

Unknown Political Features on
Tibet and Eastern Turkistan

by
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UNKNOWN POLITICAL FEATURES ON TIBET AND EASTERN TURKISTAN

INTRODUCTION

Tibet and Eastern Turkistan (°), one situated to the south and the other to the north of the high glacier covered Karanlık (Kunlun) mountain ranges in the Central Asia, have been the scene to bitter struggle of death and life against Chinese invasion for the last two centuries. As such, there is a striking similarity and interconnection of events that have been taking place in these two unfortunate neighbouring countries, from time to time. The recent developments in Tibet have drawn attention of the world to this country. Much have been said and published all over the world on the subject. For proper appraisal of the situation there are certain other important historic and political aspects, the background of current uprisings, which one must review in context of what is going on in Tibet.

In this small pamphlet the author intends to throw light on the obscure features of Tibetan issue in additi-

(°) *Eastern Turkistan is also called Chinese Turkistan or «Sinkiang Province».*

on, the author points out certain significant political aspects of Tibet's next door neighbour, Eastern Turkistan, which is enduring similar adversity and upheaval like Tibet.

T I B E T

Due to effects of severe climate, and extremely difficult terrain the Tibetans are daring, rugged and warrior-like by nature. In the past they led many campaigns in to territories of their neighbours including China and India and conquered vast territories and built empires. In the 7th century King Sgampo of Tibet invaded the Western regions of China and Southern parts of Eastern Turkistan, and annexed them to his kingdom. It was then that King Sgampo accepted Buddhism in the City of Khotan - Eastern Turkistan - then a prominent Buddhist center. It was King Sgampo, who first built a monastery of Buddhist faith in Lhasa. Again from the middle of 8th century up to the beginning of 9th century Tibetans conducted even more extensive expeditions and conquered important parts of India in addition to West China and southern regions of Eastern Turkistan. Chinese emperor succeeded in halting Tibetan advance with the help of Uygur King. Weakening of Buddhism in India and establishment of Islam in Eastern Turkistan shifted center of Buddhism to Tibet. Tibetans, fully devoted to Buddhist teachings, gradually alienated

themselves to their traditional warrior - like qualities and emerged as a pacifist nation, isolated from the rest of the world. It does not imply that Tibetans have become coward and miserable. In fact, Tibetans pursued a policy of non-aggression or non violence so long as they were not disturbed. They are capable to fight bravely; whenever they are provoked by open aggression,

The actual cause of setback in Tibet is the division of Lamas in to two religious camps by recognition of two great lamas, namely Dalay Lama and Tashi Lama (called Penchen Lama in Chinese), both as incarnations of Budha. A great lama is not only a religious chief but also a good-king of Tibet.

In 17th Century when the Kalka Mongols (Kal-muks) and Chinese were in war, Galdan the ruler of Mongols supported Dalay Lama and installed him as ruler of Tibet while his temporal rival Penchen Lama, took asylum in China. However, later China penetrated in to Tibet in pretexts of supporting Penchen Lama. China, though failed to bring entire Tibet under control, officially labelled Tibet as a province of Chinese empire.

In 19th Century followers of Dalay Lama concluded a trade agreement with British Indian Government under which the later was allowed to maintain a garrison in Tibet assigned to guard Indo-Tibetan trade route. This event finally led to complete breakdown of Chinese in-

fluence in Tibet and forced Panchen Lama once again to seek asylum in China.

Thereafter Tibet remained independent sovereign state under Dalay Lama. Chinese territorial claim existed over Tibet only on paper.

Tibetans in pursuance of their policy of keeping foreigners off their land, did not care much to secure recognition of their sovereignty by the outside world, and discarded establishment of diplomatic relation with foreign states. However, Tibetans have been pressing the Komintang Chinese regime to renounce its claim over Tibet, and continued their political effort to this end. On the other hand Nationalist China insisted on its traditional imperialistic ambition, and always avoided to accept the actually existing independence of Tibet. Despite this, Nationalist China has never been able to conquer Tibet. The false claim of the Nationalist China served the purpose of the Communist regime. Had the Nationalist China recognized independence of Tibet, Tibet would have been safe as a sovereign state like Nepal and Communist China could have no excuse for intervention.

From this point of view, much of responsibility for the adversity that has befallen Tibet falls on the Nationalist Chinese regime. It is most regrettable to observe that Nationalist Chinese Governments, itself a state in exile does not seem to have given up its unfounded claim over

Tibet. If, what we have read in news papers are correct, Nationalist China have proclaimed that it would grant right of self determination for Tibetans after Tibet is liberated from Communist domination. This is an extremely fantastic promise. It does not involve Chinese recognition of principle of national independence to Tibetans. This proclamation is no guarantee for future of Tibet, nor can it assure Tibetans of good intentions of Nationalist China so far as freedom of Tibet is concerned. By this time the world, is well aware of communist Chinese aggression to disrupt traditional freedom of Tibet as well as Tibetan national resistance to counter the aggression. The world press reported occupation of Tibet by Communist Chinese forces as early in 1951. In fact Communist Chinese were not able to bring under control entire Tibet. Only two trade routes connecting Lhasa with Shikang and Tsinghai provinces of China and the areas along the trade route linking Lhasa with India went under communist control. Dalay Lama retreated to Indian border and showed the courage to conduct resistance campaign from there. But soon after through mediation of Indian Government, he returned to Lhasa and signed the Tibetan autonomy agreement with Red China. Tibetans, in general, did not reconcile with the Peking regime and continued resistance. Particularly the daring and ever vigilant Khampa tribesmen who live close to Chinese border knew how best they could defend their homeland. We hope the brave Khampas will stand to the last be-

cause they are very good fighters, their land is extremely difficult, suitable for guerilla warfare. Also among them there are quite a number of intellectual patriots like author's late friend Gosangzerin.

Survival of Dalay Lama is a good omen for the future of Tibet. So long as he is safe in India, no matter if he is allowed or disallowed to take part in active politics, his adherents in Tibet will take inspiration from him in their holy struggle for Tibetan Liberation.

EASTERN TURKISTAN

Most of us are familiar with the ancient history of this land, which is the birth place of Turkish race and the cradle of Asian civilization. During the period from 200 B.C. until the 7th century A.D. China invaded Eastern Turkistan 8 times, each time the brave inhabitants of the country pushed out the invaders before they could stay long. The internal confusion which took place in the mid 18th century paved the way for the last Chinese occupation of the country. However, the 8 million people of Eastern Turkistan never interepted their struggle for freedom. They launched 52 armed uprisings in the course of the 200 years of Chinese occupation. This illustrates that the people of Eastern Turkistan though accustomed to passive resistance, can at times take active part in their patriotic war. Uprisings are suppressed through mass killing by Chinese imperialism with its

relatively unlimited military strength and resources. Turkistan, having been engaged in an unending resistance campaign under captivity of crude Chinese imperialism, there has been hardly any increase in population. Economic resources were neglected and once splendid culture and economy of the country suffered absolute stagnancy and degeneration for the last two centuries.

The independent «Eastern Turkistan Republic», proclaimed during the national uprising of 1931-1934, was crushed not by Chinese forces, but by the Russian military intervention resulting from Stalin - Chiang Kaishek collaboration.

Evidently, Chiang Kaishek preferred to turn over Eastern Turkistan to Russian tyrants rather than to see it an independent sovereign state. As an initial step to put down the 1944 national uprisings in the northern region of Eastern Turkistan, Chiang Kaishek ordered massacre. Before the order could be carried out Chinese forces suffered heavy casualty in the hand of the freedom-fighters and were forced to retreat. This time too Stalin rushed to his help. Soviet Russia offered good-offices to put down the rebellion in order to avert possible creation of an independent Eastern Turkistan. In return Russia got a chance to diffuse highly trained agents in to administrative set-up, who later played very important roles in facilitating communist take over of the territory.

Since November 1949, when communist Chinese for-

ees entered the country, the people have been active in armed resistance, and about 200000 of them lost their lives so far.

Thousands of Eastern Turkistanis who are in exile are endeavouring to contribute to national resistance campaign within their means, and limited opportunities.

There is a very important fact which needs to be brought to the attention of the public opinion in free world. The Eastern Turkistani emigration have failed to establish a base for cooperation with the Nationalist Chinese government as against the common enemy the communist regime in China. Responsibility for this lack of cooperation goes entirely to the Chinese Nationalist Government as it does not tolerate freedom movement of Eastern Turkistan and as such the Nationalist Chinese government in Formosa have intentions to restore Chinese sovereignty over this land up on «recovery of the mainland of China». Imperialistic ambition of the Nationalist Chinese high command does not seem to rocken the fact that Eastern Turkistan is currently beyond their administrative jurisdiction, that Formosa is separated with a 5000 kilometers of kommunist held territory and that there are very strong reasons to expect Eastern Turkistan emerge as an independent state before nationalist Chinese leaders can lay hand over it in the event of collapse of the communist regime. Let the Nationalist Chinese leaders insist on dismissing the national cause of Eastern

Turkistan under whatever pretext they may like. As for us, movement for national independence of Eastern Turkistan is to survive, flourish and finally come out victorious.

SUMMING UP

As stated above, 8 million people of Eastern Turkistan and three and a half million people of Tibet have been engaged in unceasing war against Communist Chinese occupation of their countries since 1950. The formidable and well armed forces of the Communist China and hundreds of thousands of armed Chinese colonists are far from being able to crush the spirit of the freedom loving peoples. If we are to compare the national movement of Tibet and Turkistan with that of the courageous people of Algeria, it becomes evident that the latter relatively enjoys much more favourable conditions; whereas Tibet and Eastern Turkistan, obscured by geography, bad communication and heavy hand of communist control, lack them. Algeria, fortunately, has open access to the free world, enjoys material support and political assistance from outside world. Eastern Turkistan and Tibet have no one to rely on but Almighty God and themselves.

In our contemporary era death of half a dozen people in any incident in the free world causes world-wide uproar, while massacre of tens of thousands of people in a weeks time behind the iron curtain, particularly in East-

ern Turkistan and Tibet remains unheard to the world. The obscurity is not mainly because of the barriers mentioned earlier but also because of the news blackout imposed by the communists as well as expulsion of foreign diplomatic representatives. In Eastern Turkistan for instance consulates of Pakistan, India, United States and Great Britain were closed down as early as 1949 and 1951. Soviet consulate in Urumchi, however, functions. The communists have thus succeeded to a great extent in screening from the free world press the tragic events taking place in Eastern Turkistan communist oppression and national resistance.

In Tibet, however, Indian Government still maintains a consulate in Lhasa; as communist China, in view of the deeply rooted bonds between India and Tibet and commercial and to some degree political considerations, could not venture to squeeze Indians out of the country.

Communist terrorism, no less tragic than the Hungarian events, has been going on in Tibet, Eastern Turkistan and other communist held territories in inner Asia, and the world have got used to it. At long last forced departure of Dalai Lama from his splendored palace in Lhasa or the resound of resentment and indignation demonstrated by Indians over Tibet's plight, left a corner of the iron curtain ajar.

ONE MORE FACT

Turks, Tibetans, Mongols and other nationalities under subjugation of Russian and Chinese imperialists have had no active supporters on their side in their struggle for liberation.

There are two quarters from which the downtrodden people, may expect support. They are: a) The United Nation's Organisation, and b) the nations of the free world. There is hardly any hope of support from either of these sources. Reason for this, as viewed by the subjugated nations, may be analysed as under :

A - Directing principles of the UNO are prevention of war, preservation of peace, upholding truth and justice among nations and protection of human rights and so on. The principle of national independence of subject-ed nations has also been recognised in the United Nations Charter.

Regretably, the UNO is not an organisation composed of only those with good intentions. The worst enemy of humanity and malicious imperialists - the communists have also their seats in the United Nations. This is why the loftly ideals of the organisations are no more than decorative phrases in the charter. The intrigues of imperialists have rendered the organisation impotent, and handicapped as under :

A - The UNO is not an executive organ. It can simply make recommendations.

B - Compliance to principles agreed up on among members is entirely at the sweet will of member states, and the organisation has no right to interfere.

C - The right to make representation before the organisation, is reserved to its members only, and thereby it is denied to the people under tyranny of imperialists.

This is why the UNO turns a deaf ear to the agony of subjugated nations, and to their legitimate demand for national independence. There have been some cases taken up by the United Nations, such as Germany, Korea Palestine and Kashmir. All ended in partitioning. This scene reminds what the great philosopher of the east Mohammad Iqbal once told of the League of Nations.

«To put an end to the warlike vice of this decadent multitude.

The afflicted men of this world have set up a new order.

But I know only this: some shroud stealers formed a gang...

In order to share the graves among themselves.»

B - The community of the free nations can very well support the emancipation efforts of the downtrodden people. By doing so they could consolidate their own freedom. Hesitation and uncertainty prevailing in the free world have sapped courage of the free world. Military alliances and collective security measures taken to date

communist aggression are meant for the strong nations who enjoy strategic importance. It is vitally important for the free world to acquire genuine cooperation of the communist subjugated nations in combat against subversive activities of communism, which designs world conquest, at the cold war front. It is fact that the free world stands lamentably weak, so far as cold war is concerned. Communism is on the offensive. Free world is retreating, giving concession after concession to the communist block. The free world is not aware that it holds the best chance to attack at the most vulnerable spot of the opposite camp. This vulnerable spot is the Turkic land in the Soviet Union which forms the economic and strategic resource of the Soviet Russian empire. Forces which might be deployed in this offensive are the nationalist patriots among inhabitants of the aforesaid territory. Recognition of and due honour to their aspiration of national independence, availability of moral and material support towards attainment of this end are the only pre-requisites to launch this offensive. Free world is regrettably indifferent on this subject. Certain political and sentimental apprehensions - seem to be responsible to this attitude. Great chances are being missed due to this unnecessary hesitation and aloofness on the part of the free world. Sooner or later the free world is bound to put itself on the right track.

It is, as it was before, to the idealist intellectual elements of the Russian and Chinese dominated nations,

who have to ponder up on ways and means to liberate their lands, taking advantage of all available opportunities. In the history of man kind the corner stone for liberation and progress of a nation has always been laid by its own efforts and sacrifices. Liberation movements of enslaved people starts from nothing. Gradually through selfless persistance expands and grows stronger and stronger and finally is crowned with success.

What is important is the fact that our cause is to win back our rights from usurpers. We drive our aspiration from this high legitimate source. As long as we have faith in our cause, entire obstacles will eventually be removed and it will one day gain the dignity it deserves and finally friends may open their eyes, as Holy Prophet Mohammad said, «*Truht shall be exalted and not suppressed*». I conclude this article with two lines of well known Turkish poet Tefvik Fikret :

«Whereas tyranny has gun, shell and fort

The truth has unyielding arm and unturned face».

**A Short History of
Chinese Turkistan**

A Short History

(ANONYMOUS)

Translated & Annotated

^{by}
Dr. A. M. Mattoo

Of Chinese Turkistan

Centre of Central Asian Studies
University of Kashmir, Srinagar.

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ERRATA

FOREWORD

The Centre of Central Asian Studies, Kashmir University established in 1979 at the instance of Jenab Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, Pro-Chancellor of the University, has embarked upon a long term programme of research and publications. The Research Library of the State Government, transferred to this University some years back, has a valuable collection of some 7000 manuscripts in Persian, Sanskrit and other languages. The Centre is endeavouring to bring to light as many of these works as possible and especially those that are of academic value and interest and contain original material on the history and culture of Central Asia and Kashmir. A large number of scholars of the Centre are presently engaged in the editions and translations of some of these manuscripts.

The present work is the first of the series. The work, though mistakenly entitled *Safarana-i-Turkestan*, is actually a nineteenth century history of Sinkiang (Chinese Turkestan) and is of immense academic value. I have great pleasure in stating that Dr. Abdul Majid Mattoo, a promising scholar of the Centre has rendered the work into English and has, with his deep historical insight and academic acumen, presented the work in an intelligible manner.

I am confident that work will be received with due attention in the circles. Finally, the Centre is deeply grateful to the Vice-Chancellor, Prof. Wahid-ud-Din Malik for his continuous support and encouragement of the research programmes of the Centre.

Centre of Central Asian Studies,
University of Kashmir,
Srinagar (J&K), India,
21st April, 1982.

Prof. S. Maqbul Ahmad
Director.

INTRODUCTION

I

The territorial aggrandisement by imperial Russia on the other side of the Himalaya's was the common feature of their policy. While on the other side, it was a common idea that Russia is a growing power and she could lay her hands on any principality around the Pamirs. In spite of the promises made by the Russian government that they would not annex any new area except that already conquered, the authorities in India were not ready to trust such utterances. The Russians had even admitted that Badakhshan and Wakhan form a part of Afghanistan.¹

It was apprehended that she would no longer hesitate to expand her dominions especially in Central Asia. The threat of their invasion lurked-on through-out the 19th century. For a very long time it was felt that the great mountain barriers were effective borders between India and Central Asia. But in the course of time this misconception faded when deep investigations were made regarding the routes, passes and the magnitude of trade and the strength of the Caravans which were traversing these routes since times immemorial. In this connection a number of Political missions were sent to these areas. William Moorcraft, though he has refuted the charges of being a secret agent of British Government, submitted a report in 1812 A.D. about the possibilities of Russian intervention both political as well commercial in the area. He urged to keep a vigil on the borders to check such developments.

In 1846 the British authorities sold Kashmir to Raja Gulab Singh, a ruler of Jammu as a token of good will in lieu of his services which he rendered to the Company in suppressing the Sikhs. The Company had not visualised the strategic and commercial importance of Ladakh and Gilgit at the time of the sale of Kashmir. But in the course of time, after the crown assumed the Power in India, the mist

1. See also Ram Rahul, *Modern Central Asia*, PP 86-99.

(ii)

of ignorance about the Kashmir frontiers began to dissipate .. Two important missions under the leadership of Sir Douglas Forsyth were sent to Kashgher, who submitted a report urging to establish a British Consulate at Kashghar. Such a policy was motivated by the expansionist policy of Imperial Russia on one hand and the prevailing political atmosphere in Turkistan on the other. The turbulent Chieftains of Turkistan were not only at war with each other but were even betraying their own allies. They never joined hands to withstand the onslaught of their common enemy. They even instigated the *Khakan* of Chin, & Zar of Russia to mobilise their forces and helped them and strengthened their hold on the soil of Turkistan. In this way, Eastern Turkistan was annexed by the Chinese and Western (Russi Turkistan) became a part of Russia.

The Chinese strengthened their position in Sin Chiang (new Dominion) the official name of Chinese Turkistan. In the initial stage they did not interfere in the religious affairs of the people but took the administrative control of the region. The *Khakan* appointed a Governor for Sin Chiang who was posted at Urumtsi. The official was called *Futai*. He had two assistants known as *Taotais* under him. They were stationed at Kashghar and Kulja. They had various district officers under them who were known as *Chow-Kans*. In this way the Chinese strengthened their control on Chinese Turkistan. Henceforth, the British authorities were forced to watch the movements of China rather than Russia.

It may not be out of place to mention here that Kashmir had close commercial links with Chinese Turkistan. It was not only a wool supplying area for the prestigious Shawl industry of Kashmir, but served the purpose of a dry port for Kashmir merchandise. The Kashmiri merchants had established their ware-houses in the whole of Chinese Turkistan and in Yarkand and Kulja especially. They had monopolised the wool trade and were also playing a dominant role in the politics of the area. Their help was sought by the Chinese as well as by the local chieftains. But on account of the political development in Kashmir, they were deprived of the backing and in the course of

(iii)

time were lost in wilderness. Supply of raw wool was stopped and the Kashmir Shawl Industry once filling the coffers of the State, started to decline.

With this background the author of this work provides us some important information.

II

The manuscripts unit of Iqbal Library, University of Kashmir has a unique manuscript under Accession No: 3024. It contains fifty folios of 25 CM X 15 CM of 11 lines each. The title of the manuscript as recorded in the Accession Register is سفر نامہ ترکستان which seems to be incorrect. It is not a travelogue but a historical account of Eastern Turkistan as the author on folio 6a states that the book is an account of the rulers of Kashghar, Khotan and Yarkand,

It begins in the praise of God thus

حمد ہے حد کلیمی را کہ بر ابطخر اشان ثلاثی رباعی موالید رب السموات والارض

After these lines, it appears that one or two folios are missing.

The manuscript is divided into three *Fasls* (Sections). The first *Fasl* is spread over four folios only. It is a brief geographical account of nine principal towns of Kashghar and Khotan. It also provides some information about a few mountain ranges, rivers, canals and products of the region.

The second *Fasl* deals with the political history of the rulers of Kashgar from A. H, 754/1353-24. At this time Tughluk Timur Khan was the ruler of Kashgar, down to 29th Mag 1923 Bikrami/September 1st, 1865. This section is spread over 32 folios.

Ataliq Ghazi was one of the leading nobles of Shahi Beg Khan, who promoted Ataliq Ghazi to the rank of *Ataliq* which literally means a tutor or a guardian. Originally the duties of an *ataliq* consisted of imparting education to the heir apparant and looking after the royal house hold, But in the course of time the *ataliq* became the Chief

dignatory of the Court, Ataliq Ghazi's real name was Amir Yaqub Beg. While in the service of Buzurg Khawaja of Khokand, he first began to exercise his power in Eastern Turkistan. In the course of time he assumed the title of Ataliq Ghazi, later over-threw his Chief and styled himself as *Amir-al-Muminin*. This *fasl* is based on the contemporary sources like *Tarikh-i-Jahan Kusha*, *Zafarnama* and *Tarikh-i-Rashidi*.

The importance of this Chapter lies in the information which the author provides on the role of *Khawajagan* who have been instrumental in introducing Islam in Turkistan. Tughluk Timur Khan was brought to the fold of Islam by Arsha-ud-Din. The Saints of this *Silsilah* gained tremendous influence in this region on account of their piety and patronage of the Sultans. People of all sections visited these saints.

The author of this work is anonymous. However, he appears to have been a contemporary of Ataliq Ghazi as the account of this ruler is vivid and elaborate.

The events are given in a chronological order and the dates given in the second *fasl* are partially correct. The dates are in Hijri era but in the last chapter these are supplemented by the Bikrimi era also. This era was in vogue in Kashmir during the Dogra rule.

The style is on the whole simple and has no literary pretensions. Nevertheless, the author is conscious of his responsibilities as a historian. The author appears to have been a Kashmiri. He gives us very interesting information on the role of Kashmiri merchants who were found in this part of Central Asia.

Some of the facts given in the work about *harakiri* are quite interesting.

While translating I have tried my best to maintain the originality of this work, and for shortcomings, which I am sure there are, none but the translator is responsible.

Here I would take the opportunity to acknowledge the gracious help accorded by Prof. Maqbul Ahmad, Director of the Centre of Central Asian Studies, who provided me the maximum facilities while preparing this monograph. I also take liberty to thank Prof. Rais Ahmad, Ex-Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University, who created an academic atmosphere in this university, and placed all the facilities at the disposal of the Centre; otherwise, this humble attempt would not have been today in your hands.

I would be failing in my duty if I do not express my deep gratitude to Prof. Wahid-ud-Din, Vice-Chancellor of Kashmir University whose liberal and encouraging attitude towards the publications programme of the Centre and a scholarly approach, has made it possible for this work to be published.

Dr. A. M. Mattoo

Srinagar

21st April 1982.

CHAPTER I

There are two rivers in Khotan, Qaraqash¹ and Yurangqash². Jade is acquired from the beds of these two rivers. The water is polluted. It comprises seven cities³. Number one Ilche, the capital of the Kingdom. It is circled by a fort containing seven gates. There is a bazaar on both sides spread from one gate to the other. A number of canals from the river provide water to the inhabitants round the year (during winter and summer). The houses are single storeyed and of mud. The Khotanis, Badakhshis, Andijanis and Kashmiris inhabit the town.

Qaraqash is another town fortified by a wall with two gates. The river Qaraqash flows from south to East touching the outskirts of the city. During the summer the water of the canals from the river is used, but spring water is utilised during winter.

Thirdly Yurangqash, which is situated on the bank of river Yurangqash. It is flowing from East to West. The water from the canals is used, which flows round the year. It has a bazaar on both the sides.

Chera is situated on a canal coming from the mountains and flows to the West. The flow is constant during the summer and winter.

Qarba is the fifth city of the principality. A few canals coming from a mountain range, which contain gold particles flow to the East,

1. a) *Qaraqash literally means Black Jade, Tarikh-i-Rashidi, P. 406n Jade is found in abundance in the region, and as such the river is called Qarakash.*

2. *Spelt Karakash in Tarikhi Rashidi, Tr. N. Elias, P. 298.*

3. *The author of Tarikhi Rashidi has not given a clear definition of topography while dealing with the geographical limits of the territory. See note of this translator, PP. 50-53. But our author is quite clear and gives short but accurate information about the principal cities of the area under discussion.*

provide water to the inhabitants of the city. There are markets on both the sides. The source of income is gold (collected from the sand of the canals).

Tag is comparatively a smaller city and also Tawkl. It is encircled with a wall. The water is obtained from a canal of the river Chira both in Summer and Winter.

Besides these seven cities there is one more city Chachan which is a principality (Tributory) of Khotan. It is in the east of Ilchi (at the distance of fifteen days journey). Some of the halting Places are inhabited while many others are without any sign of life. During the reign of Khitayees (Chinese) it served the purpose of a jail. Having the facilities of water and abundance of land, the prisoners numbering from three to four thousand cultivated the land and founded the city of Chachan.

Aksu is a city with a crude fortification, containing four gates. The market is spread from one gate to another. The houses of the people are single storeyed and of mud. It is situated on the confluences of the rivers Yarkand, Karaqash, Khoten and Yurangash. Canals of these rivers supply drinking water to the people throughout Winter and Summer.

Bay is a town and a canal comes from Aksu. Saram the next town is also irrigated from the stream of Bay.

Kochar is also situated within a fort which has three gates. The merchants and the people reside within the fort. The river Aksu flows close to the city and canals have been dug out to provide water to the people.

Most of the houses are of mud. There are a number of orchards full of delicious fruit like apple, guvava, mulberries, apricots, quince, peaches, melons, watermelons and grapes. Both the spring and autumn crops are cultivated in abundance. Vegetables of all sorts are also cultivated.

There are mines of salt, lead, saltpeter, sulphur and iron and gold is also available at many places. Cotton is produced in large quantities and is spun locally.

Horses, camels, goats, sheep, *dumba*, and mules but few and herds of cattle are found in the city. Fishes of considerable weight are had from the rivers. The forests are full of birds and animals of game.

CHAPTER II

*Tarikhi Jahan Kusha*⁴ deals with the history of Chengiz Khan and *Zafarnama*⁵, gives us information regarding the events of the reign of Timur, in these works a detailed account of the Turk Sultans has been recorded. Therefore; it would be in the fitness of things to give a brief account since the succession of Tughluk Timur Khan in 754 AH/1352-53⁶, on the basis of the above mentioned works in this book. He hailed from the line of Chughta and Chengiz Khan.

Since the beginning of civilization, the religion of the people of Turkistan from East to West including China and Khotan, was Buddhism, which is considered an offshoot of Hinduism. It is also known as Shaka Muni. Due to short distance (from the Muslim area) most of the Western Kings adopted the faith of Islam. On the instigation of Khawaja Rashid-ud-Din, Tughluk Timur Khan, a descendant of Chugatai, accepted Islam.

In this context, it is said that Khawaja Hafizuddin who was the last *mujtahid* of Islam was assassinated including the entire *Imams* of Bokhara⁷. Shuja-ud-din brother of Haifizu-ud-Din escaped to Karakoram.

4. The author of *Tarikhi-Jahan Kusha* was Juvaini.

5. *Zafarnama*, Sharof-ud-Din Ali Yazdi.

6. According to Mirza Haidar, Tughluk Timur Khan took over the reigns in 748/1347 and ruled till 764 H/1363 A.D. *Tarikhi Rashidi*, P. 46, Tughluk Timur Khan was son of Isan Bugha son of Dava son of Barak son of Chengiz Khan. See for details *Tarikhi Rashidi* PP. 6-7 but according to *Zafarnama*, vol. I, P 43, the name of Tughluk Timur's father was Oghul Khawaja. Peace was restored in this region by him and he established his court after the model of Mughal Empire, H W. Bellew. *Kashmir and Kashghar*. PP. 20-21, London, 1875.

7. The mystic order of Khawajgan was founded in the region and the saints of the *Silsilah* were highly revered by the people. It was introduced in India during the Mughal rule. See *Tarikhi Kashidi*. Part II for the details of their role in Chinese Turkistan.

His sons who were in the distressed condition settled in *Lob Katak* which is known as old Khotan, situated between the territories of Turfan and Khotan. A few generations of their descendants spent their lives in these regions. It was during the life of Shiekh Jamal-ud-Din that the city of Lob Katak was buried under the sand rain⁸, and he settled in Baikul which is in the vicinity of Aksu. Tughluk Timur Khan who was (at that time) eighteen years old was also in Aksu. He began to take interest in Islam and lost his interest in his old religion. In pursuance of the advice of his father after a period of six years Rashid-ud-Din left for Mughulistan that is Andejan, Tashqand and Bokhara. At this time Tughluk Timur's rule was at its zenith. (Rashid-ud-Din) approached him and reminded him the promise (which he had) of his conversion to Islam. In short, at the age of twenty four in the year 754 A.H./1352-53 A.D. Tughluk Timur embraced Islam¹⁰.

Having conquered Mavara-un-Nahar,¹¹ he deputed his son Ilyas Khawaja Khan and assigned him the government of Samarqand, leaving Amir Timur Gogani in his court with all grandeur and affection.

He himself died at the age of thirty four. After the death of his father, Ilyas Khawaja Khan's rule did not last long. After his death Amir Qamar-ud-Din, uncle of Amir Khudaied whose account will follow, was assigned the mansab Uloos Begi by Tughluk Timur Khan which was resented by Qamar-ud-Din. He assassinated eighteen descendants of Ilyas Khawaja and took up the title of Khan himself.

8. *It was not an uncommon feature of the region. The famous traveller M. Huc who visited this region during 1844-46 has recorded many such events. Travels in Tartary, Tibet and China, Vol I. See also Tarikhi Rashidi, PP 70-71, and Petei Hopkarik, Foreign Devils on the Silk Road P/O, Jhon Murray (Pub) P. Ltd, London 1980.*

9. *For the details pertaining to the territory of Mughulistan, See Tarikhi Rashidi, PP 51-71.*

10. *Tarikhi Rashidi. PP. 2-3, also pp. 5-6 and Chapter III.*

11. *Mavara-un-Nahar expedition was sent in the month of Rabi-us-Sani 761 A.H./1360 A.D.*

The only survivor was Khizar Khawaja, infant son of Tughluk Timur. Amir Khudaidad concealed him and his mother Mir Aga and saved them from the wrath of Qamar-ud-Din Khan¹². In short Amir Qamar-ud-Din usurped the throne, but nobles joined hands together and deposed him¹³. Khawaja Khizar was elevated to the khanete and given reins of the Kingdom which was put to decay (by Qamar-ud-Din).

Amir Khudaidad was also elevated to the position of respect and prestige. After Khawaja Khizar Khan, his son Mohammad Khan and his son Sher Mohammad Khan and his nephew Yunus Khan succeeded each other to the khanete respectively.

Since this chronicle is mainly to deal with the account of Kashgar, Khotan and Yarkand and it does not seem proper to deal with the entire account of Mughulistan, Transoxiana and Khawarazm, which they had brought under their control.

It is proper to elucidate the account of the Khawajgan. They were highly revered and respected in the whole of Turkistan because it was Khawaja Arshad-ud-Din who introduced Islam in Mughulistan. The Khans of Turkistan tried to surpass each other in paying their regards and respects to the descendants of the Khawajgan. On account of the close association with the Sultans, the people had also great faith in them¹⁴.

Khawaja Tajud-Din was a Khawaja of Kusan. He remained in the service of Sultan Ahmad Khan, son of Yun's Khan and his brother Mahammad Khan for fifty years.

12, According to *Tarikhi Rashidi*, P. 51, it was mother of Amir Khudaidad who saved the infant, See also H W. Bellw, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, P 23

13. The contention of Mirza Haidar is that Qamar-ud-Din Khan grew very weak by some mysterious disease when Amir Timur attacked his territory. Qamar-ud-Din was carried into a jungle with two of his concubines. After the invading army withdrew, the nobles were not able to find any clue of the Khan. *Tarikhi Rashidi*, PP 50-51.

14. Khudaidad was brother of Qamar-ud-Din Khan. His father Bulaji died when Khudaidad was only seven, Major Below, *Yarkand Report*, P. 151.

Both the Sultans had the greatest regard for him. The *amirs* and the officers of the Sultanate also did not leave any stone unturned to serve him ¹⁵

Great chaos, confusion and general break-down in law and order occurred in the Sultanate. Ultimately he was assassinated in the battle of Khitayee during the reign of Mahammad Khan; while Khawaja Abdul Aziz and Khawaja-Gouhar gained great importance during this period, and by and by they took hold of the Sultanate; the account of which follows.

In short, Chengiz Khan who had made up his mind for the conquest of not only Iran, Turan, but the entire world; divided his empire amongst his four sons. The entire Dushte-Khazr and Qipchaq which is spread over, on one side upto Rum, and on the other to the ocean, Mavaraun-Nahar and Mughalistan, Kira Khitayee, Turkistan and Mavaraun-Nahar to Chagatai Khan, Khita to Tuli Khan (1232) and the main land of the mongols and capital of his realm which comprised Karakoram and Qatiliag to Ogadei Khan (1229-41). Accordingly, the army as well as the nobles were divided. In this division Dughalat was given to Chagatai Khan.¹⁶ (Munglai-Suya literally means facing Sun, is surrounded by Shas (also called Chach) Halas, Balia Kul and Saria Defer (?) Kashgar and Khotan fall within this area.

The first man who settled in Mangulai Suyah was Amir Paidagan.¹⁷ His sons in succession up to Mirza Aba Bakar inherited the territory of their father. Since we are basically concerned with the account of Tughluk Timur Khan, therefore, we will take up the account of Amir Khudaidad who was one of the sons of Amir Paidagan. Amir Khudaidad was son of Bulaji who was himself an *amir* of Tughluk Timur.

15. Skrine, Francis Henery and Ross, Denison, *The Heart of Asia*, London, 1899, pp. 163-64.

16. H. W. Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, P. 20.

17. *The territory of Manglai Suyah extended from the western limit of Farghana to Kara Shahr Tarikhi Rashidi*, P. 99.

After murdering Pir Mohammad he entered Kashgar. He ruled Kashgar for a period of twelve years.

The author of *Tarikhi Rashidi* states that the country made tremendous development and there was so much increase in the cattle rearing that Mirza Haider Kashgari great grand son of Mohammad Haider received sixty thousand sheep as 1/4th of the share of his father's property.

In short, Isa Buga Khan son of Wais Khan let loose the reigns of the government of Turfan. The nobles revolted against him, and Isa Bugha Khan escaped. When this news reached Kashgar, Mir Sayyid Ali left for Mughalistan and he brought the Khan (Isa Bugha) back with a few people to Aksu, and assigned Aksu to the Khan.

Mir Sayyid Ali died in 862 A.H./1457 A.D. He was survived by two sons Saster Mirza and Mohammad Haider Mirza. The elder son Saster Mirza succeeded his father to the throne.

He assigned Kashgar and Yangi-Hisar to his younger brother and his mother Sultan Khanim out of clemency.²¹ He made Yarkand his capital and ruled this country for seven years after the death of his father. He died in 869 A. H. when he fell down from his horse while he was out for hunting and was survived by two sons Mirza Aba Bakr and Umar Mirza and one daughter

The Kashgarians brought Mohammed Haider Mirza to Kashgar and Dost Mohammad Khan son of Isa Buga Khan went to Yarkand and thence to Kashgar wherefrom he deputed Mohammed Haider Mirza to Yangi-Hisar.

After making a hostile incursion into the territories of Kashgar he left for Aksu. On this account Mohammad Haider Mirza was demoralised and sought asylum from Yunas Khan son of Wais Khan.²²

21. H W. Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, PP. 196-7.

22. *Kashmir and Kashgar*, P. 198

It is said that Dost Mohammad Khan had illicit relations with one of the consorts of his father. He sought a *fuiwa* from the *Uluma* to marry the lady, which they did not allow; on this refusal he put seven leading *Uluma* to death and after this got a decree from one *mulla* and thus became perpetrator of this malevolent act. Spending seven years of debauchery and sinful life his soul flew away from the narrow cage of his body (died).²³

The chronogram was derived from "The Dead Swan". Soon after, Sultan Abu Said left the court of Yunus Khan and returned to Aksu having captured all the men of Dost Mohammad Khan, he assigned Kashgar to Mohammad Haidar Mirza. He ruled Kashgar from 859 H/1453 A D. to 885 H/1477 A D. for a period of 24 years. Sixteen were of peace and tranquility but eight were of great trouble.

Mirza Aba Bakr fled from the custody of his uncle and took possession of Yarkand deceitfully, giving the ruler notion of innocence. To show his subordination he sent some-one to pay regards to his uncle. He collected a contingent of three thousand young men from the ranks of Mirzas. At the same time his brother Umar Mirza joined him and both of them proceeded to capture that part of the country; and began to chalk-out plans for the liberation of Khotan.

The account of Khotan is as under. Mirza Khudai-Dad who had taken the possession of his ancestral heritage, divided the entire territory of Dughlats among his sons and brothers. Kashgar and Yarkand was assigned to his younger son Sayyid Ahmad Mirza, Aksu was given to Ilyas Shah and Khotan to Khazar Shah. Both of them were placed under the subordination of Sayyid Ahmad Mirza. This arrangement continued till Sayyid Ahmad Mirza transferred the territory of Aksu to Isa Bugha Khan. Ilyas Shah Mirza attended the service of Isa Bugha Khan, and the control of Aksu fort remained with him till the reign of Dost Mohammad Khan.

He held the post even before the year 765 A. H./1363 A. D. In 850 H/1448 A.D. he left for Mecca where he died. He held the post of *amir* for a period of ninety years.

He ruled Kashgar, Yarkand, Khotan, Aksu and Bay; Kashgar was the place of his birth. He deputed his son Sayyid Ahmad Mirza to Kashgar to hold the government of the territory. He ruled the principality for a fairly good time.

Khawaja Sharif, a noble of Kashgar had animosity with him, as such he approached Mirza Ulugh Beg and instigated him to attack Ahmad Mirza,¹⁸ who escaped after the conquest of Kashgar, but died only after a short period.

Mirza Ulugh Beg assigned Kashgar to one Mir Sultan by name. He was succeeded by Pir Mohammad Barlas and after him the government was assigned to Haji Muhammad Shaista. Fourteen years after this Mir Sayyid Ali son of Mir Sayyid Ahmad, who had served Wais Khan a descendant of *forth order* of Tughluk Timur Khan, approached him for an assignment - the conquest of Kashgar.

Kashgar and Andejan during this period was resumed to the *diwan* of Samarqand, while the nephews and cousins of Mir Sayyid Ali were in Aksu, Kusan and Bay at this time. When Mir Sayyid Ali came to Aksu, there developed animosity among his brothers Adil Mumin Mirza and Sayyid Mohammad Mirza. But ultimately he (Mir Sayyid Ali) was triumphant. There was a thorough bloodshed in this encounter. After the culmination of this war, he diverted his attention towards Kashgar and marched with a contingent of seven thousand men. He left his family in Aksu. While entering Kashgar territory

18. *Mirza Ulugh Beg was son of Shah Rukh and ruled Samarkand as a governor of his father for thirty years. He succeeded his father in 850 A.H /1448 A.D. He was an astronomer and a mathematician also. Skrin etc. Heart of Asia, PP. 175-76.*

Haji Mohammad Khan of Kashgar at the head of thirty thousand men came to give him a battle near the heights of Barkhan. It is a place three farsakh distant from Kashgar.¹⁹

In the first encounter his forces collapsed as the *Mughal* forces attacked them from the rear. Before any exchange of arms the Chughtai forces surrendered and sued for peace. While these events were taking place Salae Begum rose in arms. She did not allow any intruder into the fort. This heroic fight of Salae Begum is considered one of the historic events of this region.²⁰ The Kashgarians dragged the retreating people in the fort and the Mir (Sayyid Ali) killed and destroyed whatever he found outside the fort. Next year at the time of harvest he again launched an attack but there was none to face his forces. Haji Mohammad Shaista remained within the fort. Mir (Sayyid) sacked Kashgar. One of the strongest forts was Ilako in the town of Kashgar, which was also besieged and captured in the battle. Later he returned to his native country.

In the same manner Khawaja Sharif left for Samarqand and got Pir Mohammad Barlas from Mirza Ulugh Beg and brought him to Kashgar and Haji Mohammad left for Samarqand.

The Kashgarians did not take any cognizance of Pir Mohammad. Thus Khawaja Sharif was disappointed from the Chughtayis. After two years Mir again diverted his attention towards Kashgar.

The Kashgarians complained to Khawaja Sharif of the failure of the crops during the previous years and stated "If it fails this year also, there will be a severe famine." When he (Mir Sayyid Ali) reached the outskirts of Kashgar territory, the Kashgarians brought Pir Mohammad Barlas hand cuffed to receive the Mir

19. *Tarikhi Rashidi*, P. 77. See also H.W. Bellew, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, PP 21-194-7.

20. According to Mirza Haider while the Chughtai forces were defeated, they threw off their arms and raised the cries of distress. For this reason the battle is called "*Salai Begum*" that is to say '*Miri-man biandazam*' or *I throw my arms*. *Tarikhi Rashidi*, PP 75-76.

Khazir Shah Mirza, a successor of Mir Sayyid Ali, had two sons in Khoten; Khan Nazr Mirza and Aful Nazr Mirza. Khan Nazr Mirza grew as powerful as Mir Sayyid Ali. In the meanwhile he ceded the subordination of Mirza Aba Bakr who at that time was in Yarkand. Mirza Aba Bakr on the other hand asked Mohammad Haidar Mirza to vacate Khotan. In the first instance the strife ended in peace but on the second occasion he told him to take an oath on the Quran. While placing their hands on the holy book, he drew out his sword put both Khan Nazr Mirza and Aful Mirza to death; and cunningly liberated Khotan. Having completed this job he diverted his attention towards Mohammad Haidar Mirza since his mother Jamak Aga, wife of Most Mohammad Khan was married to Mohammad Haidar Mirza.²⁴

The nobles requested the Mirza that Mirza Aba Bakr caught hold of Yarkand through deceitful tactics, and had already captured Khoten. It is sure that he may launch an attack on Kashgar. Therefore, it is a binding on us to be vigilant and careful.'

But the reply of Jamak Aga to these apprehensions appeased Mirza Haidar. Since these complaints have come to surface, therefore Jamak Aga diverted her attention by telling him that the *Umara* have become his enemies; so they raise such objections,²⁵ but secretly a message of the same nature was sent to Mirza Aba Bakr, and he sent a similar message saying that there is no animosity between the son and father. It would be appropriate to exile them, and this matter will not effect his loyalty.

Acting upon his advice he foolishly created a barrier between himself and his courtiers. The *Umara* who form the backbone of any kingdom, thus exiled, broke the power of his kingdom. Subsequently Mirza Aba Bakr began to ravage the border of Kashgar and Yangi-Hisar;

24. Kashmir and Kashgar, P. 199.

25. N. Elias, Tarikhi Rashidi, P 102

on the other hand Moh'd Haider failed to keep a vigil on the borders of his kingdom. The court lost its grandeur. Therefore, he mustered an army of 30,000 foot and cavalry and marched against Mirza Aba Bakr, but he deputed only three thousand men, the sons of Mirza's to face the invading army.²⁶ A fierce battle was fought. Ultimately Mohammad Haider Mirza was defeated and he returned to Kashgar.

He wrote a letter to this effect, high-lighting the main events of this historic event, to his own perceptor and relative Yunus Khan requesting him for help.

The Khan (Yunus Khan) selected fifteen thousand choicest men from his army in order to march against Mirza Aba Bakr. Mohammad Haider also rearranged a strong army and accompanied the *Khan* to Yarkand. Mirza Aba Bakr fortified himself in the Yarkand fort, but the Khan penetrated into the fort from east. Next day Mirza arranged his forces for the battle outside the fort. They were the same three thousand young and brave men of Mir Sayyid Ali's lineage, who were slighted by Mirza Haider.

The *Khan* with the fierceful army on one side and Mohammad Haider Mirza on the other were pressing their onslaught over the fort. Nevertheless, they did not pay any heed towards Mohammad Haider Mirza, but put their pressure on the forces of the *Khan* who had come with great pomp and show. The *Khan* was defeated and Mohammad Haider and his forces escaped from one side. In this way this grand army was defeated, and both of them escaped to Kashgar.

Next year in 885 A.H./1417 A.D. Yunus Khan collected the entire Moghol army comprising 60,000 men and marched to Kashgar; Mohammad Haider who had improved upon his forces also joined him, and at the head of ninty thousand men, cavalry and infantry marched on Yarkand. Mirza Aba Bakr again fortified himself in the citadal as he had done previously. He trained five thousand strong men for the

26. Tarikhi Rashidi, P. 105-6.

battle. Three thousand out of them were the sons of same generals and chiefs who were foolishly expelled by Mohd. Haider Mirza; Two thousand foot archers who were chosen out of the whole Kingdom with high hopes (all of them) were also pushed into the battle. They fought so gallantly that the *Khans'* forces were defeated and they retreated to Kashgar. They thought it unsafe to stay at Kashgar so Mohammad Haider Mirza and the Khan (Yunus) alongwith five thousand families left Kashgar for Aksu. A large number of families of Kashgarians left for Andejan and in this way Kashgar was cleared for Mirza Aba Bakr. There were two fortresses in Aksu. He assigned one to Mohammad Haider and remained himself in the next. On the expiry of the winter, the *Khan* came out of the fort and left for Moghulistan assigning Aksu to Mohammad Haider, with the direction to feed the horses on grain, so as to make them stronger for the next expedition to Kashgar. But acting upon the advice of the ill natured people, Mohammad Haider revolted against the Khan and fortified the fortress of Aksu. The Khan sent someone to advice Mohammad Haider Khan, but it did not bear any fruit. Therefore, the Khan beseiged the fort with a strong force of 30,000 for forty days, till there was a severe famine in the fort. The people inside the fort revolted, captured Mohammad Haider and presented him to the Khan. The Khan forgave him for his follies and took him with himself to Andejan which was latter assigned to him.²⁷

After this Sultan Ahmad Khan son of Yunus Khan cleared the whole Moghulistan. Having satisfied himself on all sides in the Moghulistan he diverted his attention to Mirza Aba Bakr. In 905 A H /1499

27. The author does not provide us any further detail of the reign of Sulan Yunus Khan, but narrates the account of Sultan Ahmad Khan son of Sultan Yunus Khan. The author of *Tarikhi Rashidi* states that Yunus Khan was succeeded by Mohammad Khan, P. 107. Sultan Yunus Khan died in the year 892 A.H /1485-86 A.D. For the details of Sultan Ahmad Khan, See also *Tarikhi Rashidi*, pp 120—123

A.D. he came to Kashgar. Mirza Aba Bakr had fully garrisoned Kashgar with food and forces, and he himself left for Yarkand. After a great deal of fight Sultan Ahmad Khan took the possession of forts of Yangi-Hisar and Kashgar where he spend the winter. He is known as Illaha Khan also, which in Mongolian means a slaughterer. At the close of winter he marched to Yarkand against Mirza Aba Bakr. Since Mirza Aba Bakr did not come out of the fort and Sultan Ahmad Khan also did not think it advisable to go towards the fort. He collected a huge booty from the mountains (People living in mountain areas) and left for Kashgar.

While he was on his way to Kashgar Mirza Aba Bakr came suddenly out of his fort and took the Khan surprisingly amidst the mountains. A fierce battle took place and the Khan was defeated. There from he entered Kashgar. The very moment he left for Aksu.

Sultan Ahmad Khan died in 909 H/1503-4 A.D. and soon after this Mirza Aba Bakr led an expedition to Aksu at the head of 30,000. He took Aksu and captured the entire treasure and riches which were collected by Sultan Ahmad Khan and his men (successors) for twenty five years.

Sultan Said, third son of Sultan Ahmad Khan, who had eighteen sons, was with Sayyid Moh'd Mirza, son of Mohammad Haider Mirza in Andejan.²⁸

Mirza Aba Bakr following his expansionist policy marched to Andejan with a force of twenty thousand in order to expand the territories of his kingdom up to Farghana. Sultan Said Khan come out with a small contingent of one thousand and five hundred men.

The two armies met each other in the vicinity of Toug, which is a village two *farsakh* from Andejan. With the grace of Almighty after a great deal of struggle said Khan with a small force, was tri-

umphant over twenty thousand strong army. Thus this success established Sultan Said among the surrounding sultans.

In 902 H/1514 A.D. he conquered Kashgar and Yangi-Hisar. Mirza Aba Bakr escaped from Yarkand and left for Khotan.

Lashkar Khan followed the retreating forces beyond the Tibet mountain. A huge bounty fell into the hands of the Mogols. Sultan Said Khan ruled till 940 H/1534 A.D.²⁹ After his death his son Sultan Abdul Rashid put the crown on his head. The account of his reign has been recorded by Mirza Haider Kashgari in his history *Tarikhi Rashidi* till his assassination in 957 H/1549-50 A.D.

After this Mohammad Khan and his sons and their successors ruled for a long period of one hundred fifty lunar years.

The account being controversial has not been recorded for want of further investigations. Whatever has been found relevant in the records is noted herewith.

In 1107 A.H. Khan Qalmaq led a strong expedition from Ailah and conquered Turkistan after delivering it from the *Khans*. He kept the territory under his sway for fifty years.

During this period there lived in Kashgar one Hidayatullah a grand son of Khawaja Mohammad Amin, who is also known as Khawaja Khan and Khawaja Daniyal, a grand son of Khawaja Ishaq Wali lived in Yarkand. The Qalmaq has assigned a few villages in *Madadi-Mash* to them. Being not unaware of the opposition of the enemies, Khawaja Ahmad son of Khawaja Hidayatullah³⁰ and Khawaja Yousf son of Khawaja Daniyal were taken hostages in the city of Ailah.

29. It was during the reign of Sultan Said that Mirza Haidar Dughlat attacked Kashmir and spent the winter of 1533 A. D. in Srinagar.

30. Khawaja Hidayatullah later assumed the title of Hazrat Afaq, and acquired a position in Kashgar and later usurped the government amidst chaos and confusion.

H.W. Bellow, *Kashmir and Kashgar*, P. 26.

Khawaja Daniyal had four sons; Khawaja Yaqub, Khawaja Ayub, Khawaja Nizam-ud-Din, Khawaja Yousf had two sons in Ailah, Khawaja Yousf come to Kashgar patched up his differences with his brothers.

As already stated above the Khawajagan were held with great reverence since the Tughluk Timurs' rule to the present day by the people of Turkistan. They forced the Qalmaq rulers out of this country and he himself took possession of the Yarkand territory extending to the borders of Turfan, He held the reigns in his hands for twelve years. Khawaja Yaqub governed Yarkand, Khawaja Yousf Kashgar, Khawaja Burhan-ud-Din and Khawaja Yahya took help from the Khan Qalmaq, came upon Khawajagan-Ishaqiya from Ailah and a fierce battle took place among them,

Seventy two persons from the Khawajagan-i-Ishaqiyah were killed in this encounter. In 1169 H. the entire Kingdom fell in the hands of Khawaja Burhan-ud-Din and Khawaja Yahya. They ruled for three years but committed a number of irregularities. In this lawlessness the kirgiz who lived in deserts used to come in the dead of night to loot and plunder the territory and leave at the break of day. The Khawajagan failed to stop their incursions. Due to their negligence and debauchery the country was ruined.³¹ Seven of the nobles, who escaped on account of this state of affair were, Huda Beg and his son Usman Beg of Kuchar, Saib-uldy Beg and his brother Aq Beg from Aksu, Gadai Mohammad Beg from Bay, Kush Kafak Beg from Kashgar and Mir Niyaz Beg from Khotan. They approached Khakan of China and sought refuge in his realm,³²

31. *Role of Mullahs* M S. Aghwani, see also Ram Rahul, *Modern Central Asia*, PP. 23-24.

32. *The Chinese expansion in Central Asia started soon after the establishment of Manchu dynasty in 1663. See Wolfram E. berhard, A History of China ; 11 Ed. London, 1960, PP. 277-97.*

A strong contingent of seven thousand soldiers under the guidance of those men and commanded by Janjun were commissioned for this expedition. While subduing the city of Qamal, they established there a *thana*, most of the men marched ahead and went on conquering cities after cities. In this way two of the said Khawajas escaped to Badakhshan alongwith their families without any encounter but the Khitayee army followed them and killed both of the Khawajas. Abdul Khaliq son of Burhan-ud-Din was imprisoned and his another son escaped to Bukhara. The nobles requested Janjun that firstly there should not be any kind of interference in their religion which is Islam, Secondly the *hakim* of this city should be a *Sunni*. Both of these requests were granted and a treaty was concluded. So in 1173 A.H. Yarkand was assigned to Hudy Beg, Kashgar to Gadai Beg, Khotan to Mir Niyaz Beg and Aksu to Saib-uldy Beg, Usman Beg was given Kuchar and Yangi-Hisar to Aq Beg. There is no trace of Khush Kafak Beg³³

They reduced the taxes and cesses for the welfare of the people and abolished the previous renovation altogether. After a lapse of two years in this way, Janjun, conquered the country of Ila, (which previously belonged to) the Khan of Qalmaq, built a strong fort there and remained there in person.³⁴

Thus Yarkand, Kashgar, Yangi Hisar, Khotan, Aksu, Turfan, Bay, Saram, Kuchar and the ancient Turfan up to the borders of Qamal from Ila, Arumchi, Manas, Moory, Jeti, Barkul, Kara Shahar, Lob and Lay Masjid, and in the North upto borders of Qamal remained under suzerainty of Khakan of Chin.³⁵

33. *Turkistan had a feudal structure of government with a number of feudal Lords called beg.*

34. *The mongols were called Qalmaqs also.*

35. *Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, IEd. P. 282.*

The officers of the Khitayees carried on the administration satisfactorily. The people became prosperous.³⁶

The king of Khitayees appointed three *Dalwiya* to every city annually.³⁷ The duty assigned to first was that he should enquire from the *Hakim* of the city who should be a muslim,³⁸ about the suits and the redresal of the grievances of the subjects, the second should investigate about grains, and the official treasuries, and the duty of the third was to look after the interests of the army and the Khitayee traders. These *Dalwiya* did not interfere in the duties of each other. They were headed by one (official) called *Amban*. Eight *Amban* were placed under one elder *Amban* who is called *Chab-i Amban*.³⁹ He lives in (his office) the fort of Khitayee at Yarkand. These Khitayee officials are transferred after every three years; and the muslim officials are not transferred until they commit any mistake.

They had fixed number of villages in their *Jagirs* and fixed amount for their expenditure.

The number of the servants of the muslim *hakims* varried from one hundred to one thousand in accordance with the status and position of the *hakim*.

No tax was imposed on the minor, sick and old but the majors (elder) were charged at the rate of two and a half *Chark* that is two *mans* and the minors at the rate of half *man* of wheat, barley or maize annually; and only one-fourth of a *man* was realized from the poor. The tax was fixed at each head and not on land; orchard or agriculture,

36. Captain Deasy has quite contrary view about the administrative set up of the area which he visited in 1893-6. See In Tibet And Chinese Turkistan, Capt. H. H. P. Deasy, P. 329-33, London T. Fisher Unwin, 1901.

37. Wolfram Eberhard, A History of China, P. 282.

38. Khan Amban of H. W. Belew, Kashmir and Kashghar P. 255

39. Khan Amban of H. W. Belew, Kashmir and Kashghar P. 255

Nevertheless, some cotton was realised from the residents of Yarkand, Kashgar, Yangi-Hisar and Khoten in addition to afore said taxes.⁴⁰

In the religious affairs it was the responsibility of 'Alam-Akhoon (Qazi) and Mufti Akhoon Amban.⁴¹ Dalwiva and Hakim of the city did not interfere in their matters. As a matter of fact, the Khakan used to dispatch two *firman*s every year forbidding any kind of interference in the religious matters except the two Akhoon⁴². The punishment for homicide was also subject to religious dogmas.⁴³

40. According to Deasy the system of taxation in the nineties was altogether different. He states that the principal tax was 'ushar levied on irrigated land, and the rate of tax was low in case of unirrigated and well irrigated land. The tax was collected in kind, but in the Yarkand district it was paid in cash. The tax on other trades was levied also in cash according to the following rates, Oil press owner 3 tongas monthly, rice mill owner 1 to 2 Sarrs annually, gold diggers have to pay 1/3rd of their dig, flour mills 2 to 10 sarrs annually. Tax on market sales varied from 75 to 95 Sarrs a month. Tax on sale of property was 1/20th of purchase power. See for details, In Tibet And Chinese Turkistan, Deasy, H. H. P., PP 332-3

41. 'Alim literally means a learned person.

42. As a matter of fact there had been revolts in the Chinese Turkistan because of Certain policies which were not favoured by the muslims of the reign. It appears such strictures were issued in the light of these feelings. See also W. Eberhard, A History of China, PP 282-3

43. According to Deasy the death sentence could not be carried out till it is not confirmed from Urumchi or Peking, In Tibet And Chinese Turkistan P. 334.

The officials as well as the army personnel (were not allowed to acquire) a blade of grass or a thread for the needle without payment, and there was no question of other things (of harshness and corruption). Thus encouraging the Khawaja, he commissioned an army for an expedition on Aksu. A face to face battle took place among the rival forces, but no party was triumphant. So the army of the Khawaja encamped on the bank of the river Aksu for a period of five months.

Since the distance from this place to Penkhin (Pekin), the capital of the king of Khitayee, was of six months, so the *dak* runners fixed a daily run of three *Krohs* and at each halting place got forty families of the *Zaminandars* settled in order to avoid the desolation of the road. The *dak* was despatched weekly. Forty days in going and forty in coming back and twenty days to get the reply of *Khan*. Thus in three months and a few days some reply was expected to come (for further action). The Khitayees do not act on their own without the directive of the Khakan. Taking this event lightly the Commander of the Khitayee army delayed the message but (the course of the war) having taken a serious turn, he under compulsion reported the facts to the King of China.

There was a long delay in receiving any kind of reply so the army in the fort of Yarkand was disgusted and having no hope of their life for not receiving any reinforcement, they in consultation with twenty four officers of the army collected a large number of coins which was the wealth (property) of the King and buried it in the centre of the fort under the trunk of a tree. The entire account of the treasure was inscribed on it in Khitayee Script.

Since the land of Turkistan is highly fertile, so new settlers used to come from every direction and the merchants also used to bring a heavy merchandize and took also products of this area to other places. With the result, there was increase in prosperity and population. Four cities, Shahbar, Lokar, Karla and Kara, were founded by the Khitayees,

and had them under their own control.⁴⁴

In 1242 H. during the rule of Mohammad Said Wang, one Khawaja Jahangir, a grand son of Khawaja Yousf had escaped to Khokand. He got an assistance of one thousand horse and men from Mohammad Ali Khan, the ruler of Khokand who considered Khawaja Jahangir his perceptor. Ten thousand Kirgiz living in the deserts also joined his army. While reaching the outskirts of Kashgar a large number of *Dotanies*, the people living in the mountains of Kashgar, also joined his force and his army swelled up to fifty thousand foot and horse and then launched an attack on Kashgar and brought it under his sway. The Khitayee army retired into the fort without any fight. Khawaja Mohammad Said Wang killed the *hakim* of Kashgar, leaving five to six thousand men for the defence of the city; he himself left for Yarkand expedition alongwith his men. In addition he carried ten thousand men from Kashgar with him. Here also about forty thousand mountain dwellers, the *Dottanies* came to his assistance. Thus an army of one hundred thousand, equipped and without equipment attacked Yarkand. The Khitayee forces here too shut themselves in the fort without any encounter. The Khawaja thus conquered Yarkand. Four months lapsed in this way and no reinforcement or help came from the *Khakani-Chin*.

To save their honour they spread gun powder over the ground and set it to fire while placing themselves over it, thus got consumed in the fire. After this development Khawaja Jahangir tightened his grip over Yarkand.⁴⁵

Since a large number of people came and assembled in these two cities, the merchandise became costly to the extent that an article

44. Kashmir and Kashgar, P. 316

45. Major Belew States that the Amban set fire to his palace and perished in its fire. Kashmir and Kashgar, p. 317

worth a rupee was sold in twenty rupees. As there were no silver coins so the transactions were carried in Copper. Lakhs of *tankas* were piled up with the merchants.

After the lapse of nine months of this trouble an imperial decree was issued to Janjun directing him to depute a powerful contingent against the intruders who have been creating trouble in Yarkand and get them imprisoned. On this Janjun deputed a contingent of ten thousand strong men cavalry and infantry towards Yarkand and Kashgar. (He) issued orders to dispatch reinforcement of ten thousand men towards this direction every day till the arrival of the news of victory. The army of Khawaja Jahangir was stationed on the bank of the river Aksu (where he) met the advance force of 10,000 men but could not face them and he escaped to Yarkand. The Khitayee forces followed him but halted at Jahan Bagh outside the city. Next day the Chinese army official as per directive of *Amban* attacked the army of Khawaja Jahangir through the main gate of Aksu. About twenty thousand men of Khawaja Jahangir were put to sword and the rest of them escaped and Khawaja Jahangir himself fled to Kashgar. The Chinese army entered the Khitayee fort of Yarkand and read out the inscription on the tree about the buried treasure which has been previously discussed. Having dug out the coins (treasure) he came out of the fort and entered the city of Yarkand. When the news of victory reached Janjun he recalled the army which was on its way (to Yarkand) to Ailah but till then ninety thousand Khitayee force had entered Yarkand. The grain thus collected from Ailah for the consumption of the army was left there in heaps and those heaps are visible even today.

After a halt of a month the army following the orders of *Amban* left for Kashgar to reprimand the miscreants and to imprison Khawaja Jahangir. Hearing this news Khawaja Jahangir escaped from Kashgar to Sircal which lies on the road to Badakhshan. His army had also scattered after having heard the news of Yarkand conquest. So the commander of Khitayee armies set the administration of Kashgar also, according to his own choice. The *Mir*, ruler of Sircal detai-

ned Khawaja Jahangir with all love and respect. As soon as officers of the Khitayee army came for him the Mir, *Wali Sircal* handed him over to them. They took him to Yarkand via Kashgar to the court of *Amban*. He sent him to the country of Ailah to Janjun. He (Janjun) sent him to *Khakan* where he was hanged on the gate of the city of Pechin (Peking)⁴⁶. This trouble was finished in the year 1885 Bikrami corresponding 1243 H/1839 A. D.

The saqal *Amban* remained at Yarkand for a period of five months. Having satisfied himself on all sides he appointed one of his men, *Khufah Amban* by name, in his place and directed him to build two mud forts in Yarkand and Kashgar. He himself set for the country of Ailah. *Khufa Amban* built both the forts in six years.

Since 1243 A.H./1839 A.D. *Ishaq Wang* ruled Kashgar for three years. In 1246 A.H. *Khawaja Yousaf* one of the grand-sons of *Khawaja Yahya* came from *Khokhan* and took the possession of Kashgar for six months. When the Khitayee forces attacked him he fled to *Khokand*. The Khitayee's assigned the government of Kashgar to *Zahurud-Din Beg* who ruled the country effectively for a period of sixteen years.

In 1262 H/1858/59 A.D. *Kita Khan Torah* and *Kahak Khan Torah* alongwith five brothers out of them *Wali Khan Torah* a descendant of *Khawaja Yousaf* was one, took the possession of Kashgar except the Khitayee fort and (they) ruled the country for a period of three and a half years. The reins of the government again then came in the hands of the *Khitayees*. The same year *Mohammad Taji Beg* became the ruler of Kashgar. He ruled for nine years with justice and at his death in 1271 H/1867-68 A.D. his elder brother *Ahmed Beg Wang* was called from *Aksu* and was placed (Assigned.) on Kashgar. In 1273 H/1869-70 A.D. *Wali Khan Torah*, whose account will follow,

46. *Pekin* is pronounced as *Bejin* in *Sichang* (Chinese Turkistan) In *Tibet* and *Chinese Turkistan*. etc, etc *H. H. P. Deasy*, P. 347

came from Khokand and ruled Kashgar for a period of four months. After his destruction one of the sons of Qutlugh Beg ruled Kashgar in a state of confusion for seven years upto 1280 A.H./1877-78 A.D. The rest of the account of Kashgar will follow. In short in 1280 Birkrami (1844 A.D.) about ten thousand people of the mountains known as *Dutan* raided Yarkand (They.) destroyed some dwellings but soon as the Chinese army came out of the fort all of them retreated. The Chinese pursued them, and killed about three thousand, the rest of the miscreants concealed themselves but the Khitayee forces used to get hold of ten to twenty of them and put them to sword everywhere.

After seeking permission from Mulla Khan ruler of Khokand in 1294 Birkrami (1856 A.D.) Wali Khan Torah one of the sons of Khawaja Yousf took seventeen Kashgarians with him for the second time and entered the town of Alash via Kirgizia which is one and half days way from Kashgar⁴⁷. The inhabitants of the town are followers of *Khawajazada*. Here he collected a strong force for expedition. Qutlugh Hakim Beg Kochari in consultation with the *Amban* selected a force of five to six thousand men out of the Khitayee army which was in Kashgar and arrayed them against the *(Khawajazada)*. In such a state of affairs they despatched swift messengers to call muslims of the surrounding areas to join the holy war.

In this way the muslim soldiers of the Kashgar army also joined the invading army, and the remaining Khitayee soldiers were killed in this encounter. The rest of the Khitayees who were in the Kashgar fort closed and shut themselves in it. After three days the residents of Kashgar brought Wali Khan, alongwith his forces into the fort, Qutlugh Hakim Beg retreated to the Khitayee fort which was at a distance of ten *Kroh* from Kashgar and Wali Khan occupied Kashgar.

He besieged the Khitayee fort for fifty days. During this period Tilla Khan was deputed to Yarkand in Vanguard, while Khufa *Amban* of Yarkand shut himself alongwith the army in the Khitayee fort.

this context (it is not out of place to mention) that one Mr. Spelli's Schlagentweit⁴⁸ made up his mind to come to Khoten from Kangra via Kokhar in the guidance of Murad Jhud and Mohammad Amin Chakar.

Yarkand being in trouble he left it and went towards Kashgar where he met Wali Khan Torah. He welcomed the *Sahib* with all the respect and hospitality. The *Sahib* also used to accompany Wali Khan to examine his encounters with the besieged army of the Khitayees. When the fort was not entered for fifty days; Wali Khan appealed to the *Sahib* to get the fort conquered for him. The *Sahib* told him that he being alone and they didn't know the war tactics so how it was possible for him to conquer the fort.

On this reply Wali Khan on account of his arrogance sacked the camp of the *Sahib* and put him to sword, and beheaded all those whosoever was moving around. In order to inspire awe in the minds of his opponents, he raised a minaret of the skulls of the innocent.

In short Tilla Khan collected all the *Kharujis* outside Yarkand. When he reached Iqu which is a day's journey from Yarkand, Khufa Amban despatched Afridun Wang against Tilla Khan alongwith Kashmiri, Badakh-Shani, Kabuly, Indian and the Balti (men.) Nevertheless, he did not allow the Andejani's to come out apprehending that they may join the forces of Tilla Khan. The armies confronted each other at Taqarchi. On seeing the muslims with the Khitayees, Tilla Khan sent four men with a message for them but they were captured and taken to Amban. The Amban rewarded Afridun Wang and the soldiers lavishly. Having gained confidence, the Amban placed two hundred Khitayees to guard the gates of Yarkand fort, and gave (the command of) nine hundred Khitayee men to Amin Wang brother of Afridun

48. Adolphe Schlagentweit was murdered in 1875 by Haji Wali Khan and his skull was put on the pile of other skulls. Kashmir and Kashgar P. 306

Wang to meet Tilla Khan. The war continued for one and half month. Since the *Kharujis* had assembled in large numbers so the Khitayees postponed the war and retired into the fort for twenty seven days. Meanwhile two thousand Qalmaqs came from Ailah to reinforce the Khitayees at Yarkand.

In accordance with the Khitayee traditions, they had decided to sack the city of Yarkand, but they (the Yarkandis) hanged the Portrait of the *Khakan* at the gate of the city; thus (the Khitayees) relinquished the idea of the sack of the country⁴⁹. The skirmishes continued for about two months with the forces of Wali Khan; which swelled upto eighty to ninety thousand, most of them without any equipment. Neither of the parties was victorious. Three thousand Qalmaqs from Ailah also came and joined the Khitayee forces.

The Khitayees came out collectively, (on this) Tilla Khan fled alongwith the *Kharujis* and stopped at Taksan Butaq which is in between Yarkand and Yangi-Hisar. A fierce battle took place and Tilla Khan was routed. On hearing this news Wali Khan escaped alone from Kashgar in wilderness and took shelter in Khokand. The *Kharujis* did not get any place of shelter and roamed about in wilderness. It is said that after the conquest of Kashgar, Wali Khan had exercised violence over the people and had choked their daily life⁵⁰,

He used to kill a number of innocent people everyday. On the eve of 1'd he ordered the sacrifice of eleven people. One of his associates told him that the sacrifice of the goat and sheep is permitted by the *Shariat* and the human sacrifice is not allowed. The Khawaja became so furious, that he ordered sacrifice of the petitioner also and so twelve men in all were killed. He called the women of the people by force and molested them. In short the Khitayee forces entered Kashgar and remained in the fort only for a little while. All the imprisoned

49. It was Chinese tradition to forgive the defeated enemy who placed the portrait of the *Khakan* on the gate of the city.

50. Kashmir and Kashgar, p. 255

miscreants were put to death. Bye and Bye the number of the killings reached to two thousand. The country was cleaned of the miscreants and after one and a half month, seventy five thousands men were stationed in the fort for the defence of the country and the rest of the forces returned to the country of Ailah. There prevailed peace in this region upto 1920 Bikrami (1861-62 A. D.)

In 1920/1861-62 a *firman* was issued to Khufah Amban, the *hakim* of Yarkand, with the directive to kill all the men, women, and children of Tungan community. Wherever they are found in his dominion, as the residents of Satar had turned disloyal while the forces of the city (country.) of Satar were deputed to put down a rebellion in one of the cities of Khitayee. While returning from the expedition they did not find any trace of their country men who were put to sword because of the aforesaid betrayal of the order (of the *Khakan*.) they put the *hakim* of the city of Satar, an imperial servant, to sword. It is in this perspective that the decree has been issued to kill all the men whether in the army or out side in the territories of Turkistan without any discrimination.

Khufah Amban called his officers for consultation who were in the army. He told them that there were eleven hundred Tungani men in the army of Yarkand, and the same number is in every fort of the Turkistan territory. How these innocent men could be killed? The decision became quite popular and thus the information about the decree was passed on to the Tunganies through the officers. Thus there was not any bloodshed. They (Tunganis) expressed their thankfulness to Khufah Amban for this favour but inwardly they became suspicious and at the same time remained alert watching the future.

In 1920 Bikrami (1861-62 A.D.) Ahmad Wang *hakim* of Kuchar had started digging out a canal from River Aksu, with the help of *Zamindars* and other residents of Kuchar. Although he paid the remuneration in cash, but the people were fed up with the toilsome job. They started canvassing with each other to get rid of this tiresome work, which they considered as a torture from Ahmad Wang; by putting him to death. Thus in 1921 Bikrami (1862-63) all the labourers

assembled and killed Ahmad Wang while he was all alone. When this news reached to the army of Khitayees who were in the Kuchar fort, they started the killing of the labourers who were *reyots* by profession. (on this.) the Tunganis, about one thousand in all in the fort of Kuchar who had previous animosity in their heart of hearts, joined the *Zamindars* of Kuchar and fell upon them in the night and killed the chinese soldiers. Next day during night the Tunganis brought Rashid-ud-Din, a *Sufi* and a *mujavir* who was a descendant of Maulana Hafiz-ud-Din Bukhari about whom (we.) have said already; put the royal mantle on his shoulders and placed him on the Kuchar throne. When the Tunganis serving in the Yarkand army heard the news, forty persons of this community who were gamblers and vagabonds, residing in the Khitayee fort in consultation among themselves, decided to kill the Chinese soldiers taking it a binding upon themselves as their brethern and community men had been killed. Chinese soldiers while coming to know about their plans, Khufah Amban, called their officers and advised them that they should not think upon these lines. They should be sure that their countrymen would also kill them. The country would not remain in their hands. Thus why should they destroy them (the chinese) and themselves. It would be proper to defend their lives, guard the fort, alienate the gamblers and micreants whom they would kill. Sulaiman Akhun an Officer of the Tunganis replied, "The gamblers are their kith and kin. These are many in the army and the city, their bloodshed will accelerate further the rebellion and they will kill both you and me. It will be appropriate to pacify them by awarding them something as *bakhshish* so that they will give up the idea,"

On this Khufah Amban, handed over forty coins to Sulaiman who collected the Tungani gamblers with the assistance of other officers in a mosque. He gave one coin to each of them to seek their pleasure. They took an oath on the holy Quran that they would not oppose the Chinese army, on the other hand the Chinese also took an oath in their monastery not to have any kind of hatred against them.

Abdul Rahman Khan entered the fort along with the citizens. Plundered the provisions and about a hundred men and women of Kara Khitayee community who had survived fell into the hands of the Khotenis. The rest of the surviving Khitayees in the city were put to sword and their property was looted. Since Haji Habibullah was a *Mullah*, so he did not take interest in the government and placed Abdul Rahman Khan on the throne. Meanwhile a Badakhshi *Pirzada* who was residing in the village of Sancha came down with two or three hundred men to attack Khoten. Abdul Rahman Khan having been the King recently, did not think it advisable to quarrell with him and assigned him the government in his own place. Having taken the reins in his hand only for two days the people began to dislike his subordination as he had no guts of State Craft, and thus he was exiled, and left towards Yarkand. Abdul Rahman became the King again with all grandeur and determination, till Gulam Husain Khan, after the conquest of Khitayee fort became the ruler of Yarkand. He deputed his son Wazir Khan to Khoten under the command of Abdul Rahman Khan. The battle took place at village Bayamalla. Although Abdul Rahman Khan was killed in this battle, yet the Yarkand forces could not take any benefit out of it but retreated towards Yarkand. Sulaiman Akhun the leader of the Tungans fell into the hands of the Khotenis and the victory was destined in favour of the Khoten forces. They brought ninety two sabres, seven hundred strings of the camel, the tents and other material also fell into their hands in this war. Haji Habibullah Khan took the reins of the state in his own hands. As already mentioned Haji Ibrahim son of Haji Habibullah had gone to seek the assistance of Khokand. He had left for Khoten from Khokand. Yarkand lay in his way so he did not enter it and left for Khokand while circling round (Yarkand); presented forty two women and children, three *Yamun* in cash to the son of Malla Khan ruler of Khokand. He also

in return received him with great honour and conferred on him a garment and gave him the title of Sadur Khan. He called Ataleeq Ghazi Yaqub, Kush-Begi from US and sent him with him (Sadur Khan,) for his assistance.⁵¹

51. *By 1873 Yaqoob Beg had established his grip all over the Tarim Basin, and urumchi. His further extension, was curtailed because of the Russian intervention in the region. A History of China Vol I, 314. The Muslim population of the whole of Eastern Turkistan rose against Ching rule of China, Ibid, PP 327-8.*

At midnight forty persons from the Tungani gamblers one each went to the houses of Khitayee merchants who lived within the forts, in the dead of sleep, called them out saying they are wanted by Amban. Awaking from the sleep, they came out of their homes, but did not notice the concealed mischief of the Tunganis. While coming out, the Tunganis awaiting at the doors, drew out their swords and killed about one hundred merchants, without any information to each other. After this they set their houses to fire. On coming to know this the Amban closed the internal fort which lies between his house and the Chinese barracks.

The remaining gamblers who had their residence in city assembled together and then marched towards the jail where they set all the prisoners free. After this they sacked two hundred shops of Khitayee merchants and got them relieved of their life (put them to death,). Then they set themselves to loot and plunder of the city also. So the Kashmiri, Khokande and the Badakhshani merchants joined their hands and rose against the Tunganies. Leaving the sack aside they jointly came upon the Khitayee fort and penetrated into the external fort, the capital of the Tungs and captured it without any effort. On this the Khitayees who were inside the fort came out and attacked the Tungs and the merchants. The merchants being unequipped could not withstand the battle, retreated and the Tungs also took to their heels. About four hundred people who had remained within the fort were captured and the gates of external fort were also closed. But the Tungs, and the people of city and villages, and the merchants collectively beseiged the fort, started mortaring the same. The Khitayees were also hurling sabres and shooting with gun within the fort on the attackers.

A number of people were killed by this shelling. The battle and killing continued for four months. At last the Khitayees spread gunpowder and set it then set it to fire and burnt themselves alive. In this way entire Khitayees from the Manchu race to the Tatars were finished. At the same time the Tungs and people of the city attacked the fort and forced open the inner fort. The rest of the Kara Khitayee men who were alive, were arrested. Whatever provisions were found with the fort were plundered.

At the time of siege of the fort Abdul Rahman a *Pirzada* was declared king. On account of some trouble with the former, he was replaced by Sulaiman Khan Akhun their *imam*.

During those days the Kocharies attacked Yarkand. The Tungans came out to meet the Kochars in the field outside the city. Neither of the parties was victorious, so they decided to settle the dispute amicably. The Kocharies were given a place within the city. In this way the Kochars ruled themselves, the Tungans remained under their *Imam* and the inhabitants and the merchants wanted to have Abdul Rahman as their *Emir*. After sometime there developed dissensions among them thus there was a continuous warfare, the strongest used to capture the power for a few days and then he was replaced by other pushing him into oblivion for a couple of days.

Finally they decided to declare Gulam Husain Khan, brother of Abdul Rahman Khan their ruler. He too ruled them for a few days and then declared his son Wazir Khan as King, who was very intelligent. During these days Haji Habibullah of Khoten had sent his own son Haji Ibrahim from Khoten to the ruler of Khokand with a request for military help, and at Khoten the inhabitants were busy in planning to attack the Khitayee forces who were stationed in Khoten, which was possible only after the conquest of Khitayee fort at Yarkand. After one month when this news reached Khoten, the same time Abdul Rahman, eldest son of Haji Habibullah in consultation with two to three hundred citizens, deputed courtiers to various *parganahs* secretly to collect the villagers for a surprise attack. Thousands of the city people who had dropped the idea of an attack also assembled and besieged the Khitayee fort. The (Khitayees) shut themselves in the fort. Abdul Rahman Khan sent a message inside the fort asking them to vacate the same, and to accept the faith of Islam then come and settle down in the city; no body will kill them. The Khitayees were frightened on account of the noise of the mob and the news of the trouble at Kochar and Yarkand. They did not accept their offer but sat on the gunpowder and burnt themselves alive. After this incident

CHAPTER III

Accession of Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi⁵²

When Haji Ibrahim Khan and Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi reached Kashgar, they found the Khitayee fort strongly garrisoned. The people of Kashgar had invited Buzarg Khan son of Jahangir Khawaja from Khokand and declared him their ruler⁵³.

Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi went to see him (the Khawaja,) being a *pirzada* the Gazi had all respect and reverence for the sons of the Khawaja, and they got themselves introduced to each other. Herefrom he alongwith Haji Ibrahim Khan left for Yarkand. During those days Jamal-ud-Din Khawaja, brother of Rashid-ud-Din Khan Kochari had become the ruler of Yarkand. He brought Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi and Haji Ibrahim Khan to the city, put them at the residence of *Hakim* of Yarkand and himself received them with great respect and hospitality. Two days went on in this way, he began to take interest in the affairs of the state. Jamal-ud-Din Khawaja did not like this, so he attacked them, Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi returned to Kashgar and Haji Ibrahim Khan retreated to Khoten as a fugitive.

Ataleeq Gazi having reached Kashgar was joined there by the remaining three to four hundred soldiers. One Sidiq Beg, a Kirgiz had got the Khitayee fort of Yangi-Hisar vacated and taken its possession.

52. *So far the details of his adventures, See H. W. Bellew, Kashmir and Kashgar; A mission known in History as Frosyth Mission was sent to Kashgar during his reign. A detailed account of the mission and its activities are recorded in this monumental work of H. W. Bellew, Kashmir and Kashgar, PP 316-33.*

53. *Kashmir and Kashgar PP. 332-4*

Hazrat Ataleeq Beg together with Buzarg Khan ruler of Kashgar and the people of Kashgar, through the diplomatic tricks restituted the fort of Yangi-Hisar from Sidiq Beg⁵⁴. Considering Buzarg Khan as his *Pir* and the people of Kashgar also had deep reverence for him, assigned the government of Yangi-Hisar to him.

On this account Buzarg Khan appointed him as the commander of his forces and was sent on Yarkand expedition. The Kuchar forces had collected at the gate of Yarkand, which is towards Aksu and is known as *darwaza-Aksu*, to guard the fort. They did not enter into a battle and Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi taking into consideration the exigencies of the moment, returned to Kashgar. After this the Tungans and the Kochars massacred a large number of Andejanis who lived in Yarkand. Their houses were set to fire and the property was plundered. After a few days Jamal-ud-Din Khawaja nominated Isa Khawaja his brother as care taker, himself proceeded towards Kashgar with the Tungani and Kochari soldiers. Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi had meanwhile reached near Yangi-Hisar where the parties measured their swords. Khawaja Jamal-ud-Din could not withstand battle and he retreated to Yarkand in great distress. He was frightened on account of their assault finding himself unable to face the enemy second time even in Yarkand, so he fled to Aksu. The moment the rumour spread that the city of Yarkand is empty (without a ruler,) Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi alighted in Yarkand alongwith his army without any trouble.

Because of his foresight and care he laid down the foundation of his residence in the village of Sakal three *Kroh* from Yarkand. The Tungans were in the fort of the Khitayees. Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi brought out a few persons through the office of his *Vakil*. He ordered them to vacate the fort. They did not pay any heed towards this, so he imprisoned them. The Tungans came out of the fort and started fighting with soldiers of Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi in the village of Sakal.

54. It is Sidiq Beg and not Sadec Beg as put by the author of Kashmir and Kashgar, p. 323

A number of the Tungan soldiers were put to sword; those who escaped the death retreated, took shelter in the fort and closed its gates.

After this Hazrat *Kush Beg*⁵⁵ (*Ataleeq Gazi*) by presenting their safe delivery drove the Tunganis out of the fort, captured their bag and baggage and then exiled them to suppress the trouble.

The *Khitayee* fort at Kashgar was still (properly garrisoned and,) well protected, so to pierce the walls he prepared equipment in a large quantity. He designated *Hodinjis* as the *Naib* of Yarkand. It was a powerful clan of the *Andejan* community. He marched himself at the head of two thousand *Andejanis*, *Yarkandis* and *Badakshis* towards Kashgar. With the help of *Buzarag Khan* he annexed the people of Kashgar with his army and beseiged the *Khitayee* fort. They continued to bore the walls of the fort for a few days. The *Khitayee's* had been within the fort for fourteen months and there was acute shortage of provisions. Finding no other alternative they burnt themselves alive, while sitting on the gun powder spread over in the fort. *Buzarg Khan* and Hazrat *Ataleeq Gazi* entered the fort. A huge booty in the shape of the war material, cash and kind fell in their hands.

Forgetting the conquest of a number of cities by the sheer force of *Ataleeq Gazi*, he (*Buzarag Khan*) started intrigues to pull him down. On this pretext Hazrat *Ataleeq Gazi* won the officers by rewarding them lavishly⁵⁶. He then arrested *Buzarag Khan* and brought the whole of Kashgar under his control. *Wali Shah* who belonged to the clan of *Buzarg Khan*, was also imprisoned in order to put down any kind of upheaval.

About a month earlier the *Andejanis* had come to attack *Khoten* but were defeated. They also sought the help from *Ataleeq Gazi* who did not think it advisable, but he sent his *Vakil* with a letter to *Haji*.

55. *Kushbegi* was the title of *Ataleeq Gazi*.

56. *Kashmir and Kashghar* P. 324

Habibullah mentioning, "He had taken Yarkand, Kashgar, and Yangi-Hisar from the Tungans and brought this territory under his control, since the (area,) on the otherside of Khokand has been virtually reduced by you so it is advisable to send Haji Ibrahim Khan for a meeting in order to enter into an agreement then he would go back to serve you; so that the parties will remain in peace and prosperity." Haji Habibullah detained the *Vakil* for fifteen days and returned him with presents towards Yarkand in the company of Haji Ibrahim. Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi had also in the course of time entered Yarkand, Haji Ibrahim offered the *Peshkash* of four hundred *Yamun* in cash and other presents worth one hundred *Yamun*. Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi welcomed him with great respect and reverence.

They made promise for mutual compromise and cooperation repeatedly taking oath of the holy Quran with each other. He pleased him with the robes of honour and eleven riding horses and gave dresses to one hundred men who were with him, and sent Abdullah an officer of his army of 500 rank with him. The contents of the treaty were, "We on our part consider Haji Habibullah as our father, and his service is abinding upon us. Thus we are least concerned with Khoten which has been reduced by force to submission by the Haji. Haji Sahab (Haji Habibullah) also has no claims on (should not interfere,) Yarkand, Kashgar, and Yangi-Hisar, but we should be one by heart and should come to help each other at the time of necessity." On seeing the treaty Haji Habibullah was jubilant. He also detained Abdullah *Pansadi* (of 500 rank) with him, with all possible hospitality and at the time of permission to leave he also awarded him a robe of honour and fifteen *Yamun*.

These friendly and cordial relations continued for a long time while Haji Habibullah used to present thirty, forty or fifty *Yamun* monthly to Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi through his trusted men,

In the month of Poh, 1923 Bikrami (June 1864 A.D.) Nizam-ud-Din Akhun, who is a *Pirzada*, has no counterpart in chivalry, and bravery, was appointed as *Sipah Salar*; and Qari Hamid of Andejan

community, a short statured person and a destitute was raised to the status of an officer; both were commissioned to the mission of Khoten for presenting the offers to Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi with one hundred *pustin* of all kinds, eleven bridle horses of fine breed and fifty *Yamun* in cash by Haji Habibullah Khan.

During those days Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi had come towards Yarkand. Both of the said *Vakils* came to seek his audience at Kok-arabad which is one days journey from Yarkand and offered the *Peshkash*; Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi did not pay any attention towards these presents but imprisoned Nizam-ud-Din Akhun. Qari Hamid who is from the Andejan community, though fostered by the Haji yet hated him in the heart of his hearts. He forgot the favours of his benefactor all of a sudden and expounded all he knew about Haji Habibullah, in secrecy to Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi. In order to conceal the arrest of Nizam-ud-Din, he directed him (the Qari,) to leave for Haji Habibullah with a letter of this content. "To depute Haji Ibrahim Khan haste post so that he may be assigned the government of Yarkand as I intend to unfurl my flags towards Aksu." The Qari rushed and on the third day he delivered the letter to Haji Habibullah and stated the details to him as tutored by Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi in privacy.

The same day, first Mag, 1293 Bikrami/July 4, 1865, Haji Habibullah sent Ibrahim Khan with two hundred servants towards Yarkand. After a two days journey reaching the fort at Kota, he heard that Ataleeq Gazi had captured the *Parganah* of Kota and has arrested the *hakim* of the place. He asked Qari Hamid if he has been called out of friendliness, what does this animosity mean and directed him to go and come back after finding the facts.

Qari Hamid left the same moment. Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi was in the village of Mogah, but he did not see him but met Mirza Ahmad *Kush Begi*, Abdullah *Pansadi*, and a few army officers who had about three thousand men with them and told them about the arrival of Haji Ibrahim Khan.

Being frightened because of the arrival of the army he advised them to draft a letter full of love and reverence so that Haji Ibrahim will be free from any apprehension, which he would deliver to him. When the Haji falls in our trap, Khoten will be reduced without a battle or trouble.

On this, the officers gave him a letter stating, "Our brother Haji Ibrahim; peace be upon him. We have come to know from Qari Hamid about your departure towards Yarkand; be it auspicious. Ataleeq Gazi had directed us to leave towards Aksu. Be satisfied and try to reach this place during the night, so that we may have a meeting and we will leave towards Aksu and you will also leave for Yarkand"

Qari Hamid came to Haji Ibrahim with the letter and verbally also told him that the army was to leave for Aksu, and that Haji Habibullah be requested for some grain, and you would immediately proceed to meet the above mentioned officers. Haji Ibrahim replied that the time was prone to disturbance so he would seek permission from his father. The same moment he informed Haji Habibullah about the arrival of the forces, assignment of Qari Hamid and his return with a letter from the army officers of Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi in a letter. After receiving the letter, he got acquainted with the developments. Haji Ibrahim also left to meet his father without any hesitation.

Having gone through the contents of the letter, next day he directed his army to leave for Khoten under the command of his nephew, Sanaul-Din with the directive to encamp in the fort of Zore which is seven *Kroh* from Khoten. He assigned the duty to guard the routes and the gates to Haji Saifullah, his brother who had the people of Qarakash under him. At noon Haji Ibrahim appeared along with Qari Hamid; and explained the facts to him in detail. During the night Haji Ibrahim in consultation with Qari Hamid requested the Haji to permit them to depute any trustworthy person to Mirza Ahmad in order to investigate all the facts. On this the Haji deputed the same Qari Hamid and Gafar Haji, an old trusted servant of his own to investigate the matters. Meanwhile the officials of Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi

rebellion. On 29th Mag, 1923 Bikrami, on the day of Id, Haji Habibullah and his son Nizamudin with three of their servants were killed in Yarkand.

On 11th Phagun of the same year Ataleeq Gazi appointed Hodejji hakim of Khoten and assigned Hasan Khan the duty to sell the grains, property and the land belonging to Haji Habibullah. He himself then proceeded to Yarkand. After one month he left towards Kashgar and spent three months there, then he set on march to Aksu at the head of his army. The ruler of Aksu was defeated in the battle. After imprisoning Jamal-ud-Din Khawaja (the ruler of Aksu) Aksu was incorporated with kingdom of Hazrat Ataleeq Gazi.



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