

# Three Groups of *Tadhkira-i khwājagān*: Viewed from the Chapter on Khwāja Āfāq

SAWADA Minoru

## Introduction

What we call *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* (“Biography of the khwājas”), written by Muḥammad Šādiq Kāshqarī around 1768–69 A.D. in the Chagatay Turkic language, is one of the most famous biographies of the family of Kashgaria Khwājas (descendants of Makhdūm-i A‘zam, a famous Naqshbandī šūfī in the sixteenth century). This family not only had religious authority as Naqshbandī šūfīs but also took part in the political affairs of Kashgaria (Eastern Turkestan) from the latter half of the sixteenth century to the middle of the eighteenth century. Therefore we can find in the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* much valuable description of events that occurred in Kashgaria under the suzerainty of the Zunghars from 1680 to the 1750s. Khwāja Āfāq (d. 1694), one of the most famous figures among the Kashgaria Khwājas, played an important role in the conquest of Kāshgar and Yārkaṇd by Galdan Boshoktu Khan of the Zunghar in 1680.

Of all Western scholars, Ch. Ch. Valikhanov (1835–65) seems to have been the first to use the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* in his study of the history of Eastern Turkestan, especially with regard to Khwāja Āfāq.<sup>1</sup> Summaries and translations from the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* have been made by some scholars<sup>2</sup> from the end of the nineteenth century to this day. But in spite of such leading studies, we do not have a definitive edition of this precious source; moreover, there remain open

<sup>1</sup> VALIKHANOV, Ch. Ch. 1962 *Sobranie sochinenii v pyati tomakh*, vol. 2. Alma-Ata: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSR. 2, pp. 301–2.

<sup>2</sup> SHAW, Robert Barkley and N. ELIAS 1897 “The History of the *Khōjas* of Eastern-Turkistān Summarised from the *Tazkira-i-Khwājagan* of Muḥammad Šādiq Kāshgharī,” by Robert Barkley Shaw; edited with introduction and notes by N. Elias. Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 66, part 1, pp. 1–6, 1–67; HARTMANN, Martin. 1905 “Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam: Das Ende der Čaghataiden und die Herrschaft der Choğas in Kašgarien,” in *Der islamische Orient* 1, Berlin: Wolf Peiser, Repr., Amsterdam: Apa-Oriental Press, 1976, pp. 195–374; SALAKHETDINOVA, M. A. 1959 “Sochinenie Mukhammed-Sadyka Kashgari *«Tazkira-i-khodzhagan»* kak istochnik po istorii kirgizov,” *Izvestiya Akademii nauk kirgizskoi SSR* (Frunze), 1, no. 1, (Istoriya), pp. 93–125; NURMANOVA, Aytjan 2006 *Qazaqstan Tarikhī Turalī Türkī Derektemelēri IV tom. Mūkhammed-Sadiq Qashghari, Tazkira-yi ‘Azizan*, Almatī: Dayk-Press.

questions as to the true title and the date of writing.<sup>3</sup>

The manuscripts of the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān*, including those employing other titles (*Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān*, *Tadhkirat al-Jahān*, *Durr al-mazhar* and the like), are preserved in libraries in Oxford, London, Paris, Berlin, Lund, St. Petersburg, Tashkent, Urumchi and Beijing.<sup>4</sup> The number of manuscripts is, as far as we know, far more than twenty. I have listed not only the manuscripts that are used in this report (see List 1, Nos. 1–17), but also the manuscripts whose existence is known to us (see List 1, Nos. 18–26).

According to A. M. Muginov’s catalogue, the seven manuscripts at St. Petersburg are classified into two groups. One group (two manuscripts, Nos. 16 and 17 of List 1; I call them Group B) bears the title *Tadhkira-i khwājagān*, while the other has the title *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* (five manuscripts, Nos. 11, 12, 13, 14, 15 of List 1; I call them Group A). Muginov also says the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* (Group B) is an abridged version of the *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* (Group A).<sup>5</sup> The catalogue

<sup>3</sup> I have reviewed problems concerning the translation, author, title and sponsor of the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* in SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔 1991 “Tazukira i hōjagān kenkyū ni suite no oboegaki” 『『タズキラ・イ・ホージャガーン』研究についての覚書』, *Tezukaiyama gaku-in tanki daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 39, pp. 1–15.

<sup>4</sup> As for the manuscripts in Urumchi, three manuscripts preserved at Shinjang Uyghur Aptonom Rayonluq Az Sanliq Millätlär Qādimki Āsārlär Ishkhanisi were used for the New Uyghur edition (Muhāmmād Sadiq Qāshqāri 1988 *Tāzkirā-i āzizan*, Nijat MUKHLIS and Shāmsidin ĀMĀT ed. Qāshqār: Qāshqār Uyghur Nāshriyati, p. 3; Cf. Sawada 1991: 4). Other information about the manuscripts in China may be found in the SAWUT, Tursunmuhāmmāt and Dilara ABLIMIT 2001 “Tilgha elinmighan tāzkirāsi,” *Shinjang tāzki-richiliki* (Urumchi), no. 1, p. 46, which mentions four manuscripts preserved respectively at Junggu Ijtima’iy Pānlär Akademiyisi Millätlär Tātqiqati Oruni, Junggu Pānlär Akademiyisi Shinjang Shūbisi Millätlär Tātqiqati Oruni, Shinjang Uyghur Aptonom Rayonluq Muzeyi, Shinjang Uniwersiteti Til-ādābiyat Fakulteti, relying on the catalogue entitled *Shinjang tātqiq qilishqa a’it kona kitablar katalogi* compiled by Abdurāshid Islami in 1965. A manuscript of *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* preserved at the Museum of Xinjiang is mentioned in ABDURAHMAN, Amina and JIN Yu-Ping 2000 “Une vue d’ensemble des manuscrits tchagatay du Xinjiang,” in *La mémoire et ses supports en Asie centrale*, Cahiers d’Asie centrale, no. 8, Tachkent and Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, p. 48. According to Bakhtiyar Ismail’s report a manuscript of *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* is preserved at the Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences in Beijing (ISMAIL, Bakhtiyar バフティヤール・イスマール 2008 「中国社会科学院民族学人類学研究所所蔵のチャガタイ語・ベルシア語写本」 “Chūgoku shakai kagaku in minzokugaku jinruigaku kenkyūsho shozō no Chagataigo Perushiago shahon”, *Nairiku Ajia shi kenkyū* 23: 146).

<sup>5</sup> MUGINOV, A. M. 1962 *Opisanie uigurskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii*, Moskva: Izdatel’stvo vostochnoi literatury, pp. 74–76, 85–88. M. A. Salakhettinova had already differentiated the abridged from the full versions of these seven manuscripts before Muginov, but she did not discuss the question of the titles, *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* and *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* (Salakhettinova 1959: 94).

compiled by L. V. Dmitrieva and S. N. Muratov compared the manuscripts of these two groups, following Muginov's opinion.<sup>6</sup> According to their catalogue, the *Tadhkira-i 'azīzān* ("first version," Group A) has 35 or 36 chapters, while the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* ("abridged version," Group B) has 33 chapters. The short contents or name of each chapter of manuscripts D126 (*Tadhkira-i khwājagān*) and B776 (*Tadhkira-i 'azīzān*) are listed in the catalogue. We can see from this list that these two manuscripts were not strictly chaptered, although the contents of the manuscripts almost coincide with each other.

According to the catalogue of Dmitrieva and Muratov, not only abridgements and amendments, but also additions are found in *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* ("abridged version"). And it is curious that only one manuscript of *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* (no. 17 of List 1) mentions the year of writing (1182/1768–69) and five manuscripts of *Tadhkira-i 'azīzān* have no date of writing.<sup>7</sup> So it remains unsolved which group of manuscripts is better, *Tadhkira-i 'azīzān* ("first version," Group A) or *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* ("abridged version," Group B).<sup>8</sup>

In this report, I would like to present three texts of the chapter on Khwāja Āfāq from the manuscripts and offer my opinion on the classification of the manuscripts of the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* (including such other titles as *Tadhkira-i 'azīzān*). As the chapter on Khwāja Āfāq includes unique content concerning his activities, presumably in Tibet, publishing the text will be useful for Central Asian studies. By way of comparing the contents of the chapter on Khwāja Āfāq, I have tentatively classified the manuscripts into not two but three groups (Group A, Group B and Group C of List 1). Through this report, I hope to provide some clues towards identifying and editing the most reliable text of this valuable historical source.

## 1. Translation of the Chapter on Khwāja Āfāq

### 1.1. Group A

#### (Manuscripts)

No. 2 (Bodleian, Ind. Inst. Turk 10), ff. 19b–21a.

No. 3 (Bodleian, Turk. d.20), ff. 24b–26a.

No. 8 (LULJC, Prov. 313), ff. 28b–30b.

No. 10 (SbPKbO, Ms. Or. 4-1313 [Hartmann Ms.122]), pp. 82–87.

<sup>6</sup> DMITRIEVA, L. V., and S. N. MURATOV 1975 *Opisanie tyurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniya*, vol. 2. Moskva: Nauka, pp. 51–66.

<sup>7</sup> Muginov 1962: 75, 86.

<sup>8</sup> See also BARANOVA, Yu. G. 2001 "Tazkira-yi khodzhan," in M. Kh. Abuseitova, and Yu. G. Baranova *Pis'mennoye istochniki po istorii i kul'ture Kazakhstana i Tsentral'noi Azii v XIII–XVIII vv. (bibliobibliograficheskie obzory)*, Almaty: Daik-Press, p. 330.

No. 11 (SPbflVRAN, B776), ff. 40b–43a.

No. 12 (SPbflVRAN, C582), ff. 20a–21b.

No. 13 (SPbflVRAN, C583), ff. 49b–52b.

No. 14 (SPbflVRAN, D127), ff. 25a–27a.

No. 15 (SPbflVRAN, D191), ff. 30a–31b.

(Translation) (Based on the Ms. Turk. d.20, ff. 24b–26a)

Well, it is necessary to listen to the story about Khwāja Āfāq. Ismā‘īl Khān banished [Khwāja Āfāq] from Kāshgar. [Āfāq] wandered from city to city and reached a place named Jū,<sup>9</sup> passing through Kashmīr and the country of Chīn. At that place, there were Brahman priests from the infidels of Chīn. They worked false miracles instead of asceticism and miracles through revelation. They established their religion among infidels by way of deceit. There was a house of worship like a monastery. All the infidels gathered there. [Āfāq] paid a visit there. When the infidels variously worked false miracles like miracles through revelation and all of them put their hats (*jala*) toward a mote in the sun[-beams], all the hats fell on the ground. The infidels were bewildered, not knowing what kind of person he was. Afterwards all of them became sunk in meditation. His Grace Khwāja Āfāq also ascended in the world. Sometimes the infidels were superior, sometimes His Grace was superior. At last, they sought a refuge of faith. A mountain wall appeared as if no crack was found from the heavens to the earth.

Helplessly the infidels became weak and obeyed. And they asked him, “Who are you? From what direction did you come?” His Grace said, “I am an intellectual person and a khwāja of the sect of Muslims. Especially the people of Kāshgar and Yārkand are my disciples. At present, someone has come and taken these cities away from me and driven me out. I beg of you to order someone to restore my country to my hands.” The Brahman said, “It is difficult for an army to go there from here,” and wrote a letter to the Qālmāqs as follows: “Greetings, Bōshōkdī Khān.<sup>10</sup> Khwāja Āfāq may be very great and perfect in his own religion, and he

<sup>9</sup> Jū (Jo) is considered to be Lhasa in Tibet (Shaw and Elias 1897: 37, note 15 ; Hartmann 1905: 210, note 4 ; ZARCONI, Thierry 1996 “Soufis d’Asie centrale au Tibet aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles,” in *Inde-Asie centrale: Routes du commerce et des idées*, Cahiers d’Asie centrale, nos. 1–2, Tachkent and Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, p. 333 ; PAPAS, Alexandre 2005 *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan: Étude sur les Khwāja naqshbandī du Turkestan oriental*, Paris: Librairie d’Amérique et d’Orient, Jean Maisonneuve, p. 92). The word Joo is attested in Manchu documents; according to Yumiko Ishihama, Joo is another name for Lhasa: ISHIHAMA Yumiko 石濱裕美子 2001 *Chibetto bukyō sekai no rekishiteki kenkyū* 『チベット仏教世界の歴史的研究』, Tokyo: Tōhō shoten, pp. 283, 301, 316 note 6, 318 note 24. My thanks to Takahiro Onuma alerting me to this usage of Joo in documentary Manchu.

<sup>10</sup> I. e. Galdan Boshoktu Khan of the Zunghars. Zarcone 1996: 336; Hartmann 1905: 325; BARTOLD, V. V. 1973 *Sochineniya*, vol. 8. Moskva: Nauka, p. 186.

seems to be a khwāja of Kāshgar and Yārkand. Ismā‘īl Khān took his country away and drove him out. It is necessary for you to go with an army and restore his country to his hands. Otherwise it will become troublesome. That is all.”

His Grace had this letter reach a prince (*tōrā*) of the Qālmāqs. The prince perfectly abased himself and started for Kāshgar with his army, acting according to the contents of the letter. The people of Kāshgar heard that Khwāja Āfāq seemed to be coming with an infidel named Sengge (*SNKY*). Bābāq Sultān went out with an army and confronted them. The Qālmāqs were victorious. An arrow hit Bābāq Sultān and he became a martyr. At last, the people of Kāshgar obeyed. They put Kāshgar in order and turned their faces towards Yārkand. Ismā‘īl Khān came to the front of them with his large army and took the field. But victory with eternal fate was not on the side of the khān. Therefore an arrow hit a governor (*hākīm*) of Yārkand and he became a martyr. The khān knew intuitively that misfortune was on his own side and victory was on their side, and that if he fought hard with them, the people would suffer much harm. For this reason the khān went to the front of this army with his attendants. But the khān had commanded the people of the city by will as follows: “You shall make these two *makhdūmzādas* [i.e. Khwāja Shu‘ayb and Khwāja Dāniyāl of Ishāqiyya] your leaders and fortify the city. You shall stipulate that if they allow your religion and select a chief from your men, you will open the city gate, otherwise you will not open the gate.” In the end, after [the Qālmāqs] had accepted these conditions, the people opened the city gate. [But the Qālmāqs] set His Grace on the throne and put in Kāshgar Khwāja Yaḥyā, who was called Khān Khwāja and was an elder son of His Grace. And [the Qālmāqs] took Ismā‘īl Khān together with all the men and returned. In this way the khān and the men began to reside in the mountain of Ili (*Īlā*).

Well, when the Qālmāqs returned, His Grace Khwāja Āfāq consulted with the men of state and said, “The Qālmāqs will not return without fruit of effort. We shall give one thousand pieces of cloth (*mīng ton sar u pā*).” So he counted and bestowed one thousand tenges (*tāngā*). Afterwards people of heresy appeared and increased as time went by. Until this time and eternally this heretical thing did not go away from the subjects and the poor.

His Grace Khwāja Āfāq became firm on the throne of rule and he was a diver in the sea of gnosis. But the throne of rule was not compatible with being a khwāja. For this reason Muḥammad Amīn Khān, a younger brother<sup>11</sup> of Ismā‘īl Khān, was brought from Ṭurfān by mutual consent, and he was set on the throne of rule. A sister of Muḥammad Amīn Khān had been married to Khwāja Āfāq. [Muḥammad Amīn Khān] became an ardent adherent of His Grace. [Muḥammad Amīn Khān] went to the mountain of Ili and returned, taking many Qālmāqs prisoner. Some princes also

<sup>11</sup> Muḥammad Amīn is not a younger brother but a nephew of Ismā‘īl (Bartol’d 1973: 187, 191).

fell into his hands. After some time had passed, *ṣūfīs* became overpowering and rebellious. Every kind of matter began to occur. His Grace did not know it, because he was absorbed in the matters of God. Muḥammad Amīn Khān suffered from his own anxiety and took to flight. In the end, an attendant of his own made the khān a martyr. “Those who say: To Allah we belong, and to Him is our return” (*Qur’ān*, 2-156). His Grace Khwāja Āfāq became firm on the throne of rule.

## 1.2. Group B

### (Manuscripts)

- No. 4 (British Library, Or. 5338), ff. 14a–16a.
- No. 5 (British Library, Or. 9660), ff. 14a–15b.
- No. 6 (British Library, Or. 9662), ff. 21b–23b.
- No. 7 (Institut de France, ms. 3357), ff. 24b–27b.
- No. 16 (SPbflVRAN, B770), ff. 13a–14a.
- No. 17 (SPbflVRAN, D126), ff. 14b–16a.

(Translation) (Based on the Ms. ms. 3357, ff. 24b–27b)

Chapter of story. It is necessary to listen. Ismā‘īl Khān banished His Grace Khōja Āfāq Khōjam from Kāshqar. He wandered from city to city and reached a place named Jū in the kingdom of Chīn, passing through Kashmīr. At that place, there were Brahman priests of the infidels. They worked false miracles instead of asceticism and miracles through revelation. They established their religion by way of deceit. His Grace Khōja Āfāq went there and variously worked miracles through revelation. The infidels threw all their hats to the ground in surprise. They became sunk in meditation in the way of their own religion and sought a refuge of faith in His Grace Khōja Āfāq ‘Azīz. He became superior to the infidels in meditation and miracles through revelation. The infidels obeyed and asked him, “Who are you? From what direction did you come?” His Grace said, “I am a khōja of the sect of Muslims. The people of Yārkan and Kāshqar are my disciples. At present, someone has come and driven me out and taken these cities away from me. I beg of you to order someone to restore my country to my hands.” The Brahman said, “It is difficult for men to go there from here,” and wrote a letter to a prince (*törä*) of the Qālmāqs in Ili (*Īlā*) as follows: “Greetings, Bōshōd Khān. Khōja Āfāq may be a very great man, and he seems to be a khōja of Yārkan and Kāshqar. Ismā‘īl Khān took his country away and drove him out. It is necessary for you to give orders to an army and restore his country to his hands. Otherwise it will become troublesome. That is all.”

His Grace took this letter over to a prince of the Qālmāqs in Ili. Bōshōd Khān perfectly abased himself and acted according to the contents of the letter. The khān

called together many troops and started for Kāshqar. The people of Kāshqar heard that Khōja Āfāq seemed to be coming with the army of the Qālmāqs. Bābāq Sultān, a son of Ismā‘īl Khān, commanded an army and went out. At last, an arrow hit Bābāq Sultān and he became a martyr. The Qālmāqs were victorious and the people of Kāshqar obeyed. They put Kāshqar in order and turned their faces towards Yārkand. Ismā‘īl Khān went out with a large army and fought. An arrow hit ‘Avaz Beg, a governor (*hākīm*) of Yārkand, and he became a martyr. The khān knew that misfortune was on his own side, and that if he fought hard, many people would die. For this reason the khān went out with his attendants. The khān had commanded the people of the city by will as follows: “You shall make these two *makhdūmzādas* [i.e. Khwāja Shu‘ayb and Khwāja Dāniyāl of Ishāqiyya] your leaders and fortify the city. You shall stipulate that if they allow your religion and make your khōja a leader, you will open the city gate, otherwise you will not open the gate.” The people made the Qālmāqs accept these conditions and opened the gate. [But the Qālmāqs] set His Grace Khōja Āfāq Khōjam on the throne and put in Kāshqar Khōja Yahyā, who was an elder son of His Grace Khōja Āfāq. [The Qālmāqs] took Ismā‘īl Khān with all his followers and returned. In this way the khān and the men began to reside in Ili.

Chapter of story. It is necessary to hear about the Qālmāqs. After a few days, the Qālmāqs were to return to Ili. By the advice of the men of state, His Grace Khōja Āfāq said, “The Qālmāqs will not return empty-handed,” and he would give four thousand pieces of cloth and he bestowed four thousand tenges. Afterwards people of heresy increased as time went by. Eternally this tax (*alban*) did not go away from the poor and it remained four thousand tenge per month.

Well, Khōja Āfāq Khōja became firm on the throne of rule for a while. He was a sea of gnosis. But the reign was not going well with his being a khōja. So, by mutual consent Muḥammad Emīn Khān, a younger brother of Ismā‘īl Khān, was brought from Tūrfān and he was set on the throne of rule. Muḥammad Emīn Khān had a younger sister called Khānīm Pādishāh. She was married to Khōja Āfāq. Muḥammad Emīn Khān became an ardent adherent of His Grace. Then with the consent of Khōja Āfāq Khōjam, Muḥammad Emīn Khān went to the mountain of Ili and returned, taking many prisoners from the Qālmāqs. Some princes of the Qālmāqs also fell into his hands. In the end, the ṣūfis became overpowering and rebellious. So much sedition took place. His Grace did not know it, because he was absorbed in the matters of God. Muḥammad Emīn Khān suffered from his own anxiety and took to flight. An attendant of his own made him a martyr. “Those who say: To Allah we belong, and to Him is our return” (*Qur’ān*, 2-156). His Grace Khōja Āfāq Khōjam again sat on the throne of rule.

### 1.3. Group C

(Manuscripts)

No. 1 (Bodleian, Ind. Inst. Turk 3), f. 20a–b.

No. 9 (SbPKbO, Ms. or. fol. 3292 [Hartmann Ms.40]), pp. 48–49.

(Translation) (Based on the Ms. Ind. Inst. Turk 3, f. 20a–b)

Story is transmitted. It is necessary to listen to the story about Āfāq Khwāja. ‘Abd Allāh Khān banished [Āfāq Khwāja] from Kāshqar. Āfāq Khwāja went out and reached a city named Jū. He kindled a bonfire and lay down at the gate of the idol temple of Mullā Mānī. On the next day lamas asked him, “What kind of man are you?” [Āfāq Khwāja] said, “Abd Allāh Khān drove me out from my country. Please take back my country and give it to me.” The Dalai Lama said, “The distance is long. It is not possible to go from here.” Āfāq Khwāja said, “If you send a letter to the prince of the Qālmāqs, he will put together an army and go to my country.” Āfāq Khwāja said, “If I lead and go, it will become possible to take Yārkand and Kāshqar.” Lamas said, “If an army is given and added to [strengthen] Āfāq Khwāja, it will become possible to take Yārkand and Kāshqar.” A letter was given to the prince of the Qālmāqs as follows: “Please provide an army to Āfāq Khwāja and take Yārkand and Kāshqar under your own possession.”

Āfāq Khwāja brought this letter to the prince of the Qālmāqs and led the Qālmāqs to Kāshqar. Bābāq Sultān, a son of Ismā‘īl Khān, was in Kāshqar and came out fighting. Bābāq Sultān became a martyr. Then he led them to Yārkand. Ismā‘īl Khānliq came out at the head, and the people of Yārkand fought. A governor of Yārkand was hit by an arrow and became a martyr. The Qālmāqs laid siege to Yārkand for some time and took it. They took Ismā‘īl Khānliq up to a mountain. They sent His Grace Makhdūmzāda Khōjām, a descendant of the brave lion, on a pilgrimage (*hajj*) with two princes (*shahzāda*). Āfāq Khwāja said, “If you make me a khwāja, I will take and give you one hundred thousand tenges from these cities.” The Qālmāqs accepted his words and made Āfāq Khwāja a khwāja and returned. Until this time the country has been giving one hundred thousand tenges. Āfāq Khwāja invented this bad thing.

## 2. Differences in the Chapter on Khwāja Āfāq

First, I shall point out differences between the text of Group A and that of Group B. It is worthy of notice that Sengge is mentioned as one of the party of Khwāja Āfāq who went to Kāshgar with the Qālmāq (Zunghar) army in the text of Group A. But in the text of Group B, Sengge is not mentioned.

As we know from historical studies, Sengge became a leader of the Zunghars



after the death of his father, Batur Khungtayiji, in the year 1653. But in 1670 Sengge was killed by his brothers, who had been born of a different mother, as a result of a quarrel over his inheritance. Galdan, another brother of Sengge, avenged him on his brothers and became a leader of the Zunghars in 1671. He was called Galdan Boshoktu Khan. Galdan Boshoktu Khan conquered Kāshgar and Yārkan in 1680.<sup>12</sup>

Galdan Boshoktu Khan is mentioned as Bōshōkdī Khān in the text of Group A and as Bōshōd Khān in the text of Group B. The chapter on Khwāja Āfāq describes the conquest of Kāshgar and Yārkan by Galdan in 1680. From a historical point of view, Sengge is wrongly mentioned in the text of Group A.

The text of Group B gives the name of the governor (*hākīm*) of Yārkan as ‘Avaz Beg. But the text of Group A does not mention his name. A similar case is found in the popular name of a younger sister of Muḥammad Amīn (Emīn) Khān. She was married to Khwāja Āfāq. The text of Group B gives her popular name as Khānīm Pādīshāh. But the text of Group A does not mention her name. On the contrary, the popular name of Khwāja Yahyā is mentioned as Khān Khwāja only in the text of Group A.

After the conquest of Kāshgar and Yārkan, Khwāja Āfāq gave to the Qālmāqs one thousand pieces of cloth (*ming ton sar u pā*) and/or one thousand tenges (tangas) according to the text of Group A. But in the text of Group B, Afaq gave four thousand pieces of cloth and/or four thousand tenges. I am unable to determine which text is correct.

Secondly, I shall take up some problems regarding the text of Group C. Its text differs considerably from the texts of Groups A and B. In the text of Group C, it is not Ismā‘īl Khān but ‘Abd Allāh Khān who banished Āfāq from Kāshgar. ‘Abd Allāh Khān of the Yārkan Khanate ruled Eastern Turkistan from 1638/39 to 1667. Under a difficult situation, he took refuge in the court of Aurangzeb of the Mughals on March 22, 1668. He died in India on October 30, 1675. His younger brother

<sup>12</sup> ZLATKIN, I. Ya. 1983 *Istoriya Dzhungarskogo khanstva 1635–1758*, 2nd ed. Moskva: Nauka, pp. 135, 151, 167; HANEDA Akira 羽田明 1942 “Min matsu Shin sho no Higashi Torukisutan: Sono Kaikyō shi teki kōsatsu” 「明末清初の東トルキスタン——その回教史的考察」, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 7, no. 5, p. 20; HANEDA Akira 羽田明 1982 *Chūō Ajia shi kenkyū* 『中央アジア史研究』, Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, p. 31; WAKAMATSU Hiroshi 若松寛 1970 “Senge shihaiki no Jungaru kankoku no nairan” 「センゲ支配期のジュンガル汗国の内乱」, *Yūboku shakaishi tankyū* (Tokyo) 42, pp. 1–16; MIYAWAKI Junko 宮脇淳子 1991 “Oiratto Hān no tanjō” 「オイラット・ハーンの誕生」, *Shigaku zasshi* 100, no. 1, p. 61; MIYAWAKI Junko 宮脇淳子 1995 *Saigo no yūboku teikoku: Jūngaru bu no kōbō* 『最後の遊牧帝国——ジュンガル部の興亡』, Tokyo: Kōdansha, pp. 194–95, 200–3; AKIMUSHKIN, O. F. 1976 *Shah-Makhmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, Khronika*, Moskva: Nauka, pp. 323–24; HAMADA Masami 濱田正美 1993 “‘Shio no gimu’ to ‘seisen’ tono aida de” 「『塩の義務』と『聖戦』との間で」, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 52, no. 2, pp. 128, 146.

Ismā'īl Khān ascended the throne of the Khanate on April 2, 1670, and ruled until the conquest by Galdan in 1680.<sup>13</sup> As we do not have other information about the banishment of Khwāja Āfāq from Kāshgar, it is difficult to ascertain which khan banished him and when it occurred.

Lamas and the Dalai Lama appear only in the text of Group C, instead of the Brahman priests mentioned in the texts of Groups A and B. The story of text C is almost the same as an outline account by H. H. Howorth, citing Ch. Ch. Valikhanov.<sup>14</sup> According to Howorth, Āfāq went to Tibet and received a letter addressed to Galdan from the (fifth) Dalai Lama asking him to assist Āfāq. As Th. Zarcone has examined in detail the activities of Khwāja Āfāq in Tibet (Lhasa),<sup>15</sup> I would like to restrict myself to questions concerning the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān*. As far as I know, the account of Āfāq's meeting with the Dalai Lama is not found in any historical sources other than the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān*. Zarcone says, "we have not found any trace of the passage of Āfāq Khwāja to Lhasa, in the *Hidāyat-nāma*."<sup>16</sup> The *Hidāyat-nāma* is a hagiography of Khwāja Āfāq (alias Hidāyat Allāh). The *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* was written from the position of the Ishāqiyya sect, which was severely opposed to the Āfāqiyya sect of Khwāja Āfāq. I suppose differences in text C of the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* may be due to the standpoint of the author or copyist, who did not need to be afraid of the Āfāqiyya sect and more freely wrote the story of Āfāq's travel to Tibet.

Texts A and B describe the miracles worked by Khwāja Āfāq competing with the priests of infidels, but text C does not mention any such competition. The account of the competition in text A is more concrete and detailed than that in text B. According to Zarcone, the phenomenon of magical competition is a theme repeated in a number of histories of ṣūfīs who had to do with the conversion of non-Muslims, Christians or Buddhists in all regions where Islam was introduced.<sup>17</sup>

It is also remarkable that text C concisely describes the situation after the

<sup>13</sup> AKIMUSHKIN, O. F. 1984 "Khronologiya pravitelei vostochnoi chasti Chagataiskogo ulusa (liniya Tugluk-Timur-khana)," in B. A. Litvinskii, ed. *Vostochnyi Turkestan i Srednyaya Aziya: Istoriya, kul'tura, svyazi*, Moskva: Nauka, pp. 160, 162, 163; SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔 1981 "Kāshugaru Hān ke to Begu tachi: 17 seiki chūyō no Higashi Torukisutan" 「カーシュガル・ハーン家とベグ達——17世紀中葉の東トルキスタン」, *Machikaneyama ronsō: Shigaku hen* 15, p. 16.

<sup>14</sup> HOWORTH, H. H. 1876 *History of Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, part 1. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Repr., Taipei: Ch'eng Wen Publishing Company, 1970, p. 623.

<sup>15</sup> Zarcone 1996: 332–37.

<sup>16</sup> Zarcone 1996: 342, note 37. A. Haneda also points out the absence of the account in the *Hidāyat-nāma*, and conjectures that perhaps the *Hidāyat-nāma* avoided mentioning this fact. (Haneda 1942: 20; Haneda 1982: 31).

<sup>17</sup> Zarcone 1996: 335–36.

conquest of Kāshgar and Yārkanḡ. Text C does not mention Muḡammad Amīn Khān and his sister. The amount of the reward that the Qālmāqs gained is one hundred thousand tenges in text C. It differs from the one thousand pieces of cloth and/or one thousand tenges in text A and four thousand pieces of cloth and/or four thousand tenges in text B. The amount of one hundred thousand tenges appears in another place in the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān*, where it is described how one hundred thousand tenges had been levied on one hundred thousand people during the time of Āfāq and this tax continued into the future.<sup>18</sup>

## Conclusion

The manuscripts of the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* (including *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* and the like) were classified as “first version” (Group A) and “abridged version” (Group B). But this classification is not decisive, as I have indicated the differences between the texts of Group A and Group B. And I have pointed out the existence of another text (Group C) that does not belong to either Group A or Group B. The existence of the manuscripts of Group C suggests that contents of *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* tend to be adapted by another writer or copyist.

From a historical point of view, text B seems to be the most reliable, although the differences between texts A and B are not great. However, this is the result only of a comparison of the texts of the chapter on Khwāja Āfāq. A comparison of all contents of the manuscripts remains as a further task.

## List 1. Manuscripts

No.	Library	MS No.	Folio / Page	Grouping (by Muginov et al.)	Tentative Grouping (by Sawada)
1	Bodleian	Ind. Inst. Turk 3	124ff.		C
2	Bodleian	Ind. Inst. Turk 10	146ff.		A
3	Bodleian	Turk. d.20	fol. 1b-162b		A
4	British Library	Or. 5338 [Not complete] [Used by R.B.Shaw]	74ff.		B
5	British Library	Or. 9660	fol. 1a-125b		B
6	British Library	Or. 9662	144ff.		B

<sup>18</sup> The text is found in Bartol’d 1973: 217.

7	Institut de France	ms. 3357	229ff.		B
8	LULJC	Prov. 313	194ff.		A
9	SbPKbO	Ms.or.fol. 3292 [Hartmann Ms.40]	290pp.		C
10	SbPKbO	Ms.or. 4-1313 [Hartmann Ms.122]	202pp.		A
11	SPbfIVRAN	B776	01+274+002ff.	A	A
12	SPbfIVRAN	C582	fol. 2b-135a	A	A
13	SPbfIVRAN	C583	03+321+002ff.	A	A
14	SPbfIVRAN	D127	151ff.	A	A
15	SPbfIVRAN	D191	01+174+001ff.	A	A
16	SPbfIVRAN	B770	92+001ff.	B	B
17	SPbfIVRAN	D126	01+110+001ff. / 219pp.	B	B
18	IVANRU	No. 45	152ff.		
19	JIPAMTO	T-38 (859-9931-282)			
20	JPAShShMTO	884			
21	LULJC	Prov. 288			
22	ShUARASMQÄI				
23	ShUARASMQÄI				
24	ShUARASMQÄI				
25	ShUARM	06			
26	ShUTäF	1012	pp. 1-290		

IVANRU: Institut vostokobedeniya Akademii Nauk Respubliki Uzbekistan

JIPAMTO: Junggu Ijtima'iy Pänlär Akademiyisi Millätlär Tätqiqati Oruni

(Institute of Ethnology and Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences)

JPAShShMTO: Junggu Pänlär Akademiyisi Shinjang Shübisi Millätlär Tätqiqati Oruni

LULJC: Lund University Library, Jarring Collection

SPbfIVRAN: Sankt-Peterburgskii filial Instituta Vostokovedeniya Rossiickoi Akademii nauk.

SbPKbO: Staatsbibliothek Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Orientabteilung.

ShUARASMQÄI: Shingjang Uyghur Aptonom Rayonluq Az Sanliq Millätlär Qädimki Äsärklär Ishkhanisi

ShUARM: Shinjang Uyghur Aptonom Rayonluq Muzeyi

ShUTäF: Shinjang Uniwersiteti Til-ädäbiyat Fakulteti

**Appendix: Texts of the Manuscripts****Group A** (Based on the Ms. Turk. d.20, ff. 24b-26a)

اما حکایت اشتماک کرک خواجه افاقدین که اسماعیل خان کاشغردین خارج قلب  
ایردی شهر بشهر یوروب کشمیر برله کنزلاری جین مملکتی دین جو<sup>1</sup> دیکان موضعی  
غه توستی [f. 25a] بو موضع دا جین کافرلاردین برهمن شیخ لاری بار ایردیکه  
ریاضت برله کشف کرامت<sup>2</sup> اورنیدا استدراج کورساتیب پند فریب برله<sup>3</sup>  
کافرلاردین مذهب لارینی بر پا توتار ایردی و بر خانقاه طریقه لیک بر جای عبادت خانه  
سی بار ایردیکه همه کافرلار آندا جمع ایديلار تشریف قدم لاری آندا واقع بولدی کافرلار  
انواع تورلوک خارق عادت و کشف کرامات لار ینکلغ استدراج کورساتیب همه لاری  
جلالارینی آفتاب ذره سیکا<sup>4</sup> اسیب قویغان حالت ایردی همه لاری نینگ جلالاری یرکا  
توستی کافرلار حیرته قالدیکه بو نجوک کشیدور آخر همه لاری مراقبه کا<sup>5</sup> کتی لار  
حضرت خواجه افاق هم عالم دا عروج قیلاشیب<sup>6</sup> کاهی کافرلار غالب کلیب کاهی

<sup>1</sup> حو (Turk. d.20) ; جو (Prov. 313, D191, C583, B776, Turk 10) ; جو (D127, 4-1313).

<sup>2</sup> ریاضت برله کرامت (Turk. d.20) ; ریاضت برله کشف کرامات لار (C583, B776) ; ریاضت برله کشف کرامت لار (D191, Turk 10) ; ریاضت کشف کرامت (D127, 4-1313).

<sup>3</sup> پند فریلار برله (Turk. d.20) ; پند فریب برله (D191, B776) ; فن فریب برله (Turk 10) ; پند بریب (D127, 4-1313) ; پند و فریب برله (C583).

<sup>4</sup> ذره سیکا (Turk 10) ; ذره سیکا (C583, D127, Turk. d.20) ; ذره سیکا (B776, 4-1313) , (Prov.313).

<sup>5</sup> مراقبه (Prov. 313, Turk. d.20) ; مراقبه کا (C583, D127, B776, Turk 10, 4-1313) ; مراقبه که (D191).

<sup>6</sup> هم عالم بالاد عروج قیلاشیب (Turk. d.20) ; هم عالم دا عروج قیلاشیب (B776) ; هم عالمیدا عروج قیلاشیب (Turk10) ; حضرت خواجه افاق غه همه عالم عروج قیلاشیب (4-1313) ; همه عالم دا عروج قیلاشیب (C583) ; همه عالم عروج قیلاشیب (D127) ; هم عالم دا عروج قلب (D191).

حضرت آخر الامر ايمان نينك پناهىغه سغنديلار آنداغ بر كوه سدى بولديكه عرش دين  
فرش عجه ذرّه<sup>7</sup> شكاف تاپماديلار

ناچار كافرلار عاجز كليپ انقياد ايلاب سوال ايلاديلار كه كيمدور سيز قايسى  
طرفدين كيلادور سيز حضرت ايديلار كه من مسلمان لار فرقه سى نينك عالمى و خواجه  
سى دور من<sup>8</sup> خصوصاً كاشغر و ياركند خلقى منينك مريد و مخلصيم دور حالا بو  
شهرلارنى براو كليپ مندين سيوب الدى و منى قوغلاق چقاردى سيزدين التماس قيلادور  
منكه كشى بويروب يورتوم نى ينه قولومغه اليب بركاى سيز برهمن ايديكه بو يردين او  
بركا لشكر بارماغى دشوار دور ديب قالماقغه نامه فيتديلار كه اى بوشوكدى خان<sup>9</sup>  
خواجه آفاق بسيار اولوغ اوز دينى دا كامل و مكمل و كاشغر ياركند خواجه سى ايكان  
اسماعيل خان مونينك يورتيى سيوب اليب مونى قوغلاق جيقاريب دور كر ككه لشكر برله  
بريب يورتيى قولیغه [f. 25b] اليب بركاى سين والا اشكال بولغوسيدور نامه تمام

حضرت بو نامه نى قالماق توره سيكا يتكورديلار توره كمال تواضع برله نامه  
مضمونيغه عمل قليب اوزى لشكرى برله كاشغرغه يوزلاندیلار كاشغر خلقى غه  
انكلانديكه خواجه آفاق سنكى<sup>10</sup> ديكان كافر برله كليپ دورميش لار ديب لشكر برله بباق  
سلطان<sup>11</sup> جيقب رو برو بولديلار قالماق لار غالب كليپ بباق سلطانغه اوق تكيب شهيد

<sup>7</sup> ذرّه (Turk 10); زرّه (C583, Turk. d.20); زرّه (B776); زرّه (4-1313); زرّه (Prov. 313, D127); زرّه (D191).

<sup>8</sup> خواسى دور من (Turk. d.20); خواجه سى دور من (4-1313, D127, C583, B776, Turk 10); سيدزاده سيدور من (C582, Prov. 313).

<sup>9</sup> بوشوكدى خان (C583, B776, Turk d.20); بشوكتى خان (Prov. 313);

بشكتى خان (C582); بشوكتى بو خان (Turk 10); بوشكداكى خان (D191).

<sup>10</sup> سنكى (C582, B776, Turk d.20, Turk 10, 4-1313, D191, C583, B776); سنكين (D127); بشوكتى (C582, Prov. 313).

<sup>11</sup> بباق سلطان (C583, B776, 4-1313, Prov. 313, Turk. d.20); بباق سلطان (D191, Turk 10); بوباق سلطان (C582).

بولدیلار آخر کاشغر خلقی اطاعت قیلدیلار کاشغرنی جابجا قلیب یارکندغه یوزلاندیلار یارکنددین اسماعیل خان لشکر عظیم برله بولارنیک الدیغه جقیب جنک توزدیلا لیکن فتح نصرت تقدیر ازلی برله خان طرفیدا ایرماس ایردی اول وجهدین یارکند حاکمی غه اوق تکیب شهید بولدی خان نور فراست برله بیلدیکه نحوست اوز طرفیدا و فتح ظفر بولار طرفیدا اکر بسیار جنک قیلشسه لار خلق غه آزار کوب بولادور بس بو وجه دین خان اوز نوکرلاری برله بو لشکر آدیغه چقتی لار لیکن خان اهل شهرکا وصیت قلیب ایردیکه بو ایکی مخدوم زاده نی باش قلیب شهرنی محکم توتقای سیزلار و شرط<sup>12</sup> قیلغای سیزلار که اکر اوز دینیمزجه<sup>13</sup> قویوب اوزومیزدین سردار قلیب قویسه نکیزلار دروازه نی اجادورمیز والا اجماس میز آخر الامر بو شرط لارنی قبول قیلغاندین کین دروازه نی آجتی لار حضرت نی تخت غه اولتورغوزوب<sup>14</sup> خواجه یحیی که خان خواجه دیر ایردیلا حضرت نینک اولوغ اوغلانلاریدور کاشغرغه اولتورغوزوب اسماعیل خاننی جمیع افرادی برله الیب یاندیلار اول ایردیکه ایلا تاغیدا خانلار مکان اقامت توتماقی

اما قالماقلار [f. 26a] یانورلاریدا حضرت خواجه آفاق اهل مملکت مشورتی برله قالماقلار بو خدمت لاریکا قوروغ و خالی یانماغای دیب مینک تون سر و پا برالی دیب

<sup>12</sup> شر (Turk. d.20) ; شرط (C583, D127, D191, Turk 10, 4-1313).

<sup>13</sup> دینی میزه (Turk. d.20) ; دینیمزدا (Turk 10) ; دینیمزجه (B776, C583, D191, Prov. 131).

<sup>14</sup> اولتورغوزوب (C583, Turk. d.20) ; اولتورغوزوب (Turk 10, D191, D127, B776, Prov.313) ; اولتورغوزدیلا (C582, 4-1313).

مینک تنکه حساب قلیب انعام ایلادیلار<sup>15</sup> کین اهل بدعت لار پیدا بولوب ساعه فساءه زیاده ایلادیلار اول ایردیکه بو وقت غجه تا انقراض عالم غجه رعایا و فقرا باشلاریدین بو بدعت خالی بولمایدور

حضرت خواجه آفاق تخت سلطنت دا بر قرار بولدیلار و غواص دریای معرفت ایردیلار لیکن خواجه لیق برله تخت سلطنت موافقت ایتمادی اول وجهیدین اسماعیل خان نینک انی سی محمد امین خاننی<sup>16</sup> طرفاندین<sup>17</sup> اتفاق برله الیب کلیب تخت سلطنت دا اولتورغوزدیلار محمد امین خان همشیره سینی خواجه آفاق غه نسبت تابغان ایردی حضرت کا دست ارادت قیلدی ایلا تاغیغه باریب قالماق لاردین بسیار کشی اسیر قلیب کلدی نچند توره لاری هم قولغه توشتی بر نجه مدتدین کین صوفیلار غالب و سرکش بولدی هر طریقه لیق اشلار بولا باشلادی حضرت انکلامادیلار چراکه مستغرق الهی ایردیلار محمد امین خان اوز وهمیدین قورقوب قاجب چقتی لار آخر خاننی اوز نوکرلاریدین بر کشی شهید قیلدی قالوا انا لله و انا الیه راجعون حضرت خواجه آفاق تخت سلطنت دا بر قرار بولدیلار

<sup>15</sup> مینک تون سرُ پا مینک تنکه حساب قلیب انعام ایلادیلار (Turk. d.20); مینک تون مینک تنکه قل حساب قلیب سر و پای انعام قیلدیلار (Prov. 313); منک تون منک تنکه که حساب قلیب سر پای بریدیلا (C582); مینک تون سر و فای برلی دیب منک تنکه حساب قلیب انعام ایلادیلار (Turk 10); مینک تون سر و پا برالی دیب مینک تنکه حساب قلیب انعام ایلادیلار (C583, B776); مینک تون سر و پای برالی دیب مینک تنکه حساب قلیب انعام بریدیلا (D127, 4-1313); مینک تون سر و پای برالی دیب مینک تنکه حساب قلیب انعام بریدیلا (D191).

<sup>16</sup> محمد امین خانی (Turk 10); محمد امین خاننی (Turk d.20); محمد ایمین خان نی (D191, C583 C582, B776, Prov.313); محمد خاننی (4-1313); محمد خان (D127).

<sup>17</sup> طرفاندین (Turk 10, Prov. 313, 4-1313, B776, C582, C583, D127, D191); طرفاندین (Turk. d.20).



**Group B** (Based on the Ms. ms. 3357, ff. 24b-27b)

فصل داستان ایشتماک کراک حضرت خوجه آفاق خوجم نی<sup>18</sup> اسماعیل خان  
 کاشقر دین اخراج قلیب چیقاریب ایردی بولار شهر بشهر یوروب کشمیر برله اوتوب جین  
 ملکیده جو<sup>19</sup> دیکان موضع غه باردیلار اندا کافرلار نینک برهمن شیخ لاری بار ایردی  
 که ریاضت برله کشف کرامات لار اورنیدا استدر اچ [f. 25a] لار کور ساتیب  
 کافرلارنی فریب بریب اوز مذهبی نی بر پاتوتار ایردی حضرت خوجه آفاق اندا  
 باریب کافرلار غه تورلوك تورلوك خارق عادت و کشف کرامات لار کورساتیب ایدیلار  
 کافرلار حیران بولوب همه جلالارینی یرکاتاشلاب اوز دین لاریچه مراقبه لار قلیب  
 حضرت خوجه آفاق عزیز غه ایمان نینک پناهیغه سیغنیب مراقبه دا و کشف کرامت دا  
 کافر لار غه غالب کلیب کافرلار انقیاد ایلاب سوال قیلدیلار که کیم دورسیز و قایسی  
 طرف دین کلور سیز حضرت ایدیلار که من مسلمانلار فرقه سی نینک خوجه سیدور  
 من یارکند کاشقر خلقی منینک مرید و مخلصیم دورلار حالا براو کلیب بو شهرلاردین منی  
 قو غلاب چیقاریب شهرنی سویوب الدی سیزدین التماس قیلادور من که کشی بویروب  
 [f. 25b] منینک یورتوم نی قولوم غه الیب برکای سیز برهمن شیخ لار<sup>20</sup> ایدیکه بو  
 یردین اول یرکا کشی بارماقی بسیار مشکل دور دیب ایلا داقی قالماق نینک توره سی کا  
 نامه پتیدیکه ای بوشود خان<sup>21</sup> خوجه آفاق بسیار اولوغ کشی ایکان یارکند کاشقر نینک  
 خوجه سی ایکان مونینک یورتینی اسماعیل خان سویوب الیب مونی قو غلاب چیقاریب  
<sup>18</sup> حضرت خواجه آفاق خواجه نی (Or. 9660); حضرت خواجه آفاق خواجه نی  
 (Or. 9662); حضرت خوجه آفاق خوجم نی (ms. 3357); حضرت خوجه آفاقی  
 (D126).

<sup>19</sup> چو (Or. 5338).<sup>20</sup> برهمن (ms. 3357, Or. 9660); شیخ لار (D126, Or. 5338); برهمن لار  
 (B770, Or. 9662).<sup>21</sup> بوشود خان (Or. 9660, Or. 9662, ms. 3357, D126, B770); شبور خان (Or. 5338).

دور كراك كه لشكر بويروب مونينك يورتيني قولیغه اليب برکای سيز والا اشكال بولغوسيدور نامه تمام

حضرت بو نامه نی اليب ايللا غه قالماق توره سی کا يتکورديلار بوشود خان کمال تواضع لار برله نامه مضمونيغه عمل قيليب تولا لشکر جمعی قيليب کاشقرغه يوز لاندی کاشقر خلقيغه انکلانديکه خوجه آفاق قالماق لشکری برله کلور ايميش اسماعيل خان نينک اوغلی باباق سلطان لشکر تارتيب چيقيب آخر باباق سلطان غه [f.26a] اوق تکیب شهيد بولدی قالماق لار غالب کليب کاشقر خلقي اطاعت قيلديلار کاشقرنی جا بجا<sup>22</sup> قيليب يار کندکا يوز لاندی اسماعيل خان لشکر عظيم برله چيقيب جنک قيلديلار يار کند حاکمی عوض بيک کا اوق تکیب شهيد بولدی خان بيلديکه نحوست اوز طرفی دا دور تولا جنک قيلسه لار خلق تولا اولادور بو جهت دين خان اوز نوکرلاری برله چيقيب برديلار اهل شهرکا وصيت قيليب ايديلار بو ايکی مخدوم زاده نی باش قيليب شهرنی محکم توتغای سيزلار شرط قيلشغای سيزلار که بيزنی اوز دينميزجه قويوب اوز خوجه لار يميزنی سردار قيلسانکيز لار دروازه اجا دورميز وآلا اجمعايميز ديب بو شرط کا قبول قيلدوروب دروازه نی اجتی لار حضرت خوجه آفاق خوجم نی تخت کا اولتور غوزديلار [f.26b] کاشقرغه حضرت خوجه آفاق نينک اولوغ اوغلی خوجه يحيی نی اولتور غوزديلار اسماعيل خان نی جميع توابع لاری برله توتوب اليب يانديلار ايلادا خان لار نينک مکان قيلماغی اندين دور

فصل داستان ايشتماک كراك قالماق لار دين بر نهجه کوندين کين<sup>23</sup> قالماق لار ايللا غه يانور بولديلار حضرت خوجه آفاق اهل مملکت نينک مشورتی برله قوروق

<sup>22</sup> جا بجا (B770, ms. 3357, Or. 9662, Or. 9660) ; سرانجام (D126, Or. 5338).

<sup>23</sup> کوندين کين (D126, B770, Or. 9662, Or. 9660, Or. 5338) ; کوندين (ms. 3357).

یانمغای دیب تورْت مینک تون سر و فا<sup>24</sup> برور بولوب تورْت مینک تنکه<sup>25</sup> انعام ایلادیلار<sup>26</sup> کیین اهل بدعت لار ساعهٔ فِساغهٔ زیاده قیلیب انقراض عالم غجه فقرا لار باشیدین بو آلبان<sup>27</sup> خالی بولمای هر آیدا تورْت مینک تنکه کا<sup>28</sup> توختادی

اما خوجه آفاق خوجه نجه مدت تخت سلطنت دا بر قرار بولدیلار دریای معرفت ایدیلار<sup>29</sup> لیکن خوجه لبق برله سلطنت رواج تاپمای [f.27a] اتفاق برله تورفاندین<sup>30</sup> اسماعیل خان نینک اینسی محمد ایمین خان نی الیب کلیم تخت دا اولتورغوزدیلار محمد ایمین خان نینک بر سینکلی سی بار ایردی خانیم پادشاه اتار ایردیلار انی خوجه آفاق غه نسبت قیلدیلار محمد ایمین خان حضرت غه دست ارادت قیلدیلار اندین خوجه آفاق خوجم نینک اتفاقی برله محمد ایمین خان ایلا تاغیغه باریب قالماق لاردین بسیار کشی نی اسیرلاب الیب کلدیلار نجه توره قالماق لار هم قول غه توشتی آخر الامر صوفی لار غالب بولوب سر کش لبق قیلیب فساد ایش لار تولا بولدی حضرت انکلامادیلار جرا که مستغرق الهی ایدیلار محمد ایمین خان اوز و همیدین قورقوب قاجیب چیقیب بدرکتی لار خان نی اوز نوکرلاردین بر کشی شهید قیلدی قَالُوا [f.27b] إِنَّا لِلَّهِ وَ إِنَّا إِلَيْهِ رَاجِعُونَ حضرت خوجه آفاق خوجم ینه تخت سلطنت کا اولتوردیلار

<sup>24</sup> سر و پای (Or. 9660) ; سر و فای (D126, Or. 5338) ; سر و فا (ms. 3357) ; سر پای (B770, Or. 9662).

<sup>25</sup> تنکه (Or. 5338, Or. 9662, ms. 3357, B770) ; تنکه که (D126) ; تنکه فل (Or. 9660).

<sup>26</sup> تورْت مینک تون سر و پای تورْت مینک تنکه انعام بردیلار (B770) ; تورْت مینک تون سر پای تورْت مینک تنکه انعام بردیلار (Or. 9662).

<sup>27</sup> باشیدین بو آلبان خالی (Or. 9660) ; باشیدین خالی (D126, ms. 3357, Or. 9662, Or. 5338).

<sup>28</sup> تنکه فل غه (Or. 9660).

<sup>29</sup> دریای معرفت ایدیلار (D126, ms. 3357, Or. 5338) ; دریایی معرفت ایدیلار (B770, Or. 9662) ; دریایی معرفت موج اورار ایردیلار (Or. 9660).

<sup>30</sup> تورفان دین (ms. 3357, Or. 9662) ; طورفاندین (D126, Or. 5338) ; تورغاندین (B770) ; ایلادین (Or. 9660).

**Group C** (Based on the Ms. Ind. Inst Turk 3, f. 20a-b)

اما (نقلی دور که)<sup>31</sup> افاق خواجه دین اشیتماک کراک عبد الله خان کاشقر دین  
 چیقاریب ایدی افاق خواجه چیقیب شهر جو غه باریب ملامانی نینک بتخانه سی نینک  
 اشیکیکا کلخن سالیب یاتی لار لامالار ایرته سی سوردیکه سین نمه کشی عبد الله خان  
 یورتومدین قوغلاق چیقاردی شونینکدین یورتومنی الیب برسانک دیدی دالایلاما<sup>32</sup> ایدی  
 آرالیغی اوزاق موندین بارغالی بولامدور دیدی افاق خواجه دیدیکه قالماق نینک توره  
 سیکا خط برسانکیز جریک قوشوب یورتومغه الیب باریب قویادور دیدی افاق خواجه من  
 باشلاب [f. 20b] بارسام یارکند کاشقرنی آغالی بولادور دیدی لامالار افاق خواجه غه  
 جریک قوشوب بریب یارکند کاشقرنی آغالی بولادور دیدی افاق خواجه غه جریک  
 قوشوب بریب یارکند کاشقرنی اوز تصرفونکلار غه السانکلار دیب قالماق نینک توره  
 سیکا خط بردی

بو خط نی افاق خواجه قالماق نینک توره سیکا الیب باریب قالماقنی کاشقر غه  
 باشلاب کلدی اسماعیل خان نینک اوغلانلاری باباق سلطان کاشقردا ایدی اولار چیقیب  
 جنک قیلدیلار باباق سلطاننی شهید قیلدی اندین یارکندکا باشلاب الیب کلدی اسماعیل  
 خانلیق باشلاب چیقیب یارکند خلقی جنک قیلدیلار یارکند حاکمی غه اوق تیکیب شهید  
 بولدی یارکندنی نه وقت قباب قالماقلار الدی اسماعیل خانلیق نی توتوب تاغقه  
 چیقاردی اولاد حیدری کرار حضرت مخدوم زاده خوجام نی ایکی شهزاده برله حج کا  
 چیقاردی افاق خواجه منی خواجه قیلسانکلار بو شهر لاردین<sup>33</sup> یوز منک تنکه الیب برای  
 دیدی قالماقلار بو سوزنی قبول قیلیب افاق خواجه نی خواجه قیلیب یاندی حالا بو وقت

<sup>31</sup> Three words in the parenthesis are not clear in the microfilm of Ind. Inst. Turk 3.

<sup>32</sup> دالایلامالار (or. fol. 3292).

<sup>33</sup> شهزاده لاردین (or. fol. 3292).

غجه يوز مينك تنكه بو يورتلار برا دور بو بد ايشلارنى افاق خواجه پيدا قىلدیلار

## References

- ABDURAHMAN, Amina, and JIN Yu-Ping 2000 “Une vue d’ensemble des manuscrits tchagatay du Xinjiang.” In *La mémoire et ses supports en Asie centrale*. Cahiers d’Asie centrale, no. 8. Tachkent and Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 35–62.
- AKIMUSHKIN, O. F. 1976 *Shah-Makhmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas*. Khronika. Moskva: Nauka.
- . 1984 “Khronologiya pravitelei vostochnoi chasti Chagataiskogo ulusa (liniya Tugluk-Timur-khana).” In B. A. LITVINSKII, ed. *Vostochnyi Turkestan i Srednyaya Aziya: Istoriya, kul’tura, svyazi*. Moskva: Nauka, 156–64, 224–25.
- BARANOVA, Yu. G. 2001 “Tazkira-yi khodzhagan.” In M. Kh. ABUSEITOVA, and Yu. G. Baranova *Pis’mennye istochniki po istorii i kul’ture Kazakhstana i Tsentral’noi Azii v XIII–XVIII vv. (biobibliograficheskie obzory)*. Almaty: Daik-Press, 328–47.
- BARTOLD, V. V. 1973 *Sochineniya*, vol. 8. Moskva: Nauka.
- DMITRIEVA, L. V., and S. N. MURATOV 1975 *Opisanie tyurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostoovedeniya*, vol. 2. Moskva: Nauka.
- HAMADA Masami 濱田正美 1993 「『塩の義務』と『聖戦』との間で」 “‘Shio no gimu’ to ‘seisen’ tono aida de” [Between the “duty of salt” and “Jihād”]. *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 52, no. 2: 122–48.
- HANEDA Akira 羽田明 1942 「明末清初の東トルキスタン—その回教史的考察」 “Min matsu Shin sho no Higashi Torukisutan: Sono Kaikyō shi teki kōsatsu” [Eastern Turkestan in the late Ming and the early Qing periods: An Islamic historical investigation]. *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 7, no. 5: 1–37.
- . 1982 『中央アジア史研究』 *Chūō Ajia shi kenkyū* [Studies on Central Asian history]. Kyoto: Rinsen shoten.
- HARTMANN, Martin 1905 “Ein Heiligenstaat im Islam: Das Ende der Čaghataiden und die Herrschaft der Choğas in Kašgarien.” In *Der islamische Orient*. vol. 1. Berlin: Wolf Peiser, 195–374. Repr., Amsterdam: Apa-Oriental Press, 1976.
- HOWORTH, H. H. 1876 *History of Mongols from the 9th to the 19th Century*, part 1. London: Longmans, Green, and Co. Repr., Taipei: Ch’eng Wen Publishing Company, 1970.
- ISHIHAMA Yumiko 石濱裕美子 2001 『チベット仏教世界の歴史的研究』 *Chibetto bukkyō sekai no rekishiteki kenkyū* [Historical reserch on Buddhism world of Tibet]. Tokyo: Tōhō shoten.
- ISMAIL, Bakhtiyar バフティヤール・イスマーイール 2008 「中国社会科学院民族学人類学研究所所蔵のチャガタイ語・ペルシア語写本」 “Chūgoku shakai kagaku in minzokugaku jinruigaku kenkyūsho shozō no Chagataigo Perushiago shahon” [The Chaghatay, Persian manuscripts in the Institute of Ethnology & Anthropology, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences], *Nairiku Ajia shi kenkyū* 23: 139–151.
- MIYAWAKI Junko 宮脇淳子 1991 「オイラット・ハーンの誕生」 “Oiratto Hān no tanjō” [The birth of the Oyrat Khanship]. *Shigaku zasshi* 100, no. 1: 36–73.
- . 1995 『最後の遊牧帝国—ジューンガル部の興亡』 *Saigo no yūboku teikoku: Jūngaru bu no kōbō* [The last nomadic empire: Rise and fall of the Zunghar]. Tokyo: Kōdansha.
- MUGINOV, A. M. 1962 *Opisanie uigurskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii*. Moskva: Izdatel’stvo vostochnoi literatury.
- Muhāmmād Sadiq Qāshqāri 1988 *Tāzkirā-i āzizan*. Nijat MUKHLIS, and Shāmsidin

- ÄMÄT ed. Qāshqār: Qāshqār Uyghur Nāshriyati.
- NURMANOV, Aytjan 2006 *Qazaqstan Tarikhī Turalı Türkī Derektmeleri IV tom. Mükhammed-Sadiq Qashghari, Tazkira-yi 'Azizan*, Almatī: Dayk-Press.
- PAPAS, Alexandre 2005 *Soufisme et politique entre Chine, Tibet et Turkestan: Étude sur les Khwāja naqshbandī du Turkestan oriental*. Paris: Librairie d'Amérique et d'Orient, Jean Maisonneuve.
- SALAKHETDINOVA, M. A. 1959 "Sochinenie Mukhammed-Sadyka Kashgari 《Tazkira-i-khodzhagan》 kak istochnik po istorii kirgizov". *Izvestiya Akademii nauk Kirgizskoi SSR* (Frunze) 1, no. 1 (Istoriya): 93–125.
- SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔 1981 「カーシュガル・ハーン家とベグ達——17世紀中葉の東トルキスタン」 "Kāshugaru Hān ke to Begu tachi: 17 seiki chūyō no Higashi Torukisutan" [Kashghar Khanids and Begs: An essay on the history of Eastern Turkestan in the middle of the 17th century]. *Machikaneyama ronsō: Shigaku hen* 15: 3–22.
- . 1991 「『タズキラ・イ・ホージャガン』研究についての覚書」 "'Tazukira i hōjagān" kenkyū ni tsuite no oboegaki" [Some remarks on studies of the *Tadhkira-i khwajagan*]. *Tezukayama gakuin tanki daigaku kenkyū nenpō* 39: 1–15.
- SAWUT, Tursunmuhämmät, and Dilara ABLIMIT 2001 "Tilgha elinmighan täzkiräsi". *Shinjang täzkirichiliki* (Urumchi) 1: 39–49.
- SHAW, Robert Barkley, and Ney ELIAS 1897 "The History of the Khōjas of Eastern-Turkistān: Summarised from the Tazkira-i-Khwājagan of Muḥammad Sādiq Kāshgharī." By Robert Barkley Shaw; edited with introduction and notes by N. Elias. Supplement to the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 66, part 1: 1–6, 1–67.
- VALIKHANOV, Ch. Ch. 1962 *Sobranie sochinenii v pyati tomakh*, vol. 2. Alma-Ata: Izdatel'stvo Akademii nauk Kazakhskoi SSR.
- WAKAMATSU Hiroshi 若松寛 1970 「センゲ支配期のジュンガル汗国の内乱」 "Senge shihaiki no Jungaru kankoku no nairan" [Rebellion in Jegün ghar during Sengge's reign]. *Yūboku shakaishi tankyū* (Tokyo) 42: 1–16.
- ZARCONI, Thierry 1996 "Soufis d'Asie centrale au Tibet aux XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> siècles." In *Inde-Asie centrale: Routes du commerce et des idées*. Cahiers d'Asie centrale, nos. 1–2. Tachkent and Aix-en-Provence: Édisud, 325–44.
- ZLATKIN, I. Ya. 1983 *Istoriya Dzhungarskogo khanstva 1635–1758*. 2nd ed. Moskva: Nauka. (1-1)