.

The Mohammedans, wearing high boots, as is their fashion, and moreover carrying their food and provisions, could not flee easily and fell at every step; the victors therefore took many prisoners. The rout was complete: the Mohammedans, who knew neither discipline nor any of the tricks of war, knew only how to fight a pitched battle; once their lines were broken, they could resist no longer and sought their salvation in flight. This victory was won on the 1st of the third month (April).

The Chinese, taking advantage of their victory, came to lay siege to Kashgar where several insurgent corps had withdrawn. Kachgar is, so to speak, two cities: p.038 just as in Chinese cities there is a Chinese city and a Tartar city, in the cities of Turkestan there is a Chinese city and a Mohammedan city. After a few days of siege, the Chinese town fell into the hands of the besiegers, and shortly afterwards the Mohammedan town suffered the same fate. The nephew of Djihanguir, 薩木汗 Sa mou 'hann, who had taken the title of king (K'an), was taken prisoner.

several other begs who had sided with the insurgents. Despite these happy successes, and even though the Mohammedans had lost many of their own, and the number of prisoners taken throughout the campaign amounted to four thousand, the war could not be considered over, nor the insurrection quelled, since the descendant of the K'odjas had escaped his conquerors by fleeing.

The emperor Tao kouang~, to whom a detailed report had been sent, was dissatisfied with the way in which this campaign had ended; at the beginning he had hoped that his generals would finish it with a single blow.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

The Chinese troops had indeed reached the lodge, but the game was no longer there. The Chinese troops had indeed reached the heath, but the game was no longer there ¹: it had fled. The emperor stripped Chiang~ Ling~ of the Purple Bride, a mark of honour he had earned through his previous exploits, and stripped Yang~ Yu-tch'ounn and Vou Ling~ a of the titles of governor and vice-governor of the heir _{p.039} presumptive to the throne ². In addition he set a time limit within which these generals were to seize Djihanguir, dead or alive.

While Vou ling~ a, ill, was obliged to remain in Kashgar, Yang~ Yu-tch'ounn attacked and captured the town of Yenghi Hissar on the 5th of the eighth month (September); on the 16th of the same month he saw Yarkand also fall into his hands; master of the three main towns in the west he sent Yang~ fang~ to recapture K'oten with six thousand men.

In the meantime, the Andidchan troops whom Djihanguir had called to his aid, having exhausted the wealth plundered from the sacking of the various towns, had set about seizing the Mohammedan families and their riches, and Djihanguir, enraged by his defeat, randomly massacred the Mohammedans who came within his reach. Abandoned by his few remaining supporters, seeing all hope for him lost, he sought asylum with the K'an of Kokand; the K'an, no doubt won over by the gifts of the Chinese, or fearing to provoke a war by giving him asylum, refused to receive him. Djihanguir was reduced to hiding amongst the Buru tribes, obliged to beg for his subsistence here and there.

@

¹ 臨巢兔脫 litt. the hare had escaped when we approached its nest.

² The titles of 太保 t'ai pao and 少保 chao pao, governor and vice-governor of the imperial prince 太子 heir presumptive to the crown, are purely honorary. t'ai tseu chao pao is the one of the titles often conferred under the reigning dynasty.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

V

@

Fight in the Ts'ong~ ling~, between the Chinese and the Kokandians. - Plans of Tchang~ ling~ and Vou ling~ a for the pacification of Turkestan. - Na yenn tch'eng~ commissioned to pacify the country - Chiang~ ling~ ambushes Djihanguir; he crosses the border again; fights and loses the battle of K'artiekai; is taken prisoner (1828). - Rewards awarded to Chinese officers; erection of commemorative columns; triumphal reception of troops by the emperor. - Settlement of Na yenn tch'eng~, new attack by the Kokandians (1829); peace is again restored by Tchang~ ling~.

p.040 In the sixth month (July), Chiang~ ling~ ordered Yang~ Yu tch'ounn and Yang~ fang~ to cross the border with eight thousand men. in order to pursue Djihanguir, prevent him from gathering forces again, and try to capture him; at the same time he enjoined the nomadic tribes of the Bouroutes to take him prisoner if they met him and to hand him over to the Chinese government. Yang~ fang~ settled at阿賴 Alai, in the Ts'ong~ ling~ ¹, a place through which passes the road that goes to from Kashgar to Kokand; and Yang~ Yu-tchounn took up position at色勒庫 Cho lo k'ou, separated from his colleague by about ten days' march. The position of these two observation c o r p s soon became critical: separated from the troops left in Kashgar, receiving no neither from them nor from Djihanguir, they saw their supplies running out p.041 without being able to be supplied; joined that the road of Kachgar, if they to retreat to this city, was long and difficult. The K'an of Kokand, warned by his spies of the perilous position of the two Chinese generals, resolved to take advantage of the situation to attack them; at the head of two thousand men he ambushed the Chinese troops: they fell into the ambush, but resisted with desperate vigour and fought a battle that lasted a day and a night. The Chinese generals managed to get their troops out of this predicament,

¹ The Chinese refer to both the Bolor Mountains and the Karakorum range as葱嶺 Ts'ong~ ling~, onion mountains (so called, we read in a note in the *Ts'ienn 'hann chou* or *Annals of the Earlier 'Hann*, because this plant grows abundantly on their summits). This refers to the Bolor Mountains.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

and, setting up camps at every moment, were able to make their retreat in good order and emerge unharmed from these perils. The emperor blamed the two generals for having penetrated with such a small army into the heart of an enemy country, for having remained so long inactive and for having spent their subsistence in vain. He ordered them to return within the borders and to leave a corps of eight thousand men at Kashgar. In the meantime, Chiang~ ling~ addressed a memorandum to the emperor, excerpts of which follow:

"The Mohammedans venerate the K'odjas, just as the Tibetans venerate the Dalai Lama ¹: this is unchangeable. - I have sent emissaries in pursuit of Djihanguir, whose two brothers, established in Kokand, will continue to be a threat to us for a long time _{to come}. The eight thousand men left in Kashgar are not enough to keep the whole country in check and prevent any future insurrection: in my opinion it would be more appropriate to divide the country into various principalities and place them under the authority of begs or native chiefs who are devoted to our cause, such as I sa k'o (Isaak) and others, who would themselves look after their own safety. We could also give command of the four western cities to 阿 布 都 里 A pou tou li, son of Boronitou, who, after having received his pardon, remained in the capital as a hostage. This was the only good way of subduing the Mohammedans inside and keeping those outside at bay.

Another pacification plan was presented by Vou ling~ a; it was as follows:

"If only a few troops are left in the reconquered countries, it will be impossible both to fight the enemies of the State and to maintain the peace.

¹ The 達 賴 刺 麻 ta lai la ma is one of the two great pontiffs at the head of the lamaic hierarchy; he is considered to be an incarnation of Dhyani Bodhisatva Tchenresi and resides at Po ta la monastery, near Lhasa. He is known in Tibetan as *rGyelva Rin po tch'é*; ta lai la ma is a transcription of the Tibetan *lama*, scholar, and the Mongolian *dalaï*, sea, ocean, meaning that the wisdom of this pontiff is as vast as the ocean.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

outside and to ensure the submission of the region. If, on the other hand, many are left outside, it will be difficult to keep them in. It should also be noted that the territory of the four towns to the west, surrounded on all sides by Mohammedans, can be very easily attacked: consequently the region cannot be well guarded, nor the submission of the populations definitive. On the other hand, let us look at the four towns in the east ¹: these towns form a line of defence protecting the road to Central Asia and are strategic points which must be preserved at all costs; the garrisons which are necessary there use only half the troops required for the defence of the four towns in the west. It is therefore better to withdraw to the four eastern towns than to spend supplies useful to the army in useless regions. This would give us a solid position that nothing could shake.

Neither of these opinions pleased the emperor: Tao kouang~

¹ The 東四城 Tong~ sseu tch'eng~ or four eastern cities, as opposed to the four western cities, are Pidchan, Koutché, Aksou, Ouché.

Pidchan, in Chinese 闕展 Pi tchann, is the ancient kingdom of 狐胡 'Hou 'hou, of which since the Hann dynasty, it has been known to the Chinese as part of the country of 高昌 Kao tch'ang~ (Ouigours), the district of Léou tchong~, and finally, under the Yuann or Mongol dynasty, the country of 魯克察克 Lou k'o tch'a k'o (Loukchak). The garrison consists of 300 Chinese and Manchu soldiers under the command of a tou sseu (major). Pidchan is 106 leagues east of K'arachar.

80 leagues from the latter town is 庫車 K'ou tch'o (Koutché); this is the 龜茲國 Kouei tseu kouo of the 'Hann. The town has 4,660 inhabitants and a garrison of 200 men under a tou sseu.

The third of the four eastern towns, 阿克蘇 A k'o sou (Aksou), 溫宿國 Ouenn sou kouo of the 'Hann, has a population of 24,607 and is garrisoned by one hundred soldiers.

The fourth town in the east, 烏什 Ou ché, 20 leagues to the west of Aksou, is the 慰頭國 Oueï t'éou kouo des 'Hann. The population is 3,258 souls. The garrison consists of 200 Manchurians under a commander (ling~ touei ta tch'enn) and 750 Chinese. In addition, there are two hundred and fifty soldiers employed specifically to extract copper from the mountains; four hundred have settled there as colonists.

The four eastern cities of this territory produce : peaches, plums, jujubes, gourds, grapes, rice, millet, sorghum; sulphur, which is found in the slopes of the Celestial Mountains, red copper, lead, saltpetre; there are numerous herds of oxen, sheep and horses; the inhabitants offer otter skins as tribute (水獺 chouei t'a); these animals are taken from the sea of 蒲昌 Pou tch'ang~, or Lake Lob. (*Ta ts'ing~ y t'ong~ tché; Si yu t'ou tché*).

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

blamed his two generals for wanting to bring the descendants of the former rebels back to their country, and ^{p.044} he degraded them while leaving them in charge ¹. The viceroy of the province of Tché 那彥成 Na yenn tch'eng~ ², was ordered to go to Turkestan with the title and the authority of imperial commissioner, and to replace Tchang~ ling~ in the work of pacification.

Meanwhile, Djihanguir, reduced to begging for food, wandering from tribe to tribe, saw his position becoming more critical by the day; no refuge, no asylum could offer him any security: the Chinese authorities had promised the noble title of "prince of the second rank" ³ and a reward of one hundred thousand taëls to anyone who captured him and delivered him into their hands. At every step Djihanguir feared he would meet a traitor. Tchang~ ling~, who wanted to redeem by some exploit the fault of which he had been guilty in the eyes of the emperor, thought of seizing ^{p.045} by deception of the descendant of the K'odjas : On his orders some black-turbaned Mohammedans, won over to the cause of China, and mortal enemies of Djihanguir and his followers, white-turbaned Mohammedans, crossed the frontier, dispersed into the neighbouring regions, and spread the rumour that the Chinese troops had retreated, that Kachgar no longer had a garrison, and that all the Mohammedan chiefs were impatiently awaiting the return of Djihanguir to take up arms again. At the same time, the Chinese general forbade the mistreatment of families and the violation of the homes of Mohammedans wearing white turbans,

¹革職留任 That is to say, he stripped them of the職 tché or title of civil servant, as a punishment, but left them with the任 jenn, the position or office itself, so that they could redeem their faults by their good conduct or good administration.

² This Manchu Tartar, whose fortunes varied greatly, was related to the famous general Akoueï, who covered himself with glory in the war of the Miao tseu under Tç'ienn long~. He was not without talent, but had the defect of always acting as he pleased, without taking advice from anyone; banished once he had been pardoned because he was related to Akoueï (*Gazette de Péking*, 20 July 1800); returned to favour he was governor of Kouang~ tong~, again disgraced, then successively governor of Tché li, Chănn si, Kann sou : appointed governor of Kashgar in 1827, he was accused by Tchang~ ling~, shortly after the end of the insurrection, of having stirred up a revolt by his incapacity; he was degraded of all his honours and offices and died at the beginning of 1831. (*Canton Register*, 15 July 1833.)

³ 郡王

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

no doubt with the aim of bringing them back to the cause of China and sowing division between the former supporters of Djihanguir. These ruses had an unexpected result: Djihanguir believed that he had retained a large number of secret supporters who were only waiting for his return to declare themselves; he wanted to take advantage of the fact that the Chinese troops, in the last days of the year, were no doubt not on their guard, to cross the border at the head of a small corps of five hundred cavalry, and incite the Mohammedans to rally to his cause and march on Kashgar. On the 27th of the last month (January), he took with his small troop the old road which passes through the mountain 開齊 K'ai tsi (K'aidji) and secretly arrived at the gates of the Mohammedan town of 阿木古 A mou kou (Amouk); as he approached, the white-turbaned Mohammedans fled so as not to be obliged to resist him, while on the contrary the black-turbaned Mohammedans prepared for a vigorous defence. Djihanguir did not expect to find resistance: not having enough strength to triumph, he withdrew by the same route and crossed the border again.

Yang~ fang~, whose six thousand men had gathered in great haste, pursued him day and night until he reached the mountain 喀爾鐵蓋 K'a eul t'ié kai (K'artiékai). Djihanguir could not avoid the fight: beaten, he sought his salvation in flight, accompanied by about thirty of his men. only his own people. Pursued at close quarters, he jumped from his horse to climb the heights more easily, but was taken by Colonel 胡超 'Hou tchao and Major 段永福 Touann Yong~-fou ¹. With the capture of his leader, the Turkestan insurrection was definitively defeated (1828).

News of the victory reached the court in Peking~ during the first month of the eighth year (1828) : Tao Kouang~ immediately issued a decree by which he gave Chiang~ ling~ the title of "duke of

¹ Djihanguir, on the point of being captured, tried to cut his own throat, but did not have the time to carry out his plan. He was sent under escort to Peking~, where he was tried by the emperor himself, condemned and put to death.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

second rank" ¹ with the honorary nickname of "Majestic bravery", to Yang~ fang~, the title of "Marquis of the third rank" with the nickname of "Bravery that produced great results", and to both he granted the right to wear the two-eyed peacock feather ². The beg of Aksou, Isaak, who during this long war had devotedly served the cause of the Chinese, was given the title of "prince of the second rank". Hou Tchao and the other officers who had distinguished themselves were rewarded according to their merits.

During the same month Yang~ Yu-tch'ounn arrived in the capital: he received the office of viceroy of the Chänn kann and at the same time, by an additional benefit, that of governor of the four eastern cities. Compensation was paid to the families of the inhabitants of the four western cities who had perished in the ranks of the Chinese; a standard intended to commemorate this war and the victory that had crowned it, was presented to the empress. In addition, a commemorative column was erected in the Imperial College ³ and another on the summit of the mountain p.048

¹ In China there are nine titles of nobility which are conferred only as a reward for military exploits; here is the list: 公 kong~, 侯 'héou, 伯 po, 子 tseu, 男 nann, which can be perfectly well translated by duke marquis count, viscount, baron, 輕車都尉 tç'ing~ tch'o tou yu, 騎都尉 tçi tou yu, 雲騎尉 yunn tç'i yu, 恩騎尉 enn tç'i yu, which can be translated as knights. Each of the first five titles comprises three 等 teng~ or classes, which one is obliged to go through before obtaining a title higher than the one one has, unless the emperor, by a special favour, decides otherwise, thus a 一等侯 teng~ 'héou, marquis of the first class will pass 三等公 sann teng~ kong~, duke of the third class. To the first three titles are added 嘉名 tçia ming~ or eulogistic epithets, reminiscent of the circumstances that made them valuable to their possessors, or the deeds that they accomplished. All these titles, with the exception of the ninth, are hereditary.

² The main award conferred by the current dynasty is the right to wear a 孔雀翎 k'ong~ tsio ling~, peacock feather. There are three kinds of these feathers and consequently three grades: 三眼花翎 sann yenn 'houa ling~, the three-eyed peacock feather; 雙眼花翎 chouang~ yenn 'houa ling~, the two-eyed peacock feather; and finally 花翎 'houa ling~ the ordinary peacock feather.

³ The 太學 t'ai chio or 國子監 kouo tseu tçienn, imperial college, whose foundation is due to Emperor Vou of the Tsinn, is situated in the north-east corner of Peking~, near 安定門 Ann ting~ meunn, the Ann ting~ Gate. In the centre of the building, which is quadrangular, is a small pavilion built on a white marble platform surrounded by a fairly wide circular moat and accessed by four bridges also made of marble, placed at the four cardinal points. This is the image of 辟壅 Pi

yong~ or imperial college of antiquity where each sovereign is required, once in his reign, to come and preside over a solemn meeting of all the learned men of the Capital. The name Pi yong~ is often given in the high style to the imperial college itself, but sometimes it is written with different characters: 辟靡·辟 is for 璧 (all

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

K'artiekai. When the victorious troops returned to Peking~, Tao kouang~, following the example of Tç'ienn long~, who had been outside the capital walls to receive the troops returning from the conquest of Dzungary and Turkestan, went to meet them and received with great pomp the booty and prisoners they had taken. This was a departure from the immemorial custom of not offering the emperor the spoils of subjugated insurgents, but only those of defeated foreigners.

This war cost the treasury ten million taëls, although the number of troops employed was not considerable; in fact about thirty-six thousand men entered the campaign, but not even twenty thousand made it as far as Kashgar. The Chinese generals had been obliged to leave fairly large garrisons in the towns they had seized for fear of an offensive return by the insurgents. They did not even need the troops from the provinces of Sseu tch'ouann and Chänn si who, having reached the halfway point at the end of the war, had only to return to their cantonments.

After the capture of Djihanguir, Tchang~ ling~ had sent a dispatch to the K'an of Kokand and to that of Bok'ara, enjoining them to seize his descendants and followers who had found asylum with them and to hand them over to him: The K'an of Kokand sent an ambassador to the Chinese general to congratulate him on his victory and to tell him at the same time that the followers of Djihanguir could be handed over to him, but that handing over the sons or grandsons of a K'odja was not permitted under Mohammedan law. With this ambassador came a Chinese officer named 譚祿

T'ann lou, who had been one of the first to go to Djihanguir when the latter

two pronounced the same) which means a round jade ornament with a hole in the centre that dignitaries used to carry in their hands when they went to court. 廳 has the meaning of 澤 marsh: the expression means a circular marsh (or ditch) at the centre of which is the college. The Kouo tseu tçienn is also given the names 北雍 peï yong~, 虎闡 'hou oueï and 成均 tch'eng~ tçiunn (which we do not find anywhere): this last name was given to it by 武后 Vou 'héou, the Vou empress of the T'ang~ dynasty, and means a college where scholars are trained (均其習之偏) and where they are 成其行之勳).

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

had attacked Kashgar, then submitted to the K'an of Kokand and had been his spy and guide during the war; recognised by the Chinese, he was seized and immediately put to death as a traitor to his country.

As the children of Djihanguir were not to be feared and, in short, had not been involved in any way in the insurrection, the emperor ordered that they should no longer be dealt with, that he should be content to stand guard on the frontier, to prevent any trade relations with the K'anat of Kokand and to wait for the K'an p.050 to deliver on his own those who had been demanded of him and to ask for the resumption of trade. Despite this, Na yenn tch'eng~ sent emissaries to try to seize Djihanguir's son, 布素普 Pou sou p'ou

(Bourzouk) ¹, then six years old, and several begs who, like him, had found help from the K'an of Kokand. At the same time he sought to sow discord between the countries of Bok'ara, Badak'chan and Kokand with the intention of interfering in their divisions and profiting from them. Tao kouang~, warned of what was happening, forbade him to stir up new quarrels, and shortly afterwards enjoined him to return to Peking~ (sixth month of the ninth year, July 1829).

Some time later, the emperor acquiesced to the regulations drawn up and successively addressed to him by Na yenn tcheng. Here is the content :

"1° In order to put an end to the abuses of all kinds which have arisen in the cities of Turkestan, the conduct of the governors will be examined, at the end of each year, by the general commanding in Ouroumtsi and the vice-governor of Turkestan residing in Kachgar. All these officials will be under the strict supervision of the Marshal commanding in Ili. p.051

¹ More than half a century later, when the Tounganes once again tried to shake off the Chinese yoke (1862), they called on this last representative of the K'odja family and invited him to come and lead them. We know that one of the K'okandian chiefs who followed Bourzouk was Mohammed Yakoub, the talented adventurer who was to take command of the insurrection and found the independent kingdom of Kashgaria, a state destined, unfortunately perhaps, not to outlive its founder.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

2° The salaries of all civil servants will be increased.

3° All civil servants will be allowed to take their families with them to the posts to which they are appointed.

4° The number of agents or junior employees must be fixed.

5° The Tchang~ tçing~ ¹ or secretaries employed in the offices must be chosen from the staff of the ministries in Peking~; officers from the garrisons will no longer be employed for these offices.

6° Mohammedans will no longer be able to have themselves appointed begs for money: they will be appointed according to their seniority or by choice; in the latter case, great care and discernment will be required. In the latter case, great care and discernment will be required. Likewise, attention will be paid to any major impediments ² that may exist.

7° The land belonging to the inhabitants who sided with the rebels will be confiscated and leased on behalf of the Chinese government at the annual price of 56,000 tann approximately ³: 38,000 tann will be used to meet the expenses and upkeep of the garrisons; the remaining 18,000 tann, not including the products of the land of 大河沿 Ta'ho yenn and 亮噶爾 Léang~ ko eul, the former depending on the Chinese government.

from Kashgar, the second from Yarkand, will be used to increase the salaries of civil servants. The surplus will be transported to Aksou and deposited in the granaries.

¹ Tchang~ tçing~ 章京 is a corruption of the Manchu word *tchanyng*, secretary, clerk.

² These impediments, called 迴避 'houeï pi, consist in the fact that a person, to avoid acquiring too much influence, cannot exercise a magistracy in the region where he was born or where his parents live.

³ A 石 tann (*ché*, stone; read as *tann*) is a measure containing 10 bushels or a hundred (about 103 斗 litres). 升

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

8° The city walls will be rebuilt, the border posts will be increased, the garrison troops will be trained and the troops sent from China will be gradually brought back. These are the best ways of restoring order in the interior.

9° As for foreign countries, there is none which is a greater haven for our deserters and the refuse of our populations than the K'anat of Kokand. Eight towns are under the jurisdiction of the K'an: Andidchan is one of the main ones. It is situated thirty-eight leagues east of Kokand, fifty from Kashgar. Its inhabitants have kept the son of Djihanguir within their walls, with the sole intention of making him a hostage to guarantee the submission of the Bourout tribes, whose incursions they fear. Since we ceased all trade relations with them, their finances have been exhausted; to finish ruining them, all we have to do is prevent the bales of tea and rhubarb, the objects of our trade with them, from crossing the borders.

10° In addition, all their fellow citizens who are there must be expelled from China, so that they do not serve as spies, and the Bourouts who could serve as support must be subdued. Once this has been done, we will wait for them to come of their own accord to make their submission and offer tribute. ^{p.053} This is the best way to establish order outside.

In the autumn of the ninth year (1829), the inhabitants of Andidchan, angry at having been driven out of China, gathered to the number of about ten thousand, crossed the border and came to lay siege to Kachgar and Yarkand. They burnt and sacked the country all around. The son of Na yenn tch'eng~, 容安 Yong~ ann, who, on the orders of the governor of Ili, who was marching to the aid of the besieged, was frightened by the number of enemies as soon as he reached Aksou, did not dare to advance and headed for Ouché. In this way, the enemies, gorged with booty, were able to leave the borders without being bothered. Yong~ ann was arrested and put in

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

judgment ¹; his father was degraded. Tchang~ ling~, appointed imperial commissioner, went to the army, pacified the country and summoned the K'an of Kokand to promise again to offer tribute; then he moved the seat of the vice-governor of Turkestan from Kachgar to Yarkand.

@

¹ Yong~ ann was the son of Na yenn tch'eng~ (vide supra page 44). Following this invasion he was put on trial and sentenced to death. Taking into consideration the services rendered by his family, the emperor Tao kouang~ banished him for life to Girin; he returned, however, on the death of his father, but disappeared from the political scene (*Canton Register*, 15 July 1833).

FIRST APPENDIX

Imperial decree on the pacification of Turkestan in 1878

@

p.054 The thirteenth day of the second month of the fourth year 光緒 kouang~ siu (March 1878), a decree was promulgated in the following terms:

Today a report was received from 左宗棠 Tso Tsong~ t'ang~, 金順 Tçinn Chouenn and 劉典 Léou Tienn, brought by an express, announcing the recapture of the four western cities ¹ and the complete pacification of Turkestan.

Last year, when the Chinese troops had retaken the four eastern cities, 劉錦棠 Léou Tçinn t'ang~, an assistant official of the third rank, presented a campaign plan to retake the four western towns. Consequently the general 余虎恩 Yu 'Hou-enn was sent first, who, passing through Aksou, took the road to Bartchouk and Manarbach and formed the main army corps; then 黃萬鵬 'Houang~ Ouann-'hong~, p.055 who, taking through Ouché, formed a scouting corps. It was decided to begin by taking Kashgar and that Léou Tçinn t'ang~ would reside in Bartchouk and Manarbach to firmly occupy the central route.

Immediately afterwards, on the 15th of the eleventh month (December 1877) the troops marched rapidly forward; on the 17th they captured Yarkand, then doubling their march, arrived on the 20th at Yenghi Hissar, thus covering the territory of the turban-wearing Mohammedans ². Moving forward again, they reached Kashgar on the 22nd, under whose walls Yu 'Hou-enn had already arrived on the 23rd. The generals

¹ Kashgar, Yenghi-Hissar, Yarkand and K'oten. See page 19.

² The text 纏回 tch'ann 'houeï stands for 纏頭回 Tch'ann t'éou 'houeï, Mohammedans wearing turbans. This is the name given to Mohammedans who are not descended from Chinese or Mongols.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

attacked the city, and from the outset massacred to the last the rebel corps commanded by the rebel general 王元林 Ouang~ yuann linn; then, as a troop of three to four thousand insurgents to rescue the city, Yu 'Houenn attacked him vigorously. opened the city gates and fled.

Tso Tsong~-fang~ and 'Houang~ Ouann-'hong~, dividing their troops, set out in pursuit, and then, taking side roads, defeated them completely, seized the rebel chief 于小虎 Yu siao 'hou, and had the insurgent 藍得金 Lann to tçinn beheaded: the insurgent bands were totally destroyed. On the other hand the general 蕭元享 Sou yuann cheng~, having united his infantry with the troops of 'Houang~ Ouann-'hong~, gave battle ^{p.056} to another body of rebels, seized alive the chief general 馬元 Ma yuann, and massacred his lieutenant 白彥龍 Po eyenn long~: this band was thus also destroyed.

Léou Tçinn T'ang~ ordered the beheading of the rebels 金相印 Tçinn siang~ ynn, father and son, Yu siao 'hou and Ma yuann, and to display their heads as an example. In addition, eleven hundred insurgents from Kashgar's troops were sentenced to death. The others, terrified by the example, remained quiet.

General 董福祥 Tong~ Fou-siang~ quickly marched on K'oten at the head of his troops; from the 29th of the eleventh month (December) to the 2nd of the twelfth (January 1878), he was able to both destroy the insurgents and pacify the region: tranquillity then reigned in K'oten.

Looking back, we see that more than ten years have passed since the third year 同治 T'ong~ tché (1862), when the rebellious chiefs of the Bourout ¹ tribes stirred up trouble, the Mohammedan Tçinn siang~ ynn attacked Kachgar and took it, gradually occupying the territory of the eight towns of T'ienn chann nann lou ² and seeing Tourfan

¹ On Bourouts, see page 11.

² These are the four eastern cities: Pidchan, Kou tché, Aksou and Ouché, and the four western cities: Kachgar, Yenghi-Hissar, Yarkand and K'oten.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

and Ouroumtsi. The emperor, wishing to recover this part of his states, ordered Tso Tsong~-'t'ang~ to take in hand the military affairs of the New Frontiers, as imperial commissioner p.057. In the T'ienn chann peï lou he first recaptured Ouroumtsi, then took Manas, advanced along several roads and recaptured Tourfan; he fought vigorously for the important gorges leading into the T'ienn chann nann lou; then moving westwards he found the task just as easy, and now the eight towns once again recognise our laws.

It is obviously a blessing from the august heavens that we have obtained thanks to the favour shown to us by the former sovereigns. The two empresses ¹ who, for whole nights, suffered beyond all expression, knew what Tso Tsong~-'t'ang~ was worth and knew how to use it successfully: at court as in the army there was only one thought, and the officers, conforming to the orders of their chiefs, everywhere accomplished great feats. Above, this success was enough to console the soul of the emperor 穆宗毅 Mou tsong~ y ² who resides in present in heaven; below, it was enough to give substance to the hopes of the entire people. This is truly a happy and fortunate event!

As those at the head of the troops gave themselves body and soul to the service of the State ³ and suffered p.058 all kinds of

¹ Widows of the emperor T'ong~ tché.

² 穆宗毅皇帝 Mou tsong~ y 'houang~ ti, the brave emperor who venerates his ancestors, is the 廟號 miao 'hao or temple name, an honorary title that was awarded to Emperor T'ong~ tché after his death.

³ We'd like to point out and explain the elegant expression that we don't use here. the meaning. In the text 櫛風沐雨, the word for word is *peigner* - wind - wash - rain: contrary to the rule laid down by sinologists, according to which words that are to be used in the instrumental case are placed before the verb, we must translate here by *combed by the wind, washed by the rain*, which means that the person travelling far away has no time to wash or comb his hair and leaves this to the rain and wind. The word 沐 is explained in Chinese by 洗頭 se débarbouiller, and 櫛 by 梳髮 se peigner. This expression is borrowed from 吏記 . Ché tçi or Historical Memoirs of the famous Sseu ma Tç'ienn, History of the dynasty of 夏 Chia, here is the passage: 禹櫛風沐雨勞身焦思八年於外 Emperor Yu was combed by the wind and washed by the rain (endured all kinds of fatigue), tired his person and dried his mind, during the eight years he spent abroad.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

fatigues, it is fitting to reward them for their good and loyal services with abundant and very special graces. Consequently Tso Tsong~ fang~, imperial commissioner, minister of state, viceroy of the Chăn kann, who has endured fatigues of all kinds, has distinguished himself in the care he has taken of the army's subsistence, and whose plans have been completely successful, is raised, by special favour, from the rank of count of the first class, to the rank of marquis of the second class ¹, etc.

(The rest of the decree only lists the awards granted to officers who distinguished themselves during the war).

@

¹ On noble titles, see page 46.

APPENDIX II

Note on the Si yu t'ou tché or Description of Si yu with cards ¹

@

p.059 The full title of t h e book is 欽定皇興西域圖志
Tç'inn ting~ 'houang~ yu Si yu t'ou tché, description of Si yu with maps,
composed and published by imperial order. At the beginning is a preface
written by the emperor Tç'ienn long~, and the decrees relating to the
composition and revision of the work; then comes the plan of t h e work
and the list of the thirty-six scholars and academics who cooperated in the
drafting: we see the ministers of s t a t e 傳恒
Tou 'Heng~,阿桂 Akoueï, the hero of the Miao tseu war,兆惠 Tchao
'Houeï, who was responsible for the conquest of Turkestan in 1759, etc.

The 卷首 book, which forms the introduction, contains the 天章
imperial productions, i.e. the pieces of verse or p.060 literature relating
to western affairs composed by the emperor; it is divided into four
sections. Here is a summary of the subjects contained in the following
forty-eight books:

Book I. 圖考 *T'ou k'ao*, examination of maps: General map of the
Chinese empire; general map of Si yu; maps of An si nann lou, An si peï
lou, Ouroumtsi and its surroundings, T'ienn chann peï lou (three maps),
T'ienn chann nann lou (six maps: Pidchan; K'arachar and Koutché;
Saïrim and Aksou; Ouché and Kachgar ;
Yarkand; K'oten.

Book II. Continuation of the *T'ou k'ao*. Orographic and hydrographic
maps of Si yu; maps of the K'assaks, the Bourouts, the K'anat of
Kokand, Badak'chan and Afghanistan.

¹ The description of Central Asia continued in the second and subsequent editions of the
Ta ts'ing~y t'ong~ tché is only a summary, of the 'Si yu t'ou tché: sometimes, but rarely, new
details are found.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

Book III. 歷代西域圖 *li tai Si yu t'ou*, historical atlas of Si yu: Maps of Si yu under the earlier 'Hann (206 BC - 25 AD); under the later 'Hann (25-220); under the Sann kouo or Three States (220-265); the Tsinn (265-419); the peï oueï or Toba (386-535); the 'Hann or Three States (386-535).

Tchéou (557-589); the Soueï (589-618); the Tang~ (618-907); the five dynasties (907-960); the Song~ (960-1206); the Yuann (1206-1368); the Ming~ (1368-1628).

Books IV, V. 列表 *lié piao*, historical tables of the names given to the cities and countries of Si yu under the various dynasties from that of the 'Hann up to and including that of the Ming~.

Books VI, VII. 晷度 *Kouëi tou*, distances measured with the gnomon. p.061

Books VIII to XIX. 疆域 *Tçiang~ yu*, description of the borders.

Books XX to XXIII. 山 *Chann*, description of the mountains.

Books XXIV to XXVIII. 水 *Choueï*, description of rivers and streams.

Books XXIX and XXX. 官制 *Kouann tché*, civil and military administration. Book XXXI. 兵防 *ping~ fang~*, garrisons.

Books XXXII and XXXIII. 屯政 *T'ounn* 屯 colonies.

Book XXXIV. 貢賦 *gou*, tributes and taxes.

Book XXXIV. 錢法 *Ts'ienn fa*, coinage.

Book XXXVI. 學校 *Chio tçiao*, public education establishments. Books XXXVII and XXXVIII. 封爵 *tsio*, noble titles.

Book XXXIX. 風俗 *fou*, manners and customs of the Dzongars and Mohammedans.

Book XL. 音樂 *Ynn yo*, music, musical instruments. Book

XLII. 服物 *fou vou*, clothing.

Book XLIII. 土產 *t'ou tch'ann*, soil production.

History of the Tounganes uprising
under the reign of Tao kouang~ (1820-1828)

Books XLIV to XLVI. 藩屬 *fann chou*, description of the countries of Central Asia: the countries of the K'assaks, the Bourouts; the K'anat of Kokand; the Badak'chan, Afghanistan. p.062

Books XLVII and XLVIII. 雜錄 *tsa lou*, Mixtures: Scripture, language, history of Dzungarie and Turkestan; genealogy of their princes.

The 1872 edition before us consists of twenty-eight 本 *peunn*, or large octavo Chinese volumes.

The 四庫全書總目 *Sseu k'ou tsiuann chou tch'ou*, general catalogue of the works contained in the four shops or library of Peking~ gives a notice of the *Si yu t'ou tché* (see book LXVIII, pages 47 to 49); it designates the work as having fifty- or so volumes.

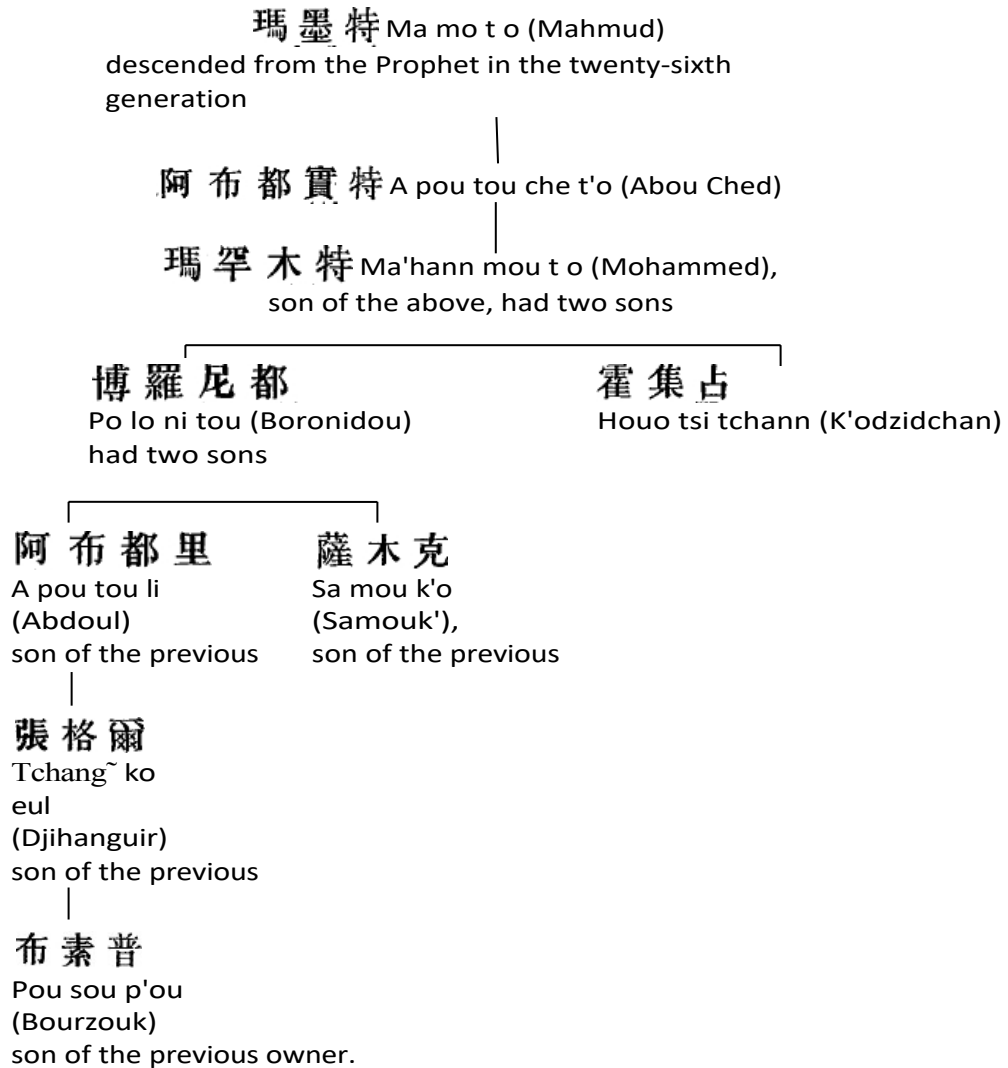
two books: this is probably because it counts as books the four sections of the introduction.

@

APPENDIX III.1

List of members of the K'odja family according to the
Cheng~ vou tçi

@



@

APPENDIX III.2

List of descendants of the Paigambar (prophet Mohammed), several of whom reigned in Turkestan oriental, taken from the Si yu t ong~ ouenn tché

@

p.064 This list is taken from 西域同文志 *Si yu t'ouenn tché*, or Geographical Dictionary of Si yu in six types of writing (Manchu, Chinese, Mongolian, Tibetan, Kalmyk, Oriental Turkish), a rare work that we unfortunately do not have in France, but of which a summary written in German by Klaproth can be found in the National Library in Paris. Paigambar is transcribed into Chinese as 別諳拔爾 *pié ann pa eul*, 派噶木巴爾 *p'ai ko mou pa eul* and 派罕巴爾 *p'ai hann pa eul*, and explained by 天使 *t'ienn ché*, sent the sky.

[c.a.: In Appendix I of the [official account of the conquest of Turkestan by the Chinese](#) (1758-1760), published in 1895, C. Imbault-Huart, who had in the meantime become acquainted with the Geographical Dictionary, presents a corrected version of this list. It now seems preferable to refer to it [directly](#)].

@