

# Addendum to the Turkic Translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf

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## Part I (Amanbek Jalilov)

Manuscript no. 10191 in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Republic of Uzbekistan, comprises the translation into *Turkī* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, a well-known work written in Persian in the period 1541–46 by Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Doghlāt b. Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥusayn Koragan (1499–1551).<sup>1</sup>

The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is a valuable resource describing the history of Central Asia, Eastern Turkestan, Afghanistan, and northern India from the 14th to the first half of the 16th centuries. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf translated it into *Turkī* in the beginning of the 19th century, and wrote a supplement or addendum (*ilāwa*) to it at that time.

The covers of Manuscript no. 10191 are carton board bound in yellow leather, and the paper is Khotan or Qoqand paper. The dimensions are 20.5 × 30cm, and it has 422 folios. Every leaf has 18 lines of text on it, and the writing is in the *Nasta‘īq* style. The main text is in black ink, and the chapter titles in red ink. Folio 62a–65a gives the contents of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and its *ilāwa*, 66b–69b provides

<sup>1</sup> Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, historian and senior statesman, born in 1499–1500. His father, Muḥammad Ḥusayn Koragan, ruled Oratepa from 1495 during the rule of the Moghūlistān Khān, Sulṭān Maḥmūd Khān (1487–1508). In 1508, his father was killed on the order of Shaybānī Khān. In 1509, Mīrzā Ḥaydar moved to Bukhārā, Badakhshān, and afterwards to Qābul where his maternal aunt’s son, Zāhir al-Dīn Muḥammad Bābur, lived, and stayed there for three years. After that he went to serve Sulṭān Sa‘īd Khān (1514–33), the grandson of Yūnus Khān, the Khān of the Yārkanḍ Khanate. He participated in the campaigns of the Khān, and was responsible for the education of Sulṭān Sa‘īd Khān’s son, ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khān. After ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khān was enthroned, he realized the Khān was hostile to the Doghlāt family and left Yārkanḍ, going first to Badakhshān and Lahore, and then in 1539–40 to Humāyūn Mīrzā (1530–56), the son of Bābur, in Agra, with whose assistance he subdued Kashmīr and ruled it from 1540–51. In 1551 he died in Kashmīr. Between 1541–46 he wrote the well-known *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. He is also known for his work, the *Jahān Nāma*, and for his poetry collections.

the translator's introduction, 69b–344a contains the *Turkī* translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, and 344a–416a is the addendum by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf.

Based on the information given in folio 69 of the manuscript in prose and verse, at the order of the great-grandson of Amīn Khwāja Wāng,<sup>2</sup> and the son of Mīr Tāhir, the *ḥākim* of Kāshghar, Amīr Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākim beg,<sup>3</sup> the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was completed by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf and the *ilāwa* written in 1253 of the Islamic calendar (AD 1837–38). Because the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian and the Turkic peoples of Moghūliya<sup>4</sup> were unaware of it, the *ḥākim* ordered an urgent translation of it into *Turkī* so that all, from ordinary people to civil servants and public servants (*amaldār wa davlat arbāb*), would be able to read it. It is clear that the above labors were undertaken in response to this command. However, little is known of the life or creative activities of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf. From the statement in the manuscript that Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf is a *pīr*, it is believed that he was in the rank of a teacher (*ustād*) and was of advanced years.

Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf completed his assigned task skillfully, and in his translation avoided using Arabic or Persian terms as much as possible. The verses are rendered in *Turkī*, and a high literary standard is maintained. Another important achievement of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf was the addendum he wrote to the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The translator, as a historian, appended events up to the 1840s, continuing the recording of events from 1546, where the author, Mīrzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar Doghlāt, writing the history of Central Asia and particularly Eastern Turkestan, had left off.

We will here discuss prior studies concerning the addendum to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The first information on this addendum was provided by the Institute named after Abū Rayhān Bīrūnī of the Republic of Uzbekistan Academy of Sciences in vol. 7 of *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei* (Details of Oriental Manuscripts), published by the Institute.<sup>5</sup> Subsequently, the late Mahmud Kutlukov, Orientalist and Professor of History, used this addendum to write a history of Eastern Turkestan, and translated some of the sections into Russian.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>2</sup> *Wāng*, sometimes translated “prince” or “king,” here represents the first rank in the peerage hierarchy of the Qing dynasty. The Qing court granted these ranks to certain high officials of Inner Asian descent, even including some unrelated to the Manchu ruling family.

<sup>3</sup> Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākim Beglik: *Ḥākim beg* of Kāshghar from 1830 to 1848.

<sup>4</sup> Moghūliya: Another term for Moghūlistān, a region that included the eastern portion of the Chaghatay ulus, in other words the area from Tashkent to Barikol, the region from Kāshghar in Eastern Turkestan to Lukchun, a large region where the Manglay subī and Jungar migrated, and modern Kyrgyzstan and the Yette Su region of Kazakhstan.

<sup>5</sup> *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei AN UzSSR*, vol. 7. Tashkent: Nauka, 1964, pp. 26, 29.

<sup>6</sup> KUTLUKOV, Mahmud 1988 “Iz vlecheniya iz prilozheniya k «Tarikh-i Rashidi»”, in *Materialy po istorii Srednei i Tsentral'noi Azii X–XIX vv.*, Tashkent: Fan, pp. 310–14.

The addendum to the Turkic translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* can be divided into two parts on the basis of its contents. The first half is based on the works of historians who were alive up to the time of the author, which is combined with a history with documentation for events from 1546 to the 18th century. The latter half explains, on the basis of reports that Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf personally saw and heard, the events in Eastern Turkestan, particularly the conquest of the Yārkaṇd Khanate by the Jungars and the Qing Dynasty, and political activities of the Eastern Turkestan people under the rule of the Qing dynasty. Regarding the conditions under the Qing authorities, Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākīm Beg is presented as a just man who devoted himself to the development of the Kāshghar region (*wilāyat*), brought prosperity to the cities (*shahr*) and towns (*qishlaq*), improved the cultural education of the people, and loved the citizenry. To support that point, the author describes the policies Zuhūr al-Dīn enacted and their results.

By comparing the addendum to other historical works, it is clear that in writing the first portion of the book the author made use of such works as the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* (History of Kāshghar), author unknown; the *Tārīkh-i Churās* (History of Churās) or the *Tārīkh* (History) by Shāh Maḥmūd Churās;<sup>7</sup> the *Hidāyat Nāma* of Mīr Khāl al-Dīn Yārkaṇdī,<sup>8</sup> the *Tadhkira-i khwājagān* of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī,<sup>9</sup> and the historian Mullā Mīr Šālih's *Chingiz Nāma*, and Mīr Sayyid Sharīf Rāqim Samarqandī's *Tārīkh-i Rāqimī*, a history of Central Asia from 1370 to 1645. This is borne out by the fact that the chapter titles of the work resemble the content of the chapter titles of the above books, and some of the content itself is identical. However, the addendum by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf is a uniquely

<sup>7</sup> Shāh Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāḍil Churās: A Uyghur historian living and active in the 17th century, he wrote *Tārīkh-i Shāh Maḥmūd Churās* in 1676 (AKIMUSHKIN, O. F. 1976 *Shah-Makhdud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, Khronika*, Moskva: Nauka), and (probably) *Uns al-ṭālibi* in 1696. Shāh Maḥmūd Churās understood Arabic and Persian, and had a deep knowledge of Sufism (*tasawwuf*). He was a scholar familiar with many works on religion and philosophy.

<sup>8</sup> Mīr Khāl al-Dīn al-Khaṭīb Yārkaṇdī: Son of Mawlānā Qāḍī Shāh Kochak al-Yārkaṇdī, and a scholar well-versed in Sufism. He took Āfāq Khwāja as his teacher and served and studied with him and his descendants for 42 years. After reaching the age of 60, he departed the Āfāq Khwāja family and devoted himself to creative endeavors. Mīr Khāl al-Dīn was also a historian who wrote the *Hidāyat Nāma* about the activities of Āfāq Khwāja and his descendants in 1720–30. He was one of the loyal murīds whom Āfāq Khwāja most trusted.

<sup>9</sup> Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī: Born to a peasant family in Kāshghar in 1740; died in 1849. A famous Uyghur historian, poet, and translator. In 1817 he wrote *Durr al-maḥzar* (also called *Tadhkira-i Khwājagān* or *Tadhkira-i 'azizān*), and later wrote *Tadhkira-i Aṣḥāb al-kahf* (1840) and *Iskandarīya wa tājnāma-i shāhī* (1844). He was an accomplished translator who translated the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* from Arabic and the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* from Persian.

important historical resource.

1. This work provides valuable information on Central Asia and Eastern Turkestan from 1546 to the 1840s regarding Tughliq Timūr Khān, the descendant of Chaghatay; the descendants of the Timūrid, Shaybānid and Ashtarkhānid Dynasties; the Yārkaṅd Khanate; the descendants of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam Khwāja Aḥmad bin Jalāl al-Dīn Kāsānī; civil servants (*amaldār*), *‘ulamā*, *shaykh*, *mashāyikhānd* and others; poets (*shā‘ir*); and calligraphers (*khaṭṭāt*). Detailed information is given about historical figures and their social roles.

In particular, this work gives the lives and brief descriptions of the creative efforts of ‘Abd Allāh ibn Kuchkunjik Khān (345b), Baraq Khān (346a), and ‘Abd al-‘Azīz Khān (346a); several khans of the Yārkaṅd Khanate, including ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khān (359a), ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān (362b), Shujā’ al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān (376b), ‘Abd Allāh Khān (387a) the son of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, Yolbars Khān (391b), Ismā‘īl Khān (392a), Muḥammad Mu‘min Sulṭān (397b); as well as other men, including scholars (*shaykh*) Mawlānā Kamāl al-Dīn Abū al-Khayr (344a), Rūmī (348a), Mawlānā Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn Bayḍāwī (351b), Shaykh Kapūr Majdhūb, Mullā Mushfiqī (360b), Mavlānā ‘Urfī (361b), and Ḥaḍrat-i Ākhund Mullā Yūsuf (380a).

2. The addendum by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf is important for researching unsolved and little studied points of this period, notably regarding historical events in Eastern Turkestan from the 16th century to the 1840s. One such problem concerns the relationship between the Jungar Khanate (1635–1755) and the Yārkaṅd Khanate. From material in the addendum, we may conclude that the Jungar did not incorporate the Yārkaṅd Khanate under them and collect *dan* (= *olpan* i.e. *alban*) tax from the time of the reign of Galdan Bushuktu (1671–97), but rather began to do so only in the reign of Tsewan Rabtan (1697–1727); in other words, only from 1713, after the reign of Muḥammad Mu‘min Khān, or Aqbash Khān (1699–1706).

3. The addendum by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf discusses the activities of the descendants of Makhdūm-i A‘ẓam in the Yārkaṅd Khanate. In other words, detailed information is given (chapters 271–78) about Āfāq (Khwāja Ḥidāyat Allāh), the son of Khwāja Muḥammad Yūsuf and descendant of Khwāja Kalān, and his sons Khwāja Yahyā and Khwāja Aḥmad, and Khwāja Aḥmad’s son Khwāja Burhān al-Dīn and Khwāja Jahān (Aq Taghliq), as well as the sons of Dāniyāl Khwāja and descendants of Khwāja Ishāq Walī, Khwāja Ya‘qūb, Khwāja Yūsuf, Khwāja Nizām al-Dīn (Khwāja Khāmūsh), and Khwāja ‘Abd Allāh (Qara Taghliq).

4. The second half of the addendum notes, for the following *hākim begs* or *wāngs* appointed to Kāshghar by the Qing Dynasty, what benefits were given to Eastern Turkestan and its peoples, how they lost their reigns or died, and much more: Mūsā Gong Beg (reigned 3 years, folio 402a), Gadāy Muḥammad Gong Beglik (reigned 12 years, folio 403a), Satip Aldi Beglik (reigned 3 years, folio 403a), ‘Uthmān Beyse Beglik (reigned 13 years, folios 403b–404b), Iskandar

Wāng Beglik (reigned 25 years, folios 405a–406b), Yūnus Wāng Beglik (reigned 2 years, folio 406b), Yūsuf Hākīm Beglik (reigned 2 years, folio 407a), Ishāq Beglik (reigned 2 years, folios 407a–407b, 408b, 409a–409b), ‘Umar Beglik (reigned 5 years, folio 407b), Muḥammad Sa‘īd Wāng beglik, son of Farīdūn Wāng Beglik (reigned 6 years, folios 407b–408a), and Zuhūr al-Dīn Hākīm Beglik (reigned 18 years, folios 410a–416a). This information is not found in any other manuscripts or printed sources.

Chapter 289 of this work, entitled “The chapter on Mīr Zuhūr al-Dīn Ṭājī Hākīm Beglik seated on the throne of Kāshghar, and his circumstances and actions,” describes the activities and achievements of the aforementioned Zuhūr al-Dīn Hākīm Beg. According to the text, after his enthronement Zuhūr al-Dīn brought the country to prosperity and created a new order. He gave homes to refugees who had lost their homes. He had the old customs maintained. In order to raise the level of students studying in the towns and villages, in 1248H (AD 1832–33) he constructed a *madrasa* facing the sacred tomb of Ḥaḍrat-i Sayyid Jalāl al-Dīn Baghdādī. In 1250H (AD 1834–35), in an arid region (*zamīn-i mavot*) in Yandama thirty-seven chaqirim south of Kāshghar in a place located in Qaraqir in the region of Kāshghar, he brought water from Qizil daryā and reclaimed the land. In the same year, he created a canal (*ustang*) from Yamanyār, a right-side tributary of the Qizil daryā, and irrigated such arid places as Shaftuljāy ariqi (brook) and Ghaltara, included in Qizil boyi located to the southeast of Kāshghar. There is, moreover, a surprising report that in 1254H (AD 1838–39), in the Year of the Boar, he built a canal from the River Tömān to undeveloped land in part of Arawan, and converted it to agricultural land.

Folios 411–416 of the manuscript, under the title, “The *waqf* management of the *madrasa* discussed in this book,” there is an insertion of a copy of the *waqf-nāma* of Zuhūr al-Dīn Hākīm Beg. This *waqf-nāma* provides important and reliable information for understanding land and water issues in Eastern Turkestan, particularly modes of ownership. For example, according to the information in this *waqf-nāma*, for the *madrasa* constructed in the southeast of the sacred tomb of Ḥaḍrat-i Jalāl al-Dīn Baghdādī in Faynab *kent* located in Sarmand (Saman) on the outskirts of Kāshghar, Zuhūr al-Dīn Ṭājī Hākīm Beglik made the following properties *waqf*: 48 *batmān*<sup>10</sup> of *ṣāliḥ* and non-*ṣāliḥ* (*ghayr-i ṣāliḥ*) land in the residence of Sariq toghraq located in Khān-ariq; 4 *batmān* and 2 *charak* of land in Jayunchi located in Sarmand; 7 *ghalwer* and 12 *charak* of land in Shamāl bāgh located in Sarmand; 1 *ghalwer* and 6 *charak* of land and 4 residences near the *madrasa*; 30 *batmān* of *ṣāliḥ* and non-*ṣāliḥ* land located in Qaraqir; one *langar*

<sup>10</sup> *Batmān*: A unit of length or weight. In Eastern Turkestan, one *batmān* is the equivalent of 57.3kg. The expression “one *batmān* of land” refers to land from which one *batmān* of harvested crops is anticipated.

with 20 *batmān* of arid *ṣāliḥ* land located in Erambāgh, irrigated by a canal from the River Tömān; one mill at Shanar on the Yupurgha canal; one mill at Janga *tughi*; one mill at the *tugh* of Tokhta Bāqī Shaykh Ākhund; one mill at the Langqaliq *tughi*; one mill at Ḥalāl *tughi*, one mill at Khānqum; 4 mills at Qaqchi located in Tazghun; 2 mills by Tonbegi Niyāz; 4 mills at Tartur; 2 mills newly established in front of Bāj-khāna; 2 mills at Yamanyār located in Qizil-boyi; 2 mills at the Khushābād canal; a half of mill at the river Chalaq Jilgha; 2 mills at the Ābād canal; 4 mills at Erambāgh; in total 29.5 mills (*tegirmān*) mentioned above; a bathhouse (*hammām*) built next to the Qara-qol Gate in the city of Kāshghar suitable for use during all four seasons; one *langar* built in the north of the *madrasa*; 2 *charak* mulberry fields (*ūjmālik*) south of the *madrasa*. He donated this real estate, which had been his personal property, as *waqf-i muṭlaq*.

According to the *waqf-nāma*, it is also clear that Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākīm Beg added and made into *waqf-i awlād* one residence with a half-*batmān* garden in Faynab *kent* located in Sarmand, one *batmān* of clover fields, one residence with thirty-five *batmān* of land in Fakhtakla, as well as five mills with two plows (*pay soqa*) at Qaraqir. The *waqf-nāma* contains clauses clearly defining the manager (*mutawallī*) of the properties thus converted into *waqf*, and regarding the use of the income derived from *waqf* properties. For example, in one *madrasa* one instructor (*mudarris*), fourteen students (*tālib* 'ilm), one *khalifa*, one *imām*, one *mu'adhdhin*, thirty Qur'ān readers (*qārī*), one custodian (*jarībkash*, *farrāsh*), and one *mutawallī* were appointed. It is made clear that these *shaykh* would either each receive a percentage of the income or harvest generated by the *waqf* properties, or a percentage would be given to the descendants of the person who initiated the *waqf*.

The copies of the *waqf-nāma* inserted in the addendum to the *Turkī* translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* prove that even after Eastern Turkestan was conquered by the Qing dynasty, property ownership and types of *waqf* that had existed under the Yārkand Khanate continued to exist, and that they were divided into such modalities as *waqf-i muṭlaq* or *waqf-i awlād*. The conditions of the *waqf* in the *waqf-nāma* are an aid in clarifying the features of each type of property ownership. Some of the information in particular concerns the annual expenditures of the *madrasa*, place names in the vicinity of Kāshghar, the peoples and nationalities who lived there, personal names and titles, and so on.

Stated in different terms, the addendum, together with the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, is an important historical resource reflecting the 16th to mid-19th century history of Eastern Turkestan, a portion of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, and northern India.

## Part II (Shinmen Yasushi)

In Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s historical narrative, folios 400a–411a constitute a unique section. These cover the history of Xinjiang and, in particular, Kāshghar from the mid-18th century through 1830, including the appearance of Burhān al-Dīn Khwāja, the reigns of the Makhdūmzāda Afāqī Khwājas of the *Aq taghliq* faction in the region of Alti-shahr, the Qing conquest, and the situation in Kāshghar under Qing rule. The greatest value of the author’s historical narrative lies in his treatment of the era relatively close to his own lifetime, including a period not covered in other histories by Uyghurs. Below, I will examine this portion, making partial reference to edited Chinese records, and giving a basic discussion of the features of the narrative and an indication of its value as a historical source.

### 1. The Activities of Burhān al-Dīn Khwāja and the begs

Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s narrative of the Qing conquest of Eastern Turkestan is unique in its relatively detailed treatment of the activities of Burhān al-Dīn Khwāja. Of particular note is its discussion regarding his relationship with the *begs*, the potentates of Uyghur society.

First, it treats the *begs* who cooperated with the Qing from the earliest stage after the overthrow of the Jungar regime by the Manchus. The Qing released Burhān al-Dīn from Jungar imprisonment, and he left Ili for Southern Xinjiang with the Qing army, aiming to wrest the region from the political influence of the Ishāqī *khwājas* of the Makhdūmzāda. According to Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf, at that time such potentates as Hadī Beg of Kucha, Gadāy Muḥammad Beg of Bāy and his son ‘Abd al-Raḥmān Beg, Aq Beg, and Satip Aldi Beg, along with Khwāja Naṣīr Beg of Ay köl went to Burhān al-Dīn intending to join him. Burhān al-Dīn, when crossing the Tianshan Mountains from the Ili region, was advised by Gadāy Muḥammad Beg to pass through Kök Äynäk daban (pass) and not the Muzart daban. The Kök Äynäk daban lay under heavy snows, however, and Burhān al-Dīn lost much wealth while passing through. Fearing the wrath of Burhān al-Dīn after that debacle, the *begs* were said to have fled to the Qing side.<sup>11</sup>

Qing historical records indicate that these begs belonged to the ranks of the local potentates who proactively joined the Qing. According to the *Qinding pingding Zhungaer fanglue* (欽定平定準噶爾方略), in the fifth month of the 21st year of Qianlong (1756) the Muslim beg Gadāy Muḥammad (噶岱默特) along with a beg identified as Wudi (烏第) came to join the Qing. The records indicate that after that, Gadāy Muḥammad was an active supporter of the Qing: He and Wudi

<sup>11</sup> 10191, ff. 400a–400b.

actively supported the Qing in its military confrontation with Burhān al-Dīn.<sup>12</sup> Gadāy Muḥammad Beg was granted the rank of *gong* (公品級), Hadi Beg that of *beile* (貝勒品級), and Satip Aldi Beg that of *beizi* (貝子品級). They and their descendants thus received special treatment under Qing rule. Mullā Mūsā's *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī* also includes a partial description of these begs.<sup>13</sup>

A study by Onuma Takahiro throws further light on political change in the middle of the 18th century in Eastern Tukistan based on the confessions of Khwāja Sīr Beg and his son Muẓaffar Beg, contained in the Qing archives.<sup>14</sup> These confessions show that although Burhān al-Dīn began his activities under Qing supervision, after his brother Khwāja Jahān left Ili and arrived in Southern Xinjiang, the Āfāqī khwājas as a party obviously began to oppose the Qing, sometime between the third and fifth months of the 21st year of Qianlong (1756). If Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf's descriptions correspond to historical fact, then it seems that begs who were at first under the control of the Ishāqī khwājas planned to join the Āfāqī khwājas once Burhān al-Dīn was released and, supported by the Qing, enter into open hostilities against the Ishāqīs. In fact, however, these begs came to oppose Burhān al-Dīn while his advance toward southern Xinjiang was still in its early stage, and afterwards they supported the Qing just as Burhān al-Dīn's group turned on the Qing.

Such descriptions by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf about the begs not only are not in variance with the Qing historical records, but include material not found in them. On the other hand, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf fails to mention the fact that Burhān al-Dīn advanced to Southern Xinjiang with a Qing army, or that he began to oppose the Qing after his brother Khwāja Jahān arrived in the south. Why he omitted these facts is not apparent; however, although Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf neither admires Burhān al-Dīn's activities nor emphasizes his religious authority, in omitting these facts the account resembles the other 19th century work on Burhān al-Dīn's activities written by a Turkic Muslim author who is supposed to have been

<sup>12</sup> After his submission, the Qing authorities sent questions to Gadāy Muḥammad concerning the unclear situation in southern Xinjiang. In the ninth month of the 21st year of Qianlong, Qing sources note that a person named A-pu-du-er-man 阿卜都爾滿 traveled to Beijing to report on the Muslims in various regions. We conjecture that this person was the 'Abd al-Rahmān Beg, Gadāy Muḥammad's son, who appears in the descriptions by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf. (*Qinding pingding Zhungaer fanglüe* 『欽定平定準噶爾方略』, "Zhengpian" 正編, 32 juan, f. 14b.).

<sup>13</sup> Molla Musa Sayrami 1988, *Tarikhi Hämidi*, Nāshrigā täyyarlighuchi, Änwär Baytur tr., Beijing: Millätlär nāshriyati, p.145.

<sup>14</sup> ONUMA Takahiro 小沼孝博 2001 「在京ウイグル人の供述から見た 18 世紀中葉カシュガリア社会の政治変動」 "Zaikyō Uigurujin no kyōjutsu kara mita 18 seiki chūyō Kashugaria shakai no seijiteki hendō," *Manzokushi kenkyū* 1, pp. 51–52.



a supporter of Āfāqī khwājas.<sup>15</sup>

Secondly, besides those *begs* mentioned above, there were other *begs* who performed vital roles within Burhān al-Dīn's regime after he assumed political power. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf's narrative includes passages on the *ḥākīm begs* appointed to the oases under Burhān al-Dīn; these passages hint at the *ḥākims'* connections with other *begs*. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf lists those *ḥākims* as 'Abd Wahhāb Beg, the elder brother of Khwāja Sīr Beg, assigned to Yārkaṅd; Khwāja Sīr Beg assigned in Khotan; Taghliq 'Abd Karīm Beg in Kucha; 'Umar Beg, a man of Ay Kōl, in Aqsu; and Muẓaffar Beg, the son of Khwāja Sīr Beg, in Ush.<sup>16</sup> The Qing records are identical regarding these appointments, with the exception of the *ḥākīm* of Aqsu.<sup>17</sup> In other words, it can be surmised that at that point in time a portion of the most influential *begs* maintained close relations with Burhān al-Dīn, and were appointed to the major oases, where they enjoyed great influence under that political regime.

As Onuma points out, the fact that Khwāja Sīr Beg, 'Abd Wahhāb Beg and their sons were appointed *ḥākims* of the main oasis regions under Āfāqī khwājas' administration indicates that the khwājas could not interfere with them because they were the influential ruling class who had ruled the Aqsu region and its surroundings since before the Āfāqī khwājas' rise to power.<sup>18</sup> However, it is also clear that 'Abd Wahhāb Beg enjoyed a close relationship with Burhān al-Dīn. The Qing authorities permitted the advance of Burhān al-Dīn, who had been imprisoned by the Jungars at Ili, into southern Xinjiang. They did so in response to the *ḥākīm* of Aqsu, one 'Abd Beg (阿卜都伯克), who proposed that the Qing dispatch its army and Burhān al-Dīn to the Aqsu region to resist the power of the Ishāqī khwājas.<sup>19</sup> This 'Abd Beg is unquestionably 'Abd Wahhāb Beg. It is clear that afterwards he also accompanied Burhān al-Dīn in turning against the Qing in southern Xinjiang.<sup>20</sup> In a 19th century manuscript believed to have been produced by supporters of the Āfāqīs, there is a passage which states that when the Qing army attacked Yārkaṅd, 'Abd Wāb (Wahhāb) told Burhān al-Dīn that it would be a worthy project to kill infidels, and advised ferocity against the army of the "Khāqān of the Chīn" (the

<sup>15</sup> SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康 and SUGAWARA Jun 菅原純 2002 「カシュガル・ホージャ家アーファーク統の活動の一端——ヤーリング・コレクション Prov.219 について」『Kashugaru Hōjake Āfākūtō no katsudō no ittan: Yāringu korekushon Prov.219 ni tsuite,』*Tōyōshi kenkyū* 61, no. 3, pp. 33–63.

<sup>16</sup> 10191, f. 401a.

<sup>17</sup> *Qinding waifan Menggu Huibu wanggong biao* 欽定外藩蒙古回部王公表傳, 116 juan, no. 100, “郡王品級多羅貝勒霍集斯列伝”; Onuma 2001: 54–55.

<sup>18</sup> Onuma 2001: 53, 56.

<sup>19</sup> *Qinding pingding Zhungaer fanglüe*, “Zhengpian”, 14 juan, ff. 37a–37b.

<sup>20</sup> HARTMANN, Martin 1905 *Der Islamische Orient*, vol. 1, Berlin: Wolf Peiser Verlag, pp. 259–70.

Chinese Emperor, i.e. the Qing Emperor).<sup>21</sup> At the least, it is certain that the author of this 19th century manuscript, also a resident of the area, perceived ‘Abd Wahhāb Beg as a person intimate with and faithful to Burhān al-Dīn.

On the other hand, according to the work of Tōru Saguchi, ‘Abd Wahhāb Beg’s younger brother Khwāja Sīr Beg was clearly attempting to gain the favor of the Qing. When the antagonism between the Qing and the khwāja brothers reached a critical point, Khwāja Sīr Beg and his son separated themselves from Burhān al-Dīn, and actively welcomed the Qing military advances.<sup>22</sup> As has already been noted by Kutlukov, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s account notes that Khwāja Sīr Beg and his son, Muẓaffar Beg, led a revolt against Burhān al-Dīn and shifted their allegiance to the Qing.<sup>23</sup>

As noted above, the distinctive value of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s historical narrative lies in its presentation, as a historical record written by a local person, of the activities of important Uyghur personalities in such circumstances as the grasping of political power by Burhān al-Dīn Khwāja, the administration of Kāshghar, and the antagonism towards and war with the Qing. The narrative is terse but important because while in basic agreement with Qing records, it also provides important information on the circumstances leading to the *begs*’ betrayal of Burhān al-Dīn and shift of their allegiance to the Qing. The author has no particular affiliation or bias towards either the Makhdūmzāda *Khwājas*, the Qing, or the powerful *begs*. Rather, his narrative takes a relatively neutral tone.

## 2. The Historical ḥākīm begs of Kāshghar

Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s narrative also discusses the period after the Qing smashed the power of Burhān al-Dīn, took the southern oases of Xinjiang, and began administrating Eastern Turkestan. He describes the Kāshghar *ḥākīm begs* in chronological order, providing for each their background, achievements, and local conditions in each period. The most notable feature of this section is his detailed discussion of the *ḥākīm begs*’ backgrounds and lineages. While partially duplicating the description of Prof. Jalilov, I would like to provide some further information below. (N.b.: the abbreviation “T” below indicates persons of the *qunwang* (郡王) family of Turfan (吐魯番), and “K” indicates descendants of Hadī Beg of Kucha.)

<sup>21</sup> *Tadhkira-i Khān Khwājam* in the Jarring collection (Lund University Library), Prov.219, section 10.

<sup>22</sup> KHODJAEV, A. 1991 *Tsinskaya Imperiya i Vostochnyi Turkestan v XVIII v.*, Tashkent: Fan, p. 84.

<sup>23</sup> KUTLUKOV, Mahmud 1987 “Iz istorii mezhdunarodnykh svyazei v Tsentral’noi Azii v 1755–1859 gg.”, in *Iz istorii Srednei Azii i Vostochnogo Turkestana XV–XIX vv.*, Tashkent: Fan, pp. 59–82.

- [1] Mūsā Gong Beg (T)
- [2] Gadāy Muḥammad Gong Beg. Born in Bāy. Died in 1185H (1771/72)
- [3] Satip Aldi Beglik. Born in Aqsu, son of Cherikchi Qādī Beg. First, Kāshghar *Hākīm* for three years; later he served as *Hākīm* of Yārkaṅd in 1188H (1774/75)
- [4] ‘Uthmān Beise Beglik (K). Born in Kucha, son of Hadī Beyle Beglik. *Hākīm* for thirteen years. Died in 1202H (1787/88).
- [5] Iskandar Wāng Beglik (T). Son of Amīn Khwāja. *Hākīm* for 25 years. Died in ṣafar of 1227H (Feb. 15–Mar. 14, 1812).
- [6] Yūnus Wāng Beglik (T). Son of Iskandar Wāng Beglik. *Hākīm* for two years. Returned in 1229H (1813/14) to Turfan.
- [7] Yūsuf Beglik. Born in Aqsu, son of Aq Beg. *Hākīm* for two years. Returned in 1231H (1815/16) to Aqsu.
- [8] Ishāq Beglik (K). Son of ‘Uthmān Beise Beglik. Returned in 1232H (1816/17) to Kucha.
- [9] ‘Umar Beglik. Son of Ḥaydar Beg. Returned in 1237H (1821/22) to Kucha.
- [10] Muḥammad Sa‘īd Wāng Beglik (T). Son of Farīdūn Wāng. Killed in battle with Jahāngīr Khwāja in 1243H (1827/28).
- [11] Ishāq Wāng Beglik (reappointed) (K). Accompanied the Qing army from Aqsu to Kāshghar. Achieved renown in battle with Jahāngīr Khwāja. Returned in 1247H (1831/32) to Kucha.
- [12] Zuhūr al-Dīn Ṭājī Hākīm Beglik (T). Son of Mīr Ṭāhir Beglik, son of Nūr Muḥammad Ākhundluq, son of Amīn Khwāja. Noted for construction of a waterway in 1254H (1838/39).

It is notable that a significant proportion of these historical *hākīm begs* are from the royal family of Turfan. Mūsā Gong (#1) is not mentioned in this record specifically as being from Turfan, but this is indisputable since he appears in the Qing records as Mūsā (茂薩 or 茅薩), the third son of Amīn Khwāja, the founder of the *qunwang* (郡王) family of Turfan.<sup>24</sup> The *hākīm begs* of Ili were largely from the Turfan *qunwang* family, and after Mūsā the family of his younger brother, Awrangzeb (鄂羅木雜布), were appointed as *hākīm begs* of Ili for five generations.<sup>25</sup> The background of Zuhūr al-Dīn Ṭājī Hākīm Beglik (#12) cannot be clarified using the *Wanggong biao zhuan*, but he was the son of Mīr Ṭāhir Beglik<sup>26</sup>, the son of

<sup>24</sup> *Huijiang tongzhi* 『回疆通志』, j. 12, «Huizu» (回族); j. 4, «Emin Hezhuo liezhuan» (額敏和卓列傳).

<sup>25</sup> SAGUCHI Tōru 佐口透 1986 『新疆民族史研究』 *Shinkyō minzokushi kenkyū*, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, p. 281.

<sup>26</sup> Mīr Ṭāhir Beglik can be identified as Milateyipū (密拉特伊普), *ming-beg* (明伯克) of Kashgar, killed in the battle at Qaraqir between the force of Jahāngīr Khwāja and the Qing army in the 6th year of Daoguang (1826). (*Qinchao Junjichu lufu zouzhe* 清朝軍機處錄副奏摺 (漢文), “Minzulei” 民族類, 8087-15, Palace memorial from Deling, Xianfeng 1/7/6. 咸豐元年七月初六日, 德齡奏)

Nūr Muḥammad Ākhundluq<sup>27</sup>, the son of Amīn Khwāja, and his lineage is clearly given by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf.<sup>28</sup> Members of the Turfan *qunwang* family number five persons out of the total of twelve *ḥākim begs* (Ishāq Beg serving twice) extending from Mūsā Gong to Zuhūr al-Dīn. Considering the importance of the city of Kāshghar in western Xinjiang, it is likely that the Qing government gave a privileged position to the Turfan *qunwang* family, the descendents of Amīn Khwāja who swore allegiance to the Qing before the campaign against the Jungars. The others, including Gadāy Muḥammad, Satip Aldi Beg, Aq Beg, ‘Uthmān Beise Beg, the son of Hadī Beg, and his son Ishāq Beg are the previously-mentioned potentates, all of whom sided with the Qing immediately after the Jungar campaign, and their descendants.

As noted above, the information concerning the backgrounds of the listed *ḥākim begs* of Kāshghar can be partially reconstructed by combining accounts from Qing historical records, but the advantage of the Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s history in the addendum lies in its providing the reader with a consolidated source of this information. Moreover, it is also useful to understanding the situation of appointments of administrators to the major oases in southern Xinjiang by the Qing.

### 3. Conditions during the Administrations of Each of the Kāshghar ḥākim begs

Information regarding the achievements, circumstances, and events of the administrations of each of the historical *ḥākim begs* may be broadly categorized into accounts of political incidents (troubles) and of the achievements which benefited the peoples of Kāshghar, including the construction of irrigation facilities and commensurate development activities and *madrassa* construction.

First, the political incidents. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf discusses four incidents in some detail: the incident of Mayram Beg (in the time of Mūsā Gong), the incident of Yāchī Beg (in the time of ‘Uthmān Beise Beglik), the incident of Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn (in the time of Yūsuf Beglik) and the incident of Jahāngīr Khwāja (in the time of Muḥammad Sa‘īd Wāng Beglik). Of these, the *Tārīkh-i khamsa-i sharqī* also comments on the incident of Ḍiyā’ al-Dīn and the *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī* comments on the revolt of Jahāngīr Khwāja who invaded the Kāshghar area in 1826–27 and established a short-lived regime. Concerning the incident of Mayram Beg, Qing records preserve detailed descriptions, and compared to those the present work provides only a general treatment.

<sup>27</sup> Nūr Muḥammad Ākhundluq is the first son of Amīn Khwāja. (*Huijiang tongzhi*, j. 12 «Huizu»).

<sup>28</sup> 10191, f. 410a.

On the other hand, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s account of the incident of Yāchī Beg is more detailed. The corresponding Qing historical records state that for the 49th year of Qianlong (1784) that the *ḥākim beg* of Yangi-ḥiṣār, ‘Alīm (阿里木 Alimu), received a letter from Burhān al-Dīn’s son Sarimsaq Khwāja, who resided at the time in the Khoqand Khanate. When ‘Uthmān, the *ḥākim beg* of Kāshghar, learned of Sarmisaq’s letter, ‘Alīm then filed a false complaint with Baocheng (保成), the *canzan dachen* (參贊大臣) of Kāshghar, accusing ‘Uthmān of being in communication with Sarimsaq. ‘Alīm made the allegation together with Ḥakīm (阿其睦 Aqimu), the *sanzhi dachen* (散秩大臣) of the Qirghiz (布魯特), whose younger brother had himself communicated with Sarimsaq. ‘Alīm and Ḥakīm were later arrested and executed by the Qing.<sup>29</sup>

Concerning this incident, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s account notes that ‘Alīm Beg, the *ḥākim beg* of Yangi-ḥiṣār, and Ḥakīm Mīrzā, the *amban* of Qirghiz, caused an incident, and were arrested through steps taken by ‘Uthmān and punished. However, the crime they were accused of—communicating with Sarimsaq Khwāja—is not mentioned. Rather, the bulk of his description covers the escape of Ḥakīm Mīrzā’s son Yāchī Beg, his fight with the *begs* of Kāshghar and Yangi-ḥiṣār who pursued him, the *begs*’ death in battle, and Yāchī’s successful capture by ‘Uthmān with the cooperation of Qirghiz leaders.<sup>30</sup> The author may have had a hidden purpose in remaining silent about the existence of a relationship between the descendants of the Makhdūmzāda khwājas and powerful people in the Kāshghar region. However, we cannot now ascertain with certainty what that purpose might have been. The activities of Yāchī Beg involved overt military actions and drew in the Qirghiz potentates; for this reason, the incident was of concern to the citizens of Kāshghar. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s account stresses Yāchī Beg, in contrast to the Qing materials, which are mainly concerned with political developments relating to the *khwājas* of Makhdūmzāda whom they had previously fought. Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s emphasis may reflect something of the concerns of the residents of the Kāshghar region.

Secondly, besides the political incidents, the addendum contains commendations of the *ḥākim begs* for their achievements. In particular, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf emphasizes development of agricultural infrastructure, such as irrigation facilities, land reclamation,<sup>31</sup> and educational programs such as the construction of *madrasa*.<sup>32</sup>

<sup>29</sup> *Daqing gaozong chun-huangdi shilu* [大清高宗純皇帝實錄], j. 1206, f. 18a.

<sup>30</sup> 10191, ff. 403b–404a.

<sup>31</sup> For example, Zuhūr al-Dīn reclaimed Aram Bāgh in 1254H. This place can be identified as “Ailianbake (愛連巴克)” which was reclaimed under the leadership of Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥakīm Beg’s younger brother Ebuliela (額布列拉), bāghmadār-beg (巴克瑪塔爾伯克 bakemadaerbaike) of Kashghar, in the 18th year of Daoguang (道光十八年, 1838). (*Junjichu lufuzouzhe*, “Minzulei”, 8087–15, Palace memorial from Deling, Xianfeng 1/7/6. 咸豐元年七月初六日, 德齡奏)

<sup>32</sup> 10191, ff. 408a, 410a, et passim.

His praise of regional administrators contains considerable bias. Nevertheless, such accounts by a local intellectual are not to be found in Qing records, and illuminate how the citizens of Kāshghar evaluated their *ḥākīm begs* at the time, and what their feelings toward administrators may have been.

## Conclusion

The addendum to the Turkic translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf is an important historical resource reflecting history from the 16th century to the mid-19th century of Eastern Turkestan, a portion of Central Asia, Kazakhstan, Afghanistan, and northern India. With regard to the history of Eastern Turkestan, there are some extant historical records by Uyghurs in such languages as Chaghatay Turkic or Persian, including the *Tārīkh* of Churās on the 17th century, the *Tadhkira-i ‘azīzān* covering a period ending immediately before the Qing conquest of Eastern Turkestan, and the *Tārīkh-i amniyya* and *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī* mainly dealing with the late 19th century rebellion. Although the *Tārīkh-i amniyya* does give a detailed account of the Qing conquest and the revolt of Jahāngīr Khwāja, in general its account of mid-18th through mid-19th century Eastern Turkestan lacks richness. Among these sources, Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf’s narrative stands out both for its details concerning the activities of Burhān al-Dīn and others in the conquest period, and for information on the reactions of the Uyghur ruling class to these events. The addendum also details the circumstances of the Kāshghar *ḥākīm begs* under Qing rule. That the addendum to the Turkic translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* tallies with descriptions in Qing and other Uyghur records suggests its general reliability. That it also includes some narratives which are not contained in the edited Qing records makes it of considerable value as a historical record. Nevertheless, although relatively objective in its descriptions, it was probably written from the stance sympathetic to the *ḥākīm begs* of Kāshghar, to whom it directs attention. As it commends the administrators of Kāshghar, and Zuhūr al-Dīn Ḥākīm Beg in particular, it is important to recall this bias when using this work as a historical source.

In the near future we hope to further our analysis of this text through an in-depth correlation and comparison with related sources.

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