Introduction

Since the Uyghur uprisings of July 2009 in Urumchi, academia has become interested in a region seemingly forgotten since the People's Republic of China established control of the province. These demonstrations and the violence that followed attest to the history of repressive force that Chinese states have imposed upon the Turkic Uyghur population. In a province where the native ethnicities barely constitute a majority over Han settlers, one wonders about the social impact the Chinese neo-imperial movements have created for the Uyghurs. Chinese nationalists, and even the popular imagination in the People's Republic of China, believe that Xinjiang (Ch. 'New Frontier') have been part of the Chinese realm of influence since the Tang dynasty (618-907 CE). However, direct control was only established under the Qing dynasty (1644-1911 CE) between 1756 and 1759, thus creating geographic political entities of China and Mongolia as seen today. This formula of Chinese expansion and control oversimplifies the political and religious order of the region, and grants the Qing the role of the actor; while, in fact, there were several local political units vying for power and three empires seeking control of the area following the dissolution of the Chagatai Khanate in the mid-16th century. After this time, ideas of legitimization underwent a shift, especially in the southern region, where sedentary Turkic people of Muslim faith resided. As Islamic worldly authority became an acceptable mode of legitimacy in a region dominated by the Mongolic Khans for nearly four hundred years, the political unity around the Tarim Basin shattered under factionalization by Sufi political leaders.

Background: Geography and Identity

First, the location of Xinjiang must be established and the important areas within it. Approximately one sixth of contemporary China, the contemporary province is bordered by Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Tibet, and China proper. The Tangritah (T. 'Godly Mountains'), also known as Tianshan (Ch. 'Celestial Mountains'), Mountains run east and west about half way through Xinjiang. Altishahr (T. 'Six Cities') is the area south of the Tangritah Mountains surrounding the Tarim Basin, which was known in the Qing Empire as the Southern March. Within the basin itself exists China’s largest desert, the Taklimakan; which lays along the Pamir Mountains in the west and the Karakorum Mountains in the south. The main cities of the region lie on oases surrounding the desert. In the far west lays the city of Kashghar, which has a long history with the city-states of Bukhara and others in Western Turkistan. The southernmost city of the six is Khotan.

1 From the time of the Mongol Empire until modern day, Central Asians have interacted with several foreign political entities, including Mongolic, Tunisic, Moghul, Iranian, Arabic, Han, British, French, German and Russian representatives. Within their own political spheres, names of locations and events are often altered to suit the needs of the ruling group. For the purposes of this paper, the native Turkic names will be used, whenever possible, as a mark of respect to the indigenous people. Due to the political and scholarly naming, renaming, and transliterations of names and places between the above listed language groups, their spelling is far from uniform; an example being Uyghur and Uighur or from Chinese: Xinjiang and Sinkiang. These differences are subtle, but can cause confusion amongst readers. Thus, direct transliteration from the Uyghur language will be preferred, with the exception of not using umlauts in words, such as Ürümchi, for which Urumchi will suffice. Names and titles which are often untranslated, but have significant meaning in the original language will feature, in parenthesis, an abbreviation for the language of origin followed by a translation. Turkic, the broad language family coving many mutually intelligible dialects in East Turkestan, will be labeled "T." and Chinese will be labeled "Ch.,” etc.

which is on the route to India and Pakistan. Located between Khotan and Kashghar is Yarkand, which was a major rival to the Kashghar city-state. It lies on the approach to modern Afghanistan and Pakistan. To the northeast of Kashghar is another substantial city, Aqsu. Farther east are the cities of Kucha and Korla, which stands between the Tangritah and Bosten Lake on the Kaidu River.

North of the Tangritah is the area historically known as Dzungaria. During the time in question, by the Qing forces systematically exterminated the Mongolic peoples of Dzungaria in order to establish Qing control in the region. This area consists largely of good pastureland which was well suited to the nomadic lifestyle of the inhabitants. Having less need of urban areas, the Dzungars possessed only three major cities. Close to the Altai Mountains, and not far from the borders of Mongolia, Russia, Kazakhstan, and China, is the city of Altai. Near the modern day border of Kazakhstan and Xinjiang is situated Ghulja, or Ili, which has shifted between Turkic and Mongolic nomadic peoples. Here, the Dzungars placed their administration, and after their conquest, the Qing did likewise. The region associated with this city is just north of the Tangritah. Where this mountain chain begins to subside in the east, the modern capital of Xinjiang sits. Urumchi, since ancient times, has been an oasis city on the path of the Silk Road which possessed strong commercial and political importance. After the Qing reconquest in the late 1860s, Urumchi was established as the provincial capital. Today it remains the capital of the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region.


East of Altishahr and Dzungaria is the area known as the Turpan Depression. Here there are two cities, with historic ties to both Turkic and Mongolic peoples. Qumul, sometimes called Hami, is located on the eastern end of the Turpan Depression, and is the closest city to the area of Gansu, which is considered the
western edge of "China proper." Surrounded by mountains, near the western end of the Turpan Depression is the city of Turpan itself. Due to the relative ease of travel between the Turpan depression and China, this region, while not always ruled by Chinese Empires, built favorable vassaldoms of their powerful eastern neighbors.

The second major factor in understanding pre-modern Xinjiang and the Uyghur people is the relativity of ethnic categories. Uyghur identify refers to two very distinct eras. The category's first use is to describe the nomadic Turkic people who conquered and ruled the lands of Dzungaria and modern Mongolia in the 8th century. The second version of Uyghur is the ethno-national grouping of Turkic people in the 20th and 21st centuries in China. Between these two constructions of 'Uyghur,' the people remained Turkic, but converted from shamanism to Buddhism to Islam. During the 16th through 19th centuries, the Turkic people of Altishahr and Dzungaria did not classify themselves as such. Instead, one often thought of themselves as Muslims first and as a member of a locality second. A person living in Kashghar was a Kashgharlik, and a person living in Karashahr was Karasharhlik. While both being Muslims, their political and economic development did not always align to form a unified group of "Uyghur" or "Altisharhi" people. Khalid attributes this system Islamic extra-national identity clashing with local identity and rivalry to the fact that there was no unified clergy in the Islamic world as there was in the Christian. He argues, "'Islam' did not reside in certain scriptures that spoke for themselves; rather it was embedded in the social practices of transmission and interpretation." Islam in Central Asia worked to incorporate itself into a local populace through the teachings of individual masters or schools. This alone calls into question the Western imagination of Islam imposing shari'a law on converted subjects. To overcome these difficulties of categorization, local self-identity will be used as often as possible, except when referring to people of the whole region. In such instance, "Altishahri" or "Uyghur," despite temporal inaccuracy, may be utilized.

Despite the localizing tendency in Turkestan, some institutions did create a sense of unity between differing oases. While trade was an important factor in doing so, the affiliation of the merchants made journey and stay in a foreign city possible. The major form of unity was the creation of Khanates, or Mongol kingdoms. Khan, the title of a Mongolic ruler, was a hereditary title that passed to all the heirs of Chingis Khan. Most of the Turkic lands were given to his son Chagatai. But by the 15th century, the Chagatai Khanate had been reduced in size (by other Mongol Khans) to the region of Altishahr. The lineage, which accompanied the title of Khan, was key to the stability of the dynasty. Only those born into the family of a Khan could become a legitimate ruler, until the down fall of the Mongol power structures.

The second institution, which created unity in the region, was the Sufi orders. The primary order in the Turkic world was the Naqshbandi, but many sub-branches also existed. These Sufi orders, while proselytizing and healing people, also established lodges in the cities they traveled to. By doing this, they created posts from which other holy men of their school could expand the faith. These Naqshbandi lodges also provided space for lay members to rest when the traveled away from their home.

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Naqshbandiyya merchants were able to utilize their religious affiliation for secular gains. The leader of a Sufi order is called a Khoja, adapted from the Arabic word *khawaja*, which means "master." This title, like Khan, was hereditary and passed to all male decedents of a mystic who earned the title. However, these two titles represent two separate realms of power: Khan for the physical world and Khoja for the spiritual. Thus, it is surprising Khoja-Khan can be correctly applied to the post-Chagatayid rulers in Altishahr.

**Historiography**

The approach to studying Xinjiang and the Uyghur people varies from discipline to discipline. As a relatively understudied region, it is easy to classify it as a backwater, a place that can be controlled and improved. This approach, in which imperial actors drive the impetus of change, is widely accepted in the historiography of Xinjiang. For example, in *China Marches West*, Peter Perdue investigates the expansion of the Qing Empire and the lasting effects of the conquest of Xinjiang on Chinese imagination. Perdue, while focusing on the Qing conquest of Dzungaria, finds writes about Altishahr, which was a vassal of both empires. However, he approaches the southern conquest almost as an inevitable event in the aftermath of the Qing genocide of Dzungarians in the north. Laura Newby, in works such as *The Empire and the Khanate*, addresses Altishahr as an intermediary of the Qing and the Kokandian powers that lay east and west of the region, respectively. In doing so, these city states, especially Kashghar, is treated as a pawn, a tool, or a prize for the commercial and political expansion of the neighboring powers.  

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10 The suffix -iyya indicates "followers of." Naqshbandiyya is an adjective (not a title, despite the appearance of one) to describe a follower of the Naqshbandi path. This suffix is utilized to describe the followers of the Naqshbandi school and 2 sub-branches, the Ishaqiyya and Apaqiyya. Generally a school is named after the founding mystic.

11 Laura Newby, *The Empire and the Khanate: a political history of Qing relations with Khoqand c. 1760-1860* (Leiden Boston: Brill, 2005).
Chinese, interests and rebellion. Similarly, Lanny Fields asserts in *Tso Tsung-T’ang and the Muslims* that the Hunan Chinese general was the reason for the collapse of the Emirate. Milward, Chu, and Fields each in their own way take away agency of the Uyghur peoples during this critical time of brief independence. Working against these ideas, Ho-dong Kim wrote a dissertation entitled *The Muslim Rebellion and the Kashghar Emirate in Chinese Central Asia*. Kim concludes,

It is supposed that the pawn has no free will and only the players can calculate the next move... our analysis of the international relations surrounding the Kashghar emirate shows how Ya’qub Beg shrewdly set one Western power against the other.

Kim focuses on the action of the Emirate as active and diplomatic, rather than a region which could be manipulated by the will of empires. However, the case of Ya’qub Beg is complicated by the fact that he was Kokandi and not from Altishahr. By ignoring the influence of the populace and of sometime dissenting elites, Kim attributes the rise and fall of Ya’qub Beg to the Emir himself, rather than placing the full political context at hand. This principle, however, can be applied to the leaders of the Uyghur peoples from the rise of the khoja (T. 'master'), or Sufi masters, into the realm of direct political control. Whether independently controlled or under the tutelage of an empire, the leaders of city-states in Altishahr remained politically active and were not simply overcome by conquerors. Instead the Khojas are placed as actors who, through manipulation of local and imperial forces, sought to preserve their own power.

**Establishment of the Naqshbandiyya in Altishahr**

Since the establishment of the Abbasid Caliphate, proponents of Islam have labored to propagate the faith in Turkestan. While many teachers and mystics traveled to the Chagatai Khanate, success was limited in the state. Not until 1347 did a ruling elite convert to Islam under the teachings of Arshad ad-Din. Taghuq Temur Khan, ruler of the eastern half of the collapsed Chagatai Khanate, converted to Islam. From this time forward, the house of the Khan practiced Islam. In this way, the Naqshbandi order, a Sufi lineage of mystical Islamic teaching, came to hold influence over the leaders of state in the Altishahr region through their personal relationship with the Khan. However, Islam did not have great popularity amongst the people.

Nearly a century after Islam was introduced into the nobility of the Mongol Khanates, the power of the Chagatayid khan was fading. It is near this time that Makhdum-i A’zam, a Sayyid (descendent of Muhammad) and Sufi master of the Naqshbandi order, from Mawarannahr (also called Transoxiana), made his way to Altishahr in the early 15th century. With renewed effort, he and his sons proselytized to the people; working miracles and healing the sick. For the descendents of Makhdum-i A’zam, the ability to be wonder workers became a powerful tool in gaining prestige, rather than one's strict adherence to *shari'a*. In doing so, their influence was based on the ability to help people rather than forcing them to obey a foreign law. To increase their popular support of the Chagatai, a khoja was invited to Abdul Rashid Khan’s (r 1533-1560) court as a spiritual advisor, a practice

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that was common in the Mongolic khanates of Turkestan. This arrangement proved mutually advantageous for the two lineages involved; both the Chagatayid Khans and the Makhdumzada (from the lineage of Makhdum-i) holy men increased the power of their families.

Abdul Rashid Khan, who ruled from Yarkand, established a time of relative peace in his reign. However, the Chagatayid family became more sedentary in the urban centers of the Turkic inhabitants, and the connection to the other Mongolic peoples in the khanate weakened. Some Mongols rejected this sedentarization and broke away to become known as Kyrgyz, who remained nomadic and lived in the foothills surrounding Altishahr. As Abdul Rashid Khan grew older, his power waned and the unity of the khanate began to break down. After his death, Abdul Karim Khan, (r. 1560-1591) son of Abdul Rashid, took the throne of Yarkand, but did not rule over the whole of Altishahr. Instead, the land was divided between Abdul Rashid's many sons, who ruled city-states rather than a single khanate. While he did not accept the Naqshbandi path, Abdul Karim Khan invited Ishaq Wali, the seventh son of Makhdum-i A'zam, to preach freely. So powerful was his charisma that Ishaq Wali persuaded Muhammad Khan, the younger brother of Abdul Karim, to become his disciple.

When his older brother died, Muhammad Khan (r. 1592-1609) became the heir to the Chagatayid throne. During this time, he continued to patronize his spiritual leader Ishaq Wali and invited the Ishaqiyya (followers of Ishaq) to hold position in the court and in trade. By strengthening the religious faction, Muhammad Khan was also able to unite the more distant parts of his Khanate through economic ties. This union of the political and religious family proved to be very strong. Ishaq Wali, on his deathbed in 1599, used his death as an opportunity to create a powerful Sufi order. He named Muhammad Khan, the Chagatayid ruler of Altishahr, as the leader of the now powerful Ishaqiyya order. In doing so, Ishaq Wali set a precedent for the fusion of temporal and spiritual power in the embodiment of one man.

During this time, the Makhdumzada line in Bukhara was eclipsed by a competing Sufi order. The oldest son of Makhdum-i A'zam, Ishan-i Kalan sent his son Khoja Muhammad Yusuf to the east of the Pamirs where the Makhdumzada was very strong. By the early 17th century, the Ishaqiyya had grown very powerful, even in comparison to the Chagatayid Khan. After the death of the Grand Master Muhammad Khan, the line of Ishan-i Kalan could compete with their cousins for religious and secular influence. Since that time, the two branches of the Naqshbandiya Makhdumzada struggled for the political influence there.

Muhammad Yusuf, the great proselytizer, established himself in Kashghar, but became active in the cultivation of his branch over the region and even ventured to western China. It seems succession passed from one Yarkandi Khan to another, whilst the power of the Chagatayid eroded away. According to Joseph Fletcher, "So successful was he [Muhammad Yusuf] that jealous partisans of the Ishaqiyya poisoned his food and he died." Thus, the true state of enmity grew between the Ishaqiyya, led by Khoja Shadi, and the newly established school of the Apaqiyya, named for Apaq Khoja.

While Abdul Karim Khan was on hajj, his son Isma'il, a disciple of the Ishaqiyya Khoja Shadi, was placed on the throne in 1670. Frustrated by Apaq Khoja's control over the affairs of Kashghar as governor, Isma'il exiled Apaq Khoja from Altishahr.

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33 Shaw, *The History of the Khojas*, 35.
Refusing to give up his temporal control of Kashghar, Apaq Khoja fled to the Dalai Lama to seek aid. Fleeing to Lhasa, Apaq Khoja found refuge. From there, he was sent to Galdan Khan, leader of the Buddhist Dzungars, who ruled north of the Tangiritah with a written request of assistance from the Dalai Lama. In 1678, Galdan answered this summons and conquered the land of Altishahr. He then installed Apaq Khoja as a tribute paying vassal and the new Khan of Yarkand and Kashghar. To legitimize his rule, Apaq Khoja took as his wife Khanam Padshah, the sister of the deposed Chagatayid Isma'il Khan. In this manner, the nature of Naqshbandiyya leadership was transformed from holding spiritual power over rulers to the direct temporal control by the leading faction in Altishahr. The titles of Khan and Khoja became united under the leadership of the Apaqiyya.

Dzungar Clients

Having submitted to the Dzungarian leader Galdan, Apaq Khoja installed in his place Muhammad-Emin Khan, the younger brother of the deposed Isma'il Khan. By re-installing the Chagatayid line, Apaq Khoja hoped to rouse the peoples of Altishahr to throw off the tutelage of the Dzungar Galdan. This effort was crushed quickly by the return of the Dzungar armies in 1680. Until his death in 1694, Apaq Khoja remained the ruler of Altishahr; however, a fracture emerged with his passing. The question of legitimacy was asked by his wife Khanam Padshah, the Chagatayid who ruled Yarkand, and his son Khoja Yahiya, who dominated in the historically Apaqiyya city of Kashghar. However, this fissure did not last. In 1695, Khanam Padshah had Khoja Yahiya, her stepson, killed. Not long after this, the weakened Apaqiyya took revenge and had Khanam Padshah murdered. In the vacuum of power, the Ishaqiyya again took control of Yarkand. However, instead of ruling as Khan-Khoja, Khoja Daniyal "installed a puppet ruler from the politically defunct Moghul [Chagatayid] house." By doing this, the Ishaqiyya wielded the power in Yarkand, but were not responsible for the actions of Chagatayid Akbash Khan.

While the cities of Altishahr were vassals of Dzungaria, their leaders were still opposed to each other. The two Naqshbandiyya, lacking direct control of the local populace, looked toward the powers of their neighbors to aid them. Often referred to as Aq Taghiqis (T. 'white mountaineers') the Apaqiyya enlisted a group of local Kyrgyz to create a somewhat stable fighting force. Opposing them, the Ishaqiyya also hired a group of Kyrgyz from near Yarkand, for which they became known as Qara Taghiqis (T. 'black mountaineers'). With these divisions, the factions carried on in civil war for nearly a half century.

Having lost and regained their strength against the encroaching Qing, the Dzungars under Tsewang Rabtan, nephew of Galdan, again were prepared to take control of Altishahr. While mobilizing forces for his own battle, Ishaqiyya Khoja Daniyal received news of an impending Dzungar invasion and traveled to meet Tsewang Rabtan. Together, they made an agreement and attacked the Apaqiyya city of Kashghar in 1713. However, Tsewang Rabtan was shrewder than his uncle when it came to dealing with the Khojas. He decided to take both Khoja Daniyal and Khoja Ahmed, grandson of Khoja Yahiya to Ghulja as royal hostages. For seven years, the Dzungarians tried to rule over the Turkic people of Altishahr. But in 1720, they released Khoja Daniyal and installed him as Khan of Yarkand and allowed him to place hakim begs (T. 'governor of city') in all of Altishahr. However, the price of this was still vassaldom and the taking of his

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35 Kuropatkin, Kashgaria, 105.
36 Shaw, The History of the Khojas, 37.
37 Kuropatkin, Kashgaria, 105.
41 Shaw, The History of the Khojas, 40-41.
son as hostage. Upon Tsewang Rabtan's death, his son and successor Galdan Tseren reconfirmed Khoja Daniyal as the ruler of Yarkand. For the time being, Altishahr was a quiet place under the reign of Khoja Daniyal. After his death in 1754, the land was divided between Daniyal's sons.

The time of Dzungar domination experienced two periods in Altishahr. The first consisted largely of internecine war carried out between the Ishaqiyya and Apaqiyya factions. During this time, neither group gained an upper hand while many people were killed in the fighting. While Khojas held much nominal power, subservient to their Dzungar overlords, the Kyrgyz whom they hired respectively were in control of the physical and military power surrounding Altishahr. After 1713, the Apaqiyya were driven out of the area or taken into custody by the Dzungars. Khoja Daniyal presided for nearly 35 years and peace reigned in the region.

Qing Arrival and Power Shift

In Xinjiang, Chinese dynasties have at various times controlled cities and routes of the region. It seems that Qumul was definitely under the influence of the Ming, and possibly even the Tang dynasty, but Chinese tutelage was overcome during the rise of the Qing. However, in 1669-97 Ubaydullah, a beg (T. 'official) in Qumul, sent a mission to Beijing and was made the jasak (M. 'governor') of the city-state under Qing protection. This is how the Qing came to control the first are of the territory soon to be known as Xinjiang.

Next to come under the control of the Qianlong Emperor were the regions of Turpan and Dzungaria. After the death of Galdan Tseren in 1745, the Dzungar elite became entangled in a civil war over the succession of the khanate. The sons of Galdan Tseren fought amongst themselves for the throne of their father. Eventually, Lama Darja overcame his two brothers and was made Khan. However, a short time later he quarreled with Dawachi, a Dzungarian noble, and Amursana, a minor prince of the Khoit tribe. The already weakened Lama Darja was then killed in 1752 by his own troops. In his place, Dawachi was made leader of the Dzungars with the help of Amursana. But Dawachi was thirsty for power and used his rank to keep from Amursana the prestige that he felt he deserved as loyal follower of Dawachi. While not being the first to flee his native Dzungarian, he was the most important in shaping future events. Having reached the Qing Empire in 1754, Amursana pledged his allegiance to Qianlong and requested a Qing army to take control of Dzungaria, presumably as the Qing appointed Khan.

During this time of Dzungar internal dissension, the rise of a youthful generation of Ishaqiyya Khojas came about under Khoja Yusuf, the son of Khoja Daniyal. Khoja Yusuf, keen on fulfilling his father's wish of lifting the infidel yoke went to Ghulja in 1754 to ascertain the nature of Dzungar Rule. Satisfied that his overlords could not stop a rebellion in Altishahr due to their own fighting, Khoja Yusuf launched a successful rebellion which brought independence to Altishahr for nearly three years. As this breaking away was occurring, the Qing were keen on incorporating Dzungaria into their own Empire.

Amursana, being placed as second in command of half the Qing army, marched to Ghulja in 1755. Dawachi, seeing the vast power of the Qing, fled the city without a fight. After securing the Dzungarian heartland, Amursana was given the Khanate of his tribe, but not the whole of the Dzungar confederacy. Desiring more prestige, according to Kuropatkin, Amursana had released Khoja Burhan ad-Din, leader of the Apaqiyya and grandson of Khoja

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44 Shaw, The History of the Khojas, 42.
45 Kuropatkin, Kashgaria, 106.
47 Perdue, China Marches West, 272.
48 Perdue, China Marches West, 272.
49 Kuropatkin, Kashgaria, 107.
50 Shaw, The History of the Khojas, 44.
51 Kuropatkin, Kashgaria, 107.
Yahiya, while holding his brother Khoja Khan as hostage. Whether or not Amursana initiated this maneuver, the Qing commanders did allow Burhan ad-Din to travel with a Qing army to Aqsu. It is possible that Amursana did work to make this happen. By sending Burhan ad-Din south with Qing soldiers, the size of the occupation army in Dzungaria would be reduced. Amursana took this opportunity in 1756 to launch a rebellion against the Qing. During this confusion, Khoja Khan was able to escape captivity and return to Altishahr and strengthen the claims of the Apaqiyya.

The Ishaqiyya ruler of Yarkand, Khoja Yusuf, died during this time leaving his son Khoja Jahan to defend against the invaders with a force of Turks and Kyrgyz. Khoja Jahan attempted to make peace with Burhan ad-Din by offering the Apaqiyya control of their historic cities, Kashghar and Aqsu, and convince him to join in battle against the Qing. While Jahan awaited his reply, Burhan ad-Din lured over the Ishaqiyya's Kyrgyz allies. Seeing his forces depleted, Jahan fled back to Yarkand. Khoja Burhan ad-Din marched his forces to Kashghar, the former stronghold of the Apaqiyya. From there, he launched a siege on the city of Yarkand. Considering themselves the last defense of Islam in Altishahr, since Khoja Burhan ad-Din had submitted to the infidel Qing, Yarkandis and members of the Ishaqiyya put up a doomed fight against their distant cousins and fellow Muslims. The forces of Khoja Burhan ad-Din and the Qing slaughtered many of the Ishaqiyya and took the whole of Altishahr under his control in 1758.

Having established a Qing vassal, the armies returned north to Dzungaria. There, the Dzungar people were exterminated by the Qing. Unaware of events to the north and desiring an independent Islamic state in Altishahr, Khoja Burhan ad-Din, as undisputed ruler, refused to submit to the Qing. Having not paid taxes, the Khojas angered the Qing government. In 1759, the Qing army again marched south with the aim of restoring control over the Muslims. Their superior forces were able to overcome those of the Khojas. Khoja Burhan ad-Din and Khoja Khan fled across the Pamirs to Badakhshan, but were handed over to the Qing and executed. The power of the Makhdumzada Khojas thus came to an end in Altishahr by 1760.

While many Ishaqiyya were slaughtered by the Qing and Apaqiyya, who in turn were slaughtered by the Qing after insubordination, their lines did not cease to exist. Sons of the formerly powerful Khojas made several attempts to restore their dominance over Altishahr, often beginning with their former stronghold of Kashghar. Sarimsaq, son of Khoja Burhan ad-Din, fled safely and his son Jahangir Khan attempted to restore family patrimony in 1825. While he succeeded in taking Kashghar, his regime lasted less than three months before being expelled. Similarly, three other attempts to gain power with the aid of Kokand in Mawarannahr failed after short time in power. In the last attempt to restore Khoja rule, Ya'qub Beg, an Andijani general, ousted his master Khoja Burzug Khan, the son of Jahangir Khan, and formed the Emirate of Kashghar.

**Conclusion**

With the rise of early modern empires after the 16th century, many polities and city-states fell to the massive expansion of the major monarchies. In Eastern Turkistan, then known locally as Altishahr, the Chagatayid dynasty was not crumbling under the

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57. Togan, "Differences in Ideology," 34.
pressure of the Ming expansion as the eastern dynasty was beginning to face internal rebellion and dissention. Instead, from Mawarannahr, a line of Sayyid Sufis found a place in the courts of the Chagatai. Makhdumzada Khojas used their mystical power and holy lineage to integrate their Naqshbandi faith into the lands that had not been fully Islamized before their arrival. Their rapid rise in status, both among the people and within the Khanate’s court structure, corresponded to an increase in the family’s waqf, and subsequently, their economic power.

True political power was not attainable until the time of Apaq Khoja. Due to the Chagatai legitimation ideology, the Makhdumzada remained powerful spiritual advisors. Apaq Khoja’s aspirations brought him to the governorship of Kashghar. To gain the high throne of Altishahr, in Yarkand, Apaq utilized the growing power of the Buddhist Dzungars to overthrow the Chagatai Khan, and took the throne through marriage of the Khan’s sister. In doing so, the Apaqiyya subjected Muslim peoples to the rule of an infidel overlord. As the Apaqiyya lost power at the hands of the Dzungar Khan, the Ishaqiyya were appointed to rule under them. However, the dream of restoring an independent Islamic state remained a strong goal. The Ishaqiyya achieved this dream as the Dzungars were exterminated by the Qing army, but the Apaqiyya khojas escaped to reestablish their reign as Khan-Khoja. Again utilizing an infidel conquering army, their line was restored in Yarkand at the expense of many Muslim lives, especially of the Ishaqiyya. Seeking the full restoration of political power in concert with the desire of establishing Islamic independence, Khoja Burhan ad-Din refused his status as Qing vassal.

The Makhdumzada drive for political power in Altishahr created a split in the legitimation of leadership. The use of a foreign power to overturn the Chagatai regime cleared the path for Khoja rule, as both spiritual and temporal sovereigns. However, the allegiance of social networks had already split between the Apaqiyya and Ishaqiyya. The desire to overcome their spiritual (and familial) cousins again led them to ask aid of infidels, this time the Qing. Greed for power twice led the Apaqiyya to submit their people to infidel rule. However, since Islamic independence was part of the Naqshbandi ideals, which the Ishaqiyya had achieved, the Apaqiyya were also forced to also pursue this goal. The creation of an independent Altishahr, however, was not in alignment with the Qing, who delivered the area to the Apaqiyya. By forcing their way into political prominence without conceding spiritual authority, the new ruling class was forced to uphold two mutually exclusive ideals in the domain of expanded Qing control. Thus, spiritual authority provided the legitimacy and support to establish Khoja reign in Altishahr. But this same authority, when combined with temporal power, created the ideological and political conditions for confrontation with the Qing Empire; resulting in the crushing of the Khoja dynasty.
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