

# A New Source on Chinese Turkistan (1847–66) in the Tashkent Copy of *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī*

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Among the wide range of primary sources on the history of Eastern Turkistan in the 19th century, the chronicles of Kokand form an important but poorly studied group. The *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* by Mullā ‘Avaz̄ Muḥammad ‘Aṭṭār Khūqandī is one such chronicle. Written in Persian and completed in the early 1870s, this large chronicle is unpublished, but the two extant manuscript copies provide a large and valuable narrative source. With respect to Eastern Turkistan, the work contains important chapters on the movements led by Jahāngīr Khōja and Muḥammad Yūsuf Khōja from 1826–30. For the most part, these chapters comprise a compilation of earlier Kokand chronicles, the *Muntakhab at-tavārīkh* and the *Tavārīkh-i Manzūma* (while the latter is also referred to for the chronology of events from 1847–52).

Additionally, with respect to later events in Eastern Turkistan, the Tashkent copy of the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* (MS No 9455, alias *Tārīkh-i jahān-namāy*, held in the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences of Republic of Uzbekistan)<sup>1</sup> contains new and important information concerning the following topics (their chronology is given according to the *Tavārīkh-i Manzūma* by Mullā ‘Alī Qūndūzī and Chinese sources):

1. The Seven Khōjas’ Revolt of 1847 led by Īshān Khān Tora. — His siege of the Manchu fortress near Kashgar. — The offensive of the Manchu troops from Ili and their victory at Kōk Ribāṭ. — The attitude of the Kirghiz chiefs and reason for their retreat. — The Khōjas’ defeat at Yangi Ḥiṣār and their flight to Kokand. — The tragedy of the refugees during their winter passage to Ferghana. — Measures taken by the Manchu authorities after the event.
2. The holy war (*ghazāt*) of Tavakkūl Tora near Uch Turfan in 1852.
3. The rebellion of Valī Khān Tora in 1857: His four-month-long rule in Kashgar. — His extreme atrocities. — 3,000 men executed. — His defeat, escape to Kokand and reprisals taken against him by the Kokand ruler Khudāyār Khān.
4. Ya‘qūb Bek’s early activities, from December 1864–66: The reasons for his arrival to Kashgar. — His victory at Maralbashi. — The Qipchaq mutiny against him and its suppression. — The conquest of Yarkand.

<sup>1</sup> Hereafter, TTX.

## 1. Revolt of Seven Khōjas in 1847<sup>2</sup>

After a preface on the affairs of the White Mountain Khōjas pointing out that at the time of Jahāngīr Khōja more than 100,000 refugees from Xinjiang had migrated to Ferghana, the chronicle states that “in the days of Musulmānqūl” (the de facto ruler of the Kokand khanate from 1844–52), a campaign was launched against Kashgar. An account is then given of how Īshān Khān Tora, Kichkina Tora and Valī Khān Tora led their supporters from Ferghana to Kashgar, how Īshān Khān Tora was declared the supreme ruler and how the four-month-long siege of the Manchu fortress (*gulbāgh*) by the rebels resulted in failure. This is followed by a description of the Qing response which details how the Manchu *ambān* headed an army of several thousand reinforcements sent from Ili to Yarkand. We also learn of the battle between the forces of Īshān Khān Tora and the Manchu troops which took place at Kōk Ribāṭ and of Tora’s defeat on account of the sudden retreat of the Kirghiz military leaders from the battle-field (interestingly, it was a letter from Musulmānqūl that instigated this action). After another defeat near Yangi Hīṣār, Īshān Khān Tora fled to Kokand. Here the text describes the tragedy which befell the thousands of fugitives from Kashgar. Having escaped the punitive forces, they endeavored to traverse the mountains to Ferghana, but many among them succumbed to the perilous winter conditions. As the author of the chronicle recounts:

The unfortunate inhabitants of [Kashgar] fearing the infidels (i.e. Manchu-Chinese punitive forces – *T. B.*) followed the Khōja<sup>3</sup> and fled in their thousands. Having thrown together their belongings, and without food, [they departed] with wives and children, some on foot and others on horseback. Children of five to ten years old, who had no strength to make the journey, were abandoned crying under rocks, and died. The events took place in winter. Totally exhausted and bearing their dead, they reached the *vilāyat* of Osh and since the wretched people had no means of subsistence, they started to give away their daughters in legal marriage for one *tilā* or a half-*tilā*.<sup>4</sup>

It is also pointed out that after these events Zuhūr ad-Dīn Bek Tūrfānī, the Qing governor (*hākīm*) of Kashgar ordered that Kashgar be enclosed in a fortified

<sup>2</sup> TTX, ff. 229b–232b.

<sup>3</sup> Here Īshān Khān Tora, the main Khoja, is implied.

<sup>4</sup> TTX, f. 232a. At that time a beautiful bride from a poor family “cost” 25 tilas (Abu ‘Ubaidallah Muḥammad Tāshkandī. *Khulāṣat al-Ahvāl*. MS No 2084, IVAN of Uzbekistan, f. 96b).

wall. The event is probably wrongly dated in the source as having taken place in 1264/1848; in the *Tavārīkh-i Manzūma*, however, it is dated 1254/1838–39, i.e. even before the revolt of Seven Khōjas.<sup>5</sup>

## 2. The Activities of Tavakkūl Tora

Tavakkūl Tora was the descendant of Sayyid ‘Alī Hamadānī and was known as Sayyid Aḥmad Khōja Afghan. It is said that in 1852 he decided to lead a campaign against Xinjiang. He approached the region not via Ferghana but by taking the Avliyā Atā (modern Taraz in South Kazakstan) route from Tashkent, and passing through “Kirghizistan,” where he enlisted 200 able Kirghiz warriors to make an attack on the outskirts of Uch Turfan. However, after he had ordered the Kirghiz to return the property and cattle robbed from local Muslims, they deserted him, and with the small group of his retainers (*navkar*) who remained, he was forced to flee from Uch Turfan in the direction of Kashgar. En route he met Valī Khān Tora at Artish. Initially, their relations were warm, but after several days, fearing Tavakkūl Tora’s motives, Valī Khān Tora decided to seize him. Receiving word of this plan, Tavakkūl Tora secretly deserted his men and returned to Kokand. Shortly afterwards Valī Khān Tora suffered defeat and also returned to Kokand.<sup>6</sup>

There follows a chapter about the invasion of Valī Khān Tora in 1857 (the event is dated 1268/1851–52, with an erroneous reference to the *Tavārīkh-i manzūma*). Here it is related how Valī Khān Tora suddenly rushed to Kashgar, and revolt broke out in the city. We learn that the Manchus and their followers managed to take refuge in the city’s citadel and that Tila Bacha, a military commander (*amīr-i lashkar*) under Valī Khān Tora, then set out for Yarkand, capturing Yangi Ḥiṣār, before besieging the Yarkand fortress. Intoxicated by success, Valī Khān Tora then abandoned himself to drink and carnal pleasures and grew increasingly cruel and blood-thirsty. “For him,” the chronicle relates, “friend or enemy, tax payer or citizen, all were as cheap as dolls or poppy-seeds. Acting on the basis of accusations made by malicious men and without making any investigations, [he caused] both the guilty and the innocent to lose their heads.” Thus within the four brief months of his reign, Valī Khān Tora executed more than three thousand innocent people. “All the people searched for means to get rid of this scourge and beseeched the Supreme Lord [to help them].” Eventually, after the forces of Tila Bacha had been defeated near Yarkand by the amban of Ili, Valī Khān Tora fled

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Imām ‘Alī Qūndūzī, *Tavārīkh-i Manzūmah*, MS No 204, IVAN of Tadjikistan, f. 65a; TTX, f. 232b; Muḥyi Khūqandī, *Ta’rīkh-i Muḥyi Khūqandī*, MS No 604, IVAN of Uzbekistan, f. 1a.

<sup>6</sup> TTX, ff. 232b–34a.

from Kashgar without fighting. Initially, fearing for his life, he wandered in the mountains near Ferghana, but on arriving in Osh he was conveyed to Kokand on the orders of Khudāyār Khān where he was placed under temporary arrest, and all of his property and treasure was confiscated.<sup>7</sup>

Valī Khān Tora's story is continued in the St. Petersburg manuscript C 440 of the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī*.<sup>8</sup> Here it is related that he arrived in the area of Kashgar with 1,500 supporters in the spring 1864. But this time he was firmly rebutted: "...the Muslims suffered much grief at the hands of these Khōjas: they lost property, they witnessed mass murders and were separated from their families; their wives became widows, their children orphans. Therefore, being of one mind they united and proceeded against the Khōja's army, defeated him and dispersed his forces."<sup>9</sup> Then they took the 500 men of the Khōja's vanguard captive and the Ḥākīm Bek of Kashgar set out in person against the Khōja, while Manchu reinforcements from Artysh arrived in Kashgar. As a result, the majority of insurgents were wiped out and the Khōja fled to the Kirghiz tribe of Chumghal.<sup>10</sup>

### 3. The Activities of Ya'qūb Bek

With respect to the activities of Ya'qūb Bek in Kashgaria, the Kokand chroniclers provide contrasting views. The *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī*, as well as those chronicles which may be considered as originating partly from Kokand and partly from Eastern Turkistan, such as the *Ta'rīkh-i ṣighārī* and the *Badavlat-nāma*, portray him in favorable light, and refer to him as "His Excellency" (*janāb-i 'ālī*). Conversely, in the *Ta'rīkh-i jadīda-yi Tāshkand*, he is the subject of severe criticism. Here Ya'qūb Bek is portrayed as both the artful dodger-politician and the cruel tyrant who, in order to seize power, caused the noble descendants of Makhdūm-i A'zam (i.e. White Mountain Khōjas) to quarrel with one another; after this he issued orders for some of them to be killed outright and the others to be sent to an inevitable death. Here, it is also recounted that he threw the majority of the leaders who accompanied him from Central Asia into prison and how, scorning justice, he regularly tormented simple soldiers with heavy corporal punishment and bestowed state posts on his relatives and his fellow-villagers. Moreover, in this text, among other negative remarks applied to Ya'qūb Bek, we find the opprobrious epithet of *bacha* (a boy as a passive sodomite).<sup>11</sup>

<sup>7</sup> TTX, ff. 234b–36a.

<sup>8</sup> Hereafter, TTX, C 440.

<sup>9</sup> TTX, C 440, f. 358a.

<sup>10</sup> Idem, ff. 357b–58b.

<sup>11</sup> Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Khwāja Tāshkandī, *Ta'rīkh-i jadīda-yi Tāshkand*, MS No 7791, IVAN of Uzbekistan, ff. 818a–819a, 820a (hereafter, TDT).

In order to better evaluate the information supplied in this chapter of the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* and in order to follow the chronology of the events in question, it is useful to draw a comparison with similar information provided in the other Kokand chronicles which, incidentally, are also insufficiently used for the history of Xinjiang. The authors of the *Ta'rikh-i jadīda-yi Tāshkand* and *Badavlat-nāma* observe that it was the Hui who began the revolt in Kashgaria.<sup>12</sup> In Kucha they rose together with Rashīd ad-Din Khōja. Within two months they had taken the nearby Manchu fortress, and then, under the guidance of 'Aysa Khōja, they captured Kurla, Qara Shahr and other towns as far away as Barkul and Qomul.<sup>13</sup> In Kashgar the leaders of the revolt were Valī Khān Tora and Bābā Khān Tora.<sup>14</sup> However, the *Ta'rikh-i ṣighārī* and *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* name Sadyq Bek, the son of the Kazak sultan Kenesary Kasymov, as the main figure in the Kashgar uprising. Having besieged the Manchu citadel (*gulbāgh*), it is said that he dispatched an embassy to 'Alīmql in Kokand with a request for help, asking him to send any descendant of Appaq Khōja to serve as supreme ruler. According to the author of this chronicle, 'Alīmql selected Buzrūk Khān Tora, Ya'qūb Bek (as a military leader) and some other Kokandians — “those that have remained from Khudāyār Khān” (i.e., the retainers of Khudāyār Khān, 'Alīmql's adversary, including 'Abdallāh Pānšad, the future author of *Ta'rikh-i ṣighārī* – in short, the undesirable elements in Kokand).<sup>15</sup> In the *Badavlat-nāma* it is also related that an embassy was sent to 'Alīmql from Khotan with a similar petition for help and a special request that Nār Muḥammad Qūshbegi be sent to Khotan with warriors.<sup>16</sup> The *Ta'rikh-i ṣighārī*, *Badavlat-nāma*, and the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* all provide a detailed and coherent account of subsequent events with special attention given to the activities of the Qipchaqs in Kashgaria.

According to the *Ta'rikh-i ṣighārī*, when Buzrūk Khān Tora and his retinue arrived in Ming Yul (near Kashgar), Sadyq Bek began to regret his request, but seeing that the Kashgarians greeted Buzrūk Khān Tora with enthusiasm, he was obliged to show his loyalty to the Khōja. Here we also learn of the flight of Sadyq Bek from Kashgar to Yangi Shahar, Ya'qūb Bek's arrival in Kashgar, his reception, and the news, twenty days later, of 'Alīmql's battle against the Russians at Iqan (December 1864).<sup>17</sup> Details are also given of how Sadyq Bek led a force of three

<sup>12</sup> TDT, f. 815a; Muḥammad 'Umar Marghinānī, *Badavlat-nāmah*, MS C 587, SPbO IVAN of Russia, ff. 15b–16a. (hereafter, BN)

<sup>13</sup> BN, ff. 15b–17b.

<sup>14</sup> TDT, f. 816a.

<sup>15</sup> TTX, f. 326b; 'Abdallāh Amīr-i lashkar, *Ta'rikh-i ṣighārī*, MS Or. 8156, British Library, f. 25a. (hereafter, TS); ASTX, f. 123a; BN, f. 18a–18b.

<sup>16</sup> BN, f. 14b.

<sup>17</sup> TS, ff. 25b–26a. This testifies to the fact that Ya'qūb Bek was in Kashgaria already in late November 1864 since the action of Iqan took place in mid-December 1864.

thousand in a campaign against Kashgar, how he was defeated by the troops of Ya‘qūb Bek, under the orders of ‘Abdallāh Pānşad (the author of *Ta‘rīkh-i şighārī*), near Qyzyl Tapa and Tash Millik, and how following the fall of his last stronghold, the fortress of Parrash, Sadyq Bek fled to Kokand where he took refuge with ‘Alīmqu.<sup>18</sup>

After recounting how Ya‘qūb Bek Shighavul was nominated by Buzrūk Khān Tora as his deputy (*nāyib*) and *atālīq*, the *Badavlat-nāma* then tells of the mutiny against Ya‘qūb Bek of Muqarrab Shāh Khān, a former military chief (*sarbāzbāshī*) of Buzrūk Khān, at Khan Aryq. It describes the route taken by Muqarrab Shāh, his flight to Yarkand and how Khan Aryq was plundered by Ya‘qūb Bek’s warriors.<sup>19</sup> It then narrates the story of Muqarrab Shāh’s campaign, and how with an army of troops from Kucha, Yarkand and the Hui, he fought against Ya‘qūb Bek and was defeated by him. At that time the embassy of Nar Muhammad Parvānachī from Kokand arrived in Kashgar on its way from a return visit to Khotan. Under the pretext of protecting the embassy, Ya‘qūb Bek and ‘Abdallāh Pānşad then proceeded to Yarkand, where they captured the ruler, Burhān ad-Dīn Khōja. ‘Abdallāh Pānşad then engaged in battle with a force of two-thousand men from Kucha, but was obliged to retreat to Yangi Hīşār due to the depleted strength of his troops. Meanwhile, because of the protracted siege of the Manchu fortress at Yangi Hīşār,<sup>20</sup> Ya‘qūb Bek requested that the ruler of Badakhshān, Jahāngīr Shāh, send reinforcements of 1,000 men. While these troops were still in Sarykol, the Manchu fortress was taken by Hamrāh Khān, a military leader under Ya‘qūb Bek and a prince of Kulyab, who himself fell during the attack. The defenders of the fortress chose to set fire to themselves together with their families and belongings rather than to seek mercy from the enemy.<sup>21</sup>

The *Ta‘rīkh-i şighārī* tells of Mīr Bābā Hudāychī’s embassy from Ya‘qūb Bek to ‘Alīmqu which arrived with trophies, captives and the good news (*sūyūnchī*) of this victory. The embassy, however, did not make contact with ‘Alīmqu in Kokand because he had left in haste for Tashkent after receiving word of the capture of the Niyāzbek fort near Tashkent by Russians. Nevertheless, Mīr Bābā Hudāychī managed to overtake ‘Alīmqu, and meeting him at Aq Jar, on the way to Tashkent, he conveyed the message to him. As is well known, several days later ‘Alīmqu himself was mortally wounded in the battle of Tashkent (late May 1865).<sup>22</sup>

In narrating the events that followed ‘Alīmqu’s death and the accession of

<sup>18</sup> TS, ff. 27a–28a; BN, ff. 18b–20a.

<sup>19</sup> BN, ff. 20b–22b.

<sup>20</sup> According to BN (f. 20b), this fortress was 10 *tash* (85–95 km) off Kashghar and there were up to 6,000 Chinese in it.

<sup>21</sup> TS, ff. 28b–32b; BN, ff. 22b–28a.

<sup>22</sup> TS, ff. 32b–33a.

Khudāyār Khān in Kokand, all the Kokand chronicles provide considerable detail concerning the flight of Khudāyār Khān's adversaries from Ferghana to Ya'qūb Bek in Kashgar – these included Qipchaqs and Kirghiz, notable Kokandians, Tashkentians, and Bukhariots (the *Ta'rikh-i jadīda-yi Tāshkand* names 18 notable persons who went into Ya'qūb Bek's service).<sup>23</sup> Not all of them, however, were loyal to Ya'qūb Bek. Nearly one thousand Kirghiz and Qipchaqs led by Sadyq Bek approached Kashgar with the intention of wresting power from Ya'qūb Bek, but they were vanquished and dispersed by Ya'qūb Bek's comrade 'Abdallāh Pānšad. However, immediately afterwards they were “forgiven” by Ya'qūb Bek and accepted into his service.<sup>24</sup> In addition, the *Badavlat-nāma* tells of how Ya'qūb Bek suppressed Valī Khān Tora's seditious activities in Kashgar.<sup>25</sup>

After mentioning that the Badakhshanis (who, after arriving from Saryqol, united with the Kirghiz and Qipchaqs to form a two-thousand strong detachment), were enlisted into Ya'qūb Bek's service, the *Ta'rikh-i shīghārī* describes Ya'qūb Bek's campaign against the forces of Yarkand, Kucha, Aqsu, Uch Turfan and Maralbashi and also tells how in August 1865 the Hui, under the leadership of Jamāl ad-Dīn Tora, were defeated near Khan Aryq.<sup>26</sup> Then, according to the *Ta'rikh-i shīghārī*, Mīr Bābā, the envoy of Bek Muḥammad Mīngbashi and Mīrzā Aḥmad Dasturkhānchī (who by this time had lost power in Kokand and fled to Eastern Turkistan), arrived in Kashgar with Ya'qūb Bek's family. Shortly afterwards, Ya'qūb Bek received an embassy from Yarkand offering recognition of his authority. Ya'qūb Bek then nominated Mīr Bābā Dādkhāh as a governor (*hākīm*) of Yarkand after which Ya'qūb Bek's army captured and plundered the Manchu fortress of Yangī Shahar (“New city”) at Kashgar.<sup>27</sup> The main Manchu official in the fortress, Hodālūya, surrendered with his family (in September 1865), and Ya'qūb Bek married his daughter.<sup>28</sup> Both the *Ta'rikh-i shīghārī* and the *Badavlat-nāma* tell of the arrival in Kashgar and acceptance into the service of Ya'qūb Bek of notable Kokandians, Ura-Tubetans and Hissaris (including Khudāyqūlī Khān, Bek Muḥammad Mīngbashi, and Mīrzā Aḥmad Dasturkhānchī)—in all more than 30 persons, all of whom were Khudāyār Khān's opponents. Mention is also made of the departure, at this time, of the Badakhshanis from Kashgar to their home, taking with them the body of Hamrāh Khān.<sup>29</sup>

<sup>23</sup> TDT, ff. 819a–819b. According to BN (f. 31a), a force of 10,000 “Sarts and Qipchaqs” arrived from Kokand to Kashgar.

<sup>24</sup> TS, ff. 38b–40b.

<sup>25</sup> BN, ff. 30a–31a.

<sup>26</sup> TS, ff. 40b–43b, although in the *Tuḥfat at-tavārikh-i khāni* (f. 325b) Kyzyl is referred to as the place of the battle.

<sup>27</sup> According to BN (f. 20b), 10,000 Chinese defended this fortress.

<sup>28</sup> TS, ff. 44a–45b.

<sup>29</sup> TS, ff. 46a–47b; BN, ff. 28a–28b.

The *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī*, *Ta' rīkh-i ṣighārī* and *Badavlat-nāma* all tell of Ya'qūb Bek's new campaign against the Hui of Yarkand after they refused to recognize his authority, the capture of the city and the two-month-long siege of the Yarkand citadel. They describe the plot against Ya'qūb Bek by the Qipchaqs and Kirghiz, under the leadership of Bek Muḥammad Qipchaq, who won over the nominal ruler of Kashgaria Buzrūk Khān Tora to his side. Two thousand Qipchaqs and Kirghiz led by Bek Muḥammad Qipchaq fled from Yarkand to Kashgar hoping to seize the latter. However, the Kashgarians, suspecting conspiracy, did not let the Qipchaqs enter the city, thus forcing them to occupy a Manchu city (Yangi Shahar) and establish themselves there. Upon learning of this, Ya'qūb Bek concluded a peace with the Hui of Yarkand, gave them Kichik Khān Tora Makhdūm-i Ā'zami as their leader, and hurriedly returned to Kashgar where he and his forces besieged the Qipchaqs. The Qipchaqs made a desperate attempt to break out of the encirclement, but only a small group led by Bek Muḥammad Qipchaq succeeded. They returned to Kokand, but on arrival in Ferghana, Bek Muḥammad Qipchaq and 14 of his followers were murdered on the orders of Khudāyār Khān (December 1865–January 1866). After this success Ya'qūb Bek selected 400 Qipchaqs from amongst his captives and had them return to Ferghana under the leadership of Jiyānqūl Qipchaq. These three chronicles also describe the actions of another anti-Ya'qūb Bek faction: that of Sadyq Bek Parvānachi, Sayyid Bek Qūshbegi and Haydarqūlī Bek Dādkhāh. They established themselves in the fortress of Parrāsh and for a time besieged at Tāzghūn the supporter of Ya'qūb Bek Īshān Khān Tora (*tōra-yi kalān*), who had refused to be their titular leader.<sup>30</sup>

After a reference to the death of Īshān Khān Tora (February 1866), the chronicles tell of the capture of Yarkand by 'Aysa Khōja from Kucha with a three-thousand strong army and of his alliance with the Hui of Yarkand. In response, Ya'qūb Bek decided to take a fortress in Maralbashi which was still in hands of the Manchus, and then set out for Yarkand.<sup>31</sup> The *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* gives details of his siege of this Manchu fortress in Maralbashi<sup>32</sup> which he captured thanks to the guidance of Jamādār Hindustānī, “who was experienced in European tricks and stratagems.” Seeing their desperate position, 1,300 besieged “infidels” took their families into the powder cellar and blew themselves up.<sup>33</sup> Later, Ya'qūb Bek set out against the Hui at Yarkand where he besieged the city and eliminated the Hui detachment as it made a night sortie, thus forcing 'Aysa Khōja and the Hui of Yarkand to

<sup>30</sup> TTX, ff. 326a–328a; TS, ff. 47b–55b; BN, ff. 31b–34b. Īshān Khān Tora died shortly after these events (TS, ff. 55b–56a; BN, f. 35a).

<sup>31</sup> TS, ff. 56a–57a.

<sup>32</sup> Following BN (f. 20b), there were five thousand “infidels” with their families in this fort, and its siege lasted half a year.

<sup>33</sup> TTX, ff. 328a–329a.



surrender (April 1866) and deliver the city again to the governance of Mīr Bābā Dādkhāh (according to the *Badavlat-nāma*, it was Yūnus Jān Dādkhāh who was appointed to this post).<sup>34</sup> The account of events relating to Eastern Turkistan in the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* finishes at this point.

All the accounts of these events referred to above represent independent, non-official versions of the Kokand point of view. The author of the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* vividly describes the terrors of Valī Khān Tora's short rule, and although he makes no mention of the British agent Adolf Shlagintweit (1829–57), reflects the reality of the atmosphere in Kashgar at the time in which Shlagintweit met his fate. It is clear that the TTX author disapproves of the Khōjas, but with regard to Ya'qūb Bek, on the other hand, he is positive, despite the fact that Kokand's official attitude to Ya'qūb Bek was not friendly. This indicates that this non-theocratic tendency prevailed in Kokand historiography of the time.

The *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* contains unique information on the events of 1847, 1852 and 1857, providing what may be the fullest account to be found in Muslim sources. As for the later events, the accounts in the *Tuḥfat at-tavārīkh-i khānī* of Valī Khān Tora's activities in the spring of 1864 and the Qipchaq involvement in the Muslim uprising of 1865–66 deserve special attention since they also contain many unique details. There is no doubt the chronicles of Kokand are indispensable for the composition of a complete history of Eastern Turkistan in the nineteenth century.

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<sup>34</sup> TTX, f. 329a–329b; TS, ff. 57a–58a; BN, ff. 35a–36a.