

# CHAPTER 1

## Moghul Relations with the Mughals: Economic, Political, and Cultural

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Since the Islamic conquest, the peoples of Tarim Basin have often found themselves in the shadow of more powerful neighbors. When we think of those influencing powers, we tend to look west to Islamic Central Asia, north to the nomad steppes, or east to China. This chapter looks south, arguing that in the 17<sup>th</sup> century Mughal sway over the politics and economy of the Moghul Yarkand Khanate was much stronger than has been previously recognized.

Some types of connection across the Karakoram Mountains have long been known in the scholarly literature, although they are rarely emphasized. One is Mirza Haydar's record of his conquests of Kashmir, first in the name of the Moghul Sa'īd Khan and later in the name of the Mughal Humayun. Another is the steady flow of trade, which is more frequently mentioned in discussions of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, a period that benefits from extensive British imperial documentation. More recently, David Brophy has shed light on the Moghul Yarkand Khanate's rich ties to the small kingdoms of the Himalayas, Karakoram, and Pamirs, and suggested that the dynasty's choice of Yarkand as capital, rather than Kashgar, reflects a southward orientation.<sup>1</sup>

Beyond these prominent clues, evidence for the Mughal-Moghul connection is plentiful but it is scattered, and it has, to my knowledge, never been assembled. Numismatic evidence suggests strong economic ties, supplementing isolated mentions of the early *pashm* and shawl trade in European sources. Religious literature, including hagiographies from Kashmir and legal texts from both sides of the Karakoram, shows an exchange of Sufis and scholars. This chapter puts such clues in conversation with Mughal and Moghul chronicles to argue that the Tarim's links to India have been underemphasized. It further hypothesizes that the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries constituted a period of particularly robust Mughal influence

<sup>1</sup> The ties between these mountain kingdoms and the Moghuls of Yarkand appear in vestigial form within letters sent to the Qing court after the demise of the Yarkand Khanate. See D. Brophy, "High Asia and the High Qing: A Selection of Persian Letters from the Beijing Archives," in *No Tapping around Philology: A Festschrift in Honor of Wheeler McIntosh Thackston Jr.'s 70th Birthday*, eds. A. Korangy and D. Sheffield (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2014): 327.

over the Tarim Basin.

### 1. Early Mughal–Moghul Relations

In the 16<sup>th</sup> century Central Asia came to India, in the form of Babur and his armies. Because Babur was closely connected to elites in the Tarim Basin, it is not surprising to find rich linkage between his Indian court and the Chinggisid rulers of the Tarim. Babur had several close relatives in the Tarim Basin, most notably his first cousin Mirza Haydar, who was in his own time the most prominent of the nobility of Kashgar, as well as the right-hand man of two Chinggisid Khans of Yarkand. Thanks to Babur's conquests, then, India and the Tarim Basin were alike constituents of a larger Timurid/Chaghatayid political sphere. In this environment, when the Khan of Yarkand dealt with the neighboring kingdom of Badakhshan, he was also dealing with the ruler of Hindustan. And when Mirza Haydar fell out of favor with 'Abd al-Rashid, Khan of Yarkand, he fled to Lahore, where he was welcomed into the court of Babur's son, Kamran.<sup>2</sup> Later, Kamran would remind Mirza Haydar, according to the latter's memoirs, that "when you came to me, I treated you better than a brother because of our kinship."<sup>3</sup> Zaynab Sultan Khanim, widow of the Khan of Yarkand, trod a similar path just behind Mirza Haydar. In 1533 her stepson 'Abd al-Rashid exiled her and she found protection in Kabul under Kamran.<sup>4</sup> Later, of course, Mirza Haydar would conquer Kashmir in the name of the Mughal emperor Humayun.<sup>5</sup> For most of his career, Humayun maintained friendly contact with the Yarkand khans, even seeking their support in his disputes with Kamran.<sup>6</sup> The intimate interconnection and shared origins reflected in these examples are also expressed in the names for the two courts as they have come down to us in English. "Mughal" (for the rulers of Hindustan) and "Moghul" (for the rulers of the Tarim Basin) both gesture to the Chinggisid claims of these dynasties, as filtered through the Turko-Mongol discourse of 16<sup>th</sup>-century Central Asia.

As they had done in earlier centuries, Sufi masters followed in the wake of padishahs and *mīrzās*, seeking to enlist powerful temporal leaders as disciples. The eminent Naqshbandi *khwāja*, Shihab al-Din Mahmud, grandson of 'Ubaydallah

<sup>2</sup> Mirza Haydar Dughlat, *Mirza Haydar Dughlat's Tarikh-i Rashidi: A History of the Khans of Moghulistan*, ed. W. Thackston (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University, 1996): 282. In another sign of the close relationship between the courts, Babur had actually named 'Abd al-Rashid Khan, at the request of 'Abd al-Rashid's father. See Dughulat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: 165.

<sup>3</sup> Dughulat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: 285.

<sup>4</sup> Dughulat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: 282; G. Begam, *The History of Humayun (Humayun-Nama)*, transl. A. Beveridge (London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1902): 295.

<sup>5</sup> Dughulat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: 290–2.

<sup>6</sup> G. Begam, *The History of Humayun (Humayun-Nama)*, *passim*.

Ahrar, accepted Sa'īd Khan of Yarkand as a follower. But the Tarim Basin did not satisfy his ambition, and he proceeded to India via Badakhashan, nominally to give his condolences to Humayun. When it became clear that the padishah reserved his deepest loyalties for a rival, Shihab al-Din Mahmud settled at the more receptive court of Kamran in Lahore. Upon the subsequent defeat and flight of Humayun at the hands of Sher Khan, Shihab al-Din Mahmud fled to Transoxiana, choosing again to pass through the Tarim Basin, this time via Kashgar.<sup>7</sup>

The death of Humayun in 1556 appears to have brought an end to the early intertwining of the Mughal and Moghul courts. 'Abd al-Rashid Khan of Yarkand sent emissaries to offer condolences to Humayun's son Akbar, but thereafter connections between the two recede from court sources for over three decades. The return of indigenous rule in Kashmir had rendered the two polities more geographically distant, and Akbar does not seem to have taken an interest in the Moghuls until after his 1586 conquest of the mountain kingdom. In 1589 we hear of exiled Moghul nobles arriving at Akbar's court, and in 1597 an emissary from the Moghul ruler of Yarkand arrived.<sup>8</sup> In response, Akbar at last sent an official emissary to Yarkand, along with a letter describing the "opening of correspondence." This opening, Akbar wrote, was particularly appropriate now that the conquest of Kashmir had drawn the two states close together. Moreover, these communications would bring the Tarim Moghuls into line with the Mughals' other neighboring states, all of whom participated in regular correspondence.<sup>9</sup> However, a return mission from Yarkand in 1599 is the last we hear of Mughal-Moghul connections under Akbar's rule. The end of communications may perhaps be explained by the dangers of the journey over the Karakoram at the time; both missions from Yarkand were pillaged, and Akbar's officials abandoned their 1597 mission for fear of the same, leaving the original Moghul emissary to return alone to Yarkand.

By the time of Akbar's brief return to engagement with the Tarim Moghuls, the Central Asian origins of the Mughal Empire were beginning to look somewhat distant. Akbar, already the second generation of South-Asia-born Mughal rulers, left a bold imprint on the Mughal state with his ideological and religious innovations. Even if Akbar's son and successor, Jahangir, abandoned many of his father's more notable departures from Central Asian political and religious orthodoxy, the Mughal state was now very much a creature of Hindustan, no longer beholden to the norms,

<sup>7</sup> Dughulat, *Tarikh-i Rashidi*: 248.

<sup>8</sup> Abu al-Fazl ibn Mubarak, *Akbarnama*, ed. Mawlawi 'Abd al-Rahim (Calcutta: The Asiatic Society of Bengal, 1886), 3: 553, 731, 732.

<sup>9</sup> Akbar and Abū al-Fazl ibn Mubārak, *Mukātabāt-i 'Allāmī: Har Sih Daftar* (Munshī Newal Kishore, 1863): 33. For an incomplete and rather approximate translation, see Akbar and Abu al-Fazl ibn Mubarak, *Mukatabat-i 'Allami (Insha'i Abu'l Fazl): Letters of the Emperor Akbar in English Translation*, transl. M. Haidar (New Delhi: Munshiram Manoharlal, 1998). Note that Akbar and Abu al-Fazl refer to the Moghul khanate of Yarkand as "Kashgar."

realpolitik, or economy of Central Asia. From the perspective of Yarkand, the Mughals of the 17<sup>th</sup> century would have been neither as alien as the Chinese, nor as familiar as the societies of Western Turkistan.

Sufi networks continued to stretch between the Tarim and Hindustan across the Karakoram mountains, but the Mughals were now deeply invested in Sufi orders rooted in India. The trans-Karakoram links appear in Kashmiri hagiographical sources (mostly Kubrawi). These concern themselves narrowly with the activities of saints and disciples within Kashmir, but occasionally mention, in a rather offhand way, those figures' visits to or origins in the Tarim Basin. Many Kubrawis in the Kashmiri hagiographies bear a *nisba* indicating origins in the Tarim Basin. However, Central Asia in general was no longer quite so central to the religious life of the Mughal court. For example, the Chishti order, with its pilgrimage centers in Delhi and later Fatehpur Sikri, achieved a predominant position under Akbar, and maintained influence throughout the following reigns. Meanwhile, on the other side of the mountains, Kubrawi masters seem to have made little mark among the inhabitants of the Tarim Basin, although their *khāniqāhs* in Kashmir drew a number of Kashgaris and Yarkandis toward the south. The Kubrawis were overshadowed by Naqshbandi arrivals from Western Turkistan, descendants of the Makhdum-i A'zam, who would eventually wrest political power from the Moghuls in the Tarim. Thus, at the same time that political and dynastic ties weakened, the two regions directed their devotional attentions in new and different directions.

## 2. Economic Connections in the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Coinage

Despite the apparent drift of the Mughal and Moghul societies into separate orbits during the second half of the 16<sup>th</sup> century, documentary and numismatic clues suggest a rising Mughal influence over the Tarim in the middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, an influence that would peak in a feeble Mughal venture to unseat the ruler of Yarkand in 1700. The most important evidence is the coinage of the Yarkand Khanate, which imitates contemporary Mughal coppers, indicating strong economic ties.

The numismatic history of the Yarkand Khanate is unsettled. None of the candidates for coinage of the Yarkand Khanate have been included in standard numismatic catalogues, whether Chinese- or English-language publications. Several short articles in the Ürümchi-based journal, *Xinjiang qianbi*, have documented the existence of various Yarkand coin types unearthed in Xinjiang, though only one, by the present author, has attributed any of these types to a specific ruler.<sup>10</sup> The most securely attributable type bears the words *fulūs* 'Abdallāh Khān (copper coin of 'Abdallah Khan) on the obverse and *zuriba Yārkaṇd* (struck [at] Yarkand) on the

<sup>10</sup> R. Thum, "Ya'erqiang hanguo sanlei qianbi de xin shedu." *Xinjiang qianbi* 3 (2005).

reverse. The calligraphy and layout of the coins perfectly match mid-late-17<sup>th</sup>-century Mughal coppers, such as the *dams* of Jahangir, Shah Jahan, and Aurangzib. These coins obviously belong to the reign of ‘Abdallah, Khan of Yarkand, who ruled from 1635 to 1667 AD; this ruler is the only possible issuing authority who fits the name and location inscribed on the coins, as well as the date implied by the style.

A similar type names Muhammad instead of ‘Abdallah. In my previous analysis of the series, I concluded that the type probably belonged to the reign of the Muhammad Khan who ruled Yarkand from 1590 to 1609, but this attribution, while possible, presents some problems.<sup>11</sup> First, the style is, like that of ‘Abdallah’s coinage, closer to Mughal coinage of Jahangir (r. 1605–27) and later. It is only with Jahangir that the “*fulūs* [ruler] // *zuriba* [city]” pattern appears. Second, the weight of the three specimens known to me is lower than the average weight of the ‘Abdallah type. Since pre-modern states tended to reduce, rather than increase, the weight of coins of the same denomination over time, it is possible that the Muhammad type was struck after the ‘Abdallah issue, perhaps under the short rule of Muhammad Mu‘min Aqbash Khan (r. 1695) or possibly under Muhammad Amin, the puppet ruler under Afaq Khoja. Indeed, the crude obverse legend, which is incomplete in all known examples, might plausibly be read as “*fulūs Muḥammad A[mī]n*,” rather than “*fulūs Muḥammad [Kh]ān*”

Several further types bear the place name “Yarkand,” but are at present impossible to attribute securely. Two of them roughly follow the Mughal style. One replaces the obverse inscription with a grill pattern, possibly inspired by the inscription on some coppers of Shah Jahan, such as the *dams* of Bairata. It may be an interregnal issue, perhaps from the period of instability following Afaq’s usurpation of the throne, or the earlier chaos that followed the death of Yolbars Khan. The other unattributed Mughal-style type maintains the weight and shape of the ‘Abdallah issue, but deviates in its obverse layout. The inscription runs clockwise around a rosette pattern and appears to read “*fulūs Raḥmān*.” The reading of this name is, however, tentative, as it is by necessity a composite reading based on fragmentary legends from several specimens. Among the known occupants of and pretenders to the throne of Yarkand, there is no obvious candidate to associate with “*Raḥmān*.” One specimen of the rosette type bears the numerals “57,” following the 17<sup>th</sup>-century Mughal style of dating. This would correspond to the date 1057 AH (c. 1647), placing the issue within the reign of ‘Abdallah Khan. Finally, several much smaller types, known in Chinese as *mati* 馬蹄 (horse-hoof) coins, have no obverse inscription at all. In the absence of documented archaeological finds, there is currently no way to date these pieces, nor to determine whether they are smaller denominations or degenerate/devalued heirs of the ‘Abdallah type.

From among all of these Yarkand coinages, what we can be certain of is that

<sup>11</sup> Ibid.

under ‘Abdallah Khan, the Yarkand Khanate produced coinage in the style of the Mughal coins. Moreover, additional rulers also struck similar coins, though it is unclear which rulers did so or when. Although the precise issuers of these coins cannot yet be identified, we can say that there was a standardized coinage employed by multiple Khans of Yarkand, that it was modeled after the Mughal coppers, and that the period of this coinage includes the reign of ‘Abdallah, i.e. 1635–67.

Imitative coinages are tell-tale indicators of economic influence. Because money rests on a foundation of shared trust, the designs of coins tend to be highly conservative and very often imitative. People are more accepting of moneys they recognize. Coinages produced in strong, cosmopolitan economies also tend to be preferred in peripheral zones. Thus Arabia Felix imitated the coinage of the Athenians and the Sogdians imitated the coinage of both the Tang and Byzantine Empires. Aside from the Mughal example, the Khans of Yarkand would have had ready access to two other models for coinage. To the east were the Ming and early Qing states, with their lightweight, cast, holed, bronze coinage, which was supplementary to the uncoined silver that ruled their economies. To the west were the Janids, who used broad, thin coins of low-purity silver and exceedingly poor craftsmanship. The choice to imitate the Mughal coinage demonstrates not only familiarity with the Mughal world, but an expectation that such coins would receive wide acceptance within the Tarim Basin, a situation best explained by Mughal predominance in Tarim Basin’s international trade.

The embrace of Mughal monetary norms was not complete, however. The weights of the ‘Abdallah Khan issue, which range from 5.0 to 6.7 grams do not neatly divide into the common Mughal copper denominations of the *dam* (c. 20g) or the *paisa* (c. 10g). This suggests that Yarkand coins were not meant to directly articulate with the Mughal economy, say, for example, through direct payments to Mughal merchants, but rather, that the coins were an attempt to harness the prestige of the economically powerful neighbor’s money through visual similarity.

Nor does the weight standard align with the coinages of Ming/Qing China or Janid Turkistan. The Chinese pieces are lighter bronze coins of highly variable weight, normally ranging from 2 to 5 grams. Meanwhile, coins of the Janid ruler ‘Abd al-‘Aziz (r. 1647–80) are of poor silver and weigh a consistent 4.2–4.3 grams. Smaller copper denominations are unknown from the Janids. It seems that the money of Yarkand—copper/bronze coins of 5–6.7 grams—followed a local weight standard.

### 3. Economic Connections in the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries: Trade

For the details of trade between Mughal and Moghul lands we have few sources. Hagiographies mention travel but never dwell on routes or the inevitable dependence on infrastructure of trade, such as caravans. Chronicles focus on courts and dynastic intrigue, omitting economic phenomena. The most detailed accounts of travel arrangements and goods are those left by European visitors. The earliest of these to document the Tarim-Indian trade is the account of the travels of Jesuit Benedict Goës, pieced together from his letters by Matteo Ricci.<sup>12</sup>

Goës reported that a merchant caravan set out annually from Lahore to Kashgar, by which means he reached Yarkand in 1603, passing through Kabul and Badakhashan. In Kabul he met the sister of Muhammad, Khan of Yarkand. She had run out of money on her return journey from Mecca, and Goës lent her 600 gold pieces to fund the last leg of her travels in the same caravan. Ricci's account notes that Goës sold merchandise to raise the gold, but does not say what goods were traded. In fact, beyond the mention of jade that the Khan's sister used to repay Goës in Khotan, no articles of trade are described in the accounts of the journey, though "India muslin" is mentioned among Goës's gifts to a member of the royal family at Aqsu. It is likely that this cloth was among the items Goës brought for the trading that obviously supported his journey. Further on, the account calls Yarkand "a mart of some note, both for the great concourse of merchants, and for the variety of wares. At this capital the caravan of Cabul merchants reaches its terminus; and a new one is formed for the journey to Cathay."<sup>13</sup> The journey from Lahore lasted from February to November of 1603. The aim of concentrating trade in an annual caravan seems to have been security, achieved by the sheer number of merchants travelling together. In Goës's case the caravan included 500 men, but it was nonetheless frequently attacked by thieves, and both animals and people were lost to the dangers of the journey. The details of the Goës accounts, as transmitted by Ricci, are remarkably accurate, from the names of the towns along the route to the role of jade in the Kashgar-China trade. The length of the journey and the importance of the annual caravan as the means of transport are thus probably reliable reports. Sixty-four years later, when 'Abdallah Khan fled Yarkand for the Mughal court (further discussed below), he took roughly the same route Goës had travelled, but in reverse.

Francois Bernier, who visited Kashmir with the emperor Aurangzib in 1663, described the trade on another route, passing through Ladakh and Kashmir. At the

<sup>12</sup> Bento de Goës, Matteo Ricci, and Nicolao Trigautio, "De Christiana Expeditione apud Sinis, Suscepta ab Societate Jesu, ex P. Matthaei Riccii, Commentariis, etc., Auctore P. Nicolao Trigautio," in *Cathay and the Way Thither* 2, ed. H. Yule (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1866).

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, 563.



time of Bernier's visit the route was disrupted due to an embargo by the ruler of Ladakh, but he reported as "a well established fact" that less than twenty years earlier caravans had regularly passed from India to China by way of Kashmir, Ladakh, and "Tartary," i.e. the Tarim Basin. Bernier also interviewed merchants from the Tarim, "who when they heard that *Aureng-Zebe* intended to visit *Kachemire*, brought into this kingdom for sale a great number of slaves, girls and boys."<sup>14</sup> According to these merchants, a caravan from China ("Katay") reached Kashgar every year and proceeded on "to *Persia* by way of *Usbek*; as there are others that go from *Katay* to *Patna*, in *Hindoustan*."<sup>15</sup> This would imply that the Ladakhi embargo had cut the Tarim out of the annual caravan route for the China-India trade, and that the flow of Chinese goods had previously split in the Tarim, with some goods moving onward to India via Ladakh and others to Persia via Central Asia. The caravans reportedly carried musk, "China-wood," rhubarb, and a medicinal herb called "mamiron." Bernier's second-hand accounts of merchants and "well established fact," though hardly reliable in their details, certainly reflect the steady flow of both a China-Central Asia trade and a China-India trade. The absence of any mention of the Badakhshan route, however, is suspicious, given the prominence of that route in Mughal sources and the firsthand travels of Goës. More reliable is the presence of the Kashgari merchants in Kashmir, which Bernier witnessed directly, and which demonstrates the continued importance of the trade via Kashmir, even in the face of the Ladakhi embargo. What is most interesting, though, is the efficiency of communication between the Mughal and Moghul worlds: merchants from the Tarim were able to learn about the planned tour of Aurangzib in time to meet up with his retinue in Kashmir, suggesting a regularity of trade and travel that exceeded the various annual caravans noted by Goës and Bernier.

The Ladakhi embargo probably ended shortly after Aurangzib's visit, and in 1684 the Mughals subjected Ladakh to the extortionate treaty of Tingmosgang, which gave Kashmiri Mughal subjects a monopoly on Ladakh's lucrative *pashm* trade. With trade reopened, merchants from the Tarim were again entering Ladakh. Another Jesuit traveler, Ippolito Desideri, passed through Ladakh in 1715 and noted that, "From time to time merchants come from the kingdom of Khotan (Cotàn) selling well-bred horses, ... white cloth, and other articles. Rather good horses and other merchandise also come from the kingdom of Yarkand."<sup>16</sup> It is unclear whether the citation of separate kingdoms of Khotan and Yarkand is an error, or if it is an

<sup>14</sup> F. Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire, A.D. 1656–1668*, transl. A. Constable (Oxford: University Press, 1916): 426.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 427.

<sup>16</sup> I. Desideri, *Mission to Tibet: The Extraordinary Eighteenth-Century Account of Father Ippolito Desideri S. J.*, ed. L. Zwilling, transl. M. Sweet (Boston: Wisdom Publications, 2010): 162.



artifact of constant political upheaval of the Tarim Basin in the early 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The variability of our few reports on trade, based on observations in 1603, 1663, and 1715, is best explained by the variability in trade itself. A longer view, taking in the succeeding, better documented centuries, reveals that the trans-Karakoram trade was at once tenacious and highly vulnerable to disruption. Routes frequently shifted due to political changes and patterns of banditry. The goods involved were similarly influenced by politics and even global economic patterns, as in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, when the flow of *charas* (hashish) and silver to India was balanced by the sale of opium to the Tarim, or in the 20<sup>th</sup> century when those products dwindled in significance due to state regulation or proscription. But if political and commercial changes had the power to radically reshape the trade, they did not have the ability to stop it. In all periods for which we have records, goods were moving regularly from the Tarim to India. When embargos, war, or banditry closed one route, another immediately appeared, as happened during the Ladakhi embargo of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when merchants shifted their travel to a Baltistan route.<sup>17</sup> All of this makes it impossible to generalize about the routes and goods involved in the Tarim-Indian trade for the whole of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, but makes clear that such trade was regular, and was even significant enough to be wielded as a political tool, as the king of Ladakh had done.

#### 4. Political Connections in the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries

The middle of the 17<sup>th</sup> century saw a revival of Mughal-Moghul connections. After Akbar's brief diplomatic exchange in 1597–9, the Tarim Moghuls again disappeared from the court chronicles. Akbar's successor, Jahangir, mentioned no diplomatic correspondence with the Tarim in his memoirs. Kashgar, as the Moghul kingdom was known in Mughal sources, appears only in relation to the emperor's dealings with Ladakh and Baltistan.<sup>18</sup> Nor do the chronicles of the Moghul Yarkand Khanate mention interactions with India before 1638.<sup>19</sup> Beginning with the reign of 'Abdallah Khan in Yarkand (1638–69), however, chronicles on both sides of the Karakoram document regular political connections. By that time the family connections of Babur's era were far beyond living memory, but it is clear that the two states

<sup>17</sup> Bernier, *Travels in the Mogul Empire*: 426–7.

<sup>18</sup> Jahangir, *The Jahangirnama: Memoirs of Jahangir, Emperor of India*, transl. W. Thackston (New York: Oxford University Press, 1999): 413.

<sup>19</sup> O. Akimushkin, ed., *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar: Anonimnaia Tiurkskaia khronika vladetelei Vostochnogo Turkestana po konets XVII veka: Faksimile Rukopisi Sankt-Peterburgskogo Filiala Instituta Vostokovedeniia Akademii Nauk Rossii* (Sankt-Peterburg: Tsentr Peterburgskoe vostokovedenie, 2001); Shah Mahmud Churas, *Khronika*, ed. O. Akimushkin (Moscow: Nauka, 1976).

maintained friendly relations and close communications.

Mughal chronicles from the reigns of Shah Jahan (1628–58) and Aurangzib (1658–1707) depict a fairly regular stream of embassies, though the purposes of these missions are usually not described. The *Mulakhkhas* of Inayat Khan, often called *Shah Jahan Nama*, mentions embassies to the Mughal court from ‘Abdallah Khan in 1649 and 1656.<sup>20</sup> Under Aurangzib the missions went both ways. One of them was sent from the Mughal court in 1665, in response to a letter from ‘Abdallah Khan. The emissary, a certain Khoja Ishaq, abandoned the mission due to news of disorder in the Tarim, but set out again in 1666 after hearing that the turmoil had ended.<sup>21</sup> The embassy was mentioned also in the Yarkand chronicle, *Chinggiznama*.<sup>22</sup> We might speculate that the matter at hand was connected to the growing power of ‘Abdallah’s son Yolbars, who eventually forced ‘Abdallah into exile. Occasional envoys continued to arrive in India after ‘Abdallah’s death, as well as individuals from Kashgar “seeking service” in the court.<sup>23</sup> Among these were envoys from Yolbars Khan, ‘Abdallah’s son and successor, as well as from Afaq Khoja, the Sufi master who ruled through a puppet khan, though again the aims of these missions are not discussed.<sup>24</sup>

It is as a land of exile that Mughal India figured most prominently in the politics of the Tarim Basin. After the isolated appearance of exiled nobles in the *Akbarnama* during the 1580s, the earliest example I have located is ‘Abdallah Khan’s purge of officials in 1638/9, recorded in the chronicle of Shah Mahmud Churas.<sup>25</sup> Eight officials went into exile in India, where they received a generous welcome at the court of Shah Jahan. A little over two decades later, ‘Abdallah Khan exiled his brother Mansur, who found employment at the Mughal court under Aurangzib.<sup>26</sup> The Mughals’ regular assistance to those who had fallen out of favor in Yarkand does not seem to have seriously strained their relationship with ‘Abdallah Khan, and when his own political defeat finally arrived in 1667, ‘Abdallah Khan also fled to India. Along the way, he was showered with gifts at each major stop within Mughal realms, and after eight months at court Aurangzib funded ‘Abdallah Khan’s

<sup>20</sup> Inayat Khan, *The Shah Jahan Nama of ‘Inayat Khan: An Abridged History of the Mughal Emperor Shah Jahan*, transl. W. Begley, Z. Desai, and A. Fuller (Oxford University Press, 1990): 414, 416, 515, 525.

<sup>21</sup> Muhammad Saqi Musta‘idd Khan, *Maasir i ‘Alamgiri*, ed. A. Brass (London: Cambridge University Press, 1914): 51, 57.

<sup>22</sup> Akimushkin, *Tarikh-i Kashgar*: 102 (97a).

<sup>23</sup> *Maasir i ‘Alamgiri*: 242.

<sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 79, 337.

<sup>25</sup> Churas, *Khronika*: 73 (73b).

<sup>26</sup> *Maasir i ‘Alamgiri*: 32; Churas, *Khronika*: 76 (74b). A son of Abul Muhammad Khan of Turfan was also exiled with Mansur.

pilgrimage to Mecca.<sup>27</sup> Again, in 1695, Muhammad Mu‘min Aqbash drove Afaq Khoja’s son Hasan into exile in India.<sup>28</sup>

The Mughals kept themselves apprised of events in the Tarim, and even attempted to intervene in the chaos that followed ‘Abdallah Khan’s reign. Thanks to news writers in Ladakh, by then a Mughal protectorate, the court was aware of ‘Abdallah’s troubles before he even left the Tarim, and a welcoming party was sent to receive the deposed Khan in Kashmir.<sup>29</sup> This suggests that a route through Kashmir was regarded as the most convenient road from Yarkand to Delhi, though it is unclear whether the Khan reached Kashmir via Ladakh or Baltistan. In 1700, Aurangzib learned of further turmoil in the Tarim, and dispatched an heir of Yolbars Khan with military aid to conquer the Tarim Basin. The success or, more likely, failure of this venture did not enter the chronicles.<sup>30</sup>

### 5. Cultural Connections in the 17<sup>th</sup> and Early 18<sup>th</sup> Centuries

Given the religious and political importance of the Makhdumzada Khojas, whose ancestors came to the Tarim from Western Turkistan, one might expect a predominantly westward orientation of Tarim Sufi networks in the late 17<sup>th</sup> and early 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. Not only did the Makhdumzada Sufi masters count the khans of Yarkand among their disciples, but from 1679 the *Ishāqī* and *Āfāqī* Makhdumzada lineages themselves traded rule over the Tarim, albeit under the military dominance of the Junggar Mongols. But the westward connection represented by the Makhdumzadas is best seen as a phenomenon of the later 16<sup>th</sup> century and the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when the founders of the two lineages, Ishaq Wali and Muhammad Yusuf, arrived in the Tarim. Coincidentally, this was precisely the period in which Mughal connection seems to have been weakest. By the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, when Mughal connections were on the rise, the Makhdumzadas had become locals. Their most salient tombs and centers of power were in Yarkand and Kashgar, rather than the older shrine at Dehbid (near Samarqand). And, as we have seen, when the third-generation *Āfāqī* master, Khoja Hasan, fled the Tarim Basin in 1695, he headed first for India, not Samarqand.

The frequency of Tarim *nisbas* in Kashmiri hagiographies shows at least that Sufi travel was not exclusively westward oriented. And in the *Waqi‘at-i Kashmir* we

<sup>27</sup> *Maasir i ‘Alamgiri*: 63.

<sup>28</sup> Muhāmmād Sadiq Qāshqāri, *Tāzkirā‘i Azizan* (Kashgar: Qāshqār Uyghur nāshriyati, 1988): 64; Y. Kawahara, “‘Hōja Hasan Sāhibukirān den’: Ferugana bonchi ni okeru minkan shozō shiryō no kenkyū.” *Journal of Asian and African Studies* 71 (2006): 205–7, 225.

<sup>29</sup> *Maasir i ‘Alamgiri*: 57.

<sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, 433.

have documentation of a Kashmiri Sufi master undertaking a mission to Kashgar in the reign of Ismail Khan of Yarkand (1670–7). The source states that Khoja Qasim Tirmizi went to Kashgar after the death of his master, the Naqshbandi Shaykh Muhsin Fani (d. 1671/2), and that he received a great welcome.<sup>31</sup> But he did not have the kind of success that Ishaq Wali had found in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century, and he turned southward, eventually entering the service of the Mughal court.<sup>32</sup> Indeed there is little to suggest that the Kubrawi order ever gained a durable foothold in the Tarim Basin. Nonetheless, the comings and goings of Kubrawis between Kashgar and Kashmir may be the reason for the spread of the *Zakhirat al-Muluk* to the Tarim Basin. An example of the mirrors-for-princes genre, this text was written by the founder of Kashmir's Kubrawi tradition, Sayyid Ali Hamadani. The work is mentioned as a source in a legal text composed in Kashgar in the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>33</sup>

In the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century, scholars from the Tarim made a strong impression on the author of *Dabistan-i Mazahib*, the famous description of the faiths of Mughal India. For his understanding of Sunni Islam, the author consulted two men he met in Lahore with *nisbas* pointing to the Tarim: a Mulla 'Adil Kashgari and a Muhammad Ma'sum Kashgari whose "roots were from Badakhshan."<sup>34</sup> It is difficult to gauge precisely what this prominence of Tarim-linked informants in the *Dabistan* means, because the author was possibly a non-Muslim, making his choice of representative Muslim authorities suspect. It may be that scholars from the Tarim were numerous or prominent in Lahore. On the other hand, it may be that the *Dabistan* author became acquainted by chance with a small network of scholars who shared origins in the Tarim but were neither numerous nor prominent.

The corpus of surviving Tarim Basin manuscripts represents the reading interests of the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, not the period under examination here, but we might expect any 17<sup>th</sup>-century Mughal influence to leave at least a faint

<sup>31</sup> Shaykh Muhsin Fani can be connected back to Khwaja Baqi Billah Dahlawi (d. 1603), descendant of Khoja 'Ubaydallah Ahrar and teacher of Ahmad Sirhindi, through the following links: Fani was a disciple of Shaykh Muhammad Amin Dhar (d. 1688), who received in Lahore the *khirqā-i irshād* from Miyan 'Abd al-Wahhab Lahuri. This Lahuri was the *khalifa* of 'Usman Jalandhari, presumably the same 'Usman Jalandhari who authored the *Chihil Maktubat*. Jalandhari was deputy of Khwaja Baqi Billah Dahlawi. See M. Khan, *Sufis of Kashmir* (Srinagar: Gulshan Books, 2011): 245, 373; E. Findly, *Nur Jahan: Empress of Mughal India* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993): 209.

<sup>32</sup> Muḥammad A'zam Dīdāmārī, *Wāqī 'āt-i Kashmīr*. (Oriental Research Library, Srinagar, manuscript #1843): f. 132r; Khan, *Sufis of Kashmir*: 171.

<sup>33</sup> Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī, *Zubdat al-Masā'il wa-l-'Aqā'id* (Istanbul: Hājjī 'Abbās Āqā, 1897): 6. A copy of the *Zakhirat al-Muluk* is also present in the Tarim Basin's largest collection of manuscripts. See Shinjang Uyghur aptonom rayonluq az sanliq millät qädimki äsarlirini toplash, rätläsh, näshir qilishni pilanlash rähbärlük guruppa ishkanisi, *Uyghur; Özbek, Tatar qädimki äsarläär tizimlik* (Kashgar: Qäshqär Uyghur näshriyati, 1989): 335.

<sup>34</sup> *Dabistān-i Mazāhib* (Lucknow: Munshi Newal Kishore, 1877): 261, 266.

impression on these later reading habits.<sup>35</sup> However, I have been unable to identify any popular text of South Asian origin in these collections that might be ascribed to the 17<sup>th</sup>-century moment of Mughal influence. The *Maktubat* of Ahmad Sirhindi (compiled 1616–22) is represented by at least three copies in Ürümchi, but this text probably took root in the Tarim no earlier than the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, as is discussed below. Other texts of Indian origin, such as the *Tutinama* and *Chahar Darvish*, are too early and too widely disseminated beyond both South Asia and the Tarim to ascribe to Mughal influence.

However, despite leaving little trace on the popular corpus in the Tarim, Mughal texts had a notable influence in the more elite realm of jurisprudence. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Muhammad Sadiq Kashghari, the most prominent Tarim scholar of his time, composed a legal treatise called *Zubdat al-Masa'il*.<sup>36</sup> Kashghari names a handful of mostly Hanafi texts as sources, among them the *Fatawa 'Alamgiri*, the great legal synthesis overseen by the Mughal emperor Aurangzib.<sup>37</sup> Hoffman notes that Kashghari translated another 17<sup>th</sup>-century Mughal legal text and folded it into his *Zubdat al-Masa'il*, and states that the text enjoyed wide popularity.<sup>38</sup> This second Mughal legal treatise is *Adab al-Salihin*, by the prominent Mughal polymath 'Abd al-Haqq Dihlawi (1551–1642). A copy apparently produced or used in the Tarim Basin is now housed in the Library of the University of Leiden.<sup>39</sup> A third Mughal legal manuscript, also from the 17<sup>th</sup> century, appeared in a Kashgar antique shop in 2013. It is a copy of *Nafi 'al-Muslimin*, a treatise discussing Islamic obligations in a question-and-answer format, written by 'Abd al-Salam Lahuri (d. 1037/1628) and copied in Kashgar in 1221/1806.<sup>40</sup>

<sup>35</sup> The main collections are in Ürümchi, Lund, St. Petersburg, and Berlin. For this study I also consulted a small, uncatalogued collection in the National Library, Calcutta. See Shinjang Uyghur, Uyghur, Özbek, Tatar; L. Dmitrieva, *Katalog tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia Rossiiskoi akademii nauk* (Moscow: Vostochnaia literatura, 2002); G. Jarring, *Handwritten Catalogue of the Gunnar Jarring Collection of Manuscripts from Eastern Turkistan in the Lund University Library*, 1997; M. Hartmann, "Die osttürkischen Handschriften der Sammlung Hartmann," *Mitteilungen des Seminars für orientalische Sprachen an der königlichen Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität zu Berlin* 7.2 (1904): 1–21.

<sup>36</sup> I am indebted to Eric Schluessel for alerting me to this text and its citation of Mughal sources, and for sharing his notes on a manuscript copy in the library of the University of Leiden, Or. 26.667.

<sup>37</sup> Kāshgharī, *Zubdat al-Masā'il wa-l-'Aqā'id*: 6.

<sup>38</sup> H. Hofman, *Turkish Literature: A Bibliographical Survey. Section III. Moslim Central Asian Turkish Literature* (Utrecht: University of Utrecht, 1969): 23–4.

<sup>39</sup> Manuscript number Or. 26.675, as described in the online catalog of the Library of the University of Leiden: [catalogue.leidenuniv.nl](http://catalogue.leidenuniv.nl).

<sup>40</sup> Author's photos of Kashgar manuscript in private possession. For Lahuri, see A. Ahmed, "Logic in the Khayrābādī School of India: A Preliminary Exploration," in *Law and Tradition in Classical Islamic Thought: Studies in Honor of Professor Hossein Modarressi*, eds. N. Haider et al. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013): 227–43. In the conference draft of this

Lone copies are hardly robust evidence, but the incorporation of Mughal texts into Kashghari's legal treatise demonstrates that such works had a significant influence on the Tarim Basin's legal discourse more than a century after their composition. Moreover, the presence of such late texts of foreign origin in the Tarim manuscript corpus is particularly meaningful in the wider context of the Tarim's textual tradition. Huge numbers of foreign texts circulated in the Tarim Basin, but works composed outside the Tarim largely ceased to be adopted over the course of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, and indeed most works of foreign origin are a few centuries older.<sup>41</sup> The works of 'Abd al-Salam Lahuri and 'Abd al-Haqq Dihlawi (along with Ahmad Sirhindi), products of 17<sup>th</sup>-century India, represent not lone texts among many to be imported, but instead unusually late examples of textual connection to the world outside the Tarim, in this case textual connection to Mughal India.

The hajj may account for some of the continued flow of people from the Tarim to India. The route through India seems to be the only one mentioned in any Tarim Basin source from the 16<sup>th</sup> century through the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. We have already seen that Muhammad Khan's sister, "Hajji Khanim," passed through Kabul on her return from the hajj, at a time when Kabul was one of the main stations on the Tarim-India route. 'Abdallah Khan left for Mecca from the port of Surat, known as the "gateway to Mecca,"<sup>42</sup> and at least one of the officials he exiled in 1638 took advantage of his travel to visit Mecca. The hagiography of Muhammad Sharif, the Sufi saint buried at Yarkand, also has the saint making the hajj via India.<sup>43</sup> The route was still predominant in the 1830s, when W. Wathen published the results of his conversations with "at least ten" pilgrims from the Tarim who passed through Bombay.<sup>44</sup>

## 6. Epilogue: the India Connection after the Early 18<sup>th</sup> Century

The Tarim Basin began to drift away from the Mughals politically and economically in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Afaq Khoja's coup of 1679 set this shift in motion by bringing

paper I misidentified the manuscript as a copy of another text of the same topic and name, *Nafi' al-Muslimin*, by a Fazlallah Machini. See M. Dānish-pizhūh, "Guzārish-i Safar-i Pārīs," *Tahqīqāt-i Kitābdārī wa Ittīlā' -rasānī-ye Dānishgāhī* 9, no. 242–342 (1980): 287.

<sup>41</sup> R. Thum, *The Sacred Routes of Uyghur History* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2014): 17ff.

<sup>42</sup> M. Pearson, *Pilgrimage to Mecca: The Indian Experience, 1500–1800* (Princeton, N.J.: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1996): 108.

<sup>43</sup> J. Eden, *The Life of Muḥammad Sharif: A Central Asian Sufi Hagiography in Chaghatay* (Vienna: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2015).

<sup>44</sup> W. Wathen, "Memoir on Chinese Tartary and Khoten," *Journal of the Asiatic Society* 48 (1835): 653–64.

a Junghar Mongol army from the north, initiating 80 years of Junghar domination. By 1727, the end of Tsewang Rabtan's reign over the Junghars, the Tarim Basin had a new coinage in the Junghar ruler's name, divorced from the old Mughal-inspired money. In 1760, the Manchu Qing Empire inherited control over the Tarim from the conquered Junghars, beginning two and a half centuries of close political and economic linkage to China. Badakhshan and Qunduz replaced India as a refuge for rebels and exiles from 1760, with the Ferghana valley assuming that role throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>45</sup> Of course, not all connections to the South were extinguished. The Yarkand-Ladakh-Kashmir-India trade may have even become more important, as the Qing and British Empires butted up against each other in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. But the Mughals, whose power was fading by the mid-18<sup>th</sup> century, ceased to be politically connected to the Tarim, and the trade, while significant, became one stream of goods in an economy that was structured by Junghar and then Qing rule.

Nonetheless, cultural and economic connections persisted. As has been mentioned, India remained the preferred hajj route into the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Sometime after the middle of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, missionaries from the Naqshbandiyya Mujaddidiyya, an order originating in Sirhind, northeast of Delhi, put down roots in Yarkand. They had arrived via Badakhshan and Kabul. When the Muslims of Gansu and Xinjiang rebelled in 1864–65, the people of Yarkand chose a Mujaddidi shaykh to be their king.<sup>46</sup> Letters from the king of Ladakh and the *begs* of Wakhan to the Qing conquerors of the Tarim indicate strong commercial ties.<sup>47</sup> Indeed, well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century, Ladakh was strongly influenced by the numerous “Yarkandi” traders, as all merchants from the Tarim were known. Even today, at the main mosque in Leh, worshippers pray on a special “Yarkandi” carpet of classic Tarim Basin style during Ramadan. At the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, India became a source of both printed books and printing technology for the Tarim Basin. The first printer in the Tarim Basin learned his trade in India, and lithographs from India were common in the Tarim's markets in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>48</sup>

<sup>45</sup> T. Saguchi, “The Revival of the White Mountain Khwājas, 1760–1820 (from Sarimsāq to Jihāngīr),” *Acta Asiatica* 14 (1968): 7–20; J. Fletcher, “The Heyday of the Ch'ing Order in Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Volume 10: Late Ch'ing, 1800–1911, Part 1*, ed. J. Fairbank (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1978).

<sup>46</sup> H. Kim, *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2004).

<sup>47</sup> Brophy, “High Asia and the High Qing”: 329.

<sup>48</sup> Thum, *The Sacred Routes*: 178.





Figure 1. 1. Carpets from the Tarim in Leh's Main Mosque (photo: author)

## Conclusion

At no time during the last millennium has a Tarim-based state or society projected significant influence beyond its smallest mountain neighbors. Surrounding regions supported adventurers and empire builders: Timur emerged from Western Turkistan to conquer the Near East; the Durrani Empire expanded from Afghanistan into India and Kashmir; the Russians domesticated Siberia and the Inner Asian steppe; and the semi-nomadic Manchus took China, only to become sedentary themselves. But the Tarim Basin was always more destination than origin, conquered in turn by the Xiongnu, the Han, the Tibetans, the Qarakhanid Turks, the Great Mongols, the Eastern Chaghatayid Moghuls, the Junghar Mongols, the China-based Qing, and the Communist Party of China. Between these periods of outsider rule the Tarim was ruled by city states or weak regional kingdoms, some of them vestiges of former conqueror-states that had shrunk to the natural borders of the Basin.

The Moghul khanate of Yarkand was one of these shrunken vestiges, the eastern branch of a Chaghatayid state which had long been eclipsed in Western Turkistan. But whatever its roots, it also represented the most long-lived example of a rather rare species: a fully independent, Tarim-based, regional state. It was even strong enough to launch raids on neighboring lands, with attacks on Tibet and Kashmir under Sa'id Khan, and temporary occupations of Bolor and even Andijan under 'Abdallah Khan. Still, as in other moments of independence, the Yarkand

Khanate borrowed more than it lent.

At any period in the history of the Tarim, connections are documented in all directions: to China, the Inner Asian steppe, Tibet, Kashmir, India, and Western Turkistan. The evidence presented here indicates that the connections to India have been quite underappreciated, even if we understand them as only one vector of interaction among many. However, the confluence of different kinds of connection—political, economic, and cultural—recommends reimagining the late Moghul and early Khoja-period Tarim Basin as a southerly-oriented society. Yarkand's links to the Mughal Empire were not exclusive. Trade flowed westward and eastward through the Tarim as well as southward. In its eastward direction, although trade caravans were irregular, trade was even manifested as tribute missions. But the Mughal connections were of a special character. The Yarkand Khanate's leaders fled to the Mughal court when power politics favored their rivals, its money imitated Mughal coinage, its access to the holy cities of the Hejaz lay through India, and when the Mughal rulers saw an opportunity to intervene they did so, at a time when other neighbors did not. Afaq Khoja, in an attempt to overturn the political status quo, sought help from another direction, setting off the erosion of Mughal influence. But until Junghar domination reoriented the Tarim, there is a case to be made for considering the Mughals to be not just a strong influence on the region, but perhaps even the predominant influence.





Figure 1. 2. Copper *fulūs* of 'Abdallah Khan, Yarkand (photo: author)



Figure 1. 3. Copper *fulūs* of 'Abdallah Khan, Yarkand (photo: author)



Figure 1. 4. Copper *fulūs* of 'Abdallah Khan, with Possible Date at 12 to 1 o'clock on Obverse: [10]58. (photo: author)



Figure 1. 5. Copper *fulūs* of Jahangir, Agra Mint, Regnal Year 8, 20.1 grams.  
(photo: Zeno. ru: Oriental Coins Database)<sup>1</sup>



Figure 1. 6. Copper *fulūs* of Shah Jahan, Surat Mint, Regnal Year 29, 22 mm, 20 grams  
(photo: Zeno. ru: Oriental Coins Database)<sup>2</sup>



Figure 1. 7. Copper *fulūs* of Aurangzib, Surat Mint, Regnal Year 10 (photo: author)

<sup>1</sup> Zeno 135790, <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=135790>

<sup>2</sup> Zeno 75260, <http://www.zeno.ru/showphoto.php?photo=72560>





**Figure 1. 8. Muhammad Khan/ Muhammad Amin Type (photo: author)**



**Figure 1. 9. Possible Interregnal Type (photo: author)**



**Figure 1. 10. Rosette Type, with Date, "57" (photo: author)**



Figure 1. 11. “Horse-hoof” Coinage (photo: author)



Figure 1. 12. Debased Silver Tanka of the Janid Ruler, Nadr Khan 1644–7  
(photo: author)



Figure 1. 13. Copper *pul* of Tsewang Rabtán (1691–1727), Yarkand, 7.8 g.  
The coin has several unusual features, including an incuse inscription, a teardrop shape, and an unusually thick planchet. (photo: author)





Figure 1. 14. Copper Cash of Qianlong, Yarkand, 1760–9. (photo: author)