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THE REASONS BEHIND THE FAILURE OF JAHANGIR KHOJA'S REGIME IN KASHGHAR

The failure of Jahangir's revolt in Kashghar is one of the debatable topics in the colonial history of Eastern Turkestan. Kim and Millward reflect the military and political-economic perspectives on this event. Crossley attempted to explore the role of leadership, but her study lacks evidence from primary sources. The purposes of this article are the reinvestigation of Jahangir's revolt from the foreign relations perspective and unification of the previous theories under a common paradigm reevaluating the previous methodological structures.

The paper will try to explain that the devastation of Jahangir's regime was a result of the lack of trust between Qoqand and Kashghar rulers, a revised strategy of Chinese authorities and the influence of the local bias to Jahangir's power. This essay is based on the synthesis of Russian and Persian ethnographical diary, political histories and secondary sources. Mainly, this study contributes to the religious history of Central Asian anticolonial movements.

Key words: Khoja's revolt, Qing dynasty, anticolonial movements, Islamic regime in Kashghar, Qoqand khanate.

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Джахангир Қожа режимінің Қашқардағы құлау себептері

Джахангир Қожаның Қашқар аймағындағы көтерілісінің сәтсіздігі – Шығыс Түркістанның отаршылдық тарихындағы ең даулы тақырыптардың бірі. Ким мен Миллворт өз зерттеулерінде осы оқиғаның әскери, саяси және экономикалық перспективаларын көрсетеді. Кроссли Қашқарда исламдық режимді орнатудағы көшбасшылық рөлін зерттеуге тырысқан. Дегенмен оның зерттеу жұмыстары мен мақалаларында алғашқы дереккөздерден алынған маңызды дәлелдер мен дәйектер кездеспейді. Бұл мақаланың мақсаты – Джахангир Қожаның көтерілісін Цинь империясы, Қоқан хандығы мен Қашқар мемлекеті арасындағы халықаралық қатынастар тұрғысынан зерттеуге жаңа көзқарас құру және алдыңғы теорияларды бір парадигма шеңберінде біріктіру, сонымен қатар бүгінгі күнге дейінгі зерттеулердің әдістемелік құрылымдарын қайта қарау.

Сонымен қатар мақалада Қашқардағы ислам режимінің құлауы Мадали Хан мен Джахангир арасындағы сенімсіздіктің, Қытай билігінің қайта зерделенген әскери стратегиясының және Джахангирдің билігіне жергілікті билердің ықпалының нәтижесі болғандығын түсіндіруге тырысады. Бұл эссе орыс және парсы тіліндегі этнографиялық күнделіктерді, саяси оқиғаларды және қосымша дереккөздерді синтездеуге негізделген. Жалпы, бұл мақала Орталық Азиядағы отаршылдыққа қарсы қозғалыстардың діни тарихын зерттеуге өз үлесін қосады деген сенімдеміз.

Түйін сөздер: Қожалар көтерілісі, Цинь династиясы, отаршылдыққа қарсы қозғалыстар, Қашқардағы исламдық режим, Қоқан хандығы.

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Причины падения режима Джахангира Ходжи в Кашгаре

Провал восстания Джахангира Ходжи в Кашгарском регионе – одна из самых спорных тем в колониальной истории Восточного Туркестана. Ким и Миллуорт отражают военную, политическую и экономическую перспективы данного события. Тогда как Кроссли попыталась исследовать роль лидерства в установлении Исламского режима в Кашгаре, но в ее работе не хватает существенных доказательств из первоисточников. Целями данной статьи является создание нового подхода в исследовании восстания Джахангира Ходжи с точки зрения международных отношений

между Циньской империей, Кокандским ханством и Кашгарским государством и объединение предыдущих теорий в рамках единой парадигмы, а также пересмотр методологических структур предыдущих исследований.

Данная работа попытается объяснить, что падение исламского режима Кашгара стало результатом недоверия между Мадали Ханом и Джахангиром, пересмотренной военной стратегии китайских властей и влиянием местных биев на власть Джахангира. Это эссе основано на синтезе русских и персидских этнографических дневников, политических историй, а также второстепенных источников. В целом, данная статья вносит вклад в религиозную историю антиколониальных движений Центральной Азии.

Ключевые слова: восстание Ходжей, династия Цинь, антиколониальные движения, Исламский режим в Кашгаре, Кокандское Ханство.

Introduction

The relations between Qoqand and Qing China during 19th century were always challenged by Sufi dynasty Appak who were descendants of Naqshbandiya Sufi tariqah. Appak khojas had an enormous political power and social support in Central Asia, and particularly, it could be observed in Qoqand state. Specifically, this could be explained by the vast institutional development and interconnections with different social layers of this period within the religious sphere. Historically, they were mediators between upper classes of rulers and ordinary citizens that highlights their significance in Central Asia, and it could be seen in the primary source of Hakim Khan who generally showed tight relationships with the rulers of Qoqand and were respected by ordinary people (Hakim Khan, 2010). This Sufi tariqah also experienced the strong connections with Kashghar region and particularly, with Muslim population of this territory. Millward explained this with the political relationships between Dzungar rulers who appointed Appaks to govern Kashghar in the beginning of 18th century in return for annual tributes (Millward, 2007: 92p.). As a result of patronage from Dzungar rulers the institutionalization of Appak khojas tended to shift up in Xingjian region that affected their power increase in the Eastern Turkestan.

In the middle of 18th century Qing dynasty committed the conquest against Dzungars in Western China. Allying with the oppositional fractions of Dzungar establishment the Chinese authorities finally took a victory in the western China (Newby, 2005: 15-16pp.). Consequently, more than 400000 Dzungar people had died from massacres, hunger and diseases, and a lot of their temples were destroyed (Perdue, 2005: 285p.). A huge genocide took a place that devastated the social and political life in Western China. Afterwards, the Chinese authorities changed their trajectory to Xingjian and its Muslim population who were led

by Appak khojas. However, the khojas were seeking the autonomy and the conflict was inevitable. As a result, Muslim authorities lost the control over Yarkand and Kashghar and had to run into Qoqand (Levi, 2018: 38p.). This period of resistances in Xingjian can be characterized as period of massive and consequent anticolonial movements. Hereby, these movements were led by Burhan al-Din Khoja and Jihan Khoja in the end of 18th century and again the jihad against Qing dynasty was attempted by Sarymsaq Khoja, the son of Jihan Khoja, in 1797 (Levi, 2018: 135-136pp.). In the beginning of 19th century Appak khojas again tried to restore their power in Kashgharia and used Islamic discourses of jihad to fulfill their political ambitions. One of such military campaigns was led by Jahangir Khoja, the son of Sarymsaq Khoja, which was the most successful uprising in terms of realization the Islamic rule in Xingjian (Levi, 2018: 137p.).

Jahangir Khoja was under the patronage of Qoqand rulers and his activities were partially chained since they could involve Qoqand into the conflict with Qing dynasty (Levi, 2018: 139-139pp.). Between 1823 and 1824 Jahangir Khoja escaped from the patronage of Muhammad Alim Khan (next Madali Khan) and accumulated the forces which marched to Kashghar (Ibid). Mainly they constituted with Kyrgyz, Kazakhs and other Central Asian tribes. Moreover, the internal forces of Kashghar Muslims joined to the army of Jahangir Khoja (Levi, 2018: 139p.). The campaign was successful in terms of the siege of main fortresses, maintaining the control over territories and overthrowing the Qing's power for the short period in 1826 (Levi, 2018: 138p.). As a result, Jahangir Khoja became the ruler of Kashghar and proclaimed himself as amir of Kashghar. However, his power was challenged by various factors that led to the devastation of the Islamic regime in Xingjian. Hereby, the main theoretical question of this paper is how and why the devastation of Islamic regime of Jahangir Khoja took a place in the beginning of 19th century. These factors will be presented in the next

section which covers the period between 1826 and 1828.

The focal question of this paper is how and why the distrust relationships between Muhammad Alim Khan and Jahangir Khoja, revised military strategy of Qing dynasty and the cases of the betrayal by local biis affected the failure of the Islamic regime in Kashghar established by Jahangir Khoja between 1826 and 1828. Therefore, the main argument here is that the establishment of Islamic power by Jahangir Khoja didn't succeed in the Eastern Turkestan due to the lack of the military support from Madali Khan, secondly, Qing rational strategy to re-conquest the territories of Xingjian, thirdly, the negative influence of local lords on the leadership style of Jahangir Khoja and the betrayal by local biis. This essay will not focus on the conquest of the Kashghar by Jahangir Khoja as a part of his jihad but rather explain the factors which affected the inability to preserve the control maintained by the main character over the territories. This essay will firstly provide the justification of the choice of the article, its goals and objectives and also will reflect the major methodological instruments used for this paper, secondly, the impact and significance of the lack of the supportive relationships between Qoqand and Kashghar to failure of jihad will be explained; thirdly, the effect and importance of rational military strategy of Qing against Jahangir Khoja will be analyzed; fourthly, the influence and significance of the betrayal of Jahangir Khoja by Kashghar local establishment and their negative impact to the leadership style of the main hero to the failure of establishment the Islamic power will be determined, finally, the conclusion will be provided with a link to the significance and contribution of this research paper.

Justification of the choice of article. Goals and objectives. Methodological instrument

The previous studies have provided a slight interest to Jahangir Khoja's revolt. Particularly, Millward and Kim are the main scholars who explained the contest from the perspectives of military and political-economic history focusing on the theories of power struggle and regime stability. However, the attention to the foreign relationships of Qing, Qoqand and Kashghar were slightly mentioned in their studies (Kim, 2004; Millward, 1998). In addition, the authors underestimated the cases of the betrayal and personal interests of the rulers to the failure of Jahangir Khoja's power in the region. Furthermore, the role of the leadership

style of Jahangir Khoja to the failure of the Islamic regime wasn't described properly. Specifically, the studies of Crossley didn't provide the proper methodological explanation for this part. The lack of the primary research materials in her study has become one of the main methodological issues that currently reflects the lack of the supportive materials for her argument (Crossley, 2007). Overall, the problem in understanding the connections between the foreign politics, influence of the servants to the leadership style of the ruler and the responsive strategy of Qing authorities still exists. Hence, the existence of the major gaps in the studies of Jahangir Khoja's revolt demands further reinvestigations.

The main problem of this research topic is centered around the inability of the existed paradigms to provide the common historical conceptualization for the anticolonial events happened in the 19th century. Hereby, the main goal of this paradigm lies in the attempt to provide the interconnections between the effects of foreign politics, leadership style of Jahangir Khoja and the responsive measures of Chinese authorities to the collapse of the Islamic regime in Kashghar during the beginning of 19th century. This article will try to explain firstly the effect of the foreign politics to the failure of Jahangir revolt applying the Game Theory, secondly, will integrate the pieces of the existed theories of military perspectives on Jahangir Khoja's revolt under one common paradigm and will try to provide the proper and solid methodological proofs from the additional primary sources to the existed arguments of leadership and style of governance. Specifically, the following objectives will be used for the achievement of the main goal of this research paper:

To evaluate the correlative relationships between the role of the distrust of Madali Khan and Jahangir Khoja to the failure of the establishment of the Islamic regime in Kashghar

To reflect why the distrust of Madali Khan and Jahangir Khoja was a significant factor to the failure of the establishment of the Islamic regime in Kashghar

To analyze how the successful revision of the military strategy of Qing affected the failure of Jahangir Khoja to maintain the power in Kashghar

To determine why the responsive strategy of Qing was significant to the failure of Jahangir Khoja to maintain the power in Kashghar

To understand how the betrayal of local biis in Kashghar had determined the devastation of Jahangir Khoja's power in Kashghar

To reflect why the betrayal of local biis in Kashghar had become the crucial factor to the failure of Islamic regime in Kashghar.

Methodology

This paper is based on the primary sources of Muhammad Hakim Khan called *Muntakhab At-Tavarikh*, the chapter *On The Relations Between Qoqand And Kashghar* and the chapter from Valikhanov's ethnographical diary about Dzungaria. Hereby, both sources represent the chronology of Jahangir Khoja's power in Kashghar from the beginning of the jihad to the devastation of the regime. Furthermore, the evaluation of the secondary sources will provide the necessary proofs to the main argument. In this paper three main methodological tools will be used. Hereby, the discourse analyses, game theory and content analysis will be applied as the basics of the methodological structure of this paper.

The first methodological tool is an application of the Game Theory and the *bandwagoning* theory of neorealism presented by John Mearsheimer. Specifically, the synthesis of the theory of *bandwagoning* within the dynamics between Qoqand and Kashghar and the application of the Game Theory provide the insights to the motives and rationality for rulers of Qoqand and Kashghar. Hereby, Mearsheimer claimed the strategic allies are between weak and strong states happens when the costs of conflict overweight the benefits from cooperation (Mearsheimer, 2014: 162-163pp.). Hereby, this theory could be applied to the relationships between the Qoqand and Kashghar. Particularly, this theory is significant in terms of explaining the decisions to cooperate with Jahangir Khoja by Madali Khan due to the fact that Kashghar became very strong political unit and the conflict would cost far greater resources. Also, the potential benefits from the revolt could be gained by Madali Khan. Furthermore, the application of the Game theory could provide the necessary proofs to the strategic behavior of the actors. Particularly, the prisoner's dilemma and the war of attrition concepts will possibly explain the significance of the motives of the actors (Osborne, 2010: 14p., 77p.). Hereby, the decisions to cooperate or be in a conflict with Jahangir Khoja could be determined by the cost and benefits from participation at Jahangir Khoja's military campaign; and also, the decision to quite the conflict is based on the amount of available resources for the warfare will determine the strategic behavior of Madali Khan. As a result, these concepts will help

to understand the strategic behavior of Madali Khan to ally with Jahangir Khoja against Qing dynasty that influenced the devastation of Islamic regime in Kashghar.

The linguistic and political discourse analyses are the next methodological instruments used for this paper. The linguistic discourse analysis is the important research tool for understanding the structural analysis of the text (Hodges, Kuper, Reeves, 2008: 570p.). Particularly, this approach will be used in the analysis of the primary source for evaluation the attitudes of the rulers, their values and norms. Firstly, it will reflect the nature of the relationships between Madali Khan and Jahangir Khoja that is significant for understanding the extend of the cooperation and consequent failure of the regime in Kashghar. For instance, the use of the adjectives such as greedy, tricky and others that describe the attitudes of Madali Khan to Jahangir Khoja can definitely show the nature of the relationships between Kashghar and Qoqand. As a result, these contextual proofs could be used to support the argument of the lack of the trust between rulers. Secondly, the linguistic discourse analysis could be also used to understand the norms and values of the rulers. Particularly, the change of the Jahangir Khoja's identity can be understood with negative adjectives for his behavior. Hence, the changes in the norms and morality of the main hero could be reflected with a linguistic discourse analysis that will also provide proofs for the argument of the change in the leadership style and consequent devastation of the regime. On the other hand, the political discourse analysis will be also used. The theory of Foucault understands the discourses in terms of vectors of political acts to influence certain spheres. Hereby, this analytical tool can be used for understanding the political actions of the actors (Foucault, 2010). For example, the revised policies of Qing dynasty in terms of additional investments to the military sphere and coaptation of Jahangir Khoja's followers would be examples of the political discourses. Hence, this analysis provides contextual examples that will support the argument of the devastation of the Islamic regime in Kashghar. Hence, the discourse analysis is the important part of the methodological structure of this paper.

The last one is a content analysis. This methodological tool will be used for the extraction of the proofs for the main argument. Particularly, the statistical information as well as qualitative examples such as cases and events will be used as scientific proofs. For instance, the data within both primary and secondary sources regarding

the quantity of investments, number of soldiers and additional troops and other information will support the arguments about the effect of revised Qing military policies to the failure of Jahangir Khoja. Secondly, the qualitative information such as places, narratives about the battles, capabilities of soldiers will be also beneficial to understand how and why Jahangir Khoja failed. Therefore, this type of the methodological instrument is a necessary supplementary tool which will be used in all parts of the argument and sub-arguments synthesizing with the previously mentioned methodological tools. Hence, the importance of the content analysis cannot be underestimated for this study.

Results and discussion

The role of Madali Khan's distrust to the failure of Jahangir Khoja's revolt

The role of the trust and mutual support between ally for the success of the military campaign cannot be underestimated. The case of Jahangir Khoja's revolt against Qing dynasty included the factor of trust between the ruler of Qoqand Madali Khan and Jahangir Khoja himself. Historically, Qoqand rulers to some extent supported the military ambitions of Appak khojas in realization the Islamic Kashghar project. However, in the 19th century and particularly, in the time of Jahangir Khoja's revolt the pattern of distrust and unsupportive relationships can vividly be seen which negatively affected maintaining the stability of Islamic regime in Kashgharia. This part is going to discuss how the distrust affected the failure of Jahangir Khoja's campaign and rule in Kashghar and also will explain why this variable was significant.

The lack of trust between Madali Khan and Jahangir Khoja could be observed in the lack of military support guaranteed by Qoqand ruler to Kashghar ally. Specifically, the primary source narrates that when the ruler of Kashghar Jahangir Khoja wished to reinforce geopolitically the regime in Kashgharia by conquering the most important fortresses which ensured the Chinese presence in the region. The first case of the distrust was seen in the actions of Madali Khan who brought a reinforcement of 10000 troops whereas Jahangir Khoja's forces were at least 10 times greater (Kim, 2004: 26p.). Qoqand ruler could bring more soldiers however he didn't trust Jahangir Khoja and their uncoordinated military operation lasted couple month and was unsuccessful. Afterwards the Qoqand ruler retreated back to Qoqand with a major part of

his humans (Hakim Khan, 2010: 278-279pp.). This act symbolizes the lack of trust between the ruler because the ruler of Qoqand retreated leaving his ally alone against Qing. Specifically, the ground for distrust could be observed during the authorial description of motives and fears of Madali Khan. The author states that the khan feared the empowerment of Jahangir Khoja in the region and also the author insists on the greediness of the khan who wished to pursue the personal interests in enrichment the personal budget (Hakim Khan, 2010: 277p.). The motives of Madali Khan were egoistic rather than supportive what negatively affected the trust between the rulers and the following retreat resulted from these relationships. Hence, the relationships between the rulers of Qoqand and Kashghar could not be claimed as trustful at least because the rulers were not united with the common goal but rather rationally followed the personal interests. Jahangir Khoja had to fight alone against Qing dynasty, however, his military experience and a support of local Muslims helped to conquer the fortress of Manchu, Yarkand, Kotan and Yangihissar. However, the last fortress Aqsu which was geopolitically important for Jahangir Khoja's regime in Kashgharia wasn't taken by Muslim forces, because of the well-equipped defense system including military troops and defensive fortifications (Kim, 2004: 26p.). Jahangir Khoja could not maintain the control over this strategic point, since the lack of power of his units. Also, the loss of the military support of Madali Khan could not increase his chances to conquer successfully the last important fortress. Hence, the lack of trust between rulers resulted to the lack of support for Jahangir Khoja's campaign. As a result, Chinese troops under the command of general Cangling successfully reached Aqsu that allowed them to attack Jahangir Khoja's territories from the strategically geopositioned point (Ibid). The control of Aqsu fortress gave the open access to the Xingjian region, hence, being "*as plain as nose on the face*" Kashghar territory was left insecure to the Chinese attacks from the north what resulted in power shift from Jahangir Khoja to the Chinese administration. Hence, the distrust between Kashghar ruler and Qoqand amir affected the lack of military supply from the side of Qoqand, which resulted in inefficiency of military help important for the conquest of the important fortresses included Aqsu. As a result, Kashghar was deprived from a comparative geopolitical advantage and was insecure to the further attacks of Chinese troops resulted in reconquest of Xingjian region and reestablishment of the Qing authority over the territory.

However, the question of why the lack of the supportive strategy from Qoqand was significant factor to the failure of the military campaigns is still open. For this part I argue that for Madali Khan the success of Jahangir Khoja was not the primary goal, therefore, the lack of support was important act for Qoqand ruler since the alternative step would mean the increasing role of Kashghar in the Eastern Turkestan that would create a threat to the power of Madali Khan and his interests in Kashgharia (Hakim Khan, 2010: 277p.). As Kim states Madali Khan wished to pursue the exemption of trade duties for Qoqand merchants and negotiated about waivers with both Jahangir Khoja and Qing dynasty (Kim, 2004: 27-28pp.). The negotiations of trade conditions were successful because both powers were exhausted with constant warfare with each other and attempts to establish the control over the region. Therefore, the non-cooperative behavior of Madali Khan was the best strategy for Qoqand since the state could preserve the military resources and speak with weakened Kashghar and Qing from the position of power. Consequently, Madali Khan achieved these exemptions in 1832 from Qing administration whose control over the region was weakened with the constant revolts of Jahangir Khoja and his successors after his death (Kim, 2004: 28p.). Alternatively, Qoqand would weaken itself and there was no guarantee to maintain these privileges with Jahangir Khoja whose power would shift up after the full realization of his ambitions over Kashghar territories. On the other hand, the full denial from the requests of Jahangir Khoja would worsen the relationships between the rulers and the exemptions from the trade duties would be hard to achieve. Hence, the main explanation here is that Madali Khan used a quite neutral strategy in support of Jahangir Khoja's revolt to increase his chances to maintain the economic privileges depending on the winner, therefore, inactive involvement of Madali Khan in anti-Qing campaign determined the way of Jahangir Khoja's failure. Parallely, it would mean the Jahangir Khoja had to rely on himself against Qing dynasty what resulted in his defeat, which was defined in the previous paragraph. This strategy could be referred to the Game theory concepts of War of Attrition and Prisoners Dilemma. These games could explain the 2-dimensional strategy of Madali Khan. Specifically, the game War of Attrition refers to the geopolitical clashes with 2 or more players where the winner is a who saves the most resources during the process of warfare (Osborne, 2001: 77p.). Hence, Madali Khan as a 3rd party could preserve the resources in a contrast

of Qing and Jahangir Khoja what allowed him to become the winner of this game. On the other hand, the interactions Madali Khan could be presented from the perspective of Prisoners dilemma but with 3 choices for Qoqand ruler (Osborne, 2001: 14p.). Hereby, he could promote active military strategy against Qing, secondly, he could act quite neutral support for Jahangir Khoja, or he could reject his requests for the help and alienate himself totally from the warfare. These choices are just the main ones since the choices could vary in terms of extends of support as the interval but for the better understanding it is more comfortable to provide the main ones. Hence, the first choice would result him in loss of personal resources and possible devastation of the relations with Qing and some chance to gain some resources from the warfare, the second one would give him an opportunity to save the relations with Jahangir Khoja and Qing, save some number of resources and some chance to gain the additional resources, the last choice would further devastate his relationships with Jahangir Khoja, also would give him an opportunity to preserve all his resources but there was the smallest chance to gain anything from the warfare. From the outcomes of the warfare, it could be assumed that the second choice was the most preferable over the others for Madali Khan to realize his interests in trade duties. Valikhanov also states that the geopolitical power of Qoqand sharply rose up after the revolt (Valikhanov, 1904: 131p.).

Overall, the lack of support or neutral strategy of Qoqand in respect to Jahangir Khoja's revolt affected the inefficiency of military resources to maintain the control over the key geopolitical fortresses in Kashghar that affected the failure of Jahangir Khoja's revolt. Specifically, the lack of military support was a main factor which explained this strategic behavior, which was motivated by the personal interests of Madali Khan to maintain the exemptions from economic duties for Qoqand merchants. Qoqand ruler tried to maximize his chances to achieve this political goal since strategically it would give him an opportunity to speak with Qing and Jahangir Khoja from the position of power and also would preserve the extend of ally relationships with Jahangir Khoja simultaneously. However, such strategy was one of the key elements for the failure of Jahangir Khoja's power in Kashghar.

The role of revised Qing military strategy to the failure of Jahangir Khoja's regime in Kashghar

The new approach used by Qing authorities to re-conquest the lost territories of Xingjian was also one of the main factors which explained the failure of Jahangir Khoja. This section will provide the

explanation of how this approach affected the failure in Khashghar and also will answer the question of why this factor was significant. Particularly, the Qing dynasty invested additional number of resources that increased the power of Chinese soldiers and their influence in the region that allowed Chinese generals to overthrow Jahangir Khoja. Specifically, the attraction of additional troops and restoration of the supply system shifted the military capabilities of Qing soldiers that challenged the power of Jahangir Khoja in Kashghar region. These investments played a huge role in the reconquest of the lost territories since the Chinese troops became more mobile and their power in quantity dramatically increased.

Firstly, the Chinese government quickly responded to the unrests in Xingjian. Specifically, they initiated the increase of military troops in the region. General Cangling was appointed as a leader who had to suppress the revolt and hereby, the Qing government invested a huge amount of silver to maintain the needs of army. Hereby, the study of Millward shows that approximately 905 thousand taels annually were sent from the capital to cover the salaries of Chinese officers and soldiers (Millward, 1998: 59p.). Levi presents another number of 11 million taels as a total cost of the revolt (Levi, 2018: 142p.). This policy was important since the lack of the supply and payments affected the defeats of Chinese armies in the first months of Jahangir Khoja's revolt. Particularly, the lack of supply to the cities and lack of the payments affected the success in maintaining the control over the Chinese fortresses (Hakim Khan, 2010: 279p.). As a result of this policy the quantity of soldiers in Xingjian highly increased. Hereby, the vivid example is the study of Altishahr troops in Xingjian whose quantity and level of preparedness extremely increased to more than 20000 (Kim, 2004: 26p.). Moreover, the Qing government initiated the attraction of additional forces from Southern Mongolia to Aqsu, that was efficient and safety military plan. Particularly, 80000 dungan Muslims were hired and involved under the command of general Cangling to suppress the revolt (Tyler, 2004: 66p.). Hence, the study of the silver and military organization in Xingjian showed that the quantity and quality of supply to the Chinese army was a result of the Chinese investments to maintain the control over the region. Hence, the additional troops were hired, and the supply was restored. Consequently, general Cangling accumulated the forces in a couple months and led his army to Maralbashi in 1827. Two armies met each other, and Chinese army was 2 times greater, specifically, Jahangir Khoja's troops numbered

around 50000 people only whereas Qing army was more than 100000 people with a vast majority of nomadic soldiers from Dzungaria (Tyler, 2004: 67p.). The general battle occurred in Yarkand where Jahangir Khoja was defeated and retreated to the mountains. In the next couple month, the Chinese army maintained the control over the region and captured Jahangir Khoja sending him to Peking for public execution.

The significance of the military policies of Qing dynasty can be explained with the past military defeats from the Muslim forces of Jahangir Khoja. The primary source suggests that the successful attacks of Jahangir Khoja's forces against the fortresses of Chinese troops and their consequent capture was a result of the lack of military troops there and further hunger (Hakim Khan, 2010: 279p.). Kim suggested that the hunger was a result of the lack of supply of army (Kim, 2004: 26p.). For instance, Hakim Khan suggests that the siege of Manchu fortress was successful because of the military strategy of Jahangir Khoja that resulted to the hunger of the soldiers and their consequent retreat from the fortress that allowed the Islamic forces to maintain control without huge a lost (Ibid). Levi also supports this argument referring to the cases of retreat and desertion among Chinese soldiers (Levi, 2018: 141p.). The period of siege was quite short and generally the fortresses with enough supply could resist for longer period. Hence, this fact signifies the lack of the preparedness to the warfare for Chinese soldiers and the main reason for that was material unsustainability of troops. Hence, the questions of quantity and quality of supply of the Qing army were pivotal for the realization the re-conquest campaign. Hence, the attraction of additional resources from the capital and Dzungaria would possibly solve the issues and observing the outcomes of the battle in Yarkand and time pace (couple months) of the reconquest campaign, it can be concluded that the strategy of Qing dynasty to restore the military capabilities of the troops in Xingjian were essential for overthrowing the power of Muslim khojas. Hence, the failure of Jahangir Khoja's jihad against the Qing rule in Kashgharia could also be explained in terms of revised Qing policies regarding the sustainability of troops in the Eastern Turkestan.

Hence, it is possible to conclude that the past experience of Chinese defeats from Muslim forces affected the revision of the military system. Particularly, the additional investments to Xingjian region allowed to attract additional forces and restore the military supply of the soldiers. These

steps became significant for the increasing the capabilities of the army in terms of mobility and power. Hence, these policies became pivotal for the success of Chinese troops for Changling's campaign and simultaneously these factors had determined the failure of Jahangir Khoja's regime in Kashgharia.

The role of local biis of Xingjian to the failure of his Jihad campaign

Jahangir Khoja surrounded himself with the local aristocracy of Muslim population of Kashghar region. These people became the pillars of the stability for his short Islam regime. However, when Qing forces started their invasion in 1827 Jahangir Khoja was under the negative influence of local biis and also lost the support of Eastern Turkestani aristocracy, that resulted in the devastation of his power in Xingjian. Hence, this part will argue that the betrayal of Jahangir Khoja by local aristocracy and their negative influence on his leadership style was the additional factor which determined his failure in establishment the Islamic regime in the Eastern Turkestan. Furthermore, the significance of this variable will be analyzed too.

Althishahar political elite was the major local Muslim elite and most powerful in Xingjian in 19th century. According to Crossley they were not satisfied with the authority of Qing dynasty since they shared their power with the appointed Chinese governors and therefore, had the desire to restore their political authority in the region. Jahangir Khoja's uprising gave them a such opportunity and they were one of the active promoters and supporters of Jahangir Khoja's anticolonial movement (Crossley, 2007: 121p.). Qing authorities frequently proceeded investigations against begs and hakims since they suspected them in the support of khoja's revolts (Ibid). During the time of Jahangir Khoja's revolt, the main hero also relied on the political authorities of local authorities. Crossley here does not present a huge the factual information and refers only to the next figure who supported Jahangir Khoja's revolt. Hereby, local biis such as Izhaq hakim from Xingjian itself was the active supporter of Jahangir Khoja's regime in the first half of his power in Kashghar (Crossley, 2007: 121p.). His figure was doubtful for the reasons mentioned next but at least the reliance on his power could be seen in a case of his initial support of Jahangir Khoja's revolt. In this part I am going to concentrate on the negative impact of local biis on the establishment of Islamic regime of Jahangir Khoja. The primary source suggests that the failure of Jahangir Khoja was also connected to the fact that he surrounded himself with untrustful people. Hereby, the author

calls them *people of questionable character and (Jahangir Khoja) avoided those who would be good companions* (Hakim Khan, 2010: 279p.). Hence, the advisors or any other high servants who were mainly from the Xingjian region itself could negatively influence Jahangir Khoja, particularly the leader became addicted to drugs, wine, females and also stopped paying attention to the development of military sphere of Kashghar (Ibid). Neither Qoqand people nor other figures alien to Kashghar later joined Jahangir Khoja's regime in the Eastern Turkestan in the last part of the narrative and the hero mainly relied on the authorities from Xingjian population at least because the author didn't mention this in his narrative (Ibid). As a result of the influence of those people, Jahangir Khoja stopped to pay attention to proper management of Kashghar territory including the security measures (Ibid). It resulted to the next process: Chinese authorities without any preemptive obstacles gathered a huge army that led to the defeat near Yarkand (Hakim Khan, 2010: 280p.). Hence, the negative influence of local lords who surrounded Jahangir Khoja affected the improper management of the territory and the military system that resulted to the defeat near Yarkand.

The second effect of the local biis could be observed during the case of the betrayal of Jahangir Khoja by hakims that led to his death and devastation of the Islamic rule in Kashgharia. Specifically, the case of Izhaq clearly proves this argument. After the battle in Yarkand the political positions of Jahangir Khoja were hesitant, and his rule was almost devastated. Therefore, the leader decided to retreat to the mountain with a hope to continue the warfare in the nearest future (Levi, 2018: 142p.). However, one of his Xingjian followers named Izhaq betrayed the leader. As Crossley states he was the agent of Qing dynasty and artificially betrayed the Chinese authorities and sided Jahangir Khoja being a double agent (Crossley, 2007: 121p.). Valikhanov's narrative supports this argument, particularly, he also refers to the figure of Izhaq-van who was born in Kune-Turfan. Hereby, this person used Chinese money to bribe the followers of Jahangir Khoja and afterwards with a help of chonbagysh bey had betrayed the main hero (Valikhanov, 1904: 132p.). After Jahangir Khoja's escape this lord captured the Islamic leader and handed him over to the hands of Qing authorities. Afterwards Jahangir Khoja was sentenced to prison and sent to Peking where his body was chopped on pieces publicly (Crossley, 2007: 121p.). It was the end of Jahangir Khoja's rule in Kashgharia and the point of no return to his power. Simultaneously, Izhaq hakim and his family were

granted political privileges including the lordship and territories (Ibid). From this case it can be vividly seen that some lords of Xingjian betrayed Jahangir Khoja and it led to the complete devastation of his power in Kashgharia. Particularly, the coaptation of the Muslim local authorities by Qing dynasty was the effective measure for suppression of the uprising. Hence, the role of the betrayal was the factor that affected the devastation of Jahangir Khoja's power in Kashgharia.

The significance of the surrounding to the leadership style and realization of the political goals cannot be underestimated. The case effect of the surrounding advisors whom the author depicts as people with questionable reputation to the leadership style of Jahangir Khoja and consequent governance skills can be explained with the theory of Social psychology and identity. Judith Howard emphasizes that the identity is a fluid concept, and it can be shaped by the societal identity within constant interactions and the significance of the individuals to our life (Howard, 2000). Hence, the influence surrounding people, particularly their values, attitudes and norms to the identity of Jahangir Khoja was vividly seen. Specifically, Hakim Khan at first depicted Jahangir Khoja as a proper Muslim and ghaziz, however, in the last part of Muntahab at-tawarikh the author presented completely different picture and connects it with the influence of those people (Hakim Khan, 2010: 276-277pp., 279p.). The values of Jahangir Khoja experienced the mutation, hence, his lifestyle as a result also had changed. He became addicted to drugs, wine and other non-Sharia values and as a result he lost his initial Islamic identity that was a pillar of his military success (Hakim Khan, 2010: 279p.). Specifically, the conquest of the territories was determined by his pious nature and willingness to change the system that pushed forward his proper leadership style within military and foreign relations spheres (Hakim Khan, 2010: 280p.). However, the influence of non-proper people as the author suggests devastated his Islamic identity and consequently his leadership style was devastated too since initial Islamic values were a major pillar for him. Hence, the theory of social psychology and individual identity proposed by Howard could be applied to the transformation of Jahangir Khoja that determined the devastation of his leadership style. The significance of the second factor should not be explained with a proper diagnosis. Particularly, the political betrayal itself determined the death of the main hero and alienated all chances to restore his power in Kashgharia. Therefore, due to the obvious

reasons this effect will not be analyzed, since the significance of the betrayal case has no doubts.

The role of the biis and other local lords who surrounded Jahangir Khoja had a huge influence on the change of his governance style that affected the ineptness to secure the personal power in Kashgharia and moreover, the case of betrayal by Izhaq-bek also had determined the complete devastation of the authority of Jahangir Khoja. Therefore, local lords also brought negative influence on the establishment of Islamic regime in Kashgharia in 19th century.

Conclusion

The failure of the establishment of the Islamic rule in Kashghar in 19th century by Jahangir Khoja was a result of different factors. Specifically, the lack of military support by Qoqand ruler who wished to maintain his personal goals in respect of Kashghar territory, was one of the primary factors that affected the loss of geopolitical advantage by Jahangir Khoja, that resulted in further successful attacks of Qing forces. Secondly, the revised approach of Qing dynasty in terms of restoration of military supply chains and increase the number of troops clearly was a significant variable to the devastation of Jahangir Khoja's power in Xingjian region. Finally, the influence of the local biis to the leadership style of Jahangir Khoja cannot be underestimated since the main hero lost his proper leadership skills due to the alienation from initial Islamic identity and experienced the mutation in values that resulted in bad management of military and the territory. Finally, the last point was the betrayal of Jahangir Khoja by the local biis who were bribed by Qing authorities and this fact put the last point to the attempts in establishment the Islamic regime by Jahangir Khoja. Hence, the main character of this essay faced mainly external challenges from his allies and enemies that resulted in his downfall.

The significance of this study lies on the fact that it contributes to the understanding of the Islamic anticolonial movements of Central Asia, the role of Sufi shaykh or their decedents in these processes and the interconnections between the effects of foreign politics, identity formation and domestic policies of Chinese government. Hence, the research of Jahangir Khoja is a vivid case of how the religious history was interconnected with the military spheres of China, Qoqand and Kashghar, the politics of foreign and domestic relationships and connections between the formation of the identity within the psychology-behavioral studies and the leadership style. From the perspective of

scientific structure, this paper is significant due to the fact that it applies new methodological tools such as Game theory and linguistic discourse analysis to the existed theories of bandwagoning and identity formation, thus, generally, they reevaluate the existed arguments and reflect more solid proofs to the existed ones. The studies on Xingjian uprisings in the 19th century are not so scientifically developed and the lack of secondary sources is a vivid evidence for this argument. Hence, it is important to include the primary sources from Chinese, Tajikistan and

Uzbekistan archives on the statistical information about the military capabilities, costs and number of soldiers to overcome the limitations applying these data to the analytical frames of Game theory and cost-benefit analysis. Hence, the study clearly demands the further research to understand properly the military and political history of uprisings in Central Asia. Nevertheless, the study contributes to the broader research fields of religious, military and political history and anthropology of Central Asian anticolonial movements in 19th century.

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