

# A Reconsideration of the Yarkand Document in the Ōki Collection

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## Preamble

The Ōki Collection in the Institute for Advanced Studies on Asia at the University of Tokyo includes a document, without parallel, that concerns Qing-period Yarkand (Yeerqiang 葉爾羌), a regional administrative unit in Huijiang 回疆, i.e., the Muslim region in the southern part of the present-day Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region in China. More than thirty years ago I published an article in which I described this document and discussed a number of questions on the basis of it (Hori 1979). But even today, under the latest research conditions, there has still not been made public anything matching the content of this document, and it is well worth taking up for consideration once again. In the following I wish to make some corrections to my earlier study of this document and reexamine its value as a historical source.

## I. An Overview of the *Ōki Document*<sup>1)</sup>

The Ōki Collection is based on the Chinese works collected by Ōki Motoichi 大木幹一, who worked as a lawyer mainly in Beijing, and the document in question (hereafter referred to as the *Ōki Document*) is a handwritten work in Chinese with a title slip bearing the title *Yeerqiang cheng-zhuang lishu huihu zhengfu gexiang ce* 葉爾羌城莊里數回戶正賦各項冊 (Register of Muslim households in the townships and villages of Yarkand and their itemized taxes).

It is a thread-bound book measuring 24 cm × 20 cm, with a cover of vermillion hemp cloth, and a ring of thick hemp thread for hanging it from something such as a nail, about 5 cm in diameter, has been attached to the uppermost part of the binding thread. The text has been written in ink on a total of 209 folios of medium-thick paper that have been bound by means of the so-called pouch-binding method in which double-width

sheets of paper are folded in half and stitched along the loose edges opposite the fold. Most of the first folio has been torn off and lost, with only a few millimetres remaining, and it is to be surmised that the complete work would have consisted of 210 folios (420 pages).

Because the first folio is missing, there is nothing like a preface or date, nor is the original title known. The recto of the first extant folio (hereafter foliation is based on the extant folios and expressed in the form 1a, etc.) begins with an account of the “lanes” (*xiang* 巷), a specific administrative unit, in the *chengshang* 城上 in the Muslim quarter (*huicheng* 回城) of Yarkand. The entire contents of the register can be divided into four parts: (I) Muslim quarter, (II) surrounding rural areas and other domains, (III) special taxation units, and (IV) aggregate figures for Yarkand as a whole. Examples of each are presented below.

(I) The section on the 43 lanes in the Muslim quarter of Yarkand (1a–13b) is divided into five *chengshang* (which may be provisionally translated as “ward”). By way of example, the first entry reads as follows, with two lanes being treated on each page.

Ward: Isma‘yil (Yisimayile 伊斯瑪依勒),<sup>2)</sup> a *mutawalli beg* (*mituwali boke* 密圖瓦里伯克)<sup>3)</sup> of the fifth rank. There are 1 *ming bashi* (*ming bashi* 明巴什) and 3 *yüz bashis* (*yuzi bashi* 玉孜巴什). They have jurisdiction over 11 lanes.

Munartur-tüwi (Munatuertuwei 木那吐爾吐維)<sup>4)</sup> Lane

150 native Muslims (*huizi* 回子), male and female, young and old (including 66 Muslims of registered households [*zhenghu* 正戶]).

Amount of regular cash tax (*zhengfu* 正賦) due annually: 14 *chuan* 串 628 *wen* 文.

Cloth due annually: 166.5 bolts (*pi* 疋). (The value of each bolt is converted at the rate of 26 *wen* cash, making a total of 4 *chuan* 225 *wen*.)

Cotton due annually: 38 catties (*jin* 觔).

(II) The section on the rural areas and special domains accounts for the greater part of the work (14a–202a), and so I shall deal with it in some detail. The term *zongzhuang* 總莊 (county) is replaced by *dazhuang* 大莊 in the aggregate figures given at the end of the work, and it was a term used by government offices during the Qing to refer to townships (*xiang* 鄉) en-

compassing several rural villages (*xiaozhuang* 小莊) and isolated small and medium-sized oases. This part can be subdivided into three sections.

(a) 31 localities in rural areas of Yarkand oasis and small and medium-sized oases subordinate to Yarkand (14a–196a).

[Paper slip] Ofur (Epuer 鄂普爾) *zhuang* 莊 (falls under the category of *zongzhuang*). Lies 30 *li* 里 to the north of the city of Yarkand. The full-time administrators are Mamut Shah (Maimai Sha 邁買沙), a *mirab beg* (*milapu boke* 密喇普伯克) of the fifth rank, Shah Siyyid (Sha Siyiti 沙斯依提), a *ming beg* (*ming boke* 明伯克) of the sixth rank, and Mahmut Shah (Maimate Sha 邁瑪特沙), an *orchin beg* (*eerqin boke* 鄂爾沁伯克) of the sixth rank. There are 10 *ming bashis* and 29 *yüz bashis*. They have jurisdiction over 64 villages (*xiaozhuang*).

Arsilan-bagh (Asilabaha 阿斯拉巴哈) village [hereafter “village” is used for *xiaozhuang* in order to differentiate it from *zongzhuang*]

244 native Muslims, male and female, young and old (including 56 Muslims of registered households).

Total area of arable land: 60 *patman* (*patema* 帕特瑪).

Amount of regular cash tax due annually: 13 *chuan* 362 *wen*.

Cloth due annually: 162.5 bolts. (The value of each bolt is converted at the rate of 26 *wen* cash, making a total of 4 *chuan* 225 *wen*.)

Cotton due annually: 48 catties 3 ounces (*liang* 兩).

Grain tax due annually: 44 *patman*.

Because information on arable land and grain tax has been added to the entries on villages in rural areas, one page has been allocated to each village.

As regards the arrangement or ordering of the place-names, it is possible to point to a general tendency to start from counties that were close to the city of Yarkand and had existed at the time of the Qing conquest in the eighteenth century, with administrative units newly established within the oasis of Yarkand in a narrow sense having been added after them. These are then followed by independent small and medium-sized oases scattered outside the confines of Yarkand. This matter will be taken up again below when discussing the appointment of begs and the establish-

ment of additional administrative units.

(b) Three *zhuang* in newly reclaimed areas (197a–199a). These correspond to the three *zhuang* developed during the Daoguang 道光 era which have already been noted by Saguchi Tōru (1963: 249–252), namely, Qurghan (Heerhan *zhuang* 和爾罕莊; started in Daoguang 25 [1845]), Qosh-awat (Heshawate *zhuang* 和沙瓦特莊; started in Daoguang 9 [1829]), and Kona-Tartar (Kena Tataer *zhuang* 柯納塔塔爾莊; started in Daoguang 9 [1829]). Because they each had their own taxation system, etc., the entries are quite complex.

(c) Special domains (200a–202a): Tajiks and Dolans

Unique among the independent oases were Sariq-qul (Selekule 色呼庫勒; 200a–201a), inhabited by Tajiks, and Barjuq (Baerchuke 巴爾楚克; 202a), inhabited mainly by Dolans, both of which lay at a great distance from Yarkand. Although neither of these place-names is accompanied by the word *zhuang*, paper slips indicating that they are *zongzhuang* have been attached to both. Judging from the figure 31 given at the end of the register as the total number of *dazhuang*, they encompass the 31 communities from Ofur to Barjuq, which means that all of these fall under part II.

(III) Special administrative units: Two post stations (*lānggār*) and four special taxation units

(a) Two post stations (203ab): Terāk Lānggār (Tielie Lianggaer 鉄列亮噶爾) on the northern edge and Kōk-rawat Lānggār (Kekerewate Lianggaer 科科熱瓦特亮噶爾) on the western edge of Yarkand oasis in a narrow sense.

(b) Four special taxation units: “Muslims delivering charcoal to government ironsmiths” (204a), “Muslims delivering firewood to storehouses in each village” (205a), “Muslim woodturners in towns and villages” (205b), and “craftsmen’s labour services, vegetable gardens, and water mills” (206a).

(IV) Aggregate Figures for Yarkand as a Whole (207a–208a)

Aggregate figures for the above are listed under (a) names of affiliated units and their numbers: 43 lanes in the Muslim quarter, 31 counties, 407 villages, etc.; (b) titles and numbers of supervising officials: 52 begs, 84 *minḡ bashis*, 346 *yüz bashis*, etc., of the fourth to seventh ranks; (c) taxable households and area of arable land: 61,444 Muslims (men and women, young and old), 16,926 registered households, and 21,820 *pat-man* 2 *ghalbir* (*gaerbi* 噶爾比) 6.5 *charāk* (*chalake* 察喇克) of arable land; and

(d) individual tax items and their sum total (regular taxes, cotton, cloth, grain, etc., due annually).

These figures given at the end of the register differ somewhat from my totalization of the individual units given in the main text. The greatest difference (more than twenty percent) is found in the area of taxable arable land, and in my earlier study I speculated that this difference may represent religious *waqf* and so on (Hori 1979: 25). While I still do not reject this possibility, the fact that payment of the cloth tax in cash, discussed below, is mentioned only in the main text and not in the final figures gives rise to the suspicion that the “aggregate figures” given at the end may merely represent the fixed amounts that had been allocated to Yarkand over the years. In other words, this difference could perhaps be regarded as one between figures that were close to reality, given in the main text, and figures that reflected no more than the official position, given at the end.

However, the figures for the population and number of households liable for taxation are completely fossilized figures, being no different from the figures at the start of Qing rule in the 1760s, and I wish to reconfirm this fact as a distinctive feature of Qing rule of this region.

## II. The Date of Composition of the *Ōki Document*, Its Character, and the Originating Office: Emendations to My Former Views on the Basis of Archival Sources

### 1. A Correction Regarding the Date of Composition

The most dramatic change to have occurred in research conditions since the publication of my earlier study has been the fact that documents (*dang'an* 檔案) held by the First Historical Archives of China have since the 1990s been made accessible to the public. The first matter to require correction once it became possible to utilize these documents was the date of composition of the *Ōki Document*.

In my earlier study I determined that the *Ōki Document* would have been composed during the period that met all four of the following conditions—a period (1) prior to the collapse of the beg official system (1864), (2) after the commencement of taxation of newly reclaimed land in 1849, (3) outside the period when a temporary tax system was implemented in some areas in 1855–59, and (4) prior to the transfer of begs in 1857—namely, 1849–54 (Hori 1979: 282–283). This conclusion was based solely

on published sources, and it became necessary to emend it after an examination of the terms of office of individual beg officials mentioned in the *Ōki Document* on the basis of documents held by the Archives.

Among the Archives' documents, the *Gongzhongdang zhupi zouzhe* 宮中檔硃批奏折 (Palace memorials endorsed by the emperor in vermilion ink), fascs. 640–641, and the *Junjichu lufu zouzhe* 軍機處錄副奏折 (Reference copies of palace memorials held by the Grand Council), fascs. 8083–8090, which have been made public under the category of “Nationality Affairs” (*minzu shiwu* 民族事務), include about 600 career records relating to the appointment of beg officials in accordance with contemporary regulations. Following an examination of these records, it was ascertained that the period when the terms of office of begs appearing in these records coincided with the individual names of begs mentioned in the *Ōki Document* could have been none other than the period from the ninth month of Xianfeng 咸豐 5 (October 1855) to the second month of Xianfeng 6 (April 1856) (Hori 1997). I wish to take this opportunity to reconfirm this correction, and when one considers the reasons for my earlier error, they can be narrowed down to a single cause. That is to say, the third of the above four conditions was inappropriate. This is related to discussions about changes to the tax system at the time, a matter that will be taken up below.

## 2. The Character of the *Ōki Document*

Saguchi described the *Ōki Document* as a “land register” possessing the content of a “household register” and “tax register” of Yarkand oasis (Saguchi 1963: 140), while Kim Hodong has confirmed this by calling it a “tax-register” (Kim 2004: 12, 217), and I have no objections to this characterization *per se*. There have not been discovered any similar documents of the Qing dynasty, and as a record providing both the objects of taxation and the tax quotas in local units in common use (*patman*, *ghalbir*, *charäk*, etc.) it may be appropriate to describe it as being the closest to a register among known documents. I pointed out in my earlier study that prior to the establishment of Xinjiang province in 1884 official documents for the purposes of tax collection were written only in Chinese characters (Hori 1979: 15). I have also described a written notification of the land tax quota (*youdan* 由單) issued in 1889 to peasants in a village near Yarkand (Sügät-eriq [Sugaite Ailike 蘇蓋特愛里克] in Eljiqu [Aijitehu 愛吉特虎·愛濟特呼] *zhuang* [92b]), which I had discovered in Uppsala University Library in

Sweden. Although it was written in both the local language and Chinese, it was an extremely simple note which gave no indication of the area and grade of the taxable land or of its state of cultivation (Hori 1998a). This was the reality of official documents directly delivered to those whom they concerned, and it raises doubts about whether even by the late nineteenth century the Qing authorities had managed to gain a grasp of the area of land cultivated by individual peasants. Under the earlier system of indirect rule through local influential begs the situation would have been even less rigorous, regardless of the official stance.

The only instance in which the Qing authorities took a certain measure of positive action to make changes to institutions that had been inherited and adhered to as ancestral law since the 1760s was when taking remedial measures after Jihangir's invasion in the 1820s. But since on this occasion too the surveys of households and the area of arable land on which the measures were based were conducted by beg officials, it is hazardous to overestimate the scope of these measures.

The point of contact between these begs and Qing officials stationed in the area was the Office of Muslim Affairs (*huiwuchu* 回務處), which was established under high-ranking officials in each region. Judging from the content of the *Ōki Document* and the system of beg officials, in my earlier study I conjectured that it may have been a document kept at an Office of Muslim Affairs (Hori 1979: 12–13). Of course, since Ōki would have obtained it in Beijing, I meant that it was a copy that was consulted in government offices in Beijing rather than the original document kept in Xinjiang. To repeat, this is because, in view of the characteristics of the list of begs, which does not include third-ranking begs and so on who would have been responsible for drawing up the document, and on account of the indication of arable land and grains in local units such as the *patman*, the *Ōki Document* was most certainly not produced by officials in the central government.

### 3. The Discovery of Similar Materials and the Office of Muslim Affairs

No document of the same type as the *Ōki Document* has been found since the publication of my earlier article, but two similar materials have been discovered. Both are included in information emanating from Xinjiang.

The first was found among the First Historical Archives' documents and appears in a memorial submitted by Yishan 奕山, military assistant

governor of Ili, and others in the context of a discussion of the first uprising by Wali Khan and the rebuilding of Kūl-tarim (Kuilitieliemu 奎里鐵列木·奎里鐵里木), affiliated to Yarkand (*Zhupi* 589-9, late Daoguang 27 – early Daoguang 28, Yishan et al.).<sup>5)</sup> This memorial summarizes the administrative information about the area in the following manner:

(1847–48) 2 *zhuang* of Kūl-tarim and nearby Moghul (Muhuaer 木華爾)  
 Muslim households (*huihu* 回戶) originally liable for tributary tax  
 (*alban* [*aliban* 阿里板]): 350 households.  
 Total area of arable land: 517 *patman* 7 *ghalbir* 4 *charäk*.  
 Grain tax due annually: 60 *patman* 2 *ghalbir* 4 *charäk*.  
 Regular taxes paid in *pul* (*puer* 普爾) coins: 31 *qian* 千 248 *wen*.  
 Local cloth (*huibu* 回布): 939 bolts.  
 Cotton: 217 catties (*jin* 斤).

For reference, I will also give the combined figures for the same two villages as recorded in the *Ōki Document* of 1855/56 (106ab). (The information on their location and officials has been omitted.)

Kūl-tarim *zhuang* (2 villages of Tarim [Tielimu 鐵里木] and Moghul)  
 Native Muslims, male and female, young and old: 1,075 (including 267 Muslims of registered households).  
 Total arable land: 357 *patman*.  
 Regular/cash tax due annually: 41 *chuan* 820 *wen*.  
 Cloth due annually: 507 bolts. (The value of each bolt is converted at the rate of 26 *wen* cash, making a total of 13 *chuan* 182 *wen*.)  
 Cotton due annually: 183 catties.  
 Grain tax due annually: 69 *patman* 1 *ghalbir* 5 *charäk*.

In the *Zhupi* there is no reference to the total population or the payment of the cloth tax in cash found in the *Ōki Document*, and the names of the items and the order of the tax quotas also differ, but judging from the basic structure and the indication of land area and grain by means of the *patman* system, it is evident that it originated in similar records. Since payment of the cloth tax in cash was a temporary measure introduced in the 1850s, it is only natural that it is mentioned in the *Ōki Document*. The *alban*-paying Muslim households correspond to taxable registered households, and the express mention of the *pul* as the type of money used for



paying taxes in the *Zhupi* confirms the existence of records held in places closer to the local language.

The second similar material is found in a recent reproduction of Chinese historical sources relating to Xinjiang, made available outside China for the first time. This is the *Kashigaer lueshuo shiyi* 喀什噶爾略說事宜 (Summarization of Kashghar Affairs; hereafter: *Shiyi* 事宜) in the 2nd series of the *Zhongguo xibei wenxian congshu* 中國西北文獻叢書 (Beijing: Xianzhuang Shuju 綫裝書局, 2006) by Zhukedeng 珠克登, a manuscript with a preface dated Daoguang 23 (1843), and it contains valuable information on Huijiang after the suppression of Jihangir Khwaja's uprising. In fasc. 2, entitled "Matters of the Office of Muslim Affairs" ("Huiwuchu shiyi" 回務處事宜), there is a section on "Itemized Figures for Cash, Cloth, and Copper Payable by Native Muslims in 17 Townships Affiliated to Kashghar," and there we find recorded the following items and figures:

This City (i.e., the Muslim quarter of Kashghar)

Native Muslims liable for grain [tax]: 1,906 households.

*Hongqian* 紅錢 due monthly: 31 *chuan* 523 *wen*.

Goods to be delivered annually to storehouses—wheat: 1,886 *shi* 石 (picul); miscellaneous grains: 90 *shi*; cloth: 1,966.5 bolts; wrapping cloth and blankets: 70 bolts; copper: 84 catties; hemp bags: 1; horse hides: 1.

Administrators: Abullah Aziz (Abula Aizezi 阿布拉愛則孜), a beg of the sixth rank.

Masmud (Maisumu 邁素木) and Musa (? Samu 薩木), begs of the seventh rank.

For reference, I shall cite the combined figures for the 43 lanes in the five wards of the city of Yarkand as recorded in the *Ōki Document*.

(The Muslim quarter of Yarkand)

Begs of the fifth rank: 2; begs of the sixth rank: 3 [official titles and personal names omitted].

Native Muslims, male and female, young and old: 3,288 (including 1,308 Muslims of registered households).

Regular cash tax due annually: 239 *chuan* 624 *wen*.

Cloth due annually: 1,957.5 bolts. (The value of each bolt is converted at the rate of 26 *wen* cash, making a total of 50 *chuan* 895 *wen*.)

Cotton due annually: 717 catties.

Kashghar and Yarkand differed in size and, unlike the *Ōki Document*, the *Shiyi* does not give details about the wards and lanes inside Kashghar, but it will be agreed that there are similarities between the two documents. It is evident that the tax paid in cash (*hongqian*, another term for *pul*) was payable monthly and that the Muslim citizens of Kashghar paid a grain tax in the form of wheat and miscellaneous grains. Logically speaking, it seems strange that city-dwellers with no arable land had to pay a grain tax, but cloth and cotton, which would have been in lieu of a grain tax, were levied also on the inhabitants of Yarkand, who did not pay any grain tax (cotton was not levied in Kashghar). It is difficult to explain the principles underpinning the collection of taxes, but there can be no doubt that there existed taxes paid in kind in both Kashghar and Yarkand, and it should be borne in mind that there were circumstances that cannot be understood solely on the basis of the principles of poll taxes and land taxes.

Be that as it may, it is clearly stated in the postscript of fasc. 2 that the information about Kashghar was the responsibility of the Office of Muslim Affairs and was based on hand-copies (*chaolu* 抄錄) of material held by the said office. It can thus be ascertained that material similar to the *Ōki Document* existed in the 1840s in the Office of Muslim Affairs, which was under the jurisdiction of a Muslim *hakim beg*, who was in turn under a local high-ranking Manchu official.

### III. Archival Sources and the *Ōki Document*: Various Questions Concerning Qing Rule of Huijiang

#### 1. Aspects of the Beg System

##### (a) The Number of Beg Officials and Their Deployment

The aggregate figures given at the end of the *Ōki Document* list 52 begs, while 49 begs are recorded in the main text if one makes adjustments for duplications due to concurrent postings. Instructive in this regard is the *Yerkiyang ni jergi ba i amba ajige bek sei da sekiyen i cece* (Notebook of the Careers of Major and Petty Begs of Yarkand), a Manchu manuscript dating from the second month of Jiaqing 嘉慶18 (March 1813) that was discovered by Onuma Takahiro 小沼孝博 among the Manchu Archives (*Manwen*

*dangbu* 滿文檔簿) of the Grand Council (*junjichu* 軍機處) held by the First Historical Archives. As lists that record the official ranks, official titles, and personal names of begs together with the places where they were stationed or over which they had jurisdiction, this Manchu list of begs dating from 1813 and the *Ōki Document* of 1855/56 form a pair of primary sources. The following table gives the ranks and numbers of beg officials in Yarkand as recorded in these two sources and also in the *Huijiang zeli* 回疆則例 (Substatutes of Huijiang; Daoguang 22), the most detailed of published source materials.

		3rd rank	4th rank	5th rank	6th rank	7th rank	Total
1813	Manchu list	1	4	15	27	7	54
1842	<i>Huijiang zeli</i> 1	1	4	16	27	7	55
1855/56	<i>Ōki Document</i>	—	3	15	27	7	52
	(end)						
	<i>Ōki Document</i>	—	3	14	25	7	49
	(my calculations)						

It is to be surmised that the prescribed number of begs at the time when the *Ōki Document* was composed was 55, as stipulated in the *Huijiang zeli*, and the figure 52 given at the end of the *Ōki Document* can be explained by the fact that the three begs responsible for submitting the document—a third-ranking *hakim beg*, a fourth-ranking *ishikagha beg*, and a fifth-ranking *kerekharakh beg*—were not included in this figure. As for the discrepancy between the figure 52 given at the end of the *Ōki Document* (i.e., the prescribed number according to *Huijiang zeli* 1) and the figure 49 gleaned from the main text, it is to be supposed that it is due to, for example, omissions or the fact that some begs may not yet have arrived to take up their post, but I have not yet reached a definite conclusion regarding this point (Hori 2003: 23–24).

In the case of the begs of Qaghliq (Haergalike 哈爾噶里克) *zhuang* (145a), regarding which there may be an omission, the name Mahmat Sidiq Ahmat (Maima Sidike Aihemaiti 邁瑪斯底克愛和買提), a sixth-ranking *ming beg*, is longer than the norm, and it may represent two names. If we posit the omission of the phrase “sixth-ranking *qadi beg*,” then the name of this official may have been Ahmad. The reason that I make this suggestion is that I was able to determine that a seventh-ranking *ming beg* mentioned in the *Ōki Document* whose posting I had previously been unable

to identify (Hori 2003) was a seventh-ranking beg of Barjuq on the basis of a reference to “Barjuq’s sixth-ranking beg Mahmut (Maimate 邁瑪特) and seventh-ranking *mīng begs* Miman (Miman 密滿) and Hakim (Aqimu 阿奇木), three in total,” in a memorial submitted by the Board of Punishments (*xingbu* 刑部; *Lufu* 8089-2, Xianfeng 8/3/22).<sup>6)</sup> Previously I had misinterpreted the reference in the *Ōki Document* to “the seventh-ranking *mīng beg* Miman Qutluq (Miman Kutuluke 密滿庫吐魯克)” in Barjuq (202a) as referring to a single person and had failed to understand that this referred to two seventh-ranking *mīng begs*, as a result of which I stated that the place of posting of the seventh-ranking beg was unknown. I now wish to correct this.

There remains the question of why there were in Yarkand a large number of high-ranking begs but few seventh-ranking begs, and I am still unable to offer a clear hypothesis in this regard.

#### (b) The Transfer of Beg Officials to the Countryside

In my earlier study I pointed out that in the *Ōki Document* the beg was an administrative post, with each beg official being responsible for a particular locality, that their various official titles had virtually lost all meaning, and that the beg official system was one that had been reorganized around differences in rank (Hori 1979: 17–19). Following an examination of archival sources, not only was I able to confirm this conclusion, but it also became evident that over time there was a tendency for beg officials who had been posted in the urban area in the centre of the oasis during the initial period of Qing rule in the eighteenth century to be dispersed and transferred to surrounding rural areas (Hori 2003: 9–10).

With regard to begs transferred from the Muslim quarter of Yarkand to surrounding “newly added Muslim townships,” I have already pointed out the cases of seven localities in 1829 and an increase in the number of begs posted to Kül-tarim *zhuang* in 1857 (Hori 1979: 13–14, 17, 36). In addition, the assignment of begs to newly developed localities in the *Ōki Document* can also naturally be regarded as a measure to cope with the rise in the rural population under Qing rule. It was, moreover, an overriding principle that such measures should be implemented without increasing the prescribed number of begs for Yarkand as a whole or altering their official ranks. In point of fact, during about one century the number of begs remained at 52–55, that is, with a possible increase of three begs.

If we focus on this point, it can be surmised that the three localities

assigned to the three begs of the fourth rank, the highest-ranking local officials in the *Ōki Document*, were, judging from the places to which they were posted (no. 14. Eljiqu, no. 15. Yar-bagh [Yaerbaha 雅爾巴哈], and no. 16. Qizil-mesjit [Heiziermiqite 黑孜爾密奇特]), “newly added” *zongzhuang* that were registered at a comparatively late date within the oasis of Yarkand. It is to be supposed that this was the result of high-ranking begs without portfolio stationed in the central city being assigned to Eljiqu on the northern edge of the oasis (which had not been a *zongzhuang* in the eighteenth century), to Yar-bagh (which had separated from Mishar [Mishaer 密沙爾] after 1822),<sup>7)</sup> and to Qizil-mesjit (which probably separated from Besh-känt [Paisiqian 牌斯鉛] *zhuang*).

Information, albeit indirect, on where begs responsible for areas at some distance from the central city attended to their official duties was also discovered among the archives. This is provided by the cases of a *hakim beg* who possessed “an official residence” and a *qadi beg* and *minḡ beg* who had no official residences and “while residing in their own homes in Kashghar, travelled every few days to Altush, where they carried out their official duties,”<sup>8)</sup> mentioned in a record pertaining to Altush *zhuang* affiliated to Kashghar (*Zhupi* 502-1, Daoguang 1/3/16, Xiukun 秀堃 et al.). In this instance, houses that had been confiscated and had become government property were eventually set aside as their official residences, but it would probably have been normal practice to travel from the central city to one’s posting every few days and there conduct one’s official duties.

Further, when one considers the *Ōki Document*’s date of composition in the 1850s, there is a possibility that it may also serve as a record for tracing the manner in which begs in charge of rural villages in this region accumulated wealth. Around this time the authorities began to sell offices to local influentials so as to overcome the financial crisis facing the Qing’s management of this region (Kim 2004: 33–34), and one comes across individuals in both archival sources and the *Ōki Document* who coincidentally rose rapidly in rank. By further examining their careers, light will be shed on the foreground of the Muslim uprising in the northwest during the 1860s.

Lastly, I would also add that, as a result of a comparison of the *Ōki Document* and Manchu archival sources it has become clear that the two Take 塔克 begs and the Takelamu 塔克拉木 beg affiliated to Yarkand are both instances of the combination of place-names (Tagh and Tagharma) with the title of beg and are not official titles (Hori 2004: 117–118).

## (c) Assistant Officials

The *Ōki Document* also mentions 84 *ming bashis* (86 by my calculations) and 346 *yüz bashis* (341) who were appointed as subordinates to beg officials and placed in charge of lanes and villages, and while it does not give their individual names (as is only to be expected), it records the places where they were posted and their numbers.

Among these subordinate officials, archival sources have made it possible to apprise ourselves to some extent of the actual duties of the *yüz bashi*, who may be considered to have been assistant officials and are rarely mentioned in Chinese works published by the central authorities (Hori 1998b: 27). They were under the command of begs and were called “*yüz bashi* of such-and-such a village,” being responsible for organizing and directing communal tasks and maintaining public order, and if they failed to foresee a revolt, they were put in shackles or flogged as punishment and dismissed from their post (*Zhupi* 501-11, Daoguang 9/9/15, Zhalonga 札隆阿 et al.).

As for the *ming bashi*, the realities of this post are, strange to say, still unclear. In my earlier study, because of factors such as the prescribed number of 84 *ming bashis*, I linked them to Muslims who had been conferred an official cap of the eighth rank (*jinding* 金頂), and I speculated that they represented a reserve corps from which begs of the seventh rank and higher were selected. It is known that these Muslims who had been conferred the *jinding* cap (or *jinding* Muslims [*jinding huizi* 金頂回子]) gradually increased in number in Yarkand from “a fixed number of 39 *jinding* Muslims” (*Huijiang tongzhi* 回疆通志 [Comprehensive Gazetteer of Huijiang] 8, Jiaqing 9 [1804]) to “a fixed number of 53 *jinding* [Muslims] with no post” (*Memorials of Jincang* [provisional title] 4-2/3, Jiaqing 12/3/10 [held by Tōyō Bunko]), and then to “83 *jinding* Muslims (being the total number in all towns and villages)” (*Xinjiang shilue* 新疆識略 [Summarized Gazetteer of Xinjiang] 8, Daoguang 1 [1821]). But a “list of Muslims bestowed a hereditary feather decoration (*ling* 翎)” in the *Shiyi* 2 also lists the names and ages of Muslims on whom a *jinding* cap had been conferred, and it is recorded that among the 27 bestowed a hereditary feather of the fifth rank, eight were “current incumbents” of beg posts from the fourth to seventh ranks, while one who had been conferred a hereditary *jinding* was a seventh-ranking beg. This means that the *jinding* Muslims cannot be equated with a reserve corps awaiting appointment to beg posts, and there is a possibility that my earlier study presented a misunderstanding result-

ing from my having been deceived by a chance similarity in figures.

## 2. Population and Tax Quotas

It is widely known that Qing rule of Huijiang was indirect, being mediated by influential local begs, and that the Qing's grasp of the number of households and population did not accord with the actual state of affairs. In the case of the *Ōki Document* of 1855/56, which followed this precedent, most of the figures were likewise the product of the authorities' ideals and do not convey the true state of affairs. Although the question of the provenance of these figures is of some interest, it falls outside the scope of the present study, and I have nothing to add to my earlier studies in this regard.

### (a) Grain Tax

I pointed out in my earlier study that the tax quotas, like the above-mentioned population and number of taxable households, were based on fixed amounts set at the start of Qing rule of Huijiang in the 1760s. I also noted that they embodied partial changes made in the 1820s in which the number of taxable households remained unchanged but the grain tax was increased (Hori 1979: 21–22). Changes in the main tax items are set out in the following table.

	<i>Huijiang tongzhi</i> 8 (1804)	taxes revised (1829) <sup>9)</sup>	<i>Ōki Document</i> (1855/56)
Regular tax	2,440 <i>chuanwen</i>	3,340 <i>qianwen</i>	2,779 <i>chuanwen</i>
Regular grain	11,360 <i>shi</i>	26,960 <i>shi</i>	5,170 <i>patman</i> (= 27,404 <i>shi</i> )
(Alternative payment of grains: 13,874 <i>shi</i> )			
Cloth	49,142 bolts <sup>10)</sup>	29,545 bolts	29,545 bolts
Cotton	10,000 catties	10,000 catties	10,000 catties

Whereas the regular tax increased only slightly, the grain tax increased to a total of more than 41,000 *shi*, and while the amount paid in cloth and cotton remained unchanged from the amount set during the reign of Qianlong 乾隆 (approximately 13,900 *shi*), the amount paid in actual grain more than doubled from about 11,400 *shi* to about 27,000 *shi*. According to the *Ōki Document*, the grain tax was approximately 5,170 *patman*, which is equivalent to about 27,400 *shi* when multiplied by the

official conversion rate of 5.3 *shi*, and when this is added to the approximately 13,900 *shi* paid in cloth and cotton, which remained completely unchanged, we arrive at a total of about 41,300 *shi*, which could be explained as an accurate reflection of the result of the above changes.

However, the archival sources include a record that completely undermines this shrewd interpretation of published sources. This is a list (*qingdan* 清單) entitled “Items of an Initial Inquiry by the Board of Revenue into the Grain Tax of Yarkand,” dating from Jiaqing 8 (1803), which reads as follows:

Upon investigating the various grains payable annually [as taxes] by the Muslim inhabitants of Yarkand, they come to a total of 21,306 *shi*.

These are made up of non-glutinous rice: 530 *shi*; barley: 5,310 *shi* 6 *dou* 斗; wheat: 5,315 *shi* 9 *dou*; sorghum: 5,310 *shi* 6 *dou*; millet: 1,600 *shi* 6 *dou*; legumes: 3,195 *shi* 9 *dou*; sesame: 15 *shi* 9 *dou*; and rice: 26 *shi* 5 *dou*.

In addition, the grain payable annually to government troops in Yarkand is in total 7,431 *shi*. This is disbursed from the fixed amount of grain tax payable by Yarkand, and the surplus is left to the *hakim beg*, *aq beg* (*ake boke* 阿克伯克), and so on to have paid in cloth and cotton. (*Lufu* 8094-37, *qingdan* dated Jiaqing 8/12/23)

This means that even before the changes of the Daoguang era the sum total of the various grain taxes exceeded 20,000 *shi*. If the 7,431 *shi* consumed by the government troops stationed at the time in Yarkand are subtracted from the annual amount of 21,306 *shi*, there remain 13,875 *shi*, and it should be clear that this represented the notional amount of 13,874 *shi* of grain paid in cloth (29,545 bolts) and cotton (10,000 catties) mentioned earlier.

When basing oneself on published sources, one had no option other than to assume that the grain tax was paid in wheat. But the *Shiyi* and archival sources show that “miscellaneous grains” other than wheat were also used for paying the grain tax.<sup>11)</sup> There can be no doubt that this was practical for supplying the needs of government troops and their animals. A “List of Amounts of Grain Present in Yarkand and Reported in the Form of a Notebook in Jiaqing 8” reports that there were reserves of five kinds of agricultural produce, namely, approximately 2,300 *shi* of non-glutinous rice, 25,000 *shi* of wheat, 16,000 *shi* of barley, 1,000 *shi* of sorghum, and



3,000 *shi* of legumes (*Lufu* 8094-35, *qingdan* dated Jiaqing 8). It is worth noting that the stocks of wheat, the staple food of locally stationed government troops, were almost five times the annual due amount.

At the point in time when the increased tax was put on record and publicly announced it became a revision, and it is a fact that this occurred in Daoguang 9 (1829) (*Zhupi* 668-1, Daoguang 9/2/13, Zhalonga et al.). But the discovery of the above new source materials suggests that the increased amount of grain tax levied during the Daoguang era was merely a confirmation of the amount that was already being collected locally, even though its origins are unclear. It goes without saying that this was all being managed by local beg officials. The references to figures such as 530 and 5,300 may be linked to the fact that the local unit of 1 *patman* converted into 5.3 *shi*.

#### (b) Regular Tax

It is certain that the tax amount of 2,779 *chuan* 524 *wen* (2,646 *chuan* 140 *wen* by my calculations) given in the *Ōki Document* is akin to the revised amount of 3,340 *qianwen* of Daoguang 9 (1829), which had been increased from the original amount of 2,380–2,500 *chuan* in the eighteenth century (*Huijiang tongzhi* 8). But I am still unable to explain the difference of 700–800 *chuanwen*. Even when one takes various circumstances into account, there can be no doubt that the tax was paid in Huijiang's own copper coinage (*pul*), which means that one cannot posit any adjustments due to the conversion rate into silver, and this question will need to be left for further investigation in the future.

The regular tax, which had its origins in a poll tax, was collected each month (*Memorials of Jincang* 8, Jiaqing 12/11/20), and as a rule the fixed amount was paid monthly, as is indicated by references to “the *hongqian* tax (*alban* [*aerban* 阿爾板]) paid monthly” (*Zhupi* 507-10, Daoguang 7/10/9, Changling 長齡 et al.) and “the tax money payable monthly by each Muslim household” (*Zhupi* 580-12, Daoguang 28/2/19, Yishan, Deling 德齡 et al.). This meant that twelve payments were made annually, one each month, and any odd amounts would have been in even numbers. In point of fact, when aggregating the tax amount for Kashghar and its environs in the *Shiyi* 2 of 1843, the money payable monthly in *pul* is given as 221 *chuan* 674 *wen*, and this sum multiplied by twelve is given as “2,660 *chuan* 88 *wen*, the total annual amount payable.”

In the *Ōki Document* too the amounts of regular tax for most villages

are even figures. But there is one locality, the *zongzhuang* of Qamraq (Kamula 卡木拉, 47a–51b), in which the amounts for eight of the nine villages are uneven figures. In other words, there is a strong possibility that these amounts are not the cumulative figures for a fixed amount levied on a particular object, but reflect the result of the apportioning of a fixed amount.

(c) Discussion of the Tax System during the Xianfeng Era and the *Ōki Document*

As was mentioned earlier, one reason for my erroneous dating of the composition of the *Ōki Document* lay in my misinterpretation of a temporary tax in copper mentioned in an imperial edict issued on Xianfeng 10/2/*yimao* 乙卯 and included in the *Qing shilu* 清實錄 (Veritable Records of the Qing).

During the years Xianfeng 5 and 6 (1855–56) a [copper] mine began to be developed, and consequently the two districts of Kōk-yār (Kukuyaer 庫庫雅爾) and Sanju (Sangzhu 桑珠) were exempted from annual taxes in grains, cloth, cotton, and all miscellaneous taxes.... Because the copper produced currently has declined,... immediately halt payment in copper or cash in the two districts and revert to the original rules so as to prevent any ill effects.<sup>12)</sup>

I took this to mean that from Xianfeng 5–6 to Xianfeng 10 taxes were paid in copper in the two villages of Kōk-yār and Sanju, and in view of the fact that there is no trace of this in the entries in the *Ōki Document* on Sanju *zhuang* (175a–177a) and Kōk-yār Yōl-äriq (Kukuyaer Yulalike 庫庫雅爾玉拉里克) *zhuang* (178a–182a), I excluded this period from the period when the *Ōki Document* would have been composed. But strictly speaking, the above passage could also be taken to mean that the mine was developed in Xianfeng 5–6 (1855–56) and the measure for the alternative payment of taxes was in place until Xianfeng 10, starting from 1857. While I do not reject the partial implementation of this measure in the two localities in question, it is probably more natural to assume that it was not implemented during the entire period as implied by the edict.

This question of the alternative payment of taxes is also related to discussions about the payment of the cloth tax in cash at the time, which are alluded to in two imperial edicts (*Qing shilu*, Xianfeng 2/5/*xinhai* 辛亥

[1] and Xianfeng 4/4/*yiyou* 乙酉 [17]) referred to in a supplementary note in my earlier study (Hori 1979: 14). Part of this discussion is also found in archival sources, and it occurred in the context of measures being taken by local officials at the time to improve the balance of accounts for Qing rule of Huijiang.

One of these can be seen in a memorial submitted by Yishan, the military governor of Ili, and others in Xianfeng 4, bearing the title “Seeking to differentiate the local cloth of Nanlu 南路 (another term for Huijiang), collect it again in grain to conform with the current situation, and suspend its purchase so as to economize on the regular tax,” and it discusses the suspension of the collection and purchase of cloth that was being collected from the three regions of Yarkand, Khotan, and Kashghar and sent to Ili in an attempt to cut down on expenses. The cloth handled each year in Yarkand consisted of three kinds—“29,545 bolts of cloth collected in lieu of grain, 5,567 bolts of cloth paid in lieu of gold, and 14,434 bolts of cloth purchased [by the authorities]”—and it was calculated that by making the portion paid in lieu of the grain tax payable in cash (768 *chuan* 170 *wen*), suspending the collection of that paid in lieu of gold, halting the purchase of cloth, and reducing expenses for dyeing, packaging, and so on, it would be possible to save 443 *chuan* 983 *wen* (*Zhupi* 668-6, Xianfeng 4/4/7, Yishan, Deling et al.). It has already been noted more than once that the “29,545 bolts of cloth collected in lieu of grain” was the original amount set during Qianlong’s reign. The monetary equivalent of 768 *chuan* 170 *wen* tallies with the amount calculated in accordance with the traditional conversion rate of 1 bolt = 26 *wen*, going back to Qianlong’s reign (*Huijiang zhi* 回疆志 [Gazetteer of Huijiang; held by Osaka Prefectural Library] 4).

The “5,567 bolts of cloth paid in lieu of gold” probably corresponds to the 3,200 bolts arrived at by converting the 40 taels of gold payable by the eight villages belonging to Khosrap (Huashilapu 伙什拉普) *zhuang* (*Ōki Document*, 186a–189b) into 83 *chuan* 198 *wen* at the rate of 2 *chuan* 80 *wen* to the tael and then reconverting this at the rate of 26 *wen* for 1 bolt, to which was then added the 27 taels 7 *qian* 錢 of gold collected from the fifteen villages of Sariq-qul *zhuang* (201a), concerning which it is noted that “previously they paid in cloth, which came [in total] to 2,216 bolts (5,416 bolts in all).” The greater part of the reduction of 443 *chuan* 983 *wen* in expenses for purchasing, dyeing, packaging, and so on may be considered to have been the 375 *chuan* 284 *wen* for the purchased cloth (14,434 bolts × 26 *wen*), to which were added about 70 *chuan* for other sundry expenses.

This discussion was taken up once again in another memorial, entitled “Memorial in which the collection of Muslim cloth in the form of money in Huijiang is again considered and a request is made for a change in the alternative payment of Muslim [tax] gold and its allocation to the wages of government troops” (*Zhupi* 80-12, Xianfeng 4/8/21, Yishan et al.), and in this case it was chiefly the abolition of alternative forms of payment of tax gold that was proposed in connection with the question of surplus cloth. This was, in other words, a proposal for the suspension of the above-mentioned “cloth paid in lieu of gold.” As was the case with the interpretation of the passage quoted earlier from the *Qing shilu*, there are aspects regarding discussions by the central authorities and the implementation of these measures that are unclear, but the outcome of the discussions about the payment of taxes in cloth and money can be clearly seen in the *Ōki Document*.

At the end of the *Ōki Document* only the set amount of cloth paid as tax (29,545 bolts) is given, but in the entries for each taxation unit (lane, village, etc.) the number of bolts of cloth is followed by the statement that “the value of each bolt is converted at the rate of 26 *wen* cash, making a total of x *chuan* x *wen*,” and the sum total by my calculations is 772 *chuan* 18 *wen* for 29,693 bolts. In the case of the two localities where taxes were levied in gold, the total of 40 taels payable in Khosrap was converted at the rate of 2 *chuan* 80 *wen* to the tael and collected in cash, coming to 83 *chuan* 198 *wen*, while in the case of Sariq-qul it is specially mentioned that “the set amount of gold payable annually is 27 taels 7 *qian*; formerly it was paid in cloth, [a total of] 2,216 bolts,” and this indicates that previously taxes were paid in cloth but currently (i.e., 1855/56, the date of the *Ōki Document*) they were being paid in cash. Thus, the discussions about the payment of taxes in cloth and gold were translated into reality along the lines suggested by archival sources.

### 3. The Collapse of Qing Rule

Setting aside a possible bias in extant historical sources, increasing discussion about changes to the tax system in Huijiang in the 1850s during the Xianfeng era was a direct reflection of the situation at the time. The Qing’s advance into Xinjiang had originally been an outcome of its war against the Junghars, with its rule of Xinjiang being financed by enormous amounts of silver sent from China proper, and its reliance on tax revenue collected locally was low. The twin mainstays of the collection

of taxes in Huijiang by the Manchu authorities were cash and grain, and tax collection was based on the principle that any grain tax exceeding the needs of locally stationed government troops was to be paid in cloth and cotton. The Qing's involvement in local affairs was limited, with civil administration being by and large entrusted to beg officials, and what could be described as almost their sole direct involvement in local society was the minting of *pul* copper coins, which had a restricted sphere of circulation, in order to preserve the relative price of the silver being sent from China proper.

These measures were, moreover, underpinned by financial assistance from China proper in the form of silver. But as the Qing was from the 1840s beset with troubles from within and without, such as the Taiping rebellion and the Opium Wars, this system of silver stipends that had been sustaining Qing rule of its border regions began to collapse. James Millward and I are both of the view that the turning point occurred in Xianfeng 3 (1853) (Hori 1980b: 597; Millward 1998: 235). From this year onwards shipments of silver from China proper ceased almost completely.

A different source of revenue was naturally sought locally, and in the same year the local authorities reminted the *pul* and began issuing the so-called "Xianfeng large[-denomination] coins" (*Xianfeng daqian* 咸豐大錢) bearing the legend "worth fifty" (*dang wushi* 當五十) or "worth a hundred" (*dang bai* 當百), which was ten to twenty times their former face value (Mu 1994: 92–103). The selling of official posts was another typical example of misgovernment emphasized in contemporary Islamic sources, but the simplest way to raise revenue would have been to increase taxes. However, because of the idea that adherence to the amount set by their ancestors represented a continuation of good government, there would have been hesitation towards an outright increase in taxes. It can be concluded that the essence of the above discussions about taxation lay in the staging of measures for increasing taxation in a form that had the appearance of trivial changes in tax collection methods.

The grain tax of the newly developed Qurghan *zhuang*, which is thought to be the latest locality entered in the *Ōki Document* and where taxes began to be levied in Daoguang 29 (1849), was collected not in the form of grain but in silver, and any justification for the *alban* tax, deriving from a poll tax, disappeared. This development was also a reflection of the above trends. But these urgent responses by local officials to the actual state of affairs came to naught with the collapse of Qing rule in

Huijiang as a result of the Muslim rebellion that broke out in Xinjiang not long afterwards in 1864.

#### IV. Yarkand Oasis as Seen from the *Ōki Document*

As I have repeatedly pointed out, the *Ōki Document* is an official document composed for the purposes of governance, and in many respects its tax quotas and calculated figures are notional and divorced from the true situation. Nonetheless its recording of close to five hundred place-names makes it a veritable treasure trove of local information about Yarkand in the eighteenth to nineteenth centuries. Above all, the *Ōki Document* is an administrative record of the regional structure of both an oasis made up of a central city and surrounding villages and oases in a broad sense, linked to this central oasis but separated from it by wasteland.

The recent compilation and publication of local gazetteers of Xinjiang at a county level and of Uyghur gazetteers (e.g., *Yākān nahiyisining yār namliri khāritilik tāzikirisi* [Illustrated Gazetteer of Place-names in Yākān County], Yākān, 1996 [?]) has made it easier to identify on modern maps the place-names mentioned in the *Ōki Document*, while China's reforms and open-door policies have made it possible for us to conduct on-the-spot investigations. As a result it has become possible to delineate to some degree a picture of structural changes in the area, starting from the commencement of Qing rule of Huijiang in the eighteenth century and passing via the content of the *Ōki Document* of the mid-nineteenth century down to the present day.

##### 1. Yarkand's Sphere of Jurisdiction during the Qing

When one reconstructs the distribution of the 31 *zongzhuang* and the 2 post stations (*lānggār*) and so on mentioned in the *Ōki Document* on a contemporary map, one finds that the Qing regional unit of Yarkand covered a vast area extending over nine counties in today's administrative divisions. First, there is Yarkand oasis in a narrow sense, centred on the walled city and extending over the alluvial fan of the Yarkand and Tiznaf Rivers. In the *Ōki Document* this corresponds to the five wards of the city, the first sixteen of the surrounding villages in part II, the three newly reclaimed areas (II, nos. 27–29), and Terāk Lānggār and Kōk-rawat Lānggār on the northern and western edges of the oasis respectively. In addition, together with Merkit (Moketeli 莫克特里, no. 9) in the east and Poskam

(Posikanmu 波斯坎木, no. 19) and Qaghliq (no. 20) in the south, which are today counties of an administrative status equal to Yarkand, this formed Yarkand oasis in a broad sense. Further, beyond the desert and mountains were seven small and medium-sized oases in the mountainous region to the south (nos. 20–26), starting with Toqquz-känt (Tuoguosiqian 托果斯鉛, no. 19; present-day Guma county), Sariq-qul (no. 30; present-day Tashqurghan county) faraway to the southwest, and Barjuq (no. 31; present-day Maralwashi county) to the northeast. These together constituted the administrative unit of Yarkand during the Qing (Hori 2004).

#### (a) The 43 Lanes of Yarkand City

The *Ōki Document* divides the walled Muslim city of Yarkand at the centre of the oasis into five *chengshang* (wards) made up of 43 lanes. By combining this data with other historical sources (M. Hartmann Collection B192 (E) held by the Institute for Oriental Studies in Halle, Germany), contemporary Uyghur gazetteers, CORONA satellite photographs, and field surveys it has become possible to add fresh information about the configuration of the city of Yarkand and changes since the eighteenth century.

There can be little doubt that the lanes inside the city correspond to *mahalla*, a unit of residential and administrative organization in Islamic cities, but there has yet to be discovered in this region a designation or unit corresponding to the *chengshang* found in the *Ōki Document*. The criterion for dividing the city of Yarkand into five zones is thought to derive from the city's five gates. But a list of place-names enumerating 109 *mahalla* at the start of the twentieth century (Hartmann B192 (E)) states that they are arranged by gate when it actually combines two of the gates and lists the *mahalla* in four columns, and there is some inconsistency as to whether the city was divided into four or five zones. In Turkic contracts and court documents of the Qing it was normal to specify only the *mahalla* when giving a city-dweller's address, and Valikhanov gives the names of *kvartal* (quarters) when describing various parts of the city in around 1857–58, but almost all of these are the names of *mahalla* (Valikhanov 1962: 293–294; Hori 2006: 34–35). Although the present-day location of more than half of the 43 lanes given in the *Ōki Document* can be established, I have been unable to detect any regularity in the composition or ordering of these wards or quarters. In view of these facts, I am currently of the opinion that

there probably did not exist any clearly defined official unit for dividing the city of Yarkand and that the subdivisions established as an expedient on the basis of the number of begs were five in number.

(b) The 31 *Dazhuang* and 407 *Xiaozhuang*

It is to be surmised, as pointed out by Valikhanov (1962: 288), that the rural *zongzhuang* or *dazhuang* were called *yazi*, which is the same as the modern Uyghur equivalent of *xiang* 鄉 (township). In Turkic contracts and court documents of the Qing rural inhabitants are generally identified by the name of their village (*känt*), which undoubtedly corresponds to *xiaozhuang*.

Yarkand's sphere of jurisdiction during the Qing as reflected in the *Ōki Document* has been described above, but during the period of rule by Khwaja families prior to Qing rule there were during the seventeenth century in Yarkand and the surrounding area four independent rulers (*hakim*). As is indicated by the fact that at the start of Qing rule in the eighteenth century *hakim begs* were installed in six to ten localities (Hori 2004: 113–114), there still existed during the Qing independent oases under the régime of the superintendent (*banshi dachen* 辦事大臣) of Yarkand (later military assistant governor). The administrative unit of Yarkand was intended to integrate these into a single unit, centred on Yarkand, which was done by organizing third- to seventh-ranking begs hierarchically. It included areas geographically removed from Yarkand, such as the Sariq-qul (Tash-qurghan) region, which today has strong ties with nearby Kashghar, and Toqquz-känt (Guma), belonging to the Khotan district, and also culturally different areas which are today autonomous administrative units of the Tajiks, Qirgiz, and so on. But so long as they did not become involved in matters concerning public order, as in the case of the Dolans to be mentioned below, Qing rule was characterized by non-involvement in local issues and complete reliance on indirect rule mediated by begs.

But during close to one century of rule the Manchus were compelled to deal, albeit passively, with changes in public security measures and regional structure. The Aq-taghliq Khwajas, old established forces that were the most hostile to Qing rule of Huijiang, were based in settlements of the Dolans, who in Yarkand were scattered to the north and east of the oasis. There was a perception that “in the four settlements of Aq-taghliq Dolans (Duolan 朵蘭)—Kül-tarim, Eljiqu, Merkit, and Tasqima (Tasihama 塔斯哈瑪) affiliated to Yarkand—there have always been many sympathiz-



ers with the revolt [by Aq-taghliq Khwajas].”<sup>13)</sup> For this reason special attention was paid to Kül-tarim, etc., in order to oversee the Aq-taghliq Dolans separately from Barjuq, which was from the outset independent and at some remove from Yarkand (Hori 2004: 111–112). The reference to Kül-tarim *zhuang* cited earlier as an example of a document similar to the *Ōki Document* shows one aspect of this attention, and I have noted previously that additional begs were appointed to this area in 1857, after the composition of the *Ōki Document* (Hori 1979: 13–14). The situation would have been the same in terms of countermeasures against the Dolans in the case of Merkit and Tartar (74ab) too, which were *zongzhuang* in spite of their small size (with both being overseen by the same beg and forming a single unit in administrative operations).

The response by the Qing authorities to the expansion of farmland and the increase in villages within the oasis can also be inferred from the *Ōki Document*, a point that was touched on earlier in connection with the transfer of begs from the central city to surrounding villages. Eljiqu *zhuang* on the northern edge of Yarkand oasis was originally the name of a place where the Ofur Canal joined the Yarkand River, near Terāk Lānggār (Hori 1980: 96), and at the start of Qing rule it was not an administrative unit (Hori 2005: 99–107). It is not clear when this Eljiqu *zhuang* became a *zongzhuang*, but since there is no mention of the appointment of a beg in the 1842 *Huijiang zeli*, it can be surmised that this occurred some time between 1842 and 1855/56, when the *Ōki Document* was composed, for the latter mentions that a fourth-ranking *shang beg* (*shang boke* 商伯克) previously stationed in the city of Yarkand had jurisdiction over Eljiqu *zhuang*.

I have already described elsewhere how fifth- and sixth-ranking begs were transferred to rural areas in response to the establishment of “newly added Muslim villages” in the 1820s (Hori 1979: 17–18, 36). But if we turn our attention to the above fourth rank in the official hierarchy, we find that in the *Ōki Document* the localities for which the three fourth-ranking begs, the highest-ranking local officials in Yarkand, were responsible were concentrated in one area. This was the three *zhuang* of Eljiqu, Yarbagh, and Qizil-mesjit, mentioned earlier, and in part II on rural areas in the *Ōki Document* they are listed in a sensitive position after the villages belonging to Yarkand in a narrow sense, but coming before Yarkand in a broad sense.

To explain in more detail, the three *zhuang* overseen by fourth-ranking begs correspond to nos. 14–16 in the enumeration of *zongzhuang*. Furthermore, the *zongzhuang* from Ofur (no. 1) to Qizil-mesjit (no. 16; present-day

Yima township, Poskam county) are place-names within Yarkand oasis in a narrow sense, while Kül-tarim (no. 17) lies in a corner of Yopurgha *zhuang*, affiliated to Kashghar, and is a special area as described above. This is followed by Toqquz-känt (no. 18), Poskam (no. 19), and Qaghiliq (no. 20) through to Shikhshu (Shukeshu 舒克舒, no. 26), which were other oases that prior to Qing rule were considered to be independent administrative units. That being so, there is a strong likelihood that *zongzhuang* nos. 14–16 were newly added rural village units that were registered comparatively late and added at the end of the section on Yarkand oasis in a narrow sense and that they were the result of increasing precision in the administrative structure of Yarkand. I have not been able to elucidate the system underlying the order in which townships and villages are arranged in the section on rural areas in the *Ōki Document*. But in addition to their distance from the central city and traditional groupings, it is also possible to discern differences in the dates of their registration as Qing administrative units, and it can be expected that future research, especially the discovery and investigation of local documents, will bring greater accuracy in this regard.

In addition to newly reclaimed areas recorded in published sources of the Qing, it is also becoming clear that land was being brought under cultivation by local begs. I have previously described the digging of irrigation canals in Yangi-hissar and southwestern Yarkand (Kachung [Keerchong 柯爾冲] village and Chamsal [Hamasaer 恰瑪薩爾] village in Khosrap *zhuang* [186ab]) at the start of the nineteenth century, mentioned in the collected Manchu memorials of Jincang, the military assistant governor of Kashghar (*Memorials of Jincang* 2), which I happened to come across (Hori 2001: 106–108). Many more such projects would have been undertaken in response to population growth and in accordance with the fundamental principle of Qing rule, namely, the maintenance of public order. The utilization of Manchu sources has only just begun, while sources in local languages remain virtually untapped, and there is thus a strong possibility that we are merely unaware of other such projects and that information about them lies concealed in the *Ōki Document*.

## 2. The Expansion of Yarkand Oasis

Judgement must be withheld regarding the question of whether the place-names recorded in the *Ōki Document* accurately reflect the situation in 1855/56. But it is also a fact that, as was seen in the previous section, it

is an unparalleled record of place-names that preserves traces of measures taken so as to respond to changing circumstances. It should therefore be permissible to examine the history of the transformation of Yarkand oasis by using this document as a basic source that gives an indication of the general situation regarding the composition of the villages of Yarkand oasis prior to the 1850s.

Of great use when doing so is a list of irrigation canals in Yarkand in the 1910s, about half a century after the compilation of the *Ōki Document*. Section 6 on “Irrigation Canals” (*gouqu* 溝渠) in fasc. 78 of the *Xinjiang tuzhi* 新疆圖志 (Gazetteer of Xinjiang) provides a list of the irrigation canals in the two administrative units of Yarkand prefecture (Shache *fu* 莎車府) and Qaghliq county (Yecheng *xian* 葉城縣), corresponding at the time to Yarkand oasis in a broad sense. This list gives the names of 24 main canals (*ganqu* 幹渠, *östāng*) and 356 branch canals (*zhiqu* 枝渠, *eriq*) together with their location, source, and size—length, width, and area of land under irrigation (measured in *mu* 畝). In many cases the name of a canal includes a place-name, and along with its indication of the scale of irrigation, this list is a first-rate source of rural place-names.

I have made two attempts to compare these canal names with the *zhuang* and village names recorded in the *Ōki Document*. On the first occasion I based myself solely on published sources and took up for consideration a total of 338 place-names—22 *zhuang* and 316 villages—thought to have constituted Yarkand oasis in a broad sense (Hori 1980b). On the second occasion I concentrated on place-names in Yarkand oasis in a narrow sense within present-day Yākān county—18 *zhuang* and 179 villages in the *Ōki Document* and 13 main canals and 184 branch canals in the *Xinjiang tuzhi*—and I also made use of the results of fieldwork in an attempt to improve accuracy. Although I was able to identify on modern maps about eighty percent of the place-names mentioned in the *Ōki Document*, I have not yet fully digested my findings and taken them to the next level of discussion about historical society. But as a provisional conclusion I pointed out that Yarkand oasis expanded from the nineteenth century to the early twentieth century and that two broad tendencies can be observed in this expansion, namely, expansion outside the existing oasis towards the northwest and the reclamation of lowlying wetlands between the Yarkand and Tiznaf Rivers (Hori 1980b, 2006). It has also become clear that while the expansion of arable land within the oasis has also been noticeable in the northwest and northeast, especially in modern times, there has been little growth in farmland in the vicinity of the city of Yarkand (Hori 2008).

My arguments in this regard have been based on the assumption that if a village name rendered in Chinese characters in the *Ōki Document* is similar to a present-day Uyghur place-name, then the two refer to the same place. However, the records of villages in the *Ōki Document* give no indication of their location, and an accurate grasp of changes in this region, in which there are instances of place-names having been relocated, will require further investigations centred on field surveys.

Most of the documents in the Archives of Xinjiang Autonomous Region, which have recently begun to be made accessible to the public, date from the Republican period, and it could be said that the study of the socio-economic history of Xinjiang in the first half of the twentieth century is a field that remains completely unexplored. The *Ōki Document* of the Qing is an antecedent source that will provide many pointers for more detailed research on Xinjiang and Yarkand during the Republican period that will eventually develop in the future.

### Concluding Remarks

When light is shed on one historical fact, there invariably emerge points that require further elucidation. We have once again come up against this phenomenon, which is repeated on a daily basis in historical research. It would appear that some of these points cannot be resolved unless sources similar to the *Ōki Document* are discovered in other regions. Espousing hopes for information about such sources still unseen, I wish to bring this essay to a close.

### Notes

- 1) A detailed description of the content of the *Ōki Document* and a list of figures for each *zhuang* can be found in Hori 1979, while the full text together with a table of contents, page numbers, etc., has been published in Hori 1983.
- 2) The spellings of personal names rendered in Chinese characters in the *Ōki Document* are conjectural, with the names of present-day Uyghurs having been taken into account when restoring them.
- 3) The original terms for the official titles of begs are based on Saguchi Tōru's research (Saguchi 1963: 109–120).
- 4) Local place-names rendered in Chinese characters in the *Ōki Document* are given in their present-day Uyghur form, and in cases in which I have been unable to discover the corresponding present-day place-name, the spelling is conjectural.
- 5) Hereafter the *Gongzhongdang zhupi zouzhe* and *Junjichu lufu zouzhe* among the

archival sources are referred to as *Zhupi* and *Lufu* respectively, and they are followed by their reference number, date, and the name(s) of the memorial's submitter(s).

- 6) Hereafter dates are given in the order regnal year/month/(cyclic) day.
- 7) The conjecture that this *yazi* was established after 1822 is based on the G. Jarring Collection, Prov. 459 (Hori 2005: 190).
- 8) 均居住本身私房，間數日始赴該莊一次，辦理公事。
- 9) *Zhupi* 668-1, Daoguang 9/2/13, Zhalonga et al. On the figures for this newly registered grain tax, see Hori 1979: 25 & 31, nn. 15, 17.
- 10) *Huijiang tongzhi* 8 has “49,142 bolts,” but this indicates that the total amount of cloth sent to Ili was 49,142 bolts, whereas the amount of cloth delivered in lieu of grain was 29,545 bolts, given at the end of the *Ōki Document*, an amount that was set during Qianlong's reign and is explicitly mentioned in the *Huijiang zhi* (held by Osaka Prefectural Library) 4, *Jiaqing huidian shili* 嘉慶會典事例 (Collection of Orders and Laws of the Jiaqing Era) 743, etc. The difference between the two figures of about 20,000 bolts corresponds to the regular tax and the amount that was purchased on account of changes in the prices of other grains (cf. *Zhupi* 668-6, Xianfeng 4/4/7, Yishan et al.).
- 11) However, *Huijiang tongzhi* 8 refers to the grain tax as “regular tax items in the form of various kinds of grain,” and so it was known that miscellaneous grains apart from wheat were also officially recognized.
- 12) 咸豐5・6年間，因等辨開鑛，是以將庫庫雅爾・桑珠二莊每年應交糧布棉花及一切雜差概予豁免。……今既產銅短絀……二莊折交銅斤錢文，即著停止，仍收原額糧賦。以復舊章而杜流弊。
- 13) 葉爾羌所屬之奎里鐵里木・愛吉特虎・麥爾克庭・塔斯哈瑪 (Tasqima village in Besh-känt *zhuang* [55a]), 朶蘭白帽回莊四處，從逆者固多。(*Zhupi* 544-7, Daoguang 10/11/28, Halanga 哈朗阿 et al.)

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