The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

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**Bibliography**  

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This volume consists of a study of two manuscripts from Xinjiang in the collection of the Ethnography Museum (Etnografya Müzesi) in Ankara, numbered EM13135 and EM13138. Ahmet Temir first called attention to the existence of these texts in 1951, and subsequently edited and published the shorter of the two (Temir 1951, 1961).

Here we offer new editions and analysis of both texts. Part 1, by David Brophy, gives a sketch of the history of the Turfan junwang dynasty, whose activities are described in the two manuscripts. Chapter 2 is an essay by Onuma Takahiro on the community of Turfan Muslims who resided in the Guazhou oasis of western Gansu from 1732 to 1756. Along with a transcription and translation of EM13135, it also investigates social conditions within this migrant community. In Part 3, David Brophy gives a transcription and translation of EM13138, the Turkic version of the Qing official Qing biography of Emin Khoja, comparing it with Mongolian and Manchu texts from which it was translated.

Thanks are due to the helpful staff at the Ethnography Museum in Ankara, who kindly permitted us to photograph these manuscripts. Research for this project was carried out with the support of the Harvard Asia Center, JSPS KAKENHI Grant Number 25770259 and 40281852, and the China Studies Centre at the University of Sydney.

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List of Abbreviations

Note: For abbreviations of primary and secondary sources, please consult the bibliography.

A. Arabic
C. Chinese
JQ Jiaqing
Ma. Manchu
Mo. Mongolian
P. Persian
QL Qianlong
SU. Standard Uyghur
T. Turkic
YZ Yongzheng
The two texts presented in this volume narrate the history of the Muslims of Turfan in the eighteenth century, and center on the ruling family of jasagh aristocrats that the incoming Qing created among them. Accessible from both the Ili Valley and Jungharia, the Turfan region had long been a meeting place of ambitious Muslim leaders and nomadic military strength. From the early seventeenth century onwards, a branch of the Chaghatayid dynasty whose origins lay in Turfan had dominated the Tarim Basin. In the eighteenth century, the advance of the Qing Empire into Islamic lands was the catalyst for the rise of a new Turfani elite, who not only held hereditary fiefdom in Turfan, but were appointed to positions throughout Xinjiang as part of the “beg system.”

In the early eighteenth century, local politics in the Turfan oasis was defined by the struggle between the Junghar Mongols and the Qing dynasty. Reading the history of Turfan through official Qing reports gives only a hazy view of the state of affairs there during the period of Junghar hegemony. It was around the year 1680 that the Junghar khan Galdan Boshqotu (r. 1671–97) incorporated the region into his expanding realm, and installed begs loyal to himself. In 1720 an expeditionary force sent by the Yongzheng emperor briefly occupied the oasis, but was obliged to withdraw in 1725. Following this, the wary emperor discouraged Turfanis from seeking direct contact with the Qing, though some locals who had openly allied with the Qing followed the imperial army back into Gansu. In retaliation for perceived disloyalty, the Junghars deported much of Turfan’s remaining population south to the towns of Aqsu and Uch (which for this reason became known as Uch Turfan). Emin Khoja, who had previously served as the ḥākim (governor) of Pichan in the east of the Turfan
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oasis, was among those transported to Aqsu.¹ In the early 1730s, he escaped and made his way back to Turfan, and for a few years sold grain to Qing garrisons stationed to the east. In 1732, he led a party of some ten thousand Turfani refugees to seek Qing protection in Gansu. Officials resettled Emin Khoja and his followers at a location near Guazhou 瓜州, to the west of the Anxi garrison; there they were organized into a banner, with Emin Khoja appointed banner chief, or jasagħ (see Part 2). Around 1745, the incumbent Junghar-appointed beg of Turfan died, and the khan Galdan Tsering recalled from Aqsu a member of a different elite family from Turfan, a man by the name of Mänglik. Galdan Tsering (r. 1727–45) gave Mänglik the title erke tarqan, and appointed him beg in Turfan. Upon Galdan Tsering’s death, civil war broke out among the Junghars, and a Mongolian aristocrat from the Choros, Galdan Dorji, assumed independent control in the oasis. From 1752 onwards, Mänglik sent Turfan’s annual tribute payments to Galdan Dorji instead of Dabachi.²

This was the situation when the Qing launched its attack on the Junghars in 1755, with Emin Khoja leading a small force of Muslim troops from Guazhou as part of the invasion. Galdan Dorji and Mänglik both submitted at an early opportunity, and Mänglik supplied the advancing Qing army with grain and mounts, for which he was rewarded. At this time, Mänglik and Emin Khoja were both offering themselves as Qing deputies in Turfan, and both had hereditary claims to the region. Initially, Qing officials proposed to enfeoff Mänglik at the same rank as Emin Khoja, and assign to him the west of the Turfan oasis, while giving the east to Emin Khoja. Meanwhile, the Qianlong emperor announced his intention to appoint Mänglik’s patron Galdan Dorji as khan of the Choros, as part of a plan to reconstruct the Junghar polity around four khans, akin to the tripartite division of Outer Mongolia (Scott 1979). When the Khoit leader Amursana rebelled in late 1755, the plan was modified, and was eventually abandoned in 1756 when Galdan Dorji himself broke with the Qing. Mänglik was implicated in Galdan Dorji’s conspiracy—possibly unjustly—and was executed in 1757 (Onuma 2013; 2014, 57–68). This turn of events left Emin Khoja as last man standing in Turfan with both a record of loyalty to the Qing and a claim to

¹ My source for this information is Mänglik’s interview with the Qing official Yunggui in 1756. See XMD 19:413–20, memorial from Jaohūi, rescripted QL21/7/30 (August 25, 1756). For an overview of the organisation of the Turfan principality, see Saguchi 1981.

² XMD 10:240–246, memorial from Yungcang, rescripted QL20/4/9 (May 19, 1755).
aristocratic status. Although already an elderly man, he would spend the next fifteen years as the leading Muslim official in Qing service in the Tarim Basin.\(^3\)

Emin Khoja’s family background remains something of a mystery. His father and grandfather are known to us by name only. His official biography (see Part 3 of this study) describes them as akhunds in Qarakhoja, and archival reports clarify that this refers not to the ruined city of Qarakhoja, but the neighboring suburb of Astana. The chief religious focal point in Astana is the mazar of Alp Ata, a legendary ghāzī figure from the Qarakhanid period, who is said to have been martyred in the course of holy war against the Buddhist Uyghurs of Turfan.\(^4\) Emin Khoja’s family tomb was located close to the shrine, and his sons and grandsons patronized it (Mannerheim 1940, 329). In 1801, Emin Khoja’s son Iskandar, who was then serving as ḥākim beg in Kashgar, sent artisans north to Astana to build a new dome for the shrine, and the new inscription gave thanks to Alp Ata for Iskandar’s progress through Qing official ranks: “With the aid of that well-spring of light and purity [i.e. Alp Ata], that source of grace and favor, he [i.e. Iskandar] progressed to the seat of the sultanate of Kashgar, and was confirmed on the throne of governorship” (Khalidi 1889, 12). In a similar vein, the preface to a work commissioned by Emin Khoja’s grandson Yunus Tayji refers to Iskandar as a trainee or devotee (tarbiyat-karda) of two Turfani shrines: Alp Ata as well as the Seven Sleepers (Ashāb al-Kahf), an important mazar in Tuyuq (Kashghari ca. 1810, fol. 4b). The family’s historical association with Astana, and its ongoing support for the worship of Alp Ata, allow us to speculate that Emin Khoja’s family may have originally been among the shaykhs of the Alp Ata mazar.

The experience of administering the towns of the Tarim Basin as ḥākim beg led Emin Khoja’s sons and grandsons to engineer new claims to legitimacy. This consisted of a claim to saintly genealogy, linking themselves to Mir Vali Sufī, a khalīfa of Muḥammad Sharif, a saint prominent in the sixteenth century. The claim was made most publicly in an inscription to the mazar of Muḥammad Sharif in Yarkand, reconstructed by Emin Khoja’s grandson Yunus in 1807–8.

\(^3\) According to the inscription of the Madrasa-i Maymuna, published in Tenishev 1969, Emin Khoja was 83 years old in 1181/1767–8. This would place his birth in 1684–5, meaning that he was already seventy by the time he returned to Turfan.

\(^4\) The popularity of Alp Ata is attested by Naqshbandiyya hagiographies from the seventeenth century, in which the Makhdumzada Ishaq Vali’s leading khalīfa defeats him in spiritual combat and wins the allegiance of the local people. Some have taken these stories as evidence that local devotion to Alp Ata was superseded by Naqshbandi Sufism at this time, but in fact the Sufi ṭurūq of the southern Tarim basin made little headway in Turfan, and Alp Ata remained a figure of reverence.
Muḥammad Sharif occupies a special position among the saints of east Turkistan, as his inspiration as a Sufi was said to have been provided by a direct link with the deceased spirit of the Qarakhanid Satuq Bughra Khan, the first Islamizer of the Tarim Basin. Claiming descent from Mir Vali Sufi was, for Yunus, primarily a way of associating himself with Muḥammad Sharif, and through him with the ancient royal traditions of Yarkand and Kashgar. That this was the intention is supported by traditions from the Ili Valley in the late nineteenth century. There, the Russian officials Pantusov and Fedorov both found that Emin Khoja’s family were thought of not as descendants of Mir Vali Sufi, but of Muḥammad Sharif himself—in Fedorov’s case Emin Khoja was identified as Muḥammad Sharif’s grandson.5

In the south of Xinjiang, existing Islamic officials were adapted into the hybrid Qing “beg system,” but Hami and Turfan remained organized along the lines of the banners introduced during the early stage of the conquest. In the jasagh’s domains east of Turfan, a subject population of 1675 subject households was divided into fifteen “companies” (Ma. niru), with Emin Khoja’s family receiving the titles of a banner aristocracy. Outlying regions were placed under various begs and dorughas. The Qing official presence in the region was limited to an imperial agent stationed in Pichan, who was later relocated to Turfan itself when its walled city was rebuilt in 1779. One description of the structure of the jasagh administration gives the following picture:

![Figure 1.1](image.png)

**Figure 1.1.** The Structure of the Turfan Junwang Administration (Wang 1911, 1037–38).

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5 Pantusov 1881, 2:48; Fedorov 1903, 1:77. Fedorov’s family tree identifies Emin Khoja’s father Niyaz as a mulla from Hami.
In actual practice, the allocation of duties may have differed significantly from this, combining the new banner offices with traditional Islamic institutions. The assistant beg and two assistant taijis were known locally as the wang’s three viziers—of the right, the left and “the one who stands behind” (Menges 1976, 20–21). There must have also been a small court chancellery. The Hami Wang, for example, is known to have employed several tongchis, a Chinese secretary (khānzu kātib), and a “communicator” (maʿlūmchī) who transmitted petitions to the wang and delivered his responses (Ākhmāt 1993, 106). The jasaghs were also responsible for religious and legal affairs in their domains, directly appointing the chief justice (aʿlam) and qaẓīs.

The rank of junwang was transmitted to the most capable candidate, who rarely resided in the Turfan oasis. During the Qianlong reign, the period covered by the WFMG biography, the Turfani nobility monopolized the highest positions in the native bureaucracy in Kashgar, Yarkand, and Ili. In the 1760s, Emin Khoja was himself responsible for handling much of foreign relations with neighboring Muslim principalities. Occupying the position of councilor, he enjoyed the right to send memorials directly to the Emperor. Such was his authority that late the suspicion of Qing official was aroused by the fact that he was informally referred to as khān. The Qing were never completely trusting of local aristocrats such as Emin Khoja; the terse description in the WFMG of Emin Khoja’s last decade of service reflects the fact that officials grew frustrated at his high-handed conduct. The first son to succeed Emin Khoja, Sulayman, was also accused of abusing his authority and was quickly demoted. Still, Qing officials could not do without such individuals, and the title was passed on to Iskandar, who rose to become ḥākim beg in Kashgar. For a brief period in the first decade of the nineteenth century, Iskandar was ruling in Kashgar, and his son Yunus in Yarkand—representing the height of the Turfani family’s influence in the Tarim Basin. When his father died in 1811, Yunus took over the duties of ḥākim beg in Kashgar, though his tenure there only lasted until 1814. He was first sent back to Yarkand for dispatching an unauthorized envoy to Kokand, who was treated rudely by ʿUmar Khan—emboldening the Kokandi ruler to raise new demands to

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6 XMD, 104:179–182, memorial from Fusembu, QL36/12/24 (January 28, 1772). Among the Persian letters sent to Emin Khoja from neighbouring regions, a typical salutation is the following from Sultan Shah of Badakhshan in 1769: bi amr-i ḥāqān-i aʿẓam dar Yārkand nišasta amūrāt u jihāt-i Turkistān-rā pursūdagi wāng ḥān “To the Wang Khan, who by the emperor’s command resides in Yarkand and presides over the affairs of Turkistan” (MWLF 86-1166). Later, his great-grandson Afaridun would style himself shāh bahadur khān in literary commissions. See Mukhlisov 1957, 17. This confirms Chokan Valikhanov’s observation (1985, 186) that in the 1850s the ḥākim begs of Kashgar were referred to as “shah.”
appoint his own officials in Kashgar. Shortly afterwards, he was exiled to Ili as punishment for a case dating from 1811, in which he summarily several men for communications with Samsaq Khoja in Kokand. Following this incident, the Jiaqing Emperor instituted a ban on local Muslim officials conducting relations with neighboring states.

When Yunus was stripped of his title, his eldest son was only ten years old, and, in the emperor’s eyes, the son of a criminal. Accordingly, the title of junwang was transferred to a different line of the family, the lineage of Emin Khoja’s seventh son, Faridun. Faridun’s son Muhammad Sa’id became ḥākim beg of Kashgar in 1821, and is remembered for his efforts in constructing irrigation canals (Jalilov, et al. 2008, fols. 408a–408b.). Loyal to the end, he gave up his life in defense of Kashgar during the invasion of Jahangir Khoja in 1827 (as did the rehabilitated Yunus), and was buried alongside his uncle Iskandar at the shrine of Shaykh Jalal al-Din Baghdadi in Kashgar. After the suppression of Jahangir’s revolt, his successor as ḥākim beg was another of Emin Khoja’s descendants, Nur Muhammad’s grandson, Zuhur al-Din Taji Beg. Zuhur al-Din had earlier fallen prisoner to Jahangir’s invading forces, and was briefly made a slave to the Qoshbegi (Prime Minister) of Bukhara, before being freed and making his way back to Xinjiang through Russian territory (Newby 2013, 17). In 1839 Zuhur al-Din was appointed assistant chamberlain (sula amban), and for the next decade was responsible for major reconstruction efforts in Kashgar. He returned to Turfan in 1849 after failing to prevent the rebellion of the Seven Khojas, and died there in 1852.

Eventually, Muhammad Sa’id’s son Afaridun took up the position of ḥākim beg of Yarkand. The British envoy Douglas Forsyth described Afaridun as one of the richest men in the province, and “thoroughly Chinese in his interests” (Forsyth 1875, 202). He was instrumental in the resistance to Vali Khan Töre in 1857 (Ross 1908, 14–16), though in order to meet his military needs he made large exactions on the local population, who eventually took to the streets in protest. In the end he left office and returned to Lükchün, but was soon on the move again as the great Muslim rebellion of the 1860s spread to the north of the Tarim Basin. From what can be gleaned from scant records, it appears that Afaridun lent his support to the revolt when it reached Kucha in 1864, where the

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7 Iskandar’s tomb still stands, and is known locally as the “White Shrine” (Aq Mazar).
9 Millward 1998, 240, citing the original report of this incident. Forsyth (1875, 202) says that his removal was orchestrated by Kokandi interests, who bribed the amban to have him removed.
movement fell under the leadership of the local Sufi Rashidin Khan. A few years later he travelled to Kashgar and presented himself at the court of Ya’qub Beg, who is said to have imprisoned him. He passed away in Kashgar in 1873.

Besides Kashgar and Yarkand, Ili was the other center where Emin Khoja’s descendants served as ḥākim begs. Already home to a small population of Muslim agriculturalists (known as Taranchis) by the 1750s, the Qing carried on the Junghar policy of transporting peasants from the south to Ili to supply the garrisons there with grain. As the biography describes, after Emin Khoja’s son Musa, the ḥākim beg of Ili passed down through the line of his brother, Aurangzib, who had his own hereditary title of taiji. These took up residence in the village of Qonoqay (now in Kazakhstan), where they were supported by the labor of twenty households of Taranchi peasants, who were assigned to the family during the Jiaqing reign (Pantusov 1881, 2:38–40). Aurangzib’s great-grandson Mu’azzamzat was dismissed from the position of ḥākim beg shortly before the outbreak of the Muslim rebellion in Ili, and in its early stages the rebels installed him as khan (Kim 2004, 54–55). He succumbed to the internecine struggles that led eventually to the short-lived “Taranchi sultanate,” which was itself brought to a swift end by Russian occupation in 1871. When the Russians returned Ili to the Qing in 1881, Mu’azzamzat’s son Baba Khoja Ilyas was restored to the position of ḥākim beg, but resided in Ghulja instead of the traditional family fief, which now fell within Russian territory (Abdusemätov 1921, 26). Within a few years, Qing officials instituted a series of reforms that converted Xinjiang into a provincial system, greatly reducing the authority of Muslim officials. Despite the official abolition of the ḥākim beg position, the title survived into the twentieth century, although it no longer carried with it the same privileges or responsibilities. After Ilyas’ death, his daughter married a distant relative by the name of Jahangir, who held on to the title of ḥākim beg, and went by the name Hekimbäg Khoja.

In the course of suppressing the Muslim rebellion in Xinjiang, Zuo Zongtang’s army took control of Turfan in April 1877. In the wake of the reconquest, the oasis was placed under the administration of a the Reconstruction Bureau, before the founding of the Turfan Independent Prefecture (C. zhiliting) in 1886. As the dust of the decade-long rebellion settled, it emerged that there was no obvious candidate to take up the lapsed title of junwang. According to one Uyghur historian’s version of events, Afaridun’s mother wrote to the Shaanxi-Gansu Governor (C. xunfù) Liu Jintang, suggesting that when Afaridun died in Kashgar he may have left behind a son in Yarkand (Khushtar 2003, 23). Liu
investigated, and located a son named Maḥmud. Despite the uncertainty surrounding his paternity, Maḥmud was confirmed in office by Beijing in 1881, and he became known as Sulṭan Maḥmud (Liu 1997, 77, 200).

During linguistic fieldwork in Turfan, one of Abdurishid Yaqūp’s local informants summarized the fate of the last jasaghs of Turfan: “these Jasakh princes, you see, none of them died of natural causes, all of them were killed” (Yakup 2005, 273). Uyghur folklore has it that in 1899 Maḥmud tried to take as his concubine a certain Ananurkhan, a blacksmith’s daughter who was already betrothed. On their wedding day, Ananurkhan stabbed and mortally wounded Sulṭan Maḥmud, who died the following year (Khushtart 2003, 31). In some retellings, she then killed herself by jumping out the window of the jasagh’s palace; in another, she wasted away in prison (Yakup 2005, 275). The incident has given rise to a popular folksong from Turfan, called “Ananurkhan.” Contradicting the legend, though, Governor Rao Yingqi’s official report on Mahmud’s passing mentions only that he developed a lump below his right ear, which spread to his limbs and caused his death in August, 1900 (Rao 2008, 11:125). Mahmud’s eldest son, Emin Khoja, known locally as Sarang Wang, “the crazy wang,” succeeded him. In Xinjiang’s first “royal” wedding, Emin Khoja married the daughter of Shah Maqṣūd of Hami in 1904, and in 1905 he entertained Albert von Le Coq, presenting his Prussian guest with a horse that he rode back across the Himalayas (Le Coq 1926, 43, 78).

By this stage, administrative reforms had severely restricted the authority of the wangs. The founding of the Turfan Independent Prefecture, for example, deprived the wangs of the right to appoint akhunds and imams throughout the oasis, which now required a petition to the local Qing official (Wang 2015). 1902 saw the establishment of Pichan County, followed by Turfan County in 1913. This limited the domains of the wang to Lükchün itself and five surrounding villages: Qarakhjoja, Astana, Singgim, Muruq, and Tuyuq. The wangs’ traditional claims over Lop Nur also lapsed during the late Qing. With the reduction of subsidies to Xinjiang, and the disruption of regular visits to the court, the Turfan wangs were no longer as wealthy as they had once been. In 1892 an informant told Nikolai Katanov that the Lükchün Wang had a combined property of a thousand yambu (C. yuanbao, i.e. 50 taels) (Menges 1976, 19–20). This wealth consisted of silver and gold worth three hundred yambus, three fruit orchards, six vineyards, five kariz, four hundred yambus in wheat, corn and cotton fields in Lükchün, and livestock and beasts of burden worth fifty yambus. The Russian consul in Ghulja, Nikolai Bogoivlenskii, writes that the Turfan wang founded a
silk-weaving workshop, but was expropriated by Qing officials and soon driven out of business by competition from the Chinese interior (Bogoiaevskii 1906, 137). According to the same account, in 1906 the Turfan wang derived taxes and service from only fifty households, a far cry from the five thousand still supporting the wang in Hami.

In the early decades of the Chinese Republic, officials of the Mongolian and Tibetan Bureau (C. Mengzang shiwuju), successor to the Court of Colonial Affairs, confirmed the titles of Xinjiang’s Muslim and Mongol aristocracies. In 1913, seeking to consolidate the nation’s periphery and prevent further territorial loss, Yuan Shikai decreed a promotion for Xinjiang’s remaining Muslim aristocrats: the Turfan junwang was raised one rank to qinwang, with a nominal stipend of 1000 taels. In the same year, Emin Khoja received a visit from one of Yuan Shikai’s pacification commissioners, and declared his loyalty to the new republic via telegram to Beijing. Rather than paying thanks for imperial beneficence, the traditional periodic trips to Beijing were now to “celebrate the republic,” and were made less and less frequently. Previously the wangs had made such journeys once every three years, taking with them large quantities of raisins, melons, carpets, and other products of the region. In 1920 the Department of Mongolian and Tibetan Affairs (C. Mengzangyuan) stipulated that trips to Beijing should only be made once a decade. As it turned out, Emin Khoja pleaded illness every time and failed to ever show himself in Beijing.

The “crazy wang” died during the rebellion of 1932, in a fire caused by the provincial army’s assault on rebels in Turfan. The previous year, Governor Jin Shuren had taken advantage of the death of the Hami wang to abolish his privileges, and was trying to enforce similar policies on the province’s Kazakh and Mongol nobility—a policy that contributed to his early downfall. Jin’s successor Sheng Shicai preserved the rights of the nomadic aristocracy, but pressed ahead with the incorporation of Hami and Turfan into the provincial administration. In 1933 Emin Khoja’s son Muḥammad Saʿid submitted a petition to be recognized as wang, but was refused. This did not mark the disappearance of Emin Khoja’s family from public life in Xinjiang, though. Muḥammad Saʿid studied Russian and Chinese in Ürümchi, and took part in provincial assemblies that Sheng Shicai hosted between 1934 and 1937 (Khushatar 2003, 36). He also travelled to a 1948 Guomindang convention in Nanjing, pledging his support to Chiang Kai-shek in his anti-Communist campaign (Su and Huang 1993, 197). His younger brother Iskandar served as an official in Pichan during the early years of Sheng Shicai’s reign, but was imprisoned during one of Sheng Shicai’s
routine purges. In 1951, after the transition to Communist control in Xinjiang, both men were deemed members of the despised class of “historical” counter-revolutionaries, and were executed.

Post-imperial China’s attitude towards the Qing empire’s crucial local collaborators has been fluid and inconsistent. In contrast with the Qianlong biographies of non-Chinese nobility, late-Qing and Republican publications downplayed the contribution of the Turfan aristocracy to Qing rule in Xinjiang, making little mention of Emin Khoja and his role in the conquest. He is absent from the honor-roll of meritorious officials and military accomplishments in Yuan Dahua’s 1911 Xinjiang tuzhi (Xinjiang Gazetteer), which records the achievements of many Manchu and Mongol officials who served alongside Emin Khoja in the 1750s. Likewise, none of the Turfan wangs were deemed worthy of a biography in the Qingshigao (Draft History of the Qing), published in 1928. Just as in the case of the Hami Wang, however, contemporary concerns of the tourism industry, and the political value of a model of loyal collaboration, have combined to raise the public profile of the wangs once again. In 1984 the executed aristocrats were posthumously rehabilitated. The mosque and madrasa built by Emin Khoja’s son Sulayman have now been renovated, and in 2006 the neighboring junwang’s residence was rebuilt as a restaurant and tourist attraction for the area. Turfan junwang, a China Central Television series, went to air across the country early in 2009. In the twenty-first century, it seems, the wangs still have a part to play in the consolidation of Beijing’s control of its Islamic frontier.
Figure 1.2 Emin Khoja, the last wang of Lüchün, entertaining the Prussian explorer Albert von le Coq in 1905 (Le Coq 1926, facing 33)
Although an arid region, a string of oases fed by rivers flowing from the Qilian Mountains lies along the Hexi Corridor in Gansu, located in China’s northwest. Since ancient times, the people living in this harsh natural environment have drawn water into dry land to maintain and expand their oasis habitats. The corridor has also served as the most important route connecting the core of China proper and Central Asia, or the “Silk Road.” Innumerable ethnic groups, both large and small, penetrated the region from every direction, resulting in diverse regional characteristics.

The most influential family in Qing Xinjiang, the Turfan junwang (Commandery Prince) dynasty, was founded by Emin Khoja (1684/5–1777). In the early eighteenth century, as the conflict between the Qing dynasty and the Jungars intensified, and with the eastern Tianshan region as a major battlefield, Emin Khoja distinguished himself as a Muslim chief cooperative with the Qing army. In 1732, after the rivals made peace and withdrew their troops from the eastern Tianshan, the Qing launched an initiative to encourage the Turkic-speaking Muslims of Turfan, who had cooperated with the Qing army, to seek refuge in Qing territory. In the following year, about 10,000 Turfanis, led by Emin Khoja, immigrated to Guazhou in western Gansu. For the twenty-three years from 1732 to 1756, at which time they were able to return to their homeland, a “diaspora community” of Turfanis existed in Guazhou.

A document written in Arabic-script Turki, EM13135, kept at the Ethnography Museum in Ankara (Ankara Etnografya Müzesi), contains a rare record of this period. As in the case of EM13138, it is unclear when and where the document was drafted and how it made its way to Ankara. According to the
museum’s register, these two texts were part of a collection of manuscripts and documents that were discovered during a transition of directors from Osman Ferit to Remzi Oğuz Ark in 1943, with no explanatory annotations attached to any of the items. Ömercan Nuri suggests that EM13135 may have been brought from Germany, as the museum’s collection include documents in the old Uyghur script and Buddhist wall paintings brought from Germany (Nuri 2014, 66).

The existence of EM13135 became known through a brief introductory essay by Ahmet Temir (1951). Temir (1961) then published a study of EM13135 with translation and facsimile, which revealed it to be a unique record describing, from the Turfani point of view, political and social shifts in the eastern periphery of the Junghar domains and in the western periphery of the Qing Empire in the early eighteenth century. Owing in part to his insufficient familiarity with the regional history and geography, Temir’s interpretation of EM13135 contains several errors; in particular, inaccuracies in the identification of place names. By comparing the contents of EM13135 with Qing records, Saguchi Tōru (1981, 84–6) accurately recognized it as a description of the Turfani migration to Guazhou and conducted a cursory investigation into social conditions in that oasis. From a linguistic point of view, Abdurishid Yakup (2007), identified in EM13135 certain features of the Turfan dialect of the East Turkic language and provided a new translation. Through these studies, the accuracy of our interpretation of EM13135 has greatly improved.

The next step should be to turn our interest to the actual social conditions of the Turfani community in Guazhou and the historical significance of their migration. This chapter, using Qing archival documents, tackles these issues and clarifies the position of Guazhou Turfanis within Qing strategy towards the northwest. Finally, I reflect on the significance of the existence of EM13135.

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1 The description of one other text in the collection, an Arabic religious work, mentions an annotation in Greek. It so happens that there was a Greek traveler to the region during the rebellion of Ya’qub Beg, who passed through Turfan and Hami on his way to China, and later published his travelogue in French. See Potagos (Papagiotis) 1885. Unfortunately he tells us nothing about purchasing manuscripts.

2 In addition, Hamada Masami (1993, 2001), who has experience researching at the Ethnography Museum in Ankara, has made use of EM13135. Kim Kwangmin (2012) also considers the process of Emin Khoja’s submission to the Qing on the basis of Temir (1961), but was evidently unaware of Yakup (2007).
1. EM13135

1.1. Physical Condition
In March 2014, I examined EM13135 at the Ethnography Museum in Ankara. The document consists of one sheet of Chinese paper, 500mm wide and 555mm long, written in 21 lines, of which lines 20–21 are cut off. Because it is not complete, Temir (1961, 193) guessed that EM13135 may have originally had additional text, possibly linked to EM13138.

The present condition of EM13135 is poor, and has deteriorated in comparison with the facsimile reproduced by Temir. The damaged parts in the upper right have been “repaired” by adhesive tape. The paper has been held together with tape due to degradation over time; it has been rather hard to read the text.

From the facsimile that was published in Temir’s article, we see that a part of the text has been artificially excised at the end of line 14. Temir (1961, 197) guessed from a faintly visible part that the words “کوردوم که کوتاش” (kördüm-ki kütaš) should have been written there, which also appears in line 15. Surprisingly, as described below in detail, this part of EM13135 at present is backed with a small piece of paper, with the words “کوردوم که کوتاش” written in blue ballpoint pen on it. Although it is unclear when this was written, it is not too much to say that it is an interpolation in the text.

Below, I first present a transcription and translation of EM13135. My translation is made by referring to Yakup’s translation and adding some revisions.

Symbols Used in the Transcriptions and Translations

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Abc</th>
<th>Suggested restoration from the context</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[Abc]</td>
<td>Supplementary words</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>//////////</td>
<td>Indecipherable section due to damage to the original text</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Abc</td>
<td>Words on a slip of paper</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

3 At present, permission from the General Directorate for Cultural Heritage and Museums (Kültür Varlıklar ve Müzeler Genel Müdürlüğü) at the Ministry of Culture and Tourism (Kültür ve Turizm Bakanlığı) of Turkey is required to view the material at the Ethnography Museum, to take photographs, and to reproduce it. I am grateful for the assistance of the Ethnography Museum staff and Dr. Sawai Kazuaki in researching EM13135.
1.2. Transcription

1. Ḥaqq taʿālğa ḥamd aytqandin keyin payğambar şallá lláhu ʿalayhi wa sallam-ğa durūd ibārgändin keyin, Ṭurfān halqin qişşasi ki, awwal-i zamānda yüz miŋğa yaqin bal-ki mundin ziyādäräk kişi

2. edilär. Künlärniŋ ḥawādişi zamānaniŋ wäquí’alarınıŋ sababi bilän Juŋğar laškariniŋ šarr-süridin haması tärīḥqa bir mıŋ bir yüz ottuz beşinçi aṭ yilida Čalişğa köçitilär.


5. soqušmaq wa öltürüşmäk bilän qattiğ jaŋlar qilduq. Andin keyin kāfirleriniŋ ġalabasiniŋ tolaliẓidin baʿżalarnı ötürüdilär wa baʿżalarnı tutup asīr qildilar. Oğul atadin,

6. qız anadin judā boldilar. Nā-čär bī-čāra bolup ol waqtniŋ sulṭāni zamānaniŋ pāḍšāhi ki, ḥaẓrat-i ʿizzat āsmāniŋ āftābi wa saʿādat aujiniŋ māhtābi wa ʿaẓamat maydāninıŋ


8. Ὅjoa Beg ki, biziniŋ sulṭāni Mümmāniŋ qabul ʿulamā qāżīlarniŋ, bal-ki qmāniŋ maḥtābi wa ʿaẓamat maydāninıŋ


10. niŋ wa panja-zan yolbaslınniŋ ağızidin qutqarip ẖalāṣlıq barip hama taʾalluqları birlä pāḍšāh-i Činin izn bilä hama yemāk, ičimāk, kiymāk, wa yol jabduqları birlā

11. ulaş┐lağı, aṭ, tiwā, arabalar├а olトル 주장m tɔqqɔmuŋ miŋ üç yüz yetmiš tɔrt kišini ta rīḥqa bir mıŋ bir yüz qırq aktınçi yilanda yilida Ṭurfān diyaridin keçürüp

12. şihāṭ salāmat şubu Waju diyārığa yetkirdilär. Keyinki yili ki ta rīḥqa bir mıŋ bir yüz qırq yettä aṭ yili har birimizğa ʿalā-ḫida şahrlar, ȯylär, wa zamīnlär, aqin su ariqları bilän

13. berip olトル 주장zdilä. Şahrlarniŋ aṭi: Tufu, Erfu, Sänfu, Sifu, Ufu, Taş, Şögän. Wa yana bu şahrları zamınını Wajuńniŋ hamrähliliq bilä ariqlar[i] bilän Taş
14. Şögänningar zamīnini ham ariqları bilän bizniň tarımaqimiz wa olturmaqimiz wa zirä‘atimiz üçün berdilar. Bu şahrların zamīnlär[i]niň tört ḥadd[ī]: mašriqları Körüüm-ki Kütaş

15. Şaŋtar, mağrib tarafi Bičifu, šimāl tarafi Sulahū, janūb tarafi Körüüm-ki Kütaş. Bu zamīnlärini aqin sularınin bulaqlarının başi: Dājūy, Buluŋğur, Damğa, Kötań,

16. wa Çaŋmar, wa Sirab, Taş, Şibučin. Wa yana tört zamīn ki: otluğ Jaluŋduŋdin tā Lusugu, Darağša, wa Doŋbalu, wa Şibučinigičä. Buların otlarını ormaq, aț, kala, qoy, tiwä

17. larni yaylatmaq otlatmaq üçün berdilar. Wa yana Şāh-i Čīndin 'alūfalar, ațlar, tiwālär, wa çahār-pāylärin jinsidin, wa yemāk, kiymāk jinsidin, taridurğan uruğlar har qaysidin bizniň

18. auqātimiz ma‘ṣatimiz üçün ḥadd-ḥisābdin ziyādäräk berdilar. Andin keyin ḥażrat-i Īsān altinči yili ta‘rīňqa bir miŋ bir yüz elli ikki toŋ uzida ḥäbä ambanliqiğa barip edi. Şāh-i Čin tola

19. iltifātlar qilip, bir šīr ṣūratliğ jasāqliq tamgü dastası, kümüşdin ağirliqi yettä fatmān, yana guňluqniŋ martabasi bilän şaŋlap yanip keldilär. Ta‘rīňqa bir miŋ

20. bir yüz ellik üç sačgan yilida //////////////

21. daulatidin jā-bi-jā tapti. //////////

1.3. Translation

[1] After praising Almighty God and paying our respects to the Prophet (May God bless him and keep him safe!), the story of the Turfan people is as follows:

In previous times, [Turfan] had a population of nearly a hundred thousand or more. [2] Due to the calamities of life and the misfortunes of that time, in 1135, the year of the Horse, all of them migrated to Chalish, away from the disruptions of the Junghar troops. [3] Then they perished there from the blight of hunger, the cold of winter, and various disasters; it was just like the Day of Resurrection. Due to this disgrace, [4] they escaped party by party—some in groups and some individually—; several thousand people once again gathered in Turfan. When the Junghar nonbelievers again became aware of this, they came with a lot of troops. Up until the 12th year, [5] we fought fierce battles, with much clashing and bloodshed. Eventually, as the nonbelievers had gained the upper hand, some people were killed while others were taken prisoner. Sons ended up separated from their fathers, [6] and daughters from their mothers. Having become helpless and destitute, the sultaň of that time, the king of the age, the shining sun in the sky of respect, the moonlight of the zenith of happiness, the sapling of the field of
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

greatness, [7] and the highly elevated star, the child of Lord Niyaz Khoja Akhund who is the child of the Lord Mir Ḥabib Allah Wali Allah, known as Ṣufi Khojam, the leader of believers, the Lord Emin [8] Khoja Beg, who is our sultān and leader, in cooperation with the leaders and minsters as participants in consultation, the respectful scholars and judges, and the nobles and commoners of all the tribes, desired safety and peace [9] and requested protection from the king of China. The king of China replied positively and accepted [the request]. The Lord [i.e. Emin Khoja], the leader of believers, an umbrella for our helpless people’s heads, rescued and released us from the mouths of the seven-headed dragons [10] and five-clawed tigers. With all the belongings, with permission of the king of China, carrying food, drink, clothing, and travel goods on [11] pack animals, [namely] horses, camels, and carts, he departed with 9,374 persons from the land of Turfan in 1146, the year of the Snake, [12] and reached this land of Guazhou in safety and health. Later, in 1147, the year of the Horse, [the king of China] gave every one of us assigned towns, houses, and land, together with water-flowing canals [13] and had us settled there. The names of the towns are Toupu, Erpu, Sanpu, Sipu, Wupu, Tashi, and Xiaowan. Moreover, he gave the land of these towns together with the lands and canals that belonged to Guazhou as well as the lands of Tashi and [14] Xiaowan together with their canals for our sowing, settlement, and cultivation. The four sides of these towns are [as follows]: to the east [15] is Shuangta; to the west is [Baiqipu]; to the north is the Shule River; and to the south is Kördüm-ki Kütash. The headsprings of flowing waters of these lands are Daquan, Bulunghir, Denghe [i.e. the Deng River], Kötān, [16] Changma, Sirab, Tashi, Shipuzhen. In addition, he gave [us] the four lands from the grassland of Balengdung as far as Lucaoggou, Ba’ermuxia and Dongbatu, and Shipuzhen for mowing grass, herding horses, cattle, sheep, and camels, [17] and letting [them] graze. Furthermore, the king of China, [bringing] from somewhere, gave us limitless amounts of fodder, horses, camels, and other kinds of livestock, various food and clothes as well as all kinds of seeds for sowing for our [18] livelihood. After that, in the 6th year, 1152, the year of the Pig, the His Grace [i.e. Emin Khoja] paid a visit to the Grand Minister Consultant. The king of China [19] did [him] many favors and bestowed a jasagḥ seal with a lion-shaped grip, seven batmān of silver ingot, and the position of gong and [Emin Khoja] came back. In [20] 1153, the year of the Rat, ////// [Emin Khoja] [21] decided to move from the country. //////
1. 4. Commentary

2a, tārīḫqa bir miŋ bir yüz ottuz bešinči aṭ yili: The hijra year 1135 corresponds to the period from October 12, 1722 to September 30, 1723 CE and from the 22nd day of the 8th month of the 61st year of the Kangxi reign to the 2nd day of the 9th month of the 1st year of the Yongzheng reign in the Qing lunar calendar.

2b,  Čališ: An old place name for Qara-shahr.

4, onikki yil: This refers to the 12th year of the Yongzheng reign, corresponding to the period from February 4, 1734 to January 23, 1735.

7, Ṣūfī Ḥojaṃ bilā maʿrūf ḥażrat-i M[ī]r Ḥabīb Allāh Walī Allāh: Hamada Masami pointed out the possibility that the grandfather of Emin Khoja, “Miḥammad Wali Allah, known as Ṣūfī Ḥojam,” can be identified as Muḥammad Wali Ṣūfī, who is the successor in the Ṣūfī order of the famous Islamic saint, Khoja Muḥammad Sharīf, in the sixteenth century (Hamada 1991, 97–8; cf. Brophy and Thum 2015). This counts as an evidence of how he came to have the honorific title for a Ṣūfī saint, “Walī Allāh” (walīyu 'llāh, Lit. “Friend of God”).

11, taʿrīḫqa bir miŋ bir yüz qirq altinči yila: The hijra year 1146 corresponds to the period from June 14, 1733 to June 2, 1734 and from the 3rd day of the 5th month of the 11th year of the Yongzheng reign to the 1st day of the 5th month of the 12th year of the Yongzheng reign.

12a, Waju: This refers to Guazhou. According to Yakup (2007: 58–65), the Arabic-character waw (W) is commonly read as [g] ~ [gw] in the Turfan dialect.

12b, taʿrīḫqa bir miŋ bir yüz qirq yettä aṭ yili: The hijra year 1147 corresponds to the period from June 3, 1734 to May 23, 1735 and from the 2nd day of the 5th month of the 12th year of the Yongzheng reign to the 1st day of the 5th month of the 13th year of the Yongzheng reign.

12c, aqin: The word aqin means “torrent, flood” (Eckmann 1976, 51). Is this an error in the writing of aqar, or “flowing, running”?

13, Tufu, Erfu, Sānfū, Sīfu, Ufu: Tufu is a transliteration from Toupu in Chinese, or “First Village,” Erpu from Erpu/“Second Village,” Sanfu from Sanpu/“Third Village,” Sīfu from Sipu/“Fourth Village,” and Ufu from Wupu/“Fifth Village.” At present, these villages are known as Tougongbao, Ergongbao, Sangongbao, Sigongbao, Wugongbao. However, EM13135

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4 For the events which led these Turfanis to migrate to Chalish to escape the Junghars, see Onuma (2012, 34–5) and Brophy’s discussion in Part 1 of this volume.
suggests that the bao 堡 was originally pronounced pu (or bu), used in place names, in Guazhou during the Qing period.

14, mašriq ṭarafı Kördüm ki Kütaš Şanṭar: As mentioned above, at present, this part is backed with a small piece of paper, which had not existed at least until 1961, and the word kördüm-ki kütaš is written on it. Temir’s guess that kördüm-ki kütaš could have been originally written here is probably correct. However, it is because the author (or copyist) of EM13135 cut this part off after being conscious of his mistake that he incorrectly wrote kördüm-ki kütaš as a name of a place in the south, which should actually be in the east. Therefore, this “emendation” does not qualify as being the author’s primary intention at all.

15a, Bičifu: Yakup’s interpretation that Bičifu should be identified with Beiqibao 北七堡 (Lit. “seven-walled village in the north”) is incorrect. It must be a transliteration from Baiqipu 百齊堡 (Figure 2.1) or 伯七堡 Boqipu (Figure 2.2) built in 1734. The baiqi ~ boqi probably comes from belčir in Mongolian, or “the confluence of two rivers.”

15b, Kördüm ki Kütaš: Unclear. In the Ottoman Turkish, as mentioned by Yakup (2007, 69, n. 32), it can be interpreted as “I saw that (= kördüm-ki) is Kütash.” However, we should still regard both kördüm and kütaš as place names and interpreted as “Kördüm, namely Kütasha.”

15c, Dājüy: This may be identified with Daquan 大泉 (Figures 2.1 and 2.2), which was one of the most important sources of water in Guazhou.

15d, Kötän: Unclear. There is a possibility that the tän corresponds to tan 滨, or “pool, puddle.”

16a, Jaluŋ duŋ: I identify this with Balengdung 八楞墩. Although the precise location is unknown, it was situated 70 li (about 31.5 km) south of the Anxi-zhen fortress (CSX, 875).

16b, Lusugu: This corresponds to Lucaogou 蘆草溝 (Figure 2.1).

16c, Darağša: This may be Ba’ermuxia 巴爾木夏 (Figure 2.1).

16d, Doŋbalu: I follow the opinion of Yakup that this may be an error and could actually be Dongbatu.

18a, altinči yili: This refers to the 6th year of the Qianlong reign, corresponding to the period from February 16, 1741 to January 4, 1742.

18b, ta’rīḥqa bir mıñ bir yüz ellik ikki toṣuz yili: The hijra year 1152 corresponds to the period from April 10, 1739 to March 28, 1740 and from the 3rd day of the 3rd month of the 4th year of the Qianlong reign to the 1st day
of the 3rd month of the 5th year of the Qianlong reign. This period is not in accordance with the 6th year of the Qianlong reign.

Figure 2.1. A map around the Anxi-zhen (1737) (CSX, 20–1)

Figure 2.2. A map around Guazhou (1760) (Guofang yanjiuyuan and Zhonghua dadian bianyinhui 1966, 128)
18c, ḥābā ambanliqğa barip edi: The ḥābā amban is a transliteration from the hebe-i amban in Manchu. Prior to the Qing conquest of Xinjiang, the hebe-i amban (C. canzan dachen) was not a permanent post but a temporal one for the high-ranking general councilor supporting a commander (C. jiangjun) in an expedition. There is some kind of misunderstanding, but the ḥābā ambanliq, or “a place where hebe-i ambans are,” here probably refers to the Qing court.

19a, bir şir şuratlığ jasāqliq tamğu dastasi: The jasagh seal actually has a lion-shaped grip.

19b, kümüsдин ağirliqi yettā fatmān: Yakup misunderstands the “7 batman” weight of the jasagh seal. The Qing emperor bestowed a large number of silver ingots on the person who met him in his court. Batman is a traditional measure of weight in Central Asia. According to Hori Sunao’s analysis (1978, 64–5), in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Qing Xinjiang, there were roughly three types of measures in practical use: (1) 1 batman = 1 jin (= 596.82g.), (2) 1 batman = 8 ghalbir (= ca. 580kg.), and (3) 1 batman = 57.3 kg. The “7 batman” here may be calculated as per the first type.

19c, guŋluqniŋ martabasi: According to the Qing records, the Qing government bestowed the title of gong on Emin Khoja in December 28, 1732.5

19–20, Ta ṛiḥqa bir miŋ bir yüzden üç sačqan yilida: The hijra year 1152 corresponds to the period from March 29, 1740 to March 18, 1741. The sačqan yilida can be reconstructed as sačqan yilida, or “in the year of the Rat.”

2. The Move to Guazhou

2.1. The Hexi Corridor in the Early Eighteenth Century

In 1717, as the conflict between the Qing and Junghars developed, clashes involving Turfanis occurred intermittently. As a result, many Turfanis were “migrated to Chalish” (line 2) by the Junghars and then from there to Aqsu and Ush.6 Subsequently, after a temporary reconciliation with the Junghars, the Qing troops withdrew from the Turfan Basin. At this time, six hundred and fifty Turfanis also took refuge to migrate to Jingtasi and Weilupu in the Suzhou district (Saguchi 1981, 77–81). Some of the Turfanis, who were moved toward

5 SZSL, 125:9b, YZ10/11/yiwei (December 28, 1732).
6 According to the testimony of the Turfanı chieftains, who surrendered to the Qing from Ush in 1724, the number of emigrants owing to the clashes with the Junghars reached a total of 20,000 (Shibuya 2008, 24–5).
the west by the Junghar, could not bear the harsh circumstances, and escaped back to Turfan (lines 3–4). Although Emin Khoja was also among these, we cannot find any records of the event described directly by him, and EM13135 also does not refer to it. It was probably a bitter experience that Emin Khoja did not want to touch upon.

The peace between Junghars and Qing did not last long and they clashed again in 1730. At this point, Emin Khoja, who was residing at Lükchün in the eastern part of the Turfan Basin, formed an alliance with the Qing and contributed to repelling the Junghars. After a peace agreement was again concluded in the autumn of 1732, following the re-withdrawal of Qing troops, about 10,000 Turfanis led by Emin Khoja started to move eastwards. After passing the winter at Tarnachin in nearby Hami (Qumul), they arrived at Guazhou in 1733.

How can the migration of the Turfanis be situated within the Qing strategy for the northwest at this time? As the antagonism with the Junghars intensified around 1720, the Qing government began to promote a project of “colonization to strengthen frontier defense” (C. zhimin shibian) on a large scale in Gansu, in particular, the Kouwai (Lit. “Beyond the pass”) area west of Jiayuguan. In 1718 the Qing established the Qingni-wei (Lit. “Garrison to Pacify Rebels”) at Sandaogou to the west of Jiayuguan, and in 1723 the Anxi-wei at Bulunghir. Two new weis (garrison) were also established at Shazhou (Dunhuang) in 1725 and Liugou in 1727. Then, in 1728, the Qing established the Anxi-ding (provincial government) to supervise the three weis of Anxi, Shazhou, and Liugou and built a walled town at Dawan. Moreover, with the establishment of the three weis, the Qing government reclaimed about 1,245 xiang (= ca. 7,660 ha) of land in the Kouwai area up until 1732 (CSX, 883). For example, they tried to recruit 2,500 households in the Shaanxi province to migrate into Shazou in 1726; they achieved 70 percent of this target in the following year (GYZ, 17:520–1). After the war with the Junghars flared up again in 1730, regional development accelerated under the initiative of Liu Yuyi, who served as the Viceroy (C. zongdu) of Shaan-Gan from 1732 to 1735. When Liu was appointed to the post, he insisted on the importance of “opening up land for cultivation” (C. tanken) in Gansu for securing a supply of provisions for the western front.7 In 1733, the Sanqings canal (fed by the Heihe River) was constructed at Gaotai in central

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7 JQ 03-0002-030, memorial from Liu Yuyi, YZ11/11/24 (December 29, 1733).
Gansu and a project to encourage migrations and to cultivate lands was promoted (Iguro 2009; 2013).

It was in these circumstances that the Turfanis moved to Guazhou from 1732 to 1733. Although EM13135 simply states that Emin Khoja asked the Qing emperor for protection (lines 8–9), in fact in 1731 the Qing government had already recommended that Emin Khoja migrate to within Qing territory (GYZ, 18:134–6). That is to say, the Turfani migration to Guazhou may have come about because the Qing, who wished to strengthen their defenses in western Gansu, shared a mutual interest with the Turfanis.

![Figure 2.3. The north-side wall of Toupu (Tougongbao) (Photo: Onuma, 2015)](photo)

### 2.2. Settling in Guazhou

The Qing court provided various forms of support to the refugees from Turfan. For their journey from Turfan, they provided them with fur coats, food, cooking oil, sheep, tea, salt, satin, cloth, and silver taels as well as carts (GYZ, 22:198–9; XMD, 2:136–8). House construction in Guazhou was pushed forward at a fast pace. The Qing completed the construction of five walled-villages (Toupu, Erpu, Sanpu, Sipu, and Wupu), generally called the *Huimin wupu* 回民五堡, or “five walled-villages
of Muslim people” (I refer to these below as the “Five Villages”), and 4,290 rooms within a period of only five months from May 17 to October 26, 1733. Five days later, on October 31, the Turfanis started to settle there (GYZ, 22:200–1). The scale of Toupu, where Emin Khoja also lived, was larger than the other towns, which measured 529.8m from east to west and 534.0m from south to north (Li 2008, 167–8; Guojia wenwuju 2011, 305). The wall of Toupu, now called Tougongbao, still exists in Guazhou (Figures 2.3). The Turfan immigrants were allocated houses according to their place of origin as follows (CSX, 911–3).

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Site</th>
<th>Hometown</th>
<th>Households/Individuals</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Toupu</td>
<td>Lükchün, Si’erpu (?)</td>
<td>1,017/4,064</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Erpu</td>
<td>Qara-khoja, Murtuq</td>
<td>348/1,254</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanpu</td>
<td>Subash, Lemjin, Small-Astana, Pichan, Shugui</td>
<td>307/1,244</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sipu</td>
<td>Saimu (?), Jinhai (?), Tuzhicheng (Toqsun?)</td>
<td>327/1,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Wupu</td>
<td>Turfan, Astana, Yar-khoto, Khandun</td>
<td>338/1,351</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td></td>
<td>2,337/9,164</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Table. The composition of the Huimin wupu (CSX, 911–3)

As the head of the construction work admitted, the towns and houses were built in a rush because the Qing administration was under pressure to begin cultivation immediately after the arrival of the Turfanis in Suzhou. In addition, the houses were built using bricks made of salty soil, and were very fragile. The condition of Sanpu was said to be particularly serious. As a result of these defects, only one month after the migration, half of the houses exhibited distortions and slanting; some people even died due to collapsing houses (XMD, 3:44–7).

Besides building houses, according to EM13135 the Qing emperor brought stability to Turfanis life by providing land for cultivation, irrigation canals, livestock, food, and clothing (lines 12–18). Qing records show that they offered the Turfanis 3,000 shi of land, livestock (cattle, horses, and mules), farm implements, and carts free of charge. On top of this, the Qing lent money to cover

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8 The total number of rooms is recorded as 4,866 in CSX (914). This number perhaps includes rooms increased in later years.

9 We can find the site of Toupu through Google maps, by inputting the following coordinates “40.488897, 95.696004.”
the cost of cereal seeds, foods, and transportation, and allowed the Turfanis repay the money once agricultural production was on track.\footnote{GQ 04-01-01-0003-035, memorial from Liu Yuyi, QL1/4/22 (July 1, 1736).}

In 1735, to supervise the Turfani communities, the Guazhou fortress was built close to the Five Villages (Figure 2.4). There the Qing stationed six hundred soldiers headed by the Assistant Regional Commander (C. canjiang) and transferred the post of Subprefect (C. tongzhi) from the Anxi-ding to manage the civil administration (CSX: 917–8).

\textbf{Figure 2.4.} The North-side wall of Guazhou fortress (Photo: Onuma, 2015)

\section*{3. Irrigation and Reclamation}

\subsection*{3.1. Qing Arrangements for Settling Lands}

Since 1732, Liu Yuyi had instructed the Military Preparedness Circuit (C. bingbeidao) of Anxi, Wang Quanchen, and a specialist of irrigation and...
reclamation, Guan Sunyi,\textsuperscript{11} to promote economic development in the Anxi district. As mentioned above, the migration of the Turfanis was also part of this program; hence, the “Five Villages were constructed within newly opened colonization lands” (CSX, 917). However, the area around Guazhou receives less than 50 mm of precipitation a year. First of all, the construction of infrastructure such as irrigation facilities was essential for 10,000 Turfanis to practice agriculture in this extremely arid region.

With the development of agricultural lands and the increase in the number of immigrants in Gansu, the Qing started the construction of large-scale irrigation canals in several places (Iguro 2009, 2013). In the Qingyi and Anxi districts located in the Kouwai area, a main source of water intake was the Shule River flowing from east to west. In 1733, when the Turfanis had just arrived at Guazhou, two new canals were completed: (A) a canal 88 \textit{li} in length from the Qingyi West Canal to the Shule River with a 10 \textit{zhang} (1 \textit{zhang} = 3.2 m) wide dam and three lock gates; (B) a canal 101 \textit{li} in length from Anjiawopu\textsuperscript{12} to Guazhou with a dam of 20 \textit{zhang} width and three lock gates. The former was constructed to increase the flow of the Shule River; while the latter was for the purpose of irrigation in Guazhou.\textsuperscript{13} In addition, the Qing constructed a waterway called “Muslim North Canal” (C. \textit{huimin beiqu}) which carried water from the Shule River directly to the Five Villages, where it divided into four branch canals known as Bizhi Canal (reaching to Sipu and Wupu), Chongyang Canal (to Toupu), Qiancang Canal (to Erpu), and Manxiang Canal (to Sanpu) (CSX, 907–8).

The Qing government established a new post of \textit{shuili bazong} (Company Officer of Irrigation) to supervise the two canals and authorized them to lead four dam-gate watchmen and ten canal patrols for canal A and ten dam-gate watchmen and forty canal patrols for canal B. They were principally in charge of adjusting the amount of water and current, repairing dams and water gates, and dredging in the autumn period.\textsuperscript{14} To secure resources for their food supply and the cost of repairs, the administration cultivated new fields in the Qingyi and

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\textsuperscript{11} Guan Sunyi was a relative of Liu Yuyi’s deceased wife and a man very experienced in irrigation and reclamation works in Zhili district. JQ 03-0028-007, memorial from Liu Yuyi, YZ11/11/24 (December 29, 1733).

\textsuperscript{12} The precise location of Anjiawopu 安家窩舖 remains unknown, but it was probably between Dawan and Xiaowan.

\textsuperscript{13} JQ 03-0031-009, memorial from Liu Yuyi, YZ11/10/24 (November 30, 1733).

\textsuperscript{14} In this region, summertime flash floods were caused by snow melt from the mountains in the south, referred to as \textit{Nanshan} 南山 in Qing records, and these often caused destruction to canals.
Anxi districts at official expense.\textsuperscript{15} Following this, however, rising operating costs and continued harvest failures caused increasing losses to the local administration. In 1736, a revision was proposed whereby the task of managing the canals was entrusted to fifty households of Chinese farmers on condition that they should be exempted from taxation.\textsuperscript{16} It seems, though, that this revision was not carried out. According to records written at a later time, the Qing government had spent 3,000 taels annually to maintain the \textit{shuili bazong} and eighty canal patrols.\textsuperscript{17}

\subsection*{3.2. Expanding Reclaimed Lands}

When the Turfanis arrived in 1733, the land provided by the Qing comprised the Five Villages and the surrounding area. However, EM13135 states that the land in Tashi and Shuangta was also given to them as well. What does this imply?

First, in 1733, 3,500 \textit{shi} (1 \textit{shi} = 103 liter) of land,\textsuperscript{18} reclaimed under the command of Wang Quanchen, was provided to the Turfanis. In the following year, Wang Quanchen mobilized the Turfanis to reclaim a further 1,500 \textit{shi} of land. A total amount of 4,500 \textit{shi} of wheat and 500 \textit{shi} of highland barley (\textit{C. qingke}) was sown on this land. In addition, the Turfanis cultivated 2,000 \textit{mu} of land for non-grain crops such as fruit and vegetables (CSX, 905).

However, the amount of food was insufficient for 10,000 persons; there was a shortfall in the food supply of around 4,000 \textit{shi}. Around 1735, Emin Khoja submitted a petition to the Qing government to supply an additional 3,000 \textit{shi} of land surrounding the Five Villages: in Tashi (870 \textit{shi}), Shuangta (100–200 \textit{shi}), Baiqipu (100–200 \textit{shi}), and Xiaowan (1,800 \textit{shi}). These toponyms correspond exactly to those that appear in EM13135. To carry out this reclamation, it was necessary to borrow 12,000 \textit{shi} of grain, leading to a total shortfall of 4,000 \textit{shi} and 8,000 \textit{shi} (5,000 \textit{shi} in the Five Villages and 3,000 \textit{shi} in the newly opened land) for sowing in that year and in the spring of the following year. The Qing accepted all the requests on condition that the Turfanis would repay the loan in installments over a period of six years. To resolve the lack of wood for

\textsuperscript{15} See above note 13.
\textsuperscript{16} GQ 04-01-01-0009-053, memorial from Liu Yuyi, QL1/12/10 (January 10, 1737); MQD A69-58.
\textsuperscript{17} GQ 04-01-23-0040-006, memorial from Yang Yingju, QL24/7/12 (September 3, 1759).
\textsuperscript{18} The “3,500 \textit{shi} land” means the amount of land necessary to sow 3,500 \textit{shi} of grain seed.
construction and firewood, it was decided to plant 30,000 willow trees for two years in Guazhou at an expense of 2,100 taels.\footnote{GQ 04-01-23-0143-048, memorial from Grand Councilors. Although the drafting date is registered in error as the 6th year of the Jiaqing reign (1801) at the Beijing Archives, it must be the 13th year of the Yongzheng reign (1735).}

The “Muslim South Canal” (C. huimin nangu), reaching the south of the Five Villages, was constructed for the irrigation of the newly opened land (CSX, 908–9). Besides this, there were streams that flowed west from the Chuanbei Lake and the Gongchang Lake in the south of Mogutan north to Qingni-wei. In 1738, the Qing government, noting the untapped waters, drew water to the Shule River from a place in Qiaowan to increase the river’s volume.\footnote{GQ 04-01-05-0003-021, memorial from Chalang’a, QL3/7/2 (October 16, 1738).}

### 3.3. Agricultural Production

Enjoying the full support of Qing officials, the refugees from Turfan started their new life in Guazhou. They lived there mainly on cultivation. A Qing record from the early eighteenth century reports crops grown in Gansu as follows:

The top-notch [crops] are wheat, pea, and millet; the second ones are highland barley and soybeans; barley follows these. Since it has sterile soil and the temperature is low, only a few kinds of crops can be grown each year. Since highland barley, soybeans, and barley are easy to sow and grow, it is relatively common [to grow] them (QZNH, 105).

Because of the environmental conditions, a limited variety of farm produce was produced in Gansu. At the end of each year, the amount of seeding and harvesting by the Turfanis was reported for each crop.\footnote{For example, GQ 04-01-22-0003-036, memorial from Chalang’a, QL2/1/8 (February 17, 1737); GQ 04-01-22-0006-027, memorial from Emida, QL4/12/20 (January 18, 1740); and MQD A152-074, memorial from Fuheng, QL13/4/5 (May 1, 1748).} According to these reports, the crops grown by them were similar to those mentioned above. For threshing and milling, they used a rotary quern shaped out of solid sandstone produced in the Nanshan (CSX, 892).

In Gansu, especially in the Kouwai region, the environment was harsh and natural disasters were frequent. The gazette edited by Tōa Dōbunkai in the 1940s describes the climate around Anxi town as follows:

As for the climate, heat and cold are both severe, there are more than 90 days of extreme cold weather, and more than 50 days of intense heat. Besides this, the rainfall is scanty, the wind blows hard in spring and winter,
blowing sand and stone without ceasing, and therefore the darkness of heaven and earth defies description (Tōa Dōbunkai 1943, 318).

The Turfanis certainly suffered from such severe circumstances. This is implied by the fact that the Qing authorities were required to report the occurrence of the state of “summer disaster” (C. xiazai) and “autumn disaster” (C. qiuzai) every year (QZNH, 64). In fact, they could not repay the loan in the first year (1736) of the above-mentioned six-years of installments, and Emin Khoja asked for an additional year to make the loan repayment. Even after this, it was common to borrow resources from the Qing authorities (Saguchi 1981, 86–7). Because of the harsh natural environment and low productivity, the Turfani communities in Guazhou were in a situation where they faced a “lack in sowing seeds for sowing and foods every spring.”

The harsh conditions of life in Guazhou can be also observed from the trends in population. The “9,374” indicated in EM13135 (line 11) is probably the number of Turfanis at the time of their departure from Turfan at the end of 1732. However, due to difficulties during the flight to the east, the population had decreased to 9,273 on their arrival at Tarnachin in January 1733 (XMD, 2:137), to 8,013 at Anxi-zhen in September 1733, and to 7,873 at Guazhou in October 1733. Twenty three years later, 1756 statistics reported the population as 8,815 (GQZ, 13:820–1), indicating a rate of population growth during the period of less than 0.5 percent.

Throughout their twenty three years in Guazhou, the Turfanis cultivated 20,450 mu of land (Saguchi 1981, 87). After they returned to Turfan in 1757, the Qing government recruited Chinese immigrants from the Wuwei district belonging to the Anxi-ting, distributed 30 mu of farmland per household to the 682 households newly migrated to Guazhou, and promoted a project to further gather additional migrants who would cultivate the 19,550 mu of uncultivated land. Then, the post of shuili bazong was done away with and the number of the canal patrols was decreased to ten.

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22 GQ 04-01-23-0019-003, memorial from Echan, QL16/3/24 (April 19, 1751).
23 GZSL, 134:10, YZ11/8/wuchen (September 27, 1733).
24 GQ 04-01-01-0015-007, memorial from Depei, QL2/r9/24 (November 16, 1737).
25 GQ 04-01-23-0026-002, memorial from Huang Tinggui, QL22/9/26 (November 7, 1757); GQ 04-01-23-0040-006, memorial from Yang Yingju, QL24/7/12 (September 3, 1759). The Turfanis living in Jintasi and Weilupu also returned to Turfan at the same time. The Qing government ordered Chinese from Suzhou to migrate to the 10,021 mu of the cultivated land left by them (Saguchi 1981, 87).
4. Some Aspects of the Turfani Community in Guazhou

The Qing archives give us accounts about various activities of the Turfanis living in Guazhou. Below, we pick out several interesting examples that enable us to catch a glimpse of the actual conditions of the Turfani communities.

4.1. Punishment for Fugitives

The decrease in population from Turfan to Guazhou suggests that people dropped out not only because of illness and death but also a choice to abandon the migration. After arriving at Guazhou, the first such incident happened in the spring of 1734. When the Qing officer, Laiwei, took a party of Turfanis out to cut grass, three of them ran away. They were captured on their way to the west by Qing troops coming from Hami and soon brought back to Guazhou. Liu Yuyi dispatched Elge to Guazhou to confirm the Turfani intention to remain in Guazhou and determined a guideline that, if a fugitive would be captured again, instructed his men to “be sure to punish according to established laws, without any leniency” (Ma. Urunakū ili hai fafun i gamambi. Ainaha seme guweburakū) (XMD, 3:287–8). Although the contents of the “laws” (fafun) are ambiguous in this Manchu text, a document in Chinese written later clarifies this to mean “be sure to execute immediately, without any leniency” (C. bi li ji zhengfā, jue bu qing dai).

Even after this, there was no end to incidents of the Turfanis running away. At the end of 1734, Ruzi Muḥammad (C. Luozi Maimaiti) attempted to escape. However, because he was still sixteen years old and the reason for his escape was fear of violence by his house master (C. jia zhu), the Qing reduced his penalty to flogging.26

4.2. A Request from ʿAbd al-Khaliq (1733)27

The news that the Turfanis had arrived at Guazhou soon spread among the communities of Turfanis who had already migrated in Suzhou in 1725. ʿAbd al-Khaliq (C. Abu Halike), living in Weilupu, heard a rumor that his parents from whom he had been separated had come to Guazhou and appealed to the Qing authorities for information. As a result of an investigation, his father was found to be still alive; however, his mother had died from a disease in Turfan. The Qing permitted ʿAbd al-Khaliq to go to Guazhou to take care of his elderly father.

26 IZ 001996, memorial from Zhang Huangsi, QL13/3/2 (March 30, 1748).
27 JQ 03-0008-009, memorial from Liu Yuyi, YZ11/12/4 (December 29, 1733).
Although not itself a significant event, this case gives us some insight into the administrative process. First, ʿAbd al-Khaliq applied through a head of Weilupu, Niyaz Maḥmud (C. Niyasi Mamute) to the Regional Commander (C. zongbingguan) of Suzhou-zhen, Shen Lixue. At that time, Niyaz Maḥmud addressed “a letter in barbarian language” (C. fanci yizhi) to explain the details. Second, Shen Lixue asked the jasagh-gong, Emin Khoja, through the Military Preparedness Circuit of Anxi, Wang Quanchen, to investigate. Then, upon receiving the results of the investigation, Shen Lixue reported to the Viceroy of Shaan-Gan, Liu Yuyi. Liu Yuyi sent a memorial to the Qing court and finally gained imperial assent.

4.3. An Attack on Cart-Pullers (1736)\(^{28}\)

At the beginning of 1736, two Chinese cart-pullers, Han Fuyou from Shanxi and Zhao Huangji from Wuwei, who were headed for Malianjing from Anxi, reached a wilderness between the Five Villages and Daquan at about eight in the evening and were suddenly attacked by someone wielding a gun and a knife. Although their lives were not threatened, they were robbed of two mules and all their belongings. On receiving the news, the Anxi-wei office dispatched a party of troops who captured the robbers, Muḥammad Latif (C. Mama Letibu) and Ḥusayn (C. Eseyin), in Shaquanzi.

Muḥammad Latif and Ḥusayn both lived at Wupu; originally, the former was from Yar-khoto and the latter from Khandun. According to the testimony of Muḥammad Latif, in order to meet his elder brother, ʿŪṣman (C. Azhaoman), he lied that he was going hunting and, inviting Ḥusayn, went out without permission. Three days later, they met the cart-pullers in Shaquanzi and attacked them. Muḥammad Latif’s gun was bought in Guazhou for 3.5 taels; the lead bullets were brought from Turfan.

4.4. The Emin Incident (1746–47)\(^{29}\)

In the autumn of 1746, Emin, who was thirty two years old and living in Toupu, planned an escape to Hami or Lükchün since he was unable to repay his debts. According to Emin, after making money there, he planned to return and repay them. On December 29, he found a small gun at the shop of Zhang Shiyan and thought of making a living by hunting during his travels. He devised a plan and explained, “I serve as the guard for a sheep farm of the jasagh-gong. The area is

\(^{28}\) JQ 03-0002-030, memorial from Liu Yuyi, QL1/1/25 (May 7, 1736).

\(^{29}\) See above note note 26.
infested with wolves. If you sell me the gun, I will be able to drive the wolves away.” Zhang Shiyuan believed him and sold him the gun. After that, Emin went to the house of the regional soldier, Chen Yongfu. Although he was not at home, Emin bought forty lead bullets and gunpowder from Chen’s mother. She had no reason to suspect Emin because he often came past selling firewood. Emin immediately left the village by stealth with He-jian-me-ya-er 何見美牙爾 (Khojamyar?) who had also planned to escape. Six days later, on arriving at a place known as Biaogan 標杆, He-jian-me-ya-er told him that he wanted to return to Toupu. Thus, while he was sleeping, Emin stole his horse and continued on his way. Five days later, Emin met a Muslim called Niyaz (C. Niyasi) and asked to be taken to the Hami beise. However, after being brought before the local Qing troops, Emin was transported to Anxi and executed in public in Guazhou on April 20, 1747. Subsequently, He-jian-me-ya-er was also captured in Biaogan. Although a person who accompanied a fugitive should, according to the normal Qing code, be given a hundred lashes of the whip and then sent into exile, “the Turfan Muslims should be [dealt with] according to the regulations to deal with [people of] the Miao area,” and so his sentence was commuted to being pilloried for sixty days and receiving forty lashes of the board.  

4.5. The Nażarmat Incident (1748)  
Nażarmat (< Nażar Muḥammad, C. Niza’ermate), a man living in Toupu, was punched and insulted because he could not repay a debt he incurred for his wedding. On October, 1748, Nażarmat borrowed a horse from his brother-in-law, Sa-ke-sheng-qing 薩克生青, who lived at Wupu, and a saddle from the daughter of his friend Niyaz Beg, saying that he needed them for his service to the dargha (headman), and attempted to flee to Lükhün. When, on the following day, Sa-ke-sheng-qing went to the dargha to ask for his horse back, the truth became known. The report reached the Commander-in-Chief (C. tidu) of Anxi, Yongchang, via Emin Khoja’s son Sulayman, and was then conveyed to the garrison camps; the troops successfully captured Nażarmat in Gaoquan on the route to Hami. During the trial, the Qing drew a comparison with the case of Emin in the previous year. Taking into consideration the fact that Nażarmat was not in possession of a gun,  

30 As Saguchi (1986, 159) already pointed out, it was decided in 1741 that “all the theft and murder cases related to the Muslims in Anxi should be afterward dealt with and managed according to the regulations for the Mongolians in Yulin, Ningxia, and Kouwai.” GZSL, 146:30a–b, QL6/7/jiaxu (August 22, 1741).  
31 GQ 04-01-26-0002-031, memorial from Hubao, QL13/11/25 (January 13, 1749); JZ 003851, memorial from Hubao, ca. QL13 (date unknown).
the Provincial Governor (C. xunfu) of Gansu, Hubao, ruled that a death sentence would be too harsh.

From what has been described in this section, the following may be pointed out: (1) the Turfanis in Guazhou could not travel freely and, in particular, were forbidden from remigrating back to Hami and Turfan; (2) Those that violated the ban were punished severely as per the Qing regulations for the Mongols and Miao; (3) the Turfani chieftains were positioned at the lowest rung of the Qing administrative system and mediated between Qing authorities and the local communities; (4) it was relatively easy to obtain a gun, lead bullets, and gunpowder; and (5) the Turfanis frequently came into contact with Chinese merchants and soldiers.

Conclusion

The Turfanis were implicated in the war between the Junghars and the Qing, and about 10,000 of them left their homes and migrated to Guazhou. Although they received various forms of support from the Qing, their life in the new location was not easy. When the Qing overthrew the Junghars in 1755 and the first report arrived that they would be able to return to Turfan, the Turfanis in Guazhou “were excitedly looking forward to [returning], did not repair canals even around the [season for] cultivation, and finally started cultivation at the local official’s urging” (GQZ, 13:820–1). Although this account may be somewhat overdrawn, it is certain that they longed for their homeland.

Seen from the Qing point of view, there was an urgent need to develop the Hexi region, especially the sparsely populated and least-developed Kouwai area, as a supply base for the frontline of the war with the Junghars. In such a situation, the presence of the 10,000 refugees from Turfan fitted exactly with the Qing strategy for the northwest, and the Qing, expecting them to function as human resources, developed farmland and irrigation infrastructure. Contrary to their expectations, however, the Qing project did not yield satisfactory results, and left the Qing administration no alternative but to continue subsidizing the Turfanis in Guazhou.

In subsequent years this ongoing support regardless of profit, proved to be of benefit to the Qing in a different way. After successfully overthrowing the Junghars, the Qing then conquered the oasis towns along the Tarim basin in 1759,
in which the Turkic-speaking Muslims lived. Emin Khoja, returning to Turfan with his followers and his descendants, i.e. the family of the Turfan junwangs, became the most prominent ruler to manage the administration of the local Muslim population.

In this stage, naturally, the Turfan junwangs reigned as Islamic rulers over the Muslim society and, at the same time, took part in the Qing government as loyal followers of the Qing emperor who was an infidel ruler. They must have always been faced with the issue of how to resolve the contradiction and to maintain the legitimacy of the family’s authority. EM13135 describes the Junghars as violent infidels, while contrasting the Qing emperor to them as a savior from catastrophe, likened to the Day of Resurrection, and remaining silent on his non-Muslim status. The context of EM13135 is constructed with a logic aimed at skillfully avoiding the above inconsistency.

Finally, let us consider EM13135’s role in local historiography. It is very difficult to trace when and where EM13135 was written. The passage šubu Waju diyārī, or “this land of Guazhou” (line 12) can be interpreted to mean that the document was written in Guazhou. On other hand, šubu in Turki is a relatively neutral pronoun, and can be translated as “(precisely) that” as well as “(precisely) this.” Moreover, the incomplete final sentence “decided to move from the country” (line 20–21) suggests that the Turfanis had already left Guazhou when the document was written. It is possible, therefore, that EM13135 was written around the same time as EM13138 (sometime between 1800 and 1805) though at this stage we lack conclusive evidence on this point.

In any case, the key to considering this issue is EM13138. As pointed out by Brophy, the first half of EM13138 is a translation from the text of the WFMG biographies; the second half supplements it with biographies of Emin Khoja’s sons and grandsons that do not occur in any of the WFMG texts and the subsequent continuations. If Brophy’s conjecture that it is likely to have been in the possession of Emin Khoja’s descendants is correct, there is a high probability that EM13135 also had been kept under the same condition. The important point to be noted here is that the text of the WFMG biographies makes little mention of events surrounding the Turfani migration led by Emin Khoja to Guazhou. This suggests that EM13135 supplies information missing from EM13138. Over time, the number of people who knew how and why the junwang family had gained their present status was decreasing; in particular, few among the living had

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32 It should be probably translated as “the land of Guazhou itself, no less.”
experienced life in Guazhou. I believe that EM13135 and EM13138 were created for a common goal to reconfirm the history of Emin Khoja and his family. Furthermore, EM13135, differing from EM13138, tells of the hardships that the family lived through from “our” (biz) point of view. For the descendants of Emin Khoja, it can be considered that EM13135 served to preserve the memory of their historical experience and strengthen their identity.
Appendix: Facsimile of EM13135
Part Three: The Life of Emin Khoja
A Qing Exemplary Biography in Turkic Translation

David BROPHY

In his initial study of the Ankara manuscripts, Ahmet Temir described the second of the two texts simply as a “history of Turfan,” noting several personal names that occur, along with the fact that the dates are given according to Chinese style (Temir 1951). Upon examining the text at the Ethnography Museum, I soon realized that it was not an original work, but a translation of the official Qing biography of Emin Khoja, and several of his sons and grandsons. While initially disappointed at not discovering an original composition, I became intrigued by certain linguistic features of the text, and the problem of reconstructing its sociolinguistic context. In the following introduction I will describe the text along with the major points of linguistic interest, before proceeding to discuss the evidence that it provides for the linguistic and cultural history of Qing Xinjiang.

The Translation and its Original

My initial identification of the text was made by comparing it with the Chinese text of the Qing biography of Emin Khoja, first published in juan 111 of the Qianlong-period “who’s who” of the non-Han elite of the empire: the Qinding waifan Mengu Huibu wanggong biaozhuang (Imperially Commissioned Genealogical Tables and Biographies of the Princes of the Outer Mongolian Dependencies and the Muslim Territory, WFMG below). The Qianlong emperor commissioned this work in 1779, and its editor-

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1 Note that the accession number given by Temir is 13128. In fact the correct number is 13138.
in-chief Qi Yunshi had completed its first Chinese version by 1790, in time to be included in the emperor’s encyclopedic *Sikuquanshu* compilation. A supplemented edition was presented to the emperor in 1795, and printed in the Forbidden City’s Hall of Martial Valor in 1802. This so-called “palace edition” was a trilingual publication, in Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian. The Mongolian edition is widely known among scholars by its abbreviated Mongolian title, the *Iledkel šastir* (IŠ below).

The WFMG was based on an earlier, chronological history of Qing Inner Asia written in Chinese, the *Huangchao fanbu yaolüe* 皇朝藩部要略. Errors and textual corruptions in this work were dealt with by drawing on original documents and archival copies from the Qing institutions that interacted with the empire’s Inner Asian nobility—primarily the Bureau of Translators (C. *Huitongguan*) and the Court of Colonial Affairs (C. *Lifanyuan*). Qi Yunshi preferred to consult these materials in Manchu, as the phonetic script provided a better guide to foreign names and toponyms. As a result, it would be wrong to see the Manchu and Mongolian editions of this compilation as direct translations from the Chinese, even though the Chinese was produced first. The recent publication of Manchu archival documents on Xinjiang (XMD) and the outgoing Manchu court letters of the Qianlong period (QMJD) allow us to compare these original memorials and decrees with the edited and abbreviated form of such texts that occur in official Qing publications. While this is not the object of this study, my brief comparisons suggest that the TMHA does in places reflect the original wording of such Manchu documents, which supports Veronica Veit’s conclusion that the Manchu version was compiled in “parallel” to the Chinese (Veit 1990, 105). The close correspondence between the Manchu and Mongolian texts leaves little room for doubt that the translators of the *Iledkel šastir* were working on the basis of the Manchu text.

Internal evidence suggests that the Turkic translation was commenced at the time of, or shortly after, the publication of the three palace editions. The last event recorded in the text is the Jiaqing emperor’s decree replying to a memorial from Kashgar dated to July 1800. The death of Emin Khoja’s son Aurangzib in 1805, not noted in the text, serves as a *terminus ante quem*, leading me to conclude that the text was compiled some time between 1800 and 1805. ³ The text itself can be divided into two parts. The first two-thirds follows the WFMG text closely, showing only minor discrepancies. In some points, the text actually

³ At the end of Aurangzib’s biography the text states that “he is now residing in Ili” (40b).
improves on the WFMG text, including corrections that also found their way into Hening’s 1804 *Huijiang tongzhi* 回疆通志 (Comprehensive Gazetteer of the Muslim Frontier), a compilation that incorporated many of the WFMG biographies. In the final third, however, it departs from the WFMG text entirely, and supplements it with biographies of Emin Khoja’s sons and grandsons that do not occur in any edition of the WFMG, the *Huijiang tongzhi*, nor in any of the WFMG’s subsequent continuations. These sections must have been compiled on the basis of the same type of archives that Qi Yunshi and his collaborators had access to, primarily from Court of Colonial Affairs. This makes it likely that the translators were working in Beijing, with some degree of official sponsorship. As with any work belonging to the genre of “exemplary biography” (*C. liezhuan* 列傳), the WFMG biographies served both as records of bureaucratic progress, and as didactic expositions of the benefits accruing to those who collaborated with the Qing. It would not be at all surprising if upon its completion Qing officials felt it necessary to ensure that Xinjiang’s Muslim aristocracy had read and understood its lessons.

Identifying the original from which the Turkic translation was produced has proved difficult. By the end of the eighteenth century, extensive translation back and forth between Manchu and Mongolian had given rise to a rigid bureaucratic lexicon that facilitated a highly mechanical rendering of one language into the other. As an agglutinative language with strong syntactic affinity with Manchu and Mongolian, the Turkic language of Xinjiang was readily assimilated to this system. As a result, the Mongolian IŠ, Manchu HTMA, and Turkic EM13138 (here EM) are practically identical in syntax, as a comparison of the translations of one imperial decree in the three texts shows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>TMHA</th>
<th>IŠ</th>
<th>EM</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><em>Emin Hojo, Yusub</em></td>
<td><em>Emin Qojo, Yüsüp</em></td>
<td><em>Emin Ḩuŋja Yūsuf</em></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>teis teisu</td>
<td>tus-tus-dayan</td>
<td>böläk böläk</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>gemu faššame</td>
<td>čöm jīdkījū</td>
<td>hamasi ḥīzmat qilip</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yabuha</td>
<td>yabubai</td>
<td>yūrdi</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

---

4 For example, the text adds a mention of Emin Khoja’s first son Nur Muḥammad (25b, 28a), who was unknown to the editors of the palace edition of the WFMG.

5 The first continuation was published in 1814 (Li 1884–90, juan 133–156); the next in 1839 (juan 157–180); the third in 1849 (juan 181–204); finally a fourth continuation in 1859 (Veit 1990, 1:102).

6 XMD, 142:15–17, memorial from Iskandar, rescripted QL45/1/25 (February 29, 1780).
“Emin Khoja and Yūsuf have both been performing a variety of services.”

TMHA te cembe yooni jibuфи

IŠ edүge teden-i çәm ireгүлbesү

EM ħali ularni hamasini keltүүрүп

“Were I to now summon both of them,”

TMHA Hoise sei baita be iсihiyara niyalma akү be dahame

IŠ Qотоң-үд-үн kereg-i sidкеү küмүү üгеi-yин тулада

EM yerlikләрүү iʃини ʃидкәйдургаң киʃ yoq üчүн

“there would be no one left to manage the affairs of the Muslims.”

TMHA kesi isibume Emin Hojo be wesibume giyүn wянg fүngнефи

IŠ kеси kүртегеүү Emin Qоjo-yи debsигүлжү giyүнvang erгүмүjленed

EM keʃиk ыеткүзүп Emin Ḥәәjанi debшийтip junwuң qоyp

“Therefore I will bestow my grace and promote Emin Khoja to junwәng.”

TMHA Yәrk Languages ni bәde tәfi baita iсihiyакини.

IŞ Yәrk Languages-yӚŋ yәʃәr-tүɾ sәyүү kereg sidкәүүгеi.

EM Yәrkәndиnүү yәridә oltүүp iʃ ʃидkәsүң.

“Let him remain in Yәrkәnd and see to affairs.”

Initially the presence in the Turkic text of words of obvious Mongolian origin (e.g. debшийт- ʃидкә-, ) led me to surmise that the EM text was a translation of the Mongolian. Often these Mongolian words in EM correspond to the same word in
the IŞ. They do not always do so, though, and as I gathered evidence from elsewhere I came to see these Mongolian items as a component of the translator’s standard lexicon, and not simply evidence of a lazy translator leaving words in the original. A close comparison of wording between all three texts turns up places where the Turkic text follows the Manchu as much as the Mongolian (these discrepancies are noted in the Transcription). There is also a small, but not insignificant component of Manchu loanwords. As outlined in the Appendix, titles and institutions tend to correspond to the Manchu, either as loan translations or simply loanwords. And certain phrasing in EM can only be explained on the basis of a Manchu original. Obvious loan translations from Manchu include:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{hisəbnîŋ iziça} & \quad \text{“according to the number”} \\
\text{har qaydağ dep} & \quad \text{“whatever the case”}
\end{align*}
\]

(My. ton i songköi) (Ma. ainaha seme)

My conclusion from all this is that the translators were working with both the Manchu and Mongolian texts. Because of this, I have provided here transcriptions of all three texts, as well as a Manchu-Mongolian-Turkic Wordlist comparing items in all three.

In the second part of the text, it seems unnecessary to posit a Mongolian intermediary. As far as I can establish the Turkic here follows the original Manchu of the imperial decrees very closely, and I am confident that the translators were working directly from Manchu originals. Indeed, the translation of one court letter (fols. 45a–46a) even reproduces the vermilion rescript that the emperor added before it was dispatched (QMJD, 23:222–25). The following line serves as an example (XMD, 180:156–157):

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{XMD} & \quad \text{Hami Turfan i juwe ba gemu gurun booi fe aha} \\
\text{EM} & \quad \text{Qamul Turfan ikki yer hamasi iqılımnik öyinin kuhna quli}
\end{align*}
\]

“[The Muslims of] both Hami and Turfan are longstanding subjects of our dynasty.”

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{XMD} & \quad \text{funcehe gũwa hoton i Hoise se oci} \\
\text{EM} & \quad \text{yana özgâ şahrlärniŋ yerlikläri bolsa}
\end{align*}
\]
“As for the Muslims of the other cities,"

XMD yooni  mini beye  ice jecen be  toktobume

EM tamām  meniŋ boyum  Yaŋi Yaqa Yurtlarni  toḥtatip

XMD icihiyara de  dahanihangge  bicibe

EM šidkäšdä  eräšip kırğän  bolsamu

“although they all submitted when I personally subdued the New Frontier”

XMD inu  gūsin aniya  hamime  hūsun bume  yabuha

EM yana  ottuz yilğä  yaqin  küč berip  yürğän

“they have now been exerting themselves for close to thirty years.”

The translation of mini beye “myself” as meniŋ boyum leaves little doubt that the original here was in Manchu (other phrases involving this word include sula boyi etc.). The Mongolian loan šidkä- is therefore precisely that, a loanword. Note also that here we have a nineteenth century rendition of “Xinjiang” in Turkic: “New Frontier Region” (Yaŋi Yaqa Yurt).

“Yamen Uyghur” and its Linguistic Features

There is no consensus on how to refer to the literary language(s) of Xinjiang in this period, which occupy an intermediary position between Chaghatay and Standard Uyghur (SU.). One candidate might be “Turki”, or “Eastern Turki” which has been defined on the basis of written texts and oral recording gathered by visitors to Xinjiang in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth century. To adopt the term “Turki” simply because the term was in use among the locals at that time sets an awkward precedent, however, since “Turki” has served as the most common designation for many forms of Turkic in many parts of the Turkic-speaking world. Furthermore, “Eastern Turki” refers to a body of popular religious and historical texts that do not display the features I highlight below. While clearly closely related, this text belongs to quite a different social context,
and warrants its own designation. As an idiolect exclusive to translators who worked in the official Qing bureaucracy, i.e. in the yamens of Qing ambans, I have adopted the term “Yamen Uyghur”. I will first briefly discuss the phonology and morphology of the text, before turning to the lexicon.

**Orthography:** There is a tendency to mix up Arabic consonants, with non-velarized consonants substituted for velarized, and vice versa (e.g. avzā‘ for avżā‘, but ‘ażā for ‘azā). Long vowels are often inserted to indicate short vowels (e.g. lāzīm for lāzim, rahīm for rahm [SU. rāhīm]).

**Phonology:** The text shows the alternation of /p/ ~ /f/ common to written texts from other parts of Xinjiang:

- *tafturğan* (SU. tapturğan)
- *tafšurup* (SU. tapšurup)

In some words both /p/ and /f/ occur. For example, fārvā alternates with parvā, fastlat- with pastlat-. Note that the sound change /v/ > /g/, a feature of Xinjiang’s eastern dialect that has been identified from evidence in the *Wuti Qingwenjian* 五体清文鑒, is not evident in this text (Shogaito 1979).

The text exhibits a lowering of the high vowel in the second syllable of certain verbs, which Abdurishid Yakup identifies as a feature of Turfan dialect:

- *körāšürmiz* (SU. körüšārmiz)
- *tosap* (SU. tosup)
- *tüzäp* (SU. tüzüp)

**Morphology:** The verbal morphology of the text does not differ greatly from standard Chaghatay forms, though in certain cases a transition can be witnessed from classical forms to forms found in Modern Uyghur. The durative present tense has lost its -dur in all except the third person, and therefore is close to the Standard Uyghur paradigm.

The aorist, which occurs infrequently and only as a finite verb, preserves Chaghatay -Ur (in contrast to SU. -Ar): buzulur, kelür, körāšür. The contracted past imperfect form -Attī has replaced the Chaghatay -(A)r edi. This form appears most commonly in the apodosis of an unreal conditional:
*albatta *şunîŋ* junwaŋliŋ *hâṭini* tamâm yîrtsâ *kelişätti.*

“Of course it would be appropriate to tear up his *junwang* diploma.” (31b)

Another colloquial feature is the use of the aorist + *miki.*

“uluğ čerîg yârîlaşqani *kelûrmiki*?” dep tilägänini Qamulniŋ jasaq bâysâ Yûsuf aŋlatip aylatqağanîda

“When the Hami Jasagh Beise Yusuf reported that he had petitioned, wondering if the Great Army would be coming to their assistance... “(5b)

A shift towards the vernacular is evident in the following two verbal suffixes, where classical forms alternate with colloquial:

1*st* pl. optative: -*Ali* ~ -*Ayli* (SU. -*Ayli*)

Coverb: -*Ga*ni ~ -*Ga*li (SU. -*Gili*)

The are also some unattested deverbal nouns formed by the suffix -(i)*Q*:

*qamlaš-* > *qamlašiq* “what is good, appropriate”

The third person possessive suffix occasionally shows the form +*isi*, again a feature of Turfan dialect highlighted by Yakup:

*ham kičik ušaq nersä aladurğan qismisi yoq*

“He has no case of taking small things”

The suffixless forms *qismi* and *rasmi* also occur, which leads me to see the +*isi* form as an epenthetic +*i* compensating for the final consonant cluster, followed by the regular possessive suffix +*si*.

*qadîm rasmi bilä* “According to the old custom”

*bu iikki qismi išni* “These two kinds of things”
On a few occasions, the orthography represents vowel shortening:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{bala-barqa}+\text{si} & > \text{bala-barqisi} & \text{“his household”} \\
\text{šidkä-} + \text{ĞAn} & > \text{šidkigän} & \text{“he took care of it”}
\end{align*}
\]

**Syntax:** As already discussed, the syntax of the text almost entirely determined by the original. This results in a type of “translationese” which would be extremely difficult to understand for someone unfamiliar with the style of the original. Among the results of this process is confusion between the causative and passive moods, which probably derives from the fact that the two forms coincide in Manchu. In the following line, for example, the Manchu passive is correctly translated as passive in IŠ, but is rendered as a causative in EM:

\[
\begin{align*}
\text{TMHA} & \quad \text{ere juwe hūlha} & \quad \text{neneme Jun Gar de} & \quad \text{horibuha bihe.} \\
\text{IŠ} & \quad \text{ene qoyar qulayai} & \quad \text{urida} & \quad \text{Jēgūn Ĝar-tur} & \quad \text{goriydaysan bülüge.} \\
\text{EM} & \quad \text{buikki oğri} & \quad \text{ilgäri} & \quad \text{Junğarğa} & \quad \text{solątgän ekän.}
\end{align*}
\]

“Previously these two bandits had been imprisoned by the Junghars.”

**Lexicon:** Turning to the lexicon, besides Mongolian and Manchu loans there are a handful of words that can be classified as belonging to an eastern dialect, including:

- **mundin buyzi:** “after this”

Items of Arabic or Persian origin which do not belong to the Chaghatay lexicon, nor to Standard Uyghur, include the following:

- ‘adīdla- “to clarify, elucidate” (< A. ‘adīd)
- iqĪlm country, China (iqĪlmniŋ öyi 國家)
- lāzim qil- “to make use of”
- ta’ rīfla- “to praise” (< A. ta’ rīf)
- yağila- “to attack”
- yārīla- “to aid, reinforce”
As is well known, literary Central Asian Turkic includes a significant number of Middle-Mongolian loanwords that entered the lexicon during the period of the Chinggisid empire and its successor states (Sertkaya 1992; Scherbak 1997). Alongside this familiar vocabulary, this text retains a large number of Mongolian terms not forming part of the standard Chaghatay lexicon. The following example shows the extensive presence of both categories of words (old loanwords in bold, new borrowing underlined):

Han tābi’ aynaqini sayi köçüp aṭ ulaği ʾiḥtimāli yetmās dep yarlîq bîlā yandurup berdurup taḥi ulamjitip yarlîq tûšürüp albannîn išidâ jûtkûdi’ dep ‘ta riflāqan

“...the khan considered that he [Sulayman] had just moved his subordinates, and their horses and asses might not suffice, so he decreed that they be returned to him, and he commended him for his efforts in the matter of taxation.” (30a)

Some, though, correspond to different words in IŞ, and can confidently be identified as loanwords (see the Wordlist for full comparison):

erkin “important” < erkin
ğomulda- “to be distressed” < yomuda-
jobat- “to bother, wear out” < joba-
kātâčî “belt pouch” < ketebci
kûnûṣûn “rations” < kînesûn
örtâq “relay station” < örtege(n)

In several cases longstanding loan-words in Turkic occur in their original Mongolian meaning, which was altered (often narrowed) in Chaghatay, and in today’s Central Asian Turkic languages. The verb ʾčida-, for example, means “to bear, put up with” in SU, but here carries its original Mongolian sense of “to be able”:

mabādā Mâŋlikni ʾilâj bîrlâ tutup ʾčidaydurğan bolsa

“If by some means he is able to capture Mâŋlik” (3a)
Elsewhere, however, it is used in its narrower Turkic meaning:

*meniŋ nihāyatī köŋlüm čidamaydur*

“My heart cannot bear it” (3a).

Apart from these, there is a large set of vocabulary items relating to dealings with the Qing court which correspond to the same terms in the Mongolian IŞ. A very large proportion of them are terms relating to the practice of government, and the duties of subordinates towards the emperor. For example:

- *aylatqa*—“to report upwards, memorialise the emperor” < *ayiladqa*
- *baralqa*—“to have an audience, present oneself” < *baralqa*
- *bolja*—“to agree on, determine; to foresee, surmise” < *bolju*
- *debsi*—“to rise, be promoted” < *debsi*
- *gegegān*—“(imperial) splendour, brightness” < *gegegen*
- *jayla*—“to avoid” < *jayila*
- *jaki*—“to give instructions, entrust” < *jaki*
- *jütkū*—“to endeavour, strive, exert oneself” < *jidkü*
- *kičā*—“to exert oneself, strive; to take care, be cautious” < *kiciye-
  kürmā* “short jacket (worn at formal occasions)” < *kürm-e*
- *mörgü*—“to pray; to bow” < *mörgü-
  šidkā*—“to make a decision, judge; to punish, chastise” < *siidke-
  tegšälā*—“to straighten, put in order” < *tegsile-
  temtäglā*—“to mark, check off, note down” < *temdegle-
  ulamjit*—“to transmit, pass on” < *ulamjila-
  zalqa*—“to punish, reprimand” < *jalqaγa-

Importantly, the key term *kesig* (“imperial grace”) is retained with all its connotations:

- *kešik yetküz*—“to bestow grace”
- *kešikimmı bašida kötār*—“to receive grace (lit. carry grace on one’s head)”
- *kešikni żāyiʿ qil*—“to spurn grace”

Lexical borrowing from Manchu is limited to certain institutions and banner-related terminology. For example:
amban “official” < amban
guza “banner” < gūsa
gošqa “bodyguard” < gocika
jizä “draft, i.e. memorial” < jise
jurğan “board” < jurgan
niru “division” < niru
sula boyi “unemployment” < sula beye

Translation in the Qing and the Origins of Yamen Uyghur

Little is known about the careers of the first Muslim translators who served the Qing, but that they were recruited primarily from Hami and Turfan is clear. This was the conclusion of Masahiro Shogaito’s research on the WTQWJ, and is supported by the Qianlong emperor’s own observation below that the tongchis in southern Xinjiang were all natives of Hami and Turfan (see p. 102). I believe that this sociolect developed on the basis of an existing Turco-Mongol bilingualism that prevailed in this region, at least among its elite, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. It was through Mongolian that the Qing first interacted with the Muslims of Xinjiang. Translators and begs eventually acquired Manchu, but Manchu vocabulary never supplanted the existing Mongolian-derived lexicon in which the relationship between ruler and subject was couched.

With the conversion of Turfan and Hami to Islam, a process that was complete by the sixteenth century, a transition occurred from a form of written Uyghur to Chaghatay, the literary form of Turkic patronized by the Islamic Chaghatayid dynasty and its Timurid cousins. The vertical Uyghur script was maintained for a period: the Ming dynasty’s translation manual Huayi yiyu contains a set of letters in Uyghur script written in the sixteenth century, purporting to be from the Chaghatayids of Hami and Turfan. They are in fact retranslations from Chinese drafts, but the lexicon is genuine enough.

From this point on, we lack documentation, though the political context is well known. From the middle of the seventeenth century onwards, the Oirat Mongols were the dominant political force in Jungharia and the valleys of the Tianshan. One of their strongholds was the Yulduz River, which allowed them to exert influence over oases further south, such as Turfan, Kucha and Qarashahr.

7 Roth Li (2000, 17) says that /e/ was pronounced as a short /o/ after labials. The Turkic transcription here supports this. See also Gorelova 2002, 77–79.
There were close contacts between Muslim Chaghatayids and Oirat throughout the seventeenth century. The Turfan region was brought under direct Oirat control by the Junghar Khan Galdan in approximately 1680, and southern Xinjiang fell in the course of the next two decades. It stands to reason that at least some of these Muslims would have learnt Mongolian in the course of their service. This is all but confirmed by the missionary Jean-François Gerbillon, writing in the late seventeenth century on the “Tartars” of Hami and Turfan: “The language of these Tartars, which is apparently the same with that of the Yusbeks, is different from the Mongol tongue, but this last is commonly understood by reason of the great Commerce between the two Nations” (Du Halde 1736, 181).

The Junghars did not have an elaborate bureaucracy, but judging from subsequent Qing practice there is good reason to believe that Oirat Mongolian written in the Todo, or “clear” script, served as a lingua franca throughout the Junghar domains. How far this official form of Mongolian influenced written Turkic is difficult to say. In the case of Kashgaria, loanwords from Mongolian in seventeenth- and eighteenth- century texts are no more common than in similar texts from western Turkistan. A search of the well known and widely copied Tażkira-i ʿAzizan, for example, yields only a handful of words: qaraḥan (< Mo. qaraqan) “guardpost”; šaŋ 1) “treasury” 2) “silk” (Mo. sang) e.g. šaŋbegi “collector of revenues”, šaŋ hāmi “raw silk” (Kashghari ca. 1780, fols. 32a, 62a).

However, at least one text suggests a very different situation in the north of Xinjiang. Around the same time as Muḥammad Ṣādiq was working on his Tażkira-i ʿAzizan in Kashgar, Muḥammad ʿAbd al-ʿAlim, a resident of Khorgos on the Ili River, composed a verse account of the fall of the Junghars, the Islamnama. As I have described elsewhere, this work contains a wide range of Mongolian words belonging to all parts of speech (Brophy 2011).

**Muslim Translators in the High Qing**

In the course of their initial contacts with the oases of east Turkistan, the Qing tended to approach the Turkic-speaking community as if they were Mongols. The Kangxi Emperor was himself of the opinion that “the Muslims do not differ in their customs from the Mongols” (Huizi fengsu yu Menggu wuyi). This reflected
the fact that the Qing, as distinct from the Ming, knew the Muslims of Turkistan primarily as subjects of the Junghars, and first had interactions with those who were in Junghar employ. As the Qing empire expanded westward, officials found it convenient to interact with begs in Hami and Turfan though Mongolian. The Qing archive preserves letters in Mongolian from the Hami begs, as well as from Emin Khoja of Turfan, and outgoing decrees to Emin Khoja were translated into Mongolian before being delivered. Such a practice seems to have survived until the end of the dynasty in parts of Xinjiang. In the 1890s the Hami wang informed Qing officials that his bureaucracy still wrote to Beijing (and other provinces) in Mongolian (Tao 2002, 370).

Because of this facility in the Mongolian language, the conquest of Xinjiang did not immediately result in the creation of new translation institutions to deal with Xinjiang’s Muslims. A decade after the conquest of Xinjiang an office was added to the Court of Colonial Affairs to handle Qing relations with the Muslim aristocrats of Hami, Turfan, and the oases to the south. This was the Office for Soliciting Distant Peoples (C. Laiyuan qinglisi 徠遠清吏司), which took responsibility for these aristocrats’ official visits to the capital, and kept track of the transmission of titles and the allocation of stipends. However, this office did not include any Muslims on its staff of translators, which according to the statutes of the Court of Colonial Affairs consisted of three Manchu and five Mongolian translators, known by the Manchu designation bithesi (Zhao 2006).

A second reason that there was little need for the Qing court to enhance its translation capacity in Muslim languages is that much of this work was done in the field. Letters in Persian and Chaghatay that reached Kashgar or Yarkand were initially translated into Mongolian, and then into Manchu, before being sent to the court. Gradually, as local Muslim tongchi acquired Manchu, the Mongolian intermediary could be dispensed with. One of Emin Khoja’s translators, a Turfani by the name of Ibrahim, is reported to have taught himself Manchu while working in Yarkand, and by 1770 was teaching it to the sons of local begs (XMD, 117:271–73). When Emin Khoja returned to Turfan, Ibrahim was retained in Yarkand, and spent the next decade working as a Manchu instructor. In 1780, pleased with the results of the experiment, Yarkand officials formalized the school and instituted stipends for students, thus extending the recruitment pool.

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10 The Qing archive provides ample evidence that correspondence between Emin Khoja and the Qing court was primarily in Mongolian. For examples, see XMD, 22:300, 23:244–45, 24:342.
The Life of Emin Khoja: Introduction

beyond the children of wealthy beg families.\textsuperscript{11} Over time, the number of schools teaching Manchu to Muslim children in Xinjiang grew, producing a corps of \textit{tongchi} to staff the offices of the \textit{begs} and \textit{ambans} governing Xinjiang.\textsuperscript{12} Besides these translators, it seems that by the end of the eighteenth century most of Xinjiang’s hereditary aristocrats knew Manchu, including Emin Khoja’s grandson Yunus.\textsuperscript{13}

We are fortunate to have the archival record of Ibrahim’s career in Yarkand, but similar developments were probably taking place elsewhere too. This suggests that led to the creation of Yamen Uyghur, the new bureaucratic form of written Turkic in Qing Xinjiang, was not a top-down imposition, but a product of the initiative of translators working in Xinjiang. If it is true to say that the peculiarities of the EM13138 text in some way reflect an emerging standardization among this cohort of translators, the there should of course be further evidence for this. Here I offer six examples of texts that draw in some way on a similar lexicon to EM13138. As research on texts produced with the Qing bureaucracy proceeds, I expect that more evidence for this Turco-Mongol-Manchu jargon will be found.

1) The dedicatory inscription of the Beijing mosque, constructed by the Qianlong Emperor in 1764 to entertain dignitaries visiting from Xinjiang and Islamic regions further west. This includes the line:

\begin{quote}
\textit{baralqağali kelgängä toy berädurğan uluğ yosun bolsa}
\end{quote}

“since there is a lofty custom of feasting those who come to appear at court,…”

Note that of the available texts in this multilingual inscription, the Turkic version of the inscription seems to have been translated from the Mongolian. The text adopts the Mongolian versions of the Qing reign titles, and leaves words such as

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{11} XMD, 143:356–58. I note in passing that the “Muslim script” (\textit{Huizi 回字}) section of the \textit{Xiyutongwenzhi 西域同文志} (Multilingual Gazetteer of the Western Regions) was compiled by a certain Ibrahim (\textit{Yi-ba-er-xi-mu 伊巴爾錫穆}). It would be tempting to see the two men as the same, and the chronology fits, but conclusive evidence is lacking.
\item \textsuperscript{12} Officially the government stipulated that each \textit{yamen} was to employ twelve \textit{tongchi}, but the actual number seems to have varied, and was often greater than this. For example, in 1776 the office of the Kashgar Councillor employed twenty \textit{tongchi}. See Chen 1996.
\item \textsuperscript{13} XMD, 215:29–30, memorial from Tojin, rescripted JQ8/7/20 (September 5, 1803).
\end{itemize}
süme “temple” and kemţiye “measure” untranslated (Huart 1902, 216; Onuma 2008, 19).

2) The Qing pentaglot dictionary, the Wuti Qingwenjian, published ca. 1790, which contains a number of items for which the corresponding Uyghur translation borrows the Mongolian word:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>WTQWJ</th>
<th>Manchu</th>
<th>Mongolian</th>
<th>Uyghur</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>#1837</td>
<td>boljombi</td>
<td>boljumui</td>
<td>boljaydu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#1507</td>
<td>wesimbi</td>
<td>debsimüi</td>
<td>debşiydu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#9102</td>
<td>jailambi</td>
<td>jayilamui</td>
<td>jaylaydu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#5718</td>
<td>faššambi</td>
<td>jëtkümüi</td>
<td>jëtküydu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>#3347</td>
<td>teksilembi</td>
<td>tegsilemüi</td>
<td>tâkšiläydu</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note, though, that in three out of these five examples the Mongolian word is also a loan into Manchu. The result is a truly Qing lexicon, with the same word used across all three languages. It is worth pointing out, though, that much of EM’s lexicon does not follow the prescriptions set out in the WTQWJ. Instead of reflecting the developing translator’s lexicon as it actually existed, the Uyghur section of the WTQWJ feels more like a set of direct translations from the Manchu entries (e.g. wakaša- = emäsläydu [WTQWJ], nä-ma’qūl qil- [EM])

3) The Turkic translation of an imperial edict sent to the Kazakh prince Jan Khoja in 1799. Such documents were prepared by staff of the Mongolian copying office (Menggufang 蒙古房, also known as the Menggutang 蒙古堂). According to Qurban ʿAli Khalidi, who transcribed the document into his Tavariḵ-i Khamsa-i Sharqi, the Turkic text was written on the reverse of an original Chinese (Ḫîtāyča) document (Khalidi 1910, 465–66). This too includes the characteristic Mongolian loan-vocabulary:

köŋli bilä yurtniŋ raʿiyalärini obdan qadaḡalap,

“By sincerely keeping safe the people of the land, …”

köŋülni qoyup ʃidkäp ʿizāz ikrām bilä yürsāŋ
“If you resolve matters conscientiously, and conduct yourself honourably,…”

meniŋ kešikimqä yetmäkni kičägin!

“…strive to obtain my grace!”

4) A letter submitted by the Kokandi envoy ‘Abd al-Ghafur in 1848 (Onuma, Shinmen, and Kawahara 2011, 177). In it, ‘Abd al-Ghafur asks that local Xinjiang officials pass on his letter in the following terms:

iltifät qilip ulamjitip yuqarisiğa yetkürsälär

“…if they would show grace and convey it to their superiors.”

5) A translation produced by a group of akhunds in Khotan, of an unidentified Chinese romance set during the Jin Dynasty. The manuscript is dated to 1859, and certain features of the text make it likely that it was translated from a Manchu original. The text demonstrates both a high frequency of Mongolian loanwords, and the obvious influence of Manchu syntax. These examples show both:

ḥali Jāŋfū ilgärisidäki ʿadāvatini qilip qışāś alamen dep aylatqani uza. (fol. 18b)

“It was probably the case that Zhangfu had reported this because of his earlier enmity and his desire for revenge.”

qadīmdin beri ʾiqlīmnī buzup kešikni şatip yuqğarısıda bolsa ḥənnin mekälädürgän, tubanigä bolsa, öktämlik qıladurğan ambanlarni keliškänigä baqip yıldızıny yulup őçürsä dep şidküdü. (fol. 38a)

“We decided that the appropriate course of action was to pull out by the root and destroy those officials who for long time have been ruining the

14 British Library Or. 5329. The manuscript is not listed in the published catalogue, but described in an additional handlist as “romance in Turki translated from a Chinese original XIXth century.”
country, selling favors, deceiving the emperor, and being overbearing to those below them."

(*keliškänigä baqip < Ma. acara be tuwame*)

*muni tuhmat qilip aylatağanini bodağali bolmaydur.* (fol. 40a)

“It is impossible to imagine that someone memorialized slandering him.”

(*bodağali bolmaydur < Ma. boljoci ojorakü*)

6) Finally, a letter written in Manchu to the Hami Wang Shah Maqṣūd in 1905, transmitting a decree from the Board of Rites (Haenisch 1951). There, in the interlinear gloss provided by a local translator for the *wang*’s benefit, the very same Mongolian vocabulary was used to translate the Manchu original (transcription amended):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.</th>
<th>ulamjilap</th>
<th>jütküp</th>
<th>aylatağap</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>ulame</td>
<td>funde</td>
<td>wesimbure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.</th>
<th>yosuni bilä</th>
<th>mürgidiğan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>dorio</td>
<td>hengkilehe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>T.</th>
<th>uluğdap</th>
<th>aylatağisa</th>
<th>qamlaşaduğan</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ma.</td>
<td>gingguleme</td>
<td>wesimbuci</td>
<td>acara</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

These examples date from the middle of the Qianlong reign to the very end of Qing rule, and derive from a wide range of locations: Beijing, Kazakhstan, Kashgar, Khotan, and Hami respectively. Examples 3 and 6 show that this Mongolian terminology was used when translating texts written in other languages of the empire; example 4 shows that even foreigners picked up on the proper terminology to use.

In considering the use of Turkic languages for the purposes of administration, the case of Ottoman Turkish stands out, followed by the use of Chaghatay (alongside Persian) in the post-Mongol chancilleries of Central Asia. While it cannot compare in scale and significance to these two forms of written Turkic, this small body of texts nevertheless sheds light on a little-known episode
in the history of the Turkic languages. In so far as the texts introduced here make use of a distinct lexicon, we can speak here in terms of a distinct pre-modern bureaucratic form of Turkic, which I have termed Yamen Uyghur.

What became of Yamen Uyghur? The example above from 1905 shows that this formal Mongolian-Manchu lexicon was still in use among translators working for the Hami Wang at the end of the Qing, but what of its wider influence on the language and culture of Xinjiang? An account written by a Russian traveler to eastern Xinjiang gives an interesting glimpse of the linguistic situation there during the late Qing. In 1890, Vladimir Efimovich Grum-Grzhimailo passed through Hami on his way to Qinghai. In the village of Khotun-Tam, fifty kilometers to the east of Hami, he met the local beg, “a decrepit old man, living as some kind of hermit, without respect or authority” (Grum-Grzhimailo 1896, 1:484–5). In spite of his reduced circumstances, the beg addressed his visitors in formal terms, using a vocabulary which was unfamiliar to Grum-Grzhimailo’s translator Nikolai. When he pressed the locals for an interpretation, they told him that the beg was speaking in “the language of our forefathers” (iazyk nashikh dedov). They informed him that this language included “more Chinese and Mongolian words than Turkic, even some which none understand.”

Grum-Grzhimailo’s encounter with the beg of Khotun-Tam is interesting for two reasons. First it suggests that the Qing sociolect I have described here occasionally served a spoken language, at least in formal situations. It also confirms that it was not widely understood beyond the ranks of the elite and its bureaucracy. Not surprisingly, Grum-Grzhimailo’s anecdote piqued the interest of the linguist Sergei Malov, who visited Hami in 1905. Among his objectives there was to assess the level of Mongolian influence on the local language. However, he was unable to identify any significant difference in the Hami lexicon with varieties of Turkic spoken elsewhere in Xinjiang (Malov 1954, 5). Subsequent work by linguists has confirmed that the Mongolian component of Hami Uyghur, while perhaps greater than in other oases, is certainly not so significant as to interfere with communication with speakers from elsewhere. The language spoken in Hami (and Turfan) is now considered to belong to the same “central” dialect of Uyghur as that of the southern oases of Kashgar and Yarkand (Yakup 2004).

Nevertheless, had the state of affairs prevailing in the late Qianlong period persisted, there is no reason why more Mongolian vocabulary could not have eventually entered the local spoken language. A number of these words
have made their way into South Siberian Turkic languages. Instead, the promotion of Chinese-language education from the 1880s onwards led to Chinese replacing Manchu as the language of career advancement in Xinjiang. With the fall of the Qing in 1911, the first new bureaucratic written standard to emerge in Republican Xinjiang made extensive use of Chinese terminology. Soon enough, this too was displaced by a Soviet-influenced norm.

15 For example, from the list on p. 49 above, Tuvan has бараалга-, киче-, уламышла-, чагы-, чүткү-, чииге- (Tenishev 1968).
There exists no consensus on how to transcribe Modern Uyghur, let alone its nineteenth century antecedents. I have based my transcription on Bodrogligeti’s *A Grammar of Chagatay*, with c for his j and ğ for his ž, and without the ĭ/i distinction. Persian and Arabic vowels are not nativized, and morphophonological features of Modern Uyghur, such as vowel-raising, are not represented unless the orthography requires it. I have transcribed Manchu and Chinese words according to my approximation of how they would have been pronounced. As in Turkic words, the presence of a yād or an ‘alif in such words does not necessarily indicate a long vowel, and has not been transcribed as such (e.g. 王 > WANG = waŋ and not wāŋ).

Symbols used in the transcription:

[] text missing  ^ one degree of taitou
{} interlinear insertion  ^^ two degrees of taitou
() text added by editor  // folio break
(?) reading uncertain

Folio numbers from the manuscript are given in the left column.

1b  ^^yarlıg bilä ičkärki yerniŋ maņşabdärlarinniŋ fuņlusi yasuničä aśliq tafturğan.
    Ĉinluŋniŋ yigirminči yili üč yüz [čerig] alip uluŋ čerigni eräšip Davačini
    [yağılap bari]sdä Emin Ḩʷäja Ḵat ibärip Ṭurfanniŋ darḥan beg Mänliki [el qilip]
    alip kelip ičkärisigä eräştürğän. muni ulaşturğan našbiniŋ jam’isidä yinjčikäläp
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

coliçärıdpdur. Ílanı töhtatqandändin keyin yandurup tartqan. Amursana buzulğanda Emin Hʷâja ᵒzarlıq eräsip täbi' aymaqninî çerigini buyrup, Ḥosutniň gurunda yärlaşadurğan gun Ngäčani eräsip, Aqsunîñ yergä Beg Hʷâjasiga učturup “yüz evirügän oğrîğa hargız // qoşulmağ” degän ^^yarlıq jarlağali barişida ^^yarlıq tüşürgänî:

Emin Hʷâja yerlik çerigini alip Ilağa yetküçä yürüp râst [jütükägän. bolupmu halîj] yana şunîñ [tübäŋi çerignî] çiçariq Aqsu şahriği ibärğän ičün keşik yetkürçüp gurunğa dalîrâ gun qoyğin!

dedi. yana täbi’ aymaqninî çerigini İładın yandurup şolzamän yiraq vergä baradur dep ^^yarlıq birlä jadbuq kümüsini ağırlap^1 [...] şanlaşəndin keyin Amursanani Borutalağa qaçip [barğannti] ḥabarläşip // ^^yarlıq “Aqsuğa barişni qoyunlar” dedi.

yigirmä birinçî yili, Emin Hʷâja Guvajūdin Lükčünîñ yergä yanip kelip, ulašturup tört yüz çerig alip Yarğayniñ^2 yanjuŋniñ aldiğa barip hamasi qamlaşip^3 yüz evirgän oğr Babyarn yağılap barip Fičannîñ yergä yetkän. Öylät yana Mänlikniñ çerigi tuyuqsiz buzulup Ḥükün öltürup “Emin Hʷâjani tutalî” degändä Mänlik Öylätkä aytqan “bu yerlik kişi” dep Emin Hʷâjani qoyup Lükčûngä yandurupdur. Mänlik yanip ani qiçqirip alsa, Emin Hʷâja barmapdur. kišini buyrup evirülğänını aytip kelgändä ^^yarlıq tüşürgänî:

Emin Hʷâja degän ‘aqîdâlik könlî bilä eräsip baš tutqali uzaq yil bolğan kişi. // meniñ aḡir keşikîmmîn başida kötûrip kişi buyrup ḥabar yetkürçügänîgä men nihâyatî ‘ta’riflap körämen, şunîñ özî oğrîninî ičîdä turğanîga meniñ nihâyatî könlümm cidamaydur. sayi emdi Guvâjûdîn köçüp şu yergä yetip bardî. har qaydağ qismidî hamasini tegshâlap şîd[kâp] râstlamağandur. qaydağ qilip yüz evirgän oğrîni tutadurğan kiçi boladur? mabâdâ Mänlikni ‘iläj birlä tutup cidaydurğan bolsa, râstla nihâyatî obdan. ḥızmat oḥşatip yanip kelgändin keyin şu yerni tamâm şuna başlàtsun. mabâdâ oğrîni tutadurğan kiçi bolmasa, yalğuz şunîñ olтурğan yergä qattîğliq bilîn // ḥabarðâr bolsun, ičkärki yerniñ ulûğ çerigi yetip barğandîn keyin, şolzamän oğrîni öçûrsä boladur.

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1 TMHA jiramilame; IŞ kündü-ber.
2 IŞ Irγai, the Mongolian name for Ningxia City during the Qing.
3 TMHA uheî acafi; IŞ bügüdeger neyilefähig.
A case of mistranslation, other texts read “dispatched his son Sulayman.” The translators have perhaps misread HTMA in jui Sulaiman be for inu ujui Sulaiman be.

TMHA dosifi; IŞ x.
origins of qing xinjiang: a set of historical sources on turfan

morgup baralqatsam dep tilagandä "ortan bilä ibarsün" dedi.

qiş yuz evirgan yerlik burhanidin haja jan buzulup yarkand kashqarni igilagän ucurida, sozlasip ulug cerigni ibarip gunahini sorap yaqilap barsun degändä emin hajaqa "yarlig tushurgani:

Burhanidin, Haja Jän bu ikki oğri ilgari Jünçarğa solatqan ekän. men çohum keşik yetkizip kuhna aymaqini baślattım. hiyäl qilmay keşikni zäyi' qilip yuz evirgan oğrığa // qoşulğali barip mayrin jangin Amiiduni olturgän. bularniñ gunähini har qaydاغ dep mu'a'f qilip ötkäzsä bolmaydur. sündaq dep hamasi bu ikki oğrinin tardanlıq qilip yürğäni ıza, tañlikdin lâ-îlîj eräşip yürğän yerliklärni tañ hana mu'a'f qilip ötkäzsä boladur. Emin Haja, sen meniñ aşir keşikimni kötärgän bolsaŋmu, yana yerlikniñ içidä kuhna-zättliq har nemädä musâhhas, sança ışıñämen. mabada ilâj bilä oğrini aldar tutup ısdâydurğan, yä oğrilarnini könlini yandurup ikki oğrini tutup yetkizdürüp kelädurğan bolsa, şolzamän bizniñ cerigni ibärmäk lázim bolmaydur. muni sen qamlaşiqqa baqip şidkägin. mabada taňqiq şerig kirişni // lázim qilaðurğan bolsa, qançä şerig lázim boladur, qaysi vaqtda şerig kirsä kelişädurğan yerini sen ıhiyäliniçi ciqarip yınçikäläp ^yaltaqagin!

dedi.

Emin Hajañiñ ^yaltaqagan jizäsi yetip kelgändä, "yarlig tüşürgüp ta’riflap muyin amban qoygan. şu vaqtda Qaraşahrnin Şaras, Ma extrav qatarlıq oğrilar aymaqindin köçädurğan bahâندada buzulup qäçän. Emin Haja ^yarlıgni eräşip astindin Qaraşahrnin yerïgä ḥabar aļgali ibärgän. yana astindin maḥfi yanip kelgändin keyin andin şerig çiqsa ilgürmäsmiki” dep ızı şerig alip Toqsunniñ // yerïgä barip saqlaqan ucurida “işni vaqṭiga qamlaşturupdur” dep ^ta’riflap tavar ^şañlagän. yana ^yarlığ tüşürgüni:

kelür yili Yärkand Kâshqarni şidkäşdä jänjug ambanlar bar bolsam, yerlik aymaqiniñ tarzi siyæiqini fişiq bilädürğan üçün seni ḥâbä amban qilip ilgärki muyindä yürğäzämen. sen meniñ keşikimmı ıhiyl qilip räst könlün bilän ğyrât bilä jütküp ỳğzmat oğsatıp kiçäp yürsän, hamësa keşik ilifätimni kötäräsen, emäsmu?

6 TMHA Hoise; IŞ Qotong.
dedi.

Emin Ḥvâja Qaraşahrnin yeridä oğriniñ izi yoq ekänini ḡabarlaşip, //
astindin Ḥurumši Jılığanın yeridä ḡabar aldurgali buyrup yana özi boy gön jurğannın așhan ambani Ariğunın čerigini eräšip oğriniñ yağilayli” dep tilāgândā
^^yarlıq bılä Emin Ḥvâjağa bāyli järgä şanlap, tafturadurğan künüsün kömürni
ḥaab ambanın yasuničä qılğan.

Emin Ḥvâja Ariğunni eräšip Azğan Bulaqın, Kiştihäs yolidin Tabun
Şoñur, Namgânın yeridä ikki yüzdin așa bulançini tutqan, yana aldrap Ḥurumši
Jılığanın yeridä ýeridä alğan barip Käsâ Dabanğa 10 yaqın yetip oğrị bizniñ guzani
başlaydurğan amban Mänfûni farib bılä öltürup Kârjâbniñ11 yeridä qaçqanini
ḥabarlaşip aşlap yetişişip basitip barişda oğrị tal dabannın yolini // köydürüp üzüp
yoq etip Kučanın yeridä olturup. Ariğun Korlanın yeridä olturup Emin Ḥvâja
Kârjâbniñ yeridä olturup elči buyrup ḡat tutturrup yetişkäli ibärsä öltümäpduŋ.

ygirmä üçünci yili ertä yaz ^^yarlıq bılä ḡaab amban qoyup, yanğandin
keyin yüz evirgänñi aritadurğan jänñun Yargaşanni eräšip Burhānidın Ḥvâja
Jānlarnı öçursün dep tafturğan. Yana Yargaşangâ “Emin Ḥvâjanın maşlaḥatini
alğin, hargiz bölök körmä” dep ^^yarlıq tüşürüp yana kelişkänigä baqip yerlik
čerigini eräštürüp aldrup, hisăbniñ içiça 12 Ḥitây čeriginiň hisăbinî kamâyüp
obdan ât yötkäp berdürğan. šol maḥalda // Emin Ḥvâja Kučanın yeridä kirsch
degändä ^^yarlıq “bir neçčä maḥal Ḩurfaŋa yanip Yargaşan bılä hamasi bılla
tohtatip sözlässün!” dedi.

Emin Ḥvâja Şaras qatarlıq oğrilar Kučadin Yârkanndıñ yeridä qaçip
barişini ḡabarlaşip aşlap yana Kârjâbdın Ḥurtakınñ13 yolğı čerig yanip bulançını
tüştütsdä āṭi hargan uçurida andin yanğan. muña ^^yarlıq bılä bāyli järgä baqip
faydannın çonçi, şiya, faydannın maşabdarının järgäsidä maşabdar qılğan. Emin
Ḥvâja Ḥvâjasiñin taţi Usñin yeridä olturğanini ḡabarlaşip aşlap Yargaşangâ
aytqani: “Ḥvâjasiñin siyäqi ikki Ḥvâjağa barâb barâb kelädur. maḥâda kişi buyrup //
ayrisaq hismat oğhşatmağiqliq yildam” degänini Yargaşan ^aŋlatip aylataqاغanda,
jizädä Emin Ḥvâjaniñ äþini pütümägän uçurida ^^yarlıq tüşürğän:

Beg Ḥvâjasılnarı el qilip erəštürädurğan iśni körsäm, vaqtı maḥalğä

7 WFMG 和什特勒克,
8 WFMG 塔木順和爾, 納木噶; TMHA Tabun Songhor Namg’a; IŠ Tabun Songgor, Namga.
9 XMD/TMHA Hürumsi horo; WFMG 呼嚕木什和羅; IŠ Qulumsi Jebe. Note that where TMHA
has horo (< Mo. yol), IŠ has jebe “defile”, and EM13138 jîlğa.
10 XMD Ges; IŠ Kasan Daşay-a.
11 TMHA/XMD Hara horo; WFMG 哈喇和落; IŠ Qar-a jebe.
12 TMHA ton i songkol.
13 TMHA/XMD Hûrtak; WFMG 呼爾塔克; IŠ Qurtaq.
nihāyaṭ qamlašipdur bolsamu, Emin Ḥʷājani ḫābā amban qılğannı eräşi şolzamān ätini qatar qılip pütip billā ^aylatqasa qamlašadur, ilğap ayrisa bolmaydur.

dedi.

törtünči ayda ^^-yarlığ bilä dörüy bāylı qılip taḥi yana ḫābā ambanliq manşabını qoşqan. ^^-yarlığ tüşürgānī:


dedi.

bešinči ayda Kučağa yetip Yarğašan čerig alip aldīraš bilā kirişdā oğri şafilniq küngärāśidin fū atip, Emin Ḥʷājanın qoş tarafidāki manièrehi teğip zaılm tapip yanğandin keyin šarṭ qılip aytqani: “meniŋ özüm ^^-Burğān Ejin kešikini kötärgänım ağiğ, albatta ölğüçhä küc bilān soqūṣamen” dedi. bu yerni // ^-aylatqaganda ^^-yuqğıri lazım qiladurğan asadurğan kätäći, miŋ sar kömuş şañlap ^^-yarlığ tüşürgānī:

men Emin Ḥʷājani ğuṣaŋan, iš ötküzgan dep şundağ čerignin išini maşlaḥatlašip šidkäsäli ibärgān. hargiz ani taš başaquin alișip qalğan

14 TMHA dalaha fudarak hülha; IŞ terigülegsen qulayai-nar.
The Life of Emin Khoja: Transcription

yerdä özi kirip jän ḡarj qilip yūrsün degänim emäs, ḥali şuniň özi ilgäriläp kirip soquşup zaḥm tafṭi dep äňlätqanda, meniň içimdä nihāyatī köyüńüp ḫiyāl qilamen. mundin buzyi yalğuz ‘aqidasi bilän nurğunniň kūči bilän mahalğa qamlaštưrur šidkäsün. tars yergä kirip soquşup, oq yängildürüşkä yetkürzsä bolmâydur.

dedi. yana

10b Yarğašan billä baš bolğan amban // bolup aniñ ihtiyâričä özi jän ḡarįlap soquşušni naşihat qilip toňtatmaydurğan rasmî barmu?

dep ^^yarlıq tüşürüp sözläşğän.

Emin Ḩʷājanîň mänzi yaḥşi bolğandin keyin erāštûrâdûrgan ḥatni Kuča şahriňni içiğä oq bilä atip kirgûzsä oğri közigä ilmapdür. yüz evirûğûnniň hamrâhi ‘Abd Karîm Aqsudin yärlašqal kelişdä soquşup qaçurğan učurida ^ta’riflap ^^yüqğari läzim qiladûrgan asadûrgan kätäçî şanlaşgan. Ḩʷāja Jän ulâṣṭûrur beş miñdin ziyâdarâk oğrini alip Kučağa yärilaşqanini kelgânini yana nihâyatî basruq qilip, // ikki tuğ tafqan. Emin Ḩʷāja körüp aytyqani: “bu Ḩʷāja Jänniň tuği” degän. šolvaqtâdä Yarğašan taşyârlamağan üčün Ḩʷāja Jän ba-yakbâra Kuča şahrigä kirip yana qaçqan. Šayarnîň kuhna begi Muhammadî, şuniň oğli Ḩasan Ḩʷājani buyrup baš tutup erâśâli dep tilägândä yana “Ḥʷāja Jänni Kučadın qaçṭi” dep aytyqandin keyin Yarğašan učurûni ĉıqarip pitip ^añlatip aylaqtağan. mundin ilgäri Emin Ḩʷâjani yaqani toňtataşuńgan jänjûn Jūḫûyni erâštûrûp Şarabâñni yergä ibärip Öylätîniŋ qaçqan oğrini öçürûn. keyin “yüz evirûgân yerliklärni öçürûmîz” dep

11a sözläşip ^aylaňtaqânda // ^^yarlıq tüşûrûnî:

Emin Ḩʷâja yerlik aymaqînîň tarzi siyâqini ötkäzip bilładur. kišîlikî yana bahadur čîraq. Jūḫûy albatça ziyâda körüp şularnîň manfa‘atini alsun!

dedi. ulâșṭûrûp yol bölûşîp alip ĉerig kirişsâk dep sözläšip toňtâtip, Emin Ḩʷâjanîň ^aylaňtaqâğani:

Şarabâldîn Bâdâññîň yolidin Kâšqarğa ötädûr, šu yerdin 15 Muzart Dabanînîň yolidin Aqsuğa ötädûr. şundaq bolsamu yoli tamâm tars, böläk yaqin yoli bar. qul men kiši buyrup Jūḫûynîň čerigigä başlamçî

15 TMHA tere ci; IȘ tegüber.
qilip ibärdim.

dep ^aylatqağandin keyin ^^yarlığ:

12a Jūhūy Öylätini yağîlap tohtatqandın keyin čerigni köcürüp yerlik aymaqṭığa bar, 16 mabādā ülgür//mâydrğan bolsa, Emin Hʷäjanînîn comprar qisîsidin sorap erkin ağîzda čerigni tûşürüp, Hʷäja Jānlarnîn qaçışığa ḥabardâr bolğin!
degän edi. muña yetip kelip17 ^^yarlığ bilân Yarğašannîn oğrini sahl-angüštülük qilip qaçurğan gunâhiğa sözlâp nâ-ma’qül qilip şunîn čerignîn Jūhūyîga başlatip yana ^^yarlığ tûşûrgâni:

Emin Hʷäja sen degân yerlik kişi, har neçä Yarğašanlarga teňläştûrşä bolmaydurğan, bolsamu yana gunâhi yoq desä bolmaydur. senîn hama vaqtda jûktûğan yeriniği hiyâl qilip mu’āf qilip otkâzip senîn jûktîšûngâ baqay, şolzamân Jūhûyunînîn muyinda ýürgin!
dedi.

12b qış18 čerignîn manşabdârı Hûtûri oğrînîn hamrâhi ’Alîmi // oljalap alip kîlgânîn keyin, Yarğašannîn nurğununîn arğasını lâzîm qîlalmaga gunâhînîn sorap bilîp ^^{yarlığ tûşûrûp} Emin Hʷäjağa našihat qilip könilî alîp üč közlük otağat ^şanlaşgan. ulaštûrûp Kučanî alîp Aqṣuğa čerig kirîn. Jūhûy yetip kîlgânîn keyin, erâşip Uṣqa barîp Hʷäjasonîn el qilip erâštûrgân učurida ^ta’riflflâp asadurğan kitaçî ^şanlaşgan.


kelûr yili ertä yaz yârîlaşadurğan čerig yetip kelip tûrâp âlğânga ğâlib

16 TMHA gene; İS oduğad.
17 TMHA ede isinjifî; İS egün-dür kürçü ireged.
18 Other texts all read “autumn”.

66
13b kelgändin keyin Aqsuğa yanğan. şunun täbi’ Laysi atlíq kísi bulançinini Aqsudin ötüp qaçqanini ḡabarlässip aşlap\(^{19}\) Solon čerigi birlä billä qoğlap tutqandin keyin // ^^^yarlıq bilä oljani Emin Ḥʷażğa bergän.

yaz Kãşqarğa čerig kirišdä Burḫánidin Ḥʷażğa Jannin şahmni taślapp qaçqanini ḡabarlässip aşlap, Kãşqarnin boğdayi sayï fışqan üçün şunin oğlı yârlašadurğan tayj Mûsâni buyrup izdiham bîlā şahrgâ kirip aśliqni yîqîq alîp čerîgnî yeyişiqgâ yârlašqan učurida ^^^yarlıq bîlā Mûsâğa guŋ järgâ šanlağan. ulûq čerîg Kãşqarğa yetip Jûhûy Mûsâni ḡâkim bêgnîni şîdkâtip Emin Ḥʷażjani Yârkandgâ buyrup şu yernin nourgün ḡalqi bâciqтурğan. muña ^^^yarlıq tüsürğâni:

Emin Ḥʷażja Yûsuf bûlûk bûlûk hamasînî ḡizmat qîlip yûrîdî. ḡâlí ularnî hamasini keltürîp yerliklîrîni şîdkâydurğan kîšî yoq üçûn kešik yetkûzüp Emin Ḥʷażjani debîştîp jûnwaŋ qoyup Yârkandnîni yerîdî olturûp iš şîdkûsûn! dedi.

onunči ayda Badalḫândîn Ḥʷażja Jannîni bâşîni şanduqqa salîp ma’lûm qîlip yetkûzüp kelgûndä ^^^yarlıq tüsürğâni:

Emin Ḥʷażja Yûsuf bûlûk bûlûk hamasînî ḡizmat qîlip yûrîdî. ḡâlí ularnî hamasini keltürîp yerliklîrîni şîdkâydurğan kîšî yoq üçûn kešik yetkûzüp Emin Ḥʷażjani debîştîp jûnwaŋ qoyup Yârkandnîni yerîdî olturûp iš şîdkûsûn!

dedi.

on ikkinči ayda yana ^^^yarlıq tüsürğâni:

\(\text{ológica }\) Emin Ḥʷażja albatta yanurup kelîp ārâm bîlîq oltûrgûszâ qâmîlaštattî bolsamû, Yârkand qatarliq şahrlîrînî hamasîni yâncı toqûltatqan yer, albatta yerliklîrînî avzâ’îni // ötkûzîp bilîdûrğan bâstîq iśdî fışqan kîshîni oltûrgûzûp iš şîdkûtsû andîn obdan. Emin Ḥʷażja degân menîni kûhna qûłum, čerîgnîni yerîdî tola ḡizmat qîlip yîrîp, yerliklîrînî iśdî nişâyati fîşîdpûr. mûndağ üçûn \(^{20}\) birneçü mahal tûrûqûz oltûrgûzûm. bolsamû buncã yîl yurtûdin ajrap uzaq boldî. şunîn

\(^{19}\) TMHA mejigeşeme safî; IŠ medegeçilen sonusûrad.

\(^{20}\) TMHA uttu ofî; IŠ eyimü-yin tula.
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

özini yalğuz şu yerdä olturğuzup iš šidkâtsä meniŋ könlümdä taḥimu čidamaydur. şuŋa ulamjitip ^^yarlıq tüşür. qamlašiğiga baqip ẖaṭun balalarini alip barıp birnečä maḥal oltursun. har qaysi išni tūqätip šidkâgändin keyin šolzamän yanip kelsä boladur emäsmu?

dedi.

yigirmä bešinçyi yili ertä yaz ^^yarlıq bilä šunıŋ tarzını şu’lalik ravșan ravăqğa sizdurğan. ^^ẖınınıŋ fūtūgän ta’rif sözi:

Ṭürfān aymaqınıŋ yerlik kişisi,

avvalidin bašlap tamäm baş tutup // eräsip kelgän,  
šundağ čerigniŋ išini yārīlašip šidkâgâni,  
šu yerniǹ21 yerlikleriniŋ avzā ‘ini bilgän učurida lāzım qilgan  
öktäzip bilgän yerini sözłamâydurğani yoq,  
šunıŋ sözlägän sözi keliśmâydurğani yoq,  
köŋül qoŋgan taš emäs bolsamu,  
maḥkam tutqani tebrâtmâydur.

dedi.

yaz törtünči ayda ḥafan jurğan yamunıŋ asḥan ambani mayrin jangin  
Ḫay Mīn ^^yarlıq eräsip Yārkandgā iš šidkâgâli barışda ^^yarlıq tüşûrgâni:

Ḫaymin degän ičkärki yerdin ibârgän amban. iš aylatqašda šunıŋ aṯini  
Emin Ḥʷāja bilä ilgâri fiṭûüşiñ, bolsamu unıŋ aṯini ilgâri fiṭûüdi dep Emin  
Ḫʷāja sahlîk bilä körşä bolmaydur. // Emin Ḥʷāja degän şu yernin išidä fišqan kuhna kişi, har qayaŋq iš šidkâsdä albatta šunıŋ bilä bir köňüllük  
bolup ittifāq bilä maşlaḥatlasıp iš šidkâsin!

dedi.

šolvaqtnda Ilağa ḥâkım beg toḥtätip ašlıq tariydurğan yerlik ra’iyyatni  
bašlatıtıŋ sözlaşip ^aylatqağanda, ^^yarlıq bilä Mûsâga bašlatqan. [şu] maḥalda,  
Kâşqarının yüz evirgän oğrı Maḥram, Niyâzlar buzulup Ḥâlal Dâlîminnī22 hama  
qaravulini bulaganida, Mûsâ ḥâbâ amban Ariğunni eräsip oğrilarni Fayzâbâtnın  
yeridaš basruq qilip ḥabarlässä, oğrilar Salindudin yalgan aytip 23 Mörûkkä

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21 TMHA tubai; İŞ tendeki.  
22 XMD İŞ Kele Dalim; WFMG icerenituri; GZSL Kürle Târîltu.  
23 TMHA Salindu ci Holo Muruk de; İŞ Salindu-ača qayermaniy-iyar Mürük-tür.
16a qəçənanını bilip arqasının yetişip qoşlap barıp oğrilar sayi aşı etip turğanda, // çərəg alip taməm kirip tutqan učuruda ^^yarlığ bilə Məşəni iqllimdə yərələsatdərən ”qooyup Emin Həvəjanı hismatını bilə ilqap sözlə wishlistən.

yaz24 Yərkandəninin begi Hədəd, Kəşəqərinin begi Gədəmidət, Əhtənninin begi Əșmatlar “Emin Həvəjəni toqcularını əltəyiərək qooyup yerliklərini tutmaya yərədi” dep da’və qılğanda, həbdə amban Șəhədə şələ imənli bəxtən qılip da’və qılğan yerini istəp cıqarip nə-məq qıl qıl qılçıq qıçqan. , Əüşdilar gunəh kötərip alıgan. muni ^əyalətqə简直da ^^yarlığ tüşürgəni:

yerliklərinin hüyi nihəyat yaman. sıjil bir birinən arısanı söz tüşup ayırap ◆ yaman qılqıl qıpçılıq qırmızı yəqışturup başlaşıda bar, Șəhədə Yərkand Kəşəqərinin yerlikləri uğtur:

^^uluğ Ejin kişini ləziimdə özüni25 jur’atı cıdəsinin çağığa bəşqıq ləziim qılaqur, eməsəm? ilqarə Kəşəqərdə iš əşikdəli kişi ləziim bolğanda, şəndaq Məşəni birneçə mahal iš əşikdətkən. Əhalı Əçərəq olturğuzqan aşıq qıralıq tarıfatdərən ičin yana həkim qoyğan. ənənə hərgiz haməşa Kəşəqərgə qılğan yer yox,26 silər nəməq mundaq andu söz qıl qılaman şipti sözləysilər?

degən sözni acıp uçturğın! yana, toqçu degən haması Qəmul Əlfiənninin kişisi eməsəm? məbadə taməm yandarsa bizniş aşıq qulaq köəmirəz // yəq işa yetədər. şu turğay, bu marətəbə buytən qılqıl da’və qılğan hədə yana rəstigə tərdən hərəmdəzə əhəlini fütüngəni uzə. məndin buyəqəcə toqçular məbadə hadəs eməs, yerliklərinin har qısmlıq nərsəsinini rişvä ağılı qıçqan bolsa, tahı yana ağırlıq bilən şidkəp tanabbüh qılışını körəsətkin!

dedi.

yigirmə altınçə yili qıq, ^^^yarlığ: “Emin Həvəjəni Əlfənən qıçqan birneçə mahal ārəm aləsun. yılın navbatidə27 beglər ^baralqəğıli kəlişdə billə kelsün” dedi.

yigirmə yettinçə yili Yərkandəninin işini şidkəydurğan guza amban Şinjů

24 Other texts all read “winter.”
25 TMHA meni meni; IŞ öber-ünk.
26 TMHA obuha ba akı; IŞ boluyasın yabudal busu.
27 TMHA aniyaq idu de; IŞ senelekü jisiyan-dur.
Emin Ḥʷāja bilä billä ^aylatqağani:

Yārkandnîn\(^{28}\) yeridä ašliq tola, muni iki hiçəsasığä tänggä qilip taşsurup // ulaş istäp səturup alsaq, səkkiz hiçəsasığä lînzî ḡām qilip taşsurup Ilağa tüşüp yetküzdürüp Qazaqnîn aṭıga tegiśsäk?

dep ^aylatqağanda ^^yarlıq tüşūrgâni:

pul ḡâm qilip şidkâşdä taşsuradurğan kişi nihâyari tola köŋül qoyup istäp şidkâşä, sayi obdan. ḡali bolsa Ḥudî Ismat iki kişinîn icidä Ḥudî taħi obdan, yana ham kičik uşaq bersä aladurğan qismişi yoq, şundağ degän bilâmu çoḥum Emin Ḥʷāja şu yerdä bar üçün sayi parhez qilip aymănâdurğan yeri bar dur uza. ḡali Yûsufni čiqarip Emin Ḥʷâjani yüngüşlatip ibäргän. Yûsuf har nečä kuhna qul bolsamu at-āavāzasi azği na past. Ḥudî şun isahissor kä şidkäsä, sayi obdan, ḡal bolsa Ḥudî taḫi obdan, yana ham kičik uşaq bersä aladurğan qismişi yoq, şundağ degän bilâmu çoḥum Emin Ḥʷâjanı birnečä maḥal Yārkandä turğuzsun dedi.

mundin ilgarî Badaḫsânça begi Sulṭān Şâh Burḫânidînni öltüürüp ustâh\(^{\text{a}}\)nînî obdan ḡabarḍâr bolup saqlamağan üçün yüz evirüğän oğrînînî hamrâhi oğurlap alip barip kömgän ucûrida “biznin elçi barip alip kel” desä taʃalmadur. muña yetip kelip Burḫânidînnîn ustâh\(^{\text{a}}\)nînî Fayžâbâtînîn yeridä kömüdpur. yüz evirüğän oğlı Ḥʷâjâ Asmâın.\(^{29}\) ‘Abd ḡâliq, Ḥʷâja Bâkdûnlar Badaḫsânça qapalğanînîn Emin Ḥʷâja ḡabarlaʃāşip aşlap “kişi buyrup aldurup kelsäk” degän edi. şol maḥâlda Sulṭān Şâh čerig alip Bolorni basruq qilip Ċâtrâmnîn yerini bulap, šunîn inisi Şaffūr Qatarnî buyrup igâlâğän. // Bolornîn baʃlaʃan kišisi Şâh Ḥusāmât bu yerini aytip kelgändä Emin Ḥʷâja yamanliqînîn obdanliq ittifâqliqînîn

\(^{28}\) Other texts all read “in Yarkand and Khotan”.

\(^{29}\) TMHA Asan; IŞ Asman.
qā’idasini\textsuperscript{30} uňturup haç pitip Yärkandniñ qazınaç bieg Şalığa tüşürip Badaḫsanğa buyrup Yärkandniñ yaqın çat yerlärğä çaqilgan gunähığa ṉ-ma’qül qilip Burhânidinniñ ustâh\textsuperscript{22}ânini yana śunîñ balalarïni ma’lûm qilip tutsun dep ibärgän.

Šınjû “yana Badaḫsan mabâdâ söz eräşmâydurğan bolsa, amban men čerig alip yağılap barsam Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âjani tohtatip iš šidkätsä” dep ^aylatqağanda ^^yarlıq tüşürgäni:

\textit{Badaḫşânnî mabâdâ ṉ-ma’qül qilip söz eräşmâydurğan bolsa, albatça čerig ibärip // yağılap barsa qamlašadur. bolsamu, Šınjû ašla čerig yağida yürüp ötkäzgän emäs, Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âja yerlik aymaqiniñ iš učurini fişiq bilädur, albatça billä barsa qamlašadur.}

dedi.

šolvaqtda Kâşğarınıñ iñini şidkâydurğan aliğa amban Yungüylar yerlikläriniñ bâj lâzimliqini ötüşni tiläp ^aylatqağan haṭda, Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âja yana Yüsuflarniñ âtini qatar qilip fütümägän učurida ^örgätip ṉ-ma’qül qilgan.

yigirmä sâkkizinći yili ertä yaz Yungûy, Šınjû hama şahrniñ beglärini yötäkö qoyuşını tiläp ^aylatqağan haṭda yana Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âjalarınıñ âtini qatar qilip fütümägän učurida // ^^yarlıq tüşürgäni:

\textit{ilgäri yerliklärgä kešik yetküzüp iš šidkätişdä šular bilä billä šidkäsä bolmâyadur. jaylay âtini fütümäşä taḥi yana boladur. begini orunlaşturup qoyadurğan iş bolsa, šular bilä billä maşlahatlaşıp šidkäsä kelişädur. muña yana nemä jaylaydurğan yeri bar bolup âtini fütümägänì ikin? Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âja, Yüsuflar hamasi meniñ kuhna qulum bolupmu ^^yarlıq bilä qoyğan ḥabä amban. šular şolzamän jaylay desä, taḥi yana hargız sen men dep ilğama dep uňturup sözlössä qamlašadur emäsmu?}

dedi.

ulaşturup Sulṭan Şâh Burhânidinniñ ustâh\textsuperscript{22}ânini yana śunîñ üç oğłini ma’lûm qilip ibärgän. Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âjağa qarq bergan salâmnäma haṭida // Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âjani uluğlap “dadam” dep kötärip yalğan aytip Çaträrni śunîñ kuhna täbi’ yerim, Bolorğa bermäsäm” degändä, Emin H\textsuperscript{4}âja yana Şâlîni buyrup śunîñ gunähini ṉ-ma’qül qilip ibärgän. muni ^aylatqağanda rasmigä qamlaşipdurdur dep ^ta’riflap ^^yuqğari lâzim qiladurğan asadurğan kätäĉi şaŋlap taḥi yana

\textsuperscript{30} A calque, deriving from WFMG 逆順義.
“Yārkanddā turğuzup is tūgātkändin keyin yana yanğay” dep ^^yarlıq tūşūrgān. Şāli Badaḫšanğa yetkändin keyin Sulṭān Şāh gunāhiğa pašmān qilip bulağanini // yandurup berip inisini Çatrārdin yandurup kelgän ucūrida Emin Ḥʷājani ^ta riflap şanlaşgan. šu mahalda mayrin jangin Elgingā, Šīnjūni yāŋgūšlägāli Yārkandgā barğanda ^^ḫān şuni iš ötkäzgän emās dep ḥiyāl qilip ^^yarlıq bilā “Emin Ḥʷājani taṭi yana üc ay oltursun” dep turğuzgān.

yigirmā toqquzunči yili Sulṭān Şāh Emin Ḥʷājaniņ yanğanini aŋlap Ḥʷāja Kalānni buyrup ibārgān. salāmnāma ḥatida “ilgāri Yārkandniņ ambanları Şāh Ḥošānmātiņ gašiň sözini aŋlapdur. ba-ham bolsa, // taṭi Çatrārnija yerini istāp yandurup bersālär?” degāninin Elgingā ^aŋlat aylatqağanda Sulṭān Şāhni nāma’qūl qilip ^^yarlıq tūşūrgānī:

sen yalγan söz faydā qilip ^aylatqağāniņ Yārkandniņ ambanlarını tegiškän ucūn mākālasā boladur dep ḥiyāl qilasenmü? ilgāri šu yerđa olturğan amban Tūrfannija junwaq Emin Ḥʷāja, keyinki kündä taṭi yana tegišip keladur. šol vaqtğa yetkändin keyin sen yana nemāni sözlāysen ikin? sen ilgāri Emin Ḥʷājani dadam degān emāsmidiņ? šu sayi yurṭiğa // yana sā’at šolzamān şuni bolak kišiniņ sözini gašiň aŋlapdur dep nāma’qūl qilğanini nihāyatī qalblikiņ emāsmu? sen rasmini erāšip ḥaddiņi saqla, qanmaydurğan ʿiyānni istāšni hargız qozğama, mundaq bolsa andin meniŋ kešikими hamėša kötārsāŋ boladur emāsmu?

dedi.

yana ^^yarlıq bilā

Älgäŋgä jizasini Sulṭān Şāhniņ salāmnāma ḥatini pitip Emin Ḥʷājağa jakip ibārip körsätip aniŋ šolzamān aniŋ köŋlıčä ḥat pitip jakisun!

dep tafšūrdi.

Sulṭān Şāh ulaşturup ʿUśmān Begni buyrup ^aylatqağanda, “mundin buvyzıgā aymaqimniņ ḥalqini yiğişturup bašlap, ḥaddim emās zarraça azğina bolak ḥiyāl qılmay” degān. bolsamu yana Emin Ḥʷājağa qaru ibārgān ḥatida nunğāni Ḥʷāja Kalānga // ittārip şuniņ andu söz faydā qilğan ucūrida ba-yakbāra zalqattım dedi. ^^yarlıq bilā taṭi yana köčürüp Emin Ḥʷājağa körsātkän. ulaşturup Emin Ḥʷāja ^baralqağali kelgändä ^^yarlıq bilā Čančiñmunda yürgüzgān. šundin

31 TMHA bahaci; IŠ oldelayul-a.
The Life of Emin Khoja: Transcription

urduran sari şolzamän hama yerlik aymaqinîñ hüy va‘zini sorğan ekän.

ottuzunç yili ertä yaza yandurğan. Emin Ḥâja sayi yürügändä Uşnin yerlikliñä buzulup mayrin jangin Süçänñi öltürgänini aqlap “yıldam çafip barip öçürsäm” dep tiläp ^aylatqagan. Şu mahalda İlänñiñ jangunji Mińşûy çerig alip barip

Uşnin oğrilari // Qoqandğa yarïlasadurğan çerig tilägänini Ḥabarlaşip aqlap ^aylatqağanda ^yarlıq tüşürgäni:

Mińşûynıñ çerigîn mabâda taḥi yana yarïlaşmaqñi lazım qiladurğan bolsa, Emin Ḥâja şolzamän birneçä maḥal Uşnin çeriginin yeridä tursun. Kâşqanñiñ yeri Qoqandıñ yericä yaqin. muxça çatilişqa yana erkin. Uşnin işi tüvägändin keyin Emin Ḥâjaniñ taḥi yana Ḥâba aban qilip Kâşqarda olturup iš şidkäsün!

dedi. yana Uşnin buzulğani beg ‘Abdullâhñiñ nurğunni Ḥaqîr körüp rîşva alğan sâbabı dep ^yarlıq tüşürgäni:

‘Abdullâhñiñ tóbânsı Ḥalqi öz ihtiyâriçä yerlikliñä jobatip yürügänini Süçän ašla // ašla istäp şidkâmämpdur. Emin Ḥâja, Yūsuf degän meniñ qulum, şulärñiñ özicä tóbânsı Ḥalqını ihtiyâriçä qoyup yerlikliñä jobatturup yürügüçün iš emäss. şundağ bolsamu, şulärñiñ tóbânsı dâhân Ḥalqı iśniñ ağır-yenikini bilmäy, bir bolsa azğına ‘iyänğa kirip siyäsatişgä išänip andu yürügänini yana bolğağali bolmaydur. muni şu yerdä olturğan abmanlarğa uḥturup jarlaŋlar. Usda mundağ qismiliq iš bar ekänini eräsip 32 anîndek parhêz qildursa qamlaşadur. mundin buyziqä albatça könü qoyup ariqlap istäp tóbânsı Ḥalqını yiqişturup başlasun. har qaydaq dep 33 özî gunâhğa yoluqmasun!

dedi.


şolvaqtqa Qaraşahrñiñ iš şidkâydyurğan mayrin jangin Mińşû Uşqa

32 TMHA bisire be dahame; IŞ bïyi-yin tulada.
33 TMHA âïnaha seme; IŞ kerkibeçü-ber.

Emin Hʷajja Uşqa yetip şuniŋ ikkinçi oglı Sulaymänını eräʃtürüp barğan. üçünçi oglı Müsä yana Mïnʃûyni eräṣip Uşqa yetip Emin Hʷajja manșabdär čerigni baʃlap billä oğrılärni basruq qliʃda neçänd marätaba jütkügän yerini aʃkärä qilgan ucurida ^^ʃän “Sulaymän Müsäni şuniŋ dadasınıŋ ta’limını eräṣip čidaydur” dep ^^yarlıq bilä tavar ^şanlaʃgan. yana Emin Hʷajani // ^ta’ɾiflap asadurğan kitaçi ^şanlaʃgan. ulaʃturup, Uşniŋ şahirni algandın keyin Emin Hʷajja Kâʃqarga barğan.

ottuz ikkinçi yili Kâʃqardin yanip ^baralqağındä ^^yarlıq bilän goʃqada ýürğän.
qirq ikkinçi yilida ölgän.
şuniŋ tuğulgan sakkiz oğul.
çoŋ oğli Nûr Muḥammad sula boyidal ağrip ölgän.
ikkinci oglı Sulaymänjunwaŋga ulaʃip, günäh taʃqan ucurida manșabidin čiqarğan.

uçünçi oglı Müsä gurunda // yarïlaʃadurğan guŋ qoyʊqan. mïræʃlıq qa ulaʃturalurğan ʃatı yoq uçün ulaʃturalurğan naʃbini pütiŋgan emäş.
törtünçi oglı Avrânzibni birinci järgä tayji, guŋ järgä qilgan. böläk ulaʃturalurğan naʃbi bar.
beʃinci oglı Şayfullâh ikkinci järgä yarïlaʃadurğan tayji qilgan.
altïnci oglı Iskandar junwan ulaʃturalurğan.
yettînci oglı Farîdüng ikkinci järgä tayji qilgan.
sâkkizinci oglı Bahrämni ikkinci järgä tayji qilgan.
onunçî aynîŋ yaŋi altিসida ^^yarlıq tüüşürgäni:

Bुўुŋniŋ yeridin yerlik junwan Emin Hʷajani toqquzuŋči aynîŋ on yettäṣida ağrip öldî dep ^aylatqapdur. Emin Hʷajja kuńna yerlik qul. küc
berip yürgəli uzaq yil bolğan.  emoji ağrip ölgən ešitip // men açlap nihäyata raḥım kelip köyünəmen. keşik yetküzüp beş yüz sar kömüş şanłąp obdan işiğa ləzım qilsun. Buğuşi čiqarip çay arajan alip barip saçsun. şanłąydurğan kömüşni şolzamən əsər yernin əznasidə asrəğan kömüşni nişdcin alip meniy keşik yetküzüp tüşürğän  ^=yarlıği {Buğu} ulamjitip tüşürüp şaŋlasun!

dedi.

şu yili taşqaɾqi aymaqni yasaydurğan jurğandın Emin Ḥʷājanıŋ boşağan junwaŋınıň əştini şunin temtəqləğən oğlı Sulaymānğa yə avvalqi järğasini ulüşuruşi yə järğasini pastlətip uluşturadurğan yerini ^=aylatqağanda // ^=yarlıği bilä:

**Emin Ḥʷājanıŋ junwaŋliqini albatxa tüşürüp ulusatursa kelişəmu bolsamız, Emin Ḥʷāja ilgəri čerig kürəsidə kūc čiqarip yürgən kisi keşik yetküzüp {şunin oğlı Sulaymānğa} šbu junwaŋliqni ulasınıqlar**\(^{34}\)

dedi.

// çoŋ oğlı Nūr Muḥammad sula boyidə ağrip ölgən.

// ikkinči oğlı Sulaymān quruq boyidin Činluŋ on yettinči yili ikkinči järğä tayji qoyğan.

on toqquzunči yili guza niru qilişi da guzanıŋ işini yərılışadurğan beg qoyğan.

yigirmənci yili Öylät oğri Bayarlarnı Fičan Lükčün qatarlıq yerdə soquoşup jütəkün şururda ^=Ejin keşik yetküzüp gün järğä şanłągan.

eyigirmə üçünči yili yaz, uluğ čerig Kučani qapap toşqan maḥalda bulančı Korläniŋ yolodన čerig kürəsiğə alip baradurğan qorguşun mīltiŋ oqı mīltiŋ dorisini bulatqan şururda ^=şən "Korläniŋ yeri Tuf̲ānğa yaqın" dep // ^=yarlıği bilä Sulaymānını čerig alip barip qaravulniŋ yolini şidkätkäli ibärgän.

qiş Čaḥarnın uqrıdasi Mınjürni tegiškäli ibärıp ^=yarlıği bilä Sulaymānını yandurğan. yana albannın aşlıqni taritadurğan işni şidkäydurğan ashan amban Yūngūyğa täbi' aymaqıça kelişəkäniğä baqip at ulağ berip kūc qilip aşlıq tarisun dep ^=yarlıği tüşürğän.

yigirmə törtünči yili ərtə yaz Sulaymān şunın inisi yərılışadurğan beg

Mūsā bilän billä yüz at tutup čerigə yərılışqan şururda // ^=šən täbi' aymaqını

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\(^{34}\) GZSL 42/10/yimao (November 22, 1777).
sayi köçüp ať ulaği iňtımda yetmäs dep "yarlıği bilä yandurup ber dürüp taĥ ulamjitip "yarlıği tüşürüp albannin išidä jütküdi" dep ta’rɪflaγan.

yigirmä törtünçi yili sözləşip Dolannin yerlik ḡalqini Qarașahrga köçüründo keyin Sulaymân Büğür, Korlağa barip su başlap alip kelip ašlıq tarıtıp bolup aynaq toňçaçadurğan har qaydağ iʃini bodap śıdkığan üçurida ta’rɪflap kömöš tavar şanlaşan.

30b // yigirmä bešinçi yili "baralqağali kelgändä "yarlıği bilä Čančinmunda yurğüzgän.

yigirmä yettinçi yili birinçä järgä tayji qılğan.

yigirmä tooqızunçu yili şunin oğlı Mänükıyärni alip Ilađa albannin aşlıq tariydürğan yerlik ra’iyyatlärni farvā qilip köçürüp yetküzüp barişda yol üzäsida Mänükıyär ağıp ölgän üçün "yarlıği tüşürğäni:

Umîtaynин yeridin gun järgä Sulaymânın oğlı Mänükıyär İlağa köçürüdürğan yerliklärni farvā qilip yetküzüp barip yanıp kelişdü yol üzäsida ağıp öldi. // Mänükıyärnin ustah'ınini śidkıp kuña yurtığa yandurup yurğüzgän yerini aylatqapdur. Sulaymân ötkän yili İlağa köçürüdürğan yerliklärni yetküzüp barğan bolsamu, bu maratąba yana 'arz etip İlağa köçürüdürğan yerliklärni parvā qilip yetküzüp barişda yolda şunin oğlı Mänükıyär ağıp ölgəni ubal. muna kešik yetküzüp bir yüz sar kömüş şanlap obdan işiğa lāzım qilsun. muni Ficannin ambanlarığa taʃşurup şu yernin kömüşnin icidin bir yüz sar kömüş alip şunın oğyığa şanlasun
dedi.

ottızunçu yili uluğ čerigni eräşiş Uşnin buzulğan oğırlarını yağılağan barğan üçurida "yarlıği tüşürüp ta’rɪflaγan.

31a // qırq ikkinçi yili on ikkinçi aynın üçidä jurgändin haṭ yetip kelip "Ejin keşik yetküzüp jasaq doroy junwaŋ ulaşturğan.

qırq törtünçi yili şunin aynaqının ḡalqığa öktämlik qilip, yana şunin täbi kişisini qAŞdañ alhțalağan üçurida gunâh qoyup "yarlıği:

albatta şunın junwaŋliq ḡaçini tamâm yirtsa kelişätti. bolsamu şunin dadasi Emin Ɨ'âja ilgârı inthâsına kûc berip jütküp yurğan. Sulaymânın sula boyi bilän Bijândâ türğüzup toňçaçaşun. munin junwaŋliq ḡaçini yana Emin Ɨ'âjanın oğli Iskandarga ulaşturup jasaq qilip töbânki yerliklärni
dedi. // šu yili beşinçi ayda jurğannıň hâti yetip kelip {Sulaymān} birinči järgä kâh järgä şanłągan.

qirş beşinçi yili Sulaymân ağrip ölgän. ^^yarlıq bilä şunîñ ustañâñini Türfanğa yandurup şidkâp qoyğan.

// üçünçi oğli gun bolğan Mûsâ sula boyidin Çinlüŋ on sâkkzinçi yili Emin Ḥâjanı eryşip ^^Ejinniň gegänigä baralçağalı Bajînga kirip ^^yarlıq bilä üçünçi järgä tayji qilgan.

on toqquzunçi yili guza niru qulğer ipiñ üstäñ wān in iñiñ šun yläp qoyğan.

// üçünçi oğl guŋ bolğan Mūsá sula boyidin Činlüŋ on sâkkzinçini yili Emin Ḥâjanı eryşip ^^Ejinniň gegänigä baralçağalı Bajînga kirip ^^yarlıq bilä üçünçi järgä tayji qilgan.
Jûḫûylärniŋ yeridin Emin Ḥʷâjanîŋ oğlı, tusalaqći tayji Mûsá buyrup ilgäri cafip barip Kâşqarnîŋ halqini basıqturup yerlik Öylätînîŋ zirâ at aşliqini // istâp taʹyyâr qilip şidkâgâli ibârdük dep ʻaylatqapdur. Mûsá ilgârlîlep Kâşqarnîŋ halqini basıqturup zirâ at aşliqini istâgâli bârgânî intihâsiz ʻızmat qilipdur. muŋa keşik yetkûzüp Mûsâga guŋ jârgâ şanlañlar.\textsuperscript{37}

dedi.

yigîrmâ beşînci yili tûşûrgân ^\^yarлыqını içidä:

Mûsá degän Emin Ḥʷâjanîŋ oğlı bolupmu ʻızmat qilip yûrûydur. sayî Yûsufniŋ inisi ʻAbdullâhni Uş şahrigâ ḥâkîm beg qoysan emâsmu? Mûsâni ham albatta keşik yetkûzüp ḥâkîm beg qoysa kelişädur. bolsamu, ḥâli aşla orun yoq üçûn // Şuḥâdalarğa jakiŋlar, şular bilgândîn keyin har qaysi şahrniŋ ḥâkîm begliqinîn orni boisâgandîn keyin şolzamän Mûsâni ʻaylatqap qoysun.\textsuperscript{38}

dedi.

šu yili yana tûşûrgân ^\^yarлыqını içidä:

Ilanîŋ üçûnci jârgâ ḥâkîm begniŋ orniqa Emin Ḥʷâjanîŋ oğlı Mûsâni qoyuŋlar. taʹhi yana guŋ jârgâlikni qoşaqp ḥâkîm begliqiŋ işini başlap šidkâsûn!\textsuperscript{39}

dedi.

šu yili Kâşqarnîŋ yüz evirûgân oğri Mahram, Niyâzlar andu ʻalaçt söz faydâ qilip nurgün bîlâ bir bolup ʻalaba qilip örtäni bulağan uçurida, Emin Ḥʷâja ata bala azğina kûc čiqariq şidkâgân üçûn tûşûrgân // ^\^yarlıq içidä:

bu marâtaba Ariğunnîŋ ḥabarîn anşap şolzamän Kâşqârğa yanip vaqûtigu keliştûrûp oğrilarni öltûrûp soquşqanı nihâyâtî obdan. Ariğunnî jûrgânğa tafşurup ilğap sözlâtsûn. şunîn oğlı bu taʹhi Baytaŋ Fuŋ Šîngağa keşik

\textsuperscript{37} GZSL 24/7/siyou (August 23, 1759). QPZF, zhengbian juan 75, 7/siyou.
\textsuperscript{38} GZSL 25/3/renshen (May 12, 1760). QPZF xubian juan 1, 3/renshen; Jun Gar i ba be necehiyeme toktohûha bodogon i bithei sirame banjibun, juan 1:46b–47a.
\textsuperscript{39} GZSL 25/4/wuzî (May 28, 1760).
yetküzüp qara otağat qoyuṇlar. Mūsā ham jütkügän üçün qoşup jürğanğ tafşurup ilğap sözlätinlär!

dedî.

šu yili yana tüşürgän ^^^yarlığınış içidâ:

guŋ järgä Mūsā uḫrida Bayar lazım bolsuşğa başiq çeriq alıp kelip oğri Mahram, Niyâzlarını hamasını qaćurmay yetişip barip tutqanî intihâşiz hiçmat qilipdur. keşik yetküzüp Mūsâğa guŋ qoyuṇlar. Bayarnı mayrin jangin järgä qiliblär! 40

dedî.

36a // ottuq birinçî yili Mūsâ ağrip ölğän. așla bala-barqasi yoq, ulaştursa kelişädürğan kişisi yoq üçün ^^^yarlıği tüşürgâni:

Miŋ Šüylärnin yeridin hakım beg guŋ Mūsâ ağrip öldi. muniŋ orniğa Emin Ḥʷâjanîŋ üçünçî ölğini yârîlaşadurğan tayji Avrânzîbni İlanîŋ hakım qoyuʂini tiläp aylatqapdur. Mūsâ bungça yil intihâşiz hiçmat qilip yüzên. Ḥâli ağrip ölğâni nihâyâtî isit. keşik yetküzüp iki yüz sar kömüş şənḷap obdan işiğa lazım qilsun. anıŋ așla bala-barqasi yoq üçün, ulaştursa kelişädürğan kişî yoq. keşik yetküzüp şunîŋ insi Avrânzîbni birinçî järgâ tayji qilip // taḥi yana Mūsâniŋ orniğa Ilağa hakım beg qoyuṇlar. yana Emin Ḥʷâja şunîŋ oğlı ölğânını anşap albatça köñli buzulur. bolsamu, şu degân yașî çon bolgan kişi, hârgiz içîni tola ağîr yetmäsün. menîŋ keşikînimî hamêşa kötärişni kîçäp boyini obdan baqsun. men keşik yetküzüp şunîŋ üçünçî oğli Avrânzîbni birinçî järgâ tayji qilip hakîm qoyğan yerini Emin Ḥʷâjağa uḥturup şuni hôş bolsun! 41

dedî.

36b // törtünçî oğlı İlanîŋ üçünçî järgâ hakîm beg birinçî järgâ tayji guŋ järgâ Avrânzîb, sula boyidin Činluŋûş niyirmâ altîncî yili Kâşqarda oldturup iş qiladurğan kötäripp alîp istâydurğan Yûnçû Avrânzîbni yurtînîn işîdâ tôbânki ḥâlgini yöşтурuşda obdanliq bilân ındigân učûrida ^^aylatqap ^^^yarlığı bilâ:

Emin Ḥʷâja bungça yil çerignîn yeridä şidkâp turdi. şunîŋ çon oğli

40 GZSL 25/7/jiayin (August 22, 1760). QPZF xubian, juan 4; Jur Gar i ba, juan 4:55b.
41 GZSL 31/9/xinsi (October 17, 1766).
Sulaymān, ikkinči oğlı Mūsā yana hamasiniň albani bar üçün, şuniň yurtiniň işini üçünči oğlı Avrānzīb iš şidkäşdä töbänki ḥalqini yiğišturupa başlaşda // hamasini obdanlıq bilä şidkäpdür. kešik yetküzüp Avrānzībğa ikkinči järgä jünsä közlük otağat qaratinlar!^42
dedi.

ottuz birinči yili ^^yarlıq bilä birinči järgä tayji qilip Ilağa üçünči järgä ḥakım qoygan.
qiřq sakkizinči yili ^^yarlıq bilä:

men Avrānzībnı şuniň dadası Emin Ḥäjani hiyāl qilip şuňa birinči järgä tayji şanlaşgan. ḥalı jurgandın “şuni čerigdä yürügän ḥizmatı yoq üçün, orun čiqaqandin keyin ulaşturmäs qilali” dep aylatqapdur. muni täби jurgända temtäglätip Avrānzībnıň mabädä ḥizmatı bolsa orun // čiqaqandin keyin şuniň oğlıga yana birinči järgä tayji ulaşturuŋlar. mabädä ḥizmatı yoq bolsa, şuniň oğlıga ikkinči järgä tayji ulaşturup bir bir arqa pastlätip üçünči järgä tayjiğa yetküzüp mūrāq qilip ulaşturuŋlar!
dedi.
ellik üçünči yili birinči ayniň yanji altäsidä yarlıq tüşşürgäni:

Qamul Şurfan {ikki yer} hamasi iqлимniň öyniň kuhna quli. qalğan özgä şahrlärniň yerliklärı bolsa tamäm meniň boyum yanji yaqça yurtlarni tohtatıp şidkäşdä eräšip kırğän bolsamu, yana ottuz yilaqa yaqça keč berip yürügän. albannıň işdidä kičäp jütükgändä ilğap ayrip kešik yetküzüp wän bəyli bəyžä guň tayjişiňa yetküzüp oňsä // emäs ḥat şanlap järgä tafturupdur. qiřq sakkizinči yili täbi’ jurgandın rasmini eräšip ularnıň ḥat järgäşiňi istäp mūrāq qilip ullaşturadurğan yerini tohtatqani bar, yä orun čiŋqandin keyin järgäşiňi fastlätip ulaşturuşni tohtatqani ham bar. bu har nečä tohtatqan rasmini eräšip şidkäşän bolsamu, bular eräšip kırğäli uşaq yil bolğan, tamäm kuhna albatu bolğan. bolsamu, bular hamasi meniň kešikimmı başıda kötärip böläk böläk tafsırğan işdä ‘aqıdası bilä jütükg yürü. ḥalı bolsa Qamulniň junwaŋ järgä bəyli Írdāşır şuniň uluğ babasi Ubaydullah balđirdın eräšip kirip ba-yakbāra nečä avläd bolğan bolsamu, Írdāşırniň babasi // Yūsuf čerigner köräsiiňa ham intihāsz iş köč

^42 GZSL 26/8/guiyou (September 5, 1761).
berip jütükp yürğan. bâyzą ʿUśmān ilgāri șuniŋ dadası Ḥudī ğerignîñ kürəside qatırqanîñ jütükp ba-yakbâra bâyly järğâ qoyup özîniŋ gunâhîniŋ uçurida çiqaɾğandîn keyin ʿUśmān yana har qaysî isdâ ʿaqidasi bilân jütükp yürğân uçurida yana bâyzą qoygan. Şatip Aldi bolsa, ilgâri ğerignîñ yeridâ yana kücîniŋ yetişicâ jütükîgân bolsamu, ḥakîm begniŋ manşâbîda neçand yil köçul şarf qîlip şıdkâgân guy İbrâhim birinçî järğâ taỳji Avrânzîb, ikkinçî järğâ taỳji Baba, ʿAbla, Farîdûn, ücîncî järğâ taỳji ʿAbd Nazar, Pârsâ bularnîŋ hât järğâsini bolsa yâ ğerignîñ yeridâ lığaqmat qîlip yürğân uçurida // šanlap tâfturgan bar, yâ ularnîñ atasîniŋ lığaqmatîq baqiş şanlağan ham bar. bularnîñ hât järğâsini mabâdâ jürğandin töhtatqan yasunîcâ orun çiqağîndin keyin järğâsini fastlâtîq, ulâsturadurğan bolsa barâ barâ hamasîniŋ järğâsi fastlâskâ yetâdûr. bikâr menîñ nurğun yerlik qullarînimîn uzâqdîn uzâqgâca silâp köyânâdurğan intihâsî xiyâlimqâ kelemêmîydu. ḥalî keşik yetküzüp jürğandin järğâsini fastlâtîq ulâsturuşqa tohtatqan İrdâsîr, Şatip Aldî, ʿUśmān, İbrâhim, Avrânzîb, Baba, ʿAbla, Farîdûn, ʿAbd Nazar, Pârsâ qatarlîq on kişîniŋ ḥalî ulâsturğan wan bâyly bâyzą guy tayjîniŋ hât järğâsini orun çiqağîndin keyin järğâsini fastlâtîq ulâsturuşnî // læşim qilmay tamâm hamasîni mîrâş qîlip ulâsturup menîñ nurğun yerlik qullarînimîn ziyâda köyânâdurğan intihâsî xöñlümîn körçätşûn. Bajinda bariğa munda uňturuşnîñ taşida, tâhi yana tâbiʿ jürğanşa tâfsûrup hama şahnîn ambanlariğâ yûrğûzûp menîñ bu yarlıgünîn hama yerliklärgâ tamâm uňturuş jarlap hamasîni ḥoş qilsun!43
dedi.

ellig beşîncî yili yetîncî aynîn yânî toqquzîda tuşûrgân ^~yarlıgünî içîdi:

İlânîn ḥakîm beg birinçî järğâ taỳji Avrânzîb Emin Ḥ-wâjânînî oğli Iskandarnîñ aşaşî. ilgâri Emin Ḥ-wâja tâhi yana neçand yil kûc berip jütükîgân bolsamu, ḥalî Iskandar yana obdanlîq bîlî kîçâp lıgment qiladur. keşik yetküzüp Avrânzîbîni guy // järğâ birinçî järğâ taỳji qîlip iltîfâtînimîn körçätşûn!44
dedi.

ḥalî İlada olturadur.

43 XMD 180:156–61; GZSL 53/1/jisi (February 12, 1788).
44 GZSL 55/7/dinghai (August 18, 1790)
// beşinči oğlı guzaniň işini yärîlašip qiladurğan beg Şayfullâh sula boyidin Činluňñiň ottuz yeṭṭinči yili ölgän Mûsânîň boşağan guzaniň işini yärîlašip qiladurğan begniň orniğa jurğandın qadîm rasmi bilä ^aylatqap guzaniň işini yärîlašip qiladurğan beg qoyğan.

41a

qirq törtünci yili ^Ejinniň gegänigä baralçağalı Bajingä kirip on ikkinči aynıñ onida ^yarîlî bilä Čançijnûnda yürüçgüzän.

qirq sâkkizinçi yili // ^Ejinniň gegänigä baralçağalı Bajingä kirip on ikkinči aynıñ yigîrêmä biridä ^yarîlî bilä Čançijnûnda yürüçüdûrğan Türfannîň yärîlașadurğan beg Şayfullâhga közlük otağat şanlap qaratînlar” dedi.

ellik altinçi yili Şayfullâh ağrip ölgän.

41b

// ikkinçi marâtaba ulașturğan junwaŋ ḥakîm beg İskandar Emin Ḥʷâjanîň altinçî oğlı sula boyidin Činluňñiň ottuz birinçî yili şunuñ aşgi Avrânźibni erâşip Ilağa barip albannîň aṣliq tariydurğan işidä yärîlašip şidkâgän.

ottuz sâkkizinçi yili İlânîň jânjûği Şuhâdâ İskandarnî İlânîň yeridä on yildin ziyâda hiçmat qilip yürüğän učurida ^aylatqap ^yarîlî bilä beşinçî järgä jiňsu, közlük otağat şanlap qaratqan.

qirq birinçî yili baralqalî kelgän.

42a

qirq ikkinçî yili // ^yarîlî bilä Čançijnûnda yürüçgüzän

qirq üçünçî yili Sulaymânîni ulașturup boşağan guzaniň işini yärîlašip qiladurğan begniň orniğa jurğandın qadîm rasmi bilä ^aylatqap guzaniň işini yärîlašip qiladurğan beg qoyğan.

qirq sâkkizinçi yili ^yarîlî bilä:

Iskandarnîň dadasi Emin Ḥʷâja çerigniň kürâsidä tügâgûcät intihâsiz kûç berip hiçmat // qîlgän učurîda men keşik yetkûzüp guñdın junwaŋa yetkîzîqip qoyğan. Ḥâli jurğandın istâp ani çerîgda yürüngân hiçmati bar üçün “mîrâşliğa junwaŋ ulaștursaq?” dep ^aylatqapdûr. muña keşik yetkûzüp mîrâş qilip ulașturųnylar!

dedi.

ellik üçünçî yili birinçî ayda ^yarîlî tûşûrğanî:

Türfannîň junwaŋ İskandar ilgâri muña ^baralçağalı kelgändä, körsâm, tâhî yana yasaładurğan siyâqi bar. Ḥâli sula amban Üsmân ağrip öldi. mûniň boşağan üçünçî järgä ḥâkim beńniň orniğa İskandarnî qoyup, Kâşqarğa // barip Miňliň, Bûšîni erâşiş iş qilsun. İskandarnîň ağasi Şayfullâh, inisi Farûdûnlar hamasi Türfanda bar üçün Şayfullâhlârğa

43a

Iskandarnîň dadasi Emin Ḥʷâja çerigniň kürâsidä tügâgûcät intihâsiz kûç berip hiçmat // qîlgän učurîda men keşik yetkûzüp guñdın junwaŋa yetkîzîqip qoyğan. Ḥâli jurğandın istâp ani çerîgda yürüngân hiçmati bar üçün “mîrâşliğa junwaŋ ulaștursaq?” dep ^aylatqapdûr. muña keşik yetkûzüp mîrâş qilip ulașturųnylar!

dedi.

ellik üçünçî yili birinçî ayda ^yarîlî tûşûrğanî:

Türfannîň junwaŋ İskandar ilgâri muña ^baralçağalı kelgändä, körsâm, tâhî yana yasaładurğan siyâqi bar. Ḥâli sula amban Üsmân ağrip öldi. mûniň boşağan üçünçî järgä ḥâkim beńniň orniğa İskandarnî qoyup, Kâşqarğa // barip Miňliň, Bûšîni erâşiş iş qilsun. İskandarnîň ağasi Şayfullâh, inisi Farûdûnlar hamasi Türfanda bar üçün Şayfullâhlârğa

43b
yurtiniň işini şidkätsün. Türfannız ambanlari tažimu obdan ḥabardär bolup şidkäsün. Iskandargä yuz sar kömüş şanlap öy-barqini köçürüşdä lazım qilsun. bu şanlaydurğan kömüşni şolzamän Türfanda bar albannıň kömüşiniň ičidin şanlap bersün. Iskandar bolsa junwaŋ bolupmu Čančümundä yürüyüşdä kisti. hazi dostlap Kășqarğa barip hākım beginiň išini qilişda Miňliyan, Būšıň har qaydaq işdä albatça ani jorup örgätip 'Uşmänniň şidkägän yasuničä obdan şidkäsün.45

dedi.

şu yili on ikkinči ayda // ^^yarlıği tümüşğani:


dedi.

ellik sakkizinči yili ikkinči ayda ^^yarlıği tümüşğani:

45 XMD 179: 385–389; GZSL 53/1/dingmao (February 10, 1788).
46 XMD 184: 185–87; GZSL 53/12/xinchou (January 9, 1789).
Mınışlınların yeridin Käşqarda särgəklik qilip olturğuzğan čerigni bu yıl tamâm yandurup tartip nəğh ləzim qiladurğan yeri bolsa yana čarlap alip keliadurğan yerini ^aylatqapdur. bu iš taği yana boladur. Käşqar İlaniñ arasi anča yiraq emäş. nəğh ləzim qiladurğan yeri bolsa čarlap alip kelişdä obdan ülgərädür. şolzamän Mınışlınların aylataqan yasuniçä bolsun. bolsamu, bu bir iš Yañı Yaqa Yerlärniñ // ambanlari andu yerliklärni jobatsa bolməyduñ yarlıq üçün orgatip ihtiyaç qilip tüşürüğän yarlıq kötär hip yana aylataqan išdä tamâm İskandarın açıni kırğüzənpdur. İskandar bolsa meniñ kuhna albatum bolupmu junwan iš qilishini yana obdan. ilğari har qaydaq yeralikqä čatişiq iš emäsmu? nemä dep anıñ açını fütümädiñ. mundin buyzigä İskandarın yärılasıp iš qiladurğan amban qilip har qaydaq iš aylataqada həmasiqä şuniñ açıni kırğüzüp billä aylataqasun. bolsamu, ilğari Yüsuf bolsa Qamulnın yerlik, Emin Ҳʷāja // bolsa Yurfannıñ {qızıl qalam bilä tüşürğän yarlıq} yerlik, bular sijl uların açıq barğan Qamul Yurfannıñ yerlikini uçaq tartip, şuniñ yerliklärini açıqna tutmağan ekän. ḥalı men İskandarın yärılasıp iš qiladurğan amban qildim. keşikimni kötärğäni nihayatlı ağır. {qızıl qalam bilä tüşürğän yarlıq} İskandar albağa keşikimni başda kötär hip şuniñ açıq barğan Yurfannıñ yerliklärini qatıqlıq bilän yıqip bașlap har qaydaq išni 'adal qilip sidkäşi har qaydaq dep Käşqarın açıq yerliklärini andu öz ihtiyaçarışça tutmaq yursä bolməydu. İskandar 'aqidasi bilän obdan jütkip {qızıl qalam bilä tüşürğän yarlıq} yursä işqa manfa'at bolupmu nurğan yerliklär həmasi könlü bilän erasıädur. yana meniñ keşikimni hamēşə kötärşä boladur emäsmu? 47

dedi.

şu yili onunçhi ayda // ^yarlıq tüşürğänı:

Yūnbūlärniñ yeridin İskandarqä otağat şanlap qaratişni tiläp ^aylatqapdur. İskandar bolsa qadımın Ҫançiŋmunda yürüyti. otağati bar dur dep ĕiyä ilğan üçün wən bolupmu ḥakım beg Miyliyan, Mınış, Yādaḷar mansəbdə turup neçand yil aşla şuna otağat şanlaşdı tiläp

47 QMJĐ 23:222–25; GZSL 58/2/renwu (March 30, 1793).
aylatqamağan nā-ma’qūl bolupdur. ḥali Yūḥbūlar Iskandarnı nihāyatā ʾizzatlik iḥtiyāṭliq har qaydağ iṣdā kiĉāp ḥizmat qiladur dep şuña otağat şanlaşni tilāp aylataqaganı ma’qūl. keşik yetküzüp Iskandargā uĉ közlük otağat şanlap qaratıp menişı kuhna yerlik qullarımğa köyündürğan ḥiyālimı körsâtisün.48
dedi.

47a // elliq toqquzunč yilida ʾEjinniŋ gegänığa baralqagali Bajingä kirip on ikkinči aynişı yigirmä ipi rāqat alğan.

48a // yeṭṭinči oğl birinći järgä tayji Farīdūn sula boyidin Činluŋ ottuz altınči yili Emin Ḥwaǰani eräšip Bajinga kirip ^̣yarlıği bilā: ikkinči järgä tayji qilip közlük otağat şanlap Čančiŋmunda yürgüzgän. ̣yarlıği bilā:

Farīdūnni Emin Ḥwaǰaniŋ oğlı dep keşik yetküzüp ikkinči järgä tayji şanlaşan. ḥali jurğandın “istāp şunij aşla čerigdā yūrgān ḥizmatı yoq bolsa, orun čiğgandin keyin ulašturmas qilali” dep ̣aylatqapdur. muni täbi’ jurğanda temtáglätip Farīdūnniŋ mabādā ḥizmatı bolsa, orun čiğgandin keyin şunij oğliga yana ikkinči järgä tayji ulašturuŋlar. mabādā ḥizmatı bolmasa bir yer yer açqa fastlätip // törtünči järgä tayjiğa yetküzüp mīrāş qilip ulašturuŋlar
dedi.

ellik üçünči yili birinći ayda ̣yarlıği tüşürğānı:

Qamul Şurfan ikki yer hamasi iqlimniŋ öyininı kuhna quli. yana özgā şahrlärniŋ yerlikläri bolsa, tamām menişı boyum Yaŋ DaYaqa Yurtlarnı toḥtatip šidkāsda eräšip kirğan bolsamu, yana ottuzunči ylıga yetişip kūć berip yūrgān albannıŋ iṣdā kiĉāp ḥizmat qilğanı ałqap ayrip keşik yetküzüp wǎŋ bāyli bāyız guŋ tayji yetküzüp oḥṣaş emās Ḥat şanlap järgā tafturupdur. Činluŋniŋ qırq sakkizinči yili täbi’ jurğan rasmini eräšip

48 GZSL 58/10/bingyan (November 9, 1793).
49a ularniň ḥat järgäsinini istäp mıräš qilib ulaşturadurğan // yerini toḥtatqani bar, yä orun čiḡqandin keyin järgäsinini fastlätip ulaşturuşni toḥtatqani ham bar. bu neğän toḥtatqan rasmini eräşiş şidkägän. bolsamu, bular eräşiş kirgäli uzag yil bolğan tamäm kuhna albuti bolğan bolsamu bular hamasi meniň keşişkimni başida köṭärip boläk boläk tafšurğan iṣdä ‘aqidasi bilän jütüp yürdi. ḫalı bolsa Qamuñinjunwan järgä bāyli Īrdäşiř şunî şuniğ babasi ‘Ubaydulläh balbirdan eräşiş kirip ba-yakbärä neçä avläd bolğan. bolsamu İrdäşiřin babasi Yusuf čerigniŋ küräsidi ham intihäsiz kūč berip jütüp ýürgän. bāyžä ‘Uṣmān ilgäri şuniğ dadası ḫudî čerigniŋ küräsidi qatırqanıp jütüp ba-yakbärä bāyli järgä qoyup öziniŋ gunähiniň uĉurida čiQRSTurğandi keyin ‘Uṣmān yana har qayysi iṣdä

49b // ‘aqidasi bilä jütüp ýürgän uĉurida yana bāyžä qoyğan. Şatipaldi bolsa, ilgäri čerigniň yeridä yana kūчинi yetişiçä jütükügän. bolsamu, ḫakım beğiňi mansibidä neçänd yil köŋül šarf qilib şidkägän unu İbrāhim birinci järgä tayji Avrânźiḏ ikkinči järgä tayji Baba, ’Abla, Farīduń i ámbirinci järgä tayji ‘Abd Nazar, Pārsā buların ḥat järgäsinini bolsa yä čerigniň yeridä ḥizmat qilib ýürgän uĉurida şaŋlap tafturğani bar, yä ularınna ata babasınıň ḥizmatığä baqıp şaŋlağanı ham bar. buların ḥat järgäsinini mabädä jurgändin toḥtatqan yasuničä orun čiḡqandin keyin järgäsinini fastlätip ulaşтурadurğan bolsa, barā barā hamasiniň järgäsi fastläškä yetädür. bikär meniň nurgün yerlik qullarimini uzaqdir // uzaqçaša siläp köyünädurğan intihäsiz ᵊyâlimğa kelişmäydu. ḫalı kešik yetkäziþ jurgändin järgäsinini fastlätip ulaşturuşqa toḥtatqan İrdäşiř, Şatipaldi, ‘Uṣmān, İbrāhim, Avrânźiḏ, Baba, ’Abla, Farīduń, ’Abd Nazar, Pārsā qatarlıq on kišininiň ḫalı ulasтурan wän bāyli bāyžä goň tayjinin ḥat järgäsinini orun čiḡqandin keyin järgäsinini fastlätip ulaşтурuşni läžîm qilmay, tamäm hamasini mıräš qilib ulaşтурup meniň nurgün yerlik qullarimni ziyâda köyünädurğan intihäsiz könlümü körsätsgän. Bajindä bariga munda ułınturüşniň tašida, taḥi yana tābi jurgänga taʃsurup hama şahrını ambanlariga yürüüzüp meniň bu yarlıgni hama yerlikläriqä tamäm uļınturup jarlap hamasini ḫoş qilsun!49
dedi.

50a // ellik beşińči yili yettinči ayda tüšürgan ^^yarlığiň ičidä:

50b

49 XMD 180:156–61; GZSL 53/1/jisi (February 12, 1788).
The Life of Emin Khoja: Transcription

\(\text{Ṭurfannîn} \text{jikinnî içi järgä tayji Farîdûn, Emin Ḥâjanîn oğli, bunca yila yana oldanlık bilan hizmat qilip yürüd. keşik yetküzüp Farîdûnîn birinci järgä tayji qilip, kiç bergân kuhna yerlik qullarımga köyunadurğan hiylîmînî körsâtsûn!}^{50}\)

dedi.

ellik altînî yili aşırip ölğan Șayfullâh boșağan guzaniç iśni yârîlaşip qiladurğan beginç orniça jurğandîn qadîm rasmî bilân aylatqap guzaniç iśni yârîlaşip qiladurğan beg qoçûyân.

\(\text{хили \text{Тurfannîn yerlikini başlaydurğan jasaqniç tamgasını iśni 'ařiyatî qiladur. }^{51a}}\)

// \(\text{хили \text{Тurfanda olturadur. }^{52a}}\)

ellik yettinî yili ^^^Ejinînî gêgânîğå baralqağalı Bajingå kirîp ^^^yarlıq bilâ Bahramîn Çançînîmunda yürîgûzgân.

\(\text{хили \text{Тurfanda olturadur. }^{53a}}\)

// \(\text{Çinluğînîn ellik sâkkizinî yili istäp çiçarip taşqarçi büljunçî yasaydurğan jurğandîn aylatqap yanî özâlâgân (?) Nûr Muḥammadîn çon oğli Maḥmûd \text{Çinluğînîn qirç törtüncî yili Iskandar Junwanlıqâga ulaşip boșağan guzaniç iśni yârîlaşip qiladurğan beginç orniça jurğandîn qadîm rasmî bilâ aylatqap guzaniç iśni yârîlaşip qiladurğan beg qoçûyân. }^{53b}\)

ellik yettinî yili ^^^Ejinînî gêgânîğå baralqağalı Bajingå kirîp ^^^yarlıq bilâ Bahramîn Çançînîmunda yürîgûzgân.

\(\text{хили \text{Тurfanda olturadur. }^{51a}}\)

// \(\text{хили \text{Тurfanda olturadur. }^{52a}}\)

ellik sâkkizinî yili ^^^yarlıq tüüsûrûgânî:

\(\text{Yûnbûlarînîn yeridin Kâşqarnîn beşinçî järgä beg Muṣaffarînîn boșağan orniçä ikkinçî järgä jiçszû qaratqan mayrin jangin qoçûyân. ellik törtünîçî yili Qirğizlar savdâgar Andîjânînîn, yerliklärînîn ät ulâğni tilâp bulağan işdâ Maḥmûdîn ibârip oğrînî Jân Fulâtllarîn tutup alîp kelgân uçurida ^^^Ejin keşik yetküzüp ikkîncî järgä jiçszû şanlap qaratqan. }^{53b}\)

ellik sâkkizinî yili ^^^yarlıq tüüsûrûgânî:

\(\text{Yûnbûlarînîn yeridin Kâşqarnîn beş yûz yerlik çerîgini qoşup bilädurğan bilişidä qoyadurğan üçûn beşinçî järgä qazî beg Maḥmûdîn ta']nîlap}\)

\(^{50}\) GZSL 55/7/yiwei (August 26, 1790).

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The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

qoyuśni tiläp aylatqapdur. Yünbüler aylatqağan yasuničä beşinci järgä qaži [beg qoyuŋlar]!

dedi.

šu yili ^Ejinniŋ gegänigä baralqağali Bajingä kirip on ikkinči ayda ^yarlıq bilä keşik yetküzüp Maḥmûdni Čançičīmunda yürgüzgän.
Jačiŋniŋ ikkinči yili dabhur altinci ayda. ^yarlıq tüṣürgäni:

Čançičīnärniŋ yeridin Kāšqarniŋ törtünći järgä isikağa beg Qutluğ Dōstniŋ boşāğan orniğa beşinci järgä qaži beg yerlik čerigini qoşup bilādurğan yilși da Maḥmûdni taʻínlap qoyuśni / tiläp aylatqapdur. muni Čançičīnärniŋ aylatqan yasuničä Maḥmûdni törtünći järgä isikağa beg qoyuŋlar!

dedi.

šu yili toqquzunči ayda, Čançičīnärniŋ yeridin Kāšqarniŋ yerlik čerigini qoşup bilādurğan uhrída Ša[h] Begniŋ boşağan orniğa törtünći järgä isikağa beg [...yerli]k čerigini qoşup bilādurğan yilși da Maḥmûdni taʻínlap qošuśni tiläp aylatqağanda [...

// …] yärlašip iš qiladurğan amban ḥakım beg junwaŋ Iskandarniŋ çon oğli Yūnus sula boyidin Činluŋniŋ qirq altinci yili on birinči ayniŋ yaŋi biridä şunun dadasinin järgāsinı keyinki kün ulašturadurğan üçün jurgändin qadim rasmi bilä […]

// …Fūjiyūn]lärniŋ yeridin Kāšqarniŋ törtünći järgä ḡaznači beg yerlik čerigini qoşup bilādurğan yilși da Mužaffarniŋ boşağan orniğa birinči järgä tayji törtünći järgä şaṅbegi Yūnusni qoyuśni tiläp aylatqapdur. muni Fūjiyūnlärniŋ aylatqap yasuničä // Yūnusni törtünći järgä ḡaznači beggä yōtkāp qoyup yerlik čerigni qoşup bilādurğan yilși da qoyuŋlar!

dedi […]

// […] Sulaymānniŋ ikkinči oğli Ḥamd Bāqī sula boyidin Činluŋniŋ állî[… Ilanıŋ] jaŋjuŋ Bǔniŋ yeridin “Ḥamd Bāqī bunça yil arasida Avrānzībni eräšip iš qilišda taži yana tola kūč çiqardı” dep […]
Translation

The first sections of the text are missing from the manuscript. I have added the title and these missing sections according to the Mongolian text of the *Iledkel šastir*. All sub-headings are my own. As far as possible, the names of Qing officials have been given in their Manchu and Chinese forms respectively. Where the Turkic text gives titles in Chinese or Manchu, these have been preserved as such. Where it translates into Turkeic, I have substituted a standard English translation. A table comparing these titles is given in the Appendix. Toponyms have been amended to their most familiar forms, e.g. Qamul and Ush have been rendered as the more familiar Hami and Uch.

The Exemplary Biography of Emin Khoja, *Jasagh Prince of the Second Degree*

Emin Khoja was from Turfan. His grandfather was Sufi Khoja, the *akhund* in Qarakhoja, and his father was Niyaz Khoja, a leading *akhund* in Turfan. When Emin Khoja succeeded him, the family settled in Lükchün.

In the fifty-ninth year of the Kangxi reign (1720), when the Imperial Army pacified Turfan, Emin Khoja’s family submitted in Lükchün. After the army withdrew, the Junghars compelled them to move to Qarashahr. They resisted, and dispatched a messenger stating their loyalty and requesting...

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1 Temir’s document gives his grandfather’s name and title as Hażrat Mir Ḥabibullah Veliyullah (Temir 1961, 195). One of Tenisheev’s informants referred to Emin Khoja’s father as Mir Ali (Tenisheev 1969, 85).

2 A title used in Central Asia since Temürid times, indicating someone with religious learning.

3 Qarakhoja (SU. *Idiqut Shâhri*, C. *Gaochang* 高昌) here refers not to the ruined city, but the neighbouring town of Astana. Astana is location of the shrine of Alp Ata, which was publicly patronized by Emin Khoja’s family (see Part 1).
reinforcements.

In the fourth year of the Yongzheng reign (1726), the leader Toqta Muhammad led over six hundred Muslims into the interior. Since there were [still] several tens of thousands of people in Lükchün who did not move, [the emperor] appointed Emin Khoja to govern them.

In the eighth year (1730), the Pacifier of Distant Peoples Yue Zhongqi⁴ memorialized that Emin Khoja was helping him to establish agricultural colonies. For this he was rewarded with silver cash.

In the ninth year (1731), the Junghars raided Lükchün and Qarakhojo. Emin Khoja shut the city and waited for an opportunity to engage the rebels. Three times he stole out and attacked the bandits before withdrawing, and on each occasion he was wounded. When our army arrived, the bandits scattered. Emin Khoja emerged from the city walls and welcomed them.

In the tenth year (1732) he led the Muslims of Lükchün into the interior.⁵ It was decreed that he should be awarded the title of jasagh prince of the sixth degree.

In the eleventh year (1733) he was stationed at Guazhou. He was accorded an official salary and rations equivalent to that of officials of the interior.

In the twentieth year of the Qianlong reign (1755), [Emin Khoja] mobilized three hundred soldiers and accompanied the Imperial Army on its campaign against Dawachi,⁶ and sent a letter calling on the Turfan Tarkhan Beg Mänglik⁷ to submit. This is explained in detail in the survey chapter.⁸ After Ili was pacified, he was recalled to Turfan. When Amursana⁹ rebelled, Emin Khoja took the forces subordinate to him, and accompanied Naghacha, the Khoshud

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⁴ Yue Zhongqi 岳鐘琪 (1686–1754), a leading Han Chinese general, directed the Yongzheng emperor’s campaign against the Junghars from Barköl. His inability to prevent the Junghar raids of the following years incurred the emperor’s wrath, and he only narrowly escaped execution (Hummel 1943, 957–59).

⁵ This is the migration discussed in detail by Onuma in Part 2.

⁶ Dawachi was a taiji of the Choros, and the last khan of the Junghars (r. 1753–55). For a narrative of the Qing campaign against the Junghars in the 1750s, see Perdue 2005.

⁷ I read this name as Mänglik (“someone with a mole”), although elsewhere Manggaliq is found. According to Tao Baolian (1897, juan 6:37a), Mänglik’s grandfather’s name was Marjanchuq (Ma-er-zhan-chu-ke), and his father Tu-mo-er-ku-ji (Tömür Khoja?).

⁸ A reference to the preceding chapter (juan 110), the general account (C. zongzhuan) of Turfan, in which this rebellion is described in more detail.

⁹ Amursana (1723–1757), a taiji of the Khoid, assisted Dawachi in seizing the Junghar throne in 1752. He then fell out with Dawachi and submitted to Qing. In 1755 he campaigned against Dawachi with the Qing army, and was appointed khan of the Khoid. The following year he rebelled against the Qing, and declared himself khan of all the Junghars (Hummel 1943, 9–11).
Prince of the Sixth Degree.\textsuperscript{10} They went to the region of Aqsu to convey to Khojasi\textsuperscript{11} the imperial command that he was under no circumstances to join the rebels. The emperor decreed:

\begin{quote}
In mobilizing Muslim\textsuperscript{12} forces and going as far as Ili, Emin Khoja has gone to a lot of trouble. Now once again he has dispatched troops under his command to march on Aqsu. They should bestow my grace and award him the rank of Prince of the Fifth Degree.
\end{quote}

Furthermore, when his troops returned from Ili, they had travelled a long way. By imperial decree he was supplied with extra provisions. After hearing that Amursana had fled to Bortala, the emperor decreed that he should abandon the plan to go to Aqsu.

In the twenty-first year (1756), Emin Khoja returned from Guazhou to Lükchün. He took four hundred soldiers and went to meet Hoki, the Military Lieutenant-Governor of Ningxia.\textsuperscript{13} He organized everything and attacked the rebel Bayar.\textsuperscript{14} He had gone as far as Pichan, when suddenly the Ölöd\textsuperscript{15} and Mänglik’s forces rebelled once again, killed Hoki, and set out to capture Emin Khoja. At this point, Mänglik told the Ölöd that he was a Muslim, so they let Emin Khoja go and sent him back to Lükchün. When Mänglik returned and summoned [Emin Khoja], he did not go. When [Emin Khoja] dispatched someone to report this rebellion, the emperor decreed:

\begin{quote}
Emin Khoja is someone who has submitted with a faithful heart and has remained loyal for many years. I greatly commend the fact that he has kept in mind my weighty grace and sent someone to transmit this news. I could not bear it if he were to remain among these thieves. He has only
\end{quote}

\textsuperscript{10} Naghacha 納噶察 (d. 1756), a Khoshud Mongol, surrendered to the Qing with Amursana in 1754 and participated in the campaign against Dawachi (WFMG juan 114).
\textsuperscript{11} Under the Junghars, Khojasi had been ḥākim of Uch. He initially supported Burḥan al-Din and Khoja Jahan’s campaign to Kashgar and Yarkand, and was appointed by them as ḥākim of Khotan. He then fell out with the khojas, returned to Uch, and submitted to the Qing in 1758. Suspicious of his personal ambition, Qianlong ordered him and his family relocated to Beijing (WFMG juan 116).
\textsuperscript{12} The word “local” here and elsewhere could also be translated at “Muslim.” Because of the ambiguity, I have made use of both translations at different points in the text.
\textsuperscript{13} Hoki 和起 (d. 1756), a Manchu of the bordered blue banner, was deployed to Barköl in 1755.
\textsuperscript{14} Bayar 巴雅爾 (1723–1757), a taiji of the Khoid, surrendered to the Qing in 1755 and was appointed khan of the Khoid. On this incident, see Onuma 2012.
\textsuperscript{15} The Ölöd (Mo. Ögeled) were a subdivision of the Oirat, with which they are often confused. After the fall of the Junghars, the Qing referred to all Junghars as Ölöd.
just arrived [in Turfan] after returning from Guazhou. He has probably not yet been able to attend to all of his various tasks. How will he have the strength to capture this thief who has rebelled? If it happens that he is somehow able to capture Mänglik, it would be a fine service indeed, and after he returns he should be allowed to administer this entire region. In case he lacks the strength to capture the thief, he should remain on guard in the position he has taken up. After the Imperial Army has arrived from the interior, then they will be able to destroy the thief.

Subsequently, when Emin Khoja dispatched his son Sulayman to Hami to confront the rebel, he requested that the Imperial Army come to his assistance. When the Hami Jasagh Beise Yusuf\(^{16}\) reported this, the emperor decreed:

*The fact that Emin Khoja has confronted the enemy and held firm is extremely praiseworthy. Bestow my grace and make him a beise. His son Sulayman should also be honored with the rank of gong.*\(^{17}\) Have the Anxi Commander-in-Chief Fu Kui\(^{18}\) mobilize five hundred soldiers, take Sulayman and hurry to Emin Khoja’s territory to assist. If the strength of his forces is insufficient, then [Fu Kui] should deputize Emin Khoja to take the people subject to him and return to Hami in his company. After the Imperial Army has arrived they can attend to matters once again.

In the spring of the twenty-second year (1757) the emperor decreed:

*Previously I issued a decree that Fu Kui should mobilize troops, and after seizing Mänglik he should station men in Turfan, wait for the Imperial Army to arrive, and advance together to attack the Ölöd rebels. Upon consideration, [I have decided that] after Mänglik is captured, I will give the territory of Turfan to Emin Khoja to administer. If [Fu Kui] stations soldiers there and waits for the Imperial Army, it will take many more days, and accommodating such an army among the people will*

\(^{16}\) Yusuf (d. 1767) was the *jasagh* prince of Hami between 1740 and 1767.

\(^{17}\) This refers to an award of *pinjī* (“grade”). Within the Qing system of aristocratic ranks, a *pinjī* rank could be awarded without a hereditary title (such awards usually preceeded the hereditary enfeoffment). To reflect this distinction, I have translated *pinjī* awards using the word “rank”, and when the hereditary honour is meant, using words such as “enfeoff” and “title”.

\(^{18}\) Fu Kui 傅魁 (d. 1757) was appointed to Hami in 1756. In suppressing this rebellion, Fu Kui carried out a number of summary executions, and for this he was recalled to Beijing and executed.
create trouble for Emin Khoja. This by no means [accords with] the principle of demonstrating my compassion and concern! Convey this to the imperial agent residing in Barköl, Yarhašan, so that Emin Khoja should know of it. If, after bringing the affair of Mänglik to a conclusion, he should join with his Muslim subjects, and with their combined strength defeat and capture Bayar, in that case let him command the troops together with Fu Kui and pacify the region. Otherwise, have them withdraw all the soldiers from the interior; do not allow them to stay there. If Emin Khoja requests that one or two hundred soldiers be left behind, let it be as he wishes.

After suppressing the rebellion of Mänglik, in accordance with [this] decree [the emperor] appointed [Emin Khoja] to the region of Turfan. When [Emin Khoja] dispatched his son Sulayman requesting an audience to express his gratitude for these favors, it was decreed that he be transported by the relay system.

In the winter, upon news that the Muslim traitors Burhan al-Din and Khoja Jahan had rebelled and seized Yarkand and Kashgar, [the emperor] took council and ordered the Imperial Army to be sent to investigate and punish their wrongdoing. Thereupon he issued a decree to Emin Khoja:

Previously these two bandits, Burhan al-Din and Khoja Jahan, had been imprisoned by the Junghars. I extended to them particular grace and placed them at the head of their former subjects. Without thinking, they have spurned my beneficence and gone to join the rebel, and have killed Deputy Lieutenant-General Amidu. In no way is it possible to forgive their crime. However, we should spare those locals who had no choice but to obey because of their mistreatment at the hands of these two bandits. Emin Khoja, you have received my weighty grace. You occupy a

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19 Yarhašan 雅爾哈善 (d. 1759), a Manchu of the plain red banner, went to Xinjiang during the campaign against Amursana. As described below, in 1758 he was appointed to head the invasion of the Tarim Basin, but was recalled and executed for his laxity during the siege of Kucha (QSG juan 314).
20 Burhan al-Din and Khoja Jahan were the sons of Khoja Ahmad, and grandsons of the prominent Naqshbandi shaykh Afaq Khoja. They were originally sent by the Qing to rule the south of Xinjiang, but once in place they detained and killed Qing emissaries, prompting the Qing to intervene directly.
21 Amidu 阿敏道 (d. 1757), a Mongol of the bordered red banner, was dispatched to Yarkand by Jaohūi in 1756 and killed the following year by the khojas (QSG juan 315).
6a senior position among the Muslims and are distinguished in every respect. I trust you. If by some means you are able to catch the bandits, or win the bandits over and deliver them up, then it will not be necessary for us to send an army. You should deal with this as you see fit. If it turns out that it is necessary to dispatch troops, you should consider how many troops will be required, and when it is appropriate for them to proceed, and report on this in detail.

When Emin Khoja’s memorial arrived, the emperor issued a decree commending him and promoting him to the position of commandant of the forces. At that time the Sharas and Makhus bandits rebelled in Qarashahr, on the excuse that they were migrating from their territory. Emin Khoja acted according to the decree and sent someone secretly to Qarashahr to obtain information. Worried that the army might not arrive in time if it set out after his spy returned, he took soldiers himself and went to Toqsun and kept watch. At this news, the emperor praised him for acting in a timely fashion and rewarded him with silks. He also issued a decree:

Next year when we pacify Yarkand and Kashgar, although there will be generals and ambans there, since you know the customs of the Muslim region well, I will send you in the first division as a councilor. If you remember my grace and act with a true heart and serve diligently, you will receive the blessings of my grace, is it not so?

Emin Khoja learned that there was no trace of the bandits in Qarashahr. He secretly dispatched someone to gather news in Khurumshi Jilgha, and requested to follow the vice-president of the Board of Revenue, Arigūn, to attack the bandits. By decree the emperor awarded Emin Khoja the rank of beile, and fixed his allowance of silver at that of a councilor.

22 The Sharas and Makhus were two otoqs of the Junghar. According to the Yuzhi Zhunga'er quanbu jilue, which describes the composition of the Junghar in 1755, the Sharas consisted of 3000 households under two zaisangs, while the Makhus were 5000 households under one zaisang. See Atwood 2006, 241. Their territory at this time was on the Chaghan Tüngke Usun, a day’s journey west of Qarashahr (WTQWJ #205; Mannerheim 1940, 288).

23 Arigūn 阿里衮 (d. 1777), a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner (QSG juan 313), was at this time stationed in Barköl (QSG juan 313).
Emin Khoja accompanied Arigūn by the Azghan Bulaq and Qosh Terek roads, and in Tabun Shungir and Namga he captured more than two hundred brigands. After this he hastened via Khurumshi Gully, and when he was approaching the Kash Pass he found out that the bandits had treacherously murdered Lieutenant-General Manfu and fled to Qara Gol. As he pursued them, the bandits lit fires, destroyed the way stations, and escaped to Kucha. Arigūn stayed in Korla, and Emin Khoja in Qara Gol. He dispatched an emissary to deliver a letter, but he did not make it through.

In spring of the twenty-third year (1758), by decree [the emperor] appointed [Emin Khoja] to the position of councilor, and instructed that upon his return he should accompany the Suppressor of Rebellion Yarhašan and destroy Burhan al-Din and Khoja Jahan. He also issued a decree that Yarhašan should follow Emin Khoja’s advice, and do nothing contrary to it; also that he should enlist Muslim troops as he see fit, reduce the number of Chinese soldiers accordingly, and supply them with good horses. At that time, Emin Khoja suggested that he advance on Kucha. [The emperor] decreed that he should return to Turfan for a while and consult with Yarhašan.

Emin Khoja discovered that the Sharas and other bandits had escaped from Kucha to Yarkand. When the army was returning from Qara Gol along the Khoro Mountain road to deal with the bandits, he had to turn back because his horse had weakened. On this matter, [the emperor] decreed that in light of his rank of beile he be appointed an official with rank equivalent to that of a palace major-domo, an officer of the bodyguard, or a palace commandant. Emin Khoja heard word that Khojasi was residing in Uch, and said to Yarhašan: “Khojasi’s disposition is the same as that of the two khojas. If we were to send someone this

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24 The Qosh Terek pass is on the road leading southwest from Toqsun across the Bortu Mountains to Qarashahr. There are Azghan Bulaqs west of Korla and south of Turfan, but neither seems to be the one referred to here.
25 Both of these are described as locations close to Qarashahr (XMD, 26:384). Namga may be the Kökö Namag, a tributary of the Khaidu River.
26 An unidentified location in the Yulduz Valley.
27 That is, the pass leading to the Kash Valley. This is only a tentative reconstruction of this toponym.
28 Manfu 滿福 (d. 1757) was a Manchu of the bordered blue banner. His run-in with the rebels occurred during an inspection tour of guard posts along the Alghu River, in the mountains directly west of Toqsun (QSG juan 315).
29 Qara Gol “Black River” and similar toponyms abound in the Tianshan. One other possibility here is Qara Köl, a well-travelled pass leading south from the watershed of the Khaidu River to Kucha.
30 This may be the Khoro Mountains (C. Huola shan 霍拉山), south of the Khaidu River. One report describes these mountains as on the way to Lop Nur, and thus they may also refer to the Quruq Mountains to Turfan’s south.
could be quickly resolved.” When Yarhašan memorialized to report this, he did not include Emin Khoja’s name. The emperor issued a decree:

On the issue of bringing the beg Khojasi to submit, it is very timely, but since Emin Khoja has been made a councilor it would be better to write his name on the same line and memorialize jointly. It will not do to separate them.

In the fourth month (May 1758), [the emperor] enfeoffed him as a beile, and added to this the position of councilor. The emperor issued a decree:

If Emin Khoja leads troops and advances against the locals, then he may be successful. Yet after the chief rebel has been captured, I will have no choice but to promote another beg to handle affairs in his place. These are all recently submitted subjects, and it is difficult to know the good from the bad immediately. Furthermore, it is extremely important to resolve the matter of stationing troops in Ili and cultivating grain. It would certainly be fitting to station him [in Ili] to manage affairs at first. Since the supplies in Ili were previously all produced by the Muslims, after establishing and organizing the Muslim town, he should transfer Muslims as he sees fit and attach them to the Green Standard Army. Since Emin Khoja has authority among the locals, he should assist the general and ambans and take charge of the Muslim troops who are growing crops for provisions. When they are satisfied with the provisions, he should then return to Turfan. Wherever there has been a task to be done, and whenever there have been conflicts and hostilities, Emin Khoja has been able to set things right with his loyal heart. From now on, I will treat him with even greater respect when I employ him, and show him even more favor.

In the fifth month (June 1758) he reached Kucha. When Yarhašan advanced hastily towards the city with his army, the rebels opened fire from the city wall’s battlements, and Emin Khoja was wounded in his right cheek. After they withdrew he swore an oath: “I have personally received the weighty grace of the Khan Ejen. I will assuredly fight to the death.” When this was reported, the emperor awarded him an imperial-issue belt pouch and a thousand silver tael, and issued a decree:
I sent Emin Khoja to provide council and handle military affairs because he is elderly and experienced. I never said that he should enter into the fray himself and risk his life. Now I have heard that he led a charge and been wounded. This sorely troubles me. From now on, relying on his individual integrity and the strength of the masses, he should handle affairs faithfully. It will not do to allow him to enter a dangerous place to fight and treat gunfire lightly.

He also issued a decree saying:

As he is the commanding amban alongside Yarhašan, is there any reason not to warn him and prevent him from wantonly risking his life in battle?

After Emin Khoja’s cheek healed, he fired a letter into the city of Kucha calling on the bandits to surrender, but they took no notice of it. When the rebel’s henchman ‘Abd al-Karim approached with reinforcements from Aqsu, [Emin Khoja] fought and repelled them. For this, the emperor commended him, and rewarded him with an imperial-issue belt pouch. Subsequently, when Khoja Jahan brought more than five thousand bandits to relieve the siege of Kucha, they triumphed again and captured two standards. When Emin Khoja saw [these standards] he pointed out that they were Khoja Jahan’s standards. Just then, while Yarhašan was not on his guard, Khoja Jahan quickly stole into the city of Kucha and escaped back out again. The former beg of Shayar, Muḥammadi, dispatched his son Ḥasan Khoja to announce his surrender, and reported that Khoja Jahan had left Kucha. Yarhašan wrote a letter reporting this. Previously [Yarhašan] had suggested that Emin Khoja should follow the Pacifier of the Frontier Jaohūi\(^\text{31}\) and go to Sharabel,\(^\text{32}\) and that when they had defeated the Ölöd bandits who had run away, then they would rout out the Muslim traitors. When this was reported, the emperor decreed:

Emin Khoja knows the ways of the Muslim people. He is also brave as an individual. Jaohūi should certainly value him and make use of him.

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\(^{31}\) Jaohūi 錫鴻 (1708–64), a Manchu of the plain yellow banner, was a leading Qing general in the campaign against Amursana and the khoja brothers. Jaohūi’s march on Ili led to Amursana’s flight to Russia (Hummel 1943, 72–3).

\(^{32}\) Sharabel (“Yellow Slopes”) was one of the Oirat pastures along the Ili River. It is now better known by its Kazakh equivalent of Sarybel.
Later, when they decided to split up and lead the army forwards, Emin Khoja memorialized:

> From Sharabel, the Bedel road leads to Kashgar, and the road through the Muzart Pass leads to Aqsu. However, the roads are in terrible condition. There is a shortcut. Your slave has dispatched someone to act as guide for Jaohūi’s forces.

When he memorialized this, [the emperor] had issued a decree:

> After Jaohūi has pacified the Ölöd, he should redeploy the army and go to the Muslim territory. In case he cannot make it in time, he should rely on the man whom Emin Khoja has sent, occupy the strategic points, and gather intelligence on Khoja Jahan’s flight.

Now, having tried and condemned Yarhašan for his crime of treating the bandit with leniency and allowing him to get away, by decree [the emperor] transferred [Yarhašan’s] forces to Jaohūi’s command, and issued a further decree:

> Emin Khoja, as a Muslim it would be wrong to treat you the same way as Yarhašan, but nonetheless it is inappropriate to say that you have not erred at all. Considering the fact that you have constantly exerted yourself, I will forgive you this, and think of your [other] efforts. You should join Jaohūi’s regiment.

During the autumn, after Lieutenant Hūturi took the bandit’s companion ʿAlī prisoner and brought him in, [the emperor] learned of Yarhašan’s criminal neglect of commonly expressed opinions.³³ {By decree} he counseled and encouraged Emin Khoja, and rewarded him with a three-eyed peacock feather. Following this [Emin Khoja] captured Kucha and advanced on Aqsu. After Jaohūi arrived, he followed him to Uch and brought Khojasi to submission. For this, the emperor commended him and awarded him a belt pouch.

In the winter they arrived at Yarkand, and when the treacherous rebels clashed with the Imperial Army at Qara Usun, Emin Khoja held out against

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³³ In other words, the emperor realised that Yarhašan had ignored Emin Khoja’s advice during the campaign.
them. The emperor rewarded him with the rank of *junwang*, a ruby button of rank, and a jacket embroidered with four dragon plaques. When Khoja Jahan came to the army camp and requested a meeting to negotiate terms, Emin Khoja and Jaohūi deliberated and rejected him, saying: “What cheek the little bandit has! He says that he wants to meet us to make peace!” When the emperor heard this he praised [Emin Khoja] and by decree granted him an imperial issue belt-pouch. Until this point it seems that [the emperor] had rewarded him on a total of three occasions.

In spring of the following year (1759) reinforcements arrived, and [the rebels] broke through the blockade and retreated to Aqsu. One of [Emin Khoja’s] subordinates, a man named Laysi, found out that some of the rebels had passed Aqsu and fled onwards, and after he pursued and captured them with the Solon troops, the prisoners were given by decree [as slaves] to Emin Khoja.

In summer when the army advanced on Kashgar, [Emin Khoja] found out that Burhan al-Din and Khoja Jahan had abandoned the city and fled. Since the wheat in Kashgar had only just ripened, he dispatched his son, Administrator Musa, to quickly enter the city, gather supplies, and assist with the provisioning of the army. For this Musa was rewarded by decree with the rank of *gong*. When the imperial army reached Kashgar, Jaohūi arranged for Musa to serve as *ḥākim beg*, and dispatched Emin Khoja to Yarkand and had him pacify the people there. On this [the emperor] issued a decree:

*These two cities, Yarkand and Kashgar, are the ancient homeland of the Muslims. Appointing the ḥākim begs there is extremely important. In my view, by entrusting Yarkand to Emin Khoja and Kashgar to Yusuf, with this kind of experienced men there, then they should be trustworthy. After our main goals have been accomplished, matters may be reconsidered.*

In the tenth month (November-December 1759), when Khoja Jahan’s head was conveyed in a chest from Badakhshan and presented, the emperor decreed:

*Emin Khoja and Yusuf have both been performing a variety of services.*

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34 This is the event known as the Battle of Blackwater Camp, for which see Perdue 2005, 290–91.
35 This is the episode depicted in the Jesuit artist Jean Denis Attiret’s drawing “The Emperor is presented with Prisoners from the Pacification of the Muslims” (平定回部獻俘).
Were I to now summon both of them, there would be no one left to manage the affairs of the Muslims. Therefore I will bestow my grace and promote Emin Khoja to junwang. Let him remain in Yarkand and see to affairs.

In the twelfth month he issued another decree:

Our main tasks have now been completed. Of course it would be good to allow Emin Khoja to go home and rest, but cities like Yarkand are all recently pacified territory. Only when we appoint someone who knows the customs of the locals and is experienced in administration to handle duties will all be well. Emin Khoja is my old servant; he has carried out great service in battle, and he is immensely experienced in Muslim affairs. Because of this, I have kept him there for some time. It has been several years that he has been away from his home. Thus if he were left to deal with matters there alone, my heart would not be able to bear it. Because of this, let him take his wife and children to stay there a while. After all the various issues have been dealt with, then he can return. Is it not so?

In the spring of the twenty-fifth year (1760) his portrait was commissioned for the Hall of Purple Radiance. This is what the emperor wrote in his honor:

[He was] the first of the Turfan Muslims to bow his head and submit,
Because he aided in military matters and knew the customs of the Muslims,
There is nothing he knows that he does not say, and nothing he says that does not bear fruit,
His resolve is not a rolling stone, and his determination does not waver.

36 The Hall of Purple Radiance still stands among the government buildings of Zhongnanhai, and is used by Chinese leaders to receive visiting dignitaries. European troops plundered these portraits during the suppression of the Boxer Rebellion. Albert von Le Coq (1926, 1:51) wrote that a portrait of Emin Khoja was kept in “his museum”, presumably the Ethnography Museum in Berlin. Le Coq describes the subject as a blue-eyed man with a long, straight nose. Unfortunately, recent studies of these paintings make no mention of Emin Khoja’s portrait, and it is likely that it was lost during the Second World War.
In summer, in the fourth month (May-June 1760), when the vice-president of the Board of Civil Appointments, Deputy Lieutenant-General Haiming acted according to a decree and assumed duties in Yarkand, [the emperor] decreed:

Haiming is an amban sent from the interior. In handling affairs his name should be written prior to Emin Khoja’s. However, he should not treat Emin Khoja with disrespect just because he writes his own name first. Emin Khoja is a man experienced in local matters. In dealing with every kind of issue, they should be of one mind, and take action through joint consultation.

At that time, when they memorialized on the appointment of a ḥākim beg to Ili and the administration of the Muslim peasants, Musa was appointed by decree. When the treacherous rebels in Kashgar–Mirim and Niyaz–rebelled and destroyed all the guard posts in Köl Tarim, Musa accompanied Councilor Arigūn to attack the bandits at Fayzabad. They discovered that the bandits gone from Salindu to Qoromluq. They pursued them, and just as the bandits were preparing their food they arrived in force and caught them all. By decree Musa was enfeoffed as a prince of the sixth degree, and was appointed to share Emin Khoja’s responsibilities.

In the summer, the Yarkand beg Ḥadi, the Kashgar beg Gada-yi Muḥammad, and the Khotan beg Ish Muḥammad claimed that Emin Khoja had been indulgent towards his translators (tongchis) and was not controlling the

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37 The emperor here borrows a line from the Book of Songs (the “Cypress Boat”): 我心匪石 不可转也. Legge translates: “My mind is fixed, and cannot, like a stone, Be turned at will indifferently about.” See Minford & Lau 2000, 109.
38 This decree was issued in response to a query from Haiming in 1760 as to the correct order of writing names. See Kim 2008, 303–4 for discussion.
39 According to the Xiyu tuzhi (Fu-heng 1782, juan 18), Köl Tarim lies “260 li northeast of Khanariq. Yarkand is 300 li to its south.”
40 Pāyziwat, C. Jiashi 伽師, is situated 80km east of Kashgar.
41 Judging from the original reports, both of these places lie along a route from Beshkerem to Kirghiz territory, but I cannot pinpoint them (XMD, 46:101).
42 Ḥadi (d. 1778) belonged to a family closely aligned with the Black Mountain khojas, and was possibly descended from the Dughlat amirs of the Chaghatayid period (WFMG juan 118; Brophy 2008a, 81–2).
43 Gada-yi Muḥammad (d. 1775) had been ḥākim of Bay before the conquest, and after it served as ḥākim beg of Kashgar for twelve years (WFMG juan 120).
locals. Councilor Šuhede found that their case was based on slander, and reprimanded them. Following this, Hadi and the others acknowledged their guilt. When this was reported the emperor issued a decree:

*The deportment of the Muslims is extremely poor. They are constantly spreading rumors about each other and going around trying to bring each other down. Our officials are there to treat them fairly and keep them under strict control. Have Šuhede instruct the locals of Yarkand and Kashgar as follows:*

> When the great emperor employs someone he does so in accordance with their bravery and ability, is that not the case? Previously when someone was needed to manage Kashgar, he temporarily employed Musa. Now that the army has been stationed in Ili and crops sown he has been made ḥākim [there]. In no way has he been appointed permanently to Kashgar. Why are you spreading such lies and slander?

> Are the tongchis not all people of Hami and Turfan? If we were to send them all back, it would result in us having no eyes and ears. Besides, this slanderous petition appears to have been written by treacherous miscreants. From now on, if there are cases of the tongchis overstepping the bounds and taking anything as a bribe from the locals, treat it seriously and show that you are vigilant!

In winter of the twenty-sixth year (1761), [the emperor] said in a decree that Emin Khoja should return to Turfan and rest for a while, and that during the yearly rotation when the begs come to present themselves at court, he should come with them.

In the twenty-seventh year (1762), Lieutenant-General Sinju, who was temporarily administering Yarkand, reported jointly with Emin Khoja:

> In Yarkand and Khotan there is a surplus of food. May we take two parts and convert it into coin and purchase beasts of burden, and convert

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44 Šuhede 舒赫德 (1710–77), a Manchu of the plain white banner, was councillor in Kashgar (QSG juan 313)

45 Sinju 新柱 (d. 1768), a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner, served in Yarkand 1760–63.
eight parts of it into silk gauze which we can transport to Ili and exchange for Kazakh horses?

On this matter the emperor issued a decree:

Whoever is entrusted to deal with the exchange of money and cloth should be extremely diligent in carrying this out, then all will be well. For now, between Ḥadi and Ish Muḥammad, Ḥadi is the better of the two. He doesn’t display any kind of craftiness. With Emin Khoja present he would certainly be scrupulous. Now Yusuf has been sent to replace Emin Khoja. As much as Yusuf is an old servant, his reputation is slightly weaker. It is terrible to imagine that Ḥadi might treat him dismissively. Emin Khoja should make sure to tell Ḥadi: “do not change your previous attitude. I will return in a while. I will be back on rotation within a couple of years, we will find each other and meet again.” If he explains this in a calm manner, it will work. In this way, Ḥadi will be anxious and know to be diligent. Later when this task is entrusted to Yusuf in turn, he should speak in this same way to Yusuf, so that he attends to matters conscientiously. He should carefully instruct all the various begs of the Muslim region to keep themselves upright and guide the subject people and correct their wayward deportment.

Later when it was memorialized requesting to send an emissary to Badakhshan, the emperor decreed that Emin Khoja should be retained in Yarkand for a period.

Earlier, when the beg of Badakhshan, Sulṭan Shah, killed Burhan al-Din, he did not keep control of his body, and the rebel’s accomplices stole it and went and buried it. When we ordered our emissary to bring it back he could not find it. Apparently they took Burhan al-Din’s remains and buried them in Fayzabad.46 Emin Khoja learnt that the traitor’s sons, Khoja [Qasim], ʿAbd [al-]Khaliq, and Khoja Baha al-Din were being held in Badakhshan, and requested to send someone to retrieve them. In those days Sulṭan Shah had led his army to attack Bolor47 and raid Chitral, and had installed his younger brother Shah ʿAbd al-Qadir48 in power. When the chief of Bolor, Shah Khoshamad,49 reported this,
Emin Khoja wrote a letter expounding the principles of rebellion and loyalty. He entrusted it to the Yarkand treasurer Śaliḥ, and sent him to Badakhshan, to seek redress for the crime of attacking Yarkand’s neighboring regions. He [also] said that [Sulṭan Shah] should deliver up Burhan al-Din’s remains, along with his sons.

Sinju memorialized as to whether or not, should Badakhshan continue to disobey, he should lead the army and attack, and entrust [local] affairs to Emin Khoja. The emperor issued a decree:

*Of course, if after reprimanding Badakhshan they still do not obey, it would be fitting to send troops and invade. However, Sinju has no experience on the battlefield. Emin Khoja knows the customs of the Muslims well. It would definitely be better for him to accompany them.*

At that time, Board President Yunggui, who was in charge of administering Kashgar, memorialized requesting to exempt the locals from taxes and impositions. Because he did not list Emin Khoja’s or Yusuf’s name in his letter, the emperor found fault with him and reprimanded him.

In spring of the twenty-eighth year (1763), Yunggui and Sinju requested to rotate the begs in each city. In their letter they again failed to list Emin Khoja’s or anyone else’s name. Regarding this, the emperor decreed:

*Formerly, when showing grace and pacifying the Muslims, it was inappropriate to handle affairs in collaboration with them. It was even acceptable to avoid writing their names. Yet when it comes to appointing and stationing begs, it will only work if they carry this out by consulting with them. Given this, what reason could there be to not write their names? Emin Khoja and Yusuf are both my old servants, and have been promoted by decree to the position of councilor. If you say that you want

“uncle,” and that ʿAbd al-Qadir “was like a cousin to me” (ču pisar-i tağā-yi mā mēsavad), but there was no blood relationship (MWLF 66-2785).

49 Shah Khoshamad of Bolor belonged to the Khoshwaqt dynasty, cousins and rivals of the Katuri dynasty of Chitral. Qing reports identify Shah Khoshamad’s seat as the fort of Mastuj on the Yarkhun River.

50 Śaliḥ (d. 1775) originally served Khojasi in Uch, and was involved in capturing Dawachi. After his mission to Badakhshan he became ishikagha of Aqsu (WFMG juan 120).

51 Yunggui 永貴 (d. 1783) was a Manchu of the plain white banner. In 1761 he was appointed a president of the Board Rites and sent to Kashgar where he served until 1763. He later held other positions in the Tarim Basin (QSG juan 320). Yunggui was the author of an early gazetteer of Xinjiang, known by various titles including Xiyu zhi, Huijiang zhi, and Xinjiang Huibu zhi.
to leave out [their names] on this occasion, then perhaps it would be better not to identify each other at all. Is that not so?

Following this, Sultan Shah retrieved the remains of Burhan al-Din and sent them along with his three sons. In his letter replying to Emin Khoja he praised him, calling him “my father,” and lied, saying that Chitral was his ancestral land, and that he should not give it back to Bolor. At this, Emin Khoja dispatched Salih to rebuke him again for his wrongdoing. When this was reported, the emperor noted that it accorded with principle and commended him. He rewarded him with an imperial issue belt pouch, and issued a decree that he should be kept on in Yarkand, and that he could return [to Turfan] when this issue was resolved. After Salih reached Badakhshan, Sultan Shah repented his sins, returned what he had plundered, and withdrew his younger brother from Chitral. For this, the emperor praised Emin Khoja. At this time, when Deputy Lieutenant-General Elgingge went to Yarkand to replace Sinju, the emperor considered that he was inexperienced, and decreed that Emin Khoja should stay there for a further three months.

In the twenty-ninth year (1764) Sultan Shah heard that Emin Khoja had gone back [to Turfan], and dispatched Khoja Kalan. In his letter of greetings he complained that the officials of Yarkand had previously been deceived by Shah Khoshamad’s lies, and requested that they look into this and return Chitral to him. When Elgingge reported this, the emperor issued a decree upbraiding Sultan Shah:

Do you think that just because the officials in Yarkand have been replaced you can fool them by lying in your letter? The official who was previously there, the Turfan junwang Emin Khoja, will be back soon on rotation. When that time comes, I wonder what you will say? Previously you referred to Emin Khoja as “my father,” did you not? The moment he returns home you accuse him of being deceived by someone else’s lies—is this not extreme perversity on your part? Follow the custom and keep to your borders, and be sure not to scheme in seek of distasteful gain! In that way, you will always be able to enjoy my grace, is that not so?

By decree he also had them copy out Elgingge’s memorial and the letter

52 Elgingge 餘爾景額, was imperial agent in Yarkand 1763–65, Kashgar 1765–66 (GZSL).
of greetings from Sulṭan Shah, and send them to show Emin Khoja, so that he compose a response as he sees fit. Subsequently Sulṭan Shah dispatched ʿUsman Beg and reported: “After this I will control my people and guide them. I do not have the slightest intention other than this.” However, in his reply to Emin Khoja he attributed his wrongdoing to Khoja Kalan, and said that he had promptly punished him for his fabrications. [The emperor] had this copied again by decree and shown to Emin Khoja. Following this, when Emin Khoja came to present himself at court, he was admitted by decree to the Gate of Heavenly Purity. Every time they have met since then, [the emperor] has asked him about the disposition and customs of the various Muslim peoples.

In spring of the thirtieth year (1765) [Emin Khoja] was given leave to return. Just after Emin Khoja set out, he heard that the locals in Uch had rebelled and killed Deputy Lieutenant-General Suceng. He requested to proceed with haste and repel them. At that time Ili Military Governor Mingšui led his troops and advanced, and reported hearing that the Uch rebels had requested reinforcements from Kokand. The emperor issued a decree:

If Mingšui’s forces require further reinforcement, then Emin Khoja should remain for a time in the field at Uch. Kashgar is close to the territory of Irdana of Kokand, and the communications here are very sensitive. When the Uch incident is over, Emin Khoja should remain in Kashgar and oversee the reconstruction as a councilor.

Furthermore, since the reason for the Uch rebellion was the beg ʿAbdullah’s mistreatment of the people and bribe-taking, [the emperor] decreed:

Suceng never dealt with the problem of ʿAbdullah setting his underlings loose on the locals. Emin Khoja and Yusuf are my servants, this is not a case of them allowing their subordinates free reign to molest the locals. However, it will not do to have their stupid deputies, without knowing the seriousness of matters, seek some small advantage by relying on

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53 The Gate of Heavenly Purity was the entrance to the Inner Court of the Forbidden City. To be admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity meant being enrolled in the imperial bodyguard (BH #873a).
54 Suceng 素誠 (d. 1764) was appointed imperial agent in Uch in 1761. On the Uch (Turfan) rebellion, see Kuznetsov 1974 and Zhao 2001.
55 Mingšui 明瑞 (d. 1768), a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner, was appointed as the first military governor of Ili in 1762 (Hummel 1943, 578).
56 Irdana Bi, khan of Kokand 1753–1769.
threats and spreading rumors. Explain this to the officials who are stationed there. Now that there has been an incident of this kind in Uch, it is best to be on guard against it. Following this, they should be sure to pay attention and control their subordinates. Whatever happens they should not stray into misbehavior.

At that time the qažī beg of Korla [was] a man named Aman. When the hākim beg Şiddiq accused him of disobedience and rebuked him, [Aman] became angry. While he was sitting drinking with his elder brother, the treasurer ‘Ushur, with his family and the children of his younger brothers, he said: “I will kill the hākim beg and go and capture Uch.” At this, ‘Ushur said angrily: “That will not do.” He took his three sons, got up and left. Some people told Şiddiq that ‘Ushur and Aman were opposed to him.

When Deputy Lieutenant-General Mingpu,\(^57\) who was in charge of affairs in Qarashahr, went to Uch, Şiddiq came leading his troops, and told him that a rebellion in Korla was imminent. On this matter [the emperor] decreed that while Emin Khoja was passing along that road he should check whether affairs are in order or have gone awry. He also issued a decree to Mingpu that he must listen to the advice of Emin Khoja; that he was not to contradict him with his own views. Emin Khoja arrived in Korla and enquired into the affair of Aman, and found that ‘Ushur had not gone to join with the rebels, and suggested memorializing to request that his life be spared. Mingpu ignored him and did not allow it. Later, [Mingpu] memorialized asking to execute Aman and his entire family, [but] the decree stipulated that ‘Ushur be cleared of wrongdoing and released. Subsequently [the emperor] heard that Mingpu had suppressed what Emin Khoja had said, and decreed that he was guilty of corruption.

Emin Khoja came to Uch and had his second son Sulayman join him there. His third son also followed Mingšui and reached Uch. When it was reported that on several occasions they had exerted themselves in battle against the rebels alongside Emin Khoja’s forces, the emperor said that Sulayman and Musa were adhering to their father’s instructions, and rewarded them with cash. He also praised Emin Khoja and rewarded him with a belt pouch. Subsequently, after capturing the city of Uch, Emin Khoja went to Kashgar.

In the thirty-second year, (1767) after returning to Kashgar, he came to present himself to court, and was admitted by decree to the emperor’s suite.\(^58\)

\(^57\) Mingpu 明普 was appointed imperial agent in Qarashahr in 1764.

\(^58\) On this award, see BH #101a.
In the forty-second year (1777) he died.

The Sons of Emin Khoja

[Emin Khoja] had eight sons.
His eldest son Nur Muḥammad died without employment.
His second son Sulayman inherited the title of junwang, but was removed from office after he was convicted of a crime.
His third son Musa was made Prince of the Sixth Degree. Since he had no diploma that was transmitted, his biography has not been written.
His fourth son Aurangzib was enfeoffed as a first-grade taiji with the rank of gong. He has his own biography.
His fifth son Ṣayfullah was made second-grade assistant taiji.
His sixth son Iskandar inherited the title of junwang.
His seventh son Faridun was made second-grade taiji.
His eighth son Bahram was appointed second-grade taiji.

On the sixth day of the tenth month, the emperor decreed:

Bejung has reported that the Muslim junwang Emin Khoja died of illness on the seventeenth of the ninth month (October 17, 1777). Emin Khoja was my old Muslim servant. He exerted himself energetically for many years. Now that I hear he has died of illness, I am filled with grief. Bestow my grace and award five hundred silver taels of silver for the funeral expenses. Send Bejung out to distribute tea and arajan [milk brandy]. They should distribute the grant of silver from the silver stored in the treasury there, and have Bejung transmit the decree I have issued bestowing my grace and rewards.

This year, when the Court of Colonial Affairs memorialized on the question of Emin Khoja’s diploma of junwang, i.e. whether or not to allow his nominated son Sulayman to inherit at the original rank, or to transmit it at a decreased degree, [the emperor] decreed:

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59 Bejung 伯忠 was demoted from his position of deputy lieutenant-general of Fujian in 1773 for allowing a group of Russian prisoners to escape custody, and served as imperial agent in Pichan until 1779 (GZSL).
60 A memorial from Bejung is not mentioned in any other texts of the biography. The first notice of Emin Khoja’s death in the published Manchu archive comes from Ili Military Governor Iletu, rescripted on QL42/10/10 (November 9, 1777). XMD, 133:192–3.
It is indeed fitting to hand down Emin Khoja’s title of junwang and continue it. Emin Khoja is someone who once exerted himself in military affairs. Bestow my grace and transfer this title of junwang to his son Sulayman.

Nur Muḥammad

28a His eldest son Nur Muḥammad died of illness without official position.

Sulayman

29a His second son Sulayman was promoted from unemployment to second-grade taiji in the seventeenth year of Qianlong (1752).

In the nineteenth year (1754), when banners and companies were formed, he was made an assistant in banner affairs.

In the twentieth year (1755), on the basis that he had fought with the Ölöd and the rebel Bayar at Pichan, Lükchün, and other places, and managed the situation, the emperor bestowed his munificence and rewarded him with the rank of gong.

In the summer of the twenty-third year (1758), when the Imperial Army besieged Kucha, the bandits plundered the guns and ammunition that were being transported to the army camp along the Kucha road. Since Korla was close to Turfan, the emperor decreed that Sulayman should take troops and patrol the guard-post road.

In the winter [the emperor] sent him to replace the Chahar commandant Minjur. By decree he had Sulayman return. Again, [the emperor] issued a decree that he should his subjects be given horses and beasts of burden, and work on growing grain for Board President Yunggui, who was responsible for producing supplies.

In spring of the twenty-fourth year (1759), together with his younger brother, the assistant beg Musa, he provided the army with a hundred horses. On this matter the emperor considered that [Sulayman] had just moved his subjects, and that their horses and beasts of burden might not suffice, so he decreed that they be returned to him, and issued a decree applauding him for his efforts in the subjects’ affairs.

In the twenty-fourth year (1759) after making plans and transferring the
Dolan locals to Qarashahr, Sulayman went to Bügür and Korla. He dug canals and had them grow crops, and dealt with every matter involved with pacifying the region. The emperor commended him and rewarded him with silver and silks.

In the twenty-fifth year (1760), when he came to present himself at court, he was admitted by decree to the Gate of Heavenly Purity.

In the twenty-seventh year (1762) he was made a first-grade taiji.

In the twenty-ninth year (1764) he took his son Manuchihr and took care of the local peasants growing crops in Ili. When he returned, on the journey back Manuchihr became sick and died. For this reason, the emperor decreed:

*There is a report from Umitai⁶¹ that Manuchihr, the son of the gong-ranked Sulayman, has died of illness on the road while returning from looking after the Muslims who were moving to Ili. He has transported Manuchihr’s remains to his ancestral home. Last year, Sulayman went to move the Muslims to Ili. This time he again petitioned and went to Ili to take care of the Muslims who were moving. The fact that his son Manuchihr had died of illness on the road is most upsetting. Let them bestow grace on him and award him a hundred silver taels, and put it to good use. They should entrust this to the Pichan officials, and take a hundred silver taels from the silver there and award it to his family.*

In the thirtieth year (1765) he accompanied the Imperial Army and went to attack the Uch rebels. The emperor issued a decree praising him.

On the third day of the twelfth month of the forty-second year (January 1, 1778) a letter came from the Court, and the emperor bestowed his grace and allowed him to inherit the title of jasagh prince of the second degree.

In the forty-fourth year (1779) he was found guilty in a case of mistreating the people of the region, and purposefully castrating his subjects. It was decreed:

*Certainly it would be appropriate to tear up his junwang diploma entirely. However, his father Emin Khoja previously showed limitless dedication. Have them transfer Sulayman to Beijing without official

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⁶¹ Umitai 伍彌泰 (d. 1786) was a Mongol of the plain yellow banner. In 1764–66 he served as imperial agent in Ürümchi, during which time he constructed the Qing fort at Manas (QSG juan 323).
employment. They should transmit Emin Khoja’s junwang diploma to Iskandar and make him the jasagh. He should unite and lead his Muslim subjects well.

32a In the fifth month of this year (June-July 1779) a letter from the Court came, and Sulayman was appointed a first-grade senior bodyguard.

In the forty-fifth year (1780), Sulayman died of illness. By decree his remains were returned to Turfan.

Musa

33a His third son, the gong Musa, in the eighteenth year of Qianlong (1753) followed Emin Khoja and came to Beijing to present himself to His Highness. By imperial decree he was promoted from unemployment to third-grade taiji.

In the nineteenth year (1754) when banners and companies were formed, he was made an assistant in banner affairs.

In the twenty-fourth year (1759) General Jaohüi reported:

While bringing the locals of Kashgar to submission, I had dispatched the former ĥākim beg of Kashgar, Khosh Kipäk 62 to survey the grain belonging to the rebel Big Khoja (Burhan al-Din) himself, and the grain planted by the Ushshaq, Taranchis, Bazargan, 63 and Ölod who had followed him, [to find out] how much grain they could contribute as tax, and the levies to be collected. As much as he devoted himself to the task, since it was not fitting to appoint him to a position of authority, I dispatched the second-grade senior bodyguard Cengguwe, the junior bodyguard Foboo, and Emin Khoja’s son, the second-grade assistant taiji Musa, to handle it jointly. Since everything that they did was in order and appropriate, it seemed fitting to assign Musa to other small towns and places like Yarkand. Because the begs who have come to join

62 Khosh Kipäk Beg (d. 1781) had been ĥākim of Kashgar during the Junghar period. In 1760 he travelled to Beijing for an audience and was instructed to remain in the capital (WFMG juan 117; Fletcher 1982).

63 These were groups of Muslims organized into estate-like categories within the Junghar social system. The Taranchis were peasants, most of whom were settled in the Ili Valley to support the Junghar military. The Bazargan were traders employed by Junghar aristocrats, who often doubled as diplomatic envoys. As for the Ushshaq, a passage in the Athar al-Futuh refers to Khoja Burhan al-Din’s bodyguard as the “Altun Ushshaq.” This may be the same group indicated here (Kashghari ca. 1800, fol. 134a).
the campaign, and the people promoted to ranks such as commandant, all have peacock feathers, it looks very impressive. The Muslims respect and honor the peacock feather. Musa is someone who has constantly received the holy emperor’s grace. Now he is accompanying his father and carrying out any task that he is entrusted with. Since he would have even more authority if we award him a peacock feather before sending him to Yarkand or other small towns, I have allocated Musa an eyed peacock feather from among the peacock feathers that the emperor sent.

When this was reported, in the decree [the emperor] said: “Excellent, I bestowed my grace on him last year.”

In a decree that was promulgated this year [the emperor] said:

Jaohūi has reported that Emin Khoja’s son, Assistant Taiji Musa was ordered to Kashgar, to pacify the people of Kashgar, procure supplies from the locals and the Ölöd, and make preparations. In proceeding to pacify the people of Kashgar and obtain these provisions Musa has performed a boundless service. Bestow my grace and reward him with the rank of gong!

In the decree which was issued in the twenty-fifth year (1760) he said:

Musa is Emin Khoja’s son, and is performing distinguished service. Just now Yusuf’s younger brother ʿAbdullah was appointed ḥākim beg to the city of Uch, is that not so? It would be appropriate indeed to also show my grace by appointing Musa as ḥākim beg. However, since there are currently no vacancies at all, entrust this to Šuhede. After he has been made aware of this, if the position of ḥākim beg becomes available in any city, he should nominate Musa and appoint him there.

In another decree issued this year he said:

Appoint Emin Khoja’s son Musa to the position of third-grade ḥākim beg in Ili. Also, add the rank of gong as he manages the duties of ḥākim beg.

In this year, the treacherous Kashgar rebels Mirim and Niyaz concocted
false rumors and mobilized the masses to rebel, destroying the relay system. Regarding this, because Emin Khoja [and Musa], father and son, had contributed slightly, [the emperor said] in his decree:

**Considering Arigūn’s report, it is excellent that on this occasion he returned to Kashgar just in time and killed the rebels. Arigūn should be mentioned to the Board for distinction. Also, show grace to his sons Baitang and Fengšengge and give them black peacock feathers. Since Musa also contributed, he should also be recommended to the Court.**

In another decree issued this year he said:

**The gong-ranked Musa and Commandant Bayar took troops as required and confronted the rebels Mirim and Niyaz. They captured them without allowing anyone to get away. They have performed an invaluable service. Bestow my grace and enfeoff Musa as gong. Make Bayar a deputy adjutant.**

In the thirty-first year (1766) Musa became ill and died. Since he had no offspring, and there was no one to inherit from him, the emperor issued a decree:

**Mingšui has reported that the ḥākim beg and gong Musa has died of illness, and requests to appoint in his place Emin Khoja’s third son, assistant taiji Aurangzib as ḥākim of Ili. Musa has performed boundless service for so many years. The fact that he has become sick and died now is most tragic. May they show grace and award two hundred silver taels for the funeral expenses. Since he has no children, there is no one to inherit from him. Show grace and make his younger brother Aurangzib first-grade taiji and appoint him in Musa’s place as ḥākim beg of Ili. When Emin Khoja hears that his son has died he will certainly be heart-broken. Nonetheless, he is an elderly man, and he must not allow this to weigh too heavily on him. He should be mindful of my grace at all times and take good care of his health. Explain to Emin Khoja that I have bestowed my grace and made his third son Aurangzib**

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64 The rebellion was in part fuelled by rumours that the Khoid khan Amursana was still alive, and was advancing on Xinjiang with his army. The Qing policy of removing prominent local aristocrats to the capital had also unsettled Muslims.
37a His fourth son [was] the third-grade ḥākim beg and first-grade taiji with the rank of gong, Aurangzib. In the twenty-sixth year of the Qianlong reign (1761) the Kashgar Councilor Yunggui reported that Aurangzib had performed well in uniting the people below him. It was decreed:

Emin Khoja has been working on military matters for all these years. His eldest son Sulayman, and his second son Musa, each have official duties. In administering their native territory, his third son Aurangzib has handled all matters well by uniting and leading the people below him. Bestow my grace and reward him with a second-grade button of rank and a peacock feather.

In the thirty-first year (1766), he was made a first-grade taiji by decree and appointed third-grade ḥākim of Ili.

In the forty-eighth year (1783), by decree:

With his father Emin Khoja in mind, I awarded Aurangzib the rank of first-grade taiji. Now the Court has recommended that since he has not performed any military service, after he has vacated his position it should not be passed down any further. Have the Court of Colonial Affairs take note of this, and if he has performed some service, allow his son to succeed him as first-grade taiji when he vacates his position. If there has been no service, allow his son to succeed as second-grade taiji, and pass it on as their legacy to the next generation, lowering it to third-grade taiji.

On the sixth day of the first month of the fifty-third year (October 12, 1788), the emperor issued a decree:

[The Muslims of] both Hami and Turfan are longstanding subjects of our dynasty. As for the Muslims of the other cities, although they all submitted when I personally subdued the New Frontier, they have now...
been exerting themselves for close to thirty years. For endeavors in official duties, I have bestowed my grace and granted the titles of wang, beile, beise, gong and taiji, and issued various diplomas and ranks as rewards. In the forty-eighth year of the Qianlong reign (1783), according to the precepts of the Court of Colonial Affairs, these diplomas of office were investigated, and some were made hereditary, and some were designated to be transmitted at a reduced grade after they had left office. Although this was done according to the established procedure, it has been a long time since they submitted, and they have all become my old albatu. They have all borne my grace and performed the various duties they have been entrusted with. The Hami beile with the rank of junwang Ardashir has been following in the footsteps of his grandfather ʿUbaydullah. It has already been several generations. Ardashir’s father Yusuf also carried out boundless service on campaign. Since previously his father Hadi had devoted themselves on campaign, the beise ʿUṣman was immediately promoted to the rank of beile. After he was dismissed from office because of his crime, ʿUṣman continued to act faithfully in every kind of matter, and was restored to his rank of beise. As for Ṣatipaldi, previously he too performed service to the utmost of his ability. The gong Ibrahim, who expended his energy for several years in the office of ḥākim beg; the first-grade taiji Aurangzib; the second-grade taijis Baba, ʿAbla, and Faridun; the third-grade taijis ʿAbd Nazar and Parsa—these diplomas of office were awarded either because they had performed service in battle, or in light of their father’s service. If, according to the regulations instituted by the Court, their office is passed on at a lower rank after they have left their position, gradually everyone’s rank will diminish. This does not accord with my fervent and limitless desire to caress my many Muslim servants from afar. Now, regarding those who have been deemed to inherit their title at a lower level—the ten men Ardashir, Ṣatipaldi, ʿUṣman, Ibrahim, Aurangzib, Baba, ʿAbla, Faridun, ʿAbd Nazar, Parsa, and the certificates of office of wang, beile, beise, gong, taiji which they have inherited—after they have vacated their positions, it is not necessary to

65 Hami jasagh prince 1780–1813
66 Hami jasagh prince 1697–1709 (WFMG juan 109).
67 WFMG juan 119.
68 Of these aristocrats, Baba and Parsa (d. 1790) were Makhdumzada khojas descended from a brother of Afaq Khoja. They took up residence in the Muslim camp in Beijing (WFMG juan 117).
transmit their title at a lower grade. They should all be allowed to pass them on as their hereditary legacy, to show my boundless love for my Muslim servants. Apart from explaining this to everyone in Beijing, my decree should be submitted to the Court of Colonial Affairs and conveyed to the ambans of every city and announced to all the Muslims, so that they rejoice.

In the decree issued on the ninth day of the seventh month of the fifty-fifth year (August 18, 1790):

The ḥākim beg of Ili, first-grade taiji Aurangzib is the son of Emin Khoja and the elder brother of Iskandar. Formerly Emin Khoja performed service for several years. Now Iskandar is serving with distinction. Bestow my grace and show Aurangzib my beneficence by making him a first-grade taiji with the rank of gong.

He is now residing in Ili.

Şayfullah

His fifth son was the assistant in banner affairs, Şayfullah. According to the Court’s established precedent he was appointed from unemployment to the position of assistant in banner affairs vacated by Musa, who died in the thirty-seventh year of the Qianlong reign.

In the forty-fourth year, he came to Beijing to present himself to His Majesty, and on the tenth of the twelfth month (January 16, 1780) he was admitted by decree to the Gate of Heavenly Purity.

In the forty-eighth year, he came to Beijing to present himself to His Holiness, and on the twenty-first of the twelfth month (January 13, 1784) [the emperor] decreed awarding a peacock feather to Şayfullah, the Turfan assistant beg admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity.

In the fifty-sixth year (1791) Şayfullah became ill and died.

Iskandar

This was] the second succession: The junwang and ḥākim beg Iskandar, Emin Khoja’s sixth son, in the thirty-first year of Qianlong (1766) accompanied his
elder brother Aurangzib and went to Ili to assist in supervising the production of supplies.

In the thirty-eighth year (1773), Ili Military Governor Šuhede reported on the matter of Iskandar’s more than ten years of service in Ili. By imperial decree he was rewarded with a fifth-grade button of rank and a peacock feather.

In the forty-first year (1776) he came to present himself at court.

In the forty-second year (1777) he was admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity by decree.

In the forty-third year (1778), on the Court’s recommendation according to existing precedent, he was appointed to the vacated position of assistant in banner affairs, succeeding Sulayman.

In the forty-eighth year (1783) it was decreed:

> Iskandar’s father Emin Khoja performed limitless service on campaign until he died. Because of this, I bestowed my grace and promoted him from gong to junwang. Now the Court has investigated and determined that since he has military merits we should transmit his junwang as a hereditary title. Show him my grace and make [the title of junwang] hereditary!

In the first month of the fifty-third year (February 1788), the emperor issued a decree:

> Previously, when the Turfan junwang Iskandar came to court, it seemed to me that he had certain qualities that needed to be straightened out. Now Assistant Chamberlain ‘Uşman has become ill and died. Appoint Iskandar to the position of third-grade ḥākim beg which he has left vacant. He should go to Kashgar and carry out affairs as instructed by Mingliyang⁶⁹ and Behing⁷⁰. Since Iskandar’s elder brother Şayfullah and his younger brother Faridun are both in Turfan, let Şayfullah take care of matters at home. The officials in Turfan should pay even closer attention in handling affairs. They should award Iskandar a hundred silver taels for him to use in relocating his household. This award of

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⁶⁹ Mingliyang 明亮 (1735–1822), a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner, was councillor in Kashgar 1788-92. He later served as Ili Military Governor (QSG juan 330).

⁷⁰ Behing 博興 (d. 1818) spent most of his career as an employee of the Court of Colonial Affairs. He was assistant agent in Kashgar 1787-90.
silver should be given from the tax revenue in Turfan. As for Iskandar, he is a junwang, and someone who has been admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity. Now upon going to Kashgar and performing the duties of ḥākim beg, Mingliyang and Behing should make sure to instruct him in every kind of matter, and he should handle affairs well, just as 'Usman did.

In the twelfth month of this year (January 1789) the emperor decreed:

We have been informed by Taki71 that the Yarkand ḥākim beg with the rank of beise, Şatipaldi, has died of illness. Şatipaldi served loyally, and in the matter of the alban bore my grace and strived hard for several years. Only recently, when it was reported by Taki that he had taken ill, I sent medicine to cure his illness. Just as I was hoping that his illness would improve, all of a sudden I hear that he has sickened and died. My heart is burning with grief. They should award five hundred silver taels for the funeral expenses. This award of silver should be taken from the treasury there and entrusted to his son. Transmit to his eldest son Muḥammad 'Abdulla the diploma of gong with the rank of beise that Şatipaldi had. The position of ḥākim beg in Yarkand is important. Transfer Iskandar to Yarkand and make him ḥākim beg. Transfer Aq Beg72 to Kashgar as ḥākim beg. Appoint Muḥammad 'Abdullah to the position of ḥākim beg of Aqsu vacated by Aq Beg. Currently Iskandar is dealing with the problem of Samsaq.73 He should not be removed from Kashgar. Aq Beg should first go to Yarkand and temporarily perform the duties of ḥākim beg. After Muḥammad 'Abdullah has taken care of his father’s funeral, then he should go to Aqsu. When Iskandar has resolved the problem of Samsaq, and the time comes for him to go to Yarkand, the councilors should request another decree and transfer these two to their respective offices.74

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71 Taki 塔琦 (d. 1798), a Manchu plain red bannerman, was assistant agent in Yarkand 1785, later appointed to Hami and Turfan.
72 Aq Beg was Şatipaldi’s brother.
73 Samsaq, or Sarimsaq, was Khoja Burhan al-Din’s surviving son. He remained in contact with begs in Kashgar, and was the focus of intense Qing diplomacy with the Kirghiz and Kokand (see Newby 2005).
74 Iskandar served as ḥākim beg of Yarkand until 1790, when he returned to Kashgar, where he held the post of ḥākim beg until his death in 1811.
In the second month of the fifty-eighth year (March 1793), the emperor issued a decree:

Minghing reports that the army stationed in Kashgar will be completely withdrawn this year, and if they are urgently required then they will be called back. This is good. Kashgar is not that far from Ili. If there is a sudden need, then they will make it in time when they are summoned. In this case let it be as Minghing proposes. However, when the Xinjiang ambans received the decree instructing them not to harass the Muslims, in the memorial that the submitted they completely left out Iskandar’s name. Iskandar is my old Muslim servant, and his performance as junwang has been excellent. Earlier I issued a decree that on every subject concerning the Muslims they should include Iskandar’s name. Looking at these two matters, would you say that they are not issues that involve the Muslims? For what reason did you not write his name? From now on, make Iskandar an assistant agent, and in reporting on any kind of issue they should include his name. Previously Yusuf, a native of Hami, and Emin Khoja, a native of Turfan, would always shield the Hami and Turfan natives they took there, and did not restrain the Muslims at all. Now I have made Iskandar an assistant agent. He has received my weighty grace. Iskandar should make sure to remember my beneficence and firmly control the Turfan natives whom he has taken with him, and handle every matter justly. Whatever the case, it will not do for him to neglect to control the Kashgar Muslims. If Iskandar endeavors with sincerity, matters will progress. All the Muslim commoners will obey faithfully, and he will constantly benefit from my grace, is that not so?

In the tenth month of this year (November 1793) [the emperor] issued a decree:

Yungboo has memorialized requesting to award Iskandar a peacock feather. Iskandar has been admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity

75 Minghing 明興 (d. 1807), a Manchu of the bordered yellow banner, was councilor in Kashgar 1792–93.
76 Yungboo 永保 (d. 1808), a Manchu of the bordered red banner, was councilor in Kashgar 1793–95 (QSG juan 345).
some time now. As a wang and ḥākim beg, I thought that he had a peacock feather. It is regrettable that Mingliyang, Minghing, and Yade have been in office for several years but have not requested to award him a peacock feather. It is good that now Yungboo says that Iskandar is upright, attentive, and exerts himself in every task, and requests to award him a peacock feather. They should bestow my grace and award him a three-eyed peacock feather, to demonstrate to him my deep concern for my servants.

In the fifty-ninth year, he came to Beijing to present himself to His Highness, and on the twenty-first of the twelfth month (January 11, 1795) he was summoned by a special decree and inducted into the imperial guard. On the twenty-second Iskandar was allowed to ride a red-reined horse within the palace grounds. On the twenty-eighth [the emperor] awarded Iskandar a black fox robe.

On the fourth of the first month of the sixtieth year (January 24, 1795) [the emperor] awarded Iskandar a set of yellow bridle reins.

He is currently residing in Kashgar.

Faridun

His seventh son [was] the first-grade taiji Faridun. In the thirty-sixth year of the Qianlong reign (1771), when he followed Emin Khoja and came to Beijing, he was appointed second-grade taiji by imperial decree. He was awarded a peacock feather, and was admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity. It was decreed:

As he is Emin Khoja’s son I have bestowed my grace on Faridun and awarded him the rank of second-grade taiji. Now the Court has memorialized that upon investigation, if he has no military service at all, then we should not make his office hereditary once he has vacated it. Make a note of this to the Court of Colonial Affairs, and in case Faridun performs some service, after he has left office transmit it to his son again as second-grade taiji. If he has no service, lower it by one grade and make it his legacy as fourth-grade taiji.

In the first month of the fifty-third year [the emperor] issued a decree:

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Yade 雅德 (d. 1801), a Manchu of the plain red banner, served earlier in Yarkand, and was imperial agent in Kashgar 1792–3.
[The Muslims of] both Hami and Turfan are longstanding subjects of our dynasty. As for the Muslims of the other cities, although they all submitted when I personally subdued the New Frontier, they have now been exerting themselves for close to thirty years. For endeavors in official duties, I have bestowed my grace and granted offices of wang, beile, beise, gong and taiji, and issued various diplomas and ranks as rewards. In the forty-eighth year of the Qianlong reign (1783), according to the precepts of the Court of Colonial Affairs, these diplomas of office were investigated, and some were made hereditary, and some were designated to be transmitted at a reduced grade after they had left office. Although this was done according to the established procedure, it has been a long time since they submitted. They have all become my old albatu. They have all borne my grace and performed the various duties they have been entrusted with. The Hami beile with the rank of junwang Ardashir has been following in the footsteps of his grandfather ʿUbaydullah. It has already been several generations. Ardashir’s father Yusuf also carried out boundless service on campaign. Since previously his father Hadi had devoted themselves on campaign, the beise ʿUsman was immediately promoted to the rank of beile. After he was dismissed from office because of his crime, ʿUsman continued to act faithfully in every kind of matter, and was restored to his rank of beise. As for Šatipaldi, previously he too performed service to the utmost of his ability. The gong Ibrahim, who expended his energy for several years in the office of ḥākim beg; the first-grade taiji Aurangzib; the second-grade taijis Baba, ʿAbla, and Faridun; the third-grade taijis ʿAbd Nāzar and Parsa—these diplomas of office were awarded either because they had performed service in battle, or in light of their father’s service. If, according to the regulations instituted by the Court, their office is passed on at a lower rank after they have left their position, gradually everyone’s rank will decrease. This does not accord with my fervent and limitless desire to caress my many Muslim servants from afar. Now, regarding those who have been deemed to inherit their title at a lower level—the ten men Ardashir, Šatipaldi, ʿUsman, Ibrahim, Aurangzib, Baba, ʿAbla, Faridun, ʿAbd Nāzar, Parsa, and the certificates of office of wang, beile, beise, gong, taiji which they have inherited—after they have vacated their positions, it is not necessary to
transmit their title at a lower degree. They should all be allowed to pass them on as their hereditary legacy, to show my boundless love for my Muslim servants. Apart from explaining this to everyone in Beijing, my decree should be submitted to the Court of Colonial Affairs and conveyed to the amans of every city and announced to all the Muslims, so that they rejoice.

50b In the decree issued in the seventh month of the fifty-fifth year it said:

_Emin Khoja’s son, the second-grade taiji Faridun of Turfan, has served with distinction for all these years. Have them bestow my grace and make Faridun a first-grade taiji, and show my fervent concern for my old Muslims servants who have exerted themselves!_

In the fifty-sixth year (1791) the Court memorialized and according to the old precedent he was appointed to the position of assistant in banner affairs, which had been left vacant by Ŝayfullah who had died of illness.

Currently he is temporarily carrying out the duties of the _jasagh_ in charge of the Turfan Muslims. He is residing in Turfan.

**Bahram**

52a His eighth son [was] the assistant in banner affairs, Bahram. In the forty-fourth year of Qianlong (1779), when Iskandar inherited the office of _junwang_ and left vacant the position of assistant in banner affairs, the Court memorialized and according to the old precedent appointed him from unemployment to assistant in banner affairs.

In the fifty-seventh year (1792) when he came to Beijing to present himself to court, Bahram was admitted by decree to the Gate of Heavenly Purity.

He is currently residing in Turfan.

**Maḥmud**

53a In the fifty-eighth year of the Qianlong reign (1793), the Court of Colonial Affairs investigated and memorialized that Maḥmud, the eldest son of the late Nur Muḥammad, had been appointed to _jasagh junwang_ Iskandar’s banner as deputy adjutant in the forty-fourth year of the Qianlong reign. In the fifty-fourth
year (1789), in the matter of the Kirghiz merchant commandeering and stealing horses and beasts of burden from the Andijanis and the locals, he sent Maḥmud who caught Jan Pulaṭ and the other thieves and brought them in. At this, the emperor bestowed his grace and rewarded him with a second-grade button of rank.

In the fifty-eighth year (1793) [the emperor] issued a decree:

_Yungboo has memorialized that they will appoint Deputy Adjutant Maḥmud, who has been sent a second-grade button of rank, to the position vacated by the fifth-grade beg Muẓaffār of Kashgar. As Yungboo has memorialized, appoint Maḥmud as fifth-grade qaẓī beg of Kashgar._

In the sixtieth year (1795) [the emperor] issued a decree:

_Yungboo has memorialized on the matter of appointing someone to manage the five hundred Muslim troops of Kashgar, requesting to appoint the fifth-grade qaẓī beg Muẓaffār. As Yungboo has memorialized, appoint the fifth-grade qaẓī beg._

In the twelfth month of this year, when he arrived in Beijing to present himself at court, [the emperor] bestowed his grace and decreed him admitted to the Gate of Heavenly Purity.

In the intercalary sixth month of the second year of Jiaqing (July-August 1797), [the emperor] issued a decree:

_Canglin has memorialized requesting to appoint fifth-grade qaẓī beg and vice supervisor-in-chief of Muslim soldiery Maḥmud to the position in Kashgar left vacant by the fourth-grade ishikagha beg Qutluğ Dost. As Canglin has memorialized, appoint him fourth-grade ishikagha beg._

In the ninth month of this year (October-November 1797), Canglin memorialized requesting to appoint Maḥmud […] to the position of […]

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78 Canglin 長麟 Councillor in Kashgar 1796–99 (QSG juan 343).
Yunus

55a] Yunus, eldest son of the assistant amban, ḥākim beg and Prince of the Second Degree Iskandar, from unemployment in the forty-sixth year of Qianlong, on the first day of the eleventh month (December 15, 1781), in order to transmit his father’s office, from the Court according to the old statute […]

55b] There is a memorial from [Fugiyūn]\(^{79}\) requesting to appoint the first-grade taiji and fourth-grade collector of revenues Yunus to the position vacated by Muẓaffar, the fourth-grade treasurer and vice supervisor-in-chief of local soldiery. As Fugiyūn has memorialized, promote Yunus to fourth-grade treasurer and make him the vice supervisor-in-chief of local soldiery […]

Ḥamd Baqi

56a] Sulayman’s second son Ḥamd Baqi, from unemployment in Qianlong fif[...] from the [Ili] General Booning\(^{80}\) [it was memorialized that] over the space of several years, Ḥamd Baqi had taken pains to accompany Aurangzib and carry out duties…

\(^{79}\) Fugiyūn 富俊 (d. 1834), a Mongol of the plain yellow banner was councilor in Kashgar when this memorial was sent (1802) (QSG juan 342).

\(^{80}\) Booning 保寧 (d. 1808), a Mongol of the plain white banner, was military governor of Ili 1787–90 and 1791–1802.
EM13138 is written on thin Chinese paper (22cm by 24cm), bound with a string and reinforced with tape. It is in poor condition and in need of preservation; several folios are missing from the front and back, and the first and last folios transcribed were too damaged to photograph. Visually the text departs from the conventions of the Central Asian manuscript tradition. Lines of text run vertically down the page, so that in order to read it is necessary to turn the book on its side. Following Chinese convention, references to the person and actions of the emperor begin a new line, and are raised (taitou), or in this case “ex-dented”, so as to stand out from the remaining text.

The manuscript is constructed in Chinese style, in which folios were produced by folding a piece of paper double. The paper used was obviously of poor quality, though, and many folios have split. The translators did not add folio numbers to the text, although a second hand has penciled in a few pages numbers in the margins. Since it is difficult to be sure how many folios are missing from the front of the manuscript, I have refoliated the text, beginning with the first legible text as folio 1b. In a few places, the scribe goes from one A-side to the reverse of what would be the B-side of the folio, then either continuing on the B-side (this occurs twice), or skipping a page to the next A-side (this also occurs twice). To avoid awkward designations such as 27a, 27b(verso), 28a, I have chosen to number these successively as 52a, 53a, 54a, etc.
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

Folio 3a

Folio 3b
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

Folio 7a

Folio 7b

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The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

Folio 9a

Folio 9b
The Life of Emin Khoja: Manchu Text

Folio 10a

Folio 10b
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

Folio 11a

Folio 11b
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan
برای بیان کردن تاریخ‌های زیادی باید کتاب‌های منابع مناسبی داشته باشیم. در اینجا فقط نکاتی از تاریخ‌های مهم و واقعیت‌های حیاتی آقای کوه خان که در کتاب‌های مختلف به ذکر می‌آید، بررسی می‌گردد.

تاریخ‌های زیادی در کتاب‌های مختلف به ذکر می‌آید، اما باید توجه داشت که این تاریخ‌ها ممکن است به دلیل تأثیرات مختلفی برخورداری باشند. تاریخ‌هایی که در کتاب‌های مختلف به ذکر می‌آید، ممکن است به دلیل تأثیرات مختلفی برخورداری باشند. تاریخ‌هایی که در کتاب‌های مختلف به ذکر می‌آید، ممکن است به دلیل تأثیرات مختلفی برخورداری باشند.

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Folio 17a

Folio 17b
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Folio 19a

Folio 19b
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Folio 25a

Folio 25b
قانونی کردند. اما آنها دوباره در این زمینه نیروی را به رفع آنها دوباره نزدیک کردند.

به هنگام ویداد اسرای ایفا شد و روی شماری از افراد اسرای استفاده می‌کرد. 

به همراه آنها دوباره نزدیک کردند. 

به همراه آنها دوباره نزدیک کردند.

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Folio 50a

Folio 50b
Folio 54a
Manchu Text

This text is transcribed from the College de France copy of the TMHA. For ease of comparison with the Turkic I have presented the text in the same layout as the Turkic transcription. The numbers to the right of the text indicate the foliation of the Manchu text, those to the left the corresponding section of the Turkic text.

^hesei tokto buha tulergi Monggo Hoise aiman i wang gung sai iletun ulabun  
i emu tanggū juwan emuci debtelin. ulabun i uyunju sunjaci:

jasak doroi giyūn wang Emin Hojo i faidangga ulabun

Emin Hojo, Turfan i Hoise aiman i niyalma, erei mafa Supi Hojo, Hara Hojo i ahun inu. ama Niyas Hojo, Turfan i amba ahun inu. Emin Hojo siraha manggi, mukūn gubci be Lukcin i // bade isabume tehebi.

elhe taifin i susai uyuci aniya, amba cooha Turfan be elbime dahabure de, Emin Hojo i mukūn i urse Lukcin i babe eibume dahaha. cooha mariha manggi, Jun Gar cembe ergeleme Kara Šar de guribure de, teng seme eljeme elcin takūrafi dolo dahaki seme ududu mudan dara cooha be // baiha.

hūwaliyasun tob i duici aniya dalaha Hoise Toktomamut ninggun tanggū funcere Hoise gaifi dosi guribuhe. Lukcin i bade teme niyalma bi, facihiyame jihekū ofi, Emin Hojo de adalabuha.

jakūci aniya, goroki be elhe obure amba jiyaggiyūn Yu Jung Ki Emin Hojo be aniyadari alban i usin tarire baita de kicembi seme wesimbuhe, // menggun suje ^şangnaha.

uyuci aniya, Jun Gar Lukcin jai Kara Hojo hoton i duka be yaksitai eljeme, solo be tuwame hūlha be gidaha. hūlha ilan mudan bederefi dasame jihe de, gemu kidabuha. musei cooha isinaha manggi, hūlha ukafi Emin Hojo guwali
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ci tucifi // okdoko.
juwanci aniya, ^hese be dahame Lukcin i Hoise urse be gaifi dosi guribuhe de, ^hesei jasak gurun de asilara gung funche.
juwan emuci aniya, Guwa Jeo i bade icihiyame tebufi, ^hesei dorgi ba i hafasai fulun i songkoi handu bele bahabuha.

abkai wehiyehe i orici aniya // ilan tanggū cooha gaifi, amba cooha be dahalame Dawaci be dailanara de, bithe unggifi Turfan i darhan bek Manggalik be elbime gajifi dolo dahaha. ubabe ulabun i šošohon de narhūšame tucibuhebi. Ili be toktobuha manggi amasi gocika. Amursana ubašaha de, Emin Hojo ^hese be dahame harangga aiman i cooha be // unggifi, Hoošot gurun de aislara gung Nagaca be dahalame, Aksu i bade bek Hojis be ulhibume fudaraka hūlha de ume dahanara sere ^hese be elgiyeme genere de ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Emin Hojo Hoise cooha be gaifi, šuwe Ili de isitala yabufi mujakū faššaha bime, te geli ini // fejergi cooha be tucibuhi Aksu hoton de unggire be dahame, kesi isibume gurun de dalire gung fungne!

sehe. geli harangga aiman i cooha be teni Ili ci marifi, uthai goro bade genembi seme, ^hesei dasatara menggun be jiramilame buhe. amala Amursana i Boro Tala de ukame genehe be mejigešeme safi, // ^hese “Aksu de genere be joo” sehe.
orin emuci aniya, Emin Hojo Guwa Jeo ci Lukcin i bade marifi, dahanduhai duin tanggū cooha gaifi, Ning Hiya i jiyanggiyūn Hoki be okdome genefi, uhei acafi fudaraka hūlha Bayar be dailaname, Pican i bade isinaha. Ūlet jai Manggalik i cooha gaifi ubašafi, Hoki be nungnefi, Emin // Hojo be jafaki serede, Manggalik Ūlet i baru hendume, “ere Hoise niyalma” sefi, Emin Hojo be sindafi, Lukcin de bederebuhe. Manggalik marifi imbe hūlame gaici, Emin Hojo genehekū. niyalma takūrafı kūbulin be alanjiha de ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Emin Hojo serengge, unenggi gūnin i ^dahanjifi aniya goidaha niyalma. mini ujen // kesi be hukšeme niyalma takūrafı mejige isibuhə be, bi umesi sašame tuvaha. ini beye hūlha dolo bisire be bi labdu jendurakū. jakan teni Guwa Jeo ci purifi tubade isinaha. eiten hacin genu tekseleme icihiyame jabduhakū. ainahai fudaraka hūlha be jafara hūsun bini? aika Manggalik be hošsome jafame mutere oci, yala umesi sain. // gungge mutebufi amasi mariha manggi, tuba be yooni inde kadalabukūni. aika hūlha be jafara hūsun akū oci, damu ini tehe babe ciralame seremšekini. dorgi ba i amba cooha isinaha manggi uthai hūlha be mukiyebugi

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ombikai.

sehe. Emin Hojo dahanduhai ini jui Sulaiman be Hami de takūrafi, hūlha be hūsunutuleme tosome “amba // cooha dame genereo?” seme baiha be Hami i jasak beise Yusub ^donjibume wesimbuhede, ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Emin Hojo hūlha de sujame akdulame tuwakiyahangge, umesi saišacuka. kesi isibume beise fungne, ini jui Sulaiman de gung ni jergi šangnafi, huwekiyebure be tuwabu. An Si i fideme kadalaru amban // Fukui be sunja tanggū cooha silifi Sulaiman be gaifī, hahilame Emin Hojo i nukte de dame genekini. cooha hūsun aika muterakū oci, uthai Emin Hojo de afabufi ini fejergi urse be gaifī, Fukui i sasa Hami de marifī, amba cooha tubade isinaha manggi, jai icihiyakini!

sehe.
orin juweci aniya niyangniyari // ^hese wasimbuhangge:

onggolo Fukui be cooha gaifī Manggalik be jafaha manggi, cooha be bibufi Turfan de tebuñi, amba cooha isinara be aliyafī sasa dosifi Ūlet i fudaraka hūlha be dailakini seme hese wasimbuha bihe. te günici, Manggalik be jafaha manggi, Turfan i babe uthai Emin Hojo de bufi kadalabumbi, tubade cooha tutabufi amba cooha be // aliyaci, kemuni inenggi baibumbime, coohai urse de acabume bure de elemganga Emin Hojo ningge be fayara de isinambi. ere umai jilame gosire be tuwabure doro waka. erebe Bar Kul de tefi baita icihiyara amban Yarhašan sede afabufi, Emin Hojo de sakini seme takūrafi Manggalik i baita be icihiyame wajiha manggi, ini harangga Hoise i // emgi acafī hūsun Bayar be mukiyebume jafame muteci, uthai Fukui i sasa cooha gaifī icihiyakini, akūci uthai dorgi ba i cooha be facihiyame gocikini. tubade tebure be joo. Emin Hojo aika emu juwe tanggū cooha bibufi horon arabure be baici, inu ini ciha okini!

sehe.

Manggalik i facuhūn be toktobuha manggi, // ^hese be dahame Turfan i bade guribufi tefi ini jui Sulaiman be takūrafi hergen ^šangnaha kesi de hengkilebumbe ^hargašabuki seme baiha de ^hesei giyamulame jibuhe.

bolori fudaraka Hoise Buranidun Hojjian ubašafi Yerkiyang Kašigar be
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ejeleh e turgunde gisurefi, amba cooha unggiñi // weile be fonjime dailanaki serede, Emin Hojo de ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Buranidun Hojjjan ere juwe hülha neneme Jun Gar de horibuha bihe, bi cohotoi kesi isibume fe aiman be kadalabuha. günihakū kesi be urgedeme fudaraka hülha de dayanafi meiren i janggin Amindao be nungnehe. esei weile be ainaha se // guwebuci ojorakū. tutu seme gemu ere juwe hülhai koimasidame yabuhangge dabala, hafirabufi dahame yabuha hoise sebe kemuni guwebuci ombi. Emin Hojo si mini ujen kesi be aliha bime, geli Hoise i dorgi fe fujiiri geren kemuni sinde akdambi. aika argadame hülha be hošsome jafame mutere, aici Hoise sei günin be // fakcabufi, juwe hülha be jafafi benjibure oci, utahai musei cooha be unggire be baiburaku ombi. erebe si acara be tuwame icihiyakini. aika urunakū cooha dosire be baibure oci, udu cooha baibure, ai erinde cooha dosici acara babe sini günin be tucibume narhūšame wesimbukini!

sehe.

Emin Hojo i wesimbuhe bukdari isinjiha de, // ^hese wasimbume saišafi meyen amban sindaha. tere fonde, Kara Šar i Šaras Mahūs i jergi hülhasa nukte guribure kanagan de ubašafi ukahe. Emin Hojo ^hese be dahame, güldusi be Kara Šar i bade mejigešebume unggihes. geli güldusi mariha manggi, teni cooha tucici amcaburakū ojorakū seme bime cooha gaiifi Tokson i bade // genefi aliyaha turgunde, nashūn giyan de acanaha seme ^saišafi, suje ^šangnaha. geli ^hese wasimbuhangge:

ishun aniya Yerkiyang Kašigar be icihiyara de, jiyanggiyun ambasa bicibe, Hoise aima i arbun muru oci, si ureme same ofi, simbe hebei amban obufi, juleri // meyen de yabubumbi. si mini kesi be günime yargiyan i fafuršame faššame, gungge mutebure be kiceme yabuci, enteheme kesi fulehun be alimbikai!

sehe.

Emin Hojo Kara Šar bade hülhai songko akū be mejigešefi, güldusi be Hūrumsi Holo i bade mejigešebume takūrap, geli beye boigon i jurgan i ashan i amban Arigūn i // cooha be dahalame hülha be dailaki seme bailha de ^hesei beile i jergi šangnafi, bahabure šusu menggun be hebei amban i songkoi obuha.

Emin Hojo Arigūn be dahalame Asgan Bulak Hešitelek jugūn deri juwe
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tanggu funcere mahacin be Tabun Šonghor Namg’a i bade jafahaa. geli ekšeme Hūrumsi Holo i // bade geneme, Kase Dabagan de isinara hamime, hūlha i musei gūsa be kadalaria amban Manfu be yarkiyame nungnefi, Hara Holo i bade ukaha be mejigešeme safi, fargame gidanara de, hūlhasa dabagan i jugūn be dejjime lashalafū, Kuce i bade genehe. Arigūn Kurle i bade tefi Emin Hojo Hara Holo i bade tefi elcin // takūrafi bithe jafabufi leheme ganabufi, hafunahakū.

orin ilaci aniya niyangniyari, ^hesei hebei amban sindafī bederehe manggi fudaraka be geterembufure jiyanggiyūn Yarhašan be dahalame Buranidun Hojjian be mukiyebukini seme afabuha. geli Yarhašan de “Emin Hojo i hebe be gaikini, ume enculeme tuwara” seme ^hese wasimbufi, geli acara be tuwame Hoise // cooha be dahalabume gamabufi, ton i songkoi niowanggiyūn turūn i coohai ton be ekiyembufi sain morin halame bubuh. nerginde, Emin Hojo Kuce i bade cooha dosiki serede, ^hese taka Turfan de bederefī, Yarhašan i emgi toktobume gisurekini” sehe.

Emin Hojo, Šaras i jergi hūlhasa Kuce ci Yerkiyang ni // bade ukame genere be mejigešeme safi, geli Hara Holo ci Hūrtak jugūn de cooha marifī, mahacin be gisabure de morin šadaha turgunde, teni bederehe. ere ^hesei beile i jergi be tuwame, faidān i da, hiya, faidān i hafan i jergi hafan ilībubuh. Emin Hojo Hojis i kemuni Uši i bade tehe be mejigešeme // safī, Yarhašan de alahangge: “Hojis i arbun juwe hojo de teherembi. aikabade nialma takūrafi jakanabuci gungge mutesuburengge hūdun” sehebe Yarhašan ^donjibume wesimbure bukdāri de Emin Hojo i gebu be arahakū turgunde, ^hese wasimbufangge:

bek Hojis sebe elbime dahabure baita be tuwaci, nashūn giyan de // ambula acanahabi. damu Emin Hojo be hebei amban obuha be dahame, uthai gebu be faidame arafi sasa wesimbuci acambi, ilgame faksalaci ojorakū.

sehe.

juwari duin biyade ^hesei doroi beile obuhi, an i hebei amban kamcibuha. ^hese wasimbufangge:

Emin Hojo cooha gaifi Hoise // sebe dailame dosika de uthai gungge mutesubuci ombi. damu dalaha fudaraka hūlhasa be jafahaa amala, arga akū cenī ba i encu bek be sonjome sindafi baita icihiyabumbi. ese gemu ice dahaha urse. cenī sain ehe be emu erinde sara de manga. tere
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anggala, Ili i bade cooha tebure usin taribure baita holbobuhangge umesi // oyonggo. giyan i doigonde toktobume icihiyaci acambi. neneme Ili i usin be gemu Hoise se tariha be dahame, Hoise hoton be necihiyeme toktobuha manggi, uthai acara be tuwame Hoise sebe garibufi niyowanggiyan turun i cooha de suwaliyaganjame tebukini. Emin Hojo Hoise aiman i dorgi fe fujuri be dahame jiyanggiyin // ambasa de aisinle alban i usin tarire Hoise cooha be kadalakini. tarifi ilimbaha, ishunde elhe oho erinde, Turfan i bade amasi genekini. uttu ohode teni baita de tusa ombi. eiten afara dailara nashūn giyan oci Emin Hojo mujakū unenggi gūnin i icihiyame mutehe. ereci julesi ele fafuršame faššame gungge // mutebure be kice! bi kemuni dabali kesi isibumbi.

sehe.

sunja biyade Kuce de isinafi Yarhašan cooha gaifī hacihiyame dosire de, hūlha keremu ci poo sindafi, Emin Hojo i ici ergi fulcin i ba goifī feye baha. bederefi gashūme henduhengge: mini beye ^enduringge kesi be alihangge ujen, urunakū // beyebe šelefi hūsuteleme afambi” sehe. ubabe wesimbuhede ^dele baitalara ashan fadu, minggan yan menggun ^sangnafti, ^hese wasimubuhangge:

bi Emin Hojo be se de oho, baihe dulembuhe seme tuttu coohai baihe be hebešeme icihiyabume unggīhe. umai imbe wehe sirdan [i] suwaliyaganjara bade // beye funturšame sisame yahukini serengge waka. te ini beye julesi funtume afafi weye baha seme donjire jakade, mini dolo labdu gosime gūnimbi. ereci julesi, damu emu gūnin uhei hūsun i nashūn de acabume icihiyakini. haksan be funtume afame endebure de isibuci ojorakū.

sehe. geli Yarhašan be dangsime // ^hese wasimubuhangge:

sasa ujulaha amban ofi, ini cihai beye šelefi afara be tafulame iliburakū doro bio?

sehe.

Emin Hojo i fulcin yebe oho manggi dahabure bithe be Kuce hoton i dolo gabtame dosimbuci hūlha hersehekū. fudaraka duwali Abdukerem Aksu ci dame jihe be afame burulaha turgunde // ^saišame ^dele baitalara ashan fadu šangnaha. Hojjījan dahanduhai sunja minggan funcere hūlha be gaifī Kuce de dame jihe be,
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11a  geli ambarame gidafi, juwe turun baha. Emin Hojo tuwafii hendume, “ere Hojjikan i turun” sehe. nerginde, Yarhašan belhehekü ofii, Hojjikan emgeri Kuse hoton de dosi manggi // geli ukaha. Šayar i fe bek Mahamedii ini jui Asan Hojo be takūrafi dahaki seme baire de, Hojjikan Kuse ci ukaha seme alaha manggi, Yarhašan turgun be tucibume arafi, "donjibume wesimbuhe. eres onggolo, Emin Hojo be jecen be toktobure jiyanggiyün Jaohūi be dahalabume Šarabel i bade unggifi, Ūlet i // ukaha hūlha be mukiyebuah. amala “fudaraka Hoise be mukiyebuki” seme
gisurefi wesimbuhe, "hese wasimuhangge:

Emin Hojo Hoise aiman i arbun dursun be tengkime sambi. niyalma inu baturu kiyangkiyan. Jaohūi urunakü dabali tuwame, ini tusa be bargiyakini!

sehe. dahanduhai jugūn dendefi cooha dosiki seme gisureme toktobufi, Emin Hojo i wesimuhengge:

// Šarabel ci Badal i jugūn deri Kašigar de hafunaﬁ, tereci Musur Dabagan i jugūn deri Aksu de hafunambi. tutti bicibe jugūn gemu haksan, encu doko jugūn bi. aha bi niyalma takūraﬁ Jaohūi i cooha de yarhūdai obume unggifi.

seme wesibuhe manggi, "hese:

Jaohūi, Ūlet be dailame toktobuha manggi, // cooha be guribume Hoise aiman de gene, aika amcaburakū oci, Emin Hojo i takūraha niyalma de fonjici oyonggo kamni de cooha tatafi Hojjikan sei ukara be seremšekini!

sehe bihe. ede isinjifi, "hesei Yarhašan i hūlha be oihorilafi ukambuha weile be dangsime wakašafi, ini cooha be Jaohūi de kadalabufi. geli // "hese wasimuhangge:

Emin Hojo si serengge Hoise niyalma. udu Yarhašan sede duibuleci ojorakū bicibe, inu weile akū seci ojorakū. ini an i ucuri faššaha babe günime taka oncodome guwebuﬁ, sini faššara be tuwaki. uthai Jaohūi i meyen de yabukini!

sehe.
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

bolori coohai hafan Hūturi, hūlha i duwali Ari be oljilafi gajiha manggi, //
Yarhašan i geren i arga be baitalame muterakū weile be ^fonjici safi, ^hese wasimbume Emin Hojo be nacihiyame tohorombufi, ilan yasai tojin funggala ^šangnaha. dahanduhai Kuce be gaifi Aksu de cooha dosika. Jaohūi isinjiha manggi, dahalame Uši de genefi, Hojis be elbime // dahabuha turgunde, ^saišame ashan fadu šangnaha.

tuweri, Yerkiyang de isinafi, fudaraka hūlha Kara Usu i bade amba coohai baru eljehe be, Emin Hojo se akdulame sujaha turgunde, giyūn wang ni jergi fulgiyan erimbu wehei jingse, duin muheliyen muduri noho sabirgi kurume // ^šangnaha. Hojjijan coohai kūwaran de jifi hüwaliyame acaki seme baire de, 23

Emin Hojo Jaohūi i emgi hebešefi, wakašame hendume, buya hūlha ai gellun akū hüwaliyame acambi sere gisin tucimbi sehebe, ^han donjifi saišame, ^hesei ^dele baitalara ashan fadu šangnaha. aici ede // isinjifi, uheri ilan mudan šangnaha. 24

ishun aniya niyangniyari, dara cooha isinjifi kabuha be suhe manggi, Aksu de bederehe. ini harangga Laidze gebungge niyalma mahacin in Aksu ci dabafi ukaha be mejigešeme safi, Solon coohai emgi fargame jafaha manggi, ^saišame olji be Emin Hojo de buhe. 23

juwari // Kašigar de cooha dosire de Buranidun Hojjijan i hoton waliyafi, 24

ukaka be mejigešeme safi Kašigar i maise, teni urehe ofi, jui aisilara taiji Moosa be takūrafi, ekšeme hoton de dosifi, jeku be bargiyafi, coohai jedere de aisilaha turgunde, ^hesei Moosa de gung ni jergi šangnaha. amba // cooha Kašigar de isinafi, Jaohūi Moosa be akim bek i baiata be ichihiyabume, Emin Hojo be Yerkiyang de takūrafi ini geren be tohorombubuhu. ede ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Yerkiyang, Kašigar juwe hoton serengge, Hoise sei fulehe ba. akim bek sindahangge umesi oyonggo. mini gūnin de Yerkiyang be Emin Hojo de kadalabume, Kašigar be // Yusub de kadalabume, ere jergi fe niyalma tubade bici, teni akdaci ombi. amba gungge mutebuhe manggi, jai ichihiyakini!

sehe.

tuweri juwan biyade, Badakšan, Hojjijan i uju be horho de tebufi, alibume benjihe de, ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Emin Hojo, Yusub teisu teisu gemu faššame yabuha. te cembe yooni jibufi // Hoise sei baiata be ichihiyara niyalma akū be dahame, kesi isibume Emin 26

Hojo be westibume giyūn wang fungnefi, Yerkiyang ni bade tefi baiata

12b 13a 13b 14a 14b 15a 15b 16a 16b 17a 17b 18a 18b 19a 19b 20a 20b 21a 21b 22a 22b 23a 23b 24a 24b 25a 25b 26a 26b
icihiyakini.

sehe.

jorgon biyade, geli ^hese wasimbuhangge:

te amba gungge mutebuhe. Emin Hojo be giyan i amasi jibufi jirgabume tebuci acambihe. damu Yerkiyang ni jergi // hoton, gemu ice toktobuha ba. urunakū Hoise sei banin be tengkime sara, ujen fisin baita de urehe nyalma be tebufi baita icihiyabuci, teni sain. Emin Hojo serengge, mini fe aha. coohai bade mujakū faššame yabufi, Hoise sei baita de umesi urehe. uttu ofi, imbe taka bibufi tebuhebi. damu ere udu // aniya nukte ci aljafi goidaha. imbe beye teile tubade tebufi baita icihiyabuci, mini günin de ele jenderakū. inde ulame hese wasimbu. acara be tuwame hehe juse be gamafi taka tekini. etten baita be šanggabume icihiyaha manggi, uthai amasi jici ombikai.

sehe.

orin sunjadi aniya niyangniyari // ^hesei ini arbun be jaksakaeldengge asari de nirubuha. ^han araha mak tacun i gisun:

Turfan aiman i Hoise nyalma,

turulafi aisinici gungereme dahanjihabi,
tuttu coohai baita be aisilame icihiyahangge,
tubai Hoise i banin be saha turgun bai talanahabi,
tengkime saha babe gisureraküngge akū,
terei gisurehe gisun acanaraküngge akū,
tebuhe // mujilen wehe waka bicibe,
teng seme jafahangge acinggiyaci ojorakū.

sehe.

juweri duin biyade hafan i jurgan i ashan i amban meiren i janggin Haiming ^hese be dahame Yerkiyang de baita icihiyame genere de, ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Haiming serengge dorgi baci unggihe amban. baita wesimbure de ini gebu be // Emin Hojo i juleri sindakini. damu ini gebu be juleri sindaha seme Emin Hojo be oihorilame tuwaci ojorakū. Emin Hojo serengge,
tubai baita de urehe fe niyalma, eiten baita icihiyara de urunakū ini baru emu günin i hūwaliyasun gaime hebešeme icihiyakini!

sehe.

tere fonde Ili i akim bek ilibułi, usin tarire Hoise irgen be // kadalabure be gisurefi wesimbuhede, ^hesei Moosa be kadalabuha. nerginde Kašigar i fudaraka hūlha Mairim Niyas se ubašafi Kele Talim i geren karun be tabcilaha de Moosa, hebei amban Arigūn be dahalame, hūlha be Paisubat i bade gidafi, mejigešeci hūlha Salindu ci Holo Muruk de ukaha be safi, sundalame farganafi, hūlha // teni buda arame bisire de cooha gaifīire dosifi jafāha turgunde ^hesei Moosa be gurun de aisilara gung fungiene, Emin Hojo i gungge be suwaliyame ilgame gisurebuhe.

tuweri, Yerkiyang ni bek Údui Kašigar i bek Gadaimet, Hōtiyan i bek Ašimet se Emin Hojo be hafumbukū sebe cihai sindafi Hoise urse be // oshodome yabubuha seme gercilehe de, hebei amban Šuhede ceni belehe babe baicame tucibułi wakašame tacibułi manggi, Údui se weile alime gaia. ubabe wesimbuhede ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Hoise sei tacin umesi ehe. urui ishunde šusihiyeme jakanabume ehecume tuhebume yabumbi. ede damu musei ambasa tondo be jafāfi ciralame jafatame kadalara de bi, Šuhede // Yerkiyang, Kašigar i Hoise sede ulhibu:

amba ejen niyalma be baiatalara de, damu meni meni erdemu muten de teisulebume baiatalara dabala. neneme Kašigar de baita icihiyara niyalma baibure jakade, tuttu Moosa be taka baita icihiyabuha. te Ili de cooha tebure usin taribure jakade geli imbe akim sindaha. imbe umai enteheme // Kašigar de obuha ba akū, swiwe aide uttu balai gisun banjibułi ehereme gisurembini?

sere gisun i neileme ulhibukini. jai hafumbukū serengge gemu Hami, Turfan i niyalma. aika yooni maiteci muse de fuhali šan yasa akū de isinambi. tere anggala, ere mudan beleme habšaha bithe yargiyan i jalingga koimali ursei arahangge, ereci // julesi, hafumbukū se, aika gelhun akū Hoise sei jaka hacin be gejureme gaingge bici, ini uthai ujeleme icihiyafi, ise bure be tuwabu!
The Life of Emin Khoja: Manchu Text

Yerkiyang Hotiyan i bade jeku isabuhangge labdu. erebe juwe ubu de tengge salibume afabubufi, ulha be baima udabuki, jakūn ubu de suri boso salibume afabubufi, Ili de juweme isibufi Hasak i morin be hūlaşaki?

seme // wesimbuhede, ^hese wasimbuhangge:

jiha boso salibume icihiyara de, afabure niyalma umesi labdu gūnin werešeme baicame icihiyaci teni sain. te bici, Údui, Ašimet juwe niyalmai dorgi, Údui kemuni sain. hono buyaršame gaire hacin akū. tuttu seme cohome Emin Hojo tubade bisire jakade, teni targara sengguwere // ba bidere. te Yusub be tucibu, Emin Hojo be halabume unggimbi. Yusub udu fe aha bicibe, gebu algin majige eberi. Údui imbe oihorilame tuwara be boljoci ojorakū. Emin Hojo giyan i Údui i baru "si nenehe yabun be ume halara, bi taka amasi genembi, emu juwe aniyai sidende geli halame jifi, kemuni bahafti ishunde // dere acamebi" seme elheken i nelemi ulhibume henducu acambi. uttu ohode, Údui gelere olhoro be safi, amaga inenggi Yusub de ulame afabure erinde ere jergi babe ini Yusub de alafi, gūnin werešeme icihiyabukini. yaya Hoise aiman i bek sebe gumu narhūsame getukeleme targcume tacidume urunakū cembe beyebe tob obufi, fejergi urse be // yarhūdame ehe tacin be twancihiyakini!

sehe. dahanduhai “Badakšan de elcin takūraki?” seme gisurefī wesimbuhede, ^hese “Emin Hojo be taka Yerkiyang de bibukini” sehe.
erei onggolo Badakšan i bek Sultanša Buranidun de wafi, giran be saikan seremšeme twakiyahakū ofī, fudaraka hūlhai duwali hūllhame gabanfī umbuha turgunde, “musei // elcin genefi gaju” seci bahakū. ede isinjifi, Emin Hojo, Buranidun i giran be Paisubat i bade umbuhabí, fudasihūn jui Hojo Asan, Abduhalik, Hojo Bahadun sei Badakšan de tomoho be mejigešeme safi, “niyalma takūrati ganabuki” semibi. nerginde, Sultanša cooha gaifo Bolor de gidanafī Citral i babe durifi ini deo Sabdor Kadar be takūrati // ejelebuhe. Bolor i dalaha
niyalma Šahūšamet ubabe alanjiha de, Emin Hojo fudasihün ijishūn i jurgan be ulhibure bithe arafi, Yerkiyang ni gadzanaci bek Sali de jafabufi Badakšan de takūrafi, adaki jecen be necire weile be wakašame Buranidun i giran, jai ini juse be alibukini seme ungehe.

Sinju geli Badakšan “aika gisun // daharakū oci, amban bi cooha gaifi dailanaki, Emin Hojo be bibufi baita icipiyakini” seme wesimbuhide, ʰhese wasimbuhangge:

Badakšan be aika wakašafi gisun daharakū oci, giyan i cooha unngifi dailanabuci acambi. damu Sinju umai cooha dain de yabume dulembukū. Emin Hojo Hoise aiman i baita turgun be urenke sambi. giyan i // sasa genece acambi. 36b

sehe.

nergingde Kašigar i baita icipiyara aliha amban Yonggui se Hoise i cifun takūran be gubure be baime wesimbuhe bithede Emin Hojo jai Yusub i gebu be faiyume arakahū turgunde, ʰtacibume wakašaha.

orin jakūci aniya niyangniyari, Yonggui Sinju geren hoton i bek be forgošome sindara be baime wesimbuhe bithede, geli // Emin Hojo sei gebu be faiyume arakahū turgunde ʰhese wasimbuhangge:

onggolo Hoise sede ʰũũ buke ʰũũ buke ʰ bruises buke ce sasa ʰicibame banjinarakū. jailame gebu sindarakū seci hono ombi. bek be niyeceme sindara baite oci, ceni baru hebešeme ʰicibame acarangge ede geli ai jailara ba bifī gebu // sindarakū ni? Emin Hojo Yusub serengge, gemu mini fe aha bime, hesei sindaha hebe amban. ce uthai jailaki seci, hono um bi bi ilhara seme ulhibume henduci acambi kai! 37b

sehe.

dahanduhai Sultanša Buranidun i giran jai ini ili jui be alibume, Emin Hojo de karu buke jasigan de, Emin Hojo be wesihuleme ama // seme tukiymeme holtome Citral be ini fe harangga ba, Bolor de burakū sehe. Emin Hojo geli Sali be takūrafe ini weile be wakašabume ungehe. ubabe wesimbuhide, giyan de acanaha seme ʰsaišafi, ʰdele baitalara ashan fadu ʰšangnafi, kemuni “Yerkiyang de bibufi, baitai wajiha manggi, // jai bederekini” seme ʰhese wasimbuha. Sali Badakšan de isinaka manggi, Sultanša weile be aliyafi tabcilahangge be bederebufi ini deo be Citral ci amasi tataha turgunde, Emin Hojo be ʰsaišame 38a

36a

36b

37a

37b

38a

38b

20b

21a
šangnaha. nerginde, meiren i janggin Elgingge, Sinju be halame Yerkıyang de genehe de, ^han imbe baima de dulembuhektü seme günime // ^hesei “Emin Hojo be kemuni ilan biya tebukini” seme bibuhe.

orin uyuci aniya, Sultanša Emin Hojo i bederehe be donjifi, Hojikelan be takūrafi isibuhu jasigan de, “neneme Yerkıyang ni ambasa Şahüşamet i urhu gisun be donjiha. bahaci, kemuni Citral i ba be baicafi amasi bureo?” sehebe Elgingge // ^donjibume wesimbuhe de Sultanša be wakašame ^hese wasimbuhangge:

si holo gisun banjibufi wesimbuhangge, Yerkıyang ni amban be halaha turgunde eitereci ombi seme günimbio? neneme tubade tehe amban Turfan i giyün wang Emin Hojo amaga inenggi an i halame jimbi. tere erinde isinjihaha manggi, si geli ainci gisurembi? si onggolo Emin Hojo be // ama seme hülaha bihe kai. günihakü i teni nukte de bedere manggi, si uthai imbe weri gisun be urhu gisun be donjiha seme wakaşahangge, jici ubaşakü nikai? si giyan be dahame teisu be tuwakiya, elecun akü jabšan baire günin be ume deribure. uttu ohode, teni mini kesi be enteheme alici ombikai!

sehe.
// geli ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Elgingge i bukdari Sultanša i jasigan be arafi, Emin Hojo de jasifi tuwabufi, uthai ini günin i bithe arafi jasikini!

sehe.

Sultanša dahanduhai Osmın Bek be takūrafi wesimbuhe bade, “ereci julesi aíman i urse be bargiyatame kadalamé gelhun akü ajige encu günin teburakü” sehe bime, // geli Emin Hojo de karu unggiihe bithede, weile be Hojikelan de anañafi, imbe balai gisun banjibuhu turgunde, emgeri isebuhe sehe. ^hesei kemuni sarkiyafi Emin Hojo de tuwabuha. dahanduhai Emin Hojo ^hargašanjiha de, ^hesei kiyan cing men de yabubuha. tereci // acaha dari uthai geren Hoise aíman i banin tacin be ^fonjimbihe.

güsici aniya niyangniyari amasi ^unggihe. Emin Hojo teni juraka de Uşı i Hoise urse ubaşafi meiren i janggin Suceng be nungnehe be donjifi, fekšime genefi mukiyebuki seme baime wesimbuhe. nerginde, Ili i jiyanggiiyün Mingšui, cooha gaifı genefi, Uşı i hülha // Hoohan de dara cooha baire be mejigešeme safi wesimbuhede, ^hese wasimbuhangge:
Mingšui i cooha aika kemuni aisilara be baibuci, Emin Hojo uthai taka Uşi i coohai bade tekini. Kašigar i ba, Hoohan i Erdeni i aiman de hanci. holbobuhangge inu oyonggo. Uşi i baita wajiha manggi, Emin Hojo be kemuni // hebei amban obufi, Kašigar de tefi baita icihiyakini!

sehe. geli Uşi i ubašahangge, bek Abdula i geren be oshodoho haran seme ^hese wesimbuhangge:

Abdula i fejergi urse, gūnin cihai Hoise sebe jobobume yabure be Suceng fuhali baicame icihiyahakū. Emin Hojo Yusub serengge, mini aha. esi fejergi // urse be cihai sindafi Hoise sebe jobobume yabubure, baita akū tuttu bicibe, ini fejergi mentuhun niyalma baitai ujen weihukun be sarkū, embici buyarame aisi de dosifi horon de ertufi balai yabure be inu boljoci ojorakū. erebe tubade tehe ambasa de ulhibume selkiye. Uşi de ere gese turgun baita bisire be dahame // buleku targcun obuci acambi. ereci julesi urunakū gūnin werešeme fujuruleme, baicame fejergi urse be jafatame kadakakini. ainaha seme ume oihirilafi seremšerakū de beye weile daksə de tuhenere!

sehe.

nerginde, Kurle i hadze bek Oman gebungge niyalma akim bek Sedik i imbe takūran be jurcehe seme wakašaha turgunde, korsofi ini ahūn // gadzanaci bek Hošor jai mukūn i juse deote i sasa omerica de hendume, “bi akim be wafi Uşi be gaimе geneкi” serede, Hošor “ojorakū” seme esukiyefi iniilan jui be gaifi ekšeme ilişi genehe. ememu niyalma Sedik de “Oman Hošor ubašaha” seme alaha.

nerginde Kara Šar i baita icihiyara meiren i // janggin Mingpu Uşi de genehe manggi, Sedik cooha be fideme gajifi, bederefi alame “Kurle facuhūn deribure hamika” sehe turgunde, ^hesei “Emin Hojo be jugūn i ildun de ijishūn fudashīn u arbun be baicakini!” seme afabufi, geli Mingpu de “Emin Hojo i hebešere be donji, beye saha babe ume // memerere!” seme ^hese wasimbuha. Emin Hojo Kurle i bade isinafi, Oman i turgun be beideme tucibufi, Hošor be fudaraka hūlha de darahakū seme wara be guwebure be baime wesimbuki serede, Mingpu murime ohakū, “Oman i mukūn i urse be suntebume waki” seme gisurefi wesimbuhe manggi, // ^hese “Hošor sebe weile tuhebure be guwebu” sehe.

dahanduhai Mingpu i Emin Hojo i gisurere babe gidaha seme ^donjifi, ^hesei ini
murishūn oshon weile be dangsime wakašaha.

Emin Hojo Uši de isinafi ini ahūngga jui Sulaiman dahalame genehe.  

Emin Hojo Moosa jui Mingšu be // dahalame Uši de isinafi, Emin Hojo hafan cooha be kadalame sasa hūlha be gidara de ududu mudan faššaha be iletelehe turgunde, ^han Sulaiman Moosa be, ini ama i tacihiyen be dahame mutembi seme 46a  

^hesei suje šangnaha. geli Emin Hojo be ^saišame ashan fadu // ^šangnaha. dahanduhai Uši i hoton be gaiha manggi, Emin Hojo Kašigar de genehe.  

gūsin juweci aniya bederefi, ^hargašanjiha de ^hesei gocika de yabubuha. dehi juweci aniya akti oho.  

inde nadan jui banjiha.  
ahūngga jui Sulaiman giyūn wang sirafi, weile baha turgunde nakabuha.  

^hesei suje šangnaha. geli Emin Hojo be ^saišame ashan fadu // ^šangnaha. dahanduhai Uši i hoton be gaiha manggi, Emin Hojo Kašigar de genehe.  

gūsin juweci aniya bederefi, ^hargašanjiha de ^hesei gocika de yabubuha. dehi juweci aniya akti oho.  

inde nadan jui banjiha.  
ahūngga jui Sulaiman giyūn wang sirafi, weile baha turgunde nakabuha.  

ilaci jui Oromdzab, uju jergi taiji obuha. encu ulabun bi.  
duici jui Sepula, jai jergi aisilara taiji obuha.  
sunjaci jui Isk’andar, giyūn wang siraha.  
ningguci jui Pirdun, jai jergi taiji obuha. encu ulabun bi.  
nadaci jui Bairam // jai jergi taiji obuha.  

waka turgunde ulabun ilibuhakū.  

ilaci jui Oromdzab, uju jergi taiji obuha. encu ulabun bi.  
duici jui Sepula, jai jergi aisilara taiji obuha.  
sunjaci jui Isk’andar, giyūn wang siraha.  
nadaci jui Bairam // jai jergi taiji obuha.  

tuktan mudan siraha Sulaiman, Emin Hojo i ahūngga jui. abkai wehiyehe i juwan nadaci aniya, ilaci jergi bek sindaha.  

orin emuci aniya ^hesei gung ni jergi fungnehe.  
orin ilaci aniya juwari, amba cooha Kuce be kaha fonde, mahacin Kurle jugūn deri coohai // kūwaran de benere tarcan i muhaliyan tuwai okto be tabcilaha turgunde, ^han “Kurle i ba Turfan de hanci” seme ^hesei Sulaiman be cooha gaifi karun i jugūn be icihiyabume unngihe.  
tuweri Cahar i uheri da Minjur be halabume unngif, ^hesei Sulaiman be amasi bederebuhe. geli alban i usin tarire baita be icihiyara ashan i // amban Yonggui de harangga aiman de acara be tuwame morin ulha bufi, hūsutuleme usin taribukini seme ^hese wasimbuha.  
orin duici aniya niyangniyari, Sulaiman ini deo aisilara bek Moosa i sasa tanggū morin jafafi, cooha de aisilaha turgunde, ^han harangga aiman be teni gurifi, morin // ulha embici tesurakū seme, ^hesei amasi bubufi, kemuni ulame ^hese wasibufi, siden i baita de faššaha seme saišaha.  
orin duici aniya gisuref, Dolon i Hoise urse be, Kara Šar de guribuhe manggi, Sulaiman Bugur Kurle de genefi, muke be yarume, usin hungkerere, ba dendeme nukte be toktobure geren // baita be tulpbime icihiyaha turgunde, ^saišame menggun suje šangnaha.

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30b

orin sunjadi aniya ^hargašanjiha de, ^hesei kiyan cing men de yabubuha.
orin nadaci aniya uju jergi taiji obuha.
orin uyuci aniya, ini jui Manukiyar be gaifi, alban i usin tarire Hoise
turgunde, ^hese wasimbume saišaha.
güsici aniya // amba cooha be dahalame Uši i ubašaha hülha be dailanaha

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

31b

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
güsici aniya // amba cooha be dahalame Uši i ubašaha hülha be dailanaha

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gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

32a

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

32b

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

42a

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

42b

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

dehi juweci aniya, jasak doro giyūn wang siraha.
dehi duici aniya, ini aiman i urse be oshodoho geli ini harangga niyalma
be cisui aktala turgunde, weile tuhebufi, giyūn wang ni hergen be efulefi,
gemun hecen de // ^hülame gajifi uju jergi hiya sindaha.
dehi sunjadi aniya Sulaïman akū oho manggi, ^hesei ini giran be Turfan
de amasi bederebufi icihiyame sindaha.

Turfan i giyūn wang Isk'andar onggolo mimbë hargašame jifì twuaci,
hono hũwašara muru bi. te sula amban Osman nimeme akū oho, erei
tucike Kašigar i ilaci jergi akim bek i oronde uthai Isk'andar be sindafi,
Kašigar de geneći // Mingliyang Behing be dahalame baietà icihiyakini.
Isk'andar i ahun Sepula, deo Pirdun se, gemu Turfan de bisire be
dahame, Sepula be nukte i baietà be icihiyakini. Turfan i ambasa ele sain i
tuwašatame icihiyakini. Isk'andar de emu tanggū yan menggun šangnafti,
boigon anggala be guribure be baiłalakini. ere šangnara menggun be
thai // Turfan de bisire alban i menggun i dorgici šangname bahabukini.

Isk'andar oći, giyūn wang bime kiyan cing men de yabubure niyalma
ticibe, tuktan Kašigar de geneći akim bek i baietà be icihiyara de,
Mingliyang Behing eiten baietà de urunakū imbe jorišame ticibume
Osman icihiyaka songkoi saikan icihiyakini!
The Life of Emin Khoja: Manchu Text

sehe. juwan biyade ilan // yasai tojin funggala šangnaha. jorgon biyade, Yerkiyang ni akim bek de forgošooho.

///// kamcibuha uju jergi taiji Oromdzab i fai’dangga ulabun

Oromdzab Turfan i jasak giyūn wang Emin Hojo i ilaci jui, abkai wehiyehe i orin ningguci aniya Kašigar i baita icihiyara hashū ergi alifi baicara amban Yonggui, Oromdzab be harangga aiman i baita be icihiyahangge sain seme wesimbuhehe, ^hese wasimbuhangge:

Emin Hojo ududu aniya coohai // kūwaran de baita icihiyaha. ini ahūngga jui Sulaiman, jacin jui Moosa, gemu siden i baita be alifi icihiyambi. Turfan i jergi ba i baita be ini ilaci jui Oromdzab kadalame icihiyaha be dahame, ede kesi isibume jai jergi jingse tojin funggala šangname hadabufi, huwekiye bure be tuwabu!

sehe.

gūsin emuci aniya, // hesei uju jergi taiji obufi, Ili i ilaci jergi akim bek sindaha.

dehi jakūci aniya, ^hese

oron tucike manggi, faššan bici, ini jui de an i da hergen sirabu, faššan akū oci, ilhi aname jergi eberembufi ilaci jergi taiji sirabu

sehe.

susai ilaci aniya, ^hesei jalan halame lashalaračkū uju jergi taiji // sirabuha. susai sunjaci aniya, ^kesi isibume gung ni jergi obuha.

// kamcibuha jai jergi taiji Pirdun i fai’dangga ulabun

Pirdun, Turfan i jasak giyūn wang Emin Hojo i ningguci jui. abkai wehiyehe i gūsin ningguci aniya, ^hargašanjiha de, ^hesei jai jergi taiji obufi, tojin funggala šangnafi ^hesei kiyan cing men de yabubuha .

dehi // jakūci aniya, ^hese

oron tucike manggi, faššan bici, ini jui de an i da hergen sirabu, faššan akū oci, ilhi aname jergi eberembufi duici jergi taiji sirabu
The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

sehe.
susai ilaci aniya ^hesei jalan halame lashalarakū jai jergi taiji sirabuha.
susai sunjaci aniya nadan biyade ^kesi isibume uju jergi taiji obuha.
Монголийн текст

The numbers to the right of the text indicate the foliation of the Mongolian text, those to the left the corresponding section of the Turkic text.

^ǰarliγ-iyar tọytayaγsan ɣadaγadu Mongγol Qotong ayimaγ-un vang güng-űd-űn iledkel şastir-un nigen ǰaγun arban nidgetger debter. şastir-un yeren tabuduyar:

jasay törü-yin giyün vang Emin Qoʃo-yin üiledbüri-yin şastir

Emin Qoʃo, Turpan-u Qotong ayimay-un küműn, egün-ū ebugë Subi Qoʃo, Qar-a Qoʃo-yin akun mön. eciγe Niyas Qoʃo Turpan-u yeke // akun mön. Emin Qoʃo jalyamjilaysan-u qoyin-a, bükü törülie Lükčin-ū şajar-tur qurayn sayųjuqui.

engek aμyulang-un tabin yisędüger on yeke ğerig Turpan-i emsijų dayayulquí-dur, Emin Qoʃo törülie arad Lükčin-ū şajar-i ergün bariju dayabay. ğerig bučaysan-u qoyin-a, Jęgün ğar teden-i erigüen Qar-a Şar-turn negülgeki-dur, ğing nutada möçigerkejį elći jaruju dotur-a dayasuyai // kemen kedi kедün uδay-a öмү ğerig-i şuyubai.

Nayiraltu Töb-űn dörbedüger on daruγalaγsan Qotong Toqtomamut ğirγuγan ǰaγun ilegüi Qotong abçu doturysi negűr-e irebei. Lükčin-i şajar-tur tümen kümüne bui amui, daγusqan ese iregen-ū tula Emin Qoʃo-dur jakirγabay.

nayimaduγar on qoladakin-i amur bolγaγći yeke janggun Yu ğung Kič Emin Qoʃo-yi jil büri alban-u tariyan tariqu // kereg-tür kiçiγeműi kemen ayilaγaγsan-dur möŋgü törülie ^şangnabai.

yisędüger on Jęgün ğar Lükčin jići Qar-a Qoʃo-yin şajar-i qaldar-a iregen-dur, Emin Qoʃo qoton-u qayalyan-i qayaçu möçigerken čilüge-yi üjejų
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qulayai-yi darubai. qulayai qurban udaya-e egedeg dakiq iregsen-dür čöm daruydabai. biden-ü čerig kürügsen-ü qoyin-a, qulayai orγuγad, Emin Qojo tegürge-eče ɣarçu // uyutubai.

arábudur on ɣarliγi dayaju Lükčin-i Qotong arad-ı abçu doturgyi negülgegseg-dür, ɣarliγi-iyar jasaγ ulus-tur tusalayçı güng ergüljilebei.

arában nigeđüger on Güwe Jáe-yin yąjar-tur sidken sıqulγaju ɣarliγi-iyar doturyadu yąjar-un tüsimed-ün förnlü-yin yosuyar tuturyγ-a anu olvableUBLai.


qorin nigeđüger on Emin Qojo Güwe Jáe-eč Lükčin-ü yąjar-tur bučaju dayalduy-ı-bar // dörben jayun čerig abayad Iryai-yin jangjun Qoki-yi uyutur-a odcu bügüdeger neyileju terslegsen qulayai Bayar-i dayilar-a odcu Fijan-u yąjar-tur kürbe. Ögeled jiči Mangγaliq-un čerig genedte urbaj Qoki-yi könügège Emin Qojo-yi barsuyayi kemekü-dür Mangγaliq Ögeled-lüge ögüler-ün “ene Qotong kümün” kemeged Emin Qojo-yi talbiyad, Lükčin-dür egeγülbei. Mangγaliq bučaju tegin-i // dayudar-a ababusu Emin Qojo oduγsan ügei. kümün jarju quabisqal-i keler-e iregsen-dur, ɣarliγi bayulγaysan anu:

Emin Qojo kemegçi, ünen sanayan-iyar dayar-a ireği jil odayan kümün. minu kündü kesiŋ-i süsüljü kümün jarju međege kürügülğesn-i bi masi sayisiyan üjebae. tegin-ı beγ-e qulayai-yin dotur-a aqui-yi bi yekede üjü töbedmüþ. möñuke sayi Güwe Jáe-eče negüjü tende // kürbe. eldeb jüil

kemebei.

Emin Qoǰo dayalduγ-a-bar tegın-ű köbegen Süliyemen-i Qami-dur Jaruju qulaγai-yi kűčulen toʂju “yæke čerig öμüγler-e odqu ajiyaγamu?” kemen γuyuγsan-i Qami-yin jasaγ beyise Yūsüp ˄sonusqan ayila다고ςan-dur, ˄jarliγ bayulγayγsan anu:


kemebei.

qorin qoγyaduγar on-u qabur ˄.jarliγ bayulγayγsan anu:


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bariǰu čidabasu, darui Füküi-lüge qamtuber čerig abçu sidketügei. eseküe darui dotuğadu ɣajar-un čerig-i dayuşan tatatuyai. tende sayulyaqui-yi baγiyutan. Emin Qoǰo kerbe nigen qoyar jaγun čerig aγuγulju sür aburilaqui-yi γuyubasu, basaçu tegün-ű dur-a boltuyai!

kemebei.

5a // Mangyaliq-un samay-un i toytayaysan-u qoyin-a ^jarliγ-i dayaju Turfan-u ɣajar-tur negülgen sayuyad, tegün-û köbegen Süliyemen-i ɣarju kergem ^sangnaysan kesig-tür mörgügüljü ^barayalaqayulsuyai kemen γuyuysan-dur ^jarliγ-iyar ulay-a-bar iregülbeı. namur-a terslegsen Qotong Bürenidün Qojijan urbayad Yérkiyang, Qaʃyɾar-i ejelegsen-ű učir-dur, kelelčeǰü yeke čerig ilegejü yal-a-yi // asayun dayilar-a odsuyai kemeküi-dür Emin Qojo-du ^jarliγ baγulγaγsan anu:


kemebei.

Emin Qojo-yin ayiladqaysan ebkemel kürčü iregsen-dür, ^jarliγ baγulγaju sayisiyayad anggi-yin sayid talbibai. tere چay-tur Qar-a Şar-un Saras Maqus-un // jerve-yin qulayai-nar nutuy negülgekü siltay-tur urbaju orγubai. Emin Qojo 11a ^jarliγ-i dayaju tangnayulči-yi Qar-a Şar-un ɣajar-tur medegçilegülür-e ilegebeı. basa tangnayulči bučayas-un qoyin-a, sayi čerig γarbasu ülu güičegdekü boluγuajai” kemen bey-e-ber čerig abarad Toqusun-u ɣajar-tur odçu küliyegsen-ű
učir-tur “tuqai yosun-dur neyilelčebei” kemen // ʃayisiyəyad torγ-a ʃangnabai.

basa ʃjarliy bayulγaγsan anu:

qoyitu jil Yәrkiyəng Qaʃiyar-i sidkekiï-dür jangjun sayid-ud bui bolbaçu, Qɔtong ayimpan-un bayidal tölüb bolbasu, ɕi bolbasuratala medekkiï-yin tula çimayi qoobi-yin sayid bolγaγad emün-e anggi-dur yaburuγumui. çi minu kesig-i sanajï ünen sanayaŋ-iyar šalamayailan jidkiïjï yəbiy-a bütügekiiyi // kičiyen yabubasu egüride kesig oglige-yi dajaxi bolai.

kemebei.

Emin Qojo Qar-a Şar yəjar-tur quľaŋai-yin mör ügei-yi medegečiñeeljû
tangnayuŋči-yi Qurumši Jebe-yin yəjar-tur medegečiñeeljûñ jaruţa basa bey-e-ber
sang-un yabudal-un yamun-u ded sayid Aриγun-ɯ čerig-ɯ dayalduŋ quľaŋai-yi
dayilasıŋai kemen γauguŋsan-dur, jărliy-iyar beγile-yin jerg şangnayad, oļγaŋuluq
siguşi // möŋgguŋ-i qoobe-yin sayid-ɯ yosuŋar bolŋaγai.

Emin Qojo, Aриγun-ɯ dayalduŋ Asqan Bulaq, Kešitiγek jam-aça qoyar
javun iļeguŋ maγačiŋ-i Tabun ɬoŋqor, Nemge-yin yəjar-tur eribe. basa ɣayaran
Qurumši Jebe-yin yəjar-tur odçu Kasan Dabaŋ-a-dur kürkiï-ɯ oyratuŋ quľaŋai-
yin biden-ɯ qosiyuŋ-ɯ jarkeruŋci sayid Manfu-ɯ odiŋeǰii kөŋuŋgeŋ Qar-a Jebe-yin
yəjar-tur // orγuŋsan-i medegečiñeel sunuγad nekeγi dotur-a oDAQ-ɯ, quľaŋai-
nar dabaŋ-a-yin jam-i tulejii tasiŋuŋ Kwię-che-yin yəjar-tur odbai. Aриγun Kөrle-yin
yəjar-tur, Emin Qojo Qar-a Jebe-yin yəjar-tur sayuŋu elči jaruŋu bićig bariŋuluq
nekmjilen abur-a oduŋulbasu nebteregsen ügei.

qorin γurbaduŋa on qabưr-a ʃjarliy-iyar qoobe-yin sayid talbiyad
egegseen-ɯ qoqin-ɯ, // terslegseen-ɯ ariląγči jangjun Yaryaŋan-ɯ dayalduŋ
Bürenidün, Qojiɣan-i sünküğeγai kemen tʊsiyabai. basa Yaryaŋan-dur “Emin
Qojo-yin jöblel-a abtuŋa, buu öberciŋi juteŋtun” kemen ʃjarliy bayulγəγu basa
jokis-i inu jüeŋjɨ Qɔtong čerig-ı dayalduŋ-ɯ abacɨyulŋ-ɯ toγan-u yosuŋar noγuŋ
tuŋ-ɯ čerig-ɯ-ŋi çögekqeged sayin mori qalaŋu ögkügülbei. tere kiri-dür
Emin // Qojo Kwię-che-yin yəjar-tur čerig oruŋuyui kemekkiï-dür ʃjarliy “tür Turfan-
dur egeŋed Yaryaŋan-luγ-a qamtu toγyayan kelenčetügei” kemebei.

Emin Qojo Şaras-un jerg quľaŋai-nar Kwię-eče Yәrkiyəŋ-ɯ yəjar-tur
orγur-a oDAQ-ɯ ydiŋečiñeel sunuŋuyad basa Qar-a Jebe-eče Qurtaŋ jam-dur
čerig bučaju maγačin-ɯ kiŋkkiï-dür, mori aliŋyayuŋ-ɯ // učir-tur sayi egebe. egün-
dür ʃjarliy-iyar beγile-yin jerg-ɯ-ŋi jiyuŋal-ɯ daruγ-ɯ, kiγ-ɯ, jiysaŋal-ɯ
tuŋimel jerg-ɯ-ŋi tuŋimel bayuŋulb. Emin Qojo Qojis-un basakü Ūşi-yin yəjar-
tur saγuŋsan-i medegečiñeel sunuŋuyad Yaryaŋan-dur kelegs anu: “Qojis-un
bayidal qoyar qojo-dur tenggeçemüi. kerber kümün jaruů qubinayulbasu ɣabiy-a bütügeküi anu qurdun’” kemegsen-i Yaryașan // ¹sonusuyad ayiladqaqu ebemel-dür, Emin Qojo-yin ner-e-yi bičísgen ügei-yin učïr-tur, ³jarlıγ bayulyaγsan anu:

bék Qojoš-tan-i elsejü dayayulqu kereg-i üjebesü, tuqaı yosun-dur yekede neyileçefêjü. qayçakü Emin Qojo-yi qoobe-yin sayid bolγaγsan-u tulada darui ner-e-yi jïysaγan bičiγü qamtuber ayiladqašbasu jokimui. ilγan salγaγu bolqü ügei.

kemebei.

jun-u terigün sar-a-dur // ³jarlıγ-iyar törü-yin beyile bolγaγsan. mön-kü qoobe-yin sayid qabsurγabai. ³jarlıγ bayulyaγsan anu:


kemebei.

jun-u dumdadu sar-a-dur Küče-dür kürüged Yaryașan čerig abču şayardan oruqi-dur qulaγai qayisang-ača üker buu talbijad, Emin Qojo-yin barayun eteged-iın ger-e qaçar-un yajar onuů sirq-a olbai. egejü amaldun ögüleqsen anu: “minu bey-e // ³boyda kesig-i kürteγsan anu kündü, erke ügei bey-e-ben tebcjü küčülen bayildumu” kemebei. egün-i ayiladqaγsan-dur, ³deger-e kereğlekekü jegüü
qabtaγ-a, mingyan lang mönggü ُšangnaγad, ُjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:


kemebei. basa Yarγašan-i dongγudču ُjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:

qamtuber terigülegsen sayid boluγad // tegün-ü duraber bey-e tebčijü bayilduqui-yi idqan bayilγaqu ügei yosun bui uu?


Emin Qoǰo Qotong ayimaγ-un bayidal dürsü-yi labtalan medemui. kümün inu basaču bayadur idetei. Jaoqui erke ügei ketürke üjeǰü tegün-ü tusa-yi quriyatuγai!

kemebei. dayalduγ-a-bar jam qubiyaǰu çerig oruɾusuyai kemen kelelčejü toγtaγayad
Emin Qojo-yin ayiladqaysan anu:


kemen ayiladqaysan-u qoyin-a, ^jarliγ

Jaoqui Ögeledi dayilaǰu toytayaysan-u qoyin-a, čerig-i negülgejü Qotong ayimay-tur oduyad, kerbe güičegdeke ügei bolbasu, Emin Qojo-yin jaruju kümün-dür asaǰuji čiqula qabčil-dur čerig bayudalafu Qojijan-//tan-u oryuqui-yi sergyiletiği!

kemegsen bülüge. egün-dür kürču ireged jarliγ iyar Yarγašan-u qulaǰaıa omtyayidaju oryuğuysaŋ yal-a-yi donguqsiyaju tegün-ü čerig-i Jaoqui-dur jakir改建 basa javliγ bayuļqaysan anu:

Emin Qojo, či kemegči Qotong kümün. kedüi Yarγašan-tan-dur adalidqaǰu ümü bolqu bolbaçu, basaçu yal-a ügei kemeǰü ügei //ügei. činu eng-iŋ učir-a jidküküŋ jaraǰ-i sanaju tür ayučilan keltürigülüged činu jidküküyi üjestügei. darui Jaoqui-yin anggi-dur yabutuyai!

kemebei.

jegüü qabtay-a şangnabai. lab egün-dür kürčü ireged bügüde qurban uday-a şangnabai.


jun-a Qašiγar-tur čerig oruquis-dur Bürenidün, Qoǰiǰan-u qoton-i gegejü orγuşan-i medegeçilen sonusuyad, Qašiγar-un buyudai sayi boluşsan-u tula tegün-ü körbegtün tusalığı ciqulajı Moosa-yi jaruju yayarqan qoton-dur oruju tariy-ya-quriyad čerig-ün // ideküi-dür tusalaysan-u učir-tur, ˢjarliγ-iyar Moosa-dur güng-ün jerge şangnabai. yeke čerig Qašiγar-tur kürüşed Jaoqui Moosa-yi akm bék-ün jerge-i sidkegüljü Emin Qojo-yi Yürkiyang-dur jaruju tegün-ü olan-i toquuniyulabai. egün-dür ˢjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:

Yürkiyang, Qašiγar qoyar qoton kemeği, Qotong-ud-un indüsütên yaγar. akım bék // talbiq-anu masi čiqlula. minu sanay-an dur Yürkiyang-23b

em Emin Qojo-dur jakirγaju Qašiγar-yi Yüsüb-tür jakirγaγqu, ene jerge qaγyučin kümün tende abasu sayi idegejü bolumui. yeke yabiγ-a bûtûgegsen-ü qoyin-a jiči sidketügei!

ekemebei.

ebül-ün terigün sar-a-dur Badaqšan Qoǰiǰan-u tolorai-yi qoryu-dur kijü egün barıju kürger-e iregsen-dür, ˢjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:

Emin Qojo, Yüsüb tus tus-dayan čóm jidküjü yabubai. edüge teden-i // čóm iregülbesü Qotong-ud-un kereg-i sidkeg kümün ügei-yin tulada, 24a

kesig kürtegejü Emin Qojo-yi debšigüljü gıyün vag ergümjileged Yürkiyang-ün γajaran sayaju kereg sidketügei!

ekemebei.

ebül-ün segül sar-a-dur basa ˢjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:

edüge yeke yabiγ-a bûtûgebei. Emin Qojo-yi jüi inu qoyisi iregüljü jirγayulun // saγulγabasu jokiju bülüge. γayčaku Yürkiyang-ün jerje-yin 25b
qoton inu čóm sin-e toytayasan γajar, erke üget Qotong-ud-un yang-i labtalân medekü, kündü niya kereg-tür bolbasarqas kümün-i saγulγaju kereg sidkegülbesü sayi sayin. Emin Qojo kemeği minu qaγúcın boyol,
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kemebei.

tegün-ü ruqulqulju kereg kostkegü ùgei.

Turfan ayınay-un Qotong kümn, terigülejü ijarur-aça künageredün dayar-a irejüküi. 15a
teyin-ki ċerig-ünd kereg-i tusalan sidkegsen anu, tendeki Qotong-un yang-i medegsen-ù učir keregleyjüküi, labtalan medegsen yajar-i üli̇ keleklen ber ügei, tegün-ü kelelegsen üge üli̇ neyilelekekün ber // ügei, ayuruluyan sedkil či̇ċula buçu bolbaçu, čing ni̇yta bari̇ysan anu ködelgejü bolqu ügei

kemebei.

jun-u terigün sar-a-dur tüsümel-ünd yabudal-un yamun-u ded sayid-u janggi Qayiming ^jarli̇y-i dayaju Yérkiiyang-dur kereg sidken oduqui-dur, ^jarli̇y bayulyȧysan anu:

Qayiming kemegči dotuyadu yajar-aça ilegegsen sayid. kereg ayiladaqqui-dur tegün-ü ner-e-yi Emin Qojo-yin emün-e talbituyai. // sayyakü tegün-ü ner-e-yi emün-e talbibai kemen Emin Qojo-yi 15b

kemebei.

tere čaγ-tur Ili-yin akim bek bayuljulu tariyan tariqu Qotong irgen-i jakiryaqui-yi kelelečjü ayiladqaysan-dur, // ^jarli̇y-iyar Moosa-yi jakiryabai. tere 28a
tere čaγ-tur Ili-yin akim bek bayuljulu tariyan tariqu Qotong irgen-i jakiryaqui-yi kelelečjü ayiladqaysan-dur, // ^jarli̇y-iyar Moosa-yi jakiryabai. tere 28a

kemebei.

tere čaγ-tur Ili-yin akim bek bayuljulu tariyan tariqu Qotong irgen-i jakiryaqui-yi kelelečjü ayiladqaysan-dur, // ^jarli̇y-iyar Moosa-yi jakiryabai. tere 28a

kemebei.

tere čaγ-tur Ili-yin akim bek bayuljulu tariyan tariqu Qotong irgen-i jakiryaqui-yi kelelečjü ayiladqaysan-dur, // ^jarli̇y-iyar Moosa-yi jakiryabai. tere 28a

ebül Yerkiyang-un bék Ödüi Qasîyar-un bék Qadayimat Qottiyan-u bék Asimat-tan “Emin Qojo-yi kelemürći-ten-i duraber talbiyad, Qotong arad-i qarkislen yaburyulbaí” kemen gereçilegsen-dür, qoobe-yin sayid Sükedé teden-ü // güdkegsen yabudal-i bayičayan yarγayad buruyusiyan surγayasan-u qoyn-a, Ödüiten yal-a külιyen abubai. egün-i ayildaqaysan-dur ^jarliy bayulyayasan anu:

**Qotong-ud-un surtal ması maγu. onça qarılcan qadqun jabsarlayulju mayuđqan unayafu yabumui, egün-dür γarγakü biden-ü sayid-ud sidurγuγyi bariju çinglyalan barimtalaju jakirqui-dur bui amui. Sükedé Yerkiyang Qaşıyar-un Qotong-ud-tur // uqayulaytun:**

yeke efen kümün-i kereglekü-dür γarγakü ober-ün erdem čidal-dur kirilegül-ün kereglekü bui-j-a. urid Qaşıyar-tur kereg sidkekü kümün keregsegseŋ-i tulada, teyin-kü Moosa-yi tür kereg sidkegülebei. edûge Ili-dür čerig surγulγaysan tariyan tariγulγuyusan-u tulada basa teden-ü akim talbibai. tegün-ü oγtu asida Qaşıyar-tur bolγayasan yabudal busu, ta yavun-dur eyimin // demei üge jokiyaju mayuđqan kelelecgükü bui?

kemekü üge-ber sengkeregül-ün uqayultuyai! jiči kelemürči kemegçi, çöm Qami Turfan-u kümün buyu, kerbe bürim-e qasbasu biden-dür tong čikin nidün ügei-dür körümiü. tereči buityayai, ene uday-γa gudken jayalduruγsan bičig inu, ünegere jalitu jisur arad-un bičigen anu buyu. egüče urusjı kelemürći-ten kerbe ayimsiγ ügei Qotong-ud-un // yavum-a jüil-i qoltulju abuγčid bui bügesü, basaçu mön kündü-ber sidkejü yalalaquia-yi öfüğülügtün!

kemebei.


205
qorin doluduyar on Yërkiiyang-un kereg sidkekü qosiyn-i jakiruyusn sayid Sinjü, Emin Qojo-luy-a qamtu ayiladýaýsan // anu:

Yërkiiyang, Qotiyan-u yaýar-tur anu quriýaýsan anu olan, egün-i qoyar öb-tür tengge taýaçãyyul-un tusiyalýaýju mal-i eriýü qudaldun abuýulsuýai, nayiman öb-tür toryamsay bös taýaçãyyul-un tusiyalýaýju Ilý-dür jögejükürügüüged, Qasaq-an mori-yi araljusuýai?

kemen ayiladqayaysan-dur, Ḍjarliγ bayulyaysan anu:


kemebei. dayalduy-a-bar “Badaqšan-dur elçi jarusuyai” kemen keleleçü ayiladqaysan-dur Ḍjarliγ “Emin Qojo-yi tür Yërkiiyang-dur ayuýultuýai” kemebei.

The Life of Emin Khoja: Manchu Text


Sinǰu basa “Badaqşan kerbe üge díaqau ügei bolbasu, tūsimel bi čerig abçu dayilar-a odsuyu. Emin Qojo-yi ayuylju kereg sidkegülseüei” kemen ayiladqaysan-dur, ğjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:

19b Badaqşan-i kerbe burûyusiyayu üge díaqau ügei bolbasu, jüi inu čerig ilejeğiü dayilar-a // odyulbasu jokimui. ğayçakü Sinǰu oyu ğerig dayin-dur yabuju önggereğülügsen ügei. Emin Qojo Qotong ayimay-un kereg učir-i bolbasuratátal-a medemü, jüi inu qamtuber odbus odkimui.

kemebei.

tere kiri-dür Qašiγar-un kereg sidkekü erkilegsen sayid Yunggüi-ten Qotong-un yayili jaryłu-a-yi keltürigülkü-yi yuyun ayiladqaysan bičig-tür, Emin Qojo jiči Yüsüb-ünk nem-e-yi ğişaygan es bičigsen-ü učir-dur, // ğsurγan burûyusiyabay.

qarin nayimaduyar on-u qabar Yunggüi Sinǰu olan qoton-u bék-i ulariylunun talbiqi-yi yuyun ayiladqaysan bičig-tür, basa Emin Qojo-tan-u nem-e-yi ğişaygan es bičigsen-ü učir-tür ğjarliγ bayulγaγsan anu:


kemebei.

// díaqaldyγ-a-bar Sültenša Bürenidün-ü yasun jiči tegün-ü qurban köbégün-i ergün bariju, Emin Qojo-dur qarigu ögggügsen jakiy-a-dür Emin Qojo-yi erkimlejü ečige kemen ergüjü qayurmay-iyar Čitral-i tegün-ü qayučin qariyatu yafar Bolor-tur ögük ügei kemebei. Emin Qojo basa Sali-yi jaryłu tegün-ü yal-a-yi

qorin yisdüüger on Sültenša, Emin Qojo-yin egegsen-i sonusurayd Qojikelan-i jaruju kürügülügsen jakiy-a-dur “urida Yérkiyang-un sayid-ud Šaqošamat-un kelbeyiğiü ügen-i sonusbai. oldayul-a, basakü // Čitral-un yajar-i bučaγaju gedergü öğkü aǰiyamu?” kemegsen-i Elgingge ^sonusqan ayiladqaysan-dur, Sültenša-yi buruγusiyun “jarliγ bayulγaysan anu:


kemebei.

basa “jarliγ bayulγaysan anu:

Elgingge-yin ebkimel Sültenša-yin jiger-e-yi bičijü Emin Qojo-dur jakijü öjügülüged darui tegün-ü sanayan-iyar bičig bičijü jakitüγat!  

kemebei.

Sültenša dayaldurγ-a-bar Osman Bék-i jaruju ayiladqaysan anu: “egüče uruysı ayimay-un arad-i quiriyaγılan jakirču ayimsiγ ügei öčüken-çu // öber-e sanay-a aγuγulqu ügei” kemegsen büged basa Emin Qojo-dur qariju ilegegsen bičig-tür yal-a-yi Qurkalan-dur tölgileleǰeü tegün-i demei ügen jakibsan-u učir-tur
The Life of Emin Khoja: Manchu Text

nigente jalqayabai kemebei. 39b

23a 3a

23b 41b

24a 42a

kemebei. Emi

39b

23b 41b

24a 42a

tere kiri-dür Körle-yin qazi bék Oman neretü kümün akim bék Sediq-ün
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angqan uday-a jamγaljilaγsan Süliyemen, Emin Qojo-yin aşqamad

nigen kümün Sediq-tur “Oman, Qošor urbabai” kemen kelebei.

döčin qoγudüγar on-dur ügei bolbair.


angqan uday-a jamγaljilaγsan Süliyemen, Emin Qojo-yin aşqamad
kobegun, tngri-yin tedkügenş-ü arban doloduyar on yütar jerje bék talbibai.
qorin nigeđer on // Tarliy-yar güm-üng ürge ergümjilebei.
qorin yurbaduyar on-u jun yeke çerig Kûče-yi qabaşan-u çay-tur maşaçin
Kürle jam-aça çerig-üng kûriyen-dür kürgekü qorgol[j]-tu sumu, yal-un dari-yi
uululaşan-u učir-tur Q'ayan Kûrle-yin yajjar, Turfan-dur oyir-a kemen Tarliy-
yar Suliyemen-i çerig abu̯arā qaraqul-un jam-i sidkeçülűr-e ilegebei.
ēbûl Çaqar-un bügüde daruγ-a // Minjur-i qalayûlur-a ilegeged Tarliy-yar
Suliyemen-i gedergü egeçülbei. basa alban-u tariyan tariqu kereg-i sidkekü ded
sayid Yûnggû-dür qariyatu ayimây-tur jokis-i inu üjejü mori mal ögeçü kükçeļjü
tariyan tariyultuyai kemen Tarliy bayûlyabai.
qorin dörbedüger on-u qabur Suliyemen tegün-ü değiü tusalayči bék
Moosa-luy-a qamtuber jayun mori bariju çerig-tür tusalayışan-u učir-tur // Q'ayan
qariyatu ayimây-i sayi negüjü mori mal ese bügesü kürülčečkü ügei kemen Tarliy-
iyar gedergü öggügültüged basakû ulam-iyar Tarliy bayûlyaju alban-i kereg-tür
jidkübei kemen sayisiyabai.
qorin dörbedüger on kelełęčju Dolon-u Qotong arad-i Qar-a Sar-a-dur
negülgeçsen-ü qoñin-a Suliyemen Bûgü Kûrle-dür odçu usun-i uduridçu tariyan
çidququ yajaran qubiyaju nutuy-i toytayâçu olan // kereg-i töüsülen sidkeçsen-ü
učir-tur Sayisiyan mönggü tory-a şangnabai.
qorin tabudüyar on 'baraqalqar-a iрегsen-dür Tarliy-yar kiyen čing mend-
dür yabûylubai.
qorin doloduyar on terigün jerje taçyjü bolýabai.
qorin yisüdüger on tegün-ü kobegun Manukiyar-i abcu alban-u tariyan
tariqu Qotong irged-i qaraqalju Ili-yin yajaran kürgebei.
quçiduγar on yeke // çerig-i dayalduju Üşi-yin urbaşan qulaçay-i
dayila-a odûšan-u uçir-tur Tarliy bayûlyan sayisiyabai.
döçin qoyaduγar on jasaγ töri-yin giyûn vang jalaçmîlabai.
döçin dördbedüger on tegün-ü ayimây-un arad-i qargislayan basa tegün-ü
qariyatu kümün-i joriy-yar aytalaşan-u uçir-tur yal-a unayaju giyûn vang-un
kergem-i ebdeged neyislel qotan-dur // dayudaju abur-a irged terigün jerje kiya-
a talbibai.
döçin tabudüyar on-dur Suliyemen ügei bolușan-u qoñin-a Tarliy-yar
tegün-ü yasu-yi Turfan-dur gedergü egeçüljü sidken orúsiyabai.
qoyaduγar uday-a jalaçmîlabais Isk'andar, Emin Qojo-yin tabudüyar
kobegun, tngri-yin tedkügenş γuçin nigeđüger on tegün-ü aq-a Oromzab-i
dayalduju // Ili-dür odûyad alban-u tariyan tariqu kereg-i tusalan sidkebei.
γuçin nayimaduγar on yâbiy-a-yi ilâju tabudüyar jerje tusiyal talbiyad
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toγus-un otoγ-a "^šangnabai.

döčin nigeďer on "barayalqar-a irebei.

döčin qoyaduγar on "jarliγ-iyar kiyen êing mèn-dür yabuγulbai.

döčin dörbedüger on jasaγ dörö-yin giyün vang // jalyamjilabeli.

döčin nayimaduγar on "jarliγ-iyar üy-e ularin tasural ügei jalyamjilabeli.

tabin γurbanuγar on-u qabur-un terigün sar-a-dur "jarliγ bayulyaγsan anu:


kemebei.

ebül-ûn terigün sar-a-dur γurban nidütti otoγ-a // "şangnabai.

ebul-ûn segül sar-a-dur Yèrkiyang-un akim bék-tür ularibai.

// qamiyaryaysan terigün jerge tayij Oromzab-un üiledbüri-yin şastir

Oromzab, Turfan-u jasaγ giyün vang Emin Qojo-yin γurbanuγar köbegün, tngri-yin tedkügsen-û qorin jirjoduyar on Qašiγar-un kereg sidkeki jegün eteged-ûn erkilen bayičaγayči sayid Yünggüi Oromzab-i qariyatu ayimay-ûn kereg-i sidkegsen anu sayin kemen ayiladqaysan-dur // "jarliγ bayulyaγsan anu:

Emin Qojo kedü kedün jil čerig-ûn kürüyen-dür kereg sidkebei. tegün-û aqamad köbegün Sülyemen qoyaduγar köbegün Moosa çöm alban-u kereg-i dayaγaju sidkемü, Turfan-u jerge-yin γafar-un kereg-i tegün-û
γurbaduyar köbegün Oromzab jakırču sidkegsen-ü tulada egün-dür kesiγ kürtegeγi ded jerγe jingse toyus-un otoγ-a şangnaγu qadayuluγad kökigülküi-yi üjügülüγtün!

kemebei.
γučin nigeγüγ on // ^jarliγ-iyar terigün jerγe bayurayuluγad Ili-yin 52a
γutayar jerγe akim bék talbibai.

dögčin nayimaduyar on ^jarliγ

oru qarwsan-u qoy-in-a jidkül bui bügesü tegün-ü köbegün-dür mön-kü ijaýur-un kergem jalaγmjilaγuluγutun, kergem ügei bolbasu des des-iyer jerγe bayurayuluγu γutayar jerγe bayurayuluγutun.

kemebei.
tabin γurbaduyar on ^jarliγ-iyar ü-ye ularin tasural ügei terigün jerγe tayiγi // jalaγmjilaγuluγutun. 52b
tabin tabuduγar on kesiγ kürtegeγi güng-ün jerγe bolγabai.

// qamiyargaγsan ded jerγe tayiγi Firdun-u üiledbung-yin şastir 53a

Firdun, Turpan-u jasaγ giyün vang Emin Qojo-yin jirγudyuγar köbegün, tngri-yin tedküγsen-ü γučin jirγuduyar on ^baraγalqar-a iregsen-dür ^jarliγ-iyar ded jerγe tayiγi bolγagad toyus-un otoγ-a ^šangnaγad // ^jarliγ-iyar kiyen čing men-dür yabuyuluγutun.

dögčin nayimaduyar on ^jarliγ

oru qarwsan-u qoy-in-a jidkül bui bügesü tegün-ü köbegün-dür mön-kü ijaýur-un kergem jalaγmjilaγuluγutun, jidkül ügei bügesü des des-iyer jerγe bayurayuluγu dötüger jerγe tayiγi jalaγmjilaγuluγutun.

kemebei.
tabin γurbaduyar on ^jarliγ-iyar üy-e ularin tasural ügei ded jerγe tayiγi // jalaγmjilaγuluγutun. 54a
tabin tabuduγar on namur-un terigün sar-a-dür ^kesig kürtegeγi terigün jerγe tayiγi bolγabai.
Lexicon

Entries give: 1) for non-Turkic words, the language of origin (see list of abbreviations on p. v) 2) definition; 3) folio citation; 4) further references and citations. For the translation of titles, see the Appendix on pp. 267–271.

A'/A

ač- to open, reveal (explain) 16b, 18a

ačğiğa- to get angry ~ p sözlä- 24a

‘adısla- A.-T. to count, enumerate 18a, 33a

‘adıdlıq A.-T. numbering 33b

‘adıl A. justice 46a; ~ birlä 16b

ağıa elder brother 24a, 40a, 42a, 43b

ağır heavy, weighty 3a, 5b, 9b, 23b, 36b, 46a; ağırıq heavily, immenselty 2a; ağırıq bilän carefully, diligently 17a

ağız mountain pass 12a

ağı- to get sick 25b, 26a, 28a, 30b, 31a, 32a, 36a, 41b, 43a, 44a, 50b; ağrıq illness 44a

āhasta P. slowly 18a

ajdar P. dragon 12b

ajra- to separate from, leave 14b, 44b

ahtala- to castrate 31b

al- to take 1b, 2a, 2b, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5b, 6a, 7a, 7b, 8b, 9b, 10b, 11b, 12b, 13a, 14b, 16a, 17a, 17b, 18b, 19a, 22b, 23a, 24a, 25b, 26b, 29a, 29b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 34a, 35b, 37a, 44b, 45a, 45b, 46a, 47a, 48a; aldurar- 7a; 7b, 18b; aliş- to engage in combat 10a
alban Mo. *alban* official obligation, tax, tribute 9a, 29b, 30a, 30b, 33a, 37a, 38a, 42a, 43b, 44a, 48b

albatu A. subject, taxpayer 38b, 45b; spelt *albuti* 49a

ald front; *aldaği* before 2b

alda- to fool, trick 5b

aldira- to hurry 7a, 24a; *aldiraš bilä* hastily 9b

alti six 26a; spelled *altä* 38a; *altinći* sixth 17a, 37a, 41b, 42a, 48a, 50b, 53b, 55a

amān A. security, safety, peace; *amānl* 9b

amban Ma. high official, dignitary (see Appendix) 6b, 9a, 10a, 15a, 16b, 19a, 21a, 21b, 23b, 31a, 40a, 43b, 45b, 50a

ancça so much 45a

andağ like that ~ *demäk burğay* let that be the case 9a

andin from that, after that, then 6a, 8a, 9b, 14a, 14b, 22a

andu Mo. 16b, 22b, 23b, 35a, 45b, 46a Mistake, error, mistaken, erroneous, wrong; mistakenly, erroneously

ἀγια- to hear 7a, 8a, 13a, 13b, 18b, 21a, 22a, 22b, 23a, 24b, 26b, 35b, 36b, 44a; *aylat*- to report 3b, 8bm 10a, 11a, 21b, 25a

‘aqīda A. faith, loyalty 10a, 38b, 39a, 44a, 46a, 49a, 49b; *‘aqīdaliq* faithful 9b

ara midst, between 16a, 18a, 45a, 56b

arajan Mo. *araja(n)* milk brandy 26b

ārām rest, peace ~ *birlä* 14a ~ *al*-17a

arit- to clean, purify (see Appendix)

arğa Mo. means, method 12b

ariğa- to make something clean 23b

arqa back, rear 15b, 38a, 48b

‘arż A. petition 31a

ʻāriyatī A. temporarily 44b, 50b

as- to hang

aşhan Ma. ~ amban (see Appendix)
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*āsla* A. originally, at all 10a, 16b, 19b, 23a, 23b, 34b, 36a, 46b, 48a

*āvsā* A. (misspelling for *āvžā’) behavior, deportment 14a

*āsra*- Mo. to keep, take care 26b

*āy* month 8b, 9b, 14a, 15a, 21a, 26a, 31b, 32a, 38a, 40a, 41a, 41b, 43a, 43b, 45a, 46a, 47a, 48b, 50b, 53b, 54a, 55a

*āylatqa-* Mo. to memorialize a superior, report to the emperor 3b, 6a, 8b, 10a, 11a, 11b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 17a, 17b, 18b, 19a, 19b, 20b, 21b, 22a, 22b, 23a, 24b, 26a, 26b, 31a, 34a, 34b, 35a, 36a, 37a, 37b, 41a, 42a, 42b, 43a, 44a, 45a, 45b, 46b, 48a, 50b, 52a, 53a, 53b, 54a, 55b

*āymaq* Mo. tribe, clan 2a, 5a, 6a, 6b,9a, 11b, 14b, 18a, 19b, 22a, 22b, 26b, 29b, 30a, 31b

‘āynī A.-P. same, still 44a, 44b

*āyri*- to separate 8b, 16a, 38a, 48b

*āyt*- to say 2b, 8a, 9b, 11a, 13a, 15b, 18a, 19a, 20b, 24a

‘āzā (misspelling for *āza’) A. mourning 44b

*āzgīna* a little 17b, 22a, 23b, 35a, 46a

Ä

*āymān*- to be shy, timid 17b, 18a
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B

baba father 38b, 49a, 49b

bahadur brave 11b

bahāna P. excuse 6a

ba-ham P. together 21a

bāj P. tax, duty 19b

bala child 14b, 19a, 24a, 35a, 36a

baldir last year 34a, 38b, 49a (SU bultur)

baq- to look, observe 5b, 7b, 8a, 9a, 12a, 14b, 16b, 29b, 35b, 36b, 39b, 49b

bar there is 6b, 10b, 11b, 13a, 16b, 17b, 20a, 23b, 26a, 33b, 37a, 38b, 39b, 43a, 43b, 44b, 84a, 46b, 49a, 49b

bar- to go 1b, 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 5a, 5b, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 9b, 11b, 12b, 14b, 15a, 15b, 18b, 19a, 21a, 22b, 24a, 24b, 25a, 25b, 26b, 29a, 29b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 33a, 34a, 34b, 35b, 42a, 43b, 44b, 45a, 46a

barābar P. together, equal ~ kel- 8a

bara bara gradually 39b, 49b

baralqa- Mo. to look up, have an audience, present oneself to 17a, 22b, 25b, 30b, 33a, 41a, 42a, 43a, 47a, 52a, 53b; baralqat- 5a

barga bala- children 36a; öy-barqini household 43b

bari everyone 40a, 50a

bas- to press, suppress 24b; basit- to suppress, put down 7a

basiq hectic, busy 14b (SU. besiq UTIL, 159)

basiqtur- to settle down (trans.) 13b, 34a, 34b (UTIL, 159)

basruq a heavy defeat ~ qil- to defeat, overcome 10b, 15b, 18b, 25a (Clauson 1972, 374)

baš head 14a; ~ bol- 9a, 10a; ~ tut- 2b, 11a, 14b; bašida kötär- 3a, 38b, 44a, 46a, 49a

baśaq arrowhead 10a

bašla- to lead; to administer, rule 7a, 9b, 14b, 16b, 18a, 19a, 22a, 23b, 25a, 30a, 31b, 35a, 37a, 46a, 50b; bašlat- 3a, 4a, 5a, 12a, 13b, 15b, 33b

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buhtān P. slander ~ qil- 16a, 17a

bula- to plunder 15b, 18b, 20b, 35a, 53a; bulat- 29a

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bolja- Mo. to agree on, determine prearrange 23b

boša- to vacate 26b, 35a, 41a, 42b, 43a, 44b, 50b, 52a, 53a, 53b, 54a, 55b

boyi Ma. beye self; see sula

boyğon Ma. household ~ jurğan Ministry of Revenue 7a

bölāk part, otherwise 7b, 9a, 11b, 22a, 26a, 33b, 34a, 45a; ~ to each one 14a, 38b, 49a

bölüş- to split up, divide 11b

bu this 5a, 5b, 4b, 9b, 13b, 14a, 17a, 18a, 19a, 31a, 35b, 38b, 40a, 43b, 45a, 45b, 49a, 50a; bular these 5b, 9a, 38b, 39a, 39b, 46a, 46b, 49a, 49b

burḥan lord 9b

buyru- to command, dispatch 1b, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4b, 5a, 7a, 7b, 8a, 11a, 11b, 12a, 13b, 18b, 19a, 20b, 21a, 22a, 24a, 33b, 34a

buyzi mundin ~ this side 9b, 10a, 17a, 22a, 23b, 84a (YTD, 444 bujzi)

buz- to break, ruin; buzul- to rebel 1b, 2b, 5a, 6a, 15b, 22b, 23a, 31a, 36b; buzuluši rebellion 24a; buzugoğluq disaffection, disobedience 24a

Č

čaf- to strike 22b, 34a

čağ amount 16b
čaqıl- to strike, afflict 19a
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čatişliq related, connected 45b (SU. çetişliq UTIL, 443)
čay C. tea 26b
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čerig Mo. army 1b, 2a, 5b, 6a, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b; ulağ ~ the Imperial Army 3b, 4a, 5a, 12b, 13b, 29a, 31a
čiraq vigorous, healthy 11b (WTQWJ #4680, corresponds to Ma. guigu, C. kangjian 康健)
čida- Mo. cida- to be able to; to endure, put up with 3a, 4a, 4b, 5b, 9b, 14b, 25a; čidaş ability 16b
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de- to say 2a, 2b, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 7b, 8a, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 11a, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 18b, 19a, 19b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 23a, 23b, 24a, 24b, 25a, 26a, 26b, 27a, 29a, 29b, 30a, 31a, 31b, 33b, 34a, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36b, 37b, 38a, 40a, 40b, 41b,
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doq < Ma. dahü “fur coat” 47a

dori P. ammunition 29a, 44a

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e- to be edi 4a, 12a, 18b; emās is not 4b, 10a, 15a, 17a, 19b, 21a, 22a, 23b, 26a, 38b, 45a, 45b, 48b; emāsmu? 6b, 14b, 16b, 20a, 22a, 34b, 84b; ekän 5a, 6b, 22b, 23b, 46a

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el tribe, nation, people ~ qil- to make subject, enroll 8b, 12b

elči emissary 7b, 18a, 18b

ellik 47a, 50b, 53a fifty

emdi now 3a

erāš- to follow, submit 1b, 2b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 7a, 7b, 9a, 11a, 12b, 15a, 15b, 19a, 22a, 23b, 25a, 31a, 33a, 34a, 38a, 38b, 42a, 43b, 46a, 48a, 48b, 49a, 56b; erāšip 8b; erāštür- to cause to follow, lead 1b, 7b, 8b, 10b, 11a, 12b, 25a, 33a (SU. ārgāš-)

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ertā yaz spring 4a, 7b, 13a, 14b, 19b, 22b, 29b

ešit- to hear 26a

et- to do, make, cook 15b; in compounds: yoq et- 7b; ‘arż et- 31a to submit a petition

evir-/evirü- to turn evirülgän 2b; yüz ~ to turn one’s face, rebel 1b, 2b, 3a, 4a, 5a, 7b, 9a, 10b, 11a, 12b, 15b, 18b, 24b, 35a (YTD, 453 i:rül-)

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farīb P. deception, trickery ~ bilā 7a

farvā P. qil- to care, be concerned, take heed of 30b; spelt parvā 31a

fastlat- to lower, reduce 38b, 39b, 48a, 49a, 49b, 50a; spelt pastlat- 26b, 38a

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faydā P. paydā ~ qil- to produce, create 21b

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fū C. cannon shot 9b

fūnlū C. fenglu 俸祿 official salary

fūzeliq bearing an embroidered plague (C. puzi 補子 > Ma. puse, Mo. büse; see Appendix) 12b

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gegān Mo. gegegen splendor, brightness, imperial presence 33a, 41a, 41b, 47a, 52a, 53b

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hākim A. (often spelt ḥakīm, see Appendix)

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haqir A. ~ kör- to scorn, demean 23a

haqir A. ~ qil- to risk one’s life 10a; jān ḥarjla- 10b

harj A. spending, expenditure  jān ~ qil- to risk one’s life 10a; jān ḥarjla- 10b

hat A. letter, memorial 1b, 5a, 7b, 10b, 19a, 19b, 20a, 21a, 22a, 26a, 26b, 31b, 32a, 38b, 39a, 39b, 44b, 48b, 49b, 50a

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48a, 48b, 49b, 50b; ~ oňsat- to perform a service 3a, 6b, 8b, 9b, 14a

hiyāl P. thought, idea 6a, 39b, 46b, 50a, 50b; ~ qil- to think, consider 4a, 6b, 10a, 12a, 21a, 21b, 22a, 37b, 46b; ~ qilmay without thinking 5a

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il- in kö zgā ~ to regard, take notice of 10b

ibār- to send 1b, 2a, 5a, 5b, 6a, 7b, 10a, 11a, 11b, 15a, 17b, 19a, 20a, 20b, 21a, 22a, 29b, 33b, 34b, 44a, 53a

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iqlīm clime, country; iqlīmin̄j öyi the dynasty, realm (Ma. gurun boo, C. guojia 国家) 38a, 48b

isit shame, misfortune 36a

istā- to request, enquire into, investigate 16a, 17b, 21b, 22a, 23a, 23b, 24a, 33a, 33b, 34b, 37a, 38b, 48b, 53a; istät- 33b

iš matter, affair 4b, 8b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16b, 17a, 19a, 19b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 23a, 23b, 24a, 26b, 30a, 31a, 35a, 36a, 37a, 38a, 38b, 39a, 42a, 43b, 44a, 44b, 45a, 45b, 46a, 46b, 48b, 49a, 50b, 53a, 56b

išän- to believe, trust, rely on 5b, 14a, 23b

išikağa deputy governor (see Appendix)

ittär- to push, shift 22b

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jaki- Mo. Ḫaki- to give instructions, entrust, give an order for 22a, 35a

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janjuŋ C. (see Appendix)

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jobat- caus. of joba- Mo. jobaya- to harass, annoy 23a; jobattur- 23b

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jūtkū- Mo. jidkū- to endeavor, strive, exert oneself 6b, 9b, 12a, 25a, 29a, 30a, 31b, 34a, 35b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 40a, 44a, 46a, 49a, 49b

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kāh Ma. hiya guard 32a, 33b (See Appendix)

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känt town, village 33b

kātāči Mo. ketebči flint pouch (an imperial gift) 10a, 10b, 13a, 20b, (WTQWJ #12346)

cel- to come, arrive 1b, 2b, 3a, 3b, 6a, 8a, 10b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 14a, 14b, 15a, 17a, 18a, 18b, 19a, 21a, 21b, 22b, 24a, 25b, 26b, 30a, 30b, 31b, 32a, 33b, 34a, 35b, 42a, 43a, 44a, 45a, 53a; keltür- 14a; kelür yili next year 6b, 29b; keliş- to accord, be in harmony 6a, 9a, 10b, 15a, 17a, 20a, 27a, 30b, 31b, 33a, 34b, 36a, 39b, 45a, 50a; keliştür- 35b; keliškâni what is appropriate 7b; kelişâdurğani 9a

dek Mo. grace 2a, 3a, 3b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 9b, 14a, 20a, 22a, 26b, 27a, 29a, 31a, 31b, 34a, 34b, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39b, 40a, 43a, 44a, 46a, 46b, 48a, 48b, 49a, 50a, 50b, 53a, 53b

keyin after 1b, 2a, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 6a, 7b, 9a, 9b, 10b, 11a, 11b, 12b, 13a, 14a, 14b, 16a, 20b, 21b, 23a, 24a, 24b, 25b, 30a, 35a, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 39b, 44b, 45a, 48a, 49a, 49b, 50a; keyinki later, future 18a, 21b, 55a

kičā- Mo. kičiye- to exert oneself, apply oneself to 6b, 36b, 38a, 40a, 46b, 48b
kičik small 13a, 17b, 34a

köyün- to burn, feel pity 4b, 10a, 26b, 40a, 44a, 46b, 50a, 50b

köydür- to burn 7b

közlük eyed 12b, 34a, 37b, 41b, 42a, 46b, 48a

kişi person, someone 2b, 3a, 8a, 11b, 12a, 13a, 14a, 14b, 15b, 16b, 17b, 19a, 22a, 23b, 24a, 27a, 31b, 34a, 36a, 36b, 39b, 43b, 50a

kuhná P. old 5a, 11a, 14a, 14b, 15b, 17b, 20a, 20b, 26a, 31a, 38a, 38b, 45b, 46b, 48b, 49a, 50b; kuhnázättliq seniority 5b, 9a

köč- to move 3a, 6a, 30a; köčür- to move 5a, 9a, 11b, 22b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 43b

küc strength 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 9b, 10a, 26a, 27a, 29b, 31b, 35a, 38a, 39a, 40a, 42b, 44a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 50b, 56b

köm- to bury 18b

kün day 4b, 18a, 21b, 55a

kömüš silver 2a, 7a, 10a, 26b, 30a, 31a, 36a, 43b, 44a

küngärä crenellations 9b (SU. küngärä UTIL, 930)

küngürä UTIL, 930

künpüsün Mo. künesün ration, allowance 7a

kürä Mo. (army) camp 12b, 27a, 29a, 33b, 39a, 42b, 49a (YTD, 457 kürä)

kürmä Mo. jacket 12b

L

laʿl ruby 12b

lā-ilāj see ʾilāj
lāzīm (often spelt lāzīm) A. necessary; ~ bol- 4b, 5b, 6a, 16b, 35b; ~ qil- to use, make use of 6a, 12b, 13a, 15a, 16b, 26b, 31a, 36a, 40a, 43b, 44a, 45a, 50a; lāzīmliq expense 19b

liŋzī C. lingzi 絾子 silk gauze 17b

M

mabādā P. if, in case that 3a, 4a, 4b, 5b, 8a, 11b, 16b, 17a, 19a, 23a, 37b, 38a, 39b, 45b, 48a, 49b

mahal A. 7b, 22b; time; bir neččä ~ 8a, 8b

mahkam A. firm, sturdy 15a; mahkamlap firmly 3b; mahkamlık bilä 12b;

mahfī A. secret 6a

ma’lūm A. known ~ qil to present 14a, 19a, 20a

manfa’at A. benefit 11b, 46a

mansāb A. rank 8b, 26a, 33b, 39a, 45a, 46b, 49b; ~din čiqar 25b

mansābdār A.-P. official 1b, 8a, 12a, 25a

ma’qūl A. pleasing, agreeable 46b

marātaba A. time 13a, 17a, 25a, 31a, 35b, 42a

maslaḥat A. advice, council 7b, 24b 24b; maslaḥatlaş- to discuss, deliberate 10a, 13a, 15b, 20a

mayl A. desire, inclination; šunij mayličä as he wishes 4b

mayrin Ma. meiren (see Appendix)

mäkälä- Mo. mekele- to deceive, cheat, outwit 21b

mäzi cheek 10b

men I 3a, 5a, 9b, 11b, 18a, 19a, 20a, 26b, 34a, 36b, 37b, 43a, 44a, 46a; meniŋ my 4b, 7a, 5b, 6b, 10a, 13b, 14b, 20a, 22a, 23b, 26b, 36b, 38a, 38b, 39b, 40a, 44a, 45b, 46b, 48b, 49a, 49b, 50a

- miki dubitative participle 3b, 6a

mīltiq gun 29a

mindür- to cause to ride 47a

miŋ thousand 10a, 10b

mīrās A. legacy, inheritance 38a, 38b, 40a, 43a, 48b, 50a; mīrāşliq 26a, 43a

mörgü- Mo. to pray, bow 5a
-mu question particle 6b, 10b, 14b, 16b, 20a, 21b, 22a, 34b, 45b, 46a

-mu also (even if) 4b, 5b, 6b, 8b, 9a, 9b, 11b, 12a, 14a, 14b, 15a, 16b, 17b, 20a, 22a, 23b, 27b, 25a, 31b, 33b, 34a, 34b, 36b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 40a, 43b, 45a, 45b, 46a, 46b, 48b, 49a, 49b

muʿāf A. absolved, excused ~ qil- to forgive 5b, 12a, 24b

nā-maʿqūl P.-A. displeasing ~ qil- to find fault, condemn 12a, 13a, 16a, 19a, 19b, 20b, 21b, 22a, 24a, 25a, 46b

našb A. 1b, 26a

našihat A. advice, counsel ~ qil- 10b, 12b

navbat A. turn yilniŋ navbatida on yearly rotation 17a

nemā what? 5b, 13a, 16b, 20a, 21b, 45b

nečä several 38b, 49a; see birnečä, har nečä

nečand several 25a, 39a, 40a, 44a, 46b, 49b

nersā thing 17a, 17b

niḥāyatī P. extremely 3a, 3b, 8b, 9a, 10a, 10b, 13b, 14b, 16a, 17b, 22a, 26b, 33b, 34a, 35b, 44a, 46a, 46b

niru Ma. niru a banner company of a hundred men 29a, 33a

nurğun many, the masses 10a, 12b, 13b, 23a, 63b, 39b, 40a, 49b, 50a

N

nāgāh P. suddenly 45a
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O

obdan excellent 3a, 7b, 9a, 14b, 17b, 18b, 26b, 31a, 33b, 34a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 43b, 44a, 45a, 45b, 46a; obdanlıq 19a, 31b, 37a, 37b, 40a, 50b

oğri thief, bandit 1b, 2b, 3a, 3b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 8a, 9a, 9b, 10b, 11a, 12a, 12b, 13a, 15b, 18b, 22b, 24b, 25a, 29a, 31a, 33a, 35a, 35b, 53a

oğul son 3b, 5a, 11a, 13b, 18b, 20a, 24a, 25a, 25b, 26a, 26b, 27a, 52b, 29a, 30b, 31a, 31b, 33a, 33b, 34a, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37a, 38a, 40a, 41a, 42a, 44b, 48a, 50b, 52a, 53a, 55a, 56b

oğurla- to steal 18b

oğha- hizmat oğhat- see hizmat; oğhas same 38a, 48b

olja Mo. plunder 13b; oljala- to plunder 12b

oltur- to sit, remain 3a, 4b, 7b, 8a, 14a, 14b, 21a, 21b, 23a, 23b, 24a, 37a, 40b, 47a, 51a, 52a; olturguz- to station 4a, 4b, 5a, 9a, 14a, 14b, 16b, 45a

on ten 26a, 29a, 31b, 33a, 39b, 41a, 41b, 42a, 43b, 47a, 50a, 53b, 55a; onunči tenth 46a

ön right(-hand) 9b

oq arrow, shot 10a, 10b, 29a

orda palace 47a

orun place, position 34b, 37b, 38b, 39b, 48a, 49a, 49b, 50a

orunlaštur- to settle 20a

otağat Mo. otoγ-a(n) peacock feather worn on official hats as insignia of office or rank

ottuz thirty 25b, 36a, 38a, 41a, 42a, 48a; ottuzunči thirtieth 22b, 31a, 37b, 48b

Ö

öçür- to destroy 3b, 4b, 7b, 11a, 22b

öktämlik pride, insolence ~ qil- 31b

öl- to die 9b, 25b, 26a, 28a, 30b, 31a, 60b, 36a, 36b, 41a, 41b, 43a, 44a, 50b

öltür- to kill 2b, 5b, 7a, 18b, 22b, 24b, 24a, 35b

örgät- 16a, 18a, 19b, 43b, 45b to teach

örtäŋ Mo. örtege(n) relay station 5a, 35a
öt- to pass, go through, transgress 7b, 11b, 13a, 19b, 24a, 24b, 31a; ötkäz- to let pass; to forgive 5b, 10a, 11b, 12a, 14b, 15a, 19b, 21a, 24b

öy house 31a, 38a, 43b, 48b

öz self 3a, 3b, 6a, 7a, 9b, 10a, 10b, 14b, 16b, 18a, 23a, 23b, 24b, 33a, 39a, 46a, 49a; özičä 23b

özälä- to mourn (?) 53a (cf. Kirghiz özölön- “to weep, complain” Ludakhin 1985, 2:89)

özgä different 38a, 48b

P

parhēz P. abstinence ~ qil- 17b, 23b

parvā see farvā

past P. low 17b; pastlat- see fastlat-

paşemān P. regretful ~ qil- to regret 20b

piti- see fiütü-

pul P. money 17b

puțî- see fiütü-

Q

qač- to flee 2a, 6a, 7a, 8a, 11a, 12a, 13a, 13b, 15b; qaçur- 10b, 12a, 35b

qadım A. old 13b, 41a, 42b, 46b, 50b, 52a, 55a

qā’ida A. rule 19a

qal- to remain, stay 10a, 38a

qalam A. pen 46a

qalbik A.-T. baseness, perversity 22a

qamlaš- to remedy, heal 2b, 4b, 8b, 9a, 14a, 18a, 19b, 20a, 20b, 23b, 44a; qamlaštur- 4b, 6b, 10a; qamlašiq propriety, suitability 5b, 14b

qan- to satisfy ~maydurğan insatiable 22a

qanča how many? how much? 6a

qap- to grasp, seize, besiege 29a; qapal- 18b

qara black 33b, 35b, 47a; Qara Khitāy čerigi see Khitāy

qarat- to direct, aim, assign 34a, 37b, 41b, 42a, 46b, 53a

qaravul Mo. guard post 15b, 29b

qaru Mo. back, in return 20a, 22a
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 qaşdan A. on purpose 31b
 qatar A. qatær row ~ qil- 8b, 19b; qatarliq and the like, etc. 6a, 8a, 14a, 18a, 29a, 33b, 39b, 50a
 qatırqan- to strive hard, devote oneself to something 39a, 49a
 qattıqliq severity ~ bilän 3a
 qaysi which? 6a; har ~ see har
 qaydağ what sort of? how? 3a; har ~ see har
 qažī A. Islamic judge 23b, 53b
 qiçqir- to call, summon 2b, 47a
 qil- to do; to make 3a, 4a, 4b, 5a, 5b, 6a, 6b, 7a, 8a, 8b, 9b, 10a, 10b, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 16a, 16b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 18b, 19a, 19b, 20a, 20b, 21a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 23a, 24a, 24b, 25a, 26a, 26b, 29a, 29b, 30b, 31a, 31b, 33a, 33b, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37a, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 40a, 40b, 41a, 42a, 42b, 43a, 43b, 44a, 44b, 45a, 45b, 46a, 46b, 48a, 48b, 49b, 50a, 50b, 52a, 55b, 56b; qildur- 4b, 23b, 33b
 qirq forty 25b, 31b, 32a, 37b, 38b, 41a, 42a, 42b, 48b, 52a, 53a, 55a
 qismi A. qism 3a, 17b, 45b; qismiliq 17a, 23b
 qiş winter 5a, 12a, 12b, 17a, 29b
 qızıl red 46a, 47a
 qof- to get up, set off 24a
 qoḡla- to repel, drive away 13a, 15b
 qorğušun lead 29a
 qorq- to fear 18a
 qoş- to join, add to (tr.) 8b, 9a, 35b, 53b, 54a, 55b, 56a; qoşul- (intr.) 2a, 5b, 24b
 qoy- to place, station, appoint; to give up, forego 2a, 2b, 3b, 4a, 4b, 6a, 7b, 8b, 9a, 13b, 14a, 15a, 16a, 16b, 17b, 18a, 19b, 20a, 23b, 24b, 26a, 29a, 31b, 32a, 33a, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37b, 39a, 41a, 42b, 43a, 44b, 49a, 49b, 50b, 52a, 53a, 53b, 54a, 55a, 56a
 qoẓa- to stir up, commence 22a
 qul slave, servant 11b, 14b, 17b, 20a, 23b, 26a, 38a, 39b, 40a, 46b, 48b, 49b, 50a, 50b
 qulaq ear 16b
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$qurução$ empty ~ boyi unemployment

$quvvatlik$ A.-T. strong, powerful

$R$

$rahm$ A. mercy ~ qil- 4b

$rahım$ A. (misspelling for rahm) ~ kel- to pity 26b, 44a

$ra’iyyat$ A. commoners 15b, 30b

-raq/-rāk participle 10b, 44b

$rasm$ A. custom, principle 4b, 10b, 20b, 22a, 38b, 41a, 42b, 48b, 49a, 50b, 52a, 55a

$rāst$ P. true, correctly 2a, 6b, 9b, 17a; rāstla truly 3a; rāstla- to put in order 3a

$ravāq$ P. pavilion, see šu’lalik

$ravşan$ P. bright, see šu’lalik

$rišvā$ P. bribe ~ al- 17a, 23a

$rūbarūlaš-$ P.-T. to come up against, confront 3b

$S$

$sabab$ A. reason 23a

$sac$- to scatter, sprinkle 26b

$sahl$ A. easy, simple sahl-angūštılık

$qil$- to treat leniently 12a (corruption of sahl angāştan)

$sahllik$ ease, indifference ~ bilā 15a

$säkkiz$ eight 47a; säkkizinçī eighth 19b, 26a, 37b, 38b, 41a, 42a, 42b, 45a, 48b, 52a, 53a

$salāmnāma$ A.-P. letter of greeting 20a, 21a, 22a

$sal$- to put 14a

$saqla$- to wait; to protect, maintain 3b, 4a, 6b, 18b, 22a; saqlat- 4a

$sar$ P. tael 10a, 26b, 31a, 36a, 43b, 44a

$sari$ towards, the more… 22b

$sariğ$ yellow 47a

$savdāgar$ P. merchant 53a

$sayi$ Mo. only just, not before 3a, 13b, 15b, 17b, 21b, 22b, 30a, 34b (YTD, 465 saj)

$särgäklik$ Mo.-T. sergeg vigilant, alert, careful, cautious; sensitive 45a
sen you 5b, 6a, 6b, 12a, 20a, 21b, 22a; seni 6b; sąña 5b

sijil without pause, continuously 16a, 46a (UTIL, 665)

silā- to stroke, comfort 39b, 50a

silār you (pl.) 16b

siyāq A. order, regularity 6b, 8a, 11b, 24a, 43a

siyāsat A. punitive measures, authority 23b, 33b; ~ körsät- 4b

sizdur- to have painted 14b

soquš- to fight, clash 9b, 10a, 10b, 29a, 35b

sola- to lock up solat- to have locked up 5a

sor(a)- to ask, enquire; to examine, try (legally) 5a, 12a, 12b, 24b

söz word 13a, 14b, 15a, 16a, 16b, 19a, 21a, 21b, 22a, 22b, 35a

sözlä- to speak, say 10b, 12a, 15a, 16b, 18a, 21b, 24a, 24b, 25a; sözlät- 35b; sözläš-5a, 8a, 11a, 11b, 15b, 18a, 20a, 24b, 30a; sözläštür- 16a

su water 30a

sula Ma. sula leisure (see Appendix); ~ boyi unemployment Ma. sula beye; 25b, 28a, 31b, 33a, 37a, 41a, 42a, 48a, 52a, 55a, 56b

sürlük influential, authoritative 33b

Ș

şā’at A. hour, moment 22a

şafil A. fašil wall, rampart 9b

şanduq chest, box 14a

şarf A. ~ qil- to expend 4b, 33b, 39a, 49b

şatur- to cause to sell 17b

Ș

şahr P. city, town 2a, 9a, 10b, 11a, 13b, 14a, 19b, 25b, 33a, 34a, 34b, 35a, 38a, 40a, 48b, 50a

şanbegi collector of revenues 55b (see Appendix)

şanla- to reward (with), bestow 2a, 3b, 5a, 6b, 7a, 10a, 10b, 12b, 13a, 13b, 20b, 21a, 25a, 25b, 26b, 29a, 30a, 31a, 32a, 33b, 34a, 34b, 36a, 37b, 38b, 39b, 41b, 42a, 43a, 44a, 46b, 47a, 48a, 48b, 49b, 53a

şarṭ A. condition ~ qil to vow 9b

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šbu 27a this

šidkä-Mo. to make a decision, pass a resolution; to try in court; to pass judgment; to punish, chastise 4a, 4b, 5b, 6b, 9a, 9b, 10a, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 19b, 20a, 23a, 23b, 24a, 29b, 31a, 32a, 33a, 33b, 34b, 35a, 37a, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 42a, 43b, 45a, 46b, 49a, 49b;

šidkät- 9a, 13b, 14b, 16b, 19a, 20a, 29b, 43b

šiya Ma. hiya guard (see Appendix)

šol 7b, 18b, 21b that

šolzamān at that time 2a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5b, 8b, 12a, 14b, 20a, 22a, 22b, 23a, 26b, 34a, 35a, 35b, 43b, 44a, 44b, 45a, 53b

šolvaqtdä at that time 11a

šu 3a, 4a, 4b, 6a, 11b, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 15b, 17a, 17b, 16a, 16b, 22b, 23b, 26b, 31a, 32a, 34a, 35a, 35b, 36b, 44a

šundin 22b

šuni 16b, 17b, 22a, 23b, 33a, 36b

šunış 2a, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 5a, 9a, 10a, 11a, 12a, 13a, 13b, 14b, 15a, 15b, 18b, 20a, 20b, 22b, 24a, 25a, 25b, 26b, 29b, 30b, 31a, 31b, 32a, 34a, 35b, 36a, 36b, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39a, 42a, 44a, 44b, 45b, 46a, 48a, 49a, 55a;

šundağ like that 5b, 18b, 11b, 16b, 17b, 23b

šuya 3a, 14b, 33b, 34a, 37b, 46b

šu'lalik A.-T. lit, radiant ~ ravšan ravāq Hall of Purple Radiance (C. Ziguangge 紫光閣) 27b

T

tābi` A. subject, subordinate, dependent 1b, 2a, 4b, 13a, 20b, 29b, 30a, 45a; ~ jurğan Court of Colonial Affairs (C. Lifanyuan) 70b, 72b, 75a, 85a, 90a, 91b, 94a

taf- to find, obtain 10a, 11a, 18b, 25b; tafiš- 18a to find each other; tafthur- 1b, 7a, 38b, 39b, 48b, 49b

tafsür- to submit, entrust 4a, 4b, 7b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 22a, 24a, 31a, 33a, 35b, 38b, 40a, 44b, 49a, 50a

tahqîq A. definitely, certainly 5b

tahi also, still 4b, 5b, 8a, 8b, 9b, 17a, 17b, 18a, 20a, 20b, 21a, 21b, 22b, 23a, 30a, 33b, 35a, 35b, 36b, 40a, 43a, 45a, 56b; tahîmu 4b 9b, 14b, 34a, 43b
ta’înla- A.-T. to appoint 53b, 54a

tajāvuz A. exceeding, transgressing ~ qil- 24a

tal 7a see daban

talaš- to dispute, object, quarrel 24b

ta’lim A. training, instruction 25a

tamām A. all, fully 3a, 4b, 11b, 14b, 16a, 16b, 18a, 24b, 31b, 34a, 38a, 38b, 40a, 45a, 45b, 48b, 49a, 50a

tanabbuh P. awareness, alertness ~ qil- 17a

tajlik difficulty ~ din 5b

tardān P. tar-dāman scandalous, criminal, soiled, polluted 17a; tardanlıq qil- 5b to act perniciously (SU. tadan “sneaky” UTIL, 251; WTQWJ #9209)

tarti- to sow, plant 9a, 15b, 29b, 30b, 33a, 42a; tarit- 9a, 9b, 16b, 29b, 30a

ta’rīf A. praise, commendation 14b; ta’rīflîq praiseworthy 3b; ta’rīfla- to praise 3a, 6a, 6b, 10b, 12b, 13a, 20b, 21a, 25b, 30a, 31a (YTD, 468 tarıpla-; WTQWJ #5786)

tars P. terrifying, dreadful 10a, 11b

tarr- to pull (back) 1b, 4b, 45a, 46a

tarz A. (misspelling for ṭarz) form, manner 11b, 14b

taş 1. stone 10a, 15a; 2. outside 40a, 50a

taşla- to give up 13b

taşqarqi outer 26b, 53a

tavar silk, finery 6b, 25a, 30a

tayji Mo. < C. taizi 太子 prince (see Appendix)

tānggā Mo. coinage 17a, 17b

tebraṭ- to shake 15a

tegiš- to trade, exchange 17b, 21b, 29b

tegşälā- Mo. to make straight, keep in order 3a

temtäglā- Mo. temdegle- to make a mark, note down 26b; temtäglät- 37b, 48a

teylāştür- to equate 12a

tidu C. tidu 提督 (see Appendix)
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tilä- to request, wish 3b, 5a, 7a, 11a, 12b, 19b, 22b, 23a, 24b, 36a, 45a, 46b, 53a, 53b, 54a, 55b
tizgin reins 47a; tizginlik 47a
tohtat- to suppress, pacify; to station, assign; to determine 1b, 4a, 4b, 8a, 9a, 9b, 10b, 11a, 11b, 14a, 19a, 30a, 31b, 33a, 38a, 38b, 39b, 48b, 49a, 49b
tola many, much 4b, 14b, 17a, 17b, 36b, 56b
tolgâ- to twist, turn away 24b (Clauson 1972, 497; UTIL, 315)
tọṇči C. tongshi 通事 translator (see Appendix)
toqquz nine 40a; toqquzunci ninth 21a, 26a, 29a, 30b, 33a, 47a, 54a
tos- to block, confront 3b, 29a
töbänki below, lower 4a, 18a, 23a, 23b, 31b, 37a
tört four 2b, 12b, 47a; törtünči fourth 8b, 15a, 26a, 29b, 30a, 31b, 33a, 37a, 41a, 48b, 52a, 53a, 53b, 54a, 55b, 56a
töyrük Mo. round 12b
tuş banner 11a
tuşul- to be born 25b
tur- to stay, be 3a, 9a, 12b, 15b, 17a, 23a, 37a, 44a, 44b, 46b; turğuz- to station 4b, 14b, 13b, 20b, 21a, 31b
tusalaqči Mo. assistant (see Appendix)
tut- to seize, hold 2b, 3a, 4a, 4b, 5b, 7a, 9a, 11a, 13a, 14b, 15a, 16a, 16b, 19a, 29b, 33a, 35b, 44a, 46a, 53a;
ḫat tuttur- to present a letter 7b
tuyuqsiz suddenly 2b
tügâ- to finish 4b, 23a, 42b, 44b; tügât- to bring to an end, finish off, conclude 8a, 14b, 20b, 45a
tür- to wind, roll up 13a (UTIL, 343)
tüş- to descend 16a, 17b; tüšür- to hand down 2a, 2b, 3b, 4a, 5a, 6a, 6b, 7b, 8b, 10a, 10b, 11b, 12a, 12b, 13b, 14a, 14b, 15a, 16a, 17b, 19a, 20a, 20b, 21b, 23a, 24b, 26a, 26b, 27a, 29b, 30a, 30b, 31a, 34b, 35a, 35b, 36a, 38a, 40a, 43a, 44a, 45a, 45b, 46a, 46b, 48b, 50b, 53a, 53b
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učraš- to meet 12b, 13a, 22b

učur Mo. message, report, subject 5a, 6b, 8a, 8b, 10b, 11a, 12b, 13b, 15a, 16a, 18b, 19b, 21a, 22b, 24a, 24b, 25a, 25b, 29a, 29b, 30a, 31a, 31b, 35a, 37a, 39a, 42a, 43a, 49a, 49b, 50a, 53a

uḫrida Ma. uheri da (see Appendix)

uḫtur- to inform (sb.) 1b, 16b, 18a, 19a, 20a, 23b, 65a, 40a, 50a

ulağ beast of burden 17b, 29b, 30a, 53a

ulamjīt- < Ma. ulanji- to transmit, pass on, hand down 14b, 26b (WTQWJ #5857 ulamjip aytadu; #6250 ulamjip tüşüdii)

 ulaš- to inherit, succeed 25b, 52a; ulaštur- to have transmitted; to allow to inherit 1b, 26a, 26b, 31b, 36a, 37b, 38a, 38b, 39b, 40a, 42a, 42b, 43a, 44b, 48a, 48b, 49a, 49b, 50a, 55a

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uluğ great 14a, 16b, 33b, 38b, 49a; āčerig see čerig; uluğla- to praise, extoll 20b

una- to agree 24b

uqaq ~ tart- to give refuge, protect 46a (UTIL, 1211)

ustah"ān P. bones, corpse 18b, 20a, 31a

ušaq small, petty 33a, 33b; spelt uššaq 33a

uza < Mo. -j-a 5b, 17a sentence-final particle indicating uncertainty, probability

uzaq far, long (time) 2b, 14b, 26a, 38b, 39b, 49a, 49b,

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üčün for; for the sake of, because 2a, 6b, 9a, 11a, 13b, 14a, 14b, 16b, 17b,
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yağila- to attack 2b, 4a, 5a, 7a, 8b, 11b, 19a, 19b, 31a; yağilaš- 9b

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yandur- to withdraw, send back; to turn around, change 1b, 2a, 2b, 5b, 14a, 16b, 21a, 21b, 22b, 29b, 30a, 31a, 32a, 45a

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yasun Mo. yosun; X yasuničä in the manner of X, according to X 1b, 7a, 39b, 43b, 45a, 49b, 53b, 54a, 55a (YTD, 475 jusun)

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yaša- to live (long) 10a

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yet- to reach 2a, 2b, 3a, 3b, 4a, 4b, 6a, 7a, 9b, 12a, 12b, 13a, 13b, 17a,
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yiqit- to bring down 16b

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Manchu-Mongolian-Turkic Wordlist

This is a reference list of most, but not all, words occurring across the three texts. Some periphrastic translations have been omitted, others have been included but marked in italics. Where causative and passive forms of verbs are formed regularly in the three the texts, they have been omitted.

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The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

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dabala bui-j-a uza
damu yerü yalğuz
γayčaku bolsamu
dangsi- dongγud- sözlä-
dari būri sari
dehi dōčin qirq
dejji- tülė- köyqür-
dele deger-e yuqğari
dende- qubiya- böülüš-
deo degüü ini
dere niγur yüz
doigonde uriddača dastlabda
doko döte yaqın
dolo dotur-a ič
donji- sonus- aŋla-
dorgi ba dotuγadu γaǰar ičkärki yer
doro yosun rasmi
dosi- oru- kir-
dosimbu- oruγul- kirgüz-
duibule- adalidqa- teŋläštür-
duici dörbedüger törtünči
duin dörben tört
dulembu- önggereγül- ötkäz-
duri- buliya- bula-
dursun dürṣü siyāq
duwali nam hamrāh
eberi doruu past
eberembu- bāγurayγul- fastlät-
eđe egün-dür muğa
ehe mayu yaman
eherembi mayudqa- yamanšit-
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ejele- ejele- igälä-
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sirdan  jebe  bašaq
songko  mör  iz
songkoi  yosuγar  yasuničä, izičä
sonjo-  süked-  ilğa-
su-  dayila-  ġalib kel-
suja-  tul-  rūbarulaš-, berkitip tur-
suje  torγ-a  tavar
sunjadi  tabuduγar  bešinči
suri  torγamsuy  līŋzī
susai  tabin  ellik
suwaliyaganja-  qolicaldu-  ališip qal-
šada-  aljiya-  har-
šan  čikin  qulaq
šanggabu-  tegūske-  tūgät-
šangna-  šangna-  šanla-
šele-  tebči-  jān ḥarjla-
šošohon  quriyangyui  jam’ī
šusu  sigüşü  kūnüşün
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tacihiyän  surγal  ta’лим
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takūran  jaruγ-a  laẓimliq
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ubasku | urbači | qalblik
ubu | öb | hışşa
udabu- | qudaldu- | şatur-
udu | kedün | qanča, har nečä
ududu | kedü kedün | nečänd
uhei | bügüdeger | hamasi
uheri | bügüde | jami’
ujen | kündü | ağır
uju | toluyai | baş
uquila- | terigüle- | baš bol-
uka- | orγu- | qač-
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ulame | ulamjilan | ulamjitip
ulha | mal | ulağ
ulhibu- | uqayul- | uḥtur-
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umbu- | bula- | köm-
umesi | masi | nihâyatfi
unenggi | ünen | ‘aqídâlik
unggi- | ilege- | ibâr-
ure- | bol- | fiš-
ureme | bolbasurat-al-a | fišiq
urgede- | üteger- | žāyi’ qil-
urhu | kelbeyigüü | ğalať
urse | arad | ħalq
urui | onča | sijil
urunakü | erke ügei | taḥqiq
usin | tariy-a | ašliq
uthai | darui | şolzamân
uttu | eyimü | mundağ
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wakaşa- | buruγusiya- | nā-ma’qul qil-
wasimbu- | bayulγa- | tūšür-
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weihuken | könggen | yenik
weile | yal-a | gunâh
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Appendix: Titles and Other Terminology

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<th>EM13138</th>
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<td>札薩克</td>
<td>jasak</td>
<td>jasay</td>
<td>jasaq</td>
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<tr>
<td>(多羅)郡王</td>
<td>(doro i) giyün wang</td>
<td>(töörü-yin) giyün vang</td>
<td>(döröy) jun wang</td>
<td>Prince of the Second Degree (BH #873)</td>
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<td>(doro i) beile</td>
<td>(töörü-yin) beile</td>
<td>(döröy) bāyli</td>
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<td>貝子</td>
<td>beise</td>
<td>beise</td>
<td>bāyšā, bāyżā</td>
<td>Prince of the Fourth Degree</td>
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<td>(鎮國)公</td>
<td>(gurun be dalire) gung</td>
<td>(ulus-un tişi-y-e) giing</td>
<td>(gurunğa dalirä) gung</td>
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<td>(ulus-tür tusalayči) giing</td>
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<td>tayiji</td>
<td>tayji</td>
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<td>aisilara taiji</td>
<td>tusalayči taiji</td>
<td>yārīlaşadurğan / tusalaqči tayji</td>
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<td>管旗副大臣</td>
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<td>meyiren-ū janggin</td>
<td>mayrin jangin</td>
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The Origins of Qing Xinjiang: A Set of Historical Sources on Turfan

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<td>jiysayal-un daruy-a</td>
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<td>faydanniŋ čongi</td>
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<td>護衛</td>
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*Mongol and Muslim military ranks*

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<td>biyuge daruy-a</td>
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<td>都統</td>
<td>gūsa be kadailara amban</td>
<td>qosiyun-i sayid</td>
<td>guzani bašlaydurğan amban</td>
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<td>副都統</td>
<td>meiren i janggin</td>
<td>mayrin jangin</td>
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<td>Deputy Lieutenant-General (BH #720)</td>
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<td>[護]軍校</td>
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<td>čerig-ün tüsimel</td>
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*Military commissions*

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<td>goroki be elhe obure amba jiyaggiiyün</td>
<td>qoladakin-i amur bolyayči yeke janggun</td>
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<td>定邊將軍</td>
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<td>kijayar-tegn-i toytayayči yaqani ioltatadurğan janjuŋ</td>
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<td>(išni šidkäydurğan) alıha amban</td>
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### Frontier administration

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<td>參贊大臣</td>
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<td>領隊大臣</td>
<td>meyen i amban</td>
<td>Commandant of the Forces (BH #865)</td>
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<td>辦事大臣</td>
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<td>Imperial Agent (Mayers #560)</td>
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### Beg system

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<td>[商伯克]</td>
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**Imperial honours**

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<td>四團龍服</td>
<td>duin muheliyen muduri noho sabirgi kurume</td>
<td>jacket embroidered with four dragon plaques (BH #969)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>dörben tögürig luutai büsetü kürm-e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>tört töyrük ajdar füzeliq kürmä</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(三眼)孔雀翎</td>
<td>(ilan yasai) tojin funggala</td>
<td>[three-eyed] peacock feather (BH #950a)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(γurban nidütü) otoγ-a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(御用)佩飾</td>
<td>(deger-e kereglekü) jegüü qabtay-a</td>
<td>[imperial issue] belt pouch</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(dele baitalara) ashan fadu</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>(yuqğari lázim qiladurğan) asadurğan kätäči qara tülki doqi</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>元狐褂</td>
<td>qara tülki doqi</td>
<td>black fox robe</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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