

# Study on the Inland Immigrants and Rice Cultivation in Xinjiang in 18th Century

Wang Qiming

Shaanxi Normal University  
xymy112@126.com

**Abstract:** After Emperor Qianlong conquered Xinjiang in 1760s, a great number of officials, eight banners (八旗) and green flag troops(绿营兵) garrisoned successively in local towns, in order to meet their demand for rice, a part of green flag troops, inland immigrants and local famers planted rice in southern Tarim (塔里木) oasis, western Ili (伊犁) and northern Urumqi (乌鲁木齐). Base on Manju and Chinese archives, we found that the above different areas have a variety of features in rice cultivation, especially in the source of seeds, ethnic group of famers, harvest yield, cultivation purpose and final result. But the inland immigrants and green flag troops make a great contribution to the expansion of rice planting area, and their efforts make polo (抓饭) popular in Xinjiang.

**Keywords:** Qing Dynasty; Xinjiang; Rice

In the past researchers, Zhang Jianjun(张建军) made a brief discussion on the rice planting in Xinjiang during the Qing Dynasty.<sup>1</sup> Recently, Lu Jingkang (鲁靖康) has made a great academic advancement.<sup>2</sup> However, the process of rice planting and its causes in Xinjiang during the Qing Dynasty (planting time to be tested, rice sources, planting forms, harvesting score, etc.) there are rarely related researches above. This paper mainly used the archives' materials of Qing Dynasty to discuss on the topic, in order to promote the in-depth study of rice cultivation in Xinjiang during the Qing Dynasty.

For most people who have been to Xinjiang or have gotten to know Xinjiang, it is presumed that Xinjiang's delicious polo leaved a very deep impression on everyone. However, it is not a very easy question to answer that whether this seemingly common meal had already appeared on the table of the ancient Xinjiang residents. According to the book named *Western Geographical Geography*(西域地理图说) had been written by an Anonymous after the period of the Qianlong

---

1 张建军：《清代新疆主要粮食作物及其地域分布》，《农业考古》1999年第1期，第199-200页。

2 鲁靖康：《清代新疆农业研究：基于水资源、产业、农区和人地关系的考察》第二章“清代新疆的水稻种植业及其地域分布”，陕西师范大学博士论文，2015年。

conquered Xinjiang, there was a meal in the Uyghur diet called hasyb, recorded as follows:

*Hasyb, is steamed rice, steamed with rice and raw mutton oil, shredded carrots, fill the dish in a large wooden plate, a piece of mutton with bone, or a whole chicken may in the bottom of the plate, the other way to cook is use rice and raw mutton oil to poured into the intestine and belly of the sheep, boil with the flavoring up. This is a feast for the hospitalities and the festivals to the Hui people (回民).<sup>1</sup>*

It can be seen that in the early years of the unification of the Qing Dynasty in Xinjiang, there was already a polo in the Uyghur society called hasyb (steamed rice), it was not a kind of usually dish but a kind of feast for the hospitalities and the festivals to the Uyghur and only be eaten by the rich, the general public and the poor people been hard to eat. Even after more than one hundred years, According to Xiao Xiong (萧雄), a mainland scholar who traveled to Xinjiang in the early years of Guangxu(光绪) period, who had written in his work named "poor man, only eat dry and drink cold water", but the polo has at least become a common food for ordinary families. Xiao Xiong's *Listing to the Garden of Xinjiang Miscellaneous Poems* (听园新疆杂述诗) has a poem named *food* and explains:

*The food is mainly wheat flour, coarse rice and millet, followed by rice.....If people cook rice, they like to cut the mutton up, or add the egg mix with rice to stir fry, and accompanied by oil, salt, pepper and shallot, then into a plate, and eat it by hand, which is called polo.<sup>2</sup>*

After more than one hundred years of development, polo has at least become a usually meal for the rich and the common people. And it has mixed into the grassland nomadic Qazak diet culture. Such as “eat with hand, so called polo. Its rice, meat, glutinous rice, miscellaneous with grapes, dried apricots, in the pots, the host and guests sit around on the ground and exchange toasts”.<sup>3</sup> There is no difference between this kind of food and modern polo. However, this promotion process is clearly inseparable from rice production as the core ingredient of polo.

After the rebellion of Uyghur was suppressed in the 24<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong(1759), the military and political official system represented by General of Ili, Urumqi general and the premier Huijiang(回疆) services counselor minister was established successively in Xinjiang. The arrival of these Manchu, Mongolian and Han soldiers will inevitably face food problems. Therefore, In Qing Dynasty, the emperor vigorously developed stationing troops include official and civilian in Tianshan North Road (天山北路) to solve the problem. The Emperor Qianlong pointed out that

---

1 阮明道主编：《西域地理图说注》，延吉：延边大学出版社，1992年，第118页。

2 萧雄：《听园新疆杂述诗》第1册，卷3“饮食”，北京：中华书局，1985年，第87页。

3 王树柅等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第2册，卷48《礼俗》，上海古籍出版社，2017年，第862页。

“the cultivation of self-sufficient food cannot be ignored freight, and the harvest will be more if plant the land in the future.”<sup>1</sup> But Tianshan South Road (天山南路) itself has fewer soldiers, so the local people be self-supporting and self-sufficient .

There is a large demands for rice and flours among the soldier’s rations. According to the regulation of the Qing Dynasty, such as “give grain ration to the west road stationing troops, officials in round-grained rice, soldiers in millet, all give eight tablespoons a day. for white flour or fried flour, give one catty a day. Two sheep for a month’s ration for a soldier, if convert into money, each sheep is 125 cents of sliver.”<sup>2</sup> The regulation of “officials in round-grained rice and soliders in millet” often called “officials in japonica and services in millet”<sup>3</sup> in the archives of the Qing Dynasty, that is, Xinjiang officials in the Qing Dynasty can eat rice according to regulations. According to the literatures, except the officials of Manchu, Mongolian and Eight Banners, the Uygurs’ Beg , Vassal tributes and a part of common people also can eat.

### 1. Rice Cultivation in Ili

In the early Qing Dynasty, the Ili area served as the nomadic regime of Jungar’s reigning hinterland. According to the Western Regions Annals(《西域图志》), at that time, the grain crops of the Jungar had rice called tutury-a, and this kind of rice is not very sticky.<sup>4</sup> According to the Western President's Strategy (西陲总统事略) when the Qing army entered Ili and recruited new dwellers to here, refer to “from the 28<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong to the 13<sup>th</sup> year of Jiaqing, merchants Zhang Shangyi(张尚仪) and other two hundred farmers planted a variety of 1,668 acres and 6 cents vegetable fields and rice fields, rent a sliver per mu, a total of one thousand sixty-six eight six cents annually”<sup>5</sup>, but this does not mean that the rice plating began in 1763 after the Qing Dynasty unified Ili. In fact, Ili had planted rice before that time, according to amban Agui’s Manchu memorial in the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong:

wesimburengge.

aha agūi iltu funggahen gingguleme wesimburengge.donjibume wesimbure jalin.neneme aha aūi ili i bade gemu enteheme goidame yabuci ojoro be gūnime.gūwa baci emu hacin komso gajici. emu hacin de tusa be bodome. aksu ci handu use juwan hule gajifi hoise sede bufi cendeme taribuha. geli aksu. g’an su i goloj benjihe majige jelmin. ayan malanggū use be gemu

1 《清高宗实录》卷 649, 乾隆二十六年十一月甲子, 第 275 页。

2 《钦定户部则例》第 3 册, 卷 122《杂支(新疆支款)·官兵口粮》, 海口: 海南出版社, 2000 年, 第 363 页。

3 陕甘总督“题为奏销库车乾隆三十三年份供支驻扎官兵钱粮等各数目事”, 中国第一历史档案馆藏户科题本, 档号 02-01-04-16193-007, 乾隆三十五年六月二十日。

4 钟兴麒、王豪、韩慧校注:《西域图志校注》, 第 550 页。

5 祁韵士:《西陲总统事略》卷 7《户屯》, 第 103 页。

cooha hoise de bufi taribuha babe onggolo donjibume wesimbuhe bihe. sirame tariha jelmin ayan malanggū be bargiyafi tūfi tuwaci. gemu juwan juwen ci wesihūn bhabi. ere aniya jai fuluka taribume ohode. ereci Julesi ubai niyeleku moselakū de baitalara nimenggi be uthai tarifi baha weilmin. ayan malanggū be jafafi arafi baitalabume. dorgi bade ganabure fayabun be nakabuci ombi. jai hoise sei tariha handu be baicaci. da benjihe use faha nergin de ekšeme icihiyahangge ofi. untuhun noho umesi labdu bime. tarire hoise inu asuru bahanarakū ojoro jakade. bahafi šanggahakū. te ili de cooha teme toktoho. majige handu tariha manggi. ambasai anggalai bele bahara teile akū. tulergi aiman i urse be sarilara de baitalaci tuwara de sain. ili de umai tarici ojurakūngge waka ofi. aha agūi geli sinju sede jasifi yerkiyang ci handu use juwan hule gajifi niowanggiyan turun i tarime bahanara cooha de nikbufi cendeme taribuhabi. erei jalin ginguleme donjibume wesimbuhe. ilan biyai juwan emu. abkai weheyehe i orin nadaci aniya duin biyai juwan emu de fulgiyan fi i pilhe hese sain sha sehe.<sup>1</sup>

According to it, it is not difficult to see that plating rice in Ili is intended to solve the grain ration problem of long-term garrison, it can also save the cost of transportation from the inland, so obtained the rice seeds to test from Aksu(阿克苏) before the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong, however, it was not successful because of the urgency and the Huipeople(回民) do not understand planting. Considering the time of this memorial in the spring of the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong, so it's likely that Ili's first trial of growing rice was in the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong. Although the first trial was not successful, but consider the rations of soldiers and the feasting needs of vassal tributes. Agui (阿桂) still gets ten stones rice seeds from Yarkant (叶尔羌), gave it to the Green Flag Troops who know how to grow rice, and a second trial was carried out in the spring of the twenty-seven year of Qianlong. About this trial harvest, the year of 1811 files show that under the old pipe in the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong at least "harvest rice twenty stones, eight buckets, five liters, nine he(合), six spoons, seven sopies, eight pinch," and there is recorded "rice, one hundred and ninety stone, five buckets."<sup>2</sup> in the newly-received stationing Green Flag Troops and in the harvest miscellaneous grains. And rice is listed as the first grain of all kinds, which more can show it's rarity. Compared with the ten stones rice seeds plated in the spring, the harvest is close to 20 points, which is a bumper harvest. But it is enough for the year<sup>3</sup>, therefore, it is completely in line with the original intention of Agui what after

1 中国第一历史档案馆、中国边疆史地研究中心合编：《清代新疆满文档案汇编》第55册，乾隆二十七年三月十一日“参赞大臣阿桂等奏报伊犁绿营兵丁试种叶尔羌所送稻种折”，第262-263页。

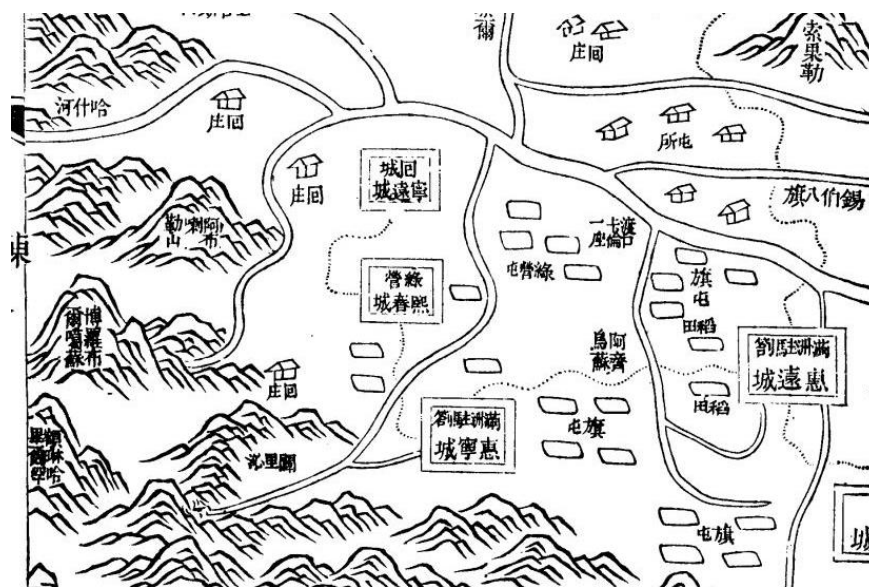
2 署理陕甘总督舒赫德“题为核销乾隆二十八年份供支驻伊犁办事大臣屯防官兵养廉口粮军械等项钱粮数目事”，户科题本02-01-04-15842-009，乾隆三十一年三月二十四日。“收屯田绿营兵丁并回子种获杂粮内，稻子一百九十石五斗、谷子一万六千六百六十四石五斗、糜子九千六百六十一石、小麦一万九千四百一十二石三斗六升、青稞四千四百六十三石二斗五升、大麦五千石。”

3 署理陕甘总督舒赫德“题为核销乾隆二十八年份供支驻伊犁办事大臣屯防官兵养廉口粮军械等项钱粮数目事”，户科题本02-01-04-15842-009，乾隆三十一年三月二十四日。

planting a small amount of rice, it is useful not only for the rations of the ministers, but also for the banquets held by the vassal tributes.

At the same time, with the increase of Ili garrison population in the later period of Qianlong, Qianlong repeatedly instructed to carry out *stationing in flag men*, To nine year of Jiaqing, Songyun (松筠) memorial to the emperor that “Huiyuan City eight banner’s land added indica rice(籼稻) seeds 600 stone, a total of 14,000 stones were collected, the total harvest is over twenty-three times.”

<sup>1</sup> It can be seen that the rice planted by eight banner’s land is comparable to the harvest of the Ili stationing troops, the rice field of eight banner’s land is about 4800 mu(亩), and the planting area is quite broad. But eight banner’s land plant indica rice, and the prisoners who are well versed in the cultivation of rice teach idle soldiers to farm, and Ili eight banner’s land is carried out. The eight banner’s land rice field of Ili are mainly distributed in the vicinity of Huiyuan City(惠远城) and Huining City where Ili’s two Manchu Garrisons are stationed. There is clearly map the distribution of eight banner’s land rice fields in the east of Huiyuan City in the Volume two of the western affairs (《西陲总统事略》), as shown below.<sup>2</sup>



However, after the war in Tongzhi period(同治年間) in Xinjiang, not only was the water conservancy project destroyed, but Huiyuan City was also destroyed, “forty miles from the east of city, there are stationing fields of civilians in the south of Jiliangzi Road (脊梁子路)”<sup>3</sup> recorded in Records of Xinjiang in the late Qing Dynasty. It is the true portrayal of rice field in the east of

1 伊犁将军松筠“奏为伊犁旗屯本年收获情形并酌定章程分给八旗田亩永为世业事”，朱批奏折，档号 04-01-23-011-1129，嘉庆九年十一月初十日。  
2 祁韵士：《西陲总统事略》卷 2 “伊犁图说”，第 23 页。  
3 王树枏等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第 1 册，卷 28 《实业一》，第 548 页。

Huiyuan Old City returning to production, just the original stationing fields of flag men have evolved into rice fields of civilians, making rice flow further into ordinary civil society.

## 2. Rice Cultivation in Urumqi

After the Qing Dynasty defeated Jungar, while actively carrying out large-scale military stationing in the local area, they also organized inland farmers to move to the area to carry out large-scale civilian stationing, and supplemented by part of prisoner stationing, gradually formed the Agricultural Department Zone of north Tianshan. In 31<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong, Urumqi Amban Wenfu(温福) and them, memorial to rice planting situation, it can be translated the Manchu memorial to the following:

wesimburengge.

aha wenfu. lii ging g'ao ufu jingguleme donjibume wesimbure jalin. baicaci. ne urumuci i harangga gren hton de bisire dorgi baci gurinjihe irgen, uheri ilan minggan sunja tanggū funcere boigon bi. esei ere aniya usin tariha muru be. ahasi onggolo siran siran I gemu donjibume wesimbuhe bihe. te eaten jeku gemu bargiyame wajiha. bargiyaha fuwen ton be doolai hafan hioi dzung jyi sede afabufi baicabuci. maise. murfa. je ilan hacin uheri uyun fuwen bargiyaha seme bolanjihabi. jai onggolo urumuci ibade umai handu. kubun tarire niyalma akū bihe. ere aniya uhi saraci g'udung. giyarimsi ceng lii. irgesei benjire doro de tusa oyoro be bodome. teisu teisu dorgi baci handu. kubun i use be baime gajime. teneger i jergi halukan bade tehe tarime bahanara urse de bufi cendeme taribuha de bargiyahangge asuru labdu akū bicebe. gemu tarime šanggahabi bargiyahangge be ahasi gajifi kimcime tuwaci. dorgi ba i handu. kubun ci umai encu akū. hujufi gūninci. urumci i bade daci damu maise murfa. je tarimbi. handu kubun tarihakū bihe. te enduringge eje i hūhuri de. g'udung sei dorgi baci gajihā handu kubun i urse be. irgen de bufi tuktan cendeme taribure de. uthai yooni šanggaha be dahame. ereci Julesi irgese use bahfi teisu teisu rarime labdu baha manggi. ice jecen i cooha irgen de gemu ambula tusa. uttu ofi. ahasi uhei saraci g'udung sede ere aniya irgesei bargiyaha handu. kubun i use be. heni majige ume mamgiyame fayabure. cende neileme ulhibufi. an i hūsutuleme taribu. ere sidende dorgi baci jai fulu use baime gajifi. tarici ojoro bade tehe irgese de gemu neigenjeme dendeme bufi fulu taribumha. elgiyen i bargiyara be kicekin seme afabuha ci tulgiyen. ere aniya irgesei bargiyaha jekui fuwen ton handu. kubun cendeme tarifi šanggaha babe suwaliyame ginggelem donjibume wesimbuhe. omšon biyai ice. abkai wehiyehe i gūsin emuci aniya omšon biyai orin juwe de fulgiyan fi i pilehe hese saha hese.<sup>1</sup>

1 中国第一历史档案馆、中国边疆史地研究中心合编：《清代新疆满文档案汇编》第81册，乾隆三十一年十一月初一日“乌鲁木齐办事大臣温福等奏乌鲁木齐所属各城民人收成分数及试种水稻棉花收获情形折

As stated, there was no rice planting in Urumqi before, after sub-prefect Guodong(国栋) et al requesting rice from the inland, given to Fukang (阜康) farmers for trial planting in the 31<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong, although the harvest is not much, but the test is successful, and no different from the rice in inland. Considering this rice is not only beneficial to the live hood of the people, but also has great benefits in the Xinjiang soldiers, therefore, in the same period, more seeds were be requested from inland, and they were handed over to local households to expand planting, looking forward to a bumper harvest in order to use in the future. In the 27<sup>th</sup> year of Qianlong, Urumqi amban Mingliang(明亮) et al memorial to advice Dihua (迪化) Prefecture Changji (昌吉), Suilai (绥来) counties' local residents to trial planting rice, content is as follows:

*Then check the land in Urumqi and other places, the water was flowing smoothly, and the wheat, barley, millet, and flax are produced over the years, everthing is harvested, and has memorial to be on the record. Now Dihua prefecture Changji and Suilai counties are immersed in water, among the criminals sent in are men who can grow rice, all kinds of seeding, planting and transplanting matters are most familiar, once planted rice, and bumper harvest, try effective. so I ordered the local official to persuade the households to add planting rice, can planted widely and harvested little. We will see what happens when autumn comes, if the calculated harvest score was consistent with that of wheat and corn, can collect according to ration in order to enrich the warehouse storage. All the reasons for the trial rice, combined and memorialied with report.<sup>1</sup>*

According to the above memorial of Mingliang, there are paddy fields suitable for planting rice in Changji and Suilai county, so already let deportations tried out who test by how to plant and transplant rice and be fruitful. Therefore, Mingliang ordered local officials to persuade local households to plant rice widely. if the harvest is successful in autumn, it can be levied according to ration. According to the book “Three State Collections” written in the Jiaqing period, “the paddy fields and rice are best in Manas(玛纳斯).”<sup>2</sup> and Manas is the place that was renamed Suilai county in 1779. It can be seen that the local rice planting crop wasnot bad. At the end of the Qing Dynasty, the area was still an important rice growing area. During the same period, The Dihua county “from the west three springs to the nine canals, which is the farthest town in the north of the city, the terrain is flat, the spring was smooth, so the rice was abundant in there.”<sup>3</sup>And rice planting in

---

”，第 390-391 页。

1 乌鲁木齐都统明亮 “奏为劝谕迪化州昌吉绥来二县一带地方户民试种稻谷事”，朱批奏折附片 04-01-22-0038-013，乾隆四十七年四月初二日。

2 和瑛：《三州辑略》卷 9《物产门》，第 532 页。

3 王树枏等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第 2 册，卷 73《沟渠一》，第 1343 页。

Urumqi had been also gradually expanding.

### **3.Closing**

Above all, this article through detailed discussion to Ili and Urumqi and so on in the Qing Dynasty's governance of Xinjiang in the early period, the main purpose of planting is to solve the demand for grain ration and rice in the local rations and past officials, taking into account the needs of vassal tributes banquets, princes of various ministers make pilgrimages and Bek's annual classes, etc. And this article presents many distinctive features, such as in the implementation of rice, it shows that the government and the people are in in parallel and are dominated by the government. In planting teaching, the green flag troops, deportation and local Uighur people are involved. Rice seeds are composed of local native rice and inland rice. In the form of planting, there are types such as soldiers stationing, civilian stationing and merchants stationing and so on. These characteristics are the true reflections of natural geography, human geography, economic geography and ethnic distribution patterns in the north and south of Tianshan mountains in the Qing Dynasty.



# 十八世纪内地移民与新疆水稻种植研究

王启明

(陕西师范大学中国西部边疆研究院)

有关清代新疆水稻种植问题的研究，张建军曾作过简要的论述<sup>1</sup>，近来鲁靖康又做了较大的学术推进。<sup>2</sup>但有关清代新疆各地水稻种植的始末情况（试种时间、稻种来源、种植形式、收获分数等）及其原因，以往研究几乎均未涉及。本文主要利用清代档案等资料就此问题召开讨论<sup>3</sup>，以期推动清代新疆水稻种植问题的深入研究。

对于去过新疆或了解新疆的多数人而言，想必新疆美味可口的抓饭会给大家留下非常深刻的印象。但是，今天这一看似普通常见的饭食是否早已出现在古代新疆居民的饭桌之上，恐怕并不是一个非常容易回答的问题。据成书于清朝乾隆年间统一新疆后不久的佚名著作《西域地理图说》记载当时维吾尔饮食中有一种被称为哈斯布的饭，具体如下：

(hasyb)哈斯布，乃蒸饭也，以稻米加生羊油、碎红萝卜蒸熟，盛于大木盘中，内藏连骨大块肉一块，或整鸡一只，或以稻米、生羊油灌入羊肠肚中，浓煮而食之，此乃回人待客、过节之大筵席。<sup>4</sup>

可见，清朝统一新疆初年，维吾尔社会中已有食用当时被称为哈斯布（蒸饭）的抓饭，但在当时尚非常食饭肴，主要被维吾尔人用于待客和过节之用，且属富人饭食，普通大众及贫苦百姓恐难食用。因为即使经过一百多年后，据光绪初年游历新疆的内地文人萧雄观察，普通“贫人度日，则惟食干馍饮凉水而已”，但抓饭至少已成为普通殷实家庭之常食，萧雄《听园新疆杂述诗》卷三有“饮食”诗一首，并解释道：

食以麦面、黄米、小米为主，稻米次之。……若烹稻米，喜将羊肉细切，或加鸡蛋与饭交炒，佐以油盐椒葱，盛于盘，以手掇食之，谓之抓饭，遇喜庆事，治此待客为敬。……而面条更讲调和，抓饭视为常食矣。<sup>5</sup>

据上，经过一百多年的发展，抓饭至少已经成为富户及普通人家之常食饭肴。且已进入草原游牧哈萨克饮食文化中，如“食掇以手，谓之抓饭。其饭米、肉相淪，杂以葡萄、杏干诸物，纳之盆盂，列布毯上，主客席地围坐，相酬酢。”<sup>6</sup>可见其与现代抓饭已几无差异。但

1 张建军：《清代新疆主要粮食作物及其地域分布》，《农业考古》1999年第1期，第199-200页。

2 鲁靖康：《清代新疆农业研究：基于水资源、产业、农区和人地关系的考察》第二章“清代新疆的水稻种植业及其地域分布”，陕西师范大学博士论文，2015年。

3 满文档案主要为中国第一历史档案馆与中国边疆史地研究中心合编《清代新疆满文档案汇编》（281册，桂林：广西师范大学出版社，2012年），汉文档案将主要利用中国第一历史档案馆馆藏朱批、录副奏折与户科题本等。

4 阮明道主编：《西域地理图说注》，延吉：延边大学出版社，1992年，第118页。

5 萧雄：《听园新疆杂述诗》第1册，卷3“饮食”，北京：中华书局，1985年，第87页。

6 王树柅等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第2册，卷48《礼俗》，上海古籍出版社，2017年，第

此推广过程显然与作为抓饭核心食材的稻米生产密不可分。

清朝于乾隆二十四年（1759年）平定回疆后，陆续在新疆各地建立以伊犁将军、乌鲁木齐都统及回疆参赞大臣为代表的军政职官体系，这些满蒙汉官兵的到来，必然面临口粮问题。为此，清朝在天山北路大力开展官屯与民屯等屯田加以解决，乾隆指出“屯垦自给之粮既可免运费，且将来种地日开，所入倍当充裕”。<sup>1</sup>而天山南路本身驻扎官兵较少，当地百姓上缴粮石足以供用。

官兵口粮当中，米面需求较大，按照清朝《户部则例》规定，如“西路屯种驻扎官兵支給口粮，官员粳米，兵丁粟米，均日支八合三勺。如白面或炒面，均日以一斤抵给。官兵口食羊以二只抵作一月口粮，如给折价，每只折银一两二钱五分。”<sup>2</sup>“官员粳米、兵丁粟米”的规定在清代档案中常称为“官粳役粟”<sup>3</sup>，即清代新疆官员按照规定可以食用稻米。在满蒙八旗官员外，根据文献记载，回疆伯克与外藩朝贡人员以及部分普通百姓也可以食用。

## 一、伊犁地区水稻种植

伊犁地区在清朝早期作为游牧政权准噶尔的统治腹地，据《西域图志》记载，当时准噶尔部五谷作物便有名为图鲁尔噶（*tutory-a*）的稻米，且不甚粘。<sup>4</sup>清军进入伊犁后，《西陲总统事略》记载当地“户屯”时，提及“乾隆二十八年，起，至嘉庆十三年止，商民张尚仪等二百名共垦种蔬地、稻田一万六百六十八亩六分，每亩征租银一钱，每岁共计征租银一千六十六两八钱六分”<sup>5</sup>，但这并不意味着清朝统一伊犁后的水稻种植始于乾隆二十八年。其实，伊犁在此之前便有试种水稻之举，据乾隆二十七年参赞大臣阿桂之满文奏折声称道：

wesimburengge.

aha agūi iltu funggahen gingguleme wesimburengge.donjibume wesimbure jalin.neneme aha aūi ili i bade gemu enteheme goidame yabuci ogoro be gūnime.gūwa baci emu hacin komso gajici. emu hacin de tusa be bodome. aksu ci handu use juwan hule gajifi hoise sede bufi cendeme taribuha. geli aksu. g'an su i goloi benjihe majige jelmin. ayan malanggū use be gemu cooha hoise de bufi taribuha babe onggolo donjibume wesimbuhe bihe. sirame tariha jelmin ayan malanggū be bargiyafi tūfi tuwaci. gemu juwan juwen ci wesihūn bhabi. ere aniya jai fuluka taribume ohode. ereci Julesi ubai niyeleku moselakū de baitalara nimenggi be uthai tarifi baha weilmin. ayan

---

862 页。

1 《清高宗实录》卷 649，乾隆二十六年十一月甲子，第 275 页。

2 《钦定户部则例》第 3 册，卷 122《杂支（新疆支款）·官兵口粮》，海口：海南出版社，2000 年，第 363 页。

3 陕甘总督“题为奏销库车乾隆三十三年份供支驻扎官兵钱粮等各数目事”，中国第一历史档案馆藏户科题本，档号 02-01-04-16193-007，乾隆三十五年六月二十日。

4 钟兴麒、王豪、韩慧校注：《西域图志校注》，第 550 页。

5 祁韵士：《西陲总统事略》卷 7《户屯》，第 103 页。

malanggū be jafafi arafi baitalabume. dorgi bade ganabure fayabun be nakabuci ombi. jai hoise sei tariha handu be baicaci. da benjihe use faha nergin de ekšeme icihiyahangge ofi. untuhun noho umesi labdu bime. tarire hoise inu asuru bahanarakū ogoro jakade. bahafi šangghakū. te ili de cooha teme toktoho. majige handu tariha manggi. ambasai anggalai bele bahara teile akū. tulergi aiman i urse be sarilara de baitalaci tuwara de sain. ili de umai tarici ogorakūngge waka ofi. aha agūi geli sinju sede jasifi yerkiyang ci handu use juwan hule gajifi niowanggiyan turun i tarime bahanara cooha de nikbufi cendeme taribuhabi. erei jalin ginguleme donjibume wesimbuhe. ilan biyai juwan emu. abkai weheyehe i orin nadaci aniya dui biyai juwan emu de fulgiyan fi i pilhe hese sain sha sehe.<sup>1</sup>

据上，不难看出伊犁种植水稻意在解决长久驻军带来的口食问题，也可节省内地运输之费，因此乾隆二十七年之前便从阿克苏获取稻种试种，但因办理急切及回民不谙种植，并未成功。考虑此奏折时间为乾隆二十七年春天，所以伊犁第一次试种水稻很有可能即为乾隆二十六年。虽然第一次试种未获成功，但考虑官兵口粮以及外藩设宴所需，阿桂仍从叶尔羌获取稻种十石，交给通晓耕种水稻之绿营兵，于乾隆二十七年春天进行了第二次试种。有关此次试种收成情况，乾隆三十一年档案显示乾隆二十八年旧管项下至少有“稻子二十石八斗五升九合六勺七抄八撮”，而新收屯田绿营兵丁并回子收获杂粮内有“稻子一百九十石五斗”<sup>2</sup>，且稻谷被列于各色粮石第一位，更说明其珍稀性。相比春天所下十石稻种，其收成接近二十分，可谓丰收。但已足够当年使用<sup>3</sup>，因此完全符合阿桂所奏“耕种少许水稻后，不仅于大臣们之口粮米，抑或于外藩部众设宴使用，皆有益观瞻”之初衷。

与此同时，乾隆后期随着伊犁驻防满营人口的增加，乾隆一再指示开展“旗屯”。至嘉庆九年，松筠奏称“惠远城旗屯今岁加种秬稻籽种六百石，共收一万四千余石，核计收成实在二十三分以上”<sup>4</sup>，可见旗屯所种水稻与伊犁兵屯收成不相上下，旗屯稻田约在 4800 亩上下，种植面积颇为广阔。但旗屯为秬稻，并由通晓种植水稻之遣犯教习闲散旗丁耕作。伊犁旗屯稻田就此开展起来。伊犁旗屯稻田主要分布于伊犁两满营驻扎之惠远与惠宁城附近地方，《伊犁总统事略》卷二“伊犁图说”在惠远城东明确绘有旗屯稻田之分布，如下图<sup>5</sup>：

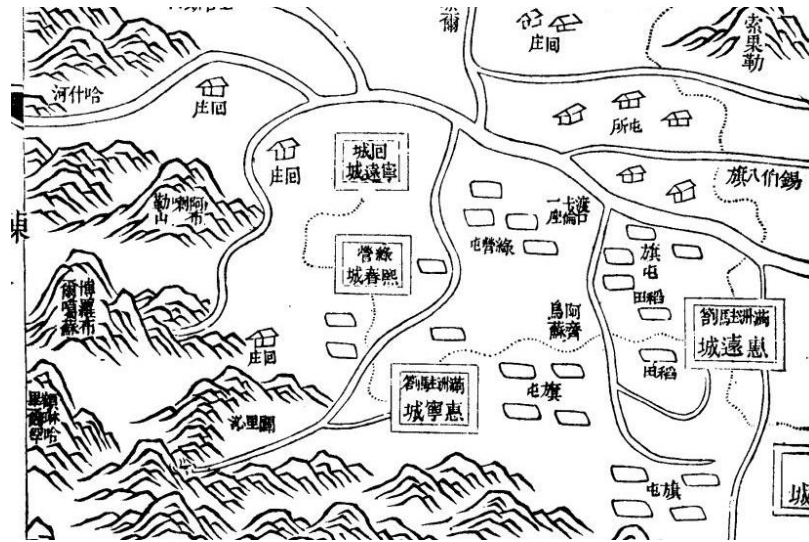
1 中国第一历史档案馆、中国边疆史地研究中心合编：《清代新疆满文档案汇编》第 55 册，乾隆二十七年三月十一日“参赞大臣阿桂等奏报伊犁绿营兵丁试种叶尔羌所送稻种折”，第 262-263 页。

2 署理陕甘总督舒赫德“题为核销乾隆二十八年份供支驻伊犁办事大臣屯防官兵养廉口粮军械等项钱粮数目事”，户科题本 02-01-04-15842-009，乾隆三十一年三月二十四日。“收屯田绿营兵丁并回子种获杂粮内，稻子一百九十石五斗、谷子一万六千六百六十四石五斗、糜子九千六百六十一石、小麦一万九千四百一十二石三斗六升、青稞四千四百六十三石二斗五升、大麦五千石。”

3 署理陕甘总督舒赫德“题为核销乾隆二十八年份供支驻伊犁办事大臣屯防官兵养廉口粮军械等项钱粮数目事”，户科题本 02-01-04-15842-009，乾隆三十一年三月二十四日。

4 伊犁将军松筠“奏为伊犁旗屯本年收获情形并酌定章程分给八旗田亩永为世业事”，朱批奏折，档号 04-01-23-011-1129，嘉庆九年十一月初十日。

5 祁韵士：《西陲总统事略》卷 2 “伊犁图说”，第 23 页。



但新疆历经同治年间战乱后，不仅水利工程被毁，惠远城也被毁坏，清末《新疆图志》记载“出城东门四十里，脊梁子道南均民屯之稻田”<sup>1</sup>，正是惠远老城东边稻田再次恢复生产的真实写照，只是原有旗屯稻田已经演变为民屯稻田，使得水稻进一步流入普通民间社会。

## 二、乌鲁木齐等地水稻种植

清朝平定准噶尔后，开清朝积极在当地开展大规模军屯的同时，又组织内地农民移居该地开展大规模户屯，并辅之以部分遣屯，逐渐形成了以乌鲁木齐为中心的天山北麓农业开发区。乾隆三十一年，乌鲁木齐办事大臣温福等奏试种水稻情形，兹将其满文奏折转写如下：

wesimburengge.

aha wenfu. lii ging g'ao ufu jingguleme donjibume wesimbure jalin. baicaci. ne urumuci i harangga gren hton de bisire dorgi baci gurinjihe irgen, uheri ilan minggan sunja tanggū funcere boigon bi. esei ere aniya usin tariha muru be. ahasi onggolo siran siran l gemu donjibume wesimbuhe bihe. te eaten jeku gemu bargiyame wajiha. bargiyaha fuwen ton be doolai hafan hioi dzung jyi sede afabufi baicabuci. maise. murfa. je ilan hacin uheri uyun fuwen bargiyaha seme bolanjihabi. jai onggolo urumuci ibade umai handu. kubun tarire niyalma akū bihe. ere aniya uhi saraci g'udung. giyarimsi ceng lii. irgesei benjire doro de tusa oyoro be bodome. teisu teisu dorgi baci handu. kubun i use be baime gajime. teneger i jergi halukan bade tehe tarime bahanara urse de bufi cendeme taribuha de bargiyahangge asuru labdu akū bicebe. gemu tarime šanggahabi bargiyahangge be ahasi gajifi kimcime tuwaci. dorgi ba i handu. kubun ci umai encu akū. hujufi gūninci. urumci i bade daci damu maise murfa. je tarimbi. handu kubun tarihakū bihe. te enduringge eje i hūhuri de.

1 王树枏等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第1册，卷28《实业一》，第548页。

g'udung sei dorgi baci gajihā handu kubun i urse be. irgen de bufi tuktan cendeme taribure de. uthai yooni šanggaha be dahame. ereci Julesi irgese use bahfi teisu teisu rarime labdu baha manggi. ice jecen i cooha irgen de gemu ambula tusa. uttu ofi. ahasi uhei saraci g'udung sede ere aniya irgesei bargiyaha handu. kubun i use be. heni majige ume mamgiyame fayabure. cende neileme ulhibufi. an i hūsutuleme taribu. ere sidende dorgi baci jai fulu use baime gajifi. tarici ojoro bade tehe irgese de gemu neigenjeme dendeme bufi fulu taribumha. elgiyen i bargiyara be kicekin seme afabuha ci tulgiyen. ere aniya irgesei bargiyaha jekui fuwen ton handu. kubun cendeme tarifi šanggaha babe suwaliyame ginggelem donjibume wesimbuhe. omšon biyai ice. abkai wehiyehe i gūsin emuci aniya omšon biyai orin juwe de fulgiyan fi i pilehe hese saha hese.<sup>1</sup>

据上，乌鲁木齐地区此前从无水稻种植，同知国栋等人从内地请领水稻后，交给特那格尔（阜康）农民于乾隆三十一年试种，虽收获不多，但试种成功。且与内地无异，考虑此项稻谷不仅有益于百姓生计，且“于新疆兵卒皆有大益”，因此同期又从内地多请籽种，交给当地户民扩大种植，期待丰收，以备日后使用。乾隆四十七年，乌鲁木齐都统明亮等奏劝告迪化州昌吉绥来二县地方户民试种稻谷，内容如下：

再查乌鲁木齐等处田地肥美，渠水畅流，历年出产小麦、青稞、粟谷、葫麻，各项均获丰收，节经奏明在案。今查迪化州昌吉、绥来二县一带地方更有膏腴近水之处，经发来遣犯中素种稻谷之人，一切布种插秧事宜最为熟悉，曾经栽种稻禾，收成丰稔，试有成效。奴才遂飭令该地方官劝谕户民一体加种，俾得广种多收。俟将来秋成之时，酌看情形，果能核计收成分数与小麦、粟谷折算细粮数目相符，即可照额征收，以充仓贮，所有试种稻谷缘由，合并奏闻。◎sa。<sup>2</sup>

据以上明亮所奏，昌吉、绥来二县水田膏腴，适宜种植水稻，业经通晓种植稻谷、插秧之遣犯试种，卓有成效。因此，明亮责令地方官劝谕当地户民广种，若将来秋收有成，即可照额征收。据成书于嘉庆年间的《三州辑略》记载“玛纳斯水田稻米最佳”<sup>3</sup>，而玛纳斯正是乾隆四十四年改设绥来县之前的地方称谓<sup>4</sup>，可见当地水稻种植收成不差。清末当地仍为重要水稻种植区。<sup>5</sup>同期，迪化县“自西三个泉至此九渠，为城北最远之乡，地势平衍，泉脉疏

1 中国第一历史档案馆、中国边疆史地研究中心合编：《清代新疆满文档案汇编》第 81 册，乾隆三十一年十一月初一日“乌鲁木齐办事大臣温福等奏乌鲁木齐所属各城民人收成分数及试种水稻棉花收获情形折”，第 390-391 页。

2 乌鲁木齐都统明亮“奏为劝谕迪化州昌吉绥来二县一带地方户民试种稻谷事”，朱批奏折附片 04-01-22-0038-013，乾隆四十七年四月初二日。

3 和瑛：《三州辑略》卷 9《物产门》，第 532 页。

4 和瑛：《三州辑略》卷 2《官制门》，第 234-235 页。“玛纳斯商民日渐增聚，地方人命斗殴事务纷繁，每岁应交粮石、及查办兵民交涉事件，仅设县丞一员，不足以资弹压，请将县丞改为知县。”

5 王树枏等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第 2 册，卷 52《物候》，第 918-919 页。

畅，故饶稻谷”<sup>1</sup>，乌鲁木齐水稻种植也逐渐扩大。

### 三、结语

综上，通过本文对清朝治理新疆前期伊犁与乌鲁木齐等地的详细探讨，其种植目的主要在于解决当地驻扎及过往官员的口粮稻米需求，兼顾外藩筵宴与各部王公朝觐及伯克年班等需求。并呈现出许多鲜明特色，如在推行水稻种植方面，呈现出官府与民间并行，并以官府为主导；在教导种植方面，绿营兵、遣犯与当地维吾尔百姓均参与其中；稻种则由本地原生稻种与内地稻种构成；在种植形式上，呈现出兵屯、民屯、商屯等类型。这些特色正是清代新疆天山南北各地自然地理、人文地理、经济地理及族群分布格局的真实反映。

---

1 王树枏等纂、朱玉麒等整理：《新疆图志》第2册，卷73《沟渠一》，第1343页。