

The Eastern Trade of the Khoqand Khanate*

By Tôru SAGUCHI

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I

THE RISE OF THE KHOQUAND KHANATE AND ITS EASTERN DEVELOPMENT

Since the internal situation of Ferghana in the early 18th century is not clear because of the lack of historical evidence, let me review the rise of the Khoqand Khanate according to common opinions. Although Ferghana in the early 18th century was under the nominal rule of the Bukhārā Khanate's Emīr regime, there was no unified political sovereignty in Ferghana. Uzbek leaders and *Khwājas* of Ferghana held their own independent ground in Ferghana, while the Tashkent district in the north was ruled either by *Khwāja* powers or by nomadic tribes of Kazakhs of the *Ulugh Yüz* group. Gradually out of this rivalry among many regional rulers emerged Shāh Rūkh Bek (-1721/22) of the *Ming* Family of the Uzbek race as a growing power. His son 'Abd al-Raḥīm Bek expanded the territory into the central and western part of the Ferghana Basin and into Tashkent. 'Abd al-Raḥīm's brother, 'Abd al-Kerīm Bek (-1746) built the present city of Khoqand and started the drive to achieve the political unification of Ferghana, in the face of the invasion of the Jungar powers during the 1740s. During the reign of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Bek's son, Irdana Bī (Erdeni Bek 額爾德尼伯克, *circa* 1753-1770, in the Ch'ing documents), Uzbek chieftains and *Khwājas* of Ferghana pledged their subordination to him. Thus, an independent, unified regime comparable with the Bukhārā and

* Translation of T. Saguchi, *The Social History of Eastern Turkestan in the 18th-19th centuries* (in Japanese), Tokyo 1963, Chapter VI.

Khiva Khanates was established in Ferghana.⁽¹⁾ There were several towns, such as Khoqand, Andijān, Marghilān and Namangān, in Ferghana then. The names of these Ferghana towns were mentioned in the *Hsi-yü t'u-chih* 西域圖志, Bk. 45 (fan-shu 藩屬), which said, "Each town was ruled by *beks* headed by the Khoqand Bek, whose orders were strictly observed by the natives." The *Hsi-yü wên-chien-lu* 西域聞見錄, Bk. 3 (Wai-fan lieh-ch'uan 外藩列傳), said,

Andijān is one of Muslim people, and their Khān, Ê-tê-no 額得納 is most famous. After his death, Na-la-pa-t'a 納拉帕塔 succeeded to his power, and ruled over four towns. The greatest town, Ho-han 豪罕, with 20,000 families, was the Khān's capital. The second town was Ma-la-ko-lang 瑪拉噶朗 with 20,000 families, the third town was Nai-man 柰曼 (<Namangān) with 10,000 families, and the smallest town was Andijān, with only 1,000 families. The inhabitants of the four towns were all *albatu* 阿拉巴圖 (subjects) of the Khān.

In this statement, both Hao-han 豪罕 (Khoqand) and Nai-man 柰曼 (Namangān) are believed spelled in different letters (Ho-han 霍罕, Na-mu-han 那木罕) while Irdana or Erdeni is also given different spelling (Ê-tê-no 額得訥). The expression in the statement that Irdana was the supreme ruler of the four towns and that people in these towns were subordinate (*albatu* 阿拉巴圖) to him indicates that Irdana really ruled Ferghana as a unified country. Although it was still too early to call this regime a Khanate — it was from the 'Ālim Khān's era onward that the term Khoqand Khanate can be used for this regime — an independent power was established in Ferghana at this time. Let me style this regime the Khoqand-Bek regime for the time being for the sake of convenience. However, Tashkent in the north was under rule of Yūnus Khwāja who subdued the Kazakhs in this region in the late 18th century, while two southwestern towns, Khojend and Uratübe, were also outside the Khoqand-Bek regime sovereignty.⁽²⁾

When Erdeni Bek conquered virtually whole of Ferghana from the Bukhārā Khanate in the mid-18th century, the Ch'ing dynasty in the east was

- (1) Howorth, II, ii, p. 186; Nalivkine, *Khokand*; W. W. Barthold, *Istoriya kul'turnoj žizni Turkestana*; W. W. Barthold, art. Khoqand (Encyclopaedia of Islam); P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki*. W. H. Bellew's History of Kashghar (Forsyth, p. 191) described the legendary ancestry of the Khoqand Khanate, but only briefly. Romodin, who explained the rise of the Khoqand Khanate in connection with the Jungar Kingdom indicated that the first Khoqand ruler Shāh Rūkh (-1721/22) was of Ming origin and that he had the title of atalyk (V. Romodin, p. 130). Racial problems in Ferghana are given a general explanation by P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki*, p. 180.
- (2) A detailed explanation is found in P. P. Ivanov's *Kazakhi*. Uratepe (Uratübe) was a border land over which Khoqand and Bukhārā had long been asserting their territorial rights against each other. The local history of Tashkent in the 18th century is studied in F. Azadaev's *Tashkent*, p. 17, but is not mentioned in this article.

expanding its power deep into Central Asia. In the 1755–57 period, troops of the Ch'ing swept the Jungar Kingdom and moved down south to Kashgharia to beat the Kashgharian Khwāja. General Chao-hui 兆惠 of the Ch'ing army advanced for Kashgharia, and after having conquered the Kirghiz region in the Pamirs, reached to the border of Ferghana in 1759 and urged the Khoqand regime to pay tribute to the Ch'ing dynasty. The Khoqand-Bek regime agreed to this demand, thus opening official diplomatic relations with the Ch'ing dynasty. Ch'ing documents at this period said, “Khwāja Jihān (Ho-*chi-ch'an* 霍集占) and his brother are on friendly terms with Erdeni Bek of Khoqand. They may get allied with each other in the future. There are three fork roads in the west of Kāshghar. If we are to capture our enemy, we should attack them at these fork roads. Therefore, we must establish coordination with Erdeni Bek to deal with our common enemy.”⁽³⁾ Thus predicting the possibilities that the Khwāja brothers might take refuge in Ferghana, the Ch'ing dynasty attempted to seek Erdeni's subordination by the threat of Ch'ing military power. The Ch'ing documents said, “In the ninth month of 1759, General Chao-hui sent his officers to Erdeni Bek of Khoqand, and to the towns of Marghilān, Andijān and Namangān and to the Edigenü tribe of the Kirghiz, asking them to become Ch'ing tributaries.” Erdeni and the chieftain of Edigenü, Hājī Bī, pledged their subordination to the Ch'ing dynasty and sent letters of homage to the Ch'ing.⁽⁴⁾ Shortly afterward, Erdeni with the four towns under his rule surrendered himself to the Ch'ing.⁽⁵⁾ In early 1760, he sent an envoy to Peking to pay tribute to the Manchu Emperor, thus making his Khoqand-Bek regime a tributary to the Ch'ing dynasty.⁽⁶⁾ The envoy of this tributary mission, Toqto-Muhammad, was a *bek* of Andijān⁽⁷⁾ and was believed to be a high-ranking, influential chief in this district. At the same time, “I-la-ssü hu-li-pai Bek 伊拉斯呼里拜伯克 from the town of Marghilān sought Ch'ing protection, while the ruler of Namangān as well as Khoqand and Andijān also surrendered themselves to the Ch'ing.”⁽⁸⁾ These accounts indicate that each of the four Ferghana towns had its own chief, but under the supreme rule of Erdeni Bek. According to V. P. NALIVKINE, Bek Iris-Koul-by was in power at that time as *hākīm* in the town of Andijān.⁽⁹⁾ This man is

(3) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 588, 10r-v, Ch'ien-lung 24.6 i-mao, edict.

(4) CKFL, Bk. 78, 13r-17v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 596, 24r-25r, Ch'ien-lung 24.9 kêng-shên, Chao-hui's report.

(5) CKFL, Bk. 82, 4r-5v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 600, 30r, Ch'ien-lung 24.11 wu-wu, Chao-hui's report. The process of the establishment of Khoqand's tributary relationship to the Ch'ing dynasty is mentioned in SYTC, Bk. 45, 5r.

(6) The Imperial edict to Erdeni Bek is quoted in Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 604, 12v, Ch'ien-lung 25.1 i-mao; *op. cit.*, Bk. 606, 1r-2r, Ch'ien-lung 25.2 ping-tzū.

(7) Toqto-Muhammad 陀克塔瑪特 in SYTC, Bk. 45, 5r and Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 604, 12v, Ch'ien-lung 25.1 i-mao, seems to be identical to this man.

(8) Andijān is regarded as the town representing the Khoqand regime in SYTC, Bk. 45, 7r-v. Both under 1759.

(9) Nalivkine, *Khokand*, p. 81.

believed to be the one described as "I-la-ssü hu-li-pai" in the abovementioned *Hsi-yü t'u-chih*. The question is that the *Hsi-yü t'u-chih* described him as a *bek* of Marghilān. In either case, Iris-Koul-by was *hākīm* or the chief town administrator. According to V. P. NALIVKINE, Iris-Koul-by played a leading role in selecting Erdeni's successor after his death. This statement indicates that there was no firm centralized ruling power established in Ferghana yet at that time. Erdeni's successor Nārbāta (circa 1770–1798/99; according to the *Kao-tsung shih-lu*) named his sons and brothers as *hākims* in each town in a gradual process to establish the central government system in the true sense of the words.⁽¹⁰⁾

The reason why the Khoqand regime headed by Erdeni Bek agreed to become a Ch'ing tributary so easily was because his regime was still premature and not strong enough to deal with the Ch'ing dynasty on an equal footing. Erdeni Bek was afraid of Ch'ing military power on one hand, and he calculated on the other hand that it was more profitable to have a normal diplomatic relationship with the Ch'ing dynasty, which had established strong rule in Inner Asia by then, by securing Khoqandian trade with the East. The peace with the Ch'ing dynasty also meant a strong backing to the Khoqand regime in its attempts to maintain peace in the Pamir regions and Kashgharia in the southeast, to conquer the towns of Khojend and Uratübe in the southwest, and to subdue Tashkent and nomadic people of Kazakhs for the purpose of completing the unification of Ferghana. These calculations became apparent from the Khoqand regime's actions in later period.

Now, what were the characteristics of the Khoqand regime's tributary and subordinate relationship with the Ch'ing dynasty, and how was the relationship developed? When viewed from the Ch'ing's side, Khoqand was one of the so-called "irregular" tributaries like the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs.⁽¹¹⁾ Erdeni expressed his subordination to the Ch'ing dynasty by presenting "a white horse" to the Ch'ing Emperor in 1760 and "a white falcon" in 1762. The Ch'ing dynasty instructed the Kirghiz to "observe the decisions by Ch'ing Governors (*amban*) based in Yärkand and Kāshghar in all matters of tributary routine."⁽¹²⁾ The Khoqand was apparently given a similar instruction, as a note to Nārbāta Bek said, "orders from Ch'ing *ambans* at Kāshghar and Yärkand must be strictly observed on all counts,"⁽¹³⁾ and "diplomatic affairs between the Khoqand and the Ch'ing must be handled by the orders of Ch'ing Governors at Kāshghar and Yärkand."⁽¹⁴⁾ Thus, Khoqand envoys (*elčīn*) first paid the call to Ch'ing *amban* or Governors at Kāshghar, who reported to Peking about it, then the

(10) Indicated in Nalivkine, *Khoqand*, pp. 87, 89, 91 and 93.

(11) Entry of Khoqand missions to the Ch'ing is also described in SYTC, Bk. 45, 5r and Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 678, 18r-19r, Ch'ien-lung 28-1 chi-ssü.

(12) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 678, 18v-19r, Ch'ien-lung 28-1 chi-ssü.

(13) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 866, 16v-17r, Ch'ien-lung 35-8 chia-wu, edict.

(14) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1173, 7r, Ch'ien-lung 48-1 jên-tzū, edict.

Khoqand envoy usually returned home with a letter of appreciation and return gifts from the Ch'ing Emperor. They were allowed to visit Peking directly only when so instructed by the Ch'ing Government.⁽¹⁵⁾ In that case, they were accompanied by Uyghur (i.e. natives of Eastern Turkistan) *beks* who were to pay homage in rotation to the Ch'ing Emperor at Peking.⁽¹⁶⁾

In 1809, Imperial Commissioner at Kāshghar, Na-yen-ch'êng 那彥成 reported to the home Government, "According to a recent survey on old documents, Khoqand sent its envoys to the Ch'ing 23 times between 1759 and 1809."⁽¹⁷⁾ His report said that Khoqand mission visited Kāshghar in 1759, 1761, 1765 (twice), 1766, 1767, 1769 (three times), 1770, 1771, 1772, 1773, 1776, 1782, 1783, 1788, 1791, 1792, 1795, 1796, 1799, 1802 and 1809. This data is believed to be most reliable documents among the official records at Ch'ing's diplomatic office at Kāshghar. As Na-yen-ch'êng said, "Examples set by your father, Nārbāta Bek and others, show that it was customary to send envoys once in three to five years."⁽¹⁸⁾ Therefore, Khoqand envoys were sent to Kāshghar once in three to five years during the age of Nārbāta Bek, father of 'Ālim Khān (1798-1809). Another record shows:

Since Khoqand rendered homage to the Ch'ing in 1762, Khoqand has sent envoys to Kāshghar about forty-eight times. During the reigns of 'Omar's grandfather (i.e. Erdeni) and 'Omar's brother (i.e. 'Ālim), the Khoqand regime sent *elčīn* 額勒沁 (envoys) to Peking to pay tribute eight times, and they were all permitted to enter Peking.⁽¹⁹⁾

According to this document, Khoqand Beks dispatched tributary envoys to Kāshghar forty-eight times between 1762 and 1821. Judging from these two different data, it seems that the frequency of envoys being sent to Kāshghar increased markedly in the last ten years of these sixty years. The latter record also says that while 'Omar's grandfather Erdeni and elder brother 'Ālim were Khoqand Bek, they sent eight missions direct to Peking. This statement indicates that eight Khoqand missions were permitted to enter the Ch'ing between 1760 and 1809. Although another document says, "Khoqand was allowed to send eight missions to Peking during the Ch'ien-lung Era,"⁽²⁰⁾ it appears that Khoqand envoys to Peking during the fifty years since 1760 numbered eight. Thus, Khoqand envoys visited Kāshghar every three years or so, and one in

(15) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 19, 9r-10v, Tao-kuang 1·6 i-yu, edict.

(16) Some documents reported, "Not all of these missions were accompanied by Uyghur *beks*". Refer Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 336, 3r, Chia-ch'ing 22·11 kuei-mao, edict.

(17) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 4r-8r, Chia-ch'ing 14·8·1, report.

(18) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 14v, Chia-ch'ing 14·12·20, report.

(19) NIFL, Bk. 3, 35v-36r; Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 15, 9v, Tao-kuang 1·3 chi-ssü, Ch'ing-hsiang's report.

(20) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 15, 9v, Tao-kuang 1·3 chi-ssü, Ch'ing-hsiang's report.

every four or five of them was permitted to enter Peking. 'Abd al-Kerīm Bukhārī reported, "While Khoqand envoys visited the Ch'ing Emperor at Peking at irregular intervals, other countries never sent missions to Peking," and "Khoqand missions visited Peking every two to three years and returned home with return gifts."⁽²¹⁾ Thus, these documents virtually correspond to Ch'ing historical documents on this point.

As for Khoqand envoys to Peking during the ages of 'Ālim Khān and 'Omar Khān, the *Hui-chiang t'ung-chih* 回疆通志, Bk. 7, stated:

When the envoys of 'Ālim of Khoqand to the Ch'ing arrive at Kāshghar, they are given a banquet, where a sheep, 18 *chin* 斤 of white wheat flour, white rice, tea and money are served for them. Envoys and their servants are also given a sheep and half a *chin* of white rice per day. When they start from Kāshghar to Yārkand, they are given two sheep, tea and rice. On the way home from Peking, they are treated by the same manner.⁽²²⁾

This refers to the treatment and pay provided to Khoqand missions during their trip from Kāshghar to Yārkand. Khoqand missions travelled from Yārkand eastwards along the southern Tarim Basin to reach Qomūl, and took the same route on their return home. As the aforementioned *Ha-mi-chih* 哈密志, Bk. 20, said:

The Khoqand regime rendered homage to Peking once in ten years. (When the Khoqand envoys came to Qomūl), officials of Qomūl used to prepare a banquet for them. After the banquet, officials of Qomūl prepared wagons and camels, and sent them to the border under military escort,

members of the Qomūl local authorities received Khoqand missions and sent them out to Peking. In this respect, Khoqand missions were given the same reception as Kazakh missions which visited Peking via Qomūl.

Now let us see how one of the Khoqand missions, sent by 'Omar Khān, behaved themselves on the way. Na-yen-ch'êng reported in one of his documents that a Khoqand mission left Qomūl in the seventh month of 1810 (it was under the reign of 'Omar Khān because 'Ālim Khān died either in March or April of 1809, according to P. P. IVANOV, *Kazakhi*, p. 124), for Peking. Since Na-yen-ch'êng did not clarify which Khoqand Khān dispatched this envoy, it

(21) Schefer, *Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, pp. 217-218; *Ha-mi-chih*, Bk. 20, 4v, *Shuo-huo-chih*, iii, reported that Khoqand missions were permitted to enter Ch'ing China once in ten years. But it is hard to believe that this rule was so strict. 'Abd al-Kerīm Bukhārī said in the same page, "Khoqand was granted by the Ch'ing authorities annual subsidy for supervision of Khwāja families."

(22) See *Hui-chiang t'ung-chih*, Bk. 7, 14v-15r, Kāshghar.

was not clear whether it was by 'Alim Khān or 'Omar Khān. At any rate his description of this mission unveils one aspect of a Khoqand mission to Peking at that time. Na-yen-ch'êng said:

Report to the Emperor, dated 23rd, the seventh month of the 15th year of Chia-ch'ing. As the Khoqand envoys who reached to Qomūl, demanded to use too much wagons, the military post station could not supply. . . . According to the report of the Qomūl *amban*, "the Khoqand envoys riding on 19 horses reached to Qomūl on the 15th of the sixth month. Their cargos and merchandise weighed 53,000 *chin*. The Khoqand envoys continued to buy merchandise on the way. The more they piled up, the more the wagons increased. They went so far to demand 88 wagons."⁽²³⁾

This statement indicates that the Khoqand mission purchased a massive amount of goods on their way home, forming a caravan of 88 cars. "The caravan of 88 cars was really too much," he said, adding that "everything they saw in the Ch'ing must have looked extremely precious to the Khoqand mission members who raced to purchase Ch'ing goods for profit."⁽²⁴⁾ Na-yen-ch'êng's report went on, "I once made an investigation into the rumor that the Khoqand mission acted as selling agent for the cargos of vicious Ch'ing merchants in several Ch'ing prefectures. But it turned out that members of the Khoqand mission had bought tea, pepper, silken cloth or ceramics in quantity. Khoqand missions which seldom visit the Ch'ing are not versed in the way to deal with vicious merchants. . . . It seems only natural that an alien mission with their curiosity about Ch'ing things purchase to gain profits by selling them at home."⁽²⁵⁾ This statement indicates that the Khoqand mission tried to buy and take home with them these Ch'ing goods besides official Imperial gifts from the Ch'ing Emperor. The Ch'ing dynasty expressed fear of possible smuggling of Ch'ing goods by the Khoqand mission and vicious Ch'ing merchants. Na-yen-ch'êng said, "The cargo carried by the Khoqand caravan was actually bought by the Khoqand mission itself and not used as bribes by vicious Ch'ing merchants nor accompanied by the merchants."⁽²⁶⁾ Indications were, however, that some of the Ch'ing merchants used bribes to let the mission carry their goods. In any case, the above statements characterise the action of a Khoqand mission on its way to Peking. On their visit to and from Peking via Kāshghar, Yārkan and Qomūl, and in the Ch'ing, they purchased a quantity of goods and carried them by a huge caravan, having a great interest and curiosity in Ch'ing things. According to data collected by CH. SCHEFER in

(23) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 22, 34r-, Chia-ch'ing 15·7·23, report.

(24) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 22, 34v-35r, Chia-ch'ing 15·7·23, report.

(25) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 22, 36r-37r, Chia-ch'ing 15·8·27, report.

(26) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 22, 39v-40r, Chia-ch'ing 15·3·13, report.

Peshawar, West Pakistan, the Ch'ing Emperor exchanged the following conversation with a Khoqand mission sent by Ner Boutèh Bi (Nārbāta Bek), when the latter was given audience with the Emperor: "Is my son Ner Boutèh Bi in good health and satisfied?" "Ner Boutèh Bi knows nothing more than pledging faith to Your Majesty." The mission was given a tremendous gift by the Emperor to take back home,⁽²⁷⁾ according to the data. When compared with Ch'ing historical documents, these data that Ch. SCHEFER presented are believed to be highly reliable. Except for the five-year period between 1826 and 1831 during which diplomatic relations between Khoqand and the Ch'ing came near rupture following Jihāngīr's War in 1826-27, the Khoqand Khanate maintained its relationship as a tributary to the Ch'ing up to the age of Mallā Khān (Ma-li-han 邁哩汗, 1858-62) in the 1850's, with envoys sent to the Ch'ing at irregular intervals.⁽²⁸⁾

The present author has now reviewed how Khoqand's tributary relationship with the Ch'ing dynasty was established. Let us now look at Khoqand's relations with its immediate neighbor under Ch'ing rule, Eastern Turkistan, especially with the Kashgharian border. As mentioned earlier, Erdeni Bek, the ruler of Ferghana in the 1760's, concluded a tributary relationship with the Ch'ing dynasty for realistic benefits such as obtaining trade profits, consolidation of internal policy and preparations for national development. In the meantime, the Ferghana regime conquered the nomadic Kirghiz people, contacted sub rosa the Uyghur people in Kashgharia and gave protection to the offsprings of the Kashgharian Khwāja who took refuge to Ferghana, all in an attempt to build the Khoqand Khanate. An Imperial edict of the Ch'ing Emperor Ch'ien-lung in 1763, three years after the Khoqand regime established its tributary relationship with the Ch'ing dynasty, said:

According to the report of Yung-kuei 永貴, Erdeni Bek of Khoqand sent a letter, in which he called himself Khān, and proposed to make Mt. Kāshghar the border between him and the Ch'ing. . . . Such fallacy and arrogance in Khoqand seems to have been caused by Yung-kuei's cowardly policy. Let Yung-kuei send a letter to the Khoqand Bek, saying "you have hitherto called yourself *bek*. Why could you now call yourself Khān by your own choice? When were you permitted to make Mt. Kāshghar the border between the two?"⁽²⁹⁾

(27) Schefer, *Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, pp. 282-283. Based on the data Schefer obtained through his interview of an Afghān, called Char Ghafran oullah Serhindy. Also quoted in Howorth, II, ii, p. 818.

(28) As for the Khoqand-Ch'ing relations in the 19th century, refer to T. Saguchi, *The social history of Eastern Turkistan in the 18th-19th centuries* (in Japanese), Tokyo 1963, Chapter VIII.

(29) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 19, 25r-v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 676, 23r-v, Ch'ien-lung 27·12 hsin-ch'ou, edict.

The point of this statement is that the Ch'ing dynasty accused Khoqand of Erdeni Bek's unilateral decision to call himself Khān and to regard Mt. Kāshghar as the Ch'ing-Khoqand border. At that time Erdeni possessed the title of Bek in Khoqand, but the title of Khān was not recognized for the ruler of a tributary to the Ch'ing.⁽³⁰⁾ The Ch'ing dynasty treated the Khoqand ruler as nothing more than a Bek. The fact that Erdeni Bek in his letter to the Ch'ing court called himself a Khān and tried to claim the land west of Mt. Kāshghar as Khoqand territory indicates part of his ambition for further territorial expansion. Mt. Kāshghar, mentioned here, seems to be equivalent to two mountains mentioned in the *Hsi-yü shui-tao-chi* 西域水道記, Bk. 1 (18r-19v), as "On the borders of Khoqand and Hui-pu (Chinese Turkistan) there were two mountain peaks called Ko-pu-lan 噶布蘭 and Su-t'i pu-la-k'o 蘇提布拉克. The Burüts of the Edigenü lived there. To the east of these mountains was Hui-pu, and to the west was Khoqand." These two mountains separated the two countries, with Eastern Turkistan in the east and Khoqand in the west. Although the time when the boundary division was established was unknown, the area west of these mountains was traditionally occupied by the Edigenü tribe of the Kirghiz people, who were under the direct rule of the Ch'ing dynasty. It was only natural that Ch'ing accused Khoqand of infringing Ch'ing's sovereignty when Khoqand troops later took this part and placed the Edigenü tribe under the Khoqand rule. As will be explained later, Erdeni Bek at that time was promoting a move to conquer and colonize the Edigenü area. Thus, the words and deeds of Erdeni Bek immediately after establishment of Khoqand's tributary relations with the Ch'ing already indicated his ambition for Khoqand's territorial expansion into the east.

Now, the present author must touch on a few, influential pro-Khoqand *beks* and officials in Kashgharia who were in league with Erdeni Bek. The incident is described as the following: "Kāshghar's *ishikāghā bek* (i-shih-han pieh-k'o 伊什罕伯克), 'Abd al-Raḥīm 阿布都喇伊木 had faith with and was trusted by Khwāja Jihān and Burhān al-Dīn in the beginning. Although he surrendered to the Ch'ing when Ch'ing troops entered Kāshghar, he made constant contact with the Khoqand Bek by revealing Kashgharian affairs to Khoqand officials everytime he sent his men to the border territory for trading."⁽³¹⁾ "He communicated with Erdeni Bek through periodic letters. In the winter of 1762, he reported to Erdeni Bek, "Ch'ing is unlikely to open fire on Khoqand for your occupying the Kirghiz pastures located at Osh. Therefore, you do not have to go to meet any Ch'ing mission."

(30) 'Ālim Bek (1798-1809) who succeeded Nārbāta Bek was the first Khoqandian ruler who called himself by the title Khān. Therefore, the Khoqand Bek regime in Ferghana from Ālim's time on can be termed a Khanate.

(31) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 24, 25v-28v; Kao-tung SL, Bk. 707, 10v-12v, Ch'ien-lung 29:3 kuei-yu, Na-shih-t'ung's report.

And he also promised to communicate secretly with the Ch'ing to occupy Kāshghar.⁽³²⁾ The Khoqand once occupied the Osh district inhabited by some Kirghiz, but returned it to the Ch'ing at the request of the Ch'ing dynasty. The above report, which may be discussed below, indicates a secret communication between influential Kāshgharian *beks* and Erdeni Bek in connection with the latter's concealed willingness for opposition against the Ch'ing. When this communication was uncovered, 'Abd al-Rahīm was caught and executed⁽³³⁾ and the Emperor Ch'ien-lung gave the following warnings to Erdeni Bek: "Why don't you give a thought to the large members of Ch'ing troops stationed in Yārkand, Aqsū and Khotan when you plot to invade and occupy Kāshghar? Do you really think you can defend Kāshghar, even if you are quite lucky enough to take Kāshghar? Once determined, the powerful Ch'ing army could sweep both Khoqand and Andijān in a matter of a few days. It will not be too early to regret."⁽³⁴⁾ Judging from a variety of later documents, it is doubtful whether Erdeni Bek really plotted to invade Kāshghar by availing himself of the secret alliance with 'Abd al-Rahīm. But it can not be denied that Khoqand maintained friendly ties with the Uyghur people in Eastern Turkistan, especially the influential pro-Khwāja *beks* there, to get ready for a possible inroad in part of Sinkiang (Eastern Turkistan). Shortly after this incident, Erdeni Bek bolstered Khoqand's defense in preparation for a possible attack from the Ch'ing. This action seemed to have been misinterpreted by the Ch'ing side as Khoqand's preparations for a war against the Ch'ing.⁽³⁵⁾ However, a Ch'ing document said, "Should Erdeni Bek be really confident of Khoqand's power to invade the Ch'ing, why did he sit back and see the plot exposed without starting an actual war against the Ch'ing in alliance with 'Abd al-Rahīm?⁽³⁶⁾ Judging from this statement, which is contradictory to the aforementioned statement by the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, Khoqand apparently had no capacity to invade Kāshghar after all. When a Ch'ing envoy arrived Khoqand shortly afterward, "Erdeni Bek came out of the castle to receive the mission in a very polite and subordinate manner"⁽³⁷⁾ as if to show his obedience to the Ch'ing. His attitude then indicates that there were no chances of military action against the Ch'ing. Nevertheless, the fact remains that the very existence of Khoqand was a sort of spiritual support

(32) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 26, 4v-6v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 715, 3r-4r, Ch'ien-lung 29-7 ping-yin, U-chi's report.

(33) *ibid.*

(34) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 26, 7r-8v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 715, 5r-6r, Ch'ien-lung 29-7 ping-yin, U-chi's report.

(35) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 718, 11r-12r, Ch'ien-lung 29-9 kêng-ch'ên, edict; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 719, 8r-9r, Ch'ien-lung 29-9 jên-shên, Na-shih-t'ung's report.

(36) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 29, 4v-5v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 721, 4r-5r, Ch'ien-lung 29-10 i-wei, edict.

(37) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 27, 16r-17r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 723, 11r-12r, Ch'ien-lung 29-11 i-hai, edict.

to the Uyghur people in Kashgharia who had been conquered by the Manchurians and that Erdeni Bek, a determined guardian of the Kashgharian Khwāja, was rendering his help to Uyghur people in Kashgharia in many ways to pave the way of Khoqand's development into the east.⁽³⁸⁾ On the surface, however, he maintained Khoqand's tributary relationship to the Ch'ing, sending another mission to Peking in 1767.⁽³⁹⁾

Erdeni Bek died in 1778 (1192 A.H.) according to Khoqand historical materials.⁽⁴⁰⁾ However, the *Hsi-yü t'u-chih*, Bk. 45, said, "Erdeni Bek died in the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung (which falls in 1770)," while the *Kao-tsung shih-lu*, under the eighth month of the 35th year of Ch'ien-lung, reported: "The Emperor Ch'ien-lung said in his Imperial edict to Nārbāta Bek that Nārbāta Bek who succeeded Erdeni Bek as head of Khoqand sent to the Ch'ing a mission to express his obedience to the Emperor. . . ." ⁽⁴¹⁾ The latter statement shows that Nārbāta Bek, the first son of 'Abd al-Raḥīm Bek, officially reported to the Ch'ing that he succeeded Erdeni to rule Khoqand. W. W. BARTHOLD said that Nārbāta Bek was in power between 1774/5 and 1798/9, but did not mention why he set 1774/5 as the beginning of Nārbāta Bek's reign.⁽⁴²⁾ Meanwhile, the *Hui-chiang-chih*, Bk. 4, said that Erdeni was first succeeded by Suleimān Bek, then by Nārbāta Bek. Suleimān Bek, the son of 'Abd al-Kerīm Bek's brother Shādī Bek, was enthroned by the aforementioned Iris Koul-by, but was killed in three months and was replaced by Nārbāta, according to another document.⁽⁴³⁾ In view of the general understanding that V. P. NALIVKINE's statements, especially that on chronology, are ambiguous and not quite reliable, let us rely on general accurate Ch'ing historical materials to set the year of Erdeni Bek's death at 1770. Nārbāta Bek, the new ruler of Khoqand, completed his control over whole of Ferghana, except Khojend, in growing rivalry with the Bukhārā Khanate. Then, he invaded Uratūbe and Khojend, appointing his brothers and sons as *ḥākims* at towns of Ferghana, building a grand palace at Khoqand

(38) See T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chap. III for Khoqand's assistance to the revolt at Ush, and Chap. II for the protection given to Sarimsāq. Č. Č. Valikhanov, *The Russians in Central Asia*, pp. 189-190, reported that in 1762, when the Ch'ing dynasty planned an attack on Western Turkistan, Islamic countries, together with the Kingdom of Afghanistan, united themselves against possible military action of the Ch'ing, but this incident did not take a concrete shape. It seems that Khoqand, too, sided with Afghanistan in this incident. But nothing was mentioned about this incident in Ch'ing documents at all. This must be reported by Valikhanov on the basis of his own research in Kashgharia in 1858-59.

(39) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 801, 9v, Ch'ien-lung 32.12 hsin-ssü.

(40) Nalivkine, *Khoqand*, p. 84.

(41) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 866, 16v-17r, Ch'ien-lung 35.8 chia-shên, edict.

(42) W. W. Barthold declined to make an definite affirmative statement on this, saying only that it appeared so. P. P. Ivanov's comment in *Očerki*, p. 109, that Nārbāta died around 1774, must be based on W. W. Barthold's description (art. Khoqand). 'Abd al-Kerīm Bukhārī spelled Nārbāta as Ner Boutèh.

(43) Nalivkine, *Khoqand*, p. 85.

to raise the prestige of Khoqand as an Islamic State. In his late years, he attempted to conquer Tashkent, then ruled by Yūnus Khwāja, but without success. As a result, he was captured by Yūnus troops and was killed. As he was occupied with the internal control of his country and with solving the Tashkent problem, he had no time to start a positive move toward the east. Therefore, the Khoqand relationship with Eastern Turkistan during his reign was relatively quiet and peaceful. Nārbāta gave his protection to Khwāja Burhān al-Dīn's son Sarimsāq (薩木薩克) and implicitly refused to hand Sarimsāq, who was then wanted by Ch'ing, to the Ch'ing.⁽⁴⁴⁾ But on the other hand, he kept sending his missions to the Ch'ing dynasty to maintain Khoqand's tributary relations with the Ch'ing.⁽⁴⁵⁾

The diplomatic relationship between Khoqand and the Ch'ing during the early forty years (1760–98) since the Khoqand-Bek regime became the Ch'ing's tributary in 1760 can be summed up as the following: the Khoqand Bek regime sent its missions to Kāshghar on an irregular basis, with some of the missions permitted to enter Peking. Both Erdeni and Nārbāta Bek were occupied in establishing a unified sovereignty in Ferghana and in achieving the traditional goal of conquering the native Khwāja regime and the nomadic Kazakh people in the Tashkent district and the towns of Khojend and Uratūbe in the southwest. Thus, they found it safe to maintain friendly ties with the Ch'ing, the powerful neighbor in the east. On the part of the Ch'ing, too, the Ch'ing dynasty had no military ambition to take the Khoqand territory whatsoever, as Khoqand could contribute to the stability of the Pamir frontier as a Ch'ing tributary. However, Khoqand was not so obedient to the Ch'ing as it appeared on the surface. For the Uzbek people of Khoqand had racial and religious relation with the Uyghur people in Eastern Turkistan, particularly in Kashgharia, as Turkic Muslims. They had a common antipathy against the Manchurians who were pagans to them. Erdeni attempted to call himself Khān, put up unilateral boundary, communicated secretly with pro-Khoqand Kashgharian *beks* to get information on Eastern Turkistan, helped Ush Uyghurs at the time of the Ush rebellion against the Ch'ing in 1765 and refused to hand Sarimsāq to the Ch'ing. Although the Khoqand did not set up directly against the Ch'ing, the Khoqand Bek regime took full advantage of the Ch'ing diplomatic policy to benefit itself. On the other hand, the Ch'ing dynasty did not try to conquer Khoqand territory by its military power. Thus, a delicate relationship between the two countries was maintained throughout this period. Although the Khoqand regime did not infringe the nominal boundary with Eastern Turkistan under Ch'ing rule, it took strong stand against eastern Ferghana and Kirghiz regions in northwestern Kāshghar which

(44) See T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapter II: Section 3.

(45) Entry of Nārbāta's mission to Ch'ing is mentioned in Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1192, 24r, Ch'ien-lung 48-I ting-wei, edict, and Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1173, 6r-7r, Ch'ien-lung 48-I jên-tzū, edict.

were both tributary to the Ch'ing. It must be pointed out that one of the driving forces of the Khoqand Khanate's development in the 19th century lay in the colonization of these Kirghiz people.

The Kirghiz (or Burūt 布魯特 people in the Ch'ing historical documents) were the nomadic people of Turkic race who lived in the Tienshan Ranges. They came into the history of Altī Shahr by the name of Burūt in the age of Khwāja rule. As mentioned earlier, they formed a tributary to the Ch'ing almost simultaneously with the Khoqand regime in 1760. According to Ch'ing documents, Kirghiz people were divided into two groups, the first group living in five eastern tribes (*otok*) scattered in mountain areas between Ili, Ush and Aqsū and the second group in 15 western *otoks* in the area ranging from the Naryn River area to the eastern part of the Ferghana Basin, centered on the Alai mountain area, and partly in the Pamirs in the southwest of Kāshghar. The western group was said to be more influential as a nomadic people. They were oppressed by the Jungars while in the early 18th century under Khwāja rule, but when General Chao-hui of the Ch'ing advanced his troops to the Mt. Alai area in 1759, A-chi Bī 阿濟比 (Hājī Bī), the headman of the Edigenü (Edigene) tribe, pledged his obedience to the Ch'ing. A-chi Bī's letter to the Ch'ing dynasty said:

We offer you our regards respectfully. To Your Majesty the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, who covers as Heaven, and who are broad and wide, like as Su-lai-man fo 素賚瑞佛 (Suleimān Buddha?), like as the relative to Iskandari of olden times, like as invincible and brave Rustam, A-chi Bī (Hājī Bī) of the Edigenü *aimaq* of the Burūts, expresses our congratulation in praying the Emperor's eternal life. As I have received advice of the Ch'ing general, we want to surrender ourselves to the Ch'ing. Our 210,000 tribesmen east of Bukhārā have become Your Majesty's vassal.⁽⁴⁶⁾

In this letter, A-chi Bī said that he, the ruler of the Edigenü tribe, was governing 210,000 Kirghiz people east of Bukhārā. The *Hsi-yü t'u-chih*, Bk. 45, also said that there were 200,000 people of the Western Burūts. It seems that A-chi Bī submitted to the Ch'ing, representing all the Western Kirghiz people. Since Western Kirghiz groups, with tribes of Chung-Bagash, Qipchāq and Edigenü were located close to Ferghana, some of them, especially of Edigenü, who had pastures in the Osh district in the east of the Ferghana Basin, had close contact with the Khoqand regime. On the other hand, the Khoqand regime aimed at

(46) CKFL, Bk. 78, 13r-17r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 596, 24r-25v, Ch'ien-lung 24:9 kêng-shên, Chao-hui's report quoted Suleimān, Iskandar and Rustem who were the historical figures of Iranian history. But its significance is not very clear. The data on the Kirghiz at that time are presented in Romodin's latest research.

conquering the nomadic peoples in the neighboring area — the Kazakhs in Tashkent and the Kirghiz at Osh in the east of Ferghana — for militaristic and economic reasons.⁽⁴⁷⁾ The move to conquer Kirghiz people is particularly noteworthy as the first step of the Khoqand regime's development into the east.

Kirghiz people, living in the mountain areas between Ferghana and Kashgharia as mentioned above, posed an obstacle to traffic between these two areas. In 1760, for instance, the Kirghiz of the Chung-Bagash (冲噶巴什 Chung-Gabash, sic) tribe robbed Khoqand merchants from Andijān of their freight,⁽⁴⁸⁾ while “‘Umar Bī of the Chung-Bagash tribe led his men in attacking and robbing Andijān merchants of their silver and goods.”⁽⁴⁹⁾ The situation there was described in another document as “Andijān merchants had no other choice than passing Kirghiz regions to do trade at Kāshghar. And they are constantly disposed to the threat of attacks by Burūt nomadic people who are avaricious.”⁽⁵⁰⁾ As Khoqand merchants engaged actively in trade with Kashgharia throughout this period, the Khoqand regime was pressed hard with the need to conquer the Kirghiz nomadic people who posed a threat to Khoqandian caravans. It was reported that in 1761, “Ê-mu-êrh Bī (額穆爾比 Emür Bī) of the Qipchāq Burūts in the Alai plateau sought to conclude subordinate relations with the Ch'ing dynasty when he heard of the news that Ch'ing troops had conquered Eastern Turkistan. Because he had a previous trade agreement with Erdeni Bek of Khoqand, he sent his brother Aman 阿璊 to Khoqand to get Erdeni's permission for the move, and Aman was captured by Erdeni. Then Emür Bī made up his mind to surrender himself to the Ch'ing.”⁽⁵¹⁾ This statement indicates that the nomadic Kirghiz people had trade relations with Khoqand, with occasional conflicts between them. In 1762, it was reported, “Ma-mu-tê hu-li 瑪木特呼里 and A-êrh-tsa mu-tê 阿爾維默特 of the Burūt plotted to attack Erdeni of Khoqand with their joint troops,”⁽⁵²⁾ and “when Erdeni invaded the Qushichi tribe, a Burūt leader Nārbāta 納喇巴圖 led his nomadic troops to counterattack Khoqand invaders.”⁽⁵³⁾ The Qushichi tribe used to live a nomadic life in the Arawān district in the east of Osh,

(47) P. P. Ivanov's *Kazakhi* has detailed observations on the Khoqand conquest of the Kazakhs during the 'Ālim and 'Omar ages. But this problem is not directly touched on in the present article.

(48) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 7, 23r-v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 625, 12v-13r, Ch'ien-lung 25·11 hsin-yu, edict.

(49) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 9, 7v-9r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 628, 14v-15v, Ch'ien-lung 26·1, kuei-yu, Hai-ming's report.

(50) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 841, 2r, Ch'ien-lung 34·8 i-ch'ou, edict.

(51) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 10, 10v-11v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 632, 3r-v, Ch'ien-lung 26·3 hsin-ch'ou, Hai-ming's report. Related reports are also in Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 633, 17v-18r, Ch'ien-lung 26·3 wu-ch'ên, edict; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 634, 18v-20r, Ch'ien-lung 26·4 hsin-ssü, edict.

(52) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 664, 16v-17r, Ch'ien-lung 27·6 jên-yin, edict.

(53) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 674, 18v, Ch'ien-lung 27·11 wu-ch'ên, edict. The Qushichi tribe lived a nomadic life in the Ush district.

Ferghana, and was driven out to Aqsū by the Khoqand. As mentioned earlier, one of the major objectives of Khoqand attack on these Kirghiz people in the border area was to defend Khoqand merchants on their way to trade with Eastern Turkistan against Kirghiz assaults. In 1763 it was said that Erdeni Bek "asked the Ch'ing dynasty to supplement the goods which Khoqand merchants were robbed of by the Chung-Bagash Burūts,"⁽⁵⁴⁾ and "Erdeni Bek's envoy reported, 'A Khoqand merchant had his 80 horses taken away by the Saru tribe of the Burūt people'."⁽⁵⁵⁾ Meanwhile, Shu-ho-tê 舒赫德, a Ch'ing *amban*, reported to the Ch'ing Emperor; "Ushur-Qūli 烏舒爾胡里 and others from Andijān on their trade mission to Aqsū were attacked, when passing pastures of the Sayak tribe in the northwest of Kāshghar, by scores of Burūt people and were robbed of their freight,"⁽⁵⁶⁾ and "a headman (*aqalaqčī*) of the Chaqar-Sayak tribe (in the northwest of Kāshghar), and his men robbed Muslim traders from Andijān and Kāshghar of a few thousand horses."⁽⁵⁷⁾ These statements show only a few examples of Burūt attacks on Muslim traders. In short, "The Burūt people in Ush, Yārkand and Kāshghar frequently attacked and robbed Muslim traders from Andijān who had to go through these regions for their trading business in the east."⁽⁵⁸⁾ Consequently, the Ch'ing as the suzerain state intensified its control on the Burūts. Although the *Hui-chiang-chih* 回疆志 said, "As a result of intensified security control by Ch'ing authorities, the Burūt people became obedient to law and order, and peace on the route across Burūt area was restored,"⁽⁵⁹⁾ it is doubtful whether this statement can be taken at its face value.

It can be said that because security in these area was not maintained, the Khoqand Bek regime had to attempt to conquer the Kirghiz people in order to protect Khoqand trade route to the east. A Khoqand document says, "During the era of Nārbāta Bek, Kirghiz people in the east of Osh frequently attacked Khoqand traders to the east. Therefore, 'Ālim Khān sent troops to conquer these Kirghiz people to establish peace in the area.'"⁽⁶⁰⁾ It also said, "As Khoqand merchants engaged in trading with Kāshghar complained to 'Omar Khān that they were often attacked by the Sary-Bagush tribe of the Kirghiz on the trade route east of Osh, Khoqand staged a severe retaliation to secure the trade route."⁽⁶¹⁾ On the other hand, a Ch'ing document

(54) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 16, 13v-14v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 658, 7v-8v, Ch'ien-lung 27•4 chi-ssü.

(55) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 19, 12r-v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 674, 16v-17r, Ch'ien-lung 27•11 wu-ch'ên, edict.

(56) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 838, 5v-6r, Ch'ien-lung 34•7 i-yu, edict.

(57) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1346, 29v-31v, Ch'ien-lung 55•1 i-wei, edict.

(58) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 838, 6r, Ch'ien-lung 34•7 i-yu, edict; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 841, 2r, Ch'ien-lung 34•8 i-ch'ou, edict.

(59) Hui-chiang-chih, Bk. 4, 16v, Wai-i: Khoqand.

(60) Mir Izzet Ullah, *Travels beyond the Himalaya*, in *JRAS*, VII, part 2.

(61) Nalivkine, *Khokand*, p. 147; P. P. Ivanov's *Očerki*, pp. 203-203 also stated that people of the Sary-Bagush (or Bagash) tribe were also leading a nomadic life in the mountains southeast of Ferghana and threatening Khoqand's trade route to the east.

observed, "Shrewd Andijān merchants trading outside the Khoqandian border often fool the Burūts in the area. Occasionally, they complain that they are attacked by the Burūts, but they have no proof to show their actual damage. Therefore, both Ch'ing *ambans* and *hākīm bek* at Kāshghar should be careful not to be taken in by these merchants. If we notify Andijān (i.e. the Khoqand regime) that the Ch'ing is only responsible for what happens inside our boundary, Khoqand merchants will give up their attempts to make false reports of their sufferings from the Kirghiz for profit."⁽⁶²⁾ This statement indicates that some of the Khoqand merchants tried to avail themselves of the rumor of Kirghiz attacks on Andijān traders to get compensation from the Ch'ing dynasty. In any event, the fact remains that the nomadic Kirghiz posed a threat and obstacle to Khoqand merchants' trade with Kashgharia.

The biggest concern of the Khoqand Bek régime was, however, Khoqand's relationship with the Edigenü tribe which was adjacent to Ferghana. The territorial struggle between the two was the most fierce of all. It was reported that already in 1761, "Formerly, in retaliation for Edigenü's attack on Khoqand merchants, Khoqand took part of Edigenü pastures. Then the Edigenü people counterattacked and ravaged Khoqand territory."⁽⁶³⁾ Thus the struggle between Khoqand and Edigenü developed as a result of Edigenü's pillage on Khoqand merchants. It must be noted that the Edigenü pastures have been partially farm land at that time. In 1762, "Osh and other regions under the Edigenü rule were occupied by Erdeni Bek," but the Ch'ing dynasty came out at this point with a mediation plan to settle the trouble between two of its tributaries, because "if Erdeni Bek does not move his troops out of Edigenü and continues to invade neighboring regions with Khoqand military power, disturbances would not settle down."⁽⁶⁴⁾ "The Khoqand under rule of Erdeni Bek has been living together with the neighboring Burūt people from the beginning, and Khoqand and the Kirghiz have been invading each other."⁽⁶⁵⁾ Erdeni himself stated, "Khoqand invaded Edigenü because the Edigenü people had attacked Andijān merchants."⁽⁶⁶⁾ In any case, it was certain that the conflict between Khoqand and the nomadic Kirghiz started back in 1760, and that the Khoqand Bek regime attempted to conquer the Edigenü as a step in Khoqand's territorial expansion. The Ch'ing dynasty stopped the struggle between Khoqand and Edigenü on the ground that "Edigenü and Khoqand shall be friendly neighbors as Ch'ing's tributaries, although Erdeni invaded Osh and other Edigenü areas in retaliation of Edigenü's attack on

(62) Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh, Bk. 3, 24r-v, under the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing.

(63) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 14, 6v-8r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 646, 9r-v, Ch'ien-lung 26·10 chi-ssü, Yung-kuei's report.

(64) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 17, 27v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 666, 19v-20v, Ch'ien-lung 27·7 i-hai, edict.

(65) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 19, 22r-23r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 676, 17r-v, Ch'ien-lung 27·12 wu-hsü, edict.

(66) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 678, 7v-8r, Ch'ien-lung 28·1 jên-hsü, edict.

Andijān merchants,"⁽⁶⁷⁾ and ordered Khoqand to return to Edigenü all the farm lands it had taken in the occupied areas in the Edigenü."⁽⁶⁸⁾ The *Hsi-yü t'u-chih*, Bk. 45, also said that the Ch'ing dynasty had Erdeni return to Edigenü in 1763 the Osh district which Erdeni occupied in 1762. However, it was reported in 1763 that "Erdeni placed A-chi Bī under arrest and collected tax from Osh natives." To this report, Erdeni countered, "I only colonized fifty households to Osh. The action was taken to maintain peace in Osh, where the Burūt people lived in disorder without a single leader. Not a single *pul* (penny) was collected as tax from the local residents." Erdeni also said that by the time the aforementioned report was made, "Khoqand returned all the rice fields temporary taken by Khoqand colonists in Osh to Edigenü and withdrew about 50 colonists from Osh."⁽⁶⁹⁾ However, the fact that Erdeni sent Khoqand farmers as colonists to the oasis region in Osh indicates that he attempted to colonize the Osh district. The farm land in question was apparently cultivated by partially-farming Kirghiz people in the area. It was reported at that time, "Along side Tömürtü nör (Issiq-qūl), in the northwestern Tianshan were rice fields cultivated by the Burūts," and "part of the nomadic people lived on farming in the area."⁽⁷⁰⁾ It was also said, "The Burūts of the Ku-lê-shih 古勒什 district which belonged to Andijān (or the Khoqand regime) cultivated land and promoted irrigation to grow grain."⁽⁷¹⁾ Therefore, it is likely that Khoqand, after conquering Edigenü, sent farming pioneers to the Osh district, where the Kirghiz had been engaged in farming, to colonize the area.

Now, let us observe internal situation of Eastern Ferghana in the late 18th and early 19th centuries according to the *Ho-han lu-ch'êng-chi* 霍罕路程記 by Ch'i Yün-shih 祁韻士. "Thirty *li* (Chinese league) between Ta-êrh-ka-la-k'o 塔爾喀拉克 and T'u-pa-êrh la-k'o-t'a-mu 圖巴爾拉克塔木 in the west of Kāshghar is under the Edigenü rule, while the 90 *li* between T'u-ku-êrh-k'o t'o-hai 圖古爾克托海 and Osh is ruled by Khoqand and is occupied by about 300 Muslim people. The castle of Osh is ruled by an administrator called Haqq-Nizar 阿克呢維爾 and its security is controlled by a military commander by the name of Iril-Qūli 伊爾哩屬里." This statement indicates that the Osh district was under the complete sovereignty of Khoqand in the early 19th century and was controlled by a municipal administrator (to be identified with *hākīm*

(67) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 678, 18r-19v; Ch'ien-lung 28-1 chi-ssü, edict.

(68) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 21, 7r-8r, Ch'ien-lung 28-3 jên-shen, Yung-kuei's report; *ibid.*, Bk. 21, 8r-v, Ch'ien-lung 28-3 kuei-yu, edict; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 683, 1v, Ch'ien-lung 28-3 kuei-yu, edict.

(69) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 25, 14v-15r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 710, 15v-16r, Ch'ien-lung 29-5 kuei-hai, Na-shih-t'ung's report.

(70) Hsi-ch'ui yao-lüeh 西睡要略, Bk. 3; P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki*, p. 202 also took note of the farming activities by the Kirghiz people in the Issiq-qul district.

(71) NIFL, Bk. 4, 12r, Tao-kuang 1-10 ting-hai, Wu-lung-ê's report. P. P. Ivanov also mentioned in *Očerki*, pp. 181-182 about irrigation and farming by the Kirghiz people in the mountains east of Ferghana.

or *ming-bashi*?) and a military commander (*qūshbegī*). "In the Arawān Castle, east of Osh, lived about 50 families of Muslim people, while a little over 10 households of Khoqand people lived in Ming-tepe 明圖伯 (Ming-tube reported in the travel of Izzet Ullah). The land between Arawān and Ming-tepe used to be cultivated by the Qushichi tribe. In Quba 扈巴 (Kua-Kishlak in the travel of Izzet Ullah?) lived about 50 Khoqand families, while in Marghilān there lived more than 3,000 Muslim families. Marghilān, occupied by the Sharas-Makhs 沙拉斯瑪胡斯 (remnants of the Jungars) people, is ruled by Nārbāta Bek's son, Muḥammad Emīn. Muḥammad Emīn is assisted by *Divān-bek* Nizār-obul 都管伯克呢雜爾鄂布勒 and Qāsim 克色木. Then, the route reaches Khoqand via Aq-tübe 阿克圖伯 and Bulaq-bashi 布拉克巴什."⁽⁷²⁾ Thus, the area east of Marghilān, especially the area east of Ming-tube, was occupied by the Kirghiz and was partially cultivated by them. However, Osh was occupied by the Khoqand during the era of Erdeni and Nārbāta and was made Khoqand territory. Since the area east of Osh was Edigenü territory, Osh must have been Khoqand's eastern territory. The Edigenü tribe was also occupied and colonized by the Khoqand regime later.

The situation in this area was explained by Na-yen-ch'êng's report made later (in the first half of the 19th century) as follows:

"The Edigenü *aimāq* of Burüts, which belongs to Khoqand, is the strongest of all the *aimāqs*. They are a group of more than 1,000 families with a force of no less than 2,000 soldiers. Their pasture is at Osh and is adjacent to Khoqand. They were forced by Khoqand troops to offer part of their land to Khoqand and laid complaint to the Ch'ing. At that time, the Ch'ing dynasty negotiated with Khoqand to return the ceded land to Burüts. But shortly afterward, Khoqand once again occupied the land, thus posing a threat to the whole of Edigenü. Khoqand reportedly used Burüt Edigenü *aimāq* force to invade Uratübe. The Edigenü *aimāq* actually constituted the strongest troop of the Khoqand. Khoqand's confidence in its military power in recent years is largely based on this strong troop of the Edigenü *aimāq*."⁽⁷³⁾

This statement indicates that when the Khoqand conquered Osh, the Edigenü tribe of the Kirghiz in Osh were recruited by the Khoqand army, in spite of strong Ch'ing opposition to it, and that they formed a nucleus of the Khoqand troops. Recruitment of Kirghiz soldiers was one of the main objectives of Khoqand's invasion of the Edigenü, and Khoqand used captive Kirghiz people

(72) Hsi-ch'ui yao-lüeh, Bk. 4 (Ho-han lu-ch'êng-chi). Tu-kuan po-k'o in this statement is likely to be identified with *divān-begī*. As for tu-kuan po-k'o in Kashgharia, see the list of *bek* titles in T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Ch. III.

(73) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 4r-v, Tao-kuang 8·11·22, report.

to supplement the Khoqand army. Meanwhile, a Burüt from an Edigenü *aimāq* in the Ku-lê-shi 克勒什 district under the rule of Andijān appealed to the Ch'ing dynasty, "Because they (the Kirghiz in Osh) live remote from Kāshghar, they were conquered by Khoqand. Now, 'Omar Bek of Khoqand constantly sends troops to the Burüt area to threaten the life of the Burüt people by heavy taxation.'" (74) Other Edigenü Burüt also complained, "We are extorted, robbed, and exploited by Khoqand," (75) while Na-yen-ch'êng also reported, "formerly Burüt people of the Edigenü are suffering from Khoqand oppression," (76) and "they are under constant threat and had their cattle confiscated by Khoqand, and were occasionally forced to work and severely exploited as Khoqand slaves. . . . They are obeying Khoqand orders out of fear. . . . How can we bear the situation?" (77) Another Edigenü man said, "We are having a hard time under the growing oppression of Khoqand in recent years. Khoqand demands money and cattle from us." (78) Na-yen-ch'êng went on to say, "Khoqand is driving the Burüt people into slavery by force. The *aimāq* people who had belonged to Khoqand were already exploited as Khoqand slaves. Now, they had their money and cattle taken up by Khoqand and are in unbearable conditions." (79) Judging from these remarks, it is apparent that Khoqand rulers exploited Edigenü people, confiscated their money and cattle, and used them in military services.

Khoqand seemed to have a double objective in its battle against the nomadic Kazakhs in the north and the Kirghiz in the east. The first objective was economic — to take the products of the nomadic people —, while the second aim was to make use of the captive nomadic people in Khoqand's war against other enemies. The situation made Na-yen-ch'êng lament, "More than 20,000 Burüt Edigenü *aimāq* did form the nucleus of the Khoqand army to make Khoqand so powerful these days." (80) The significance of Khoqand's conquest of the Kirghiz could become clearer if we take into account the fact that Khoqand, after its conquest of the Qarategin mountaineers, recruited them in the Khoqand regular army, (81) and that Khoqand exploited the Qarategin people as wage laborers in Ferghana. (82) In short, the control of the Kirghiz by the Khoqand Bek regime was mainly centered in the Edigenü district to lay a foundation for Khoqand's later development as a Khanate with strong

(74) NIFL, Bk. 4, 8r-12r, 12r-v; Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 24, 15r-16r, Tao-kuang 1·10 ting-hai, Wu-lung-ê's report.

(75) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 5v, Tao-kuang 8·11·22, report.

(76) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 31r, Tao-kuang 9·2·20, report.

(77) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 35r, Tao-kuang 9·2·20, report.

(78) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 8v-11v, Tao-kuang 8·12·10, report.

(79) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 15v-16r, Tao-kuang 8·12·10, report.

(80) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 7r, Tao-kuang 8·11·22, report.

(81) W. W. Barthold, *Istoriia*, p. 115. It is reported that the Khoqand Bek regime attempted to have its own standing army against the army of each tribe in Ferghana.

(82) P. P. Ivanov, *Vosstanie Kitaj-Kipčakov*, p. 19.

military power. Khoqand first attempted to subdue the Kirghiz who attacked Khoqand merchants en route to the east, then occupied the Osh district to make the area a Khoqand colony and a front base for Khoqand's further economic and military expansion toward the east. In addition, Khoqand enslaved the Edigenü tribe to make use of their livelihood, labor and military power. In parallel with its conquest of Kazakh people,⁽⁸³⁾ Khoqand's control of the nomadic people was the force which led to the drive against Kashgharia attempted by the Kashgharian Khwājas in the 19th century, and the Khoqand Khanate always used the captive Kirghiz soldiers as the vanguards of the Khoqand army. It is safe to say that Khoqand's control on the Kirghiz was promoted throughout the 18th century and was completed in the era of 'Ālim Khān to constitute an important preposition for the development into the east of the Khoqand Khanate.

As reviewed in this section, Khoqand's development into the east during the early days of the Khoqand regime (the eras of the Beks Erdeni and Nārbāta) can be summarized as the following: since the Khoqand regime was still young and shaky, it first sought a friendly relationship with the Ch'ing as one of Ch'ing's subordinate tributaries. In the meantime, the Khoqand regime promoted domestic policies to establish its control all over Khoqand as its supreme ruler. At the same time, the Khoqand regime rendered its protection and help, in league with Uyghur people of Eastern Turkistan, to offsprings of the House Khwāja in exile in Ferghana. Then, gradually, Khoqand conquered the Kirghiz people in the areas where the Ch'ing direct control was rather weak, particularly in the neighboring areas such as the Edigenü district. Thus, Khoqand exploited the products, labor and military power of these Kirghiz people to bolster the Khoqand Bek regime to set a foundation for later development into the east. Because its conquest of Tashkent and the Kazakh nomads at Tashkent was not completed yet at this period, however, the Khoqand regime avoided a frontal military clash with the Ch'ing army and dealt tactfully with the Ch'ing by maintaining friendly, commercial relations.

II

KHOQANDIAN MERCHANTS IN KASHGHARIA

While the Khoqand Bek regime was laying the foundations for development into a Khanate up to the late 18th century, native Khoqandian merchants under the rule of the Khoqand Bek regime were actively engaged in trade and

(83) P. P. Ivanov, *Kazakhi* has a detailed description on the matter. Howorth, II, ii, p. 832 can be also referred to.

commerce with Eastern Turkistan, independently of the Khoqand national policy itself. Their trade with Kashgharia or with Altī Shahr actually dated back to the age of Khwāja rule (17th–18th centuries). But let me review in this section the situation and historical significance of the Ferghana merchants' trade with the east from the time when the Ch'ing dynasty established its rule over Eastern Turkistan and Khoqand became a Ch'ing tributary (1760). As for the commercial activities in general of the Khoqandian merchants, the *Hui-chiang-chih*, Bk. 4, under Khoqand, stated:

People of that country [=Khoqand] are skilled in commercial matters. They take profits rather than honor. At times, they visit other countries to sell their native products and come over to Hui-pu [Islamic Region or Eastern Turkistan] for trade in cloth and ceramics. They earn margin by selling goods bought in other areas. . . . Today, thousands of such Khoqandian merchants are trading in Sinkiang and other places. . . .

The *Hsi-yü wên-chien-lu*, Bk. 3, under Andijān, reported:

They [Andijān merchants] make money from interest by loaning their money to others. They travel in a caravan with full load, braving the cold weather, in snow or in frost, for years and years, and will never go home unless they grab profits. In Kashgharia, they are called Andijān Muslims, in the same manner as the Muslims of Eastern Turkistan are called Kashgharian Muslims [Kāshgharliq] when they go abroad. The author, Mr. Ch'un-yüan, thinks both Andijān and Kashmīr are the home of Central Asiatic merchants. They are mean and stingy and narrow-minded. They are parastic in Kashgharia, and native people of Kashgharia are afraid of their quitting. For, if Khoqand merchants quit Kashgharia, distribution of goods in this region will cease, causing a tremendous inconvenience to Uyghur natives. . . .

Also, the *Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh* 新疆識略 observed: "Andijān merchants are always doing business in Kāshghar, Yārkan and Aqsū, selling jewelery and animal skins as valuable goods. . . . Profit-minded Andijān merchants often go beyond the boundary for trading."⁽⁸⁴⁾ All of these statements vividly describe the commercial activities of Khoqandian merchants at this period. The word "Khoqand" in historical documents of the Ch'ing dynasty stands for the town of Khoqand itself, the Khoqand Bek or their regime, or Khoqand as a nation with the town of Khoqand as its capital. Andijān, on the other hand, means the town of Andijān or its citizens, but often indicates the nation of the

(84) *Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh*, Bk. 3, 24r-v, Regulations: under the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing.

Khoqand Khanate in general.⁽⁸⁵⁾ In any event, the merchants who were engaged in the eastern trade are believed to have been the native people in Ferghana of Sart or Uzbek race. They seemed to have enhanced their commercial activities for their living when the political situation was stabilized in the frontier area of Inner Asia following the conclusion of diplomatic relations between Khoqand and the Ch'ing dynasty after the Ch'ing conquest of Eastern Turkistan.

Now, let me review in detail the eastern trade of the Khoqand merchants ("Andijān merchants" will be called Khoqand merchants hereafter for the sake of convenience). Back in 1759 when the Ch'ing dynasty was still occupied with the conquest of Eastern Turkistan, General Fu-tê 富德 reported in his message to the Emperor Ch'ien-lung, "When we questioned native Muslims who surrendered themselves to us recently, they said 29 merchants from Andijān who came to Yārkand for trading were threatened by Khwāja Jihān and were almost taken into their custody."⁽⁸⁶⁾ In 1760, the Ch'ing *amban* at Kāshghar, Shu-ho-tê, reported, in reference to commercial activities of Khoqandian and Kirghiz merchants at Kāshghar, "with peace restored in Kashgharia, merchants are constantly coming in from Burūts, Khoqand, Andijān and Marghilān."⁽⁸⁷⁾ Other documents also mentioned frequent visits of Khoqand merchants to Ush, as, "since Ush is located close to the Burūts, people from Andijān come over to make trade transactions very often,⁽⁸⁸⁾" and "because Ush is frequented by merchants from outer areas, a 10-per cent [sic] tax is imposed on them."⁽⁸⁹⁾ Khoqand merchants also visited Aqsū through the Kirghiz area.⁽⁹⁰⁾ Active trading by Khoqandian merchants in Aqsū is described as, "because of the convenient location of Aqsū for inter-regional trading, the town is always crowded with merchants from both inside and outside the boundary. When a *bāzār* is opened, people sweat and shove each other to buy things at shops where commodities are piled up so high that they block the sight."⁽⁹¹⁾ Jewellery collected at Khotan and Yārkand were believed sold in Aqsū, as a document says, "Aqsū was the place for trading of jewellery in Kashgharia. There was a *bāzār* in between the Manchurian castle and Muslim castle of the town, where all of these gems were traded."⁽⁹²⁾ However, it is not

(85) It is the general opinion that "Andijān" in Ch'ing materials should be regarded as meaning Khoqandian merchants because merchants from Andijān constituted the majority of Khoqandian merchants. cf. R. B. Shaw, *Visits to High Tartary*, p. 162.

(86) CKFL, Bk. 78, 10v, Ch'ien-lung 24·9 ting-ssü, Fu-tê's report.

(87) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 605, 10r-v, Ch'ien-lung 25·1 hsin-wei, Shu-ho-tê's report.

(88) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 16, 27v, Ch'ien-lung 27·4 ting-hai, edict.

(89) Hsi-yü wên-chien-lu, Bk. 3, 10v. The one-tenth rate seems to be a temporary one after the Ch'ing conquest. cf. p. 25, and note (106).

(90) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 838, 5 v, Ch'ien-lung 34·7 i-yu, edict.

(91) Hsi-yü wên-chien-lu, Bk. 3.

(92) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1070, 19r-v, Ch'ien-lung 43·11 chi-ch'ou, edict. Kao P'u (高樸)'s scandals on trading of precious stones (jade) are omitted in this article.

known how enthusiastic these Khoqand merchants were in the trading of jewelery. As for Yärkand, it was reported, "merchants from Tibet and Andijän are also coming here for trading daily,"⁽⁹³⁾ and "Chinese merchants from Shan-hsi 山西, Shan-hsi 陝西 and Chiang-chê 江浙 come all the way through hard and rough routes to Yärkand for trading. Merchants from outer countries such as Andijän, Tibet, Khoqand and Kashmîr come to Yärkand in thousands for trading. *Bāzār* streets of Yärkand stretch for ten *li* (Chinese league) with piles of commodities looming up like clouds and people gathering like bees. They can often find rare treasures there. There are so many kinds of cattle and fruits that people can hardly count them."⁽⁹⁴⁾ Thus, all the major towns of Kashgharia, i.e. Ush, Aqsū, Kāshghar and Yärkand were frequented by Khoqandian merchants immediately after Ch'ing control was established in these areas. The same tendency was observed in a document of the early 19th century as follows, "Three towns of Kashgharia, i.e., Kāshghar, Yärkand and Aqsū, are congested with Muslim traders from both in and outside Eastern Turkistan; natives and aliens live together in those towns,"⁽⁹⁵⁾ and "since Aqsū is a key town for traffic between eight Eastern Turkistan cities, the population numbers more than 10,000, and merchants are thriving here with prosperous business transactions."⁽⁹⁶⁾

As for the scope of the commercial activities of Khoqandian merchants during this period, PH. NAZAROV said, "The Khoqandians were having commercial relations with Kāshghar, China, Khiva, Bukhārā and with the Persians in the mountain areas."⁽⁹⁷⁾ Indications are that they were active in a wide area in Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries, but that their trading activities in Sinkiang were rather limited. Although none of Ch'ing materials refers to this matter, Č. Č. VALIKHANOV and 'Abd al-Kerīm Bukhārī indicate that the Ch'ing dynasty allowed the Khoqandian merchants to trade in the Altī Shahr (Six Cities of Kashgharia), but not in Qomūl, Turfān, Qarāshahr or Kuchā.⁽⁹⁸⁾ This statement appears to hold water since no records of their trading activities in Qomūl, Turfān or Qarāshahr were found in Ch'ing documents. However, they were allowed to visit Ili in Jungaria for trading. The Kirghiz were also trading in Eastern Turkistan cities as the following

(93) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 632, 6v-7r, Ch'ien-lung 26•2 kuei-mao.

(94) Hsi-yü wên-chien-lu, Bk. 3.

(95) NIFL, Bk. 3, 5r-v, Tao-kuang 1•1 ting-ssü, Ch'ing-hsiang's report.

(96) NIFL, Bk. 9, 4r-5v, Tao-kuang 6•1 kêng-yin, Ch'ang-tê's report.

(97) Nazarov, p. 38. "China" in this statement is not mainland China but Eastern Turkistan.

(98) Valikhanov, *The Russians in Central Asia*, pp. 195-196. Schefer, *Abdoul Kerim Boukhary*, p. 217 said, "Les négociants qui viennent de Boukhara et de Khoqand peuvent entrer dans ces sept villes; mais ils n'ont point la permission d'aller dans les autres localités soumises à la Chine, . . ." Bellew (Forsyth, p. 181) reported, "Under the Chinese rule certain trading privileges were accorded to the city of Aksú and those to the west of it, which were not granted to Kúchá and the other cities to the east. . . ." However, Na-yen-ch'eng is quoted later as saying that Khoqandian merchants visited Kuchā for trading.

reports indicate: "Burūt merchants from the Atbash tribe have brought cattle and hide to Aqsū for trading since 1760. It seems that the Burūt merchants came to Aqsū for the first time in 1760."⁽⁹⁹⁾ It was also reported that "Burūts came to Kāshghar to sell their sheep,"⁽¹⁰⁰⁾ and that "Burūt merchants raced to visit Ush to sell sheep."⁽¹⁰¹⁾

Meanwhile, Ch'ing dynasty's legal attitude toward the trading in Sinkiang of the Khoqandian merchants was not very clear, except for tariff procedures. In 1794, Yung-pao 永保, the Ch'ing *amban* at Kāshghar, requested the home government to stipulate regulations for Muslims' (Uyghur) trading activities outside the boundary.⁽¹⁰²⁾ But he referred only to the trade between the Uyghurs in Eastern Turkistan and the nomadic Kirghiz, and did not mention Khoqandian merchants. The *Hui-chiang t'ung-chih*, Bk. 7 (24v), stated in its remarks on regulations for Muslims in Kāshghar, "the native Muslims or people from outlying countries who now live in Kāshghar should carry travel certificates when they go beyond the boundary for trading activities. The certificate is issued by the Kashgharian certificate office." The Kashgharian Regulations also stipulated as, "all the Muslims, Kirghiz and other aliens from outlying areas shall report when they pass the border (*ibid.*, Bk. 7, 17v)", while Yangī-Hiṣār Regulations said, "merchants wishing to go beyond the boundary with certificates shall be examined by the castle police. Aliens wishing to have trade activities in this town shall also be examined and their certificates canceled (*ibid.*, Bk. 7, 31v)." Thus, the Uyghurs in Sinkiang as well as aliens from countries around the Pamirs, including the Khoqandian merchants, were required to carry a sort of passport to enter or to go out of Sinkiang. The passport was examined by Ch'ing officials stationed there whenever they passed the boundary.

As for the tariff system for the trading by Khoqand merchants, it was known that when the Ch'ing decided on a tentative policy⁽¹⁰³⁾ following the occupation of Kashgharia in the seventh month of 1759, "We first collected as tax one-tenth on their trade transactions in the frontier area and one-twentieth from merchants from alien areas. But the payment of this tax was often irregular."⁽¹⁰⁴⁾ This taxation system had been observed customarily even before the Ch'ing dynasty established its control over Eastern Turkistan. Accordnig to the *Tazkira-i Khwājagān*, there had been a tax called *bāj*, which

(99) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 4, 12v-13r, Ch'ien-lung 25•6 ting-wei, Shu-ho-tê's report.

(100) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 6, 1v-2v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 620, 3v-4r, Ch'ien-lung 25•9 kuei-mao, Shu-ho-tê's report.

(101) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 633, 5v-6r, Ch'ien-lung 26•3 wu-wu, edict. The price of a sheep is mentioned in these statements. The commercial activities of Kirghiz merchants are outshone by those of their Khoqandian counterpart in Ch'ing documents. K. Usenbaev's *Prisoedinenie*, pp. 23-25 observed the matter.

(102) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1464, 1r-3r, Ch'ien-lung 59•11 i-yu, Yung-pao's report.

(103) cf. T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapter IV.

(104) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 593, 12r-15v, Ch'ien-lung 24•7 kêng-wu, Chao-hui's report.

meant what we call tariff, under the Khwāja regime in Eastern Turkistan.⁽¹⁰⁵⁾ About a few month after the aforementioned temporary policy was established, Shu-ho-tê reported in his message to the Ch'ing Emperor:

As regards commercial taxes, a one-twentieth tax was imposed on alien merchants, and a one-tenth tax was applied to native Muslims (or Uyghurs). . . . These tax rates should be re-examined when the trade will prosper. At present (1759), merchants of Badakhshān, Tashkent and Yārkand and so on, have returned from the trade in Tibet, and the merchandise they brought in is to be taxed according to the former rule (of the Khwāja times).⁽¹⁰⁶⁾

According to this statement, the commercial tax or tariff, established immediately after the occupation, was set at one-twentieth of the trading volume of alien merchants and one-tenth of that of the native Uyghur merchants, as was customary in this area in the past. This tariff was also imposed on merchants of Badakhshān, Tashkent and Yārkand, who had then just returned from Tibet to Eastern Turkistan. However, this tariff rate had to be revised because it was apparently too heavy for these merchants, as Shu-ho-tê reported in early 1760:

After we taxed (merchants) several times according to the former regulations, *bek* officials told us: "taxation by the old regulations is pretty heavy. Formerly, prices of cattle were cheap, so we had not so much trouble. Now that we have been disturbed by the wars of the rebellious chiefs (the Khwāja Brothers), prices of cattle have jumped up: at Yārkand and Kāshghar, the price of a sheep has jumped up to ten-odd *liang* 兩; a fat horse fifty or sixty *liang*. Therefore, merchants hesitate to come to trade here. We beg that the tax on cattle shall be reduced for a while." Hereafter, cattle brought by native Uyghurs shall be taxed at the rate of one-twentieth, and those brought by alien merchants taxed at the rate of one-thirtieth provisionally. As regards furs and silken cloth, they may be taxed according to the former regulations.⁽¹⁰⁷⁾

It appeared that *bek* officials complained that the new tariff system, established after the taxation system under the Khwāja era, was excessively heavy. They were believed to have demanded the lowering of tariff rates on the ground

(105) Pointed out in J. Shimada's "Poll tax in Kashgharia under Manchurian dominion" (in Japanese), in *Shigaku Zasshi*, 1952, vol. 61-11.

(106) CKFL, Bk. 83, 21v-22r, Ch'ien-lung 24-12 ting-yu, Shu-ho-tê's report.

(107) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 605, 10r-11r, Ch'ien-lung 25-1 hsin-wei, Shu-ho-tê's report.

that the price of horses jumped up so high after the occupation that alien merchants ceased to come to the area for trading. As a result, the tariff rates were revised to one-thirtieth for cattle brought in by alien merchants and to one-twentieth for those brought in by the Uyghur merchants. It appeared, however, that the tariff rate on hide or cloth remained unchanged. The new tariff rates were observed since then. The *Li-fan-yüan tsê-li* 理藩院則例 said on these revised tariffs:

Commercial tax. The former regulations of Hui-pu 回部 (Kashgharia) were as follows: a one-twentieth tax was applied to alien merchants trading in Hui-pu; a one-tenth tax was applied to native (Hui-pu) merchants trading in alien countries. After the Ch'ing conquest of Hui-pu, a one-thirtieth tax was applied to alien merchants trading at Kāshghar, Yārkand and other towns, and a one-twentieth tax was applied to silken cloth, cotton cloth and fur; a one-twentieth tax was applied to native merchants trading to alien countries, and, as for fur, silken cloth and cotton cloth, a one-tenth tax was applied. In any case that cattle and merchandise cannot be taxed by the above-mentioned rates, a *tanga* (=50 *pul*, copper coin) for a horse, 25 *pul* for a big cow, 12.5 *pul* for a smaller cow, 12 *pul* for a big sheep, 6 *pul* for a smaller sheep was taxed respectively. Miscellaneous goods were also taxed in money.⁽¹⁰⁸⁾

In other words, merchants from outlying countries, including Khoqand, were charged the tariff at the rate of one-thirtieth of the import value of freight and cattle (one-twentieth for hide and cloth) when they traded in Eastern Turkistan, while the native Uyghur merchants were taxed the tariff of one-twentieth for freight and cattle (one-tenth for hide and cloth) in money or in goods when they brought these goods back from the outlying areas into Eastern Turkistan. Meanwhile, the *Hu-pu tsê-li* 戶部則例 stated:

A one-twentieth tax was applied to cattle and goods brought from alien countries by Muslims of Kāshghar and Yārkand, and a one-thirtieth tax was applied to goods traded by merchants of alien countries. The same rate was applied to cattle and goods traded by home merchants (Ch'ing merchants). A one-fortieth tax was applied to merchants from Baltir 巴爾替爾 and Kashmīr.⁽¹⁰⁹⁾

(108) *Li-fan-yüan tsê-li*, Bk. 143, 50r-v. There also existed an exceptional rule of taxing one *tanga* per horse.

(109) Ch'ien-lung hu-pu tsê-li, Bk. 18, Taxation. Mir Izzet Ullah reported. "They levy from the Kashmir trader one-fortieth of the value, and one-thirtieth from all others." (Travels beyond the Himalaya, *JRAS*, VII, Part 2, p. 301). Ahmed Shāh Nakshabandi reported the same way. (*JRAS*, XII, Part 1, 1849). This one-fourtieth customs duty was equivalent to *zakat*, or cattle tax, on nomadic people, or the currency tax on caravans in the Khoqand Khanate at that time. See A. Aminov, *Ekonomičeskoe razvitie Srednej Azii*.

This statement indicates that the tariff rate on the goods imported by merchants of outlying countries around the Pamirs was one-thirtieth, while that applied to Baltir (Balti~Baltistān) and Kashmīr merchants was one-fortieth. In terms of the regulations on tariffs collection at Kāshghar, the *Hui-chiang t'ung-chih* reported:

A one-thirtieth tax was applied to cattle and goods brought to Kāshghar by merchants from Andijān and the Burūts; a one-twentieth tax was applied to cattle and goods of native Muslims (=Uyghurs) who return to Kāshghar from alien countries where they traded. When this rate cannot be applied, tax by money was applied, and if someone dare to avoid tax, a five-thirtieth penalty tax was applied. Envoys of alien countries, the Burūts who present horses, and those who present tribute, are exempted from taxation.⁽¹¹⁰⁾

These remarks are similar to the earlier quotations, except that some cash was taken as tariff on cattle and that the freight carried by tributary missions were exempted from the tariffs. The same thing was mentioned in 1760 in a message of Hai-ming 海明 to the Ch'ing Emperor in which he requested the easing the tariffs on the trading by the Khoqandian missions to the Ch'ing dynasty.⁽¹¹¹⁾ As for details of the tariffs at Ush, it was reported:

Yearly taxation. A one-twentieth tax was applied to cattle, fur and other goods of merchants of Kāshghar and Yārkand who traded to alien countries; a one-thirtieth tax was applied to the Burūts and Andijān Muslims who came to trade cattle and fur. When this rate cannot be applied, a one-thirtieth tax in *pul* was taxed, and 50 *wén* 文 (*pul*) was taxed per horse, 25 *pul* per cow, 12 *pul* per sheep. Yearly taxation amounted to tens of thousands *pul*, which were used for official expenditure.⁽¹¹²⁾

The amount of money reportedly collected per horse, cow and sheep in this

(110) Hui-Ching t'ung-chih, Bk. 7, 8r, Taxation: under Kāshghar.

(111) CKFL/hsü-pien, 15r-v, Ch'ien-lung 25·11 ting-wei, Hai-ming's report.

(112) Hui-chiang t'ung-chih, Bk. 9, 5r, Taxation. "50 *wén*" in this statement indicates the actual tax value. Mir Izzet Ullah, p. 363, said that the customs duties were imposed at the rate of one for 30 items and that merchants registered the quantities of cargo in three to four categories to make the number of items under each category less than 30 in an effort to evade taxation. Mir Izzet Ullah, pp. 301-302, also reported that Ch'ing officials and Muslim officials were taking charge of customs at the customs office by the name of *ūrtang* on the Yārkand border. It was also reported, "If it is an article that sells by weight, they levy the duty in kind; if it is sold by tale, they value the article and take proportion in coin." Mir Izzet Ullah also said that domestic trade was not taxed.

statement seems to indicate that the tariffs were imposed at the rate of the said one-thirtieth rate. In any case, the tariffs taxed on merchants from countries around the Pamirs were made lower than that on the native Uyghur merchants. This disparity was maintained between around 1760 and the early 19th century as Na-yen-ch'êng reported, "Since the pacification of Eastern Turkistan trade regulations have been enacted, and the tariff for alien merchants trading to Eastern Turkistan has been imposed at the one-thirtieth rate. The tariff on the alien merchants is not so heavy as they complain."⁽¹¹³⁾ In the meantime, however, there were repeated cases of tariff evasion or exemption as the author will mention later. The term *wai-fan* 外藩 (outlying countries) in the above documents is believed to stand for countries in the west and south of the Pamirs. The reason why the Kazakhs were not mentioned in these documents is that the Kazakhs traded under governmental regulation at Ili and Tarbaghatai, unlike the Khoqandian merchants who were allowed to have private trading. (Not to be entered in detail here)

W. H. WATHEN observed, "Free intercourse is allowed by the Chinese government to subjects of Kokan resorting to Káshgar and the other Muhammedan dependencies of that empire, for purposes of commerce. Religious mendicants are also admitted; this permission is however solely extended to those countries. No one of whatever denomination would be allowed to enter China Proper under any pretence whatever, even in case of an embassy: it is necessary for application to be made to the Viceroy YUNIS WANG, at Káshgar, and no one is allowed to proceed until an order be received from Pekin."⁽¹¹⁴⁾ The Viceroy YUNIS WANG in this statement is the *hākim bek* at Káshghar, Yunus, who was in the position in 1813.⁽¹¹⁵⁾ W. H. WATHEN's remarks, that Khoqand merchants were allowed to trade at Káshghar and other Kashgharian towns but not in the regions east of Kuchā, including Qomūl and Turfān or in China mainland, correspond with various materials on Khoqand missions to the Ch'ing quoted at the beginning of this paper. W. H. WATHEN also

(113) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 14r-v, Tao-kuang 9·3·11, edict; Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 151, 31r-v, Tao-kuang 9·2 mu-yin.

(114) W. H. Wathen, p. 376. A. Burnes reported that merchants from Bukhārā and Tibet were not allowed to go farther than Yārkand. (*Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, p. 233)

(115) As for Yunis Wang, European and Russian scholars have made the following observations: V. V. Grigor'ev's *Vostočnyi ili kitajskij Turkestan* (II, p. 462) and M. Hartmann's *Das Buchwesen* (p. 83), in which the former was quoted, said that Viceroy Yunis Wang was identical with Yūnus, the son of Turfān-born *hākim* Iskandar at Káshghar. It seems that Yūnus was the man who was in the *hākim bek's* post at Káshghar until 1813 and was dismissed in connection with some incident relating to Khoqandians. However, Yūnus in Wathen's statement is unlikely to be the same Kashgharian *hākim bek* of 1834, about whom Wathen was informed of by a Khoqandian. According to historical documents of the Ch'ing dynasty, the *hākim bek* at Káshghar in or around 1834 was Zohr al-Dīn, who was also mentioned in Forsyth (p. 185) as *hākim bek* at Káshghar until 1846. Therefore, Wathen's comment seems to be made on Yūnus who was in the post of Kashgharian *hākim bek* until 1813.

observed as to the trading activities of Khoqandian merchants:

"The trade between the two countries is conducted as follows: caravans come from Southern China by way of Khotan to Yárkand and thence to Káshgar; they [Ch'ing merchants] bring tea glued together, and formed into the shape and consistency of unbaked bricks; silk piece goods, satin, porcelain, and various other articles. Tea, however, is the principal article of import. . . . The merchandize is carried chiefly on horses, from thirty to forty bricks of tea from a load for a horse. From Káshgar the U'sbek [Khoqandian] merchants bring them to Kokan, whence they are exported on camels to Bokhára. The returns are said to be made in shawls, European articles, raw silk, horses, &c." (116)

As reported in Ch'ing documents, Khoqandian merchants needed tea, silken fabrics and ceramics which were in great demand in the west, and in return brought fur and leather as well as cattle to Kashgharia. Horses thus brought to Kashgharia by Khoqandian merchants were apparently from the Kirghiz, and were used, together with horses from the Kazakhs, for military and private purposes in Sinkiang. Khoqandian merchants also obtained precious stones and rhubarb in their trade with the east. As for gems, it was reported in 1783, "Abula, an Andijān Muslim, was arrested for the trafficking of precious stones in Yárkand," (117) but the volume of gems brought into the area west of the Pamirs is not known.

It is noteworthy that rhubarb, a well-known herbal medicine from Eastern Turkistan was traded by Khoqandian merchants to Western Turkistan nations as well as to Russia. It seems that rhubarb was used not only as a medicine but also as a dyestuff in Western Turkistan, as a document reported, "in southwestern Kashgharia and Andijān, people rarely eat rhubarb, but use it as a dyestuff. This is why people in those regions need rhubarb." (118) But, it is important that rhubarb was exported to Russia through Khoqandian merchants, and was used as herbal medicine at this period. Now, let me review the trading of rhubarb by Khoqandian merchants mainly on the basis of historical documents of the period of the 11th, or last, Kyakhta trade rupture (1785–1792). In 1789, Fu-sung 福崧 reported to the Ch'ing Emperor, "We have detected 7,080 *chin* 觔 (pounds) of rhubarb sold by nine Andijān

(116) W. H. Wathen, p. 376.

(117) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1172, 24r, Ch'ien-lung 48-I ting-wei, edict; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1173, 6r-7r, Ch'ien-lung 48-I jen-tzū, edict.

(118) Sung-yün, Sui-fu chi-lüeh 綏服紀略, Bk. 1, 19r. As for rhubarb transactions on international trading in Inner Asia at that time, see A. Haneda, On the hypothesis claiming the Selenga district as the habitat of the rhubarb (in Japanese), in *Oriental Studies Presented to Sei Wada*, Tokyo 1951, pp. 521–531.

Muslims and more than 870 *chin* by five Chinese merchants.”⁽¹¹⁹⁾ Ming-liang 明亮 reported in same year, “Six Andijān Muslims and seven Kāshghar Muslims were found with more than 4,000 *chin* of rhubarb.”⁽¹²⁰⁾ These statements indicate a part of the rhubarb trading by Khoqandian merchants during a period when the Kyakhta trade was suspended. Rhubarb from Kansu and Ch’ing-hai was sold to Khoqandian merchants by Uyghur and Chinese merchants, as the following documents showed: “Yārkand Muslims, by name Yūdūk 瑜都克 and Sultān-mat 蘇勒坦默特, sold more than 600 *chin* of rhubarb to a Turfān merchant, Lao San 老三, and were captured when they visited Būgūr.”⁽¹²¹⁾ “Merchants of Qomūl and other places, who bought more than 5,000 *chin* of rhubarb from Kansu, visited Urümchi to sell it to Uyghurs and Burūts in Sinkiang, then Russia, for further profits.”⁽¹²²⁾ “A Chinese called Li Hao 李浩 sold rhubarb to Martir (?) 瑪爾台爾, a Turfān Muslim.”⁽¹²³⁾ “There are Chinese merchants who carried more than 1,370 *chin* of rhubarb to Kāshghar.”⁽¹²⁴⁾ “Yūsuf 玉素普, a Muslim of Aqsū, sold 2,160 *chin* of rhubarb to earn more than 34,500 *pul* of copper.”⁽¹²⁵⁾

These statements indicate that Chinese and Uyghur merchants were trading rhubarb, which was brought to the area west of the Pamirs by Khoqandian merchants who were not allowed to enter Kansu at that time. According to a document, “more than 10 million *chin* of rhubarb were found privately traded in Sinkiang by Muslims from Andijān and other places. On information that Andijān, Burūt and Kazakh people are trading in Russian territory, shrewd merchants brought rhubarb from China to Sinkiang, and sold it through Andijān merchants to Russia for large profits.”⁽¹²⁶⁾ It was also reported, “knowing that Ili and Kāshghar in Sinkiang are close to the Kazakhs, Burūts and Andijān, and that people from these regions are trading in the Russian area, profit-seeking merchants carried rhubarb through Sinkiang to Russia.”⁽¹²⁷⁾ The rupture of the Kyakhta trade can be taken as a cause for the active rhubarb smuggling from China to Eastern Turkistan and to Khoqand during this period. However, it is more likely that Chinese rhubarb was out-flowing from China to the area west of the Pamirs on the normal trading channel of Chinese and Uyghur merchants and through relaying by Khoqandian merchants, even without the suspension of the Kyakhta trade, as will be mentioned later. In any event, it was clear that Khoqandian merchants served as intermediate carriers of Chinese rhubarb to the western nations. The

(119) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1320, 7v-8r, Ch’ien-lung 54.1 hsin-yu, edict.

(120) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1325, 3r-4r, Ch’ien-lung 54.3 ping-tzū, edict.

(121) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1322, 16v-17r, Ch’ien-lung 54.2 i-wei, edict.

(122) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1323, 30v-31r, Ch’ien-lung 54.2 i-wei, edict.

(123) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1326, 15v, Ch’ien-lung 54.4 i-wei, edict.

(124) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1329, 8r, Ch’ien-lung 54.5 ping-tzū, edict.

(125) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1329, 8r-v, Ch’ien-lung 54.5 ping-tzū, edict.

(126) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1324, 19r-20r, Ch’ien-lung 54.3 i-chou, edict.

(127) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1321, 12v-14r, Ch’ien-lung 54.1 chi-mao, edict.

Kazakh nomadic people were also playing the similar role, but to a much lesser degree.⁽¹²⁸⁾

No details were known about trade in silken fabrics and ceramics. But as W. H. WATHEN emphasized, tea was an important item for Khoqand. It was reported in the 19th century:

People of nations such as Khoqand drink tea. Tea, thus consumed in Khoqand, is smuggled out of Eastern Turistan. Andijān people residing at Ili buy tea at high price and, being mixed with Kazakh merchants, privately carry it to Khoqand. The annual volume of tea thus traded amounts to 100,000 to 300,000 *chin*. These Andijān people also trade nitrate ore and other prohibited items. . . . Today, tea (mainly hsi-ch'a 細茶 and tsa-ch'a 雜茶) is the major item being smuggled beyond the boundary. Tea is first carried privately by Chinese merchants from North China to Guchen, then brought to Ili and other places so that it can be smuggled by Andijān merchants beyond the boundary. This practice must be prohibited immediately.⁽¹²⁹⁾

This statement shows how tea was smuggled from Ili to Khoqand without going through normal customs procedures. But most of Ch'ing documents mentioned the trading of tea only briefly. It was also reported in other documents that opium and opium pipes were sold in Sinkiang in 1839–1840. Among the traders of opium and opium pipes were listed, besides merchants of Kashmīr, Badakhshān and Hindū, the Khoqandian merchants. It was only natural that shrewd, profit-minded Khoqand merchants set a hand to the opium trading. But no details were known about it.⁽¹³⁰⁾ A. BURNES observed,

(128) The trade between the Kazakhs and Russia are mentioned more in Russian documents than in Ch'ing historical documents. But the present author declines to comment on the matter in this article because it is not the main theme of this article. According to Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 814, 1v-2r, Ch'ien-lung 32·7 ting-hai, edict, "Free trading is allowed between the Kazakhs and Russia, but it is strictly prohibited that Kazakh merchants trade Russian products at Ili." Whether or not these regulations had real effect is not clear.

(129) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 139, 17r, Tao-kuang 8·7, ping-yin, Tê-yin-a's report.

(130) It was reported in 1839, "People carrying opium were arrested in Qarāshahr, and Tung Hsün and others, who were growing poppy at east of Kūrla, were arrested," (Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 326, 29r-v, Tao-kuang 19·9 chia-yin, edict), and "More than 30 people selling or smoking opium in the Urümchi district were arrested" (*ibid.*, Bk. 329, 23v-24r, Tao-kuang 19·12 hsin-ssü, edict). Thus, there was no doubt about opium trading by Chinese in Qarāshahr, Kūrla and Urümchi and other Eastern Turkistan towns. In Yärkand, too, "Merchants from Kashmīr, Badakhshān and Hindū were selling opium" to Chinese merchants (*ibid.*, Bk. 329, 31v-32r, Tao-kuang 19·12, i-yu, En-tê-hêng-ê's report), while "Kashmīr merchants presented 97,999-odd *liang* of opium" (*ibid.*, Bk. 330, 29v-30r, Tao-kuang 20·1, kêng-shên, En-tê-hêng-ê's report). In Khotan, "Andijān *hu-tai-ta* named Sha-mu-sha Muḥammad submitted more than 540

"opium has also found its way from Persia to Bokhara, and is again exported to Yarkund and Cashghar, in China," thus indicating the influx of opium from Northern India and Persia to Kashgharia.⁽¹³¹⁾

As W. H. WATHEN said that Khoqandian merchants brought Russian products to Sinkiang in his aforementioned statement, Ming-liang reported to the Ch'ing Emperor, "we captured an Andijān Muslim at Ili and brought him to Kāshghar, and confiscated Russian goods he was carrying."⁽¹³²⁾ What were the Russian products, traded by Khoqandian merchants in Sinkiang, then? While the Kazakhs imported Russian cattle skin and mink fur to Ili,⁽¹³³⁾ "the Kokan merchants meet those of Bokhára at Tashkend, and forming one body, they proceed viá Turkistan through the Steppes occupied by the Cossacs, part to Omsk, and part to Orenburg. The productions of China, raw silk, camlet, and cotton yarn, are taken to Russia, and returns are made in furs, gun barrels, and locks, cutlery, Russian leather, and other Russian manufactures," according to WATHEN.⁽¹³⁴⁾ Not all of these Russian goods were brought back to Sinkiang, however. It was reported in 1790, "Six Chinese merchants once took the risk of selling privately 200 of Russian sea otter skins, otter, and 20,000 mink furs and skins . . . which were apparently brought in from Russia via Kāshghar, Yārkand and Ush."⁽¹³⁵⁾ It is safe to say that part of the Russian goods traded by Khoqandian merchants, such as fur, was sold to Chinese merchants in Sinkiang. The Ch'ing dynasty controlled the trading of Russian goods because the trade at Kyakhta was prohibited. The trade in rhubarb and Russian goods by Khoqandian merchants in Sinkiang was normally permitted. This was reported in the edict of the Ch'ing Emperor in 1790 as follows:

liang worth of opium by the order of the *hākim bek*" (*ibid.*, Bk. 330, 30r-v, Tao-kuang 20•1, kêng-shên, Ta-ming-a's report). At Kāshghar, "foreign merchants carrying opium passed the border," (*ibid.*, Bk. 330, 30v-31r, Tao-kuang 20•1, kêng-shên, Fu-hsing-a's report), while in Yārkand, "foreign merchants were selling more than 100,000 *liang* of opium." (*ibid.*, Bk. 332, 24r-v, Tao-kuang 20•3, i-yu, Ên-tê-hêng-ê's report). It was also reported that in Khotan, "Andijān merchants reached the border with an opium cargo" (*ibid.*, Bk. 334, 21r-v, Tao-kuang 20•5, i-yu, Ta-ming-a's report). Judging from these accounts, it was clear Khoqandian and Kashmir merchants were selling opium at Kāshghar, Yārkand and Khotan. These accounts were made because the opium trading was banned by the Ch'ing dynasty at that time. It is likely that opium had been traded in these area and sold to the region east of Ili and Urümchi before the opium trade was prohibited. I-shan, Governor-general of Ili issued an ordinance prohibiting Ili natives to trade opium with foreign merchants. (Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 331, 10r-11v, Tao-kuang 20•2 ping-tzŭ, I-shan's report)

(131) A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, p. 438.

(132) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1321, 12v, Ch'ien-lung 54•1, chi-mao, edict.

(133) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 814, 1v-2r, Ch'ien-lung 32•7, ting-hai, edict; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1361, 35v-36r, Ch'ien-lung 55•8, ting-ch'ou, edict.

(134) W. H. Wathen, p. 377.

(135) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1366, 8v-9r, Ch'ien-lung 55•11, jên-wu, edict.

Formerly the Ch'ing authorities inspected the goods of Andijān merchants trading at the towns of Hsin-chiang, because the trade at Kyakhta is now being suspended, so that Andijān merchants who want to cover huge profits, secretly trade Russian merchandise (in Hsin-chiang). Therefore, the authorities ordered the prohibition of their trade. When the trade at Kyakhta is re-opened, the commercial activities of Andijān merchants may be permitted as usual.⁽¹³⁶⁾

Thus, the Ch'ing dynasty lifted the ban on trading in Russian goods in Eastern Turkistan with the resumption of the Kyakhta trade. In 1792, when the trade with Kyakhta was resumed,⁽¹³⁷⁾ the trade in Russian goods by Khoqandian merchants in Sinkiang was also resumed.

As the author has shown, Khoqandian merchants sold Chinese products, tea, silken fabrics, ceramics, rhubarb and precious stones to Western Turkistan nations and to Russia and brought Kirghiz horses, cattles, skin and fur, weapons, knives, handicrafts and indigo⁽¹³⁸⁾ to Eastern Turkistan, using the commercial towns of Kashgharia as their bases.

It must be noted that silver was also found flowing out of China to the area west of the Pamirs. Shu-ho-tê 舒赫德 reported in his message to the Ch'ing Emperor in 1760:

An Imperial edict to the Grand Councillor. Shu-ho-tê reported: "Silver taels from China flow out (of Eastern Turkistan) to tributary countries (west of the Pamirs) through alien merchants. Silver taels flow out, but are not brought back at all. I fear silver taels may decrease in the future. It is requested that orders be given to send much more silken cloth (to Eastern Turkistan), and to increase the freight rates of those goods, so that silver taels may be recovered by and by."⁽¹³⁹⁾

In fear of the increasing outflow of Chinese silver in China's trade through Eastern Turkistan with countries west of the Pamirs, he suggested sending extra quantities of silk cloth to these areas to check a further silver drain. Yang Ying-chü 楊應琚 reported on the same matter:

According to Shu-ho-tê's report dated the tenth month of this year (1760), it is said "merchants of Burūts and Tashkent who came to trade at

(136) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1366, 3v-4v, Ch'ien-lung 55·11 wu-yin, edict.

(137) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1403, 33r, Ch'ien-lung 57·jun 4, edict. This article does not touch on Russian trade at Ili, Tarbaghatai and Kāshghar in 1840.

(138) Indigo was reportedly brought from Bukhārā to Yārkand. See A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, p. 435.

(139) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 5, 16v-17v, Ch'ien-lung 25·7 i-hai, edict.

Aqsū, asked to go further to Qomūl for trade, but the authorities made them return home." If alien merchants trade Chinese goods with silver that they have aquired, silver may be gradually come back. This is very profitable for us.⁽¹⁴⁰⁾

He suggested allowing the Kirghiz and Tashkent traders to buy Chinese goods with the silver they obtained, in order to recover what little China lost in the silver outflow. Whether or not this suggestion was put into practice was not known. But it appears that a substantial amount of Chinese silver flowed out of Eastern Turkistan countries west of the Pamirs in payment for cattle and other products from the west at this time. Later, Na-yen-ch'êng reported:

It is now about sixty years since Hui-chiang (Eastern Turkistan) was pacified by the Ch'ing. The Ch'ing dynasty has appropriated hundreds of millions of *liang* for maintaining troops there. Though Ch'ing merchants have been engaged in trade, they seldom bring silver back into the home land (China proper). Alien merchants trading in Kashgharia get Chinese silver in exchange for their fur and other insignificant goods. Hereafter the barter system should be applied to the trade with alien merchants, and the outflow of Chinese *yāmbū* (sycee) from the western border should be checked. Thus, Chinese silver will return to the home land,⁽¹⁴¹⁾

thus indicating that silver (*yāmbū* 元寶) from China, paid out for the control of Sinkiang by the Ch'ing dynasty, was brought to countries west of the Pamirs continuously by Khoqand traders. After the Holy War of Jihāngīr in 1826, Na-yen-ch'êng carried out a series of steps to stop the silver outflow from Eastern Turkistan to the west, but the result was not known. In any event, Chinese silver, thus brought to the Uzbek countries from China through Eastern Turkistan in the 18th and 19th centuries, played an important role in international commerce in Central Asia and provided Khoqand with one of the economic foundations for its development into a Khanate.

It was natural that some of the Khoqandian merchants, while visiting Kashgharian towns frequently for trading, had close association with the native Uyghur people and that some of them settled down there. Natives of Ferghana (Sart and Uzbek) had close racial and religious as well as economic links with the Uyghur people from early days. As Ch'un-yüan 椿園 put it (quoted earlier), the Uyghur people relied much on Khoqand merchants'

(140) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 8, 13v-14r, Ch'ien-lung 25-12 ping-hsü, Yang Ying-chü's report.

(141) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 3r; Tao-kuang 8-8-3, report.

commercial activities in their daily life. When Khoqand merchants left Kashgharia, the Uyghur people suffered a great inconvenience in distribution of commodities. On the other hand, Khoqand merchants also made every possible effort to increase their commercial profits in Kashgharia. For instance, according to "a report on the relationship between Ch'ing frontier guards at Kāshghar and Andijān merchants", "frontier guards whose duty it was to supervise the passage across the border of Andijān merchants are taking bribes from them and in return, by inspecting only a part of their merchandise, allowed evasion of customs duties."⁽¹⁴²⁾ This statement indicates that a growing number of Khoqand merchants bribed Ch'ing frontier guards in an attempt to evade customs duties. In addition to the Ch'ing guards at Kāshghar, the *hākīm beks*, who were the native Uyghur officials named by the Ch'ing dynasty as controllers of the Kashgharian people, also tried to gain illegal profits by giving special consideration in customs duties on Khoqandian merchants. For instance:

The *hākīm beks* at Kāshghar during the Ch'ien-lung era were solicited by Khoqand merchants to extort the Ch'ing *amban* (Governor) at Kāshghar to give special favors to them. Most of the Khoqand merchants visited the *hākīm bek* when they entered Kāshghar, asking for special tariff exemptions. Ch'ing high officials there gave in to the *hākīm bek's* request and spontaneously allowed special tariff exemptions. Thus, the *hākīm* and lower *beks* received bribes from Khoqand merchants.⁽¹⁴³⁾

Sung-yün 松筠 also reported to the Ch'ing Government:

Kashgharian officials are collecting as customs duties one-thirtieth of the hides and skins, cattle and animals brought in by Andijān merchants in accordance with tradition. Khoqand merchants have made it a rule to report their freight at the customs at smaller than the actual volume to minimize the tariffs to be collected. Otherwise, they are forced by frontier guards to present part of their trade goods to them.⁽¹⁴⁴⁾

Na-yen-ch'êng said in a report to the Ch'ing Emperor:

The secret of the prosperous trading activities of Khoqand merchants in many Eastern Turkistan towns is that they bribed the *hākīm beks* to solicit Ch'ing *ambans* in each era to allow them special tax exemption.

(142) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1450, 12r-v, Ch'ien-lung 59·4 chi-ssü, edict.

(143) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 79, 60r-v, Tao-kuang 9·2·5, report.

(144) NIFL, Bk. 45, 18r-v, Tao-kuang 7·jun 5 hsin-hai, edict.

Since successive *ambans* are not well acquainted with the situation, they tend to regard such tariff exemption as a means of taming Khoqandian merchants. But gradually this practice became a matter taken for granted, and all the traders to Kashgharia followed this habit, although the degree of exemption varied. . . . Khoqand merchants grew over-confident in their behavior in the matter. When they went out of Kāshghar, they said, "Kashgharian officials do not charge customs duties on us," instead of saying that they were given special tariff exemption. They often monopolized products of other countries and received a uniform tariff exemption to make enormous profits, and boasted it in other countries.⁽¹⁴⁵⁾

As indicated by these statements, disorderly taxation by corrupt officials in Sinkiang helped Khoqand merchants to expand their influence in Eastern Turkistan towns. The situation is reported as "since the collusion between Khoqandian and Chinese merchants has never been revealed to light, Andijān merchants took full advantage of their bribery tactics to increase their profits in each of the Eastern Turkistan towns."⁽¹⁴⁶⁾ As a result, Khoqandians "freely passed the border and lived in thousands in many towns west of Aqsū."⁽¹⁴⁷⁾ The revolt of Uyghurs in four towns in Eastern Turkistan in 1826 "was attributable to the greedy way of trading of shrewd merchants who brought things at cheap prices and sold at high prices for a tremendous profits, thus threatening the life of the native residents. Since foreign merchants trading tea in Eastern Turkistan towns were never examined by Ch'ing officials, they obtained important information in our dominion."⁽¹⁴⁸⁾ It was also reported, "Andijān merchants who traded Chinese rhubarb, tea and nitrate to earn big profits as relay merchants, settled down in Eastern Turkistan towns, buying real property there. Some of them are quite like native Uyghurs in these areas."⁽¹⁴⁹⁾ Thus, Khoqandian merchants who made an economic inroad deep into Eastern Turkistan through collusion with Ch'ing officials and *hākīm beks* as well as with Chinese merchants in their Sinkiang trading, gradually infiltrated into the region of Kashgharia (mainly in the region west of Aqsū), saving up real property there. In this way, these Khoqandians who took up their temporary abodes even manipulated politics in some Sinkiang towns later. Part of the situation was reported by Na-yen-ch'êng, who investigated situation of Khoqandians in Eastern Turkistan in 1828, immediately after the revolt of Jihāngīr, as follows: "Andijān residents at Ush now total more than 120 families. Except for about 500 families who were expelled beyond the boundary after living alone there for less than 10 years, or who traded rhubarb and tea

(145) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 13r-v, Tao-kuang 9·1·12, edict.

(146) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 1v, Tao-kuang 8·8, report.

(147) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 15r, Tao-kuang 8·12·28, report.

(148) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 44r, Tao-kuang 8·7·19, report.

(149) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 135, 28r, Tao-kuang 8·4 hsin-mao.

illegally, or who are there only temporarily on their trading visits, there are about 70 families who have settled down peacefully for generations. . .”(150) He mentioned the situation in other areas, too, listing separately those who lived in Eastern Turikstan for less than 10 years, more than 10 years, or those who bought up and stored rhubarb and tea in large quantities (regarded by the Ch'ing illegal). On the basis of this research, he established the policy of expelling Khoqandian residents in Eastern Turkistan who had lived there for less than 10 years and those who were charged with the buying up and storage of tea and rhubarb in large quantities. The following tables show the results of Na-yen-ch'êng's investigations.⁽¹⁵¹⁾ (See page 84)

According to these tables, the number of Khoqandian families who lived in Kashgharian towns west of Kuchā for less than 10 years and were found with massive stocks of rhubarb and tea numbered 289 in 1828. They were reportedly storing 12,308 *chin* of rhubarb and 68,960 *chin* of tea. The second survey revealed that there were 2,247 Khoqandian families who lived there for more than a decade, paying the land tax of about 2,170 *tan* 石. The latter were regarded as “the settled Khoqandians who have lived here for a long time as farmers and workers, and who are not alien traders any more.”⁽¹⁵³⁾ After the revolt of Jihāngīr, they were given Uyghur citizenship as naturalized Khoqandians.⁽¹⁵⁴⁾ Khoqandian merchants were also active in Ili, as the Governor-general of Ili, Tê-ying-a 德英阿 reported in 1829:

Khoqandians in Kashgharia are not native inhabitants inside the boundary (of Sinkiang). Whenever they arrive at Ili for trading, they reside temporarily, and exploit soldiers, natives and Muslim farmers. Especially, they trade prohibited goods. In order to make secret private trade they used to stray into Kazakh caravans which go in and out the border. Recently tea and rhubarb which are needed among alien countries often flow out of Ili, and in 1805-07 about million *chin* of tea (fine tea and coarse tea) were secretly traded. This shows how Khoqandian merchants were given to sharp practice, and were rampant in and out of Hsin-chiang.⁽¹⁵⁵⁾

This statement, referring to the ousting of Khoqandians from the Ili district after the Jihāngīr revolt in 1826, indicates that many Khoqandians in Ili were

(150) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 82r, Tao-kuang 8·4·19, report.

(151) Made on the basis of statements in Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 83v-84r, Tao-kuang 8·7·19, report.

(153) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 84v, Tao-kuang, 8·7·19, report.

(154) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 84v-85r, Tao-kuang 8·7·19, report. These Khoqandian settlers were allowed to engage only in farming and the area of land in their possession was limited to 100 *mu*.

(155) NIFL, Bk. 78, 1r-v, Tao-kuang 9·2 i-hai, Tê-ying-a's report.

Khoqandians taking up their abodes in Sinkiang, ca. 1828

Localities	Those who lived in Sinkiang for less than 10 years, and were expelled for illegal storage of tea	Volume of rhubarb in illegal stock	Volume of tea in illegal stock	Those who lived in Sinkiang for more than 10 years and were given Uyghur citizenship	The Bukhārā and Kashmīr people in Sinkiang
Qarāshahr	(household) None				
Kuchā	1	—	—	(household) 24	{Expelled 21 Remained 108
Aqsū	65	(<i>chin</i>) 7,650	(<i>chin</i>) 60,930	365	{Expelled 306 Remained 617
Ush	52	8	1,500	68	
Yārkand	23	1,420	2,740	137	
Khotan	29	3,000	2,840		
Kāshghar	108	230	950	607	
Yangi-Ĥiṣār	11			77	
Total	289	12,308	68,960	1,278	

Note: The volume of illegal rhubarb stock in Ush is dubious. It seems to be 8,000 in stead of 8.

Results of re-investigation of the number of Khoqandians who were naturalized in Sinkiang after living there for more than 10 years.⁽¹⁵²⁾

Localities	Naturalized Khoqandians	Taxation on them	
Kuchā	(household) 25	(tan) 12.5	
Aqsū	473	134.0	
Ush	82 ⁶⁸ _{14*}	(no property)	* Bukhārā people
Yārkand	754**	1,397.7 (for 226 households)	** including Badakhshān people
Khotan	229	75.5 (for 136 households)	
Kāshghar	607	425.0 (for 135 households)	
Yangi-Ĥiṣār	77	125.5 (for 31 households)	
Total	2,247 (household)	2,170.2 tan	

(152) Made on the basis of statements in Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 85v-87r, Tao-kuang 8·11·22, report. These two tables were drawn on the basis of figures in the 1828 investigation, thus showing the Andijān population in Sinkiang between 1760 and 1828.

engaged in active smuggling of rhubarb and tea up to this period. An investigation by Tê-ying-a revealed that "these Khoqandian merchants came over to Ili continuously since 1820. They are not living by farming, but making profits by smuggling tea and rhubarb." It was also reported, "The number of Khoqandians in Ili was 1,446."⁽¹⁵⁶⁾ The number in this report was almost equivalent to all the Khoqandian residents in all Kashgharian towns.

In 1824, Yung-chin 永芹 reported that "Bek Yūnus of Kāshghar privately bought government land and sold it to Andijān residents in violation of regulations,"⁽¹⁵⁷⁾ thus indicating the fact that some of the settled Khoqandians purchased land there. It appears that the regulation in 1828 which limited the land to be possessed by the naturalized Khoqandians to 100 *mu* 畝, was not very strictly observed. As for Khoqandians in Aqsū, it was reported, "Andijān settlers in Aqsū cultivated land and paid 134 *tan* 石 of wheat as land tax every year."⁽¹⁵⁸⁾ Ching-lien 景廉 reported in 1862:

A total of 473 Andijān settlers in Aqsū who had lived there for more than 10 years cultivated more than 3,000 *mu* of land by themselves, according to investigations of 1828. Recently, poor Uyghur farmers at Aqsū have been borrowing money from these Andijān residents by depositing their land as mortgages. On the other hand, some of the Andijān settlers who cultivated waste land are not registering it with Ch'ing officials. This must be strictly controlled. . . . A recent increase in buying and selling land between Uyghurs and Khoqandian settlers is also a dangerous sign of Khoqandian infiltration into the Uyghur people."⁽¹⁵⁹⁾

The account of this report generally coincides with that of the aforementioned table. These Andijān settlers seem to have practised usury, and increased private lands. Such an emigration of Khoqandians to Kashgharia is attributable partly to the difficulties in farming in Ferghana and to exploitation by the Uzbek ruling class in Ferghana. In any event, it indicates that the agricultural side of Khoqandian people whose main trait was seen in their commercial talent.⁽¹⁶⁰⁾

It was also worth mentioning that marriage between Khoqandian settlers and native Uyghurs was prohibited. Back in 1795, the Ch'ing dynasty stipulated the following in an attempt to prohibit such marriages:

(156) NIFL, Bk. 78, 2v-3r, Tao-kuang 9-2 i-hai, Tê-ying-a's report.

(157) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 66, 15v, Tao-kuang 4-3 chia-hsü, edict.

(158) T'ung-ch'í hu-pu tsê-li, Bk. 6, T'ien-fu: under cultivation of lands.

(159) Mu-tsung SL, Bk. 16, 26v-27r, T'ung-ch'ih 1-1 ting-yu, edict.

(160) This question must be studied further, but there are not enough materials at the present moment. The situation of poor farmers in Ferghana are referred to P. P. Ivanov's *Vosstanie Kitaj-Kipčakov*, p. 18.

If a Uyghur woman is married to an Andijān settler, she shall not be allowed to be accompanied to Andijān. However, Uyghur-Andijān mixed families who lasted for generations here will for a time be allowed to be accompanied to Andijān. . . . The marriage of Uyghur women to Andijān settlers shall be strictly prohibited hereafter. Those who violate this rule shall be given heavy punishment.⁽¹⁶¹⁾

The Ch'ing dynasty appeared to have worried about possibility that an intimate relationship should be formed between native Uyghurs and Khoqand settlers. This marriage prohibition was made stricter after the Jihāngir revolt in which part of the Khoqandian settlers in Kashgharia attempted to help Jihāngir Khwāja. "Andijān settlers who have lived in Eastern Turkistan towns for more than 10 years are allowed to stay . . . but prohibited to be married with Uyghurs. Uyghur women found married to Andijān settlers shall be separated from their husbands. An Andijān-Uyghur couple, if found married, shall be punished the Andijāns being expelled beyond the boundary, and the Uyghurs given heavy penalties."⁽¹⁶²⁾ Thus, the marriage between Khoqandian settlers and Uyghur women was first prohibited in the late 18th century and the prohibition was made stricter after the Jihāngir revolt. However, whether or not this regulation had actual effect was very doubtful.

Meanwhile, Sa-ying-a 薩迎阿, Governor-general of Ili, reported in the first half of the 19th century as to the commercial transactions of Khoqandian merchants in the Muslim Castle of Kāshghar:

In the Muslim Castle of Kāshghar, a *chi-ch'ang* 集場 was held four times a month. Officials and Muslim natives visited the Muslim Castle and engaged in trade. *Hu-tai-ta* 呼岱達 of the Khoqand, together with Andijān merchants and Burūts who came here for trading all visited the Muslim Castle. No particular regulation has been established for this trade, nor have the authorities intervened in commercial affairs. Whenever it falls on the day of the *chi-ch'ang*, the castle policemen went to the *chi-ch'ang* to maintain peace.⁽¹⁶³⁾

The *chi-ch'ang* or the "gathering place" in the Muslim Castle of Kāshghar in this statement mean *bāzār*, where *hu-tai-ta* or Khoqandian chief merchant and traders made transactions four times a month. Since there were no special

(161) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 1488, 10r-v, Ch'ien-lung 60-10 kuei-wei, edict.

(162) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 40r-v, Tao-kuang 9-3-5, edict; Hui-chiang tsê-li 回疆則例, Bk. 8, 3v-4r, under hsü-tsuan 續纂.

(163) Chou-pan i-wu shih-mo 籌辦夷務始末, Tao-kuang, Bk. 1, 5v-6v, Tao-kuang 30-3 kuei-ch'ou, Sa-ying-a's report. F. Azadaev's *Tashkent*, p. 32, reported that commercial transactions at *bāzārs* at Tashkent were controlled by *āqsaqāls* in the 19th century.

regulations for this *bāzār*, Ch'ing officials did not interfere with their commercial activities at *bāzār*. The same situation seemed to have been observed since the mid-18th century, too. Indications were that Khoqandian merchants who stayed in Kāshghar for trading had a sort of self-control system under their representatives called *hu-tai-ta*, as a document says, "Khoqandian merchants established the *hu-tai-ta* system to maintain peaceful trading activities in Kāshghar."⁽¹⁶⁴⁾ Ch'ing-hsiang 慶祥 reported:

The *hu-tai-ta* 胡岱達 supervises Khoqandian merchants trading at Kāshghar. An elder among the Khoqandian traders is elected and appointed, under the recognition of the *hākīm bek* at Kāshghar, as *hu-tai-ta* to manage commercial affairs. The *hu-tai-ta* cannot be compared with *bek* officials who are appointed by the Ch'ing authorities.⁽¹⁶⁵⁾

According to this statement, the *hu-tai-ta* was an officer controlling Khoqand merchants and was selected by the *hākīm bek* of Kāshghar. As another document said, "Andijān merchants who cross the border for trading were examined by *beks* in the presence of the *hu-tai-ta*,"⁽¹⁶⁶⁾ the *hu-tai-ta* also controlled with *bek* officials the daily life of Khoqandian merchants. As a document reported, "The *hu-tai-ta* at Kāshghar were selected by the *hākīm bek*, and the Khoqand Bek did not interfere with the selection,"⁽¹⁶⁷⁾ the post was established for the convenience of the *hākīm bek* of the Ch'ing authorities, with no regard to the Khoqand Bek's policy. The origin of the word *hu-tai-ta* was not known, but there are some indications that the word is somehow related to the Persian word, *khudāidād* (meaning "given by the God").⁽¹⁶⁸⁾ The "two Andijān chiefs in charge of control of Khoqandians at Kāshghar,"⁽¹⁶⁹⁾ mentioned in the *Hui-chiang t'ung-chih*, are also believed to mean *khudāidād* (*hu-tai-ta*). The Khoqandian chiefs, mentioned as "Khoqandian chiefs fixed prices with fairness and had amicable relations with merchants of the Ch'ing side by shelving interference of Ch'ing officials,"⁽¹⁷⁰⁾ are also believed to mean the *hu-tai-ta*. Another document also reported that Khoqandian merchants "called their representative *hu-tai-ta*."⁽¹⁷¹⁾ It was certain that *hu-tai-ta* was understood

(164) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 283, 1v, Tao-kuang 16·5 kuei-wei.

(165) NIFL, Bk. 3, 32v-37r, Tao-kuang 1·3 chi-ssü, Ch'ing-hsiang's report.

(166) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 82, 9v, Tao-kuang 5·5 ting-yu, Ch'ing-hsiang's report.

(167) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 366, 18r, Chia-ch'ing 25·1 i-yu.

(168) Names *Xudāidād* and *Xudādād* are mentioned in F. Justi's *Iranisches Namenbuch*, p. 177. Even if the word *hu-tai-ta* originated from the word *khudādād*, it still remains unknown why this word was used to mean chief merchants. It appears that *Khudāidād* 忽歹達 (the Ming-shih, Bk. 332), an influential member of the Dughlāt Family of the Moghulistan Khanate, is identical with *hu-tai-ta*.

(169) *Hui-chiang t'ung-chih*, Bk. 7, 26r, under Kāshghar, outlying tribes.

(170) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 214, 19r-v, Tao-kuang 12·6 ping-shên.

(171) Shou-pien chi-yao 守邊輯要 (by Pi Ch'ang 璧昌), 30r-v.

as a chief merchant or head of a merchants' association by the Ch'ing side. This *hu-tai-ta* system was believed to have been established not long after Khoqand concluded commercial relations with the Ch'ing dynasty. Although there are not many records of the actual business of *hu-tai-ta*, a report on a Khoqandian merchant called Saraichan 薩賴占, who was a *hu-tai-ta* in Kāshghar in the early 19th century, is noteworthy.⁽¹⁷²⁾ This report said:

Saraichan's father-in-law Qurbān-Shik Bī 庫爾班喜克比 and Navāb Bī 那瓦普比 controlled, with the help of Saraichan, the trading activities of Khoqandian merchants by the order of 'Alim Khān's father Nārbāta. Since 'Alim Khān succeeded Nārbāta, 'Alim Khān also entrusted them to control the coinage and financial affairs of the Khoqand Khanate.⁽¹⁷³⁾

On the other hand, Na-yen-ch'êng reported to the Ch'ing Emperor, "Saraichan used to take charge of the financial affairs of the Khoqandian government by the order of 'Alim Khān's father Nārbāta, and also charge of the coinage under 'Alim Khān."⁽¹⁷⁴⁾ Saraichan and his father-in-law were also reported to have controlled the minting of Khoqand's first coin under the reign of 'Alim Khān. Judging from these reports, he must have been either a rich merchant or a man well versed in financial affairs. Na-yen-ch'êng termed Saraichan as "a Muslim trader." Later, he had trouble with both Nārbāta and 'Alim Khān and quitted Khoqand to succeed his father as *hu-tai-ta* at Kāshghar. When 'Alim Khān requested the Ch'ing dynasty to arrest Saraichan and return him to the Khoqand, the Ch'ing authorities replied, "if Saraichan is charged with some offence, he cannot be a candidate for the post of *hu-tai-ta*." Then the Ch'ing dynasty dismissed Saraichan as *hu-tai-ta* at Kāshghar, thus indicating that the Ch'ing dynasty had the right to name and dismiss *hu-tai-ta* at that time. In any event, Saraichan is believed to have occupied the post of *hu-tai-ta* while at Kāshghar. Judging from these records, it appears that the *hu-tai-ta* was entrusted both by the Ch'ing dynasty and Khoqand merchants to take charge of self-government among Khoqand merchants in Kashgharia, especially in the financial phase of the trading activities. Thus, the position of *hu-tai-ta* had little to do with the Khoqand Bek regime at home in the beginning. Gradually, however, the Khoqand Bek regime enhanced its influence over *hu-tai-ta* with the development of the Bek regime itself.

(172) Based on the Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 11v; 16r; 18r; 20v; 22r. Meanwhile, Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 4r-8r, Chia-ch'ing 14.8.1, report, also has a record on Saraichan, which said the trouble started in 1808. The raping of Saraichan's daughter by Pin-ching, the Ch'ing *amban* at Kāshghar, is to be referred to T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapter VII, Section 4.

(173) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 16v-17r. See footnote (172).

(174) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 12r.

The commercial activities of Khoqandian merchants, as the present author has mentioned in this section, can be summarised as the following: they frequently visited Kāshghar and other Eastern Turkistan towns for trading and gradually established their position as influential traders in the area, trading tea, silken fabrics and rhubarb bought from Chinese and Uyghur merchants to the western countries for enormous profits. They carried out a voluntary control of their trade by establishing the *khudāidād* (*hu-tai-ta*) system at Kāshghar. Although some of them settled down in Eastern Turkistan, cultivating land and marrying Uyghur women, they maintained ties with the Khoqand and formed their own community in western Kashgharia. Khoqandian merchants virtually monopolized Kashgharian trading in areas around the Pamirs and played an important role as intermediate trading agents between the east and the west with the Pamirs as their pivot. It can be said their activities are favorably comparable, same as Bukhārā merchants, to Sogdians in the ancient times and to the Islamic merchants in the mediaeval ages in the period prior to the Russian permeation into Central Asia. Because of the historical and geographical situation — with two Empires in the East and the West in the 18th and 19th centuries — their activities had to be limited to Eastern and Western Turkistan and were not as spectacular as those of the Islamic merchants in the mediaeval ages.

III

EASTERN TRADE POLICY OF THE KHOQAND KHANATE

Nārbāta Bek, who maintained peaceful relations with the Ch'ing dynasty, was succeeded by his son 'Ālim after he was captured and killed during his unsuccessful attack on Tashkent in 1798/9. This 'Ālim is recorded as Ai-li-mu pieh-k'o 愛里木伯克 ('Ālim Bek) in the historical documents of the Ch'ing dynasty. His reign ranged from 1798/9 to 1809.⁽¹⁷⁵⁾ The Chinese called him by the title of *bek* 伯克, but 'Ālim himself used the appellation of Khān for the first time, along with *bek* and *emīr*.⁽¹⁷⁶⁾ It was befitting a ruler with the title of Khān to coin money with his name inscribed on it as 'Ālim did, as

(175) Nalivkine wrote in his book that Nārbāta died in 1807 but this does not seem to be correct. W. W. Barthold put 'Ālim's reign between 1798/9 and 1810 and set 1798/9 as the ending years of Nārbāta's days (W. W. Barthold, art. Khoqand, in EI). P. P. Ivanov, *Kazakhi*, p. 124, after examining various materials, concluded that 'Ālim died in March or April of 1809. We follow Ivanov's view here. It may be a coincidence but the record of the Ch'ing dynasty gives the last mention of 'Ālim in the 14th year of Chia-ch'ing, that is, 1809.

(176) W. W. Barthold, *Istoriia kul'turnoj žizni Turkestana*, pp. 113-114: refer to other passages and note (187) as regards the Khoqand Bek's calling himself emīr Walī-Miānī.

mentioned earlier.⁽¹⁷⁷⁾ W. W. BARTHOLD was right to a certain degree when he wrote that 'Ālim was the founding father of the new Khanate and the national goal of the new state was set when 'Ālim Khān was in power.⁽¹⁷⁸⁾ But we must add that 'Ālim Khān was favored by the time in achieving the long cherished goal of his ancestors since the time of Erdeni and Nārbāta Bek.

As previously mentioned, Tashkent in the 1750s was under the control of the Kazakhs of the *Ulugh Yüz* and paid tribute to them. Among the three Khwājas, the native rulers of Tashkent, a feud had developed and the Kazakhs helped Murda Shamush (Mulla Shamush?) through a military intervention.⁽¹⁷⁹⁾ According to a report made in 1762:

A Khoqandian merchant said as follows: At four stations north of Khoqand is located Tashkent, which is divided and governed by both Shê-ti ho-cho 舍氏和卓 and Mo-lo-sha-mu-shih 莫羅沙木什. Shê-ti ho-cho gradually grew in power. Mo-lo-sha-mu-shih, who was invaded by Shê-ti ho-cho asked Erdeni Bek of the Khoqand for his military assistance, and Shê-ti ho-cho returned the occupied region. Then, Shê-ti ho-cho, together with the West Kazakhs and P'i-sê-lê pieh-k'o 丕色勒伯克 of Ho-chi-ya-tê 霍濟雅特, attacked and killed the sons of Mo-lo-sha-mu-shih. At last Erdeni Bek went to war to attack Tashkent, and P'i-sê-lê pieh-k'o also went to assist.⁽¹⁸⁰⁾

According to this statement, Shādī Khwāja (Shê-ti ho-cho) and Mullā Shamush (Mo-lo-sha-mu-shih; equivalent to Murda Samush?) divided Tashkent between them. Later, with the aid of Erdeni Bek of Khoqand, Mullā Shamush attacked Shādī Khwāja who was assisted by Fazil (P'i-sê-lê) of Khojend (Ho-chi-ya-tê) and the *Kish Yüz* (the Western Kazakhs). After Shādī Khwāja killed Mullā Shamush, Erdeni Bek attacked Tashkent, according to the report. Thus the Khoqand Bek regime launched its domination and control of Tashkent. Later the Chinese learned of the conflict between Ablai Khān of the Kazakhs and Khoqand over the possession of Tashkent, as recorded in a document of 1767:

An Imperial edict to Ablai of the Kazakhs. — Your envoy rendered homage at Mulan, Jêho with a letter, . . . Erdeni Bek of the Khoqand, in 1766, killed your brother Iskandar Khān 伊斯干達爾汗 and also his four sons, taking his wife and children as prisoners. You went to war against Erdeni Bek and killed many persons. Erdeni Bek was defeated and ran away to the castle of Pi-shih-k'o-tê 畢什克特. You wanted to attack the castle. As

(177) P. S. Saval'ev, Spisok izvestnykh dosele monet Kokandskogo Khanstva, in *TVOIRAO*, II, str. 121, illustrates currency of 'Ālim Bek in A.H. 1216 (A.D. 1801-2).

(178) W. W. Barthold, *Istoriya kul'turnoj žizni Turkestana*, pp. 113-114.

(179) cf. T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapter V: Section 1.

you had not cannon, you asked the Ch'ing Emperor to send 20,000 soldiers, and also begged to get Ch'ing cannon.⁽¹⁸¹⁾

It shows that Ablai Khān had a son by the name of Iskandar Khān who was killed with his four children by Erdeni of Khoqand. To revenge the defeat of his son, Ablai attacked Erdeni and after a successful campaign, forced the Khoqand ruler to retreat into the fortress of Pisket (Pi-shih-k'o-tê) south of Tashkent. The record further shows that Ablai sent a messenger to the Ch'ing dynasty asking for reinforcements and weapons to seize the castle. Later in 1777 a document says: Ablai sent Otorji 鄂托爾齊 as his proxy to Peking and offered to present some 30,000 population of Tashkent from whom he was collecting tax. It is also recorded that Ablai had previously sent Otorji to Ili in 1775 to present the people of Tashkent to the Ch'ing, but the proposal was rejected. A letter Ablai sent to the Ch'ing dynasty written in *Todo* (or Kal-muck) characters (托特 t'o-tê) said that Ablai "offered to present to the Ch'ing his 30,000 subjects of Tashkent who had been under dominion of the Kazakhs for generations."⁽¹⁸²⁾ The intention of Ablai in offering the castle of Tashkent and its 30,000 people to the Ch'ing dynasty must have been to justify his acquisition of territorial rights over Tashkent by Ch'ing approval. A letter from the Ch'ing dynasty sent to Ablai said: "You had previously battled with the Khoqand Bek Erdeni over the land of Tashkent, sent Daulat-kere 都勒特克噶 to seek our reinforcement, which was rejected by the Governor-General of Ili."⁽¹⁸³⁾ This shows that the siege of the Pisket castle was related to the dispute over Tashkent. Later, in 1778, Ablai Khān "sent Otorji to Tashkent with a stamped letter and tried to persuade the people that the Ch'ing Emperor had allowed Ablai to collect taxes,"⁽¹⁸⁴⁾ but failed. In short, Ablai "tried to exploit the revenue of Tashkent through a forged paper."⁽¹⁸⁵⁾ This incident presented one page in a struggle since the 1760s between the Kazakhs and the Khoqand regime over Tashkent which was an important East-West trade exchange center along the Syr Darya River.

In the end, Tashkent came under the control of Khoqand under 'Ālim Khān in the early 19th century as presented in detail in the study by P. P. IVANOV (*Kazakhi i Kokandskoe Khanstvo*). That Tashkent came under possession of Khoqand was known by the Ch'ing dynasty, too. "The Letter of Khoqand Bek 'Ālim" sent to Kāshghar in 1809, said as follows:

(180) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 16, 19v-20r, Ch'ien-lung 27·4 hsien-wei, I-lê-t'u's report.

(181) Kao-tung SL, Bk. 793, 20v-21r, Ch'ien-lung 32·8 chi-ch'ou. 畢什克特 P'i-shih-k'o-tê is phonetical transcription of Pisket, or also called Psket, which is located midway between Tashkent and Kurama. It corresponds to Pichket in pp. 70-71 in Nazarov. According to Forsyth, p. 97, Pisket is located near Tashkent.

(182) Kao-tung SL, Bk. 1024, 10r-11r, Ch'ien-lung 42·1 ting-ch'ou, edict.

(183) *ibid.*

(184) Kao-tung SL, Bk. 1084, 1v-2r, Ch'ien-lung 44·6 kuei-ch'ou, I-lê-t'u's report.

(185) *ibid.*

Formerly I [= 'Alim Bek] sent my brother Wa-li-na-mi 瓦里那米 to go to war against Tashkent (T'a-shih-kien 塔什謙). Thanks to our efforts and Heavenly Mercy, we could occupy the castle of Tashkent, and caught A-la-shih 阿拉什 people as prisoners. We passed the castle of Tashkent by, and let the troops station at K'u-êrh-man 庫爾滿 district, and caught 30,000 Ch'an-ch'i-hu-li 纏齊胡里 people, and let our troops station at Andijān. We are very joyful, and we express our joy to you.⁽¹⁸⁶⁾

It relates that Wa-li-na-mi, younger brother of 'Alim Khān, attacked and seized Tashkent and captured Kazakhs in this region. Wa-li-na-mi must have been a transcription of Khoqand Khān's title, *emīr Walī-miānī* (meaning King, the central guardian).⁽¹⁸⁷⁾ That is, Wa-li-na-mi, younger brother of 'Alim is none other than 'Omar Bek. A-la-shih, who were made captive of 'Omar Bek as mentioned above, is the phonetic transcription of Alash. Alash is the name of the legendary tribal chief of the ancient Kazakhs, which came to be used by the Kazakhs to call themselves. Here, it means the people of the Kazakhs.⁽¹⁸⁸⁾ Ch'ian-ch'i-hu-li is identical with *Chanckly*, a tribe of the Kazakhs among the *Ulugh Yüz* living near Tashkent.⁽¹⁸⁹⁾ To sum up, this note records that 'Ālim Khān sent 'Omar Bek (later Khān) to conquer Tashkent, which was then under the control of Yūnus Khwāja, and that 'Omar Bek captured many Kazakhs and stationed in Kurama (K'u-êrh-man), a region located between Tashkent and Khojend. It also shows that Khoqand's conquest of Tashkent that took place from February to March of 1809 was also known to the Ch'ing dynasty. Thus 'Ālim Khān put the whole of Ferghana under control, conquered the Yūnus Khwāja regime in Tashkent, which was the strategic point for trade with Russia, and subjugated a part of the Kazakhs of the *Ulugh Yüz*. The influence of the Khoqand Khanate was further strengthened and its territory expanded until the nation's strength reached its peak during the reign of 'Omar Khān (1809–22) who, succeeding 'Ālim Khān, seized the city of Turkistan between 1809 and 1814, and under his successor Muḥammad 'Alī Khān (alias Madalī Khān 邁買底里汗 1822–42). Thus 'Ālim

(186) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 16v, Chia-ch'ing 14.12.20, report.

(187) Nazarov, pp. 42–43. In addition to *emīr*, *bek*, *emīr Walī-Miānī*, the Khoqand ruler used as title *emīr al-muslimīn*, as found on coins. This was first used by 'Omar. Against this, the coins of the Bukhārā Khanate named the ruler as *emīr al-mu'minīn*. cf. P. S. Sava'ev, *op. cit.* pp. 119–127.

(188) On Alash, refer to Baymirza Hayit, *Die nationalen Regierungen von Kokand (Choqand) und der Alasch Orda. Als Manuscript gedruckt*. München, 1950 (München Diss. Phil.-Mscr.), p. 1; E. D. Ross, *Heart of Asia* (London, 1899), p. 325. As to the siege of Tashkent and capturing of Kazakhs, P. P. Ivanov also noted in his *Očerki*, p. 196, which says Tashkent was occupied in 1808–09.

(189) P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki*, p. 199. 纏齊胡里 must be transcription of Čanckly, which is the name of a Kazakh tribe of the *Ulugh Yüz*, living near Tashkent. cf. Valikhanov, *Sočinenija* I, p. 657.

was the ruler who prompted the Khoqand Khanate's expansion and put the nation's eastern policy on an aggressive line.

In 1803, which was the middle of the reign of 'Alim Khān, the edict of the Emperor Jên-tsung (i.e. Chia-ch'ing) says: "Recently, the tribes outside Kāshghar have been quiet. The Burūts and Andijāns who engage in trading there also are very obedient."⁽¹⁹⁰⁾ That this gives an account of a well-controlled situation of the Kāshghar border in the early 19th century is not without reason. That is, 'Ālim at this time was all out to conquer Tashkent with his brother 'Omar and had little time and energy for meddling with the eastern frontier area of Ferghana. It was after the accomplishment of the Khoqand Khanate's seizure of Tashkent, from the last years of 'Ālim's reign to the days of 'Omar that the Khoqand Khanate began its aggressive expansion to the east. It first took the form of the Khoqand Khanate's active political interest and intervention in the Khoqand merchants' trade with Kashgharia. A letter of the Ch'ing Emperor sent to 'Ālim in 1809 says:

When your ['Ālim's] merchants come, we [Ch'ing dynasty] charge taxes. Previously, we either levied tax on all trade goods, or exempted half of them, or exempted all. It has not been charged under any set rule. You have often requested exemption of your merchants from taxation but you have been too importunate. For this time, we grant you tax exemption of all goods because you have been submissive. From next time, we will exempt half of your goods from taxation, regardless of the quantity of goods traded. Goods that you bring to Kāshghar are not necessarily required by us. To come for trade or not is up to you. We will levy taxes on half of the goods you bring for trade. There will be no more need to appeal for tax exemption.⁽¹⁹¹⁾

This is one of the earliest records that show that the ruler of Khoqand had made interventions with the Ch'ing dynasty on the trade with Kāshghar by his merchants. As previously mentioned, the Chinese taxation was not conducted under any firmly established system but varied from time to time, and sometimes merchants evaded taxes. Taxes were levied sometimes on all the goods and at other occasions only on half of the goods as mentioned in the above quotation. Thus Khoqand merchants appealed for the lightest possible taxes to the Ch'ing dynasty through their ruler. We can imagine from this that the rulers of Khoqand, even before 'Ālim Khān, kept watch on Khoqand merchants to certain extent, regulated them and appealed for the Ch'ing dynasty's favorable action on request from the merchants. For instance, a

(190) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 109, 9r, Chia-ch'ing 8-jun 閏 2 chia-shên, edict.

(191) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 14v-15r, Chia-ch'ing 14-12-20, an Imperial edict to 'Alim Bek of Khoqand.

document says:

All the Andijāns engage in trade and seek profit. They are not capable of anything serious. As the Khoqand Bek [referring to 'Omar] has been offering tribute since the time of his grandfather (Erdeni), the Andijān traders came to Kāshghar to ask the Khoqand Bek to act on their behalf in appealing for exemption from tax. The Khoqand Bek accepted, on condition that he gets a certain share of profits from the trade, and has appealed to the Ch'ing dynasty. But the Andijāns are not always his subjects.⁽¹⁹²⁾

On the basis of this account, we can perceive that from the days of Erdeni and Nārbāta, the Khoqand Bek requested the Ch'ing authorities for tax exemption for their merchants and obtained a share of profits when negotiation was successful. From the early days, the Khoqand Bek tried to unify the domestic market and made use of merchants' capital, which can be regarded as a national resource, and even obtained profit through intermediary exploitation by placing the merchants under their control. According to a report submitted by Sung-yün: "When Andijān merchants go across the border, they report their goods to the officials as much fewer than they actually carried, so that they will be subject to smaller taxes. Sometimes officials and soldiers at the border gates take bribes and report amounts of goods smaller than they are. If merchants do not bribe them, the soldiers would ask for it. At Kāshghar, the Khoqand Bek would often state that among Andijān merchants' goods there are goods of his own, and request tax exemption. . . . This forced bribing at the border would alienate Andijān merchants and profit the Khoqand Bek. Therefore, the Ch'ing authorities had better declare general exemption from tax."⁽¹⁹³⁾ That is, this report tells us that Khoqand merchants habitually evaded taxes, that the Ch'ing officials and soldiers guarding the border either forced or accepted bribery to help the merchants evade taxes, that the Khoqand merchants tried to win tax exemption through the Khoqand Bek to make up the loss, and that the Khoqand Bek himself attempted tax evasion. In fact, the Khoqand Bek intervened in the merchants' trade with Kāshghar and cut their profit, and thus the state power of Khoqand was spreading gradually over the merchants who were engaged in the eastern trade.

'Alim Khān was a capable but a merciless ruler who is reported to have levied heavy taxes on his subjects to make possible military expansion. Because of his tyrannical character, he was dubbed *zalim* (from 'Ālim) meaning tyrant.⁽¹⁹⁴⁾ Thus it is only natural that 'Ālim tried to control his nation's

(192) Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh, Bk. 3, 21r., Regulations: under the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing.

(193) NIFL, Bk. 18r-19v; Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 118, 19r, Tao-kuang 7-jun 5 hsin-hai, edict.

(194) W. W. Barthold, *Istoriia kul'turnoj zizni Turkestana*, p. 115.

eastern trade, which was regarded as an important source of revenue for his country. According to a report by Na-yen-ch'êng:

After the death of Nārbāta, 'Ālim behaved ruthlessly and arrogantly and seized whatever savings and fortunes his merchants accumulated. Because of such a character and behavior, he lost popular support. During the last winter (1808), 'Ālim tried to arrest Saraichan, the *hu-tai-ta* stationed at Kāshghar but failed because he was advised against it by the Ch'ing authorities in a letter. 'Ālim did not attempt to capture him again.⁽¹⁹⁵⁾

This report shows that 'Ālim Khān mercilessly exploited his merchants through heavy tax, and tried and failed to arrest a big trader by the name of Saraichan who resided at Kāshghar as *khudāidād*, as mentioned earlier. There is little doubt that 'Ālim Khān strengthened his power and accumulated funds for military campaigns through the exploitation of merchants.

Na-yen-ch'êng made another report which threw light on the motive of 'Ālim Khān's action in sending a mission to the Ch'ing dynasty asking for a permission to pay tribute in 1809:

At this time, after failing to arrest Saraichan last year (1808), because of a remonstrance, he has not attempted to repeat it. In addition, he has come to lose the support of the people because of his ruthless conduct. This caused him to seek the Ch'ing dynasty's permission to pay him tribute. He sought a double effect by repenting before the Ch'ing Emperor of his previous conduct and restoring his prestige with the help of the Ch'ing dynasty, so that he might bring his men under his control again.⁽¹⁹⁶⁾

This shows that 'Ālim Khān was still trying at this time to pay tribute to the Ch'ing dynasty, which was interpreted by the Chinese as likely to be utilized for 'Ālim's domestic policy. It was very probable that 'Ālim did intend so. In requesting the Ch'ing dynasty's permission, 'Ālim presented an official letter. Of this letter, the Ch'ing Government said: "Previously, the Khoqand Bek was very obedient, sending its envoys and trading with us. This time, 'Ālim's letter showed a sudden change in attitude. . . ."⁽¹⁹⁷⁾ "His words lacked in allegiance and did not observe a subject's lot."⁽¹⁹⁸⁾ However, a close examination of the situation shows that 'Ālim did not particularly assume an

(195) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 4v-5r, Chia-ch'ing 14·8·1, report. Na-yen-ch'êng reported in his *op. cit.*, Bk. 19, 14r, Chia-ch'ing 14·12·20, as "'Ālim asked to check the goods of Saraichan."

(196) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 5v, Chia-ch'ing 14·8·1, report.

(197) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 19, 4r-v, Chia-ch'ing 14·8·1, report.

(198) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 216, 2r-3v, Chia-ch'ing 14·7 chia-hsü, edict.

arrogant attitude. Such a reaction of the Chinese was caused by an inadequate choice of words in the original and a mistranslation. 'Alim, in short, did not take any hostile position against the Ch'ing.⁽¹⁹⁹⁾

After 'Alim Khān's brother 'Omar Khān (1809–22) acceded to the throne, the Khoqand Khanate's eastern policy and the policy toward the Ch'ing dynasty began to show changes. In 1813, *hākīm bek* Yūnus of Kāshghar "secretly sent a messenger to 'Omar, the Khoqand Bek, to pay him respect, and induced him to seek the Ch'ing dynasty's permission to set up a new office of *qādī bek* at Kāshghar to impose tax (in silver) on Andijān merchants."⁽²⁰⁰⁾ According to another source which also dealt with the incident, "Khoqand Bek 'Omar sent a proxy to the Ch'ing dynasty, informing them of his setting up *qādī bek* at Kāshghar to take care of Andijān merchants, and saying that supervision of *hākīm bek* (on the Chinese side) might not be necessary."⁽²⁰¹⁾ This was explained as resulting from Yūnus' forming an alliance with 'Omar. That is, "'Omar, moved by Yūnus' show of respect and courtesy, plotted to set up *qādī bek* at Kāshghar. Yūnus is responsible for it."⁽²⁰²⁾ Yūnus was thus accused of tempting 'Omar to make the request. However, judging from the internal situation of the Khoqand Khanate, 'Omar Khān would have made a similar request sooner or later without it being suggested by Yūnus. What 'Omar asked was to put the control of the Khoqand merchants at Kāshghar under him by replacing the *khudāidād*, who were granted as a sort of autonomy by the Ch'ing dynasty, by *qādī bek* — "*qādī*" is an Islamic judge — and letting the *qādī bek* collect taxes from the merchants at Kāshghar. The Ch'ing authorities had granted the system of *khudāidād* because such a setup of letting a Khoqand representative take care of the complicated business of trade was convenient for them. The post of *khudāidād* had nothing to do with the Khoqand Khān. However, now that 'Omar Khān tried to collect taxes from his own people, it was tantamount to demanding the establishment of extraterritoriality. May be it was a result of 'Omar's overestimation of the position of Yūnus which led him to believe that his request would be granted. However, the Ch'ing dynasty flatly rejected 'Omar's request in the following words: "Your tribe of Khoqand is nothing but a small barbarian state outside our border. That the Celestial Dynasty has granted you to come for trade was already an extraordinarily generous reward for you, and you had the effrontery to ask such an impertinent request. Do you really think that there will be none among our country who engage in trade in your dominion? There has been no precedent of allowing such a thing as to establish our office for supervising taxation in your dominion. Our Emperor will not allow anyone cross his

(199) These are based on various materials already mentioned, but their details are not mentioned here as they are considered less important.

(200) Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh, Bk. 3, 21v, Regulations: under the 18th year of Chia-ch'ing.

(201) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 284, 2r-v, Chia-ch'ing 19·2 kuei-ssü, Sung-yün's report, and edict.

(202) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 284, 14v-15v, Chia-ch'ing 19·2 wu-hsü.

boundary.”⁽²⁰³⁾ Thus ‘Omar’s ambition was crushed.⁽²⁰⁴⁾ The incident showed ‘Omar’s strong desire to expand to the east, and to attempt to control the eastern trade by state power. Later, in 1817, “The Khoqand Bek ‘Omar dispatched an envoy (to the Ch’ing dynasty) to pay tribute, but his letter was found too arrogant,” but was ultimately accepted, it appeared.⁽²⁰⁵⁾ For the Ch’ing dynasty, “Your (Khoqand’s) goods were not urgently needed here (Kāshghar)”⁽²⁰⁶⁾ and Khoqand traders were treated as “not invited to come, but not turned down if they chose to come,” as previously mentioned. The two countries did not make trouble over the trade because the Ch’ing dynasty allowed Khoqand merchants’ trading under its tributary control policy, while on the part of Khoqand, the trade was absolutely necessary. That is why ‘Omar Khān did not neglect to pay tribute to the Ch’ing dynasty on the one hand while taking an aggressive attitude on the other.

However, in 1820, ‘Omar Khān again presented the request to the Ch’ing dynasty he had made unsuccessfully seven years earlier. This request, made in a special letter asking for the establishment of an *āqsaqāl* for controlling trade business of Khoqandians, was flatly turned down by Pin-ching 斌靜, *amban* at Kāshghar. The situation surrounding this incident is related in an edict as follows:

The *khudāidād* of Kāshghar had been selected by the *hākim bek* and therefore the Khoqand Bek has nothing to do with it. After ‘Omar came to power, he first asked to establish the office of *qāḍī bek*, which was firmly turned down by Sung-yün and his colleagues. Then ‘Ālim changed the name of office, secretly made Botachan an *āqsaqāl* and now tried to control taxation by replacing Botachan by Toqto Khwāja. This is nothing but an attempt to profiteer and to demand excessively. Such an attempt must be firmly rejected. Pin-ching’s office has already sent Botachan and Toqto Khwāja back to Khoqand. The officials at the borders must be on the alert so that these persons can never again set foot in our territory.⁽²⁰⁷⁾

That is, ‘Omar Khān’s request was same as before when he tried to set up *qāḍī bek* to collect taxes from Khoqandian merchants. The only difference was the title of the official, which was changed from *qāḍī bek* to *āqsaqāl*. The above

(203) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 284, 32r-v, Chia-ch’ing 19·2 ping-wu, edict.

(204) D. C. Boulger, *The life of Yacoob Beg*, (London, 1878) p. 64 says “Establishment of aksakal was recognized about this time”, but it appears to have no reliable basis and no Ch’ing dynasty document backs it up.

(205) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 336, 2r-v, Chia-ch’ing 22·11 kuei-mao, edict.

(206) See materials quoted in footnote (172).

(207) Jên-tsung SL, Bk. 366, 18r-v, Chia-ch’ing 25·1 i-yu, edict.

record shows that 'Omar Khān, in spite of the earlier refusal by the Ch'ing dynasty, secretly appointed a man by the name of Botachan as *āqsaqāl*, then replaced him by Toqto Khwāja and tried to win official sanction of the Ch'ing dynasty of the appointment. We must not confuse the *khudāidād* and *āqsaqāl* here because the two are quite different in their authority, capacity and nature. The *khudāidād* was appointed by the Ch'ing dynasty to represent Khoqandian merchants, while the *qādī bek* or *āqsaqāl* was under the direct control of the Khoqand Khān as a tax collector or consul.⁽²⁰⁸⁾ And it was not until 1833, as we are to show separately, that the *āqsaqāl* was recognized more or less officially by the Ch'ing dynasty (Cf. T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chap. VIII). Until then, as far as the Chinese materials were concerned, *āqsaqāl* did not get official approval of the Ch'ing dynasty. The word *āqsaqāl* means "white beard", which in turn means an elder in Central Asia. In the latter half of the 19th century in Eastern Turkistan, it was used to mean "tax collector," "the head of Indian or Russian merchants," or "consul".⁽²⁰⁹⁾ At least between the 1760s and 1820s, there was no *āqsaqāl* as an official representative of the Khoqand Khān in Kashgharia. However, it can be admitted that the *khudāidād* was gradually undergoing a change in character to become an *āqsaqāl*.

Thus, 'Omar Khān's attempt to gain the right to collect taxes directly from Khoqandian merchants in Kashgharia and to station *āqsaqāl* as his delegate did not materialize because of the Ch'ing dynasty's refusal. But there were little doubts that 'Omar Khān highly appraised the profit from the eastern trade and tried by some means to bring it under his control. His continued ambition is illustrated by records that in the year after 'Omar's request to station *āqsaqāl* was rejected, that is, in 1821, he again sent an envoy to the Ch'ing dynasty asking to be granted a visit to the Chinese capital to pay respect to the Emperor. However, [since it was not the year for *bek* officials of Kashgharia to pay visit to the capital,] this request was turned down.⁽²¹⁰⁾ And then again in 1825, the fourth year of the reign of Muḥammad 'Alī Khān, the record says that "an envoy of Khoqand made three visits to Kāshghar since the seventh month of last year (1824) until the second month of this year to our annoyance. And then again this time Khoqand sent a letter requesting

(208) Descriptions by Prof. A. Haneda say that "the Ch'ing dynasty allowed stationing of the so-called *āqsaqāl* (roughly chief merchant or consul) and let him control them (Khoqand merchants in Eastern Turkistan)" (His paper, The Ch'ing dynasty's policy for the government of Eastern Turkistan, 1944, p. 195), and "they (Khoqand merchants) were under the control of the merchant-head (*āqsaqāl*) who was appointed by the Khoqand Khān" (His paper, A History of Turkistan, 1943, p. 284), appear to be inaccurate. As regards Khoqand's *āqsaqāl* in Tashkent, refer to footnote (163) and corresponding text. Note that Tashkent was under direct control of Khoqand.

(209) A. v. Le Coq, Sprichwörter und Lieder aus der Gegend von Turfan (*Baessler-Archiv*, Beiheft I, 1911), p. 81.

(210) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 22, 19v-20r, Tao-kuang 1-8 i-wei, edict. This gives more detailed account than that of NIFL, Bk. 4, 4r-6r.

exemption from all taxes.”⁽²¹¹⁾ These records show that the Khoqand Khān, while assuming a submissive posture by continued presentation of tribute, made continuous efforts to demand tax exemption. That exemption of taxes whose rate was not high was an important question indicates that the amount of trade conducted by Khoqand merchants was huge, and that when taxes were exempted, the Khoqand ruler would be in a position to make a cut of the profits of Khoqand merchants.

To summarize, the rulers of the Khoqand Khanate (*Bek*, later Khān) showed interest over the eastern trade from the early days of the dynasty. At first, they had no time or energy to spare for controlling the trade, because they were absorbed in the unification of his nation. And yet, they attempted to derive profit from their merchants by getting tax exemption from the Ch'ing dynasty and tried directly to exploit the merchants, exerting their political influence. Finally they attempted to station their own tax collectors, *āqsaqal*, in place of the *khudāidād*, which failed in the face of a refusal by the Ch'ing dynasty. These attempts indicate their awareness of the interest they might gain by controlling Khoqand's eastern trade. However, the Khoqand Khān, while trying not to offend the Ch'ing dynasty and to avoid being handed a complete rupture of trade relations by pressing excessive demands, continued presenting tribute and being awarded for watching the Kāshghar Khwāja, and waited for a chance to move eastward. After the establishment of *āqsaqāl* became impossible, he tried to put east-west trade beyond the boundaries of Sinkiang under his control by using military force to prevent countries around the Pamirs from trading with Kāshghar.⁽²¹²⁾

Originally, the area of Ferghana centered on the town of Khoqand had nothing but agriculture to sustain the population and the people had to trade with foreign countries to live, as recorded in a Chinese document which says: “The Andijāns of Khoqand make their living by trade and have no other means of livelihood.”⁽²¹³⁾ Another record by Wei Yüan 魏源 says: “Khoqand is a meagre country which produces very little, and the country is run on taxes on goods brought in there for trade by merchants from other countries.”⁽²¹⁴⁾ The Ch'ing authorities thus paid attention to Khoqand's commercial and intermediary trading activities. According to the view of Sung-yün:

When Khoqand is to be compared with countries outside [Sinkiang], it

(211) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 82, 27v-28r; NIFL, Bk. 6, 4r-v, Tao-kuang 5-5 kwei-ch'ou, Yung-chin's report.

(212) For relations with the descendants of the House Khwāja of Kāshghar, refer to T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapters VII and VIII.

(213) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 36r, Tao-kuang 9-2-20, report.

(214) Shêng-wu-chi 聖武記, Bk. 4, Descriptions on Hui-chiang Affairs during the reign of Tao-kuang.

letter that the Yärkand people visited his area every year for trade.”⁽²¹⁸⁾ Also, a note submitted by Pan-ti 班第, Deputy-Lieutenant-General of Tibet in 1751 says “a letter of the Ladakh Khān says that the Jungar people have recently been visiting Ladakh from Yärkand for trade. . . . Jungars visit the area of Ari (mNa’-ris) which is hard to reach because of mountains in between where food and water are difficult to obtain. Merchants who visit Ladakh are regulated in number.”⁽²¹⁹⁾ This indicates that Yärkand and Ladakh had trade relations in the first half of the 18th century when the Jungar Kingdom was in power, and Jungars also utilized the trade. The Ch’ing dynasty established relations with the Ladakh Khān partly because it was suspicious of the Ladakh-Jungar relations and partly because it wanted to prevent the Khwāja Brothers fleeing into Ladakh.⁽²²⁰⁾ Now, a report submitted by Shu-ho-tê, then *amban* at Kāshghar in 1759 immediately after conquering of Kāshghar, says: “Badakh-shān, Tashkent and Yärkand merchants who went to Tibet for trade returned here with goods. We handed them over to officials in charge and they collected tax according to precedent.”⁽²²¹⁾ This shows that the Uyghur, Badakh-shān and Tashkent merchants were engaged in trade with Tibet and made Yärkand their operating base. Then in the same year he reported that “Dash rgya-mts’o and nine others who said they came as representatives of Tibet from Sanjū dispatched by the Ladakh Khān and brought a message which read, . . . ‘I am the chief of 5,000 households of Right regions (右界) who learned of the Ch’ing conquest of Eastern Turkistan by a great force and came to felicitate their success and seek for trade.’”⁽²²²⁾ Hai-ming 海明, Civil Lieutenant-Governor of Yärkand, says that in the fifth month of 1760, merchants of Balti 巴勒提 arrived from the boundary of Yol-ariq. These merchants said of themselves:

We came here for trade under the direction of our heads Muḥammad Sipar (Mo-mo ssü-pa-êrh 默默斯帕爾) and Wu-su-wan 烏蘇完. Our country is divided by a river and about 8,000 people each live on either side of the river. Our country borders Kashmīr at the west and to the west of Kashmīr is Hindūstān. To the south is Khabulun 哈普倫, and east is Tibet, while Bolōr 博羅爾 is to the north. The two tribes on the opposite sides of the river are married and although at one time they fought with each other, there are now in friendly relations. We have been conducting trade with Yärkand. Now we have learned that your Emperor has subdued

(218) CKFL/chien-pien, Bk. 48, 38r-v, Ch’ien-lung 10-12 jên-tzū, Fu-ch’ing’s report.

(219) CKFL/chien-pien, Bk. 53, 6r-v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 383, 9r-10r, Ch’ien-lung 16-12 i-hai, edict, in which Ari is transcribed as A-li 阿里 or A-li-k’o 阿里克.

(220) This is learned from Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 572, 17v-18r, Ch’ien-lung 23-10 jên-wu, edict; CKFL, Bk. 71, 35r-36r, Ch’ien-lung 24-4 jên-wu, and so forth.

(221) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 603, 14r, Ch’ien-lung 24-12 ting-yu, Shu-ho-tê’s report.

(222) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 605, 10r-v, Ch’ien-lung 25-1 hsin-wei, Shu-ho-tê’s report.

Eastern Turkistan with a great army, we will gladly submit to your control.⁽²²³⁾

Presenting the situation of Baltistān and surrounding countries at the time, this note makes it clear that the Balti people had relations with Yārkand before the Ch'ing dynasty brought Eastern Turkistan under its control. An edict of the Ch'ing Emperor said that since there will be more merchants from Eastern Turkistan who seek to trade with Yārkand after the conquest of the area, requests for such trade should be allowed, as in the case in which the Balti sought it.⁽²²⁴⁾ Trading with Yārkand generally indicated trading with countries in the southeast of the Pamirs. The Ch'ing dynasty accepted tribute from these countries and allowed them trade under its tributary control policy. As to the origin of the name Sanajū 薩納珠, the *Hsi-yü t'ung-wên-chih* 西域同文志, Bk. 3, says that Uyghur officials formerly used to set up tax offices there and collected tariffs, and numbered merchants. Sanajū is also pronounced Sanjū 三珠. Another description in the same book, Bk. 4, also says that Sanajū (or Sanjū) came from a Uyghur word the meaning of which is "counting number", and that the place was at a strategic communication point for merchants leading to Tibet, and native officials counted merchants and their goods in collecting taxes there. Although these etymological explanations cannot be fully trusted, the name Sanjū is also mentioned in the *Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh*, Bk. 3, in the description about Yārkand, which says that Sangjū 桑珠 is located about 400 *li* outside the castle. The place must have been well known as a relaying point for merchants from regions south of the Qaraqoram Range to Yārkand and Khotan since before the Ch'ing dynasty placed the area under its control.

In addition to the countries of Ladakh and Balti, the tribe of Kanjūt 謙珠特 also paid tribute to the Ch'ing dynasty as the record states: "Khosrō 黑斯婁, the Kanjūt Bek, sent his son to present tribute (to the Ch'ing dynasty). Also Bek Na-ko-êrh 訥格爾 and Chi-lê-ti 吉勒梯 expressed their desire to present tribute."⁽²²⁵⁾ "Wu-su-kuan 烏蘇完 of the Balti traded with Yārkand after obtaining permission by sending his proxy,⁽²²⁶⁾ and in 1762, "Sultān Shāh 蘇勒坦沙 of the Badakhshān sent *bederge* (merchants?) and others to Yārkand and profited mutually through trade. They hope to bring many horses and sheep for trade next year"⁽²²⁷⁾ according to a report by Hsin-chu 新柱. Sultān

(223) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 4, 8r-v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 615, 16v-17r, Ch'ien-lung 25-6 hsien-ch'ou, Hai-ming's report.

(224) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 615, 17r, Ch'ien-lung 25-6 jên-yin, edict.

(225) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 641, 5r-v, Ch'ien-lung 26-7 ping-ch'ên, edict; Hsin-chu's report.

(226) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 641, 25r-v, Ch'ien-lung 26-7 ping-yin, Hsin-chu's report.

(227) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 653, 13r-v, Ch'ien-lung 27-1 chi-wei, edict. About Badakhshān's presenting the corpses of the Khwāja Brothers to the Ch'ing dynasty, see T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapter II.

Shāh who presented the corpses of the Khwāja Brothers to the Ch'ing dynasty thus also traded with Yārkand. Then "on the sixth day of the eighth month, 1762, Murād Bek of the Badakhshān came for trade and said that as Aḥmad Shāh of the Afghāns has presented horses through his delegates, his chief Sultān Shān also wanted to visit Peking to present tribute."⁽²²⁸⁾ For the first time, the Afghān Khān Aḥmad sent his proxy with his sealed letter to present tribute.⁽²²⁹⁾ In all these cases, delegates to the Ch'ing dynasty arrived in Yārkand first. Thus Tibet, Ladakh, Balti, Kanjūt, Bolōr, Badakhshān and Afghān countries which had trade relations chiefly with Yārkand since before the Ch'ing dynasty placed them under control, sent envoys to the Ch'ing dynasty with tribute to seek the Chinese ruler's permission to continue Yārkand trade, and their requests were granted. That these so-called south-of-Pamir countries (in the area southeast of the Bukhārā Khanate as far as North-West India) traded almost exclusively with Yārkand for geographical and political reasons, struck a contrast with the Khoqand Khanate which mainly traded with Kāshghar, and the nomadic Khazakhs who solely traded with Ili and Tarbagatai. That is, we must give due recognition to the position Yārkand shared in the international trade in the southwest area of Central Asia.

The British traveler A. BURNES spoke of Yārkand's characteristics as a commercial town in the 1830s in the following words:

The productions of China are transmitted to this province [Yārkand], and sold to the natives of Bukhara and Tibet, . . . No Chinese crosses the frontier; and the trade into Bokhara is carried on by Mahomedans, who visit Yarkund for that purpose. . . . Eela [Ili] is said to have a population of 75,000 souls. Yarkund ranks next in importance, and has 50,000; while Cashgar is smaller than both. . . . Besides the native Chinese, who frequent Yarkund, I am informed that Christian merchants, probably Armenians, also visit it from the eastward. . . . The intercourse from Tibet and Bokhara is carried on by regulations that are truly energetic. The natives of these countries are not permitted to proceed beyond Yarkund and the neighboring towns, . . .⁽²³⁰⁾

A. BURNES presents in his book various facts about Yārkand from the time the Ch'ing dynasty brought it under control until the 1830s on the basis of his observations. On the other hand, a Ch'ing dynasty record describes Yārkand as follows:

(228) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 670, 23v, Ch'ien-lung 27·9 hsin-wei, Hsin-chu's report.

(229) Kao-tung SL, Bk. 672, 20r-21r, Ch'ien-lung 27·10 kuei-mao, edict.

(230) A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, pp. 227-233.

Yärkand is a big town in Hui-chiang 回疆 (Kashgharia) including twenty-seven castles and villages. Beks of Andijän, Burüts, Ao-han 敖漢 (Khoqand?), Marghilän, Badakhshän and Bolör, whenever any trouble develops, send their envoys to seek Yärkand officials' mediation. Merchants from Tibet and Andijän come in great numbers for trade, travelers are numerous and the town is very crowded with people now.⁽²³¹⁾

This account pretty well pictures Yärkand as a commercial town. As mentioned earlier, Ch'un-yüan said in his *Hsi-yü wên-chien-lu* that Chinese, Khoqand and Tibetan merchants gathered in Yärkand for trade. Thus, it is clear that Yärkand was a great commercial center in Eastern Turkistan for the south-western border trade and was visited by merchants of Ferghana and countries south of the Pamirs. According to a report submitted by Erching 額爾景額 in 1764, "As merchants in Yärkand have been scattered (because of the war), all their tax to be paid to officials has not been calculated. At present, there are 220 merchants who returned to Yärkand engage again in their trade in Yärkand."⁽²³²⁾ That is, there were many Uyghur merchants in Yärkand before the Ch'ing dynasty's rule was extended there but they were scattered during the war. About five years later, in 1764, those who had returned to Yärkand to resume trading numbered 220, indicating that merchants in this district had been more numerous before the war.

For going to Yärkand for trade, merchants in the area southwest of Sinkiang had to pass through Tāsh-Qūrhān, strategic place in the Sariqöl (Sê-lê-k'u-lê 色勒庫勒) district southwest of Yärkand and the southern gateway to Yärkand. This could be compared to K'o-pan-t'ö (渴盤陀 the present Sariqöl district) in the Han, Northern and Southern dynasties and Sui-T'ang ages. According to the *Hsi-yü shui-tao-chi*, Bk. I, "Sariqöl is a place situated about 800 *li* west of Yärkand where all visitors from outside meet." It also says as follows: "there were three ways to go out from Yärkand, to the south, west and north. Situated on the south of Yärkand were Balti, Khabulun, Tibet, Kashmīr and Hindūstān 痕都斯坦. On the west were Hêi-chi-t'u-chi 黑濟圖濟 (?), Kanjūt, Bolör, Badakhshän, Tamughän, Ziyab, Qunduz, and Tālikän, and the inhabitants in the area stretching from Hêi-chi-t'u-chi to Tālikän were all Galcha (mountain Tajik) people. At the west of Bolör was Afghän, also called Kābul. On the north were Gūn, Wakhän, Chitrāl, Roshan, Shugnän — the head of this tribe was called Sha-kuan-chi? 沙關機 — and the inhabitants were also Galcha. North of Darvāz was Ferghana, including Khoqand." These geographical descriptions are not entirely accurate, especially concerning western and northern directions, but most of the important tribes in 18th and 19th

(231) Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 632, 6v-7r, Ch'ien-lung 26-2 kuei-mao, Hsin-chu's report.

(232) CKFL/hsü-pien, Bk. 25, 22v-23r; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 712, 5v-6r, Ch'ien-lung 29-6 i-yu, edict. These reported a cut in tax.

centuries around the Pamirs can be said to be included comprehensively.⁽²³³⁾ From these countries, visitors to Yärkand had to pass through Tāsh-Qūrghān in the Sariqōl district. It is not clear how much trade was done through this route via Tāsh-Qūrghān and how much contribution the trade made to economic circulation in this area. However, it must be noted that this route, along with the Ferghana-Kāshgharian route which was monopolistically used by the Khoqand Khanate which had in its background Kazakhstan and eastern Russia, played an important role in international trading in Central Asia before the West European powers entered the picture. It is not without reason that the British authorities in India tried to open up commercial routes from North-West India to Bukhārā and the Pamirs since beginning of the early 19th century.⁽²³⁴⁾ According to historical documents of the Ch'ing dynasty, Khoqand as well as Pamir countries traded with Yärkand. Therefore, Khoqand merchants might have had trade relations with northwestern India, but so far as W. H. WATHEN's remarks are concerned, the Ch'ing dynasty banned Khoqand's direct trading with India. W. H. WATHEN said: "No direct intercourse exists betwixt Kokan and India, owing to the jealousy by the Chinese government. The passage through Tibet to Cashmere, &c. is interdicted. Shawls and other Indian articles are brought by the circuitous route of Kābul, Balkh, and Bokhāra."⁽²³⁵⁾ As mentioned earlier, Khoqand merchants had been authorized by the Ch'ing dynasty to visit western towns of Kashgharia for trade. But they were allowed only to deal with merchants from south of the Pamirs in Yärkand, and were denied permission to visit these countries of North-West India. As W. H. WATHEN said that products of North-West India and south of the Pamirs were brought to Russia through the Kābul-Balkh, then Bukhārā-Tashkent route, the profit from this trade was enjoyed chiefly by Bukhārā merchants. The Bukhārā Khanate, unlike the Khoqand Khanate, played the role of a relay in India-Russia trade which did not go through Kāshghar and shared an important position in the history of Central Asia in the 18th and 19th centuries.⁽²³⁶⁾ It was only natural that the

(233) Hsin-chiang shih-lüeh, Bk. 12, 1r-v, gives the names of tribes beyond the border, which are about the same as those given in the Hsi-yü shui-tao-chi. Also the Hsün-hsien-lu 訊鮮錄 gives a detailed account of tribes around the Pamirs. But they appear to be a secondary reproduction, edited from other materials. As for the Sariqōl issue, refer to T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapter VIII: Section 2. There are many studies on the local history of Qarategin, Darvāz, Shugnān and Eastern Bukhārā area by the Soviet scholars. cf. B. I. Iskandarov, *Vostochnaja Bukhara i Pamir v periode prisoedinenija Srednej Azii k Rossii*, Stalinabad 1960, pp. 4-5.

(234) Refer to Ch. Suzuki, William Moorcroft, explorer of Tiebt, and the Innerasian trade, in *Shigaku Zasshi*, vol. 66-9, 1957, p. 55-70, and Ch. Suzuki, *China, Tibet and India: Their early international relations* (in Japanese), Tokyo 1962, Chapter VI, pp. 195-217.

(235) W. H. Wathen, p. 376.

(236) Detailed materials on Russia-Bukhārā and Bukhārā-British India trade in 1830s are found in P. P. Ivanov, *Vosstanie Kitaj-Kipčakov*, pp. 13-14 and A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II. Refer also to F. Azadaev, *Tashkent*, p. 14.

Khoqand Khān who was fully aware of the profit to be gained by transit trade, tried to put the Pamir trade route under his control, using his fully grown state power. However, since to achieve that purpose would mean a frontal clash with the Ch'ing dynasty both diplomatically and militarily, the Khoqand Khān, as the development showed, started with oppressing foreign merchants passing through his own territory and exploiting them.

A Chinese record says that "Khoqand always gained big profits from trade, and, counting on the commercial relation with the Ch'ing dynasty, terrorized neighboring areas."⁽²³⁷⁾ This indicates that Khoqand began resorting to arms to hinder neighboring countries' trade with Kāshghar. As another Chinese record says that "tribes which depended on Bukhārā and Badakhshān were all located outside Khoqand and had to pass through Khoqand territory for trading; and these tribes made their living from trade."⁽²³⁸⁾ Tribes outside Bukhārā and Badakhshān had to go through Khoqand in conducting trade with Eastern Turkistan. Also, Bukhārā Khanate's trade with Kāshghar was not comparable in volume with that of Khoqand, it appears. Bukhārā's trade with Eastern Turkistan was started in 1760 when an envoy of Badakhshān, on his way home from a visit to Peking, sent messengers by the order of the Ch'ing to Hindūstān and Bukhārā inviting them to trade. A document says that messengers were sent "with an Imperial message and gifts to Bukhārā to be presented to the chief."⁽²³⁹⁾ *The Hsi-yü t'u-chih* gives the following account:

Pu-ha-êrh 布哈爾 (Bukhārā) is located west of Pa-ta-k'o-shan 拔達克山 (Badakhshān). The Ch'ing dynasty which conquered Hui-pu 回部 (Eastern Turkistan) in 1760 sent envoys to Bukhārā with gifts. In 1764, chief of Bukhārā, A-pu-lê-ko-êrh 阿布勒喀爾 (Abū al-Khaïr) sent to the Ch'ing No-lo-ssü pieh-k'o 諾羅斯伯克 (Naurūz Bek) and Ta-ya-êrh pieh-k'o 達雅爾伯克 as envoys through Sultān Shāh of Badakhshān, and surrendered himself to the Ch'ing with his subordinates.⁽²⁴⁰⁾

That is, the Ch'ing dynasty tried in 1760 to lay Bukhārā under tributary and in 1764, Abū al-Khaïr, Emīr of Bukhārā, presented tribute. This appears to have been done through Sultān Shāh of the Badakhshān Kingdom as intermediary. However, China's relations with Bukhārā are not related in details in the Ch'ing dynasty's historical documents, unlike its contacts with Khoqand, probably because its trade with Bukhārā was not active in the face of obstruc-

(237) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 137, 10r-v, Tao-kuang 8-6 i-hai, edict; Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 79, 25r, Tao-kuang 8-5-6, report.

(238) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 1v, Tao-kuang 8-8-3, report.

(239) CKFL, Bk. 84, 25r-v; Kao-tsung SL, Bk. 605, 5v-6r, Ch'ien-lung 25-1 ting-mao, edict.

(240) SYTC, Bk. 46, 4v, Fan-shu [Outlying countries].

tions by Khoqand. However, we must take notice of the first official report of Bukhārā's presentation of tribute in 1816. A report by Hsiu-k'un 秀堃 in 1821 says:

Sê-i-tê ê-mi-êrh ai-ta-êrh 色依特額密爾愛達爾 (Sa'īd Emīr Ḥaidar), Bek of Bukhārā, sent a letter to the *hākīm bek* of Kāshghar, saying that formerly in 1816 the Bek of Bukhārā had sent tribute to the Ch'ing authorities at Kāshghar, but has not yet received the gifts made in acknowledgement or the Imperial message from the Ch'ing Emperor.⁽²⁴¹⁾

That is, Sa'īd Emīr Ḥaidar, Bek of Bukhārā, wrote to *hākīm bek* at Kāshghar in 1821 that although he presented tribute to the Ch'ing dynasty in 1816, he had not received gifts of appreciation and note of receipt. This shows that the Emīr of Bukhārā paid tribute to the Ch'ing dynasty in 1816. Somehow, Chinese officials who dealt with the envoy of Bukhārā mishandled the case to cause dissatisfaction on the part of Bukhārā. We cannot go into details about this incident as our purpose here is to show is that Bukhārā presented tribute to the Ch'ing dynasty first in 1816.⁽²⁴²⁾ A report submitted in 1820 by Ch'ing-hsiang, Governor-general of Ili says that "trading merchants from Bukhārā who have not been seen here recently arrived here early this month."⁽²⁴³⁾ This report indicates that Bukhārā merchants' trade with Sinkiang area was not quite active until the early 19th century.

On the trade between Bukhārā and Yārkaṇd in the first half of the 19th century, A. BURNES wrote as follows:

Besides the Russian and British Indian trade, Bokhara carries on an extensive and direct commercial intercourse with the Chinese [Ch'ing's] garrisons of Cashghar and Yarkund. A coarse kind of China ware, musk, and bullion, are received from that quarter, but the chief import consists of tea; . . . nine hundred and fifty horse-loads of tea, or about 200,000 lbs., have been this year [1832] brought from Yarkund to Bokhara. . . . The trade is carried on by the natives of Budukhshan. These merchants praise the equity of the Chinese, and the facilities of transacting matters of commerce with them. They levy a duty of one in thirty on all traders, which is very moderate. The tea is brought from the central provinces of China in boxes, by a tedious journey of many months. . . . A horse-load

(241) Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 13, 36v-37r, Tao-kuang 1-2 i-ssü, edict.

(242) Descriptions are found in Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 19, 9r-10r, 10v-11r; Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 21, 35v-36r; Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 22, 4r-5r.

(243) NIFL, Bk. 2, 19r, Chia-ch'ing 25-12 jên-ch'ên, Ch'ing-hsiang's report.

of 250 lbs. costs sixty tillas in Yarkund, and sometimes sells for a hundred in Bokhara: it is entirely green tea. . . . The Yarkund caravans cross the high lands of Pamere, and follow the valley of the Oxus to Budukhshan, Balkh, and Bokhara. The road is unsafe, and in many places dangerous. . . , and the caravans are sometimes attack by the wandering Kirgizzes. Obstacles both natural and political endanger the path of the traveller and merchant. There is another and better route from Yarkund to Bokhara by the valley of the Sirr [sic], or ancient Jaxartes, and Kokan, but less frequented than that by Budukhshan, from differences which exist between the Khan of Kokan and the Chinese. The Kokan route may be travelled by a caravan in forty-five days; . . . At Khooloom [Khulum], which is a mart between Yarkund, Bokhara, and Cabool [Kabul], the ponies are exchanged for camels, and the load of two horses is borne by one camel to Bokhara.⁽²⁴⁴⁾

In another part of his book, A. BURNES wrote:

The intercourse between Bokhara and Yarkund is carried on by two routes, leading through the valleys of the Sir, or Jaxartes, and the Oxus. The first of these routes passes by Kokan, the ancient Ferghana, and is always passable but in the three summer months, when it is flooded by melted snow. There are two places on this route where the traveller experiences a difficulty of breathing. The disturbances with the exiled Khoju [=Khwāja] and the Uzbeks of Kokan have of late years closed this route to caravans; but it is the best line of communication between Yarkund and [Western] Toorkistan. The route by the plain of Pamere and the valley of the Oxus, through Budukhshan and Balk, is more circuitous, and likewise less accessible.⁽²⁴⁵⁾

According to this description, traders traveled between Eastern Turkistan and the Bukhārā Khanate chiefly through the dangerous mountain area of Badakhshān, and tea was imported from Yārkaṇd in great quantity. The Bukhārā merchants did not take the Khoqand route which was shorter and safer because the road was under the control of the Khoqand Khanate and the caravans had to pay transit duties, as illustrated by a Ch'ing document to be referred to later. A. BURNES wrote, "the goods which are imported [from Britain and Russia] into Bokhara are again sent to Samarcand, Kokan, and Yarkund, in China."⁽²⁴⁶⁾ Anyway, the development of trade relations between

(244) A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, pp. 436-438. One *tilla* is equivalent to 8 rupee.

(245) A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, pp. 235-236.

(246) A. Burnes, *Travels into Bokhara*, vol. II, p. 442.

Bukhārā and Eastern Turkistan lagged considerably compared with Khoqand's relations with Eastern Turkistan. The Khoqand Khanate's control of the trade route via Ferghana is believed to have made Bukhārā's trading with Eastern Turkistan rather a difficult one. This difficult situation is described as follows in Na-yen-ch'êng's document in a report of the Bukhārā representative who was allowed in 1828 to come to trade with Kāshghar:

We in Bukhārā had previously [indicating the year 1816] presented tribute. We secured a trading route through Badakhshān and immediately visited Yārkaṇḍ. We do not know how have you handled the trade affairs. Previously, we had gone to Khoqand for trade. They collected a tax from us on our way, and again taxed on our way home. We are really harassed by Khoqand.⁽²⁴⁷⁾

Regarding the same situation, Na-yen-ch'êng reported as follows:

According to our survey, Bukhārā is situated southwest of Khoqand and the inhabitants of its seventeen villages are quite wealthy. They take Chinese tea and use such goods as rhubarb, silken cloth, cotton and other various cloths. They used to travel for trade through Khoqand but as Khoqand levied taxes on them, they suffered very much and Khoqand profited greatly. For many years, Khoqand has just sat there and collected taxes from various tribes monopolistically. Since these tribes live on trade, they had no choice but to pay taxes to Khoqand. Bukhārā is quite rich and its people are braver than others, and are feared by Khoqand.⁽²⁴⁸⁾

And according to other reports, "Khoqand was a small country and suffered because it depended entirely on goods brought in by merchants of its western neighbors and collected taxes from those who went through the country,"⁽²⁴⁹⁾ "Khoqand stuck to trade and became rich by collecting taxes from goods at various places although the country was small,"⁽²⁵⁰⁾ and "the merchants of Bukhārā were harassed by Khoqand's exploitation"⁽²⁵¹⁾ on the other hand. These records indicated that merchants of the Bukhārā Khanate who began trading activities around 1816 had to pass through the territory of Khoqand where they were forced to pay taxes on both ways of their travel. Khoqand, which had its own trade which brought quite a profit, gained great wealth

(247) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 9v, Tao-kuang 8·11·3, report.

(248) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 10v-11r, Tao-kuang 8·11·3, report.

(249) Shou-pien chi-yao, 5v.

(250) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 11r, Tao-kuang 8·11·3, report.

(251) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 12v, Tao-kuang 8·11·3, report.

through taxes collected from merchants who passed through its territory, and monopolized the east-west transit trade centering on the Pamirs. It was because of such a situation that Bukhārā merchants, when granted trade with Kāshghar, were said to have taken the route via "Darvāz and Qarategin south of Khoqand and did not pass Khoqand."⁽²⁵²⁾ And "the merchants of Bukhārā suffered greatly under the exploitation of Khoqand and tried to come through Qarategin and Badakhshān."⁽²⁵³⁾ Both Darvāz and Qarategin were tribes situated in the mountains south of Ferghana and the upper reaches of the Amu River and were under the control of the Bukhārā Khanate. By taking this route merchants of Bukhārā evaded the exploitation of Khoqand. "This tribe of Darvāz was in a hostile relation with Khoqand"⁽²⁵⁴⁾ and in 1829 when a delegate of Shāh Ibrāhīm, Bek of Darvāz, passed through the Alai region, "Khoqand sent men trying to prevent his passage, whereupon the delegate fired on them and dispersed the men."⁽²⁵⁵⁾ These reports show that the two were hostile to each other and Khoqand tried to prevent Darvāz's trade with Kāshghar. All these facts mentioned so far lead us to interpretation that the Khoqand Khanate extracted profit from merchants of countries around the Pamirs by levying taxes on them, and had an ultimate intention of monopolizing the east-west trade centering on Kāshghar and Yārkand.

To sum up, the Khoqand Khanate rose to a powerful position in the early 19th century in the days of 'Ālim Khān and 'Omar Khān and came to have deep interest in the eastern trade. The rulers tried to collect bigger profits from their own merchants by asking the Ch'ing dynasty for tax exemption and then attempted collection of taxes directly from their merchants by stationing their own tax collector, or *āqsaqāl*, replacing the *khudāidād* approved by the Ch'ing dynasty who can be called the head of the merchants of Khoqand. Collection of taxes directly from their merchants did not materialize, but the fact that the Khoqand rulers attempted it showed the increased state influence on Khoqand merchants' trade with the East. The Khoqand Khān increased its influence also on foreign merchants who passed through Khoqand territory, notably those countries around the Pamirs such as Bukhārā and Badakhshān, by forcing them to pay taxes with the backing of its military power. By accumulating wealth through these means, Khoqand strengthened centralization of power as well as military might, waged war and built up its power in the area. Various cultural works and agricultural development projects carried out in the years of 'Omar Khān and Muḥammad 'Alī

(252) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 6v-7r, Tao-kuang 8-11-3, report.

(253) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 77, 12v, Tao-kuang 8-12-6, report.

(254) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 26v-27r, Tao-kuang 9-1-12, report.

(255) Na-yen-ch'êng tsou-i, Bk. 80, 27r-28v, Tao-kuang 9-1-12, report. Hsüan-tsung SL, Bk. 151, 33v-35r, Tao-kuang 9-2 wu-yin. That the Khoqand Khanate frequently conquered Qarategin and Darvāz in the days of 'Ālim (1799-1809) and 'Omar (1809-1822) is found also in Russian works. cf. A. Kuropatkin, *Kašgarija*, p. 94; B. I. Iskandarov, *Vostočnaja Bukhara*, p. 47.

Khān, especially the construction of the Yangī-arīq canal in the Namangān district and the Khān-arīq canal in the Tashkent region, can be considered the fruits of wealth thus accumulated.⁽²⁵⁶⁾ However, since trade with Eastern Turkistan in the Chinese territory was absolutely necessary for the Khoqand Khanate, Khoqand rulers avoided a frontal clash with the Ch'ing dynasty, continued paying tribute to Peking and maintained peaceful relations with the Ch'ing dynasty taking advantage of the Ch'ing dynasty's policy to grant trade as a favor. Nevertheless, trade routes to North-West India and south of the Pamirs centering on Sariqōl were completely outside the Khoqand Khanate's control. And the desire for having its own delegate, or *āqsaqāl*, in Kāshghar was still strong in the mind of Khoqand's ruling class. Thus Khoqand rulers continued to harbor strong territorial and economic ambition over Kāshghar, making use of the descendants of the House Khwāja of Kāshghar.⁽²⁵⁷⁾

Abbreviations

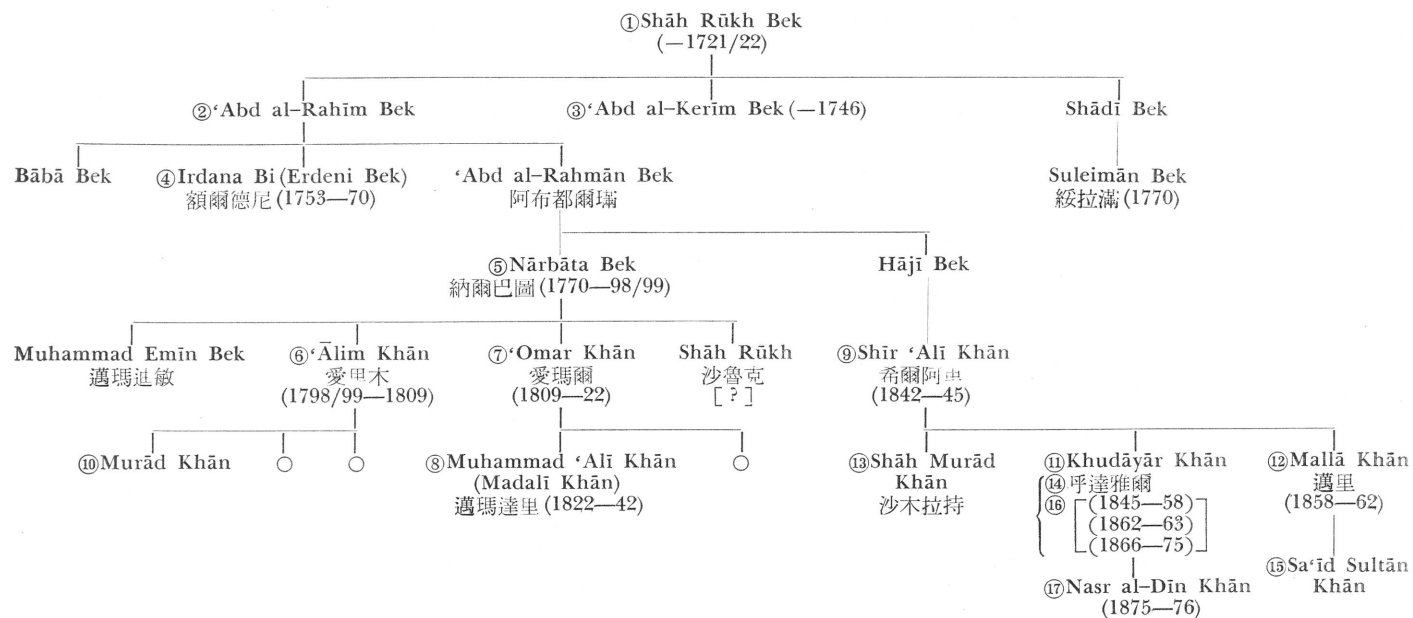
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(256) W. W. Barthold, *Istorija kul'turnoj žizni Turkestana*, p. 115; P. P. Ivanov, *Očerki*, p. 182.

(257) As for details, see T. Saguchi, *op. cit.*, Chapters VII, VIII.

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Genealogical table of the Khoqand Khanate



This genealogical table has been drawn up on the basis of the *Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu* and the works of Barthold, Howorth, Schuyler, and Nalivkine. Persons who have no connection with the present work have been omitted, and the Chinese renderings of the names have been mainly taken from the *Ta-ch'ing li-ch'ao shih-lu*.