

A Set of Chaghatay and Manchu Documents Drafted by a Kashgar Hakim Beg in 1801: A Basic Study of a “Chaghatay-Turkic Administrative Document”

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When we consider the imperial rule of the Qing Dynasty, especially in relation to non-Chinese society, one noteworthy feature is that administrative documents were written not in Chinese but in Manchu. What is even more important is that such “Manchu administrative documents”¹ served as a model for official documents drafted in the local languages of the non-Chinese areas of the empire. For example, in Mongolia, where the Qing ruled since the *Kangxi* era, the Mongol language was employed in addition to Manchu as the official language for administrative documents. As a result, both the Qing government and the Mongol princes actively trained translation officials.² In recent years, scholars have made great progress in the study of Mongol administrative documents during the Qing regime.³

In contrast, although there has been some research on manuscripts and public documents in Kashgaria (Eastern Turkistan, Chinese Turkistan), where Turkic-speaking Muslims (today’s Uyghurs) resided, the research on the Qing official documents in Turkic is insufficient.⁴ In particular, few of the documents that were exchanged between the local Qing government in major cities and the higher-

¹ Of course, the form of “Manchu administrative documents” was based on that of Chinese documents during the Qing dynasty, which in turn inherited the form of Chinese documents of the Ming dynasty. See OKA Hiroki 岡洋樹 1993 “Shindai Mongoru shi kenkyū no siryō ni tsuite” 「清代モンゴル史研究の史料について」, *Shiteki* 14, pp. 64–65.

² Oka 1993: 63–64; MURAKAMI Nobuaki 村上信明 2001 “Kenryū-chō no honyaku kakyo to mōko kijin kanryō no taitō” 「乾隆朝の繙訳科挙と蒙古旗人官僚の台頭」, *Shakai bunka shigaku* 42, pp. 63–80.

³ HAGIHARA Mamoru 萩原守 2006a *Shindai Mongoru no saiban to saiban monjo* 『清代モンゴルの裁判と裁判文書』, Tokyo: Sōbunsha, Capt. 5., pp. 136–78; HAGIHARA Mamoru 2006b “The Formats of Juridical Documents in Mongolia during the Qing Period and Their Origin,” *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 64, pp. 101–24.

⁴ HORI Sunao’s study of Chaghatay official documents during the Qing regime is the pioneering work in the field. HORI Sunao 堀直 1999 “Torufan no kaishi tachi: Kakei nenkan no gunkisho monjo no ittan no shōkai” 「トルファンの回子たち——嘉慶年間の軍機処文書の一端の紹介」, *Kōnan daigaku kiyō: Bungaku hen* 109, pp. 64–84.

ranked begs, who supervised practical works of civil administration,⁵ have come to light. On account of this, scholars have been unable to fully explain the connection between dynastic political power and Kashgaria oasis society.

Unexpectedly, however, in the *Junjichu manwen lufu zouzhe* (JMLZ) stored at the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing, I was able to find a set of Chaghatay-Turkic (Eastern-Turkic) and Manchu documents drafted by a Kashgar hakim beg in 1801 (JQ 6).⁶ These documents, which can be categorized as “reports” (*chengwen* 呈文),⁷ were sent to the Kashgar Councillor (Man. *hebei amban*, Ch. *canzan dachen* 參贊大臣). In this paper, I introduce these documents and use them to analyze the Qing rule over Kashgaria.

1. Romanization, Translation, and Commentary of the Text

The JMLZ has already been microfilmed, and the documents introduced in this paper are recorded on frames (ff.) 2624–42 of reel number 168.⁸ They consist of one Chaghatay-Turkic document (ff. 2625–34) and two Manchu documents (ff. 2635–40, ff. 2641–42). For easy reference, I will refer to these three documents as Doc. 1, Doc. 2, and Doc. 3 below.

I will first provide the romanization, translation, and commentary of Doc. 1, which is the main subject of this paper. I have included the romanizations of Docs.

⁵ For the beg system under the Qing rule, see SAGUCHI Tōru 佐口透 1963 *18–19 seiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenkyū* 『18–19世紀東トルキスタン社会史研究』, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, Capt. 3, pp. 103–92; MIAO Pusheng 苗普生 1995 *Boke zhidu* 『伯克制度』, Wulumuqi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe; NEWBY, Laura J. 1998 “The Begg of Xinjiang: Between Two Worlds,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 61, no. 2, pp. 278–97.

⁶ The *Junjichu manwen lufu zouzhe* 『軍機處滿文錄副奏摺』, or JMLZ, is a document category exceeding 180,000 documents preserved at the First Historical Archives of China in Beijing. This collection comprises the “reference copies” (*lufu* 錄副) stored in the Grand Council (*Junjichu* 軍機處) of memorials (*zouzhe* 奏摺) written in Manchu by high officials stationed in Manchuria, Mongolia, and Xinjiang. The JMLZ contains not only Manchu materials, but also Chinese and other non-Chinese documents, emperors’ edicts (*shangyu* 上諭) and reports (*chengwen* 呈文, see n. 7). A catalog of the JMLZ has been published: FIRST HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF CHINA 中国第一历史档案馆 ed. 1999 *Qingdai bianjiang Manwen dang’an mulu* 『清代边疆滿文档案目录』, 12 vols., Guilin: Guangxi shifan daxue chubanshe. For an outline of Xinjiang-related documents in the JMLZ, see WU Yuanfeng 吴元丰 2000 “Junjichu Manwen yuezhebao nei Xinjiang shiliao ji qi yanjiu jiazhi” 『军机处满文月折包内新疆史料及其研究价值』, *Xiyu yanjiu*, 2000, no. 1, pp. 91–99. On the JMLZ, see also Hua Li’s chapter in this volume.

⁷ *Chengwen* refers to the reports of petty officials addressed to superior officials.

⁸ The first frame (f. 2624) of the document is a cover sheet added by the editorial staff; therefore, the contents begin from the next frame (f. 2625).

2 and 3, but not their translations, at the end of the paper.⁹

Explanation of symbols for the romanization and translation:

- [] Supplementary word, interpolated by Onuma
- The official seal, presented by the Qing dynasty to the beg
- The beg's personal seal
- The beg's thumb mark

1.1. Romanization of Doc. 1

2625:

0. 伯克等原呈回子字甘結
1. Ma'lūm qīlghanmīz.
2. Hākīm beg jūnwāng Iskandarlarning iğhrazlap,
3. khebā ambanlarga tutqan khaṭī ulamjītip, bilindürädürghān uchurī. Iskandar men kümüşkhā
4. baha tokhtanadurghan yerni hämmä chong kichik beğlärdin sorasam, hämmäsining aytıqanı.
5. Bizning Kāshgharning yeridä här qaydagħ nārsä keräk satıp alıshıda satıshıda hämmäsi
6. kümüşning bahası arzān bolsa, töbänki hämmä chong kichik yerliklärgä manfa'at boladur.
7. Mubada kümüşning bahası qimät bolsa, här qaydagħ nārsä qesimi satıp alıshıda satıshıda bahası
8. mushkil bolsamu, bizning tötänki hämmä yerliklärgä ancha manfa'at yoq. Yetläymiz, bu yerni
9. wāng hākīm begning yerläridin ulamjītip,
10. khebā ambanlarga ma'lūm qīlip, ḥalī kümüşning bahasını arzān waqtıgha kelishtürüp,
11. bir ser kümüşni ikki yüz altımış puldın ötmäs qīlip tokhtaturlarmikın dep,

2626:

1. öz özi tamgha muhurını basıp, temässk khaṭī chīqarıp ma'lūm qīlīdī. Munga Iskandar men
2. istāp baqsam, hämmä chong kichik beğläarning tilāp, bilindürgän uchurī rast.

⁹ I wish to thank the First Historical Archives of China for kindly furnishing me with a copy of these documents and granting me permission to reproduce them.

3. Munīng üçhün Iskandar men chong kichik begläarning chiqarghan temässük
4. khatini qoshup,
5. kheba ambanlargha ma'lum qildim. Yetlayman,
6. kheba ambanlarning ke[l]gani roshanlap istap, shid kirlarmikin. Muning uchun ighrazilap tutqan khat.
7. Ulugh khanning altinchi yil yettinchi ayning yengi birda

2627:

1. Törtünchi jergä ithik-āgha beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilädürghän ukhari da Maḥmūd. ○
2. Törtünchi jergä ghazanachi beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilädürghän yilshi da birinchi jergä tayji Yūnus. ○
3. Törtünchi jergä shāng beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilädürghän yilshi da 'Abd Wāysh.
4. Törtünchi jergä shāng beg Ibrāhīm. ○
5. Faydabātning törtünchi jergä ḥakīm beg Muḥammad Īmīn. □
6. Beshinchi jergä qaḍī beg Fāyanda. ○
7. Astin Artūjnīng beshinchi jergä ḥakīm beg Mīr 'Ābidīn. □

2628:

1. Beshkirimning beshinchi jergä ḥakīm beg Babāq. □
2. Beshinchi jergä naqīb beg 'Ablā. ○
3. Beshinchi jergä mutawallī beg Saṭīb Aldī. ○
4. Tāzghūnning beshinchi jergä mirāb beg 'Abd Ghafūr. ○
5. Beshinchi jergä muhtasib beg 'Alīm Khwāja. ○
6. Altinchi jergä dīwān beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilädürghän yüz bashī Timūr Khwāja. ○
7. Üstin Artūjnīng altinchi jergä ḥakīm beg Raḥīm. □

2629:

1. Arghūnning altinchi jergä ḥakīm beg 'Aliyār. □
2. Tāshmalīqnīng altinchi jergä ḥakīm beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilädürghän yüz bashī Niyāz Sūfī. □
3. Ofālning altinchi jergä ḥakīm beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilädürghän yüz bashī Ulugh. □
4. Tozqaqning altinchi jergä mirāb beg 'Azīm. ○
5. Altinchi jergä bajigār beg 'Ismā'il. ○
6. Altinchi jergä bāghmatar beg Yoldash. ○
7. Astin Artūjnīng altinchi jergä qaḍī beg Niyāz. ○

2630:

1. Altinchī jergā Ishqāwl beg ‘Imat al-Lāh. ○
2. Kāshgharnīng altinchī jergā arbāb beg ‘Abd Zāhid. ○
3. Khān Arīqīnīng altinchī jergā mirāb beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilādūrghān yüz bashī Mullā ‘Ushūr. ○
4. Altinchī jergā pādishab beg Mīr Laṭīf. ○
5. Altinchī jergā ming beg Muḥammad ‘Ablā. ○
6. Qīzil Boynīng altinchī jergā mirāb beg Mihmān. ○
7. Beshkirimning altinchī jergā mirāb beg Tūlak Khwāja. ○
8. Qōrghānning altinchī jergā mirāb beg Ismā‘īl. ○
9. Qōrghānning altinchī jergā ming beg Fulāt. ○

2631:

1. Khān Arīqīnīng altinchī jergā qaḍī beg Muḥammad Īmīn. ○
2. Ūstin Artūjnīng altinchī jergā qaḍī beg Muḥammad Īmīn. ○
3. Sarmannīng altinchī jergā mirāb beg ‘Aliyār. ○
4. Beshkirimning altinchī jergā ming beg Sāmsāq. ○
5. Beshkirimning altinchī jergā qaḍī beg Yūsuf. ○
6. Arghūnnīng altinchī jergā qaḍī beg Shābāz. ○
7. Arwātning altinchī jergā mirāb beg yerlik chirikini qoshup bilādūrghān yüz bashī ‘Abd Khāliq. ○
8. Astīn Artūjnīng yettinchi [jergā] ming beg Bahrām Shā. ○
9. Astīn Artūjnīng yettinchi [jergā] ming beg ‘Abd Rāmān. ●

2632:

1. Astīn Artūjnīng yettinchi [jergā] ming beg Ḥasām al-Dīn. ●
2. Astīn Artūjnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Anūr Khwāja. ○
3. Astīn Artūjnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Mubārak Shāh. ●
4. Mushī Sullughnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Niyāz. ○
5. Mushī Kullughnīng yettinchi jergā mirāb beg ‘Abd Raḥīm. ○
6. Fayḍabātning yettinchi jergā ming beg Tāhir. ○
7. Fayḍabātning yettinchi jergā ming beg Muḥammad Mīr. ○
8. Kāshgharnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Tokhta. ○
9. Kāshgharnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Kichik. ○

2633:

1. Khān Arīqīnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg ‘Abd al-Lāh. ○
2. Yofūrghūnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Mullā Qutlugh. ○
3. Ūstin Artūjnīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Laṭīf. ○
4. Qīzil Boynīng yettinchi jergā ming beg Muḥammadī. ○
5. Qīzil Boynīng yettinchi jergā mirāb beg Turdī. ○

6. Tāzghūnning yettinchi jergä ming beg Fulat. ○
7. Tāzghūnning yettinchi jergä ming beg Tulundī. ○
8. Arwātning yettinchi jergä ming beg Tokhta Khwāja. ○
9. Sarmanning yettinchi jergä ming beg Ya‘qūb. ○

2634:

1. Toqzaqning yettinchi jergä ming beg Qambar. ○
2. Tāshmāliqning yettinchi jergä ming beg Tawakkul. ○
3. Ofālning yettinchi jergä ming beg Qasīm. ○
4. Muning yuqqarisī chong kichik beg jam‘ī altmish.

1.2. Translation

Our report:

Hakim beg *junwang* Iskandar and others respectfully forward and report to the Councillor. When I, alias Iskandar, asked all the high- and low-ranking begs to decide the silver price, they said:

“If the silver price is low at the time of dealing in all kinds of articles in our Kashgar district, all the high personages and common people under us can make profits. If the silver price is high at the time of dealing in all kinds of articles, prices rise, and none of the personages and common people under us can make any profit. We hope that *wang* hakim beg forwards this report to the Councillor and suggests that the value of 1 silver *tael*, adjusting to the recent trends that the silver price is low, should not exceed 260 *pul*.” They submitted to me a certificate affixed with the seals of every [beg].

For this reason, I, alias Iskandar, undertook research [and know] that the prediction and information of all the high- and low-ranking begs are true. Therefore, I, alias Iskandar, present this report to the Councillor with the certificate which high- and low-ranking begs submitted to me. I petition the Councillor and others to clearly examine this important matter and cope well. I have respectfully reported on this matter.

The 1st day of the 7th month of the 6th year of the Great Khan.
(The rest is omitted.)

*1.3. Commentary***2625:**

0. 伯克等原呈回子字甘結: This Chinese sentence at the beginning of the text is the document’s title, written on a slip of paper (*zhawen* 札文) adhering to the

document like a “post-it”, probably by processors in the palace in the Qing period. It means “the original certificate (*ganjie* 甘結) which begs wrote in Muslim script and presented [to the public office].”

2. **Hākim beg jūnwāng Iskandar:** *hākim* refers to the governor or commander of an oasis city. *Jūnwāng* is a transcription from Chinese “*junwang* 郡王” (Man. *giyūn wang*, the second degree of the Qing royal peerage). This Kashgar hakim beg was the third generation Turfan king Iskandar (Ch. *Yisikanda'er* 伊斯堪達爾, r. 1779–1811); he was the author and dispatcher of Doc. 1.
- 3a. **khebä amban:** *khebä amban* is a transcription from Manchu *hebei amban*, the Councillor (*canzan dachen*) stationed in the Kashgar Manchu city. The *canzan dachen* had the authority to control all the cities in Kashgaria.¹⁰ At the time Doc. 1 was composed, the *canzan dachen* was Mongol Bannerman Fujun (富俊).
- 3b. **ulamjütüp:** There is no word corresponding to *ulamjütüp* (< v. *ulamjütümaq*) found in Chaghatay-Turkic. However, *ula~ulagh* originally meant “transport animal” or “animal-powered transport” in Altaic Languages and we can find that *ulamjip etidu* corresponds to Man. *ulambi* (transmit, forward) in the multilingual glossary *Wuti qingwen jian*, which was published by the Qing government.¹¹ I surmise that *ulamjütümaq* in Doc. 1 is a transcription from the Manchu *ulanjimbi*.
8. **mushkil:** In this context, *mushkil* (difficult, painful) implies “expensive.” It is an obvious influence from the Man. *mangga*,¹² which means “expensive” in addition to “difficult, painful.”
10. **hālī:** A variant of Pers. *hālā*, or now.
11. **ser:** *ser* was the traditional unit of weight used in Kashgaria. After the Qing conquest, however, it was assimilated with the Chinese unit and 1 *ser* came to be considered as equal to 1 *tael* (*liang* 兩).¹³

2626:

6. **shīd kirlärmikin:** Unclear. In Docs. 2 and 3, this term translates to *icihiyarao* (to will a person to cope with).¹⁴
7. **Ulugh Khānning altinchī yil yettinchi aynīng yengi birdä:** The document is dated according to the Qing lunar calendar, not the Hejira calendar. This date is equivalent to August 9, 1801. There are other examples of the use of

¹⁰ WANG Dongping 王东平 2003 *Qingdai huijiang falü zhidu yanjiu (1759–1884)* 『清代回疆法律制度研究 (1759–1884年)』, Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe, pp. 74–80.

¹¹ WTQWJ: *Yuzhi wuti qingwen jian* 『御製五體清文鑑』, 12, *renbu* 3: 24a.

¹² See Doc. 2, 2635: 10; Doc. 3, 2641: 10.

¹³ HORI Sunao 堀直 1978 “18–20 seiki Uiguru zoku no doryōkō ni tsuite” 「18–19世紀、ウイグル族の度量衡について」, *Ōtemae joshi daigaku ronshū* 12, p. 62.

¹⁴ See Doc. 2, 2636: 5; Doc. 3, 2643: 5.

the Qing lunar calendar in Chaghatay-Turkic official documents¹⁵; therefore, use of the Qing lunar calendar was mandatory for Muslims submitting official documents to Qing authorities.

2627:

- 1a. törtünchi jergä:** *jergä* is a transcription from Man. *jergi* (Ch. *pin* 品), meaning official rank. Most of the begs are listed by arrangement of words: residence, official rank, beg-post title, and person's name (e.x. Fayḍabāt-nīng / törtünchi jergä / ḥakīm beg / Muḥammad Īmīn [2627: 5]). But there are some begs whose residences were not recorded (e.x. Törtünchi jergä / shāng beg / Ibrāhīm. [2627: 4]). These begs resided in the Kashgar main city, not in other satellite cities and towns.
- 1b. ithik-āgha beg:** *ithik-āgha* is a variant of *ishik-āghā*, or adjutant of the hakim.
- 1c. yerlik chirik:** The literal translation would be “local people soldier”; I translate it as “Muslim soldier,” as it seems to be used to indicate the troops referred to in Manchu as *hoise* (i.e. Ch. *Huizi* 回子, or Muslim) *cooha*.¹⁶ The Muslim soldier system in Kashgaria dates back to 1787 (QL 52). In an incident involving a group of serfs, or *yanchi* (Pers. *īnjū*, Man. *yanči*, Ch. *Yanqi* 燕起~彥齊 etc.)¹⁷, who sought to escape, Mingliang (明亮), then the *canzan dachen*, dispatched 500 Muslims to capture them. Afterward, he exempted these people from tax payments and made them soldiers, thus creating the *yerlik chirik* or *hoise cooha*. After 1794, to supervise the Muslim soldiers, the Qing government appointed one supervisor-in-chief (Man. *uheri da*, Ch. *zongguan* 總管) from the fourth official rank begs, two vice supervisors-in-chief (Man. *ilhi da*, Ch. *fu zongguan* 副總管) from the fourth or fifth official rank begs, one platoon leader per 100 soldiers (*yüz bashi*), and one squad leader per 10 soldiers (*on bashi*).¹⁸ We can observe the application of this system in Doc. 1.¹⁹
- 1d. uhari da:** A transcription from Man. *uheri da*.
- 2a. yilshi da:** A transcription from Man. *ilhi da*.
- 2b. birinchi jergä tayji:** *tayji* is a transcription from Mongol and/or Manchu (Mo. *tayiji*, Ma. *Taiji*, Ch. *taiji* 台吉), and in this case, it denotes a one of the ranks of the Qing peerage. There were four degrees of *tayji*; *birinchi jergä tayji* denotes the first rank.

¹⁵ Hori 1999: 65–67, 69–72.

¹⁶ See Doc. 2, 2636: 8.

¹⁷ *Yānchī* were serfs subordinated to begs. See Saguchi 1963: 135–37.

¹⁸ HJTZ: *Huijiang tongzhi* 『回疆通志』, 7: 24a.

¹⁹ See Doc. 1, 2627: 1, 2, 3; 2628: 6; 2629: 2, 3; 2630: 3; 2631: 7.

5. **ḥakīm beg:** Kashgar hakim beg Iskandar was called *ḥākīm* in Doc. 1. As opposed to this, all the hakim begs of the satellite cities were referred as *ḥakīm* (wise man, sage). It is likely to be a simple misspelling, but we cannot fully deny a possibility that the different spellings in this document were used to distinguish the superior beg, the Kashgar hakim beg, from the others.

2628:

6. **Yüz bashī:** *yüz* is “one hundred,” and *bashī* is “a man’s head” or “a chief” in Turkic. Here, *yüz bashī* means a platoon leader of the Muslim soldiers.

2634:

4. **Munīng yuqqarīsī chong kichik beg jam‘ī altmīsh:** The final sentence of the list of begs means “the total number of begs [written] above is 60.”

2. Features and Observations Regarding Doc. 1

2.1. The Form of the Document

It must be noted that a supplementary memorial (*fujian* 附件), which is appended to the palace memorial (*zouzhe* 奏摺), is not a copy but the original document written by the local government official or the chief of the local ethnic group. There is an “original certificate” in the *zhawen* on Doc. 1, so we can be fairly certain that Doc. 1 was an original document written in Kashgar. In addition, the paper used for Doc. 1 was Chinese paper, not the so-called “Khotan paper” that Muslim people traditionally used. Based on the above, we shall more carefully analyze the form of Doc. 1.²⁰

Cover

The phrase “ma‘lūm qīlghanmīz (our report)” [2625: 1] is inscribed on the first page. This page was the cover of this *chengwen*. “Ma‘lūm qīlghanmīz” is equivalent to Man. *alibume unggire bithe*.

Beginning

The first mention of the name and title of the dispatcher is on the second page. In Chinese, Manchu, and Mongol documents, where the script is written vertically, the name and time would be indented to a position physically lower but in line with the name and title of the superior official as a mark of respect to superior officials. Since Arabic script is written horizontally, the dispatcher’s name, “Ḥākīm

²⁰ In the argument below, I refer to Hagihara 2006a: 148–78, 2006b.

beg jünwāng Iskandar” [2625: 2], is written towards the left along with “ighrazlap” [2625: 2]. This “ighrazlap” (respectfully), following the dispatcher’s name, corresponds to Man. *gingguleme* and Ch. *jin* 謹. These words, also used to express respect, are very characteristic of Qing official documents.

Next, the document’s recipient, “Khebä amban” [2625: 3], is written at the beginning of a new line located higher than the name of the dispatcher. This was also a method of showing respect. “Khebä amban” appears 4 times in Doc. 1, each time at the beginning of a new line. Also, “-ghän uchurı” [2625: 3] is equivalent to Man. *-ra/re jalin*, Mon. *-qu/kü(-yin) uçir(-a)*, and Ch. *wei* 爲 ~ *shi* 事.

Main subject of the report

Generally, the main subject of a Qing administrative document begins with a quotation from a previous document, such as an emperor’s edict, a superior official’s order or an oral report (*bingbao* 稟報). Iskandar quoted the *bingbao* of all 60 begs of Kashgar district: “Bizning ~ tokhtaturlarmikün” [2625: 5 ~ 2625: 11].

After the quotation, the dispatcher Iskandar expressed his personal opinion: “munga ~ rast” [2621: 1 ~ 2625: 11], in accordance with regulations. The term “istäp baqşam” (when I searched) [2626: 2] at the beginning of his opinion corresponds to Man. *baicaci*, Mon. *baičayabasu*, and Ch. *cha* 查 or *chade* 查得.

End

The phrase “muning üchün ~ ma’lüm qıldim” (I reported...for this reason) [2626: 3], is a literal translation of the conventional ending phrase of a Manchu *chengwen*: *erei jalin ~ alibume unggihe*, Mongol: *egün-ü tula ~ ergün ilegegebe*, and Chinese: *weici* 爲此 ~ *chengqing* 呈請.

Finally, the date is written, and the official seal of the Kashgar hakim beg is affixed. This, too, clearly conforms to the Qing documentary form. Doc. 1 employs the Qing lunar calendar instead of the Hejira calendar; however, the reign name was not written as Jiaqing (Man. *saicunnga fengšen*) but as “Ulugh Khān” (great Khan). In this respect, the Chaghatay-Turkic document differs from Mongol documents, which used *saisiyal irögeltü*, a literal translation of *saicunnga fengšen*, for the Jiaqing reign name. In addition, the ink depth and character style for the text “yengi birdä” (first day) differ from that of other words. It is evident that “yengi birdä” was added later. Properly speaking, a principal characteristic of *chengwen* was that only the year and month of composition were specified and the day was omitted.

Doc. 1 is consistent in appearance with the form of *chengwen*, and it clearly differs from that of common private documents, for example, the so-called *waqf* documents or *qāzī* documents. The important formal features of Doc. 1 can be summarized as follows: (1) Chinese paper is used; (2) the type of document is clearly written on the cover; (3) methods of expressing respect to a superior official are

used; and (4) at the end of the document, the date appears according to the Qing lunar calendar, and an official seal is affixed. In addition to these features, the well-ordered format of Doc. 1 suggests to us that similar official documents were constantly exchanged between the hakim beg and the *canzan dachen*, and that secretaries had considerable experience in drawing up *chengwen* by the year 1801. I will define such official documents as “Chaghatay-Turkic administrative documents.”

3. The Document Administration System in Kashgaria under Qing Rule

To begin with, we should take note of the official seals affixed to Doc. 1. What we notice first is that the Qing government cast and provided official seals only to hakim begs, regardless of *pin*-grade. It could be said that the official seal accorded an official and legal status to a document. Each hakim beg’s seal was carved in three scripts: Manchu, Todo (Oyirat), and Arabic (Chaghatay-Turkic), arranged from left to right. Below, I decipher the characters on the seal of the Kashgar hakim beg:

- (L) Kašigar i akim / bek i temgetu
 (C) Qašiyar-yin akim / bey-kiyin temdey
 (R) Kāshgharñing / ħakim beg / ñing muhurı

The important point is that while there are Todo characters, no Chinese characters are present. This gives us concrete evidence that the Qing were strongly conscious of their position as the successor to the Zhungars; further, at this stage, they attempted to remove elements reminiscent of *Chīn* or *Khitāy* (China, Han-Chinese) from the official face of their rule in Kashgaria.²¹ By contrast, the official seals of Councillors were arranged (R) Manchu, (C) Arabic, (L) Chinese, without Todo.²²

²¹ There is other evidence that only Manchu and Monggol Bannermen were appointed to every main city in Xinjiang until 1877. In 1763, the Qianlong emperor stated that every office stationed in Xinjiang “must use Manchu language in all documents. If not mastering Manchu language, they will lose face for Manchus and certainly be laughed at by Muslims and Kazakh tribes.” DQGCHS: *Daqing gaozong chun-huangdi shilu* [大清高宗純皇帝實錄] 698: 11a–b, QL 28. 11. *xinyou* (8). For a discussion on the relation between the languages and political or cultural order in Qing Xinjiang, see MILLWARD, James A. and Laura J. NEWBY 2006 “The Qing and Islam on the Western Frontier,” in Pamela CROSSLEY, et al. eds. *Empire and the Margins: Culture, Ethnicity, and Frontier in Early Modern China*, Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, pp. 121–23.

²² The seal of the Administrative Military Governor of Yarkand reads as follows: (R) 辦理葉爾羌等處事務大臣之印; (C) Yerkāng (sic.) qatarlıq yerning kerākni qıladurghan ambanning muhurı; (L) Yerkiyang jergi ba i baita be icihiyara amban i doron.

Next, I will examine the circumstances surrounding the issuance of official seals to hakim begs. Two years after the establishment of the beg system,²³ the Qing government decided to cast and issue copper seals to the hakim begs in 1761 (QL 26). By that time, hakim begs had been appointed to 31 cities.²⁴ However, even if there were multiple posts with the same title of hakim, these official ranks differed according to the differences in the cities' jurisdictions. The Qing divided them according to three degrees: Yarkand, Kashgar, Aqsu, and Hotan were designated as "large city" (*dacheng* 大城); Ush, Yangihisar, Aqsu, and Pichan as "middle city" (*zhongcheng* 中城); and the other 23 cities as "small city" (*xiaocheng* 小城). Their seals were graduated in size according to this classification.²⁵ The Grand Council (*Junjichu*) explained the usage of the official seals as follows:

When presenting a document for official duty, hakims must always sign and seal together with the *ishik-agma*, *ghazanachi*, and other begs.²⁶

It is clear from this description that the signatures and seals of not only the hakim beg, but also the other begs were required when drawing up official documents to be sent to the Qing authorities. We can see that Doc. 1 observed this regulation, with the list of signatures and seals of 60 begs submitted as certification. Although we lack other examples of "Chaghatay-Turkic administrative documents," we may argue that all the begs' signatures and seals in the district were required when petitioning about a very important problem; on the other hand, this may have been unnecessary in routine matters.

Documents without official seals, as mentioned earlier, had no official or legal power. Consequently, it is clear that the right to send reports to the Qing authorities was limited only to the hakim beg; other begs did not enjoy this right on their own account. In addition, Doc. 1 shows that the hakim begs of the small cities surrounding the Kashgar main city—Fayzabat, Beshkirim, Astin Artush, Ustin Artush, Arghun, Tashmiliq, and Opal—also attached their signatures and seals, and then

²³ For details on the process to establish the beg system in 1758–59, see ONUMA Takahiro 小沼孝博 2007 "Beku seido no sōsetsu: Shinchō kōmonjo niyoru Higashi Torukisutan shi kenkyū josetsu" 「ベク制度の創設—清朝公文書による東トルキスタン史研究序説」, *Nairiku Ajia shi kenkyū* 22, pp. 39–59.

²⁴ Afterwards, the number of hakim begs increased to 35. See Saguchi 1963: 126–27. In addition, Ya'qūb Beg, who invaded Kashgaria in the second half of the 19th century, took over the local Qing system and appointed hakims to 34 large and small cities. KIM Hodong 2004 *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 104.

²⁵ PDZFL: *Pingding Zhunge'er fanglüe* 『平定準噶爾方略』, *Xubian* (sequel) 13: 5a–7a, QL 26. 8. *wuyin* (12).

²⁶ PDZFL, *Xubian* 13: 5b.

requested that “*wang hakim beg forwards this report to the Councillor,*” together with the other begs. This fact suggests that it was only the hakim beg of the main city in a district, where the local Qing office (*yamen*) was located, who had the authority to memorialize the Qing government on his own initiative. Although it is a debatable point, it is possible that the hakim beg of the main city stood above ones of satellite cities.²⁷

However, even the hakim beg of a main city could only submit reports to the local Qing Councillor (*dachen*), and had no right to send memorials directly to the Qing emperor. In order to convey their opinions to the emperor and central Qing government, it was necessary for their communications to be delivered through the procedure of proxy memorial, or “*daizou* 代奏,” in which the Councillor, instead of the hakim beg himself, forwarded the memorial to the court. In general, a *daizou* to the Emperor provided a translation but did not append the original document.

Doc. 2 has the *zheben* 謹譯伯克等所呈甘結 (“a respectful translation of the certificate which begs reported”) and is an almost perfect word-for-word translation of Doc. 1. Thus, we may assume that Doc. 2 was translated at the local Kashgar office and sent to Beijing together with Doc. 1. It is likely that the Qing authorities in Kashgar were experienced in translating Chaghatay-Turkic into Manchu.²⁸ In contrast, Doc. 3 does not include a list of begs, and on the basis of my observation of the other documents in the course of research at the First Historical Archives of China, I can confidently state that its Manchu character and form follow the *lufu* style of the Grand Council. The construction of Manchu sentences in Doc. 1 is more proper than that of the sentences in Doc. 2. We may conclude, then, that Doc. 3 was a *lufu* copied by a clerk of the Grand Council at the Qing court in Beijing. Perhaps Doc. 3 was not directly translated from Doc. 1 but was rewritten based on Doc. 2.

To sum up, the “Chaghatay-Turkic administrative document” was a kind of local administrative communication in Kashgaria, and examples like Doc. 1, which was actually delivered to Beijing and archived by the Qing court were an exception. Why, then, was Doc. 1 sent to Beijing? The answer becomes clear upon considering the background of Doc. 1, as I do in the next section.

²⁷ For example, Narbuta, the ruler of Khokand (r. 1770–99), in a Chaghatay-Turkic letter to the Kashgar hakim beg Iskandar in 1795, called him “hakim beg to handle government affairs of Kashgar area” (*Kāshghar yūrtini muhimmātīn sar-rashta wā sar-anjām qīlīp turghan hākīm beglik*), but not “city (*shahr*).” JMLZ, 160: 3567, QL 60. 10 *bao*.

²⁸ Although definitive information on the translation process to Manchu is lacking, we can conjecture that *Huiwuchu* (回務處, or Muslim Affairs Office), situated in the Councillor’s *yamen*, participated in the process.

4. The Historical Context of Doc. 1: One Aspect of Qing Rule in Kashgaria

In this section, I shall examine the historical context of Doc. 1. This document, as we have seen, is a report by the Kashgar hakim beg Iskandar to the *canzan dachen*, and it reported the results of a call to all the begs in the Kashgar district to assess the *pul-tael* exchange rate. In order to appreciate the exact context of this document, we have to first consider the *pul* minting system of Kashgaria under Qing rule.²⁹

Pūl is a Persian word meaning “coin” or “money.” Although *pul* coins had circulated in Kashgaria during the Zhungar regime, with the name of the Zhungar ruler inscribed on them, their circulation was restricted to the western district and had not reached eastern districts like Aksu, Kucha, or Karashar. After Qing officials and soldiers were stationed in each city, the government had to pay them a monthly salary. This salary was customarily divided into *yancai* (鹽菜),³⁰ which despite its literal meaning of “salt and vegetables” was paid in cash (silver *tael* and copper coin), and *kouliang* (口糧), which was paid in kind. The local government of the new territory, Xinjiang, depended entirely on silver conveyed from Inner China (*neidi*).³¹ Sundry copper coins, which were of low value relative to their weight and were thus unsuitable for long hauls, were not transported. However, because the silver *tael* was not suited for small-scale trade in bazaars, such as the purchase of daily necessities by soldiers, thus the Qing government turned its attention to the *pul* that was currently used in Kashgaria.

After overcoming the *Makhdūm-zāda* khojas, the Qing immediately established the Yarkand Mint in 1760 (QL 25), and started to collect and remint old Zhungar *pul* to new *pul*.³² The Yarkand Mint collected 12,318,450 *pul* before its

²⁹ The principal studies on the Qing monetary policy in Kashgaria are: KUZNETSOV, Viacheslav S. 1973 *Ekonomicheskaya politika tsinskogo pravitel'stva v Sin' tsi'ziane v pervoi polovine XIX veka*, Moskva: Nauka, pp. 146–62; HORI Sunao 堀直 1980 “Shindai Kaikyō no kahei seido: Puru chūzōsei ni tsuite” 「清代回疆の貨幣制度——普爾鑄造制について」, in Nakajima Satoshi sensei kokikinen ronshū jigyōkai 中嶋敏先生古稀記念事業会 ed. *Nakajima Satoshi sensei koki kinen ronshū* 『中嶋敏先生古稀記念論集』, Tokyo: Kyūko shoyin, vol. 1, pp. 581–602.; WU Yuanfeng 吳元丰 1997 “Qing Qianlong nianjian xinjiang puerqian de zhuzao liutong ji qi zuoyong” 「清乾隆年間新疆普爾錢的鑄造流通及其作用」 *Xiyu yanjiu*, 1997, no. 1, pp. 39–49.; MILLWARD, James A. 1998 *Beyond the Pass: Economy, Ethnicity, and Empire in Qing Central Asia, 1759–1864*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, pp. 63–75. I refer to these studies in the argument below.

³⁰ The salary paid to high officials, for example, *dachen*, was not called *yancai* but rather *yanglian* (養廉).

³¹ That is *xiexiang* (協餉). For further details regarding *xiexiang*, see Millward 1998: 59–61.

³² The new *pul* was round with a central hole, modeled on Chinese copper coins (*zhiqian* 制錢) but with Arabic and Manchu script on one face stating where they were minted. The Qing exchanged two old *pul* for one new *pul* according to the custom in the Zhungar times. The Qing at first enforced this rate for old *pul*, and the local Muslim people endured this policy. Thereafter, following a decision by the Qianlong emperor, one old *pul* was exchanged for one new *pul* after 1762 (QL 27). See Wu 1997: 45; Millward 1998: 64–65.

closing in 1769 (QL 34).³³ In 1761, a new mint was opened at Aqsu, where the *pul* was not in circulation.³⁴ When establishing the Aqsu Mint, Shuhede (舒赫德) described the purpose of minting *pul* as follows:

If we mint copper coins in Aqsu district and they circulate among satellite cities as well as cities [to the west] such as Yarkand, it would be convenient for Muslim people. Still more important, this makes [Muslim people] pay [*pul* as] *alban* (head tax), which is convenient for our soldiers. However, when launching the minting and use of *pul*, if we do not pair it with silver *taels* but use only [copper *pul*] coins, conversion will be difficult [in the future]. When starting to mint and use the *pul* next year, first of all, we want to pair it exactly with the silver *tael* and to use [*pul*] as *yancai* for officials and soldiers.³⁵

Thus, there were two main purposes for the Qing *pul* minting system. The first was to stabilize and stimulate the local market. Even more important was the maintenance of a source of *yancai* for officials and soldiers through stable tax revenues. As a result, the *pul* minting system established the *pul* circulation structure in Kashgaria society as follows: “monthly tax levy → *yancai* provision to officials and soldiers → purchase of daily necessities in the market.”³⁶

However, it was not possible to cover the salary and expenses of public offices by tax revenues alone, so the local government had to continue minting *pul* every year and converting the silver *tael* carried from Inner China.³⁷ Because of this, the *pul-tael* exchange rate, as Shuhede also said, was an important issue. The Qing had already decided upon an official rate of 50:1 in 1759, before opening the Yarkand Mint. The following year, it was reset at 70:1 to conform to the market rate. After the Yarkand Mint was established, the market price of *pul* fell to 100–120. In addition, each city soon had its own *pul* price.³⁸ Concerned about the lack of a stable, unified exchange rate, the Grand Council made a new proposal.

³³ Wu 1997: 41. However, in order to maintain *pul* circulation in the market, the government re-released a certain amount of old *pul* collected (Wu 1997: 45). Therefore the figure “12,318,450 *pul*” was the total number of *pul* that the government withdrew from circulation until 1769, and so the actual number of old *pul* circulating in the market before the Qing conquest was less than this.

³⁴ The Qing transferred its main base to Ush from Yarkand after the Ush rebellion in 1765, and the Aqsu Mint was also relocated to Ush.

³⁵ JMLZ, 58: 1058, QL 25. 10. 8., Shuhede memorial.

³⁶ Hori 1980: 589. To borrow Hori’s phrase, “It can be said that only by this *pul* mint system, were the Qing, which made indirect rule a principle, able to have direct relations with the Uyghur people” (Hori 1980: 591–92).

³⁷ Hori 1980: 589–91.

³⁸ Millward 1998: 68–69.

The reason for the rise and fall in the exchange rate (*qianfa* 錢法) is that the market price [of copper coins] fluctuates. The measure of this fluctuation is the distribution [of copper coins], because it increases or decreases in accordance with the trend of the times, and there has been no regular standard from the beginning. We cannot force an official exchange rate even on Inner China; we are barely able to impose restrictions or to try to set a fixed price. So how can this be overcome in [new territory] Kashgaria? ...Ascertaining the market price, we must cope well [with the problem of the exchange rate] according to the circumstances at a given time.³⁹

Simply stated, the Qing government gave up on fixing the official exchange rate in Kashgaria. However, the fact that the official exchange rate was pegged to fluctuations in the market price of *pul* gave Kashgaria a unique *qianfa*.

An outflow of silver overseas, which began in the second half of the Qianlong era, caused a rise in the silver prices, reversing its longterm low-price trend.⁴⁰ Xinjiang was particularly affected; because it relied on silver conveyance from Inner China, the problem of insufficient silver posed a significant threat to the livelihood of middle- and low-level officials and soldiers. In order to relieve them, the *canzan dachen* Mingliang decided to pay their monthly *yancai* in *pul* converted at a rate of 160:1 in 1787 (QL 52). At the same time, the conversion rate for the high officials, e.g. *dachen* who had less need for *pul* on a daily basis, was left at 100:1.⁴¹ However, the price of *pul* in the local market fell to 170–180 immediately after the adoption of this new regulation,⁴² and afterward, its gradual fall continued. In this situation, Fujun, who was appointed the Kashgar *canzan dachen* in 1799 (JQ 4), tried revising the *pul-tael* conversion rate for soldiers' *yancai*. Below, I will describe these circumstances and some complications on the basis of a Chinese document.⁴³

As soon as he started his new assignment, Fujun witnessed firsthand the destitution of the soldiers. He investigated the cause and came to the following understanding:

³⁹ DQGCHS, 612: 22b–23a, QL 25. 5. *renzi* (9).

⁴⁰ As Hans Ulrich Vogel clearly pointed out, in Inner China, “the year 1786 (QL 51) was a turning point as the market exchange rate once again reached a value of 1:1,000.” See Hans Ulrich Vogel 1987 “Chinese Central Monetary Policy, 1644–1800,” 7.

⁴¹ HJTZ, 7: 9a.

⁴² DQGCHS, 1282: 10b–11a, QL 52. 6. *jiachen* (8).

⁴³ MZSWL: *Junjichu lufu zouzhe: minzu shiwu lei* 『軍機處錄副奏摺民族事務類』, 45: 1448, JQ 6. 8. 20., Fujun memorial. I thank Professor Hua Li for readily consenting to the use of her handwritten copy of this Chinese document.

The price of copper coins in the market has been falling every year. Now, 1 silver *tael* is exchanged with a copper coin at a rate of about 250–60 ~ 270–80. Such a low price for copper coins is not a recent trend, but rather one that has continued over several years. However, we have paid *yancai* to soldiers by converting 1 silver *tael* into 160 copper coins (*wen* 文). There is a great gap between the official rate and the market rate. Soldiers have been forced into a painful life just for this reason.

Taking this matter into consideration, in June 1800 (JQ 5), Fujun proposed raising the conversion rate for soldiers' *yancai* up to 260:1, but the central government did not immediately approve his suggestion. These concerns were reflected in a report by the Yarkand *banshi dachen* (辦事大臣) Tuojin (托津), who reported that the *pul-tael* market exchange rate in Yarkand had soared to 210–220:1 in the winter of 1800, so that if he carried out Fujun's proposal, the cost to the national treasury would be great. He claimed that it would be better to set the exchange rate to 200:1. The Jiaqing emperor (r. 1796–1820) stated as follows:

Why is the price of copper coins high only in Yarkand, compared with the other seven cities? No minister can clearly explain the reason for this. Although, according to the [Fujun's] proposal, the soldiers' pains will be removed if costs are reduced gradually every year, will Muslim people follow willingly [this policy]?

Next, the central government ordered Fujun to carry out a more detailed and extensive research on the problem. Fujun's re-investigation revealed an unexpected cause: the opening of the jade trade to private merchants. After the uncovering of the illicit sale of jade by the Yarkand *banshi dachen* Gaopu (高僕) in 1778 (QL 43), the Qianlong emperor (r. 1736–95) forbade private merchants from engaging in the jade trade in Kashgaria. When the Jiaqing emperor took power in 1799, following the Qianlong emperor's death, he privatized the jade trade as a part of a raft of new policies. Chinese merchants thereupon thronged into Kashgaria, setting off a "jade rush." The volume of the silver *taels* that they carried into Kashgaria led to the appreciation of the *pul*.⁴⁴ This tendency was remarkable in Yarkand, which was the distribution center for jade. From this, Fujun judged that the strong *pul* had been both a temporary and partial phenomenon, and in August 1801 again asked for permission to pay *yancai* to soldiers at the rate of 260:1.⁴⁵ Finally, the central

⁴⁴ Millward 1998: 187–90; HUA Li 華立 2004 "Sindai no gyokuseki kōeki to Sinkyō shakai" 「清代の玉石交易と新疆社会」, in TAKIZAWA Hideki 滝沢秀樹編著 ed. *Higashi Ajia no kokka to shakai: Rekishi to genzai* 『東アジアの国家と社会——歴史と現在』, Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, pp. 194–97.

⁴⁵ Fujun wrote in his memorial that the *pul* price had not changed in Khotan, where Chinese merchants did not visit because transit was inconvenient.

government accepted his request.⁴⁶

With these points in mind, we will reconsider the contents of Doc. 1. The Jiaqing emperor had inquired whether the Muslim people would accept a new system. In order to answer the emperor's question, Fujun requested Iskandar to canvass the begs and report their opinion. This is the reason why Doc. 1 was sent to Beijing.

Moreover, even though it was drawn up on the orders of the Qing authorities, I believe Doc. 1 also reflects an aspect of the actual situation of local Muslim society under the Qing rule. As we have seen, the Qing administration suffered from a silver shortage,⁴⁷ but how had this problem influenced the Muslim society? At that time, the *pul-tael* exchange system had already linked the Inner China economy with the local Muslim economy. For example, when drawing up sale and lease contracts for land or houses, Muslims usually used silver ingots called *yambu* (Ch. *yuanbao* 元寶) for payment, which were supplied from inner China.⁴⁸ "If the silver price is low at the time of dealing in all the kinds of articles in our Kashgar district, all the high personages and common people under us can make any profit. If the silver price is high at the time of dealing in all the kinds of articles, prices rise, and none of the personages and common people under us can make any profit." This beg's opinion suggests that rising silver prices amounted to an economic blow, and posed a serious problem for the Muslim society. By the same token, this matter tells us that a half-century after conquest, the Qing fiscal policies in Kashgaria could have had a strong effect on the local economy.

Conclusion

From what has been discussed above, the following may be concluded:

(1) There were "Chaghatay-Turkic administrative documents" in Kashgaria under the Qing rule. The form of these documents matched that of Qing *chengwen* in

⁴⁶ DQRCHS, 87: 28b–29a, JQ 6. 9. *renyin* (28). According to the description in HJTZ, 7: 9a, in 1801, the *pul* value was estimated at 100:1 for high officials' salaries (*yanglian*), at 160:1 for middle-low level officials' *yancai*, at 220:1 for soldiers' *yancai* (Millward 1998: 69); it was not at 260:1. At present, I have no definitive information to explain this contradiction.

⁴⁷ For example, a proposal was submitted in 1814 that the silver provision to the Han Green Standard soldiers stationed in Urumchi should be changed to remuneration in kind. See Kuznetsov 1973: 147.

⁴⁸ WANG Shouli 王守礼, and LI Jinxin 李进新 eds. 1994 *Xinjiang weiwu'erzu qiyue wenshu ziliao xuanbian* 『新疆维吾尔族契约文书资料选编』, Wulumuqi: Xinjiang shehui kexueyuan zongjiaosuo, pp. 2–3, doc. 003; HORI Sunao 堀直 2001 "Kaikyō no shakai keizai monjo ni tsuite: Chagatai-go monjo no shōkai wo chūshin toshite" 「回疆の社会経済文書について——チャガタイ語文書の紹介を中心として」, *Seinan Ajia kenkyū* 54, p. 96.

Manchu and Chinese. We can guess that official documents of this form were constantly being exchanged between the hakim beg and the Councillor in all the main cities.

(2) The right to report to the Qing authorities by writing *chengwen* was limited to hakim begs, who held official seals issued by the Qing. Although it is a debatable point, there is a possibility that a hakim beg of the main city held a monopoly on presenting *chengwen* to the Qing Councillor.

(3) After the Qing conquest, the demand for silver *taels* increased gradually in Kashgaria, and the rising silver price affected the local society as well as Qing personnel. It certainly demonstrates economic (mainly fiscal) influence; the Qing fiscal policies particularly had a strong effect on the local economy.

Doc. 1 is a precious historical record that reveals much about the political and economical conditions of Kashgaria society at that time. However, until now, other documents similar in form to Doc. 1 have not been found. Regretfully, I was able to introduce only one document, but I expect that this paper will be the first step toward a comprehensive study of the other “Chaghatay-Turkic administrative documents” that may be discovered in the future.

Appendix

Romanization of Doc. 2

2635: 0. 謹譯伯克等所呈甘結 / 1. akim bek giyūn wang isg'andar sei gingguleme / 2. hebei ambasa de aliburengge. ulame alibure jalin. / 3. isg'andar bi menggun hūda ton be tokto-bure babe / 4. geren amba ajige bek sede fonjici uhei alarangge. / 5. meni kašigar i bade eiten jaka hacin udara. / 6. uncara de gemu menggun i hūda ja oci. / 7. fejergi geren amba ajige hoise sede tusa / 8. ombi. aika menggun i hūda mannga oci. / 9. eiten jaka hacin udara uncara de hūda / 10. mangga ombime. meni fejergi geren hoise sede / 11. asuru tusa akū. bairengge ubabe wang akim / 12. bek i baci ulame / 13. hebei ambasa de alibifi. te menggun i hūda / 14. ja i erin be amcame . emu yan menggun be / 15. juwe tanggū ninju pul jiha ci dulemburakū / 16. obume toktobureo seme teisu teisu temgetu gidafi / 17. buyeme akdulara bithe tucibufi alibuhabi. ede / 18. isg'andar bi baicaci. geren amba ajige bek sei

2636: 1. baime alibuhangge turgun gemu yargiyan. uttu / 2. ofi. isg'andar bi geren amba ajige bek sei / 3. tucibuhe buyeme akdulara bithe be suwaliyame / 4. hebei ambasa de alibuha. Bairengge / 5. hebei ambasa baicame icihiyarao. erei jalin / 6. gingguleme alibuha. / 7. saicunnga fengšen i ninggun aniya nadan biyai ice. / 8. duici jergi isigan bek bime hoise cooha be kamecifi kadalara uheri da mamut. / 9. duici jergi gadzanaci bek bime hoise cooha be kamecifi kadalara ilhi da uju jergi taiji yunus. / 10. duici jergi šang bek bime hoise cooha be kamecifi kadalara ilhi da abduwais. / 11. duici jergi šang bek ibraim. / 12. paisubat i duici

jergi akim bek maimadimin. / 13. sunjaci jergi hadzi bek bayandai.

2637: 1. astu artuši i sunjaci jergi akim bek mirabdin. / 2. beškerem i sunjaci jergi akim bek bobak. / 3. sunjaci jergi nekeb bek abula. / 4. sunjaci jergi mituwali bek setibaldi. / 5. tashūn i sunjaci jergi mirab bek abudug'upur. / 6. sunjaci jergi mutiseb bek ailimhojo. / 7. ningguci jergi duguwan bek bime hoise cooha be kamcifi kadalara yudzi baši temurhojo. / 8. yustu artusi i ningguci jergi akim bek raim. / 9. arhū i ningguci jergi akim bek ailiyar. / 10. tašimilik i ningguci jergi akim bek bime hoise cooha be kamcifi kadalara yudzi baši niyassupi. / 11. upal i ningguci jergi akim bek bime hoise cooha be kamcifi kadalara yudzi baši uluk. / 12. togusak i ningguci jergi mirab bek aisem. / 13. ningguci jergi bajiger bek syamail. / 14. ningguci jergi bakmatar bek yoldaši. / 15. astu artuši i ningguci jergi hadzi bek niyas. / 16. ningguci jergi šihūl bek esemdula. / 17. kašigar i ningguci jergi arab bek abduzait. / 18. han airik i ningguci jergi mirab bek bime hoise cooha be kamcifi kadalara yudzi baši molo ušir.

2638: 1. ningguci jergi patiab bek mirlitib. / 2. ningguci jergi ming bek mamadabula. / 3. hesel buai i ningguci jergi mirab bak mimat. / 4. bešikerem i ningguci jergi mirab bek tolayahojo. / 5. horhan i ningguci jergi mirab bek ismail. / 6. horhan i ningguci jergi ming bek polat. / 7. han airik i ningguci jergi hadzi bek maimadimin. / 8. yustu artuši i ningguci jergi hadzi bek maimadimin / 9. sairman i ningguci jergi mirab bek ailiyar. / 10. bešikerem i ningguci jergi ming bek samsak. / 11. bešikerem i ningguci jergi hadzi bek yusub. / 12. arhū i ningguci jergi hadzi bek šabas. / 13. arwat i ningguci jergi mirab bek bime hoise cooha be kamcifi kadalara yudzi baši abduhalik. / 14. astu artuši i nadaci jergi ming bek baikmašan. / 15. astu artuši i nadaci jergi ming bek abdurman. / 16. astu artuši i nadaci jergi ming bek aisanmidin / 17. astu artuši i nadaci jergi ming bek ainuwarhojo. / 18. astu artuši i nadaci jergi ming bek mubarakša.

2639: 1. muši suluk i nadaci jergi ming bek niyas. / 2. muši i nadaci jergi mirab bek abduraim. / 3. paisubat i nadaci jergi ming bek tair. / 4. paisubat i nadaci jergi ming bek maihamidi. / 5. kašigar i nadaci jergi ming bek tokta. / 6. kašigar i nadaci jergi ming bek kecik. / 7. han airik i nadaci jergi ming bek abdula. / 8. yopurhū i nadaci jergi ming bek molo hūtuluk. / 9. yustu artuši i nadaci jergi ming bek litib. / 10. hesel buai i nadaci jergi ming bek maihamidi. / 11. hesel buai i nadaci jergi ming bek turdi. / 12. tashūn i nadaci jergi ming bek polat. / 13. tashūn i nadaci jergi ming bek tuliyandi. / 14. arwat i nadaci jergi ming bek toktohojo. / 15. sairman i nadaci jergi ming bek yokob. / 16. togusak i nadaci jergi ming bek g'ampar. / 17. tašimilik i nadaci jergi ming bek tebegul. / 18. upal i nadaci jergi ming bek kaisem.

1640: 1. ereci wesihun amba ajige / 2. bek uheri ninju.

Romanization of Doc. 3

2641: 1. akim bek giyūn wang isgʻandar sei gingguleme / 2. hebei amban sade aliburengge. ulame alibure / 3. jalin. isgʻandar bi. menggun hūda be toktobure / 4. babe. amba ajige geren bek sede fonjici. / 5. geren i alarangge. meni kašigar i bade. yaya / 6. jaka be udara uncara de. gemu menggun i / 7. hūda ja oci. fejergi geren hoise sede / 8. tusa ombi. aika menggun i hūda mannga / 9. oci. yaya jaka hacin be udara uncara de. / 10. hūda mangga ombime. meni fejergi urse de / 11. asuru tusa akū. bairengge ubabe wang akim / 12. bek i baci ulame hebei ambasa de / 13. alibifi. ne i erin i menggun i hūda de / 14. acabume. emu yan menggun be juwe tanggū / 15. ninju pul jiha ci dulenderakū obume toktobureo / 16. seme menimeni temgetu be gidafi. buyeme akdulara / 17. bithe tucibufi alibuhabi. ede isgʻandar bi. / 18. baicaci. amba ajige geren bek sei baime

2642: 1. alibuha turgun gemu yargiyan. erei jalin / 2. isgʻandar bi. amba ajige geren bek sei alibuha / 3. buyeme akdulara bithe be suwaliyame hebei / 4. ambasa de alibuha. bairengge. hebei ambasa / 5. bulekušefi baicame icihiyarao. erei jalin gingguleme / 6. alibuha / 7. saicunnga fengšen i ninggun aniya nadan biyai ice.

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白雲堂醫學博士手書

معلوم قلیغائیمیر

حاکم کچم کچین وانک کندر لایفیک انظر اول

خبه امبا نازمه تو تقان خنطی اولاجتیب پیلندورادورغان اوچوری اسکندر کوش کا
 بها توختا دورغان بیرینی همه جونک کچک پیک لار دین سوزاسام همه سی نیک استیقا
 نیز نیک کا شغرنیک یریده هر قایدغ نرسه کرک سائیب ایشد ایشد ایشد ایشد
 کوش نیک بهاسی ارزان بولسه تونکی همه جونک کچک یر لیک لاکه منفعت بولادور

مبادا کوش نیک بهاسی قیمت بولسه هر قایدغ نرسه سائیب ایشد ایشد ایشد ایشد
 مشکل بولسه مونچ نیک تونکی همه یر لیک لاکه انچه منفعتی یوق تیلایمیر بو یرینی

وانک حاکم کچم کچین یر لار دین اولاجتیب

خبه امبا نازمه معلوم قلیب کوش نیک بهاسینی ارزان وقت نکلیت تور
 بر کوش ایکی یوز کتیش بلدین اوتماس قلیب توختا تور لار سکین ویب

اوز اوزی تامغه موورینی باسیب تمسک خط چقاریب معلوم قیلدیر مونیکا اسکندرین
 اینتاب باقسام همه جونک کوچک پیک لار نینک تیلاب پلیندورگان او جوری راست
 مونیکا او جون اسکندرین جونک کوچک پیک لار نینک چتقارخان تمسک
 خطی قوشوب

خیمه آهسانلار شمه معلوم قیلدیریم تیلایین

خیمه آهسانلار نینک گیکاناروشمن لایب اینتاب شیدکر لار سکین مونیکا او جون اغلاز لار تیلایین

اولوغ خان نینک

 یینکی میریده



تور توشی جرکه اشکانه پیکریک برین تور توشی پلا دورغا او حارید اجمود



تور توشی جرکه توشی پیکریک برین تور توشی پلا دورغا ایله تور توشی پلا دورغا ایله تور توشی پلا دورغا ایله



تور توشی جرکه شاک پیکریک برین تور توشی پلا دورغا ایله تور توشی پلا دورغا ایله تور توشی پلا دورغا ایله



تور توشی جرکه شاک پیک ابراهیم



فیضبات نیک تور توشی جرکه حکیم پیک محمد امین



بشخی جرکه قضی پیک فایده



استین ارتوش نیک بشخی جرکه حکیم پیک میر عابدین

Doc. 1 (f. 2627)



بشکر مینک شنجی جرکه حکیم یک بیاق



بشنجی جرکه نقیب یک عبلا



بشنجی جرکه متولی یک سائب الدی



بمازغون نینک شنجی جرکه مراب یک عبدغفور



بشنجی جرکه محتسب یک علیم خواجه



بالتنجی جرکه دیوان یک لکازن توشوب پلا دو زعا یوزباشی توفیق

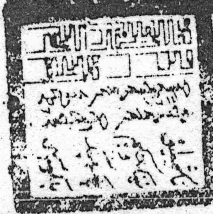


استوان آرتوج نینک التینجی جرکه حکیم یک رحیم

Doc. 1 (f. 2628)



آرغونیک آلتنجی جرکه حکیم پیک علیار



پیشمالیق نیک آلتنجی جرکه حکیم پیک برکیق قوشوب پادورغان بوزیا ^{نیاز}



اوغان نیک آلتنجی جرکه حکیم پیک برکیق قوشوب پادورغان بوزیا اولوغ



توقراق نیک آلتنجی جرکه مراب پیک عظیم



آلتنجی جرکه باجر پیک اسماعیل



آلتنجی جرکه باغ متمر پیک بولداش



استین آرتوج نیک آلتنجی جرکه قضا پیک نیاز



آلتنجی جرگه ایشقاول پیک عصمت الله



آلتنجی جرگه ارباب پیک عبد زاهد



خان ایچی نیک آلتنجی جرگه ارباب پیک اریک بیک اریک بیک قورشا و قورشا و قورشا



آلتنجی جرگه پادشاه پیک میرلطیف



آلتنجی جرگه نیک پیک محمد عبلا



قزلبوی نیک آلتنجی جرگه مراب پیک همان



بشکره نیک آلتنجی جرگه مراب پیک توکاخواجه



قورغان نیک آلتنجی جرگه مراب پیک اسماعیل



قورغان نیک آلتنجی جرگه نیک پیک فلات

Doc. 1 (f. 2630)



خان اریق نینک التینچی جرکه قضا پیک محمد امین



اوستون آرتوج نینک التینچی جرکه قضا پیک محمد امین



سمرن نینک التینچی جرکه مراب پیک علیار



بشکره نینک التینچی جرکه مینک پیک ماساتق



بشکره نینک التینچی جرکه قضا پیک سیف



آرغون نینک التینچی جرکه قضا پیک شاباز



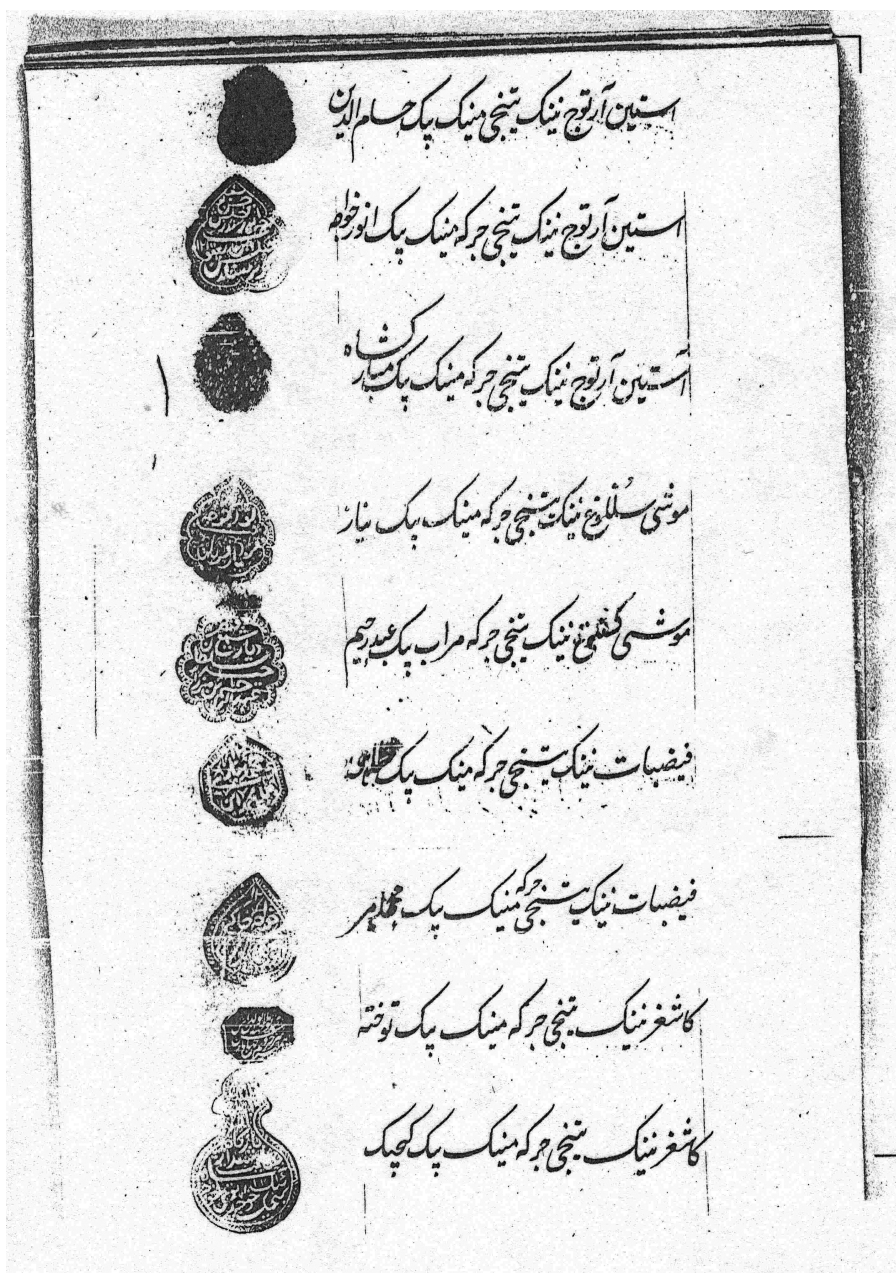
اروات نینک التینچی جرکه مراب پیک ریاکیکه قوشو بیلا دور قاضی ^{بیتقالی}



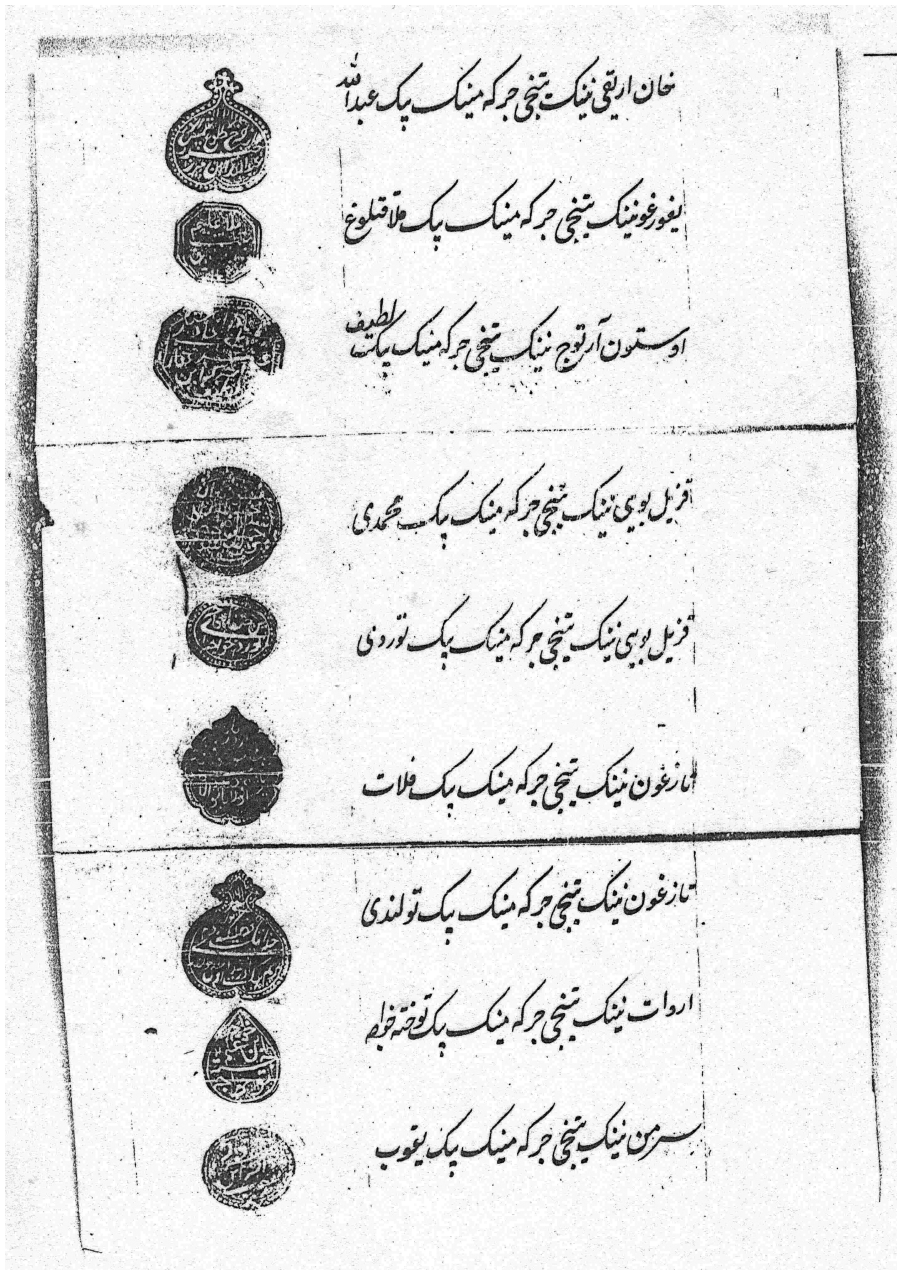
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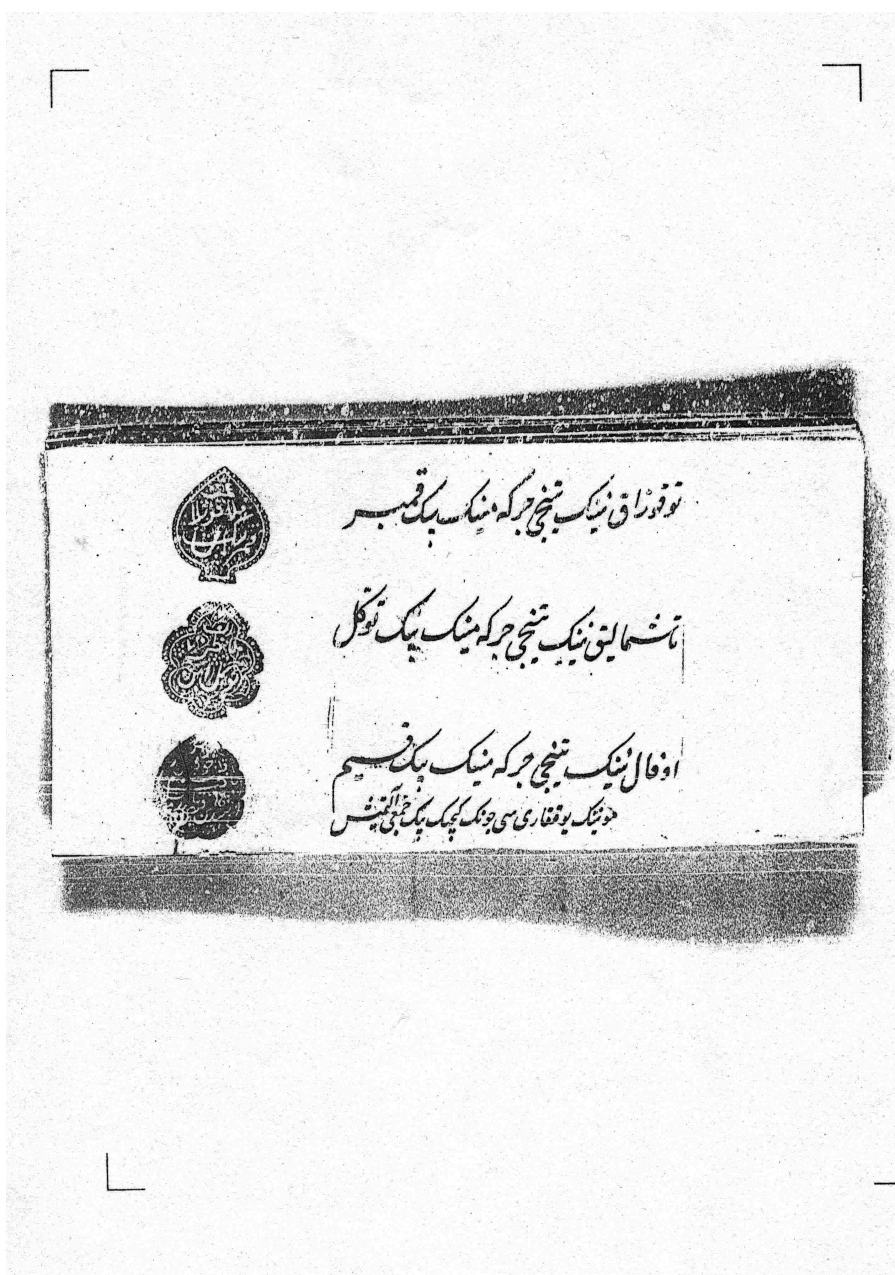
استین آرتوج نینک التینچی پیک عبدالمانا



Doc. 1 (f. 2632)



Doc. 1 (f. 2633)



Doc. 1 (f. 2634)