THE HISTORY
OF THE
KHÔJAS OF EASTERN-TURKISTĀN
SUMMARISED FROM THE
TAZKIRA-I-KHWAJAGÁN OF
MUHAMMAD ŚADIQ KASHGHARÍ,
BY THE LATE
ROBERT BARKLEY SHAW,
AUTHOR OF SKETCH OF THE TURKÍ LANGUAGE,
THE GHÁLGÁR Languages, ETC.
EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
N. ELIÁS.

[Published as Supplement to the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,
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There are several Hebrew translations of the Zohar; the earliest, dating from the late thirteenth or early fourteenth century, is that of David ben Yehudah ha-Hasid, who incorporated parts of it in his own qabbalistic works. Parts of the Zohar have been translated into Latin by Guillaume Postel and Knorr von Rosenroth. Larger translations exist in English (by Harry Sperling and Maurice Simon, 1931–1934; by Daniel Chanan Matt, 1983); in French (by Jean de Pauly, 1906–1911; by Charles Mopsik and B. Maruani, 1981); in German (by Ernst Müller, 1932 and 1984); and in Italian (by L. Baldacci, 1978).

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1971.

Thus we can consider Zoroastrianism and Mazdaism

synonymous.

The roots of Zoroastrianism can be located in an eastern

Iranian, tribal, and basically pastoral society. The

religion originated around 1000 BCE and developed

further under the first Persian empire, but its clear conser-

vatism and strong traditionalism appear to be manifes-

tations of a cultural attitude that emerged during the

Sasanid period (third to seventh century CE). The evol-

ution and profound transformations of Zoroastrianism

are the consequences of its history. It survived the Ma-

cedonian conquest and the periods of Seleucid and

Greco-Bactrian overrule. After the Arab conquest, it was

danded down from generation to generation, through-

out the time of the Mongol empire and the local hege-

mony of Turkic and Persian Islamic rulers, all the way
to today's small and poor communities of Iranian Zo-

roastrians. It was also passed down to the influential

Parsi communities in India (Gujarat, Bombay, the Dec-

can) and in modern Pakistan.

As a result of its history, attempts have often been
made to distinguish between various phases of Zorao-
strianism and to endow each with a slightly different
name. Thus it has been suggested that the religion con-
tained in the Gāthās, the texts attributed to Zarathush-
tra himself, be called "Zarathushtrianism," that the con-
ents of the Younger Avesta be called "Zarathushtrian-
ism," and that the religion of the Sasanid period be
called "Zoroastrianism" (Gershevitch, 1964). These de-
definitions should be extended to include the religion of
the Zoroastrian communities in Iran and India today.

Sources. Zoroastrian scholarship has always had to
contend with considerable difficulties because sources of
knowledge about the religion, in particular those per-
taining to its earlier period, are few and conflicting.

The Avesta, a collection of texts gathered in writing
during the fourth or the sixth century CE, has survived
only in part, and it presents a heterogeneous picture. In
addition to the Gāthās, attributed to Zarathushtra him-
self, we find texts with very diverse structures and
goals, dating from many different periods and handed
down orally for many centuries, perhaps even a thou-
sand years or more. The main sections of the Avesta are
the Yasna (Act of Worship), which contains the Gāthās
(ESG); the Yashts (Hymns of Beasts in the Divine Fa
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1897.
IN 1876, when the late Mr. R. B. Shaw, returned from duty in Kashggar and Yarkand, he brought with him a number of Turki and Persian manuscripts which he had collected during a residence in those towns of nearly a year. Several of these works were historical and some were of great rarity. They comprised, I believe, the Jahân Kesâî of Allah-d-Dîn Aṭâûl-Mulk, Juwâini, the Târîkh-i-Râhîdî of Mirzâ Hâdâr, the Tâgîrâs-i-Bughrâ and the Tâgîrâs-i-Khâwâsâ heen of Muhammad Šâdiq, Kâshgârî. Of these I have seen none but the last named; but from certain documents left by Mr. Shaw which his nephew, Captain F. E. Younghusband, has been so kind as to lend me, it is to be inferred that all were intended to be used by their accomplished possessor, in elucidating either the history or the language of Eastern Turkistan. A few translated sheets of the Târîkh-i-Râhîdî are to be found among these documents, and a portion of the memoirs of Sultan Satuk Bughrâ is actually in print—text and translation—as an appendix to Mr. Shaw's Turki Grammar.1 It was on the memoirs of Khôjas, however, that most work had been done, and this was the book that he was occupied with up to the last. There is evidence that his intention was to bring out a revised Turki text, with a translation, and I think it quite likely that both text and translation were finished at the time of his death, at Mandalay, in June 1879.

All that is now to be found of matter connected with this book may be stated as follows:

1) Seventy-three small folio sheets (146 pages) of the original manuscript of Muhammad Šâdiq. These are consecutive as far as they go and represent, I should estimate, about three quarters, or four-fifths, of the entire work.

2) One hundred and twenty octavo pages of Mr. Shaw's Turki text printed at the Baptist Mission Press at Calcutta. These are revised and ready for publication, together with four long slips of galley proofs in continuation. This printed text ends at the same point in the narrative as the manuscript.

1 See *A Sketch of the Turki Language* in Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta, 1880.
(3) Certain sheets of translation in Mr. Shaw's handwriting, numbered pages 1 to 10, 79 to 107, and 13 odd pages not numbered.

(4) Five separate notes, in Mr. Shaw's handwriting, on various subjects connected with the history and headed respectively Appendix A, B, C, D and E.  

(5) A document of 41 foolscap pages very widely and hurriedly written by Mr. Shaw, without any heading, but which is found, on comparison, to be a précis or epitome, of the whole book.

This last is the only complete document and is the one printed below.

But though we have here parts of an original Turki manuscript, of a printed Turki text and translation, and a complete English epitome, there is evidence to show that this original manuscript is not the only one that Mr. Shaw based his work upon. The 73 sheets of the manuscript which have come into my hands contain many alterations and additions in Turki, in what I believe to be Mr. Shaw's handwriting, and many passages—some long, some short—marked for the printer to omit. In certain marginal jottings, moreover, mention is made of variations in "the other book," while in the fragments of the translation and in the epitome passages occur which are not contained in the original manuscript. Hence it is to be inferred that Mr. Shaw had, besides this work of Muhammad Sadiq, another which told the same story but in a different way; that he collated the two for his printed text, and translated and summarised from the latter.

What this "other book" may have been I can find no trace of. It frequently happens that different copies of the works of Asiatic authors are found to vary to some extent—either copyists or editors having altered the original manuscript. But, as far as I am aware, the variations in these cases are not usually considerable. In this instance, however, the texts differ rather widely in places, and on points of some importance. I am inclined to think, therefore, that the "other book" was not merely another copy of Muhammad Sadiq's manuscript, but the work of some quite different hand which recorded the history of the same times and events, though in entirely different language. It would be useless to speculate as to what particular book it may have been, but there are, I believe, some others, besides that of Muhammad Sadiq which relate the story of the Kashghar Khajas, and Mr. Shaw may have had one of them in his possession, though it may have been lost with others of his documents after his death. But whatever influence the collation of the two original histories may have had in modifying the printed text and the full translation, the epitome derived from them, containing as it does only the main facts, does not seem to have been affected to any appreciable degree. This will be seen from the foot-notes which I have added in a few places to indicate sometimes the variations from the manuscript and sometimes the actual statements, in detail, of Muhammad Sadiq.

It may be mentioned here that while still in hope that a search for the missing leaves of the original manuscript (at the Baptist Mission Press) might prove successful, I caused a translation to be made of all that there is of it, through Persian into English. This was accomplished, with the help of a Turki Munshi from Bukhara, by Khan Bahadur Maula Bakshah and Mirza Abu-llah, of the Khurasan Agency to whom my thanks are due for their labour. Knowing nothing of Turki myself, I hesitate to publish this translation; but it has proved a most useful resource in enabling me to ascertain the differences between Mr. Shaw's text and Muhammad Sadiq's manuscript, in amplifying certain passages in the epitome and in compiling the genealogical tables of the Khajas and Khans. It has also afforded the means of forming an opinion of the value to be placed on Muhammad Sadiq's work.

As regards the history itself, it must be confessed that it is a disappointing one. Whatever the literary attainments of the author may have been, he was evidently lacking in historical knowledge. He tells us that he was persuaded to undertake the task of writing a record of the Khaja period by the wife of the "Hakim," or Governor, of Kashgar, at that time (1763), one Usman Beg. 1 Of himself the author gives no information, but there are indications, in his narrative, that he must have been connected by descent with one of the Khaja families and seeing that his sympathy for the Ishaqi, or black party of the Khajas is very marked throughout, it is probably from a branch of this faction that he sprang. In all likelihood too he would have been a Mulla, for his mind seems to run on the lines of a religious devotee.

1 Mr. Shaw notes that this Usman Beg was son of Miz Zaiddi, a religious chief of Kashgar.
and he attaches more importance to the sayings and doings of the "holy men" among his characters than to events that had a serious influence on the fate of his country. Visions, prophecies, tombs and shrines pervade the pages to a depressing extent, and much space is devoted to the speeches of saintly personages and anecdotes concerning them, while history, properly so called, is relegated to a secondary place. All that there is, however, has been embodied by Mr. Shaw in the epitome, while most of the rest has been judiciously omitted. Throughout the impression is conveyed that the author had a very slight acquaintance with anything bearing upon the nations outside the narrow limits of the western cities of Eastern Turkestan, which were under Khöja rule. He only mentions briefly and incidentally the affairs of the neighbouring states with whom his countrymen were almost constantly at war, yet without a glance at their history it is impossible to gain a complete view of the period.

Of the Qalmaq, their Kingdom and their rulers, who were usually the suzerains of the Khöjas (as will be explained lower down) of the Kirghiz and the Chinese, the information he doles out is most meagre. It has been necessary therefore to go to other sources in order to connect his history with that of these nations, and to elucidate the brief references he makes to them. In dates the book is entirely wanting: beyond the mention, on the first page, of the year in which it was written, not one date is to be found in the course of the narrative, and there is nothing to point to the author having read the works of other Asiatic writers. The pervading tone is one of gloomy superstition and fanaticism, the outcome of that class of spiritualism or miracle-working, of which the Khöjas of Central Asia were the chief exponents during several centuries.

The principal, and indeed the only, value of the book lies in its being a more or less authentic narrative dealing with a period in the history of Central Asia which has hitherto been scarcely known; for when divested of magical tales and the irrelevant speeches of "holy men" it becomes possible, as Mr. Shaw has done in his epitome, to construct a story containing some degree of sequence and some historical links. The Tāziā-i-Rašidūd brings down the history of Eastern Turkestan and the neighbouring countries to the middle of the 16th century, while from about the middle of the 18th when the Chinese become masters of these regions, we have very full and authentic accounts, derived from their annals and from the writings of the Roman Catholic missionaries in China, who were, in many cases, eye-witnesses of what took place.

But the interval of some two hundred years has hitherto been almost a blank, and it is this void that Muhammad Şādiq's book helps us, however imperfectly, to fill up. It cannot, as will be seen further on, be denied the whole of this interval, for though it is impossible to point to any particular date as its commencement, it may be regarded, generally, as starting from the early part of the 17th century, while it carries us down to about the opening of the year 1756, a date well within the author's recollection.

Nor can it be claimed for Mr. Shaw's epitome that this is the first time a summary of Muhammad Şādiq's story has appeared in Europe. In 1865 Messrs. John and Robert Michell published, in their book of translations from the Russian, called "The Russians in Central Asia", an account of Eastern Turkestan by Captain Valikhanoff—an officer, who, in 1856, had travelled in the country and had devoted a chapter 1 to a review of its history. The sources from which he derived his information of the Khöja period he has nowhere mentioned, but, for two reasons, it seems certain that the chief authority has been the Tāzira-i-Khöjāgān. In the first place he tells us 2 that, when at Kâshgâr, he obtained a copy of the book, and secondly, on reading his summary, there is abundant internal evidence that this was one, at least, of the works he used. As a "son of a Kirghiz Sultan and a native of the steppes 3", Captain Valikhanoff may be supposed to have been at home in the Turki language, yet, strangely enough, his review of the Khöja domination contains many vital mistakes, the proper names are so distorted as to be barely recognized, while a number of statements and a few dates are inserted (not always correctly) for which the author of the Tāzira cannot be held responsible. In short, it is scarcely a summarised translation, but more properly a general account of the period based mainly on our author's book. A detailed criticism would serve no useful purpose; it need only be remarked that on first reading Captain Valikhanoff's version, in connection with the translation made for me of Muhammad Şādiq's original manuscript, it appeared to be a question whether, in spite of serious inaccuracies, it might not be superficial to print a second summary—whether, in fact, anything but a complete translation would

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1 See Russians in Central Asia, Chapter VI.
2 Ib. End of Chapter III.
3 Ib. Preface.
now be of any advantage. But on further comparing the Russian
officer's account with Mr. Shaw's epitome, it became evident that the
latter was a far more valuable and useful document. In length it is
about the same: thus, though not more detailed, it is far clearer, more
exact and has the merit of bringing out the essential points of the
history in their proper sequence and proportions. It contains, moreover, no matter imported from outside, and unacknowledged, sources.

That Mr. Shaw was acquainted with Messrs. Michell's book there
can be no doubt, and judging from the interest he took in the
history of Eastern Turkestan, he must certainly have read Captain Valikhanoff's
review of the Köja period; yet there is nothing among his papers to show that he detected in it a summary of the work that he was en-
gaged in translating and editing.

MESHED;

The 10th March 1896.

N. ELIAS.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

I.—THE KHANS AND THE KHÔJAS.

It so happens that the only history we have of the Moghuls of Central
Asia, closes at a date almost coeval with the break up of the Moghul king-
dom. The last of the Moghul line who ruled over the whole of the six
cities of Eastern Turkestan (the kingdom of “Altîgahur”) as well as over
a portion, at least, of the country north of the Tianshân, then known as
Moghulistan, was Abu'd-Raschid Khân, otherwise Raşâd Şultan, the early
years of whose reign are recorded in the closing chapters of Part I of the
Târikh-i-Râghîdî. The kingdom that Abu'd-Raschid had inherited in 1533
was being pressed upon from the north-west by the Usbegs, from the
north by the Kirghiz, and from the north-east by the Qalmîq. As far as
the history of his reign can be traced in the Târikh-i-Râghîdî, it would
appear that Abu'd-Raschid was able to repel his enemies and keep his
dominions together, up to about the year 1546; but after that date nothing
is known of what occurred, until the end of his life—and indeed for a con-
siderable time after. He died in 1565-66, but it is not possible to say
definitely that he maintained his country intact till that time. All that
can be gleaned is that some thirty years after his death, it was almost cer-
tainly divided into two, if not split up into several different chiefships.
He left thirteen sons to dispute over the inheritance, one of whom, Muham-
mad Khân or Sultan Muhammed, can be traced as having reigned at
Khâshghlar to within the 17th century, for his death is mentioned in 1603.
Another, named Abu'd-Karîm, is spoken of as being in power (probably at
Yârîqand) within the same interval, viz., in 1593—though one authority, it
seems, alludes to his death in that year. In 1602 we hear of a third, called
Abu'd-Râ'hîm, as chief in Yârîqand, but the remainder are scarcely more
than mentioned by name.

These are the only Khâns of this generation of the Moghul dynasty for
whose lives even odds and ends of dates are forthcoming, and as they are
called from various sources, which give no information regarding the coun-
try or its affairs, it is only by inference that we can conclude that the
dominions of Abu'd-Raschid had been split up so soon after his death.
Nor do any of these sources except one—and that but vaguely—give any
indication of how far the foreign enemies of the Moghul Khâns were con-
cerned in dismembering the kingdom; so that it is impossible to judge
Whether, if the power were really divided at the time in question, the division was brought about by external foes or by internal disension.

What the sources of information on these points are, it will not occupy many lines to explain, for they are the merest fragments. In the first place there is the short passage in the Hāft Igān of Amin Ahmad Rāzi,1 where a list of the thirteen sons of Abdu-r-Raḥsid is given, with some scanty indications of what had become of them down to the year when Ahmad Rāzi wrote—viz., 1593.

Secondly, there is the remnant of the narrative of the Portuguese missionary, Benedict Goez,2 who passed through Eastern Turkistan on his way from Lahore to China, via Badakhshan and Kāshgār, and only a portion of whose journal was rescued, after his death at Suchau, in Western China, in 1607. His sojourn in the country fell in the years 1603 to 1605, and though he mentions only the name of one Khān—Muḥammad—whose seat was at Kāshgār, he points incidentally to others possessing some sort of power in other provinces, but does not name them. Thirdly, Dr. Bellew mentions, on the authority of a book called the Tarikh-i-Khānān Caghasīs,3 that this Muḥammad Khān and Abdu-l-Karim “succeeded to a divided government in turn;” while during the reign of the former, and about the year 1722, the Kirghiz invaded the country. It is then added that this invasion led to the dismemberment of the kingdom by rival representatives of the Moghul family; but, as remarked above, it is not clear whether this effect was produced by the Kirghiz, or whether it was due to dissections between the Khāns.

Fourthly, Dr. Bellew cites some passages from another book—the Tuhfot-ul-Hidayat of Mir Khān-d-Dīn Yāṛānī,4 who was, apparently, able to examine at Kāshgār in 1873-74. But the extracts he furnishes afford no dates bearing on the generation of Khāns immediately succeeding Abdu-r-Raḥsid, though it is somewhat more explicit in information concerning the next two generations, as will be seen below. Fifthly, among Mr. Shaw’s fragmentary papers are to be found some notes of certain Yarlyqgh5 or title-deeds (sanads) which he procured at Kāshgār or Yāṛānī, and which afford unmistakable proof of certain Khāns being in power at certain periods. These documents consist of grants of land, titles or privileges, and most of them bear the date of issue. From them are obtained glimpses of Muḥammad Khān reigning in 996-H. (or 1587).

1 See Quatretemps Notices et Extraits, xiv, pp. 474, etc. Ahmad Rāzi calls Abdu-l-Karim the brother of Raḥsid, but it is obvious, from the context, that “son” is meant.

2 See Yule’s Cathay and the way thither, volume II.

3 Report of Sir D. Forsyth’s Mission to Yāṛānī, etc., page 174. He notes, however, that he had not himself seen the book.

4 Report of Mission to Yarkand, etc., pages 175 to 176. This book appears to be history or biography of the Khān Hājjat Mīq, whose name was Hīkayt-ul-Īlāh.

5 Yarlyqgh or Yarlyq, ordre royal, chef qui le surmonte. (Favet de Courtenelle) [Ed.]

To these five sources, fragmentary and imperfect as they are, it would have been gratifying to be able to add the history of Khājas as an authority, but it is not possible. A few of the names of the Khāns are mentioned, but not a date is vouchsafed throughout the book; while for about half a century following the death of Abdu-r-Raḥsid, no events are recorded that can be set up as landmarks from which to infer them even approximately.

During the whole of this period nothing is heard of the Khājas in any other capacity than that of priests and workers of miracles. They appear to have been content to exercise over the Khāns or Chiefs, to whose service they nominally attached themselves, the great powers they possessed as “Khālsifs,” or spiritual guides. This, indeed, is what they had already been doing for more than a century past, among the various rulers in Central Asia who entertained them: for it had long been the custom for every Khān, Chief or Amir of standing, to attach one or more of them to his court, where the “holy man” became, usually, the object of much superstitious reverence. But as the power of the Moghul Khāns declined, that of the Khājas no doubt increased. What must have been wanting, previously, to enable them to obtain control, not only over the minds of the Khāns but over the affairs of the country, was that the dynasty should be divided against itself; and this opportunity was afforded them, to some extent, during the generation that followed Abdu-r-Raḥsid. Still more was this the case during the two succeeding and final generations of Moghul Chiefs, for it is then that the Khājas began to raise themselves to temporal power, and brought their country’s independence to an end.

Of grandsons of Abdu-r-Raḥsid, I can only find mention of two names. One of these, a certain Shujā’-d-Dīn Ahmad, son of Muḥammad Khān, occurs merely in some deeds seen and noted by Mr. Shaw, in Kāshgār or Yāṛānī, and there is nothing to show whether he ever ruled over even a province of the country, or, if he did, which one it was. The other, called Abdu-l-Īlāh, a son of Abdu-r-Raḥsim, appears to have been a man of some mark and his name often occurs in the History of the Khājas, as well as in Mr. Shaw’s list of “Sanads.” He had his seat of Government at Yāṛānī, but no mention is to be found of which provinces acknowledged his sway. Nor can the length of the reign of either of these cousins be indicated more nearly than by a few odd dates, during which

and dying in 1018-H. (1609); of Abdu-l-Karim in the year 1000-H. (1592); of Abdu-r-Raḥsim at Yāṛānī in 1011-H. (1602-3) and at Kuchār in 1017-H. (or 1608).1

1 See the Genealogical Table attached.
they seem to have been exercising power. Thus Mr. Shaw found documents of Shuja't-d-Din Ahmad dated in 1611 and 1618, and of Abdul-lah in various years between 1637 and 1643 inclusive.\footnote{These are the dates contained in the list of "Sanads," but there is elsewhere a note of Mr. Shaw's giving 1617 to 1642 as the dates traceable for Abdul-lah Khan. He does not mention his authority.}

Abdul-lah Khan's sons, alone, constitute the next and last generation of the reigning Khan. How many there were of his children is not apparent, but four sons and one daughter are to be found named by one or another of the above mentioned authorities, or by our author, and those of them who governed the various provinces, had to keep up an almost constant struggle with the Khujas. Their period may be placed, in the absence of more accurate information, at between 1850 and about the end of the century. The one who seems to have played the most noticeable part was called Isma'il. He succeeded, for a time, as will be seen in the narrative, in ridding his country of the most powerful of the Khujas and continued his career till 1678, when the Qalmagis, intervening in favour of the Khujas, made the whole of Eastern Turkistan a tributary of their own, and carried Isma'il a prisoner to India. After this date one of his brothers, called Akbaash, is incidentally mentioned as a vassal of the Qalmagis struggling against Khuja fanaticism in the year 1694, and he completes the tale.

As the author himself tells the history of the Khujas, there is no need to encumber this Introduction with more than a few remarks on them, gathered from Dr. Bellew's notice of the Taghira-i-Hidajat, and to add a genealogical table which may help to make the narrative of the Epitome clear. There are, as is well known, many Persian and Turki books in existence,\footnote{Such as the Shilasta-i-Khwaqaygan, the Taghira-i-Auliya, etc., etc.} which deal with the lines of saints [Auliya] and Khujas who have flourished at one period or another, in various parts of Central Asia; but probably very few indeed of these concern themselves with Eastern Turkistan, or with the Khujas who governed there between the Moghul and the Chinese periods. Except those of our author, and of Kshnu d-Din, I can find no reference to any. Several of the Musalmans' general histories contain notices of saints and miracle-workers, more or less celebrated, who appear to have been mostly Khujas, and some of whom belonged to particular countries, while others seem to have wandered from one place to another. None of these, however, so far as I am aware, ever attained to temporal power in any country, as they did in Eastern Turkistan, though many must have exercised considerable influence in the dominions of the Khans or Seljukas to whom they attached themselves. A number of such characters will be found alluded to in the Taghira-i-

\textbf{INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.} 5

\textit{Raghib} as having flourished in various regions of Central Asia, including Eastern Turkistan, during nearly two centuries before their rise to power as described in Muhammad Sadiq's history. Yet, strangely enough, not one of the names given by this author, in the pedigree at the beginning of the book (see below), can be identified with certainty, with any Khuja mentioned in the \textit{Tariikh-i-Raghib}. It is possible that one cause for this may be that these professing saints went by several different names—or rather titles; and these titles seem to have been assumed, or given to them by their followers, at different times and perhaps in different places. However this may be, it can only be regretted that none of the later ones mentioned in Muhammad Sadiq's pedigree are to be found in the history of Mirza Haider, for he furnishes dates so abundantly, that had it been otherwise, the descent of the Khujas we have to do with in the Epitome, might have been fixed in point of time, and other events would have fallen into their right places.

The extracts published by Dr. Bellew, from Kshnu d-Din's \textit{Taghira-i-Hidajat} are brief and consist chiefly of anecdotes which have no particular interest. Such indications as it contains regarding the Moghul Khans and the course of affairs in Eastern Turkistan during the 17th century, are so confused and so greatly at variance with all that can be gathered from other authorities, that I have been unable to make use of them. No useful purpose would be served by discussing the irreconcilable discrepancies here, but a few examples may be mentioned to show their nature. Thus in one place a certain Khan—named Akbaash—is spoken of as the brother of one of the Khujas, which is impossible, seeing that he was a Khan. In another place Khanam Fadijah, the widow of Khaja Affid is described as the daughter of `Abdu-r-Rashid; yet, as is well known, `Abdu-r-Rashid died in 1565-66, while Khajanam Fadijah was not left a widow by Affid till 1580, when she was still an active woman taking part in the intrigues and dissensions of the times. Further, the death of a great-grandson of Rashid, named Muhammad Amin, is recorded for 1633-34, after years of fighting and intriguing, while his elder brothers are known to have been alive at near the end of the 17th century. Again the invasions of
the Qalmaq and their acquisition of suzerainty over the Khōjas—the leading features of the history of the period—are not even mentioned.

Dr. Bellows's extract does not purport to be a translation, but I am assuming it to be a correct summary, and if this is the case, the book must be regarded as unreliable for historical purposes. It furnishes, however, some particulars respecting the Khōjas that are not contained in the narrative of Muḥammad Śādiq. We may gather from it, for instance, that the Khōjas themselves had split up into two opposing factions quite early in the 17th century, and that they were known, even then, as the Ak-taghlig and Kara-taghlig, or White and Black mountaineers, respectively, while these designations are never used by Muḥammad Śādiq. It appears (if the writer is to be trusted) that in 1622, in the course of the struggle for ascendancy between these two parties, one Mullā Fāqīl of Artuq, the leader of the White faction, called for help from some powerful Khōja of Khōkand, and by means of the forces this ally brought him, succeeded in capturing Kāshgār. Neither this event, nor the name of Mullā Fāqīl is mentioned by our author, and it can only be conjectured that Fāqīl must be another name for one of the descendants of Iḥān Kālān whose line eventually became the White party. Only very shortly after this incident we find Khōja Hidāyatul-Lāb, known as Ḥaḍrat Fāqī, mentioned as the leader of the White mountaineers, but it can hardly be to him that the style of Mullā Fāqīl is applied, for he is so well known a personage that all his names and titles must have been handed down.

Fāqī was, without doubt, the most famous of all the Khōjas descended from Makhdūm-i-Āqam, and he attained to a greater degree of power than any other, of either party. He is described by Dr. Bellows's author as having held entire dominion, spiritual and temporal, over the six cities of Eastern Turkistān, as well as over Turfān and the eastern districts known, at an earlier date, as Uighuristan; while he had large numbers of disciples in foreign countries, from whom he received tithes. “Amongst the people of Kāshgār,” writes Dr. Bellows, “he was held as a prophet only second to Muḥammad, and in his miraculous powers of healing the sick and restoring the dead, he was reckoned the equal of Ḥaḍrat Tāb (or the Lord Jesus).” His bearing exercised a marvellous effect on the people, and his appearance amongst them produced the most extraordinary manifestations of fascination. Some wept with joy, some sang with delight, others danced and leaped and whirled around, and others again fell senseless to the ground, whilst all were irresistibly attracted to him by an ecstatic devotion of spiritual love. His miracles are said to be countless; yet in his early career scoffers and unbelievers were not wanting.” He is said to have converted nearly a hundred thousand people to Islam, and appears to have lived a great age. The date of his birth is not to be found, but if his biographer, Kāhlu-1-Dīn, is to be

So scanty and fragmentary are the notices of the Khōjas of Eastern Turkistān in known or available works, that it is necessary to fall back on such brief statements as our author, Muḥammad Śādiq, vouchsafes to his readers, in order to trace their identity and origin. He very naturally omits any explanation of what constitutes a Khōja (or Ḫwaja, as it is more properly written), for it must have been a household word among his associates and countrymen, and in everyday use with them. Still it may not, at first sight, be quite easy to determine whether any difference existed between a Khōja, as understood in some countries, and the members of other families supposed to owe their origin to the Prophet Muḥammad. The learned orientalist, M. Schefer, has defined them as those who claim descent from the Khālifs Abū-Bakr and Umair, by other women than the daughters of the Prophet; and that they were divided into two categories—the Khōjas Sayyid-ātā, who possessed deeds proving their descent, and the Khōjas Jūhibī, whose deeds were lost and who could only appeal to tradition and repute. They differed from the Sāyiḍs in that the latter claimed to originate from the Khālifs Usṭān and ʿAlī, through the daughters of the Prophet; and they had precedence of the Khōjas. But this definition, though no doubt correct for some regions, seems scarcely to apply to the usage in Eastern Turkistān. Mr. Shaw, in his “Turki Vocabulary” defines the word Ḫwaja as “a title applied to the offspring of a Sāyiḍ by a woman of any other family; also to their descendants.” In other words the Khōjas were Ṣāyiḍs: for the offspring of Sāyiḍs, by whatever woman, are always Sāyiḍs; and it may be remarked that Mr. Shaw must have obtained his description from the mouths of people who were living among the posterity of those very Khōjas with whom our history is concerned. Thus, whether strictly accurate or not, it would seem that in Eastern Turkistān (and probably other neighbouring countries also) the name of “Khōja” had become synonymous with Sāyiḍ.

1 See Howorth, II, page 870.
2 It may be remarked here that the Khōjas belonged to the order of Darwizah known as “Ṣāghiṭaḥ”, but this does not affect the question of their being Ṣāyiḍs.
3 Compare Richardson's Persian Dictionary and Huxley’s Turki Dictionary under the words Ṣāyiḍ and Khwaja.
HISTORY OF THE KHOLAS OF EASTERN TURKESTAN.

But however this may be, our author, Muhammad Oolig, records the lineage of the Kholas in a way which shows that they themselves could not have laid claim to the origin indicated by M. Schaffer, for, in the pedigrees which he gives, the names of the Kholass Ali-Shah and Umar do not occur. They trace directly from Fazima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of Ali, and thus claim them, in fact, with Suyyida. His account of their descent is contained in the first chapter of his book, but as Mr. Shaw has not reproduced it in his Epitome, it may be worth while to cite the passage here; for, although the pedigrees may have no historical authority, the extract may, in some respects, be of interest. He writes: "It is known to you that lineage (nashat) is of two kinds, one spiritual and apparent. Apparent lineage means that so and so is the son of such and such an one, and so forth; and the succession comes to him. True [i.e. spiritual] succession is allowed to those who carry out the working of the Prophet (may God bless and save him). This kind of lineage is of three sorts: firstly apparent knowledge; secondly visible acts; thirdly internal acts. But apparent knowledge is of no use without internal grace. The knowledge of the Prophet (of whom he was peace) was of two kinds: one of prophecy, which concerns the personal knowledge of holy law; another of minhaj [tradition], which concerns the perpetual knowledge of internal conditions. First we will describe apparent lineage [of the Kholas]. The offspring of the Prophet (may God bless and save him) was the blessed Fazima.

her son was Imam Hamza; 
his son was Hamzat Zainel-Aledin; 

• Harat Imam Muhammad Diklar; 
• Harat Juzmae Shafia; 
• Harat Muhammad Musli-Khair; 
• Harat Ali Mirza; 
• Harat Suyyida Talib; 
• Abu-Ulham-Asaj; 
• Harat Ahba-Arfa; 
• Harat Ubaidullah; 
• Suyyid Ahmad; 
• Suyyid Muhammad; 
• Harat Khay Saiman; 
• Harat Suyyid Zainul-Din; 
• Harat Suyyid Kazimul-Din."

This pedigree, then, whatever it may be worth in points of authenticity, shows that the Kholas of Eastern Turkestan are accounted Suyyidas, and it is to that factuality that we may regard them as belonging.

Muhammad Oolig's history may be said to open with the life of the Khola known as Harat Muhammad-Blas, who was of the second generation in descent from the Prophet. Nothing more interesting, however, is recorded of him than some dispassionate tales of misdeeds that he performed and some brief accounts of his wife and children. These have mostly been omitted in the Epitome, but it may be remarked here that some of them have a certain bearing on the history; for that we shall see how it was that at the death of Mohammad-ul-Azem, a division took place among the Kholas, which resulted in one party becoming followers of the Mahdibs' elder son, called Ishaq-ul-Khaza, and another attaching themselves to his younger son, Ishaq, Wall. The party of the Ishaq seem to have acquired the name of Ali-Tagli, or White mountain-tellers, while that of Ishaq, Zoro-Tagli, or Black mountain-tellers, but these names had no reference to the localities where their adherents lived. All were inhabitants of the lowlands and cities of Eastern Tartary, but each sect made allures among the Kholabs of the neighboring mountains, and apparently seduced them to fight their party battles. The Kholas tribes of the Western Tarshie range, lying to the north of Kalgheh, were known as the "White mountain-tellers," while the Pankars or the "Black mountain-tellers" so that the Khola came to assume the designations of their Kholabs allies. Though these terms never occur in Muhammad Oolig's book, they were, apparently, in pretty general use, for they are found, according to Dr. Boll, in the Taghri Oolig and are employed throughout the narrative of Captain Yalishoff, who tells us, moreover, that they were current at the time when he wrote.

1 The author prefers to describe it as "Spiritual." 
2 Ishaq at Muzhig origin-zar is as Muzhig.
3 The Sprs do not acknowledge Talib as a son of Ali Mirza.

For some remains at this point, see immediately below; and for the remainder compare the marginal table, attached.

This may refer to "Usbida." 
He was, sometimes, styled for the party of Ishaq Wall, but has no general name for the party of Ishaq Wall.
II.—THE QALMAQS.

The story of the Qalmaqs as a race is so variously told by ethnographers and historians that it is impossible to follow any one authority exclusively. The sources from which different writers have derived their information have been so scattered, and the points of view from which they have approached the subject so wide apart, that exact agreement could hardly be otherwise than surprising. One has compiled his account from the traditions of the tribes in Northern Mongolia, another from those located, in the last century, on the banks of the Volga, a third from the annals of the Chinese, while a fourth has culled such fragments as exist from the works of Muslim historians. A critical comparison of all original writers by such scholars as Howorth and Bretschneider, however, enables us now-a-days to get a clear view of who the people were who now go by the name of ‘Qalmaq’ and how they came to occupy the position described by our historian of the Khūjas.

In the first place it may be remarked that the name of Qalmaq (Qalman, Kalimāk, etc.) is of comparatively recent origin and is not a native one among the nation so called. Its meaning is uncertain, but it appears to have originated with Turkic-speaking tribes who at some time were neighbours of the people they applied it to. Professor Grigorieff tells us that the word is not to be found in the works of Muslim authors previous to the 16th century, and it is highly probable that it only came into use about that period. But it has since become universally applied to them by the Turkic- and Persian-speaking nations of Central Asia and by Europeans, and has doubtless, in later times, been partially adopted even by the people themselves. On the other hand, the Chinese have never employed the word Qalmaq or any variant of it.

The Qalmaq’s own name for themselves is Oirā, though more often seen and used in its plural form of Oiratas or more fully as Durben Oirat, that is “Four Oirats”; and it is this word, in various phonetic forms, that the Chinese have always made use of in their writings. Thus we find Wa-la, Wa-la-te, O-lo-te, Wei-la-te, etc., which European translators from the Chinese have rendered Olot, Ölöt, Elenuth, etc., according to differences of ear.

1 If it is a real Turk word, it would mean “to remain, to stay behind.” See Shaw’s Turkic vocabulary, p. 146. But Sir H. Howorth gives reasons for considering it to be synonymous with “unbeliever.” (Volume I, pp. 497-498.)
2 See Schuyler’s Turkestan, I, p. 269.
3 Translators from the Mongol seem to read Oghlod, or Ogleld (See Howorth, I, pp. 676-677.)

The four tribes, or divisions, of the Oirat have been variously stated and the subject has given rise to some discussion, which there is no need to enter into here. Briefly put, the Qalmaq, or Oirā, people may be regarded as merely the western branch of the Mongol race, while this branch has been divided always into four sections (whence the name Durben-Oirat), which were again more or less subdivided.

As in the case of most, if not all, Mongol tribes, the western, or Oirā, nation originally consisted of two wings, called the “Right-hand” or Doronghor and the “Left-hand” or Zungkor. The former of these seems almost completely to have disappeared previous to the conquests of Cingiz Khān, at the beginning of the 13th century; though in reality a remnant was left as will appear lower down. Still the sections of the left wing alone have latterly formed the Four Oirats. Their names are:—

(1) The Choros (or Cholos—the Cho-lo-she of the Chinese).
(2) The Durbet (or Turbaté Ta- rhyme-tō).
(3) The Turgut (or Turghad—Tu- rhyme-tō).
(4) The Khoahot (Ho-Shē-tō).

Thus, when we read of the Zungkor tribe (the Chongkor of the Chinese), it should mean, properly speaking, the whole of these four tribes, or all that exist of the Left-hand wing of the original Oirat. The vanity of a chief, however, caused at one period a modification of this simple rule—a matter that has been briefly explained by a Chinese author cited by Dr. Bretschneider. We are told that on his accession the chief of the Choros tribe, known as Galdan Khān (about 1671) took the title of “Zungkor Khān,” and from this circumstance his tribe and country, especially, became known (for a time it would appear) by the name of Zungkor. In this way the whole of the Zungkor seem to have been regarded merely as the Choros under another name, while the latter name had (and has since) almost fallen out of ordinary use. On the other hand, however, the Choros having become the predominant tribe, and being known as Zungkor, this last name became subsequently a synonym with Oirat, or Elenuth—as indeed it more correctly should be. It may happen, therefore, that writings are to be met with where the term Zungkor is made to denote the Choros tribe alone, but if so it is incorrect. Our history of the Khūjas is concerned almost entirely with the Choros tribe and its chiefs, so that when throughout the Turkf author’s text we read of the “Jungar”,
it is, in fact, to the Choros section of the Zunggar, or Left-hand Qalmaq that he alludes, though in applying the term to the whole of these Qalmaq or Oirats he is strictly accurate.

But in addition to the four sections of Choros, Durbet, Turgut and Khoshot, mention is often found of the tribe of Khoit (the Chinese Hoiti) and, with some writers, this has been the cause of much confusion. Mr. V. M. Uspeenski, however, has, I think, shown, in an elaborate paper on the Koko-Nor region, that, according to certain Chinese and Mongol authors, the Khoit have never been included among the Four Oirats, or the Zunggar proper, but that they are a tribe of the Bövngahor, or Right-hand Qalmaq. If so, they are probably the only remain standing that now exists of that ancient branch of the nation. But just as these Khoit would, in their own language, call themselves Oirat, so they are also classed—and rightly so—by their Turki-speaking neighbors under the general term “Qalmaq.” The Turks, though, are not right when they apply this name, as they do in Eastern Turkestan, at the present day, to all the Mongolian tribes.

The habitat of the Oirat tribes has varied a good deal in the course of the last five centuries, though it has been, in the main, about the same. The region between the southern frontiers of Siberia on the north, and the chain of the Tien Shan on the south; or, in other words, the territory generally known now as Zungaria. In addition to this tract, certain sections of some of the tribes have also occupied parts of the Koko-Nor region, while others again are located on the north slope of the Altai. During the period covered by the history of the Khojas, the Choros (known as Zunggar) was the tribe that held supremacy over the others. They inhabited chiefly the Ili Valley, but seem to have been distributed, to some extent, over nearly the whole of the region that might be called Qalmaq territory. Still the centre, or homeland, of each tribe can be fairly well made out, and may be roughly stated as follows:

The Choros in the Ili valley and North-western Tien Shan.

The Durbet on the Upper Irtish.

Among the appendices will be found a note by Mr. Shaw on “Tribe Nomenclature” of the Qalmaq. It was found among his papers and seems to have been intended as an appendix to his version of the History of the Khojas. The particulars it contains were evidently gathered by him at Kedghar or Yügand, and though not entirely correct, are interesting as coming direct from the people themselves.

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The Turgut1 on the Imlil river and about Tarbagatai.

The Khoshot in the eastern ranges of the Tien Shan.

The Koko-Nor region seems to have been chiefly the home of the Khoit, though the Khoshot were also largely represented there, and to a certain extent some of the other tribes.

All were, and are still, Buddhists and ardent followers of the Grand Lama of Lhasa. They have also been much bound up with Tibet, and Tibetan affairs, since the middle of the 17th century, and it will be seen further on, how they sometimes made themselves masters of Lhasa.

For the purpose of tracing the story of the Khoojas of Eastern Turkestan, there is no necessity to go further back into the history of the Zunggars than about the year 1876, when the chief then in power over them—the notorious Galdan—first began to extend his influence eastward and to the south of the Tien Shan. The Emperor Kang-Hi, the second of the Manchu dynasty, was then reigning in China, while in Eastern Turkestan, the last representatives of the Moghals were still nominally exercising the functions of Khans over the disintegrated provinces of that country, though the actual power lay already with the Khoojas.

This Galdan (or Galdan Boshken Khan) as his title afterwards became, was born in 1645, his father, known as the Buzhen Batur (or Babdour) having been a warlike chief, who had developed considerable power and had been able to treat, on something like equal terms, with Russia, China and Tibet. Galdan was not his eldest son and did not succeed to the chieftship, but was sent to Lhasa to study for the priesthood, whence, after a few years, he returned to his own country as a Lama. Here he soon contrived to make away with his brothers and to set himself up (about 1671) as the tribal chief, with the title of Taishi, or Kunj-Tahshi. His turbulent disposition was not long in showing itself, for he

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1 The Turgut are perhaps best known to English readers from DeQuincey’s Night of a Tartar tribe. They were compelled by tribal enemies gradually to migrate westward in the 17th century, and finally in 1708 all settled between the lower Yen and the Ural river. During the reign of Peter the Great they lived there in peace, but unable to endure the rule of Catherine II, and learning that their ancient enemies, the Choros, had been practically exterminated by the Manchus, they returned to Zungaria in 1771-2, and became Chinese subjects.

2 The word Galdan is itself only a title, and means, I believe, King. The chief’s personal name does not appear to be known.

3 He is also reported to have made a successful raid on the cities of Eastern Turkestan in the year 1694, or about the time when temporal power there, fell to the Khoojas. (Howorth, p. 617.)

4 The 17th of our Turkish author.
began, very shortly (about 1673), to quarrel with his relations, and his first campaigns—not always successful—were against sections of his own, or closely connected, Qalmqä tribes. Thus in 1677, he conquered the Koko-Nor country, with the result that large numbers of the Qalmqä and Tibetan tribesmen inhabiting the region fled eastward into China and placed themselves under the protection of the Manchu Emperor, who took up their causes, and thereby sowed the first seeds of the long series of wars that he had afterwards to wage against the Zunghars.1

It was just at this time, also, that an opportunity was afforded to Galdan of extending his influence over the cities of Eastern Turkestan, where, as we have seen above, the Khöjas were already divided into two rival factions, according to their family extraction, though a descendant of the former Moghul Khans was still the nominal King of at least the western part of the country. This Isma'il Khan, whose capital was at Yärqand was an adherent of the Black Mountain Khöjas, while the leader of the opposing faction was Khwaja Hidayatullah, more usually known by his title of “Hazrat Afaq.” The White party being worsted in the struggle, Afaq died to Kashmir and thence, it is said (though perhaps doubtfully, as we shall see), made his way to the Grand Lama, at Lhasa, to whom he appealed for aid against his enemies. The Lama, we are told, gave him a letter to Galdan, requesting the latter to render him a similar assistance.

Galdan seized the occasion, subdued the western cities of Eastern Turkestan in 1679, set up Afaq as a feudatory, and exacted a yearly sum from him as tribute. At the same time he took Isma'il Khan prisoner and, carrying him off to Ill, settled him in the town of Kulp. He also conquered the eastern districts of Turfan and Hami immediately afterwards, and proceeded to lend his assistance to certain tribes of Western Mongolia who were then disputing with some of their neighbours. This was in 1679, and the complications into which his intervention in Mongolia led him, together with certain family feuds, kept him actively employed for many years, during which time the Qalmqä seem scarcely to have interfered with Eastern Turkestan or the Khöjas.

Eventually, about 1688, Galdan’s operations against the Khalka Mongols caused the Emperor Kang-Hi to fear that the Qalmqä chief was becoming too strong, and was advancing too near to the limits of Chinese territory. It was known, moreover, that he had intrigued with the Russians on the Siberian frontier, and had promised that, if provided by them with a force of Cossacks and some guns, he would ravage all the borders of China outside the Great Wall.1 The Emperor was unwilling to go to war with an enemy who was practically master of the desert, and whose mobility his Manchu and Chinese soldiers could not hope to equal. He was, however, forced to take arms against the frontiers of his country as well as of the Mongol Bannermen who inhabited the border region, and who remained true to the throne. He collected a numerous army and despatched it to the north of the Gobi, where it was beaten by the Qalmqä and their allies, who then advanced to within 80 leagues of Peking. Here a second huge force had been got together, but the battle that ensued can only be described as a drawn one. Matters were patched up by a truce, and Galdan was free to turn his attention to further hostilities and intrigues with various sections of the Mongols and Qalmqä, at a distance from the empire. Kang-Hi, however, saw that his enemy was by no means disposed of, and employed himself in organising, on a great scale, three new armies. Each of these was reported to number some 36,000 men and they were attended by an incredible host of retainers and camp-followers. One army he headed himself, while the other two were under the command of his most experienced Manchu generals. Early in 1696 this force began to move northward and westward across the Gobi and, after many slow manoeuvres and tiresome delays, at length brought Galdan to battle at a spot called Chao-modo,2 and defeated him.

This was the end of Galdan’s power. Though not entirely crushed, he had, afterwards, to confine himself to the more westerly regions, but even there he was pursued by a force under the Manchu commander, Feyanku; while his family and tribal enemies took advantage of his fall to embarrass him in various ways. His nephew, Tee-Wang-Rabtan, the eldest son of Sengge or Tsenka (the elder brother who had been murdered soon after the Erdini Bastur’s death) had long previously quarrelled with Galdan, and, though he had never joined the Manchus against his kinsmen, had lost no opportunity of trying to out him from the chiefship. Galdan’s own son, moreover, had fallen into the hands of the Emperor a few months after the battle of Chao-modo, and was never likely to be released.

1 Bowworth, I, p. 688.
2 Probably at a short distance to the south-east of the modern Urga.
from Peking. Against these conditions he struggled till June 1697, when he died suddenly and his followers dispersed—the bulk of them going over to Tse-Wang-Rabtan, though some surrendered themselves to Peking.

The Emperor at first thought that his troubles with the Qalmaqs were at an end, and withdrew the army under Peking, which was then probably in the western part of Kansu, and beyond the Great Wall. Tse-Wang-Rabtan became the successor to his uncle, almost without opposition, and the Emperor offered generous terms of peace, though he required the new chief to give up the mother and daughter of Galdan, together with the dead chief’s ashes. This demand was at first resisted and led to a long correspondence and exchanges of envoys; but eventually Kang-Hi had his way and behaved with magnanimity to the prisoners. For a time all went smoothly with China, but Tse-Wang-Rabtan proved to be nearly as restless and ambitious a spirit as his uncle. He was thirty-two years of age on his accession, and from his earliest days had been engaged in the inter-tribal wars, in the campaigns with the Mongols and latterly in operations of his own. It seems probable, indeed, that during the last few years of Galdan’s life he had been supplanted by his nephew in Western Zungharias (the III region), and even to some degree in the eastern districts of Eastern Turkestan, for Sir H. Howorth points out that in 1696 he had his own garrison of five hundred men at Turfan. Immediately on his succession to the chieftship, moreover, he had to undertake a war with his western neighbours, the Kirghiz-Kazak—war which he had, in fact, inherited from his uncle, and which he brought to a successful conclusion by subduing a large section of the middle hordes of that people. He also humbled the Kala Kirghiz (the Purut of the Chinese), a tribe that lived in the regions about Lake Isegh-kul, and who supplied the Qalmaqs with a contingent of 3,000 fighting men. A little later again—in 1704—he was equally successful in suppressing the Turgut Chief Sandship, to whom he was related by marriage, and who had attacked him without any apparent cause. The Turgut, however, suffered for his boldness by the loss of the whole of his followers, for these went over to the Zunghars and proved a considerable increase of strength to them. Even the Russians, the Zunghar Chief was able to beat back from the northern part of his dominions, and Peter the Great was fain to submit to more than one defeat, having eventually to relinquish his design of marching a force southward, into Eastern Turkestan.

But these wars, while they augmented Tse-Wang-Rabtan’s power and enlarged his influence, had no far-reaching effects, and failed to embolden him with the Manchu Court. The one which was to follow, however, roused the Emperor once more, and brought on a series of campaigns with China which outlasted the life of the chief, and terminated only with the loss of the Zunghar kingdom, together with its dependencies in Eastern Turkestan. The events which led to the invasion of Tibet and the details of that expedition, need not be gone into here, as they have no bearing on the history of the Khojis. It need only be mentioned, briefly, that the Tja, or minister of the Grand Lama of Lhasa, who had been a protégé of Galdan’s and a Zunghar partisan, had been attacked and driven out of Tibet by one Latsan Khán, the Chief of the Khosots of the Koko-Nor, while this personage is described as a friend, and little more than a tool, of the Manchus. Tse-Wang-Rabtan determined to support the Zunghar influence, and sent an army into Tibet under his brother Chiring Donduk, who captured Lhasa, put Latsan Khán to death and ravaged the country. This was in 1709 or 1710, and it would seem that the Tibetans appealed to the Emperor for succour; for, some three years later, a combined army of Chinese and Mongols was sent quietly westward and appeared in the neighbourhood of Turfan. The Qalmaqs, though taken somewhat by surprise, prepared an ambush, cut the invaders in pieces and marched upon Hami, which town they captured and destroyed. A war with China was thus begun, and Kang-Hi found himself compelled to continue it. In 1717 he sent forth an avenging force to the same quarter, but it met with a similar fate to the first one, and only at a short distance further west. In 1719 he sought to retrieve these disasters by means of a third army, and this time made Northern Zungharias and the vicinity of the Tsilans Lake the objective of his attack. This region was the home-land of Qalmaq tribes and was inhabited almost exclusively by them, while on the previous occasions, by invading Turfan and Karashahr, the Emperor was striking only at dependencies inhabited by an alien people. Though better fortune was met with on this northern expedition, the result was far from a conclusive victory: indeed from this year forward until the date of Kang-Hi’s death (1722), a campaign against the Zunghars, more or less desultory, was carried on almost without intermission.

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1 Howorth, I, pp. 639 and 642.
2 Sandship was the third son of Ayuka, the chief of the Turgut, then settled in the steppes between the rivers Volga and Iral. He had broken with his father and had returned with a large part of his tribe, to endeavour to wrest his native country from Tse-Wang-Rabtan. (See Howorth, I, p. 507.)
3 Probably the Ta Chiring (or Great Chiring) of the Chinese writers; for there were many of the name of Chiring—or perhaps more properly Tauring. Donduk, it may be mentioned, might perhaps be better written Tendak.
4 Howorth, I, p. 669.
5 See Amic, in Mémoires concernant les Chinois, I, p. 333.
These campaigns, though a heavy burden on the Manchus, both in men and money, seem scarcely to have affected the power or influence of the Zungghar Chief, for, during the time they lasted, we find him not only holding his own against the Russians, but also retaining his suzerainty over the Khôja rulers of Eastern Turkestan and intervening effectively in their affairs. Since the death of Galdan these factious priests appear, as will be seen in the course of our author’s narrative, to have seldom been in want of a cause for quarrel among themselves; yet, as far as their external relations were concerned, we only hear of two occasions when they came into conflict with Tse-Wang-Rabtan. The first of these is not mentioned in any account based on Chinese chronicles, as far as I am aware, nor does our Turkic author refer to it, but Sir H. Howorth cites a German authority 1 on Russian history, who states that on Tse-Wang-Rabtan’s accession, the Khôjas attempted to withhold their tribute, with the result that he led an expedition against Yarqand, and carried off the Khân together with other chiefs to the valley of the Ilı.2 The second occasion was about the year 1719 when the Qalmaq were seized with a desire to revenge themselves on the Khôjas for the perfidy of Haçrat Afq in attacking his benefactor, Galdan, some twenty and odd years previously. The invasion of Khâqan and Yarqand which followed was brought to a favourable conclusion: the reigning Khôja, Dânâyl, and several other members of the Black Khôja family were led captive to Ilı, while all Qalmaq prisoners found in their hands were released and restored to their homes. Some seven years later, however, or about 1720, an opportunity was taken to re-instate Dânâyl as Governor over four of the cities of Turkestan, for which favour a tribute was levied from him of the same amount as that originally fixed by Galdan to be paid by Afq, viz., one tança 3 a head of the population.

The Emperor Yung Ching, who succeeded to the Chinese throne in 1722, being of a more pacific disposition than Kang- Hi, began his reign by reversing his father’s policy in the matter of the Qalmaq wars. He saw no advantage in attempting to subdue the Qalmaq or in protecting the Mongols from them. The tribes of the steppes were to be allowed to settle their own differences, and as long as the Empire was not disturbed, Yung Ching believed that he would have peace. For a time this was the case, and during the five following years, which comprised the remainder of Tse-Wang-Rabtan’s life, the western war was practically in abeyance. His death occurred in 1727, as we know from Chinese sources, while our Turkic author tells us that it was caused by poison administered by his wife—

1 Howorth, I, p. 646.
2 I. p. 646.
3 This, I. p. 649.
4 The reigns of the three Manchu Emperors of China with whom we are concerned here, were—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Emperor</th>
<th>Years</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Kang Hi</td>
<td>1661-1722</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yung Ching (son)</td>
<td>1722-1736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kien Lung (son)</td>
<td>1736-1796</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Those of Kang Hi and Kien Lung are regarded by the Chinese, as the most glorious of modern times, resulting, as they did, in a great extension of the Empire.
party had arisen, whose object it was to depose him in favour of the grand-
son of Chiring Donduk—the brother and chief general of Tse-Wang-
Rabtan—whose name has been mentioned in connection with the invasion of 

This Prince, called Ta-wa-tze by the Chinese, and Dabaji by our author, 
was considered the legitimate heir, and his claim was actively supported by 
one Amursana who was not a Zunghar, but belonged to the tribe of Khoïi, 
though he inhabited the same district as Ta-wa-tze, viz., Tarbagatai. 
After sundry adventures, these two, aided by some Kırghiz tribeheads, fell 
upon Dardan, defeated his followers and killed him, when Ta-wa-tze was 
established as Chief of the Zunghars. This, however, was not the result 
that Amursana had intended, and the allies, becoming rivals, soon came 
to blows with each other. The upshot being that Amursana was worsted and 
sent to China to seek aid for his cause from the Emperor. On arriving at 
Peking in 1754, Kien Lung received him with honour, found an excuse for 
condemning Ta-wa-tze and accorded the Chinese writers), 

22

2 On Ta-wa-tze's removal, his rival Amursana was set up as Khan of 
the Zunghars, but was kept in leading strings by the Chinese generals and 
closely guarded by the army which he had been the means of bringing 
into the country. This consisted now of only a detachment of 500 men, 

1 See HoWorru, I, p. 651, also chapter XIV of Muhammad Sadic's text, where, 
however, they are both (erroneously) styled nephews of Galdan Chiring. 

8 A Chinese author of the last century says Amursana surprised, and killed Lasa 
Dardan in his tent, then went and offered the crown to Ta-wa-tze, knowing himself 
to be of too low extraction to wear it. (See Guelay, China occidentale in La mason, 
1887, p. 108.) 

According to Guelay's author this force consisted of Manchus, Chinese, Solons 
a tribe of Manchuria) and Chakans (a Mongol people), I6, p. 104.
Here, in 1757, almost immediately after his arrival, he died of smallpox, and, on the Emperor demanding the corpse of "the rebel," it was carried to the frontier and delivered over to his envoy.

Throughout 1757 Kien Lùng had been pressing forward large bodies of troops to the Ill region. The power of the Zungghars, as well as that of other Qamin tribes, had been broken, but this was not satisfaction enough for the Emperor in the humour that then controlled him. "The blood of my slaughtered soldiers," he said, "cries for vengeance," and his vengeance took the form of a massacre of all Qamin—men, women and children, says a Chinese author—that failed to make good their escape. The land was practically depopulated, and the Zungghar tribe almost blotted from existence. Their country now became Chinese territory, and was, shortly afterwards, to be re-peopled by aliens from Manchuria or the extreme east of Mongolia, and by Musalmans from Eastern Turkistan.

In the meantime Kûân Khôja having escaped from Ill, and joined his brother Bûrha^nû-d-Dîn, these two had become the rulers of nearly the whole of Eastern Turkistân, and were regarded, now, by the Chinese, as their direct dependents. There was, however, no Chinese Governor, but the Commander of the army in Ill, Chao Hui, by name, appears to have acted as the Emperor's representative and, following his master's orders, interfered as little as possible with the affairs of the vassal State.

For nearly a year this state of things seems to have continued, but in 1758 the two Khôjas, thinking themselves secure at a distance from the Manchu garrisons of Ill, revolted and endeavoured to set up an independent Musulman Government. They declared themselves first at Kuchrû, but, after a long siege, had to fall back on Kandhêrû and Yârgaând. They were followed, however, by Chao Hui and his Lieutenant Fontû, and many months were spent in intrigues and in a desultory kind of fighting, until at length the Musulman inhabitants would seem to have become weary of the continued disorder and the weakness of Khôja rule. At both places, in the summer of 1759, they opened their gates to the invaders, and Eastern Turkistân, from that time forward, became like the Zungghar country, a Chinese possession. The two Khôjas, who had taken their last stand in Yârgaând, escaped, together with a number of either relations and followers, to the Pamirs, while several others of the Khoja family—descendants of Afâq—fell into the hands of Chao Hui and were sent to Peking.

The intention of Bûrha^nû-d-Dîn and his brother was to find an asylum in Badakhshân, or perhaps Bâlûsh, but they were closely pursued by a party under Fontû, whose despatch to the Emperor, giving an account of his proceedings, is cited, in translation, by Amiot. It is no doubt sufficiently exaggerated, and is certainly vague in its geographical details; but it has a curious interest. It may be summarised thus:—"I came up with the rebels near Aliçhur and beat them. On the 1st September 1759, they had arrived at Pûnlu Kol [Bulûn Kol] where I obtained some information from a Pormouch [a Kirghiz] regarding their whereabouts. He told me they had already crossed the mountain (pass) but had still another very high pass to cross before reaching Badakhshân. 'This mountain,' said he, 'is between two lakes. The one on this side is called Bulûn Kul, and that on the other side, Isîl-Kol [Yeëlî Kul]. From the top of this mountain you will be able to see Badakhshân and perhaps, also, the army of your enemy, for he cannot be very far off.' On this information I set out, and about the middle of the day, after having passed round the shore of the lake, I received information that the enemy was at the top of the pass, where it would not be easy to attack him. In the evening we met with the rebels who fired upon us: we burst upon them, and, though night set in, we continued the fight, until at last the Khôjas, fearing that they might fall into our hands, fled in the direction of Badakhshân with all who were able to follow them. I did not count the dead, but was assured that the Great Khôja [Bûrha^nû-d-Dîn] was of the number. As soon as I saw that the rebels no longer defended themselves, I put an end to the carnage. Their soldiers had, almost all, either been killed fighting or had followed their Chiefs, while we captured all that remained. The number of prisoners is over 12,000, and we found on the field of battle cannon, muskets, sabres, arrows, etc., to the number of 10,000, as well as over 10,000 oxen, asses and other animals, not counting the horses which were few, seeing that the fugitives had mounted the rest in order to hasten their flight."

1 Mr. Schuyler writes:—"At that time the Chinese Emperor was so strong and the Russians were so weak in Asia— their attention at the same moment being taken up in Europe by the Turkish war—that in order to buy peace, they conveyed the dead body of Amorran to Kakhkha and gave it up to the Chinese." (Turkistân, II, p. 168.)

2 Guénon, p. 107.

3 Guénon, pp. 108-114.

4 Guénon's authors (p. 114) speak of a retreat to Khôjan, whence, after a final defeat, they are said to have fled westward; but this is not in accordance with other accounts, and would, moreover, be improbable.

5 See pp. 389-394.

6 Bûrha^nû-d-Dîn was, I believe, not the Khôja known to the Musulmans as "Great Khôja," or Khôjas kuls. "Great," here, probably means the "elder" of the two who were being pursued.
From this version of the affair have been derived all modern accounts of the final fall of the Khôjas. Seeing, however, that it is based on the dispatch of a Chinese general to his Government, it is scarcely likely to be worthy of credit, except in its main outline. The incident is well known, by tradition, even at the present day in the Pamir region, and is in the month of almost every Kôhû, Shighân and Bâdâkshân to be met with; but they tell the story without any mention of the sanguinary engagement near Fêshil-Kul, and divide the Chinese figures by about ten. In reality it would appear, the Khôjas had a following of some hundreds of Musulmâns and Qalâmâqs of whom many were women, children and slaves. The Chinese party sent in pursuit followed them as far as the lake, but finding that the fugitives had crossed the pass into Shighân, they cut some characters on a rock 1 and returned to Kashgar. There was no battle, the Khôjas and their party passed unmolested into Bâdâkshân, and had reached Argu, below Fâshâbâd, when they were attacked by Sultan Shah, then Mir of the country, and taken prisoners. Sultan Shah plundered the whole party, beheaded the two Khôjas and kept the Qalâmâq as slaves.

On considering the part played by the Qalâmâqs in these regions of Central Asia, during the last century, we see how it came about that the remnant of the Moghuls gave place to the Khôjas in Eastern Turkestan, and the latter to the Mânchû Emperors of China. Had the Khôjas been independent of the Qalâmâqs, it may perhaps be a question whether China would have been drawn so far westward as to interfere in the territory misgoverned by these faction saints. It is possible that one party might have gained so decisive a predominance over the other that a fairly strong and permanent government would have been the outcome. But even had this been the case the Khôjas would not have been long left to themselves.

In 1714 the Russian Governor of Siberia, Prince Gagarin, became possessed of information that Eastern Turkestan, and especially the district of Yarkand was a country whose rivers abounded in gold. In all probability it was Khotan that he had heard of, for the rivers there contain gold in fair quantities, while in those of Yarkand it is scarcely known; but this matters little. He reported his discovery to Peter the Great and proposed as the Readiest Method of Mining the Gold, the Annexation of the Country. It belonged, he pointed out, to the Zangihar Chief, then Tse-Wang-Rabtan, and his plan was to advance southward from the Irtish, by means of a route which he would protect by a line of forts. He sent specimens of the gold-dust which had been brought to him, and so greatly interested the Tsar in the scheme, that the latter despatched a force of some 3,000 men, including artillery, artisans and others, under an officer named Ivan-Buchholz, to commence operations by building a fort near Lake Yamis, and thence to push southward. In 1715 the establishment of this post was begun, but its position being beyond Russian limits, as then recognised, Tse-Wang-Rabtan treated the proceedings of Buchholz as an invasion of his territory. He and his brother Chiring Donduk, therefore, lost no time in collecting their men and laying siege to the half-finished fortress. For several months the communications with Russia were cut off, and the garrison was so nearly starved that sickness broke out and Buchholz determined to retire. The fort accordingly was destroyed, and the troops, reduced by losses and disease to 700 men, retreated northwards to the confluence of the Om with the Irtish, (the site of the present town of Omak) whence the commander was recalled to Russia.

A fresh force was pushed forward in 1715, and again another, in the following year, under an officer named Stupin, while Gagarin was urged by Peter not to abandon his efforts to reach Yarkand. Stupin advanced up to Irtish for 228 versts above Lake Yamis, and there bogan, in 1718, the erection of a fort which has since become known as Semipalatinsk. At the same time an officer was sent to treat with Tse-Wang-Rabtan, who was then camped in the Ill valley, but the result was unsatisfactory to the Russians, for nothing was elicited but threats of what the Chief would do if the new post were not at once dismantled. The Tsar, becoming impatient, appointed, early in the next year, a General Likhareff to superintend the proceedings, and sent with him a number of other officers. This party arrived at Semipalatinsk in 1720 and, with a force of 440 men, made their way up the Irtish, in boats, to Lake Zaian. The Qalâmâq Chief was as good as his word. On the 1st August he attacked the Russians with numerous bodies of tribesmen and after an indecisive battle, which continued for three days, a parley was arranged, when it was agreed that the Russians should abandon their scheme and retire down the Irtish. They retreated, accordingly, to within 181 versts of Semipalatinsk and there put up a new fort which has since developed into the town of Ust-Kamenogorsk. 1

1 This was the stone seen by Captain F. R. Younghusband in 1860. It has since been carried off by the Russians. The imaginary fighting on the Pamir, it may be mentioned, is handed down to posterity in two spirited prints in M. Fauchier's Chine (Volume I, 1848) representing not one, but two separate engagements of the most approved theatrical pattern. Knights in armour mounted on prancing Arab chargers charge each other, with lance and battle axe, among the forest trees of the Pamir; while lines of camels, with field pieces pivoted above their humps, teach the reader what the artillery of the day was like.

After these events the Russian vision of an Eldorado in Yarkand appears to have been dispelled, for no further attempt was made to reach Eastern Turkestan. Indeed the limits they were compelled to confine themselves to in 1720, have not been greatly overstepped even to the present day; so that the historical rôle of the Qarahs, during their short period of power, was not alone to draw the Chinese forward into Turkestan, but to keep the Russians back within the boundaries of Siberia.
EPITOME
OF THE
MEMOIRS OF THE KHÖJAS.

Maḥdūm-i-ʿĀgam, a very holy man, spread religion from Mecca to China. His great grand-father, Sayyid Kamān-d-Dīn Māyūn (a descendant in the seventeenth generation from the Prophet) lived at Medina and emigrated to Uz (or Uskand) in Farghāna. At that time Sultaṅ Ilīq Māzī, one of seven kings, was ruler of Utrīr, Kasān, Farghāna, Uskand and Uṣb1. In consequence of a dream the Sultaṅ married his daughter to Sayyid Kamān-d-Dīn. He returned with his wife to Medina, where after his death, a son named Sayyid Burhān-d-Dīn Kīlīc was born to him, who returning, succeeded his maternal grand-father, Ilīq Māzī, on the throne of Uz. After a short time he gave up his government and became a devotee, retiring for the purpose to Kāshqān. With whomsoever he was angry that person was sure to die. A certain other holy man once came to ask him the reason for this. On approaching the Sayyid, he fell into a trance and saw, hanging from the roof, a naked sword. Flies were constantly striking against its edge and being cut in two. When he returned to his senses, the Sayyid said to him: "Friend, whose fault is it: the sword's or the flies'?"

1 Mr. Shaw notes here that Ilīq Māzī was a grandson or descendant of Sultaṅ Sāturk Būghrā. Dr. Bāle in his remarks on the Taḡkūva-i-Būghrā Khān infers him to be identical with Sāturk Būghrā, but this is probably incorrect. Dr. Freytag-Brunnen, on the authority of the Kāmīn-tawāfik of Ibuw-l-ʿĀjr, makes one Iliq, or Ilāk, the successor of Sāturk, but does not mention the relationship; and it is uncertain whether he refers to the same person as Ilīq Māzī. Ibnul-ʿĀjr speaks of him as subduing the Sāturk dynasty in Transoxiana in 1008 A. D., while Sāturk Būghrā is recorded, in the Taḡkūva, to have died only in 1028 H.—or 1037 B. A. D. Thus it is quite uncertain to whom the text refers. The dynasty of the Būghrā Khāns was one of original Turks, or Uigurs, who had their capitals at ʿĀbāhshun and Kāshqān, and flourished chiefly in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. They are known sometimes as the "Kara Khāns", but more usually as the "Ilāk Khāns"—a circumstance which points to the word Ilāk being something more than the name of a single individual, and to the probability of its having been some general name or title. Mr. Stanley Lane-Poole says, "the history of these Khāns is very meagrely recorded." And it is certain that what little information we have, is obscure and contradictory. It may be added, with reference to what follows in the text, that no such name as Burhān-d-Dīn is to be found in any of the lists of Ilāk Khāns (See Shaw's Turkish Grammar, p. 384; Bāle in Yārjand Report pp. 125-6; Freytag-Brunnen's Medieval Researches, I, pp. 226-7; and Lane-Poole's Mohammedan Dynasties, p. 154).
Hence Barchu-ud-Din obtained the name of Kille (sword). His son was Jalaludd-Din, whose son was Ahmad Killa, called Makhuddum-I-Ajam; then followed Ilyas Wall, then Khanjia Shah, then Khawaja Uaslah, then Danyal, then Yaqub Khawaja (called Khawaja Yabin).2

Barchu-ud-Din’s son and his grandson, Makhuddum-I-Ajam, were lights and pillars of religion.

Makhuddum was married to a certain Khanik Khalghagh, a descendant of Shahk Bughra Khan. From them was born Ilyas Wall.3 While she was miscarrying Makhuddum used always to rise with reverence when his wife approached him and he informed her that this honoured was not meant for her but for her child yet unborn. His father, however, did not confer on him the succession as head of their religious house, but he was consecrated (as it were) by another ‘ulama man.4 When he was grown to a certain age he went to Bughra, whence some of his father’s followers [sword] came out to meet him. A certain Khaffa Kherez, who was one of them, did not pay this mark of respect. At that time Muhammad Khan

1 The whole of this paragraph seems to have been taken by Mr. Shaw from his "History of the Khyats.

2 Muhammad Barchu records the family history thus— Makhuddum-I-Ajam had four wives. The first was called Khawaja Sayid, who had four sons and one daughter. The second was Khawaja Dost, the third Khawaja Bughra-Din and the fourth Khawaja Abdul-Kила. Yet Khawaja Dost was made chief of the Khawaja and his support came from Bughra-Din permission to follow his children. He also gave sanction again to Abdul-Kila and his brother Ilyas Wall. Another wife was the daughter of the Khawaja of Karshi, and was called Khawaja Khan. She had two sons and two daughters; one of them was Khawaja Muhammad and another Khawaja Bughra Khan. Her (Ahmad Khan) had another wife named Khawaja Khadija, who was a descendant of Khawaja Bughra Khan. This illustrious child, Ilyas Wall, was born of her. (Kherz is not a days to a village some Kon from Bughra on the road to Kherz."

3 This is explained by Muhammad Barchu thus—"It is known that while Ilyas Wall was not yet married he and his father (who exercised religious functions) met in Dowlala Lahore, who was Makhuddum-I-Ajam’s aunt, who had attended to this permission and direction from Makhuddum. The latter had conferred them as the time of his death, when Ilyas Wall was enduring at Bughra, 1147. The grace which had been conferred to him, in truth, at the presiding of the Holy Prophet, he delivered ever to Ilyas Wall, saying to his friends, ‘ whenever you are to me by my teacher, Makhuddum-I-Ajam, that I have given to Ilyas Khawaja Wall, but now the consent (of my master) for the money, and from him to Muhammad and from him to Ilyas Khawaja- Khan.’ Referring to this portion of the original text Mr. Shaw notes—"

4 Thus is written in view of the rivalry which afterwards sprang up between the descendants and successors of these two brothers, as well as sons. An attempt is

was ruler of Bughra.5 At the latter’s request, Ilyas went to visit the Khawaja, but the latter was found dead, and he went on account of respect to the saint. Ilyas raised from the dead a child of Bughra Muhammad Khan. From Bughra he went to Bakhsh and Bakshgah.

Abd-Ul-Karim Khan of Khawaja, invited him to Bakshgah. After some time the Khan became offended with him. He then retired to the land of the Kakhk and converted many of them, destroying several idol temples. Abd-Ul-Karim then again sent for him. The Khan’s son-in-law was named Muhammad Saljan, who was much devoted to Ilyas Wall, and the latter prophesied that he would shortly become king. The Khan set out with an army for Kakhk6 against the advice of the saint. This army took panic and died. The saint then advised Muhammad Saljan to go, promising him victory. The prophecy was fulfilled but carried the wrath of the Khan. Ilyas Wall prayed for deliverance, and three days afterwards Abd-Ul-Karim Khan died when Muhammad Saljan became King."

Here made to show that Ilyas Khan’s ascension was not directly derived from their father, Makhuddum-I-Ajam, than Ilyas Wall’s.8 It is short, the origin of the Wall pasha as explained in the Introduction to this work, in another place Mr. Shaw remarks that— At Ilyas Khan is also a religious title, but not of a spiritual rank as a Khawaja.9

1 I cannot trace this Bughra Muhammad Khan. The date referred to would appear to be within the first quarter of the 16th century: if so, it would be a period when Khaybar was formally part of the Orkha dominions of the successors of Khwaja Khan, and it is possible that Muhammad was not an independent king: he may have been only a governor under the Orkha Sultan of the day (at that time probably Abd-Ul-Karim Khan II) who had his capital at Bughra.

2 Kakhk, no doubt, intended for Kamakh, the capital of the province of Kerman in the extreme west of Persia. It is more commonly used in the eastern parts of Persia, as Kamakh, the Mongol corruption of Shank, an old name for Shakhin, the present chief town of Shahrin. This Mongol form had indeed survived till the middle of the 16th century; but for several reasons it was not the proper name of the Sultanate of Bakhshgah, whose capital was ever changed by a Khawaja of Yaran, I can find nothing to testify, but it is known that by the 17th century it had lost its place in the government of this branch of the line of Orkha, and it was just possible that the western parts of Eastern Turkestan may have sometimes lost their connection with it.

3 Ilyas Wall, now so renowned (in Canzoniere) for the capital of the province of Kerman in the extreme west of Persia. It is more commonly used in the eastern parts of Persia, as Kamakh, the Mongol corruption of Shank, an old name for Shakhin, the present chief town of Shahrin. This Mongol form had indeed survived till the middle of the 16th century; but for several reasons it was not the proper name of the Sultanate of Bakhshgah, whose capital was ever changed by a Khawaja of Yaran, I can find nothing to testify, but it is known that by the 17th century it had lost its place in the government of this branch of the line of Orkha, and it was just possible that the western parts of Eastern Turkestan may have sometimes lost their connection with it.

4 There are opposed discrepancies here but they may be accounted for. Mr. Shaw notes that a Yaran, or title, is still in existence, granted by "Muhammad Khan, son of Abd-Ul-Karim," which is dated at Bakhshgah in A.H. 1387 (1577 A.D. Yet he also notes that according to the other book "Abd-Ul-Karim’s
Ishâq Wâli remained twelve years in Yârâqand, Khâshghâr Khûtân and Aksu, teaching and making disciples, and then went to Samarqand, leaving a disciple named Ushur Khâšfâh in his place. The Khân and people of Khâshghâr became cool in their devotion and transferred it to a shrine at Tuân-kand. Ushur went with them thither and sitting a straddle on the grave [stone], kicked it with his heels. A dragon came out to eat him; but the saint who was in Samarqand, becoming miraculously aware of this, offered, in spirit, his son, who was at Aksu in order to save his vicegerent Ushur. This son, Shâhâzâ by name, died at the same instant and Ushur was delivered.

Abî-l-lâh Khân, king of Buân-khârâ, sent his younger brother Rustâm Sultan to appoint his father's viceregent at Ishâq Wâli, teaching and making disciples, and then went to Samarqand, being much devoted to this saint, who shortly afterwards died and was buried at Isfûdik (in Khândâk) and not at Dâkhîb, near Samarqand, where Makhîmûn-i-Âzâm was buried; for his father had said that whoever, hereafter, should be buried in the space between his own and his son's grave, should be a partaker of Paradise.

Ishâq Wâli left two sons: (1) Qâmîn-d-Dîn, whose descendants are in charge of the shrine of Ishâq Wâli; and (2) Khwâja Shâhîd, who was appointed his father's vicegerent at Yârâqand.

Now Makhîmûn-i-Âzâm had another son called Ishâq-i-Kâlân, who left a son named Khwâja Yûsuf, whose son was Khwâja Âfâq. These came over to Khâshghâr and were received with veneration by the people.

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By this time Muḥammad Khân (the king) had died, and Abû-l-lâh Khân was reigning. He had three sons: (1) Yûbars, Governor of Khâshghâr; (2) Nûr-ad-Dîn, Governor of Aksu; and (3) Ismâ'il Khân, who stayed with his father. Yûbars was disobedient to his father, but revered the holy men Yûsuf and Âfâq, as did also the people of Khâshghâr. Khwâja Shâhîd died at Yârâqand leaving two sons: (1) Abû-l-lâh; and (2) Ubâdîn-lâh. Yûsuf Khwâja came to Yârâqand to pray over Shâhîd's grave, when the king and many of the people turned their devotions to him abandoning the sons of Shâhîd. The adherents of the latter became angry and reproached the king, who said he would give an answer the next day. During the night he dreamed that he saw a large male camel [bugârîd] which was seized by a small camel [Âzûnî] that came out from the Altun Massâk where the grave of Shâhîd was. In the morning Yûsuf departed without taking leave of the king. He fell ill at one day's march from Yârâqand and died at Topûk. Hazrat Âfâq came and fetched his body and buried it at Yâghdu.

At Yârâqand the sons of Shâhîd advanced in religious influence. The king (Abû-l-lâh) went away on pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son Ismâ'il to rule in his stead, who expelled Khwâja Âfâq from Khâshghâr and placed his own son Bâbak Sultan, as Governor there. This regime flourished exceedingly; never had there been such prosperity even in the days of the Khâns. For twelve years the people knew not whether there were soldiers in the land or not.

Khwâja Abû-l-lâh (son of Shâhîd) died, and Ubâdîn-lâh became the sole religious chief; but he died before reaching the age of forty, and left two sons—(1) Khwâja Khûsîb, and (2) Khwâja Dânyâl. All obeyed them in religious matters.

Âfâq, on being expelled from Khâshghâr, went towards Kashmir. He arrived at an idol temple of the Prophet Mâni at Ju. He performed as being separated by a causâl, so that Isfûdik should be close by. I do not know why Mr. Shaw has inserted the words "in Khândkand" in parenthesis. He spells Isfûdik, instead of Isfûdik, as it stands in the text. Mr. Shaw notes here the year of Muḥammad Khân's death as 1018 A. H. or 1609 A.D.

10 Further on in his book, Muḥammad Āfâq mentions other brothers of Ismâ'il, whose names I have inserted in the genealogical table as sons of Abû-l-lâh, though it is possible that the word "brother" may not be used in a strictly literal sense.

11 The so called Golden cemetery. It still exists at Yârâqand, and is much reverenced.

R. B. S.

12 The present shrine of Hazrat Âfâq. (See appendix B.) R. B. S.

13 The original text adds that Ismâ'il himself "ascended the throne at Yârâqand."
miracles and asked for help to take the country of Yarqand. When the difficulties of the road were objected to, he asked for an introduction to the Qalmaqs who were of the same faith. Accordingly, a letter was written to the Turā' (chief) of the Qalmaqs of Ila, saying:—“Oh, Shībār Ḳhān! Afāq is a great personage whom Ismā'īl has expelled from Ḳašq̣hār. You should send an army to repair him.” He went and received him.

When the news of his approach at the head of a Qalmaq army was heard, Bābak Sūltān led a force against him, but was killed in an encounter. The victorious Qalmaqs then took Ḳašq̣hār and marched towards

13 As this is one of the most interesting episodes recounted in the book, it may be worth while to transcribe literally the author’s complete version of it. He writes:—“Ismā’īl Ḳhān expelled Ḳhāja Afāq from Ḳašq̣hār. The Ḥasan went on from city to city until he had passed Kashmir. There is a place named Chu in the country of Chin. There the infidels had a Brahman priest named Afiq. four from Ḳašq̣hār. The Ḥasan arrived there, and, by degrees, displayed virtuous habits and miracles, which surprised the infidels. The infidels turned their faces to worship. Ḥasan Afāq, who was determined to protect his faith, also betook himself to devotion, and, by manifesting miracles and revelations, overcame the infidels, who acknowledged his power and asked who he was and where he had come from. The Ḥasan replied:—‘I belong to the sect of Musulmānān, and am their Ḳḥwāja. I had disciples in Yarqand and Ḳašq̣hār; now a man has come and seized those towns and turned me out. I beg you to give me people to recover my country and restore it to me.’ The Brahman priest replied:—‘It is very difficult to send people from here to that place.’ But he gave him the following letter to the Turā’ of the Qalmaqs at Ila:—Oh, Shībār Ḳhān, Ḳḥwāja Afāq is a very great personage whose country (Yurt) is Yarqand and Ḳašq̣hār. In that country he is the Ḳḥwāja of the Musulmānān. Ismā’īl Ḳhān has seized his country and expelled him. You should send an army, recover his country and restore it to him’ . . . . Ḥasan Afāq took this letter to Ila and went to the Turā’ of the Qalmaqs there. Shībār Ḳhān treated him with great consideration. He acted on the instructions contained in the letter, collected a large army and set out for Ḳašq̣hār.

In the first place, it would be interesting to identify the Chu or Ju of the text. Captain Valkhannofov does not mention the name in any form, but says that Afāq “re-tired to Kashmir, whence he proceeded into Tibet, where he so ingratiated himself with the Dalai Lama, that the latter despatched him with a letter to Gālān of Zurgazia, the latter the Turā’ to re-establish the authority of Afāq at Ḳašq̣hār and Yarqand. Gālān seizing this opportunity conquered Little Pugrāh (i.e., Eastern Turkistan) in 1678 . . . . . . What the writer’s authority is for assuming Chu to be Tibet, I do not know, nor is there anything to show the source of the date 1678. Still both are possible and even likely; Howorth, Belloc and others have relied upon the Russian author. If the statement, that Afāq had passed Kashmir when he arrived at Chu, is to be taken literally, it would be necessary to look for the latter place somewhere about the confines of Northern India. But it is possible that Ladak may have been regarded, loosely, as part of Kashmir, and thus the fugitive Afāq may have passed through Ladak into Tibet, which would be a more or less direct route. There is not, however, and never

Yarqand. The Yarqand General, Iwaz Beg, was killed, and by Ismā’īl Ḳhān’s advice, the people of Yarqand treated with the enemy, conditioning for the exercise of their faith under their two Mahāmān-zādas. This was agreed to. Afāq was put on the throne and his son Yalīyā was given the government of Ḳašq̣hār. The Qalmaqs carried away Ismā’īl and all his family to Ila. Afāq agreed to an annual tribute of 100,000 tangas payable to the Qalmaqs. Thus the evil custom, which continues to this day was established by Ḳḥwāja Afāq.

But the reign of Afāq, as King, did not last long, as he found it inconsistent with his religious duties. He put a younger brother of Ismā’īl’s named Muḥammad Amin,17 on the throne and married their sister Ḥasanam Fādēshā. War was made on the Qalmaqs and several of their Chiefs were taken. The disciples of Afāq then became very turbulent, the Ḥasan, Muḥammad Amin, had to fly from Yarqand, but was killed by his own servants and Ḳḥwāja Afāq again seated himself on the throne.

has been, any name like Chu or Ju for Tibet, or for any particular province or town in that country, as far as I am aware; though Chin is very frequently used as a name for Tibet proper, in Turkistan as well as in the hill regions north of the Punjab. Probably, therefore, as he has said to have gone to Chu, Afāq did retire to Tibet, and it is just possible that Ju may stand for Ju-so, which Mr. W. W. Rockhill tells us is the name of a part of the people at Lhasa. If this is the case, the “Brumna Shāhī” would then have to be the Grand, or Dalai Lama, and his influence over the Qalmaq chiefs would have been, at that time, very great. It has been mentioned, indeed, (in the Introduction above) that Gālān had been a Lamasist pupil at Lhasa.

As regards the authenticity of the data furnished by Captain Valkhannofov, I can offer no suggestion except that 1678 falls within that period of Gālān’s life, when such an event as the invasion of Eastern Turkistan might be looked for. Ismā’īl had succeeded Fādēshā in the Ḳḥanate, but all we know is that the latter was reigning up to 1648 (and possibly for some years beyond that date), we know also that more than twelve years of Ismā’īl’s reign had passed before he expelled Afāq; while Afāq’s mission to Lhasa (if Lhasa it was), his journey thence to Gālān’s seat at Ila, and the Qalmaq invasion must have occupied some years. Thus the year 1678 may have been reached.

The third puzzle in this passage is the name of Shībār Ḳhān. Captain Valkhannofov assumes it to represent Gālān, and most likely he is right, for not only does the probable date bear him out, but, as explained in the Introduction the real name of the chief known as “Gālān” has never come down to us. Gālān seems to mean “King,” but in addressing him, the Dalai Lama of Lhasa would probably use some personal or familiar title.


25 Muḥammad ʿṢidiq’s text has “4,000 tangas a month.” Valkhannofov makes it 400,000 tangas a month (Loc. cit. p. 170).

26 The text has “They brought Ismā’īl’s younger brother, Muḥammad Amin, from Turfān and placed him on the throne.” One date can be fixed during Muḥammad Amin’s reign by a reference to the Taṣkīr-i-Muṣṭamīr Ḳhār in Yāqūt Musīn, as
To get rid of the rivalry of the other faction—the adherents of the Makhdûm-zâdât—Äfâq sent for their disciples, and having ascertained that the spiritual Chiefs held land, viz., at Fârpâd, near Kashgâr, Tokuzkent, near Yârquend, Ak-Sarâï near Koudun, and Ak-yar near Akun—he caused a part of the rent of these lands to be applied to the service of the Altun Mazâr at Yarquend (the shrine of Khwâja Shâhid) and gave the rest of it to the disciples to send to their masters, in exile in Kashmir, with an invitation to them to return. They did return, but their hearts were heavy. When they reached the Tisnâf river, Shu'âib said to his brother:—"Every step I take, my feet turn back. Let not our line be cut short; do thou return and I will go on." Dânyâl returned towards Kashmîr, but a party of fanatical devotees of Hârzât Äfâq came out, without orders, slew Shu'âib and, putting his body into a bag, threw it into the river Tisnâf.

The news of this deed did not reach Hârzât Äfâq for some time, when one of the disciples of the Makhdûm-zâdât came and reproached the saint with it. Äfâq struck his hand on his knee with anger and said:—

"Oh ye butchers of disciples of mine. Ye have done this deed against my soul as well as against your own. This reproach will lie against us till the day of judgment." He then went himself and recovered the body, brought it back and buried it in the shrine of Altun. But Hârzât Dânyâl retired, in safety, to Dalhid near Samarqand, where the tomb of Makhdûm-i-Äzam was. After a dream in which his ancestor foretold the future greatness of his line and consoled him saying:—"Every grief lies between two joys," he went to Khâjân. Here he married, and a son, Ya'qûb, was born to him. His religious instructor gave him the title of "Khwâja Jahân," saying:—"He will become a Jahângîr [conqueror] and raise again to dignity the line of the Khwâjas."19

translated by Professor Semkowski. Among other ambassadors who arrived at the court of Subhân Quly, Khân of Bâghkân, in the year 1102 H. or 1693, was one "sent by Mâhmmâd Amîn, Khân of Kashgâr. His mission was to represent to the Khân that the infâdel Kirghiz, having taken possession of the country, Mâhmmâd Amîn had placed himself under the protection of Subhân Quly, had said the Khwâja and struck the coin in his name and implored his assistance." The result of the mission is not recorded. (Supplément à l'Histoire des Turcs, etc., 1824, p. 67.)

18 'Toqûs kent means "nine villages." Mr. Shaw names them as follows:—Jalma, Guma, Zangoya, Chodar, Sânjû, Bûria, Daxa, Koštâk and Uf-Tughrak. They all lie to the south and south-east of Yârquend.

19 Here Mr. Shaw notes:—"Another account says that Äfâq inveigled the young Makhdûm-zâdât away from Kashmîr and slew one of them—Allâ Khwâja (i.e., Shu'âib) —at Sânjû and murdered many hundreds of their adherents. Afterwards he himself went and increased the pile of fuel in hell, while his wife, named the "Butcher Queen" (Jâlââ Khânâm), carried on his bloody policy. The devotees (Divâns) because

To Äfâq were born two sons: Mâhmmâd Khwâja and Hasan Khwâja. He repeated of having taken the country by the help of the infâdel Qulmaq, but said that he could now hold up his head again on account of the virtues of this Mâhmmâd Khwâja. Äfâq presently died and was buried in the shrine called by his name.51 His widow Khânâm Pâdhâd remained at Yârquend with her son, who was then five years old; while Yâhîyâ governed at Kashgâr.

The Queen shortly afterwards went to pray at the shrine of her late husband. Yâbây's councillors represented to him that a woman was unable to hold the reins of government; the Kirghiz on one side, and the Qulmaq on the other, were formidable enemies: he should unite Yârquend to his own government and become Khân. He objected that he would be accused of injuring his father's widow, out of ambition; but one of the councillors said:—"Modesty is out of place in affairs of state; by means of modesty the country may be ruined." The wife of a councillor reported this matter to the Queen, on which a quarrel took place.

The Queen returned to Yârquend and made her son Mâhmmâd King there. After six months, this son's adherents murdered Yâbây Khân. He left three sons, two of whom were killed; while the third, Khwâja Ahmad, was hidden away in a cave in the mountains. The Governor of Kashgâr was Zaid Beg, and he also was killed; but some time afterwards Khwâja Ahmad was put on the throne. Much bloodshed ensued from which the Queen earned the name of "Jâlââ Khânâm"—the executioner, or butcher, Queen. She herself was also murdered six months after the death of Yâbây.

After this Akbaq Khân, the brother of Mûhammad Amin, came to Yârquend and slew a thousand fanatics (Divân). He put his son, Sultan Ahmad Khân, on the throne of Kashgâr and married the widow of unestrained in their wildness, and finally Akbaq Khân came and took Yârquend and restored order. He seized a thousand Divâns and, at the Kab-e-Chatu gate, (the Akh gota) cut their throats and made a mill go with their blood."52 Mâhmmâd was son of Äfâq by his wife Khânâm Pâdhâd, the younger sister of Ismail. But Hasan, according to Mûhammad Sâdiq, was grandson of Äfâq—not son. He was son of Mâhmmâd, as marked in the genealogical table.

51 This was in 1106 H. or 1693 A. D.

52 Mûhammad Sâdiq's statement on this point is quite different. He writes:—"the people of Kashgâr brought Khwâja Ahmad from the cave in the hills and made him their Khân." This Ahmad, as we have seen, was son of Yâbây and was a Khân. The name of Sultan Ahmad does not occur in Mûhammad Sâdiq's text. If he were a son of Akbaq, he would have been of the line of Mughal Khânâm and not a Khân; and there is no mention in the text of any son of Akbaq. My impression is that the Epitome is in error on this point, and that Khwâja Ahmad should be the reading, without mention of any relationship to Akbaq.
Yahya. Akbaq Khan then retired with the remainder of Afak's family to India, having first sent for Danyal Khwaja from Khojand, stating that his ancestors had always been disciples of Danyal's ancestors. Danyal set out and was well received by the Kirghiz. The Kirghiz people, however, held out for their own religious leaders; so the Kirghiz took him on to Yarqand, where he was accepted as spiritual Chief.

At Kusghar, Khwaja Ahmad was the nominal Khan, but the real rulers were some Kirghiz Chiefs who carried on a series of raids against the inhabitants of Yarqand. Not having any King of their own, the Yarqand people brought in a Kazak Khan, called Hahkim Sultan, to reign over and defend them. In one of their raids, the Kirghiz approached the town. Hahkim, though taken unawares, sallied forth, slew one of the leaders and dispersed the rest. Next day the Kirghiz began to treat for the surrender of their chief, thinking he was still alive, but a prisoner; and they promised to give up three hundred Yarqand prisoners in exchange for him. The Yarqandis, in order to secure this advantage, dressed up the dead man and set him on a horse, tied to a plank. The Kirghiz saw him from a distance and said to one another: "He hangs down his head: he is ashamed at having fallen into the hands of the Sarts." The deceit was successful, for the Yarqandi prisoners had been given up, and the dead body of their chief was all that the Kirghiz got. After this lesson they ceased their attacks on Yarqand.

In consequence of the intrigues of the devotees of Danyal Hahkim, the Kazak Chief retired from the government of Yarqand and returned to his own country, on which Danyal became ruler of Yarqand for several years.

Whereas the Qalmaqs of Ila had been attacked by Hazrat Afaq and Muhammad Amin, the king of Yarqand, they had preserved a desire for revenge, but were prevented from taking it by troubles of their own. Now, at last, they found an opportunity, in the confusion reigning among the Musulmans, and with a large army they marched to Kusghar and thence, without stopping, to Yarqand. Khwaja Danyal finding himself too weak to resist, accepted the rule of the infidels; and they, taking him with them, now attacked Kusghar which, after a short resistance, surrendered. Danyal advised the Qalmaqs not to offend the religious feelings of the country by slaying any of the Khojas. They approved of this counsel and merely imprisoned Ahmad Khwaja (son of Yahya), Ruler of Kusghar, and put on a well-wisher of their own in his place; but they afterwards carried both Ahmad and Khwaja Danyal to Ila. Here the Chiefs treated Danyal with great respect, but sent Ahmad to one of their frontier stations, called Irak Kusghars.

When Muhammad Amin had plundered Ila, he had captured thirty thousand people of the country, and from among them had bestowed a Chief's daughter on Danyal, who had converted her to Islam and married her. On the Qalmaqs taking Yarqand and Kusghar, they had released their compatriots, and Danyal's wife, then enceinte, was given to a Qalmaq Chief, who, however, had no intercourse with her, until her child by Danyal was born. The child was a son, whom his mother swaddled in fine clothes and devoted herself to. He was brought up, till the age of seven, in all the learning of the Qalmaqs, without its being known, publicly, that he was the child of a Musulman.

The mother, at last, found an opportunity to inform Khwaja Danyal of the fact, by means of a letter sent through a Musulman merchant. He appealed to the chief of the Qalmaqs, who sent a man of his own and a disciple of the Khojas to enquire into the matter. The woman stood to her declaration, but her new husband denied it and would not show the child, telling him that the Musulmans would eat him. Finally all the parties were brought to the court of the chief of the Qalmaqs. The husband fell at the feet of the Kusghar's (the chief) who was a relative of his, appealing to him not to deprive him of his only child, for the sake of the Musulmans.

52 Muhammad Saidi adds that Khwaja Ahmad remained at Irak Kusghars, on the frontier of Ila, for seven years. The Irak Kusghars district is in the range of hills forming the northern side of the valley of the river Kusghar—a tributary of the Ila. The date of these events can be traced, through Chinese accounts of the Qalmaqs, to about the year 1718, if our author's indication of "seven years" is to be accepted. See the next note below.

53 Perhaps a better spelling would be Kung Twigh. It was the title of the highest rank among the Qalmaqs and stood for "Sultan" or King. Sir H. Howorth, quoting Pallas, says the meaning of the words is "Swan-like Prince." (I, p. 617-n.). The Kung Twigh in the present instance was the famous Tse Wang Kabtan, and the date about 1750, for the author tells us, lower down, that the restoration of Danyal to the government of Eastern Turkistan took place seven years previous to Tse Wang Kabtan's death, an event which is known, from Chinese sources, to have happened in 1727 (see also p. 29 of the introduction, above).
The Kongoji appointed a day when the Musulmans attended, dressed in their turbans, etc., and the principal Qalmiqs in their own costume. The suppositional father had warned his child against the "turbanned race," telling him not to go near them, lest they should eat him, and instructing him to come and sit on his (the Qalmiq's) lap. When the two parties were drawn up and the child set in midst, the Kongoji said:—"Oh child! Which of these two dost thou recognise as thy father?" The boy turned his face towards his Qalmiq father, but when he got close to him, he uttered a sudden cry and ran and fell unconscious into the arms of his real father Danyal. The whole assembly was affected at the sight, and the Kongoji, weeping, said:—"Oh Khwaja! The child is yours of right. I give you also the rule over four cities." Thus saying, he dismissed him to his government. Danyal gave thanks to God, and leaving his elder son Khwaja Jahân (Ya'qûb) at the court of the Kongoji, set out for Yarqand. He clothed his newly found child as a Musulmân and gave a feast with much rejoicing, bestowing on the child the name of Yusuf Khwaja.

On arriving at Yarqand, Danyal was accepted, with joy, as ruler of that city and province and also of Kashghar, Ak-su, and Khutân, as had been ordered by the Kongoji of the Qalmiqs. The yearly sum of 100,000 tangas agreed upon by Haṣrat Afaq, as tribute to the Qalmiqs, continued to be paid by Danyal, and thus seven years elapsed.

The Kongoji had a daughter whom he was about to marry to the son of the Chief of the Turgut tribe of Qalmiqs. All the Governors of the seven cities (of Eastern Turkistan) with Khwaja Danyal at their head, were bidden to the wedding, and went. He demanded from them, as a wedding contribution, Indian valuables, such as pearls, jewels, etc.; but they had none suitable. The Kongoji became angry and threatened them with death. They all fell at the feet of Khwaja Danyal and implored his assistance; they also held a solemn night of prayer, in the course of which news was brought that the Kongoji was dead, and that his son Galdan Jirin had become the chief. On enquiring, they found that one of the old Kongoji's wives, for the sake of raising her own son to the throne, had poisoned her husband. The people sought to take Galdan Jirin's life, but he heard of the plot, and taking counsel with other chiefs, slew his stepmother and her son. God turned his infidel heart, so that he allowed all the captive Musulmans to return to their homes. Danyal was also sent home and was confirmed in the government of the four cities. He had to content himself with the income from his ancestral lands and to give all the other revenues of the country to the Qalmiqs.

At last Danyal fell ill, and when about to die, made his will. After entrusting to his eldest son, Khwaja Jahân, the affairs of the faith, he told him that he himself was dying without having been able to attain the wish of his heart, which was independence of the infidels, but that perhaps God might grant the accomplishment of the desire to him. Then he expired and was buried in the Altun Mazâr.

Danyal left several wives and five sons, viz., 1, Khwaja Jahân (named Ya'qûb); 2, Khwaja Yusuf; 3, Khâwaja Ayyûb; 4, Khwaja Ña'mû-d-Dîn (called Khamshâ Khwaja); and 5, Khwaja Abû-l-lâh. By order of the Chief of the Qalmiqs, Yarqand was allotted to Jahân; 29 Kashghar to Yusuf; Ak-su to Khamshâ and Khutân to Abû-l-lâh. They all regarded Khwaja Jahân in the light of their father.

Now the line of Khwaja Jahân was as follows—

Kâmulâ-d-Dîn (a descendant of Imâm Husain in the 18th generation).
Burhanâ-d-Dîn Kîla.
Jalâlu-d-Dîn.
Mâhidümi-ı-Âgam.
Ishâq Wali.
Khwaja Shâîûd.
Khwaja Uthma-d-lâh.
Khwaja Danyal.
Khwaja Jahân (Ya'qûb).

His apostolic succession (or the descent in the spiritual grace of saintship) was manifested by many miracles.

He was one day complaining of the mutual rivalries and enmities of the holy men of his times, and enquired whether the same was the case in former days, when the following story was told him:

"In the time of Abû-l-lâh, there were two holy men, between whom no cloud had ever arisen. The Khân, to try them, took them out hunting with him. Taking an opportunity when he was alone with one of them, he asked him:—'How is it that your horse is so lively and that of your friend is so slow?' The saint replied:—'Because my friend is such a great saint, that his horse, out of reverence and respect, moves gently and sedately; whereas my horse, knowing what a sinner he bears on his back,"

29 Mr. Shaw notes:— "On the title deeds of a Mazâr, he is found to be reigning in 1148 A. D. " (1736-38 A. D.)
30 In Muhammad Sâliû's MS., Ayyûb is said to have been appointed to Ak-su.
dances about and tried to shake him off. Presently the Khan asked the same question, privately, of the other, who replied:—"My horse is oppressed by the load of sins which he carries in my person, whereas my friend's sanctity is so great that his horse, desiring to fly to the heavens with him, continues to spring up from the earth in his endeavour to do so."

Yusuf's youngest brother was Abu-l-lah who had four sons:—
1, Shams-ed-Din; 2, Yahya; 3, Ahmad; 4, Abid.
Abu-l-lah lived at Aksu and when his brother, Khudaj, died there, he gave over his own government of Khujart to his son Shams-ed-Din. He himself also died at Aksu; after which Shams-ed-Din and Yahya obtained Khujart.

Yusuf went to Ila. He found the Qalmaq in trouble among themselves and concluded that the longer for opportunity to strike for independence was come. He took counsel with Khudaj, the Governor, who was also at Ila and sent him back to Khujart to fortify the city and prepare for war, telling the Qalmaq that this was done as a precaution against insurrections. But he sent a letter to Umar Mirza, the Chief of the Kirghis-Kipchaks, living in the Ila district, and planned an insurrection in concert with them. He could not obtain leave from his Qalmaq masters to return to Khujart; so he resorted to artifice. He sent off a servant with orders to go a few days' march and then come back in haste bearing a prepared letter, which reported that the Kirghis had attacked Khujart, and that Yusuf's presence was required. The Qalmaq at first decided to send an army, but being themselves in difficulties, they were finally compelled to give up this idea and to depose Yusuf. He pretended unreadiness and offered to send his sons instead, saying that if they failed, he would go himself. In this way he hoped to release his sons. His proposal was agreed to, but, according to a prearranged plan, the sons sent back word that the task was beyond them,

21 In Muhammad Ridiq's text it is said that Yusuf used frequently to pay visits to Ila, his chief object being—"to obtain an insight into the affairs of the infidels. He was waiting for a distance to take place among them that he might seize the opportunity to use the remorseless sword of Islam...." On one occasion he found that the Tura (Chief) of the Qalmaq had been changed, and that dissension and disturbance prevailed among them. Qalmaq Chiring's death occurred in 1745, and gave rise to several years of disturbances among the Qalmaq, as has been mentioned in the introduction. The occasion of Yusuf's visit, here alluded to in the Epitome, was apparently at the time when Ta-wa-tze had just become Chief (viz., 1756) or shortly previous to it, perhaps about 1753.

22 The text of Muhammad Ridiq mentions only one son in connection with this incident, and names him—Khwaja Abu-l-lah.

and that their father's presence was necessary. This device succeeded, and Yusuf also started for Khujart. He had made one march on this (south) side of the Muzafar Pass, when he was met by the Governor of Uch, 44 named Khwaja Si Beg, who congratulated him, saying that now he was come, Islam would gain ground. Yusuf put off this interpretation of his proceedings, but advised the Governor not to go on to Ila. This confirmed the latter in his suspicions of Yusuf's intentions, and he continued on his way to Ila. Yusuf fearing treachery from this circumstance hastened on to Aksu and Khujart.

The Governor of Uch, on his side, pushed on to Ila, and warned the Qalmaq Chief, Dahaji, that Yusuf's object was rebellion. They sent three hundred men in pursuit of Yusuf, but they were too late. Finding this to be the case, they despatched a messenger to him, saying,—"The Turas of the Qalmaq summon you to their assistance. Amurana is advancing against them with a large army." Yusuf, on the arrival of this messenger, professed illness as an excuse for not complying. Khuda Yar was Ishakcha 45 of Khujart and held by the Qalmaq; while another adherent of theirs fortified himself at Artaish, and sent to urge Khuda Yar to revolt against Yusuf. He forged a letter from the Qalmaq in which they were made to say that a large expedition was advancing against them from China; it also contained an order to the Ishakcha and his adherents to seize and kill Yusuf, saying that if their own dominion continued, this would be considered good service; and if the Chinese prevailed, they would certainly reward it. The other Beas, however, would not join the Ishakcha in this conspiracy, and the messengers took the letter at night to Yusuf, who armed all his people and remained on his guard. The Ishakcha perceived that the conspiracy was discovered and shut himself up in his house. Yusuf then appointed ten Kipchaks and commanded them thus:—"When I say, twice over, Takahu sal (fill up the tobacco), seize and imprison Khuda Yar." The latter, however, kept away for some days, but had at last to attend the Chief's Court. Yusuf began reproaching him and then gave the signal. A certain Kipchak seized Khuda Yar with one hand, and, lifting him up like an apple, forced him, crying out for mercy, down the steps. Yusuf reassured the other Beas, telling them that they and even Khuda Yar's children, had nothing to fear. He then ordered a certain man to enquire how Khuda Yar was imprisoned. This man, whether he was a partner in the conspiracy and feared detection, or whether he did not hear the order,

44 Also written Uch. The place intended is Uch Turfan.
45 Literally Lord of the gate. A kind of mayor or town-Magistrate.
distinctly, conveyed to the Kipchaks an order to slay Khuda Yar immediately, which they did.\[^{44}\]

A force was sent against the rebels at Artush, who, after firing a few shots, fled to Aken, by way of Kalta Yailak and Kalpin. At Aken they consulted with Abdu-l-Wahhab, the Governor, and wrote to inform the Qalmiks Chief of the events that had occurred, saying that unless troops were despatched at once, they must wash their hands of Kashghar, Yarkand and Kuutan. The children of the slain Iakkaga also appealed for vengeance. The Qalmiks consulted about sending an army, but refrained on account of Amureana being known to have gone to the Court of Khakan (the Emperor of China) and because an attack from that side might be expected. They determined, however, on despatching an Embassy.

Some time before this, the Kipchaks-Kirghiz, who were passing the summer on the Ila pastures, being instructed by Yusuf, came down to Kucha and thence went on to Kuutan. The Qalmiks envoy, therefore, was sent under the pretext of bringing back this tribe. Now the Qalmik Government was in a state of disorder—ruler succeeding ruler, as each obtained the power. The envoy, Mudarji, was nominally deputed to Yusuf, but he had letters to the Chiefs of Kashghar and other places, appealing to them to seize Yusuf and send him to Ila. He set out with three hundred horsemen in armour, and took the road via Aken and Ush Turfan. Yusuf sent a man to find out their intentions and received a report that they were adverse. He made warlike preparations, so that when the Qalmiks arrived they found everything ready for war, and armoured men everywhere on guard. The attendants were detained at the doors and only five chief men were allowed to penetrate into the presence of Yusuf. He treated them well and dismissed them to their quarters, telling his people that, although they were Kafirs, still they must be considered in the light of guests.

When they reached their quarters, they sent for Khuja Kipak, Governor of Kashghar, and showed him their letters with the red (royal) seal. He repelled their attempts to corrupt his loyalty. He also dissuaded them from their mission, warning them that they would fail. The Governors of Besh Karam and Faisabadi were, however, won over; they told the Qalmiks that without them their country would fall a prey to the Kirghiz. They said it was easy to seize the Khoja of Yarkand, who was a simple Musulman, but Yusuf was a sagacious chief whom it was not easy to

\[^{44}\] 44 Mr. Shaw notes here :- "Another account says he showed Khuda Yar his own letter, and asked him what punishment he was worthy of, who thus conspired against his own Khalja. The criminal replied, 'death,' upon which Yusuf gave orders for his execution."
life. His sons, the same night, sent in two swords to their father, so that he might defend his own room until succour should reach him, if an assault were made on the house.

Yusuf despatched 500 men to Barek to intercept the Qalmâq, should they attempt to make off to Ila with their prisoner. The Kirghiz also assembled at the call of Yusuf.

Qâhê Beg, becoming alarmed at these threatened attacks, released the imprisoned Khwâja Jalân and, obtaining his pardon, prevailed on him to send off members of his family to stop the armies of Khutan and Kâshghar. The latter force returned, but Khwâja Sadîq, who was met on the way from Khutan, refused to believe the messengers and pressed on to Yarqand where he found Jalân released and sitting on the throne. He rewarded his soldiers and allowed them to go back to Khutan. Yusuf, however, formed the idea of attacking Ila and solicited help from Andijân and the Kirghiz.

A wife of Yusuf had remained at Aksu. Abdûl-Wahhâb Beg, a Chief of Aksu, who had not submitted to Yusuf, showed enmity to this wife, but she was released and sent to Kâshghar by an Ikhâghâ.

Yusuf, falling ill, took leave of his family and started for Yarqand, by way of Yaparğha. The people of Yarqand came out to meet him with a horse litter [fâkîl-i-rawânî], but he refused to sit in it, and entered the city on horseback. Here he remained for three months, holding intercourse with all the principal people.

At this time Dâbâji (Ta-wa-ta in) was ruler of the Qalmâq at Ila, but their country was much disturbed. Amursana was a claimant of the chiefship, but being unable to obtain it by his own strength, he went to the Emperor of China (Khâchân), begged for an army and agreed to pay tribute. Assistance was granted him. Dâbâji fled with a small following, and finally, finding no other refuge, betook himself to Usb (Turfan), while Amursana ruled at Ila. The Governor of Usb, who was not subject to the Khâja of Kâshghar, invited him into the town, but seized him as soon as he entered, and sent him to Ila, whence he was conveyed a prisoner to China. There, however, he was treated with honour and his descendants dwell in China to this day. Amursana, having firmly established his authority by the help of the Chinese at Ila, planned the conquest of the three cities of Kâshghar, Yarqand and Khutan. But the Qalmâq were in a depressed state, and the Chinese army, having come from afar, was weary, so that the dispatch of a sufficient force was thought difficult. Abdûl-Wahhâb, the Governor of Aksu and a partial of the Qalmâq, advised the following plan. There happened to be two members of the Khâja family at Ila. Let one of them

...
them, he said, he deputed together, with an envoy, to Kâshgâr, and let it be proclaimed that he has been appointed ruler of the province by the Emperor of China.

Now Khwâja Yahyâ (son of Khwâja Afaq) had left a son named Khwâja Ahmad, who had two sons: 1, Bûkhânu-d-Din, and 2, Khân Khoja. Bûkhân was sent with an embassy, accompanied by a force of Chinese, Qalmaqs and hillmen. He was received with joy by the people of Aksu, and took possession of Ush. But the inhabitants of Ush advised an arrangement by which Yusuf should be left in possession of Kâshgâr, as it was reported that all the Kirghiz, as well as the people of Khutan and Yârquand, were assembled for the defence of Kâshgâr.

When Yusuf heard the news from Ila, he was lying ill at Yârquand. He took counsel with his advisers, and it was recommended that he should not wait to be attacked in Kâshgâr, but should carry the war into the enemy's country, Ush and Aksu. But Yusuf did not approve of thus invading an attack on himself, in case his army should be defeated, and the Kirghiz allies were not to be trusted. However, the general opinion was too strong for him, and a force was detached from Yarkand, without Yusuf's knowledge or consent, under command of his brother Khwâja Yahyâ. The Kirghiz joined the army at Yangi Hisâr, and the Governor of that place, who was suspected of complicity with the Qalmaqs, was made prisoner, and taken on to Kâshgâr; whence the force proceeded, by way of Artush to Ush. Khwâja Yusuf died two days after his army had left Yârquand.

Khwâja Jahan, who succeeded Yusuf, did not approve of this expedition and wanted to recall it. But his Chiefs represented that, having started, it was best that it should go on, lest the enemy should perceive dissensions among them. By his order Khwâja Abdû-l-lâh, son of Yusuf, was made ruler of Kâshgâr. He collected a contingent of troops from his province and sent it after Yahyâ, whom it overtook at Beab Karam. The united forces then reached by Aksai and Katchal, to Ush. The invading Khwâja Bûkhân was amusing himself when news of the approach of this expedition reached him. He was taken by surprise, but ordered his troops to be called together.

Yahyâ sent an embassy to Ush. On being introduced to the presence of Khwâja Bûkhân, they were scandalised at his dress and manners, which resembled those of the Qalmaqs and Chinese. With him were the Governors of Aksu, Ush, Kuchâr, Sairâm, Dolan and a Kirghiz Chief. There were also 400 Chinese troops under Turumtai Darin, and 1,000 Qalmaqs immediately after his father, and while still a child. This would have been some twelve or thirteen years previous to the date of Muhammad âliâ's book, and consequently, it might be thought, within his recollection.

under Dân Jia-Ching. After reading the letter from the Chiefs of the Kâshgâr army, exhorting him to join the side of Islam, he began to mock the false intelligence of the Isâ'âl Khojas. He then recounted the deeds and power of his supporters, Amurâna and the Khoja, who had appointed him Ruler of the country, and he recommended the Kâshgâr Khoja to sue for pardon. His words and threats won over the emissaries, who reflected that Yusuf was now dead. Two of them stayed at Ush and the other two returned to their own army, after making a promise to take the side of the invaders.

On reaching the camp of Yahyâ, they spoke in exaggerated terms of the strength of the enemy. Yahyâ pressed his readiness to die in defence of the faith, and said:—"We looked upon Khwâja Bûkhân as our brother, and were anxious to deliver him from the hands of the infidels, but now that he has joined them to attack us, we will resist him to the death."

The troops prepared for war, but without much hope of success. They had before experienced the power of the Qalmaqs, and now the power of the Chinese was added to it. When the fighting began, one portion after another of the Musulmân army went over to the enemy. The remainder, finding their case hopeless, fled.

On their return to Yârquand, Khwâja Jahan was advised to seize the remainder of the Mungi tribe of Kirghiz, who had been the first to go over to the enemy. An attempt was made to take then prisoners, but half of them escaped and fell to plundering the country. Those who had been captured, moreover, succeeded by fair speeches in obtaining their release and joined their brethren in pillaging Yârquand territory.

The invaders then consulted and decided to go at once to Kâshgâr, as the Kirghiz were friendly and the defending army broken up. On arriving at the city some of their local supporters worked upon the Kipchâk-Kirghiz guard at one of the gates, so that they agreed to let the rival Khojas fight out the matter between themselves, without assisting either side. These were a body of Kipchâks who had fled in the days of Khwâja Dâiyl from Ila to Khutan. A certain Abdil Majid, a supporter of the invading Chiefs, stood on the bank of the Tanân river and cried out with a loud voice:—"Oh, my Prince! There is no use now in delay. The master of this land has come, now go ye forth!"
After vain counsels, Khwaja Abdulla retired with his followers to Yarkand, and Khun Khoja entered Kashgar. He immediately prepared to follow up his success by advancing against Yarkand. He was accompanied by a numberless force of Kashgaris, Aksu and Uighur men and of Kirghiz under Kubat Bi, to whom the government of Kashgar had been promised as a reward for success.

Khwaja Jahân, at Yarkand, pitched his tents outside the city and called an assembly of chief men of the place, to whom, after a feast, he made a speech recounting the time he had spent among them as their ruler, and entreaty their pardon for any offence that he might have given by word or deed. "Now," he added, "we hear that a descendant of Hazrat Afsa has taken Kashgar with the help of the Chinese, and it is probable that he will also seek to become master of Yarkand. As it is not fitting that I and my family should submit to the rule of the infidels, we will carry out our long-formed desire of visiting the holy cities." The chief men of Yarkand tried to dissuade him, saying that if he insisted on going, let him take them with him. Let him not throw them aside in this manner. They would not consent to accept the rule of the descendants of Afsa, but would fight them if they would not remain content with Kashgar.

Khwaja Jahân was persuaded to stay, and entrusted the defence of the town to Ghâsî Beg, who had formerly betrayed him. A force of 8,000 men went out from Yarkand, with orders not to attack their brother Musli-mân of Kashgar, unless the latter should strike the first blow. But when the cavalry of the two armies began to skirmish the Kashgaris came on with cries of "kait, kait" (turn back, turn back). Khwaja Jahân was pleased when he heard the news of this, saying: "As they do not make ‘Allah’ their war-cry, we may fight them with a clear conscience. It had long been on my mind that it would not be lawful to attack troops who met us with cries of ‘Allah,’" and he gave orders for the advance.

The Yarkandis fought so vigorously that the Kashgharî force retreated a tââk 43 distance, and made their "sâlimân" in the direction of Yarkand. A second time the Yarkand troops came out to the attack, and again proved victorious. They were in possession of two European rifles (Frang Mîlâk) which could strike a mark at the distance of a tââk: they had been the property of Khwaja Yu-suf. Khwaja Burhân-d-Din, the Afsaì, was standing on the Bâi-Dubba (or Tippa), a mound about half a mile from the Maskhara Darwâsa (gate) on the east side of the city. A shot from the European gun, fired from the gate, struck his standard.

" The tââk is a measure of distance, equal to about four miles. It is the Persian sung or forosh."

b) Hear, who fell with the yak’s tail standard (Yagb). After further fighting the Kashgâr force retired again, and the Yarkand officers returned triumphant.

Now when the Kashgâr troops first set out, a deputation of the Yarkandis had represented to Khwaja Jahân as follows:—"Khwaja Burhân-d-Din, with the help of the Chinese and Qalmiqs, has taken the whole country except Yarkand and Khishan; but Yarkand is, of all, the chief city of Mughulsân,42 and its inhabitants, as long as they have one mind, are capable of encountering those of the whole of the other cities put together. But we are doubtful of two men—Ghâsî Beg and Nâz Beg—who would not scruple to betray their faith for the things of this world. They should be imprisoned till these troubles are over, and should have no share in our arrangements. Afterwards they might be restored to their present dignities," But Khwaja Jahân could, with difficulty, be induced to agree even to such precautions as preventing them going out into the field, or sitting in the court (Urda) to give their orders.

To return: the invaders finding force of no avail, sent four envoys, two Chinese and two Qalmiqs—and they were allowed to come into the presence of Khwaja Jahân, who sat on a high throne surrounded by his chiefs. They presented a letter which ran in the name, first of the Khân, and secondly of Amurâna, and in which the Yarkand leaders were reproached with their folly in withholding the tribute paid by their forefathers for many generations. Their error was ascribed to Dābāja, the expelled Tura of Yarkand. All the countries formerly in possession of the Qalmiqs had now fallen to the Chinese crown, of right. The Khân had sent this embassy to invite them to obedience. If they happened to be victorious over it, he threatened that troops upon troops would come from China and slay down to the very four-footed beasts; and he concluded by exhorting them to lay down their arms, promising them that they would have no share in the war, and throwing the responsibility of rejecting this offer on Khwaja Jahân.43

The Khwaja tore up the letter and burned it. He then replied, saying: —"Khwaja Burhân is eating dirt. If he knows himself to be a
man, let him learn that others are lions. Our minds have no other desire than to wage a religious war.” With this answer the envoys returned.

Afterwards, however, a council was held in Yârqund, when an envoy was despatched to Burhân-d-Dîn, on the part of Khwâja Jahân, charged with an attempt to win him over to the side of Islam and offering, for the sake of religious peace, to give up the city to him and to go on pilgrimage. Otherwise even if the city walls were of paper, the weapons of defence needles, and the defenders women, still he would not be able to take it. In reply Burhân-d-Dîn said that a theological disquietude of this kind would not accomplish the work of solidifying; that the Khâqân and Amursana, who had sent him, would not accept such a sermon in lieu of obedience. “I am backed up,” he continued, “by these two great mountains and shall not fail to take Yârqund—if not today, then to-morrow. Where will it go to escape us?” With these words he dismissed the envoy.

With this envoy had come a follower of Ghâzî Beg, who entered into negotiations with the enemy, on behalf of his master, to betray the city, on condition of obtaining its government. He also opened communications with Niâz Beg. The latter possessed a garden close to the wall of the town, from which he began mining under the wall and throwing the earth into an empty ice-house. It was winter, so no one visited the garden. He had progressed 8 fathoms, making in such a direction as to come out on the face of a bank below the wall on the outside. But among his servants there was one loyal man, and he at last informed Khwâja Jahân, who sent and found the mine as the man had said. Niâz was put into confinement, but his property was not seized, nor was his family injured.

There was another man named Ashur Kozî, a Qalmaq by birth, but much trusted by Khwâja Jahân. He entered into communication with the invaders on behalf of himself and Niâz, advising them to push forward, on a certain night, some 3,000 men; while he would arrange to set fifty men at work, with picks, to make a breach in the city wall. All was in readiness, but a son of Ashur Kozî reproached his father for his treachery, saying that it was better to die righteously than to enjoy the empire of the world. Passing from words to blows, the father wounded him with his sword, and he fled and informed Khwâja Jahân, who at first refused to believe him. But, at his suggestion, the messenger of his father was seized and he confessed. Then Ashur was arrested, his house was searched, and the letter bearing the seal of Khwâja Burhân was found.

Next day Ashur was brought out before the people and his crime declared. He made a public confession and acknowledged that death was the penalty he had incurred. Khwâja Abû-l-lâh interceded for him, saying that if he were killed, no son would, in future, reveal his father’s conspiracies. Khwâja Jahân then proclaimed to the people that the son had begged for the father’s life from him, and he (the Khwâja) now begged it from the people. The assembly, however, replied that unless somebody’s life was taken, the city would not be safe, so the messenger was executed.

The enemy were greatly dejected, because these two schemes had failed; and they were defeated daily in the open field.

Now Ghâzî Beg’s station in the defence was from the Khânaka gate to the Maskhara gate. It was reported to the Khwâja that Ghâzî’s spies were constantly coming and going, and a petition was handed in that he might be imprisoned. The Khwâja replied:—“It is of no use. Our destruction is decreed: it is only delayed, not averted.” Ghâzî Beg then planned to procure a defeat of the Yârqund army. The Khwâja consented to an attack being made and the whole male population of Yârqund, from twelve years of age to seventy, was sent out. Some people said that they numbered as many as 40,000 as they sallied forth.

Burhân-d-Dîn’s army retired before this mass. The Kirghiz, Kubat Bi, the accursed one, stood looking on. But Ghâzî Beg was marshalling the Yârqund troops, when a small force rode at him. He fled with his standard, and the Yârqund men being taken with fright at this defection, fled, and pressed on one another up to the gate. Khwâja Abû-l-lâh tried to get out of the city to stop the rout, but could not make his way through the crowd of fugitives. Ropes were then thrown over the wall and as many as possible were taken into the town; the rest were all slain by the enemy.

After a few days of despair, the Khâjjas and the chief people of Yârqund sallied forth with the intention of taking refuge in the mountains. Some on horses, some on camels, some riding two together on one horse, some on foot; they set out and reached the Masjaq (the Yârqund river); but it was frozen so insufficiently as to be impassable on the ice, moreover night had set in. They turned aside to a place, above, called Kau-Yun-tagh, and there began to cross. Then the Kirghiz in the enemy’s army discovered their movements and went after them.

Ghâzî Beg finding the people had left the town, beat the drum of rejoicing and sent out to Khwâja Burhân who pushed forward 600 men to stop the flight. This party, together with the Kirghiz, overtook the fugitives. Some of the latter were trembling with cold and wet, some were burdened with children in their arms; but none were capable of showing fight, although there were about a thousand of them. One of
Khwaja Jahân's wives gave birth to a child during the night and could not follow.

Khwaja Abdu-llâh managed to collect a few men to check the pursuit, but it continued nevertheless till the afternoon of the next day. At the upper crossing of the river, the Kirghiz seized the passage and opened fire with their muskets. Abdu-llâh alone showed courage, but what was one against so many? The fugitives crowded into the river, so as to dam up the water, but again it broke through them sweeping many away with it. Abdu-llâh saw the dead body of Yusuf Khwaja's son being borne past, but he could not even cast a second glance at it in the confusion. After a long struggle they reached the other bank and stopped to recover themselves. Looking round they counted up their losses: one had lost his wife, another his father, and a third his child; cries of grief went up to heaven.

The now offered them quarter if they would surrender. With the exception of Abdn-llâh, all the princes agreed to do so, provided the chiefs of the Kirghiz would bind themselves to good faith by an oath. But Abdu-llâh's pride would not consent to a surrender on any terms. Khwaja Jahân exhorted him to submit and not to fly from death, for life was only a prison to the faithful, though a paradise to unbelievers. Abdu-llâh replied:—"Oh my king, suffer me and a few others to make a fight for liberty. If we all fall into the hands of these infidels, none of our line will escape. I say not this as desiring to avoid death. In our present circumstances death is our best refuge. But firstly our lineage will be destroyed by our being taken, and secondly I would rather die in fight than after falling into the hands of these men."

While they were discussing thus, the Kirghiz crossed the river and coming up, with respect, to the old Khwaja, suggested that if he did not believe their word, he should send his son Yâhiyâ with them to the camp of Burhân-d-Din, to obtain assurances from him in person. So Yâhiyâ was sent off with them.

The Musulmâns were wet, hungry and cold, and night was coming on. Some of them killed their horses, and lighting fires, cooked the flesh and ate it. Abdu-llâh then begged the Khwaja's permission to try and escape with his two children, lest the line of the Khwajes should be cut short, and God threw dust into the eyes of the Kirghiz so that he got away safely, with one child before him and the other behind him, on the same horse.

In the morning the Kirghiz approached and said:—"Oh Khwaja, let us come away into the presence of Khwaja Burhân and see what city he will appoint to you as your Government." But the princes said to themselves:—"It is a question of what death they are going to inflict, not what city they are going to give." Afterwards the Kirghiz asked:—"What need have you now for your fire arms and accoutrements?" and so took them from them.

With many indignities and sufferings, they were brought in by the Kirghiz, who, cruelly and for sport, slew many of the children and carried their bodies on their spears. In this way, they passed one night at the village of Ak-tam and another at Urda-Ustang, where there were but four bare walls to sleep between. At this place they were separated from one another to be led into the city, and they never saw one another more.

What happened after this, there is no strength to relate nor to listen to.
APPENDIX A.

HIERARCHY OF THE MUSULMAN RELIGIOUS ORDERS OR GUILDS.

The technical terms in the text require a little explanation. Among the Musulmans of Eastern Turkistan, who follow chiefly the rule of the Naqabandī order, the head of the hierarchy is the mursid or pir, generally a descendant of the Prophet. The spiritual succession "nisbat-i-maand" is handed down usually in the family of the Founder or Missionary Apostle, but sometimes is vested in one or more of his chief disciples, especially at what may be called "out-stations." He has a congregation or body of disciples (murid), consisting of the lay chief and population descended from those who were originally converted or recruited by his ancestor's preaching. These are considered hereditarily subject (in religious matters) to the mursid's descendants or representatives. He has also a special band of more closely united disciples or apostles called " Khalifas," i.e., viceroys (vicar) who may be considered the clergy of this church, although their specialty merely extends to preaching and expounding and not to any priestly ministrations, for Islam recognizes no priesthood. These form a sort of court around the spiritual superior and his family; and from them are chosen his representatives and successors when his own progeny fail.

The mawjūd, or church lands, given by devout laymen, are vested in this hierarchy. When such a church or order is formed, whether out of the general body of Musulmans or by the conversion of tribes of a different religion, the initiatory process is called "indhat," i.e., conversion or religious submission, or "irshad," i.e., devotion. The commission, or ordination, by which the Khalifas are inducted into this office, is called "ruḥahat" (permission) or "irshad" (direction). Hence "mursid"" a spiritual director. These churches or orders or guilds do not, I believe, differ doctrinally from one another among the orthodox Musulmans. They even belong to the same one out of the four so-called sects of the Sunnis. But they profess a particular method of exciting devotion among their members. This is called their "farīq" (road or path). Some of them, especially the Naqabandī (to which the Khalifas of Kashgaria belonged), have particular signs by which they can recognize their brethren in the faith among strange Musulmans. There may be many such churches or congregations belonging to the same order or guild, but tracing their spiritual descent through a different line. The members are sometimes scattered in different countries. In such cases the superior will often send a Khalifas or will travel himself into the places inhabited by them, to confirm them in the faith and to raise contributions. Thus Chafir Shih Naqabandī, belonging to a family originally of Tajikistan, but now established in Kashmir, several times visited his flocks in Turkistan, and often wrote to the chief members. In return these people and other Turkistanis when they visit Kashmir are entertained by his sons (he is now dead) in quarters,
A VISIT TO THE SHRINE OF ḤAZRAT ĀFĀQ.

The following account of a visit paid by myself and an English companion to the shrine of Ḥazrat Āfāq, in December 1874, may be interesting as illustrating the text.

After crossing the Tumān River by a wooden bridge, just below the south-eastern angle of the wall of Kāshgar city, we rode for nearly a couple of miles chiefly through a large cemetery—a perfect city of the dead—where numerous begging dervishes, single, and even in families, had established their dwellings in the niches and under the domes of the tombs, and came out at the approach of our caravanserai to ask for alms with loud invocations and deep reverences. Presently the road became a walled lane, overhung by the branches of tall trees growing in a large park-like domain, which extended on either side and in front. This lane ended at a gateway where we all dismounted, and left our horses under the charge of a number of boys and young men, who were hanging about there for the purpose of holding the horses of visitors and pilgrims. The hereditary guardian of the shrine, a Ḥāji, accompanied by his retinue, met us at the gate and conducted us into the interior. We passed numerous collegiate buildings, the quarters of students who come to study theology here, and other buildings indicating the existence of quite a little religious colony. In summer it must be charming under the shade of the venerable trees, an air of religious and scholastic repose pervading the whole. After a short walk we reached the shrine, a square building with a barred gateway enclosing a small courtyard in which were more than seventy tombs of the members of the Āfāqī branch of the Khūja family. Among them is a tomb marked only with the initials K. Ṣb. (Ḵāf, Ṣābīn). This is the nom de plume under which is known the writer of certain poems and semi-poetical biographies of Ḥazrat Āfāq and his ancestors, which are in my possession.

The shrine is marked by four tall masts decorated with yak tails (tawāb) and flags inscribed with Arabic texts, and by numerous huge horns of the Ovis Poli (or rather Ovis Karillini) found in the neighbouring mountains. These are ranged along the top of the walls surrounding the shrine, and the finest are formed into two heaps, in front of a little pavilion where pious worshippers sit and meditate on the virtues of the saint. These fluttering yak tails and heaped-up horns are strange features for a Muslim holy place, although commonly found associated with grave-yards in Turkestan. They remind one of the cairns and built-up pillars or monuments, similarly adorned, which are found in all notable spots throughout the mountainous region between India and Eastern Turkestan, and which are variously called Dēvīs (the haunts, that is, of female deities) in the Hindu region, Šāto (i.e. demon-dwellings) in the Buddhist region (where they are not considered

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to be connected with orthodox religion) and Pit or Manār, respectively, in the Khaghrī and Turāli Musulmān regions, where they are explained to be the tombs of holy men. As, however, they occupy precisely corresponding positions in all these regions (positions where it is generally eminently improbable that they could be graves, or which indicate some other association, e.g., summits of passes, peaks of rock barely accessible, turns of a valley where one first comes in sight of a tall precipitous cliff or of a remarkable three-pointed mountain) it is, I think, more probable that they all owe their existence to some common origin (e.g., a primitive local demon worship) than that in the Musulmān region alone they should be due to some cause which could not have operated in the other regions. Stray traces of a local demon worship underlie the existing religions all along the Himalayas and far into Burma, where "nat worship is interwoven with the orthodox Buddhism.

Now if the above hypothesis be true, we have an explanation of these curiously un-Musulmān features, viz., the fluttering tails and rages and horns of bears. They merely carry on the local pre-Musulmān mode of showing reverence for traditionally hallowed spots, which has been extended to more modern holy rites such as graves; and, on the other hand, the designation of graves has been carried back to explain the reverence exhibited for the older sites, which Jalan refuses to honour as the abode of local demons or deities.

Thus the Shrine of Hārāt Aţāq would be but a magnified and glorified adaptation of the rough carvings and pillars so often found in Tibet and in the Indian mountains, a survival of the customs of a primitive local demon-worship, in fact.

We were led round outside this shrine, in a circuit, keeping it on our left side (i.e., moving against the course of the sun) which seems to be the usual way of showing respect to it. Afterwards we were conducted over a newly erected mosque with wings, enclosing a square flagged courtyard, sufficiently large to contain several hundred worshippers. The Hājī pointed out, with pride, that the building could boast of nineteen low domes, and was all built of burnt bricks. It had been constructed within the last four months, for the festival, or Ihd, which closes the Ramāzan or month of fasting, and hence was called an Ihd-yāb, or "place for celebrating the Ihd."

We were then conducted into a raised and carpeted platform under some trees on the bank of a large tank or reservoir. Here an open marquee had been erected for us, and we were treated to a repast, beginning as usual with fruit and bread, and ending with "pilko" and soup. Our host was not able to join us in the meal, as it was fast time; but he presented himself again afterwards, and seated himself with humility on the furthest edge of the carpet, nearer than which nothing could induce him to approach. I discovered that he also was related to the saintly family, to some member of which, the charge of the Shrine and of the College and of the landed estates attached to the Shrine, is always confided. He complained that the place had been sacked repeatedly by the Chinese and Kirghiz within the last decade, and even its library of old books destroyed.

Opposite to where we were sitting was an old mosque with carved wooden pillars and pillars, and open, as usual, in front and at one side. When the hour of afternoon prayer arrived, the Hājī, our host, ran off to stop the mu'attā who was going to call to prayers. When asked why he did this, he answered: "Because I fear the English gentlemen may be offended by the sound." On being assured of the contrary, he permitted the prayers to begin, but he could not be induced to go and join in them himself until I assured him that I should be pleased if he did. He then went up the steps of the mosque with my own Moslem attendants, but between every prostration he would look round to see whether we were showing no signs of displeasure, and would make signs to his pages to keep pouring us out more tea.

On rising to go away I gave him a little gold compass, or "Qibla-numa," with which he was much pleased, saying that it would enable him to be more exact in fixing the direction of Mecca for the new mosques which he was about to build. He accompanied us to the outer gate where he parted from us with many salutations.

This reception by the Chief or Guardian of the most celebrated Shrine in Eastern Turkestan, which one might suppose to be a refuge for the conservative and religious sentiment of the country, rather belies the usual idea of Muslīm fanaticism and intolerance in Central Asia, and is a relief with all my experience of Eastern Turkestan.

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* In the Buddhist countries—Western Tibet, China, etc.—these carvings on the tops of hills and cliffs are usually put up in connection with the supposed functions of good and bad spirits, or benign and evil principles. In some places the hills, or other natural features, are believed to favour the passage and operations of benevolent spirits or beneficent; in others to obstruct them or to attract evil ones. The carvings are placed so as to divert the malicious currents and to facilitate those regarded as propitious. In short, they are derrivatives of the spiritualism prevailing among the inhabitants of the regions in question—their ancient superstition that existed long before Buddhism was introduced, and which underlies the Buddhism of the Lamas to this day. The spiritualistic "teachers," or mediums (who are usually Lamas in Tibetan countries) ascertain the proper positions for the marks, or carvings, by mystical methods known only to themselves, and are employed to meet them by the people of the villages for granting grounds, who regard them as a measure of protection. The Moslem also, alluding to Mr. Shaw's footnote, is not quite the same thing. —N. R.
APPENDIX C.

COLLEGES AND SCHOOLS IN EASTERN TURKISTAN.

Colleges and schools are very numerous in Eastern Turkistan, though they are devoted to religious education, and only teach reading and writing as incidental to that purpose.

Every founder of a college must provide a building and an endowment in land, after which he executes a title-deed which is countersigned by the authorities, and makes it over to the Principal or Akhund nominated by himself.

The following is the usual establishment: 1st, the Akhund or Principal; 2nd Muqaddas or Master; 3rd, a Matawalli, i.e., Steward or Manager; 4th, a number of Jarib-Kaş, literally "sweepers" who are hereditary servants or slaves attached to the foundation and who perform the menial service of it.

The Matawalli collects the revenues of the endowment lands annually, and hands them to the Akhund, who divides them into ten shares, which are distributed somewhat in the following manner, viz., to the Akhund and Muqaddas four shares; to the Matawalli one share; for repairs, etc., one share; to the sustenance of the Jarib-Kaş, and sometimes of the students, four shares. Total ten shares.

In the city of Yarkand there are over sixty-two collegiate buildings, of which twenty-nine are kept up in good order, while the others are abandoned. I have a list of the twenty-nine with particulars of each. The earliest of them was founded in A. H. 608 (A. D. 1407). The Ak-madrasa, mentioned in the text, is put down in my list as situated in the Altun Maha, and as having been founded in 1172 (A. D. 1661-2) by Khan Khoja; also as being endowed with fifty Patmans of land in the townships of Posagun, Karghali, and Yarkand. It is stated that no public education is carried on in it now, but that its Qasim (Akhund) takes private pupils. Neither the date nor the name of the founder agree with the text, so it is probable that Khanah Khoja's bequest must have been used merely to enlarge an existing college and to increase its endowment (which is perhaps indicated in the text by the expression "widened the endowment lands").

The total endowment of these twenty-nine colleges amounts, according to my list, to 3,670 Patmans of land (each Patman being as much as it takes about 1,000 lbs. of grain to sow), and 188 houses or shops, whose rents form part of the revenues. Judging by some whose income is known, the total revenues of the Yarkand colleges must be about 400 yams (1 of silver, or about £2,500 per annum). These particulars are gathered from the college title-deeds. There only appear to be a little over four hundred students educated at these colleges, a good number of them carrying on no education, but merely affording snug retreats for the learned, such as they are.

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As for primary education there are maktab madrasas or schools in every ward or sub-division of the cities and attached to most of the mosques. Here the children, both male and female, may be heard repeating their lessons in the usual sing-song style, while they rock their bodies to and fro. In the bitter winter weather they have a curious way of providing for the warmth of these little bodies. Along one or more sides of the school-room runs a long sort of earthen trough, or manger, with a broad lip. This trough is filled with straw and the children squat in this, putting their books before them on the rim. They learn to read and to repeat their religious exercises. The girls do not often go further than this. Some of the boys learn to write and read as far as four books in Persian or Turki, and those that have a liking for knowledge continue their education at the colleges. Some of the elder girls learn the Qur'an at home.

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The Chinese Yuan Foo or shoo of silver.—H. E.
APPENDIX D.

TRIBE NOMENCLATURE OF THE QALMAQS.

The following note on the modern tribe nomenclature of the Qalmäqs, as given by themselves, may be interesting as throwing some light on this difficult question.

There are two grand divisions called by the Turks, respectively, the Saryğä (or yellow) Qalmäqs, and the Kara (or black) Qalmäqs. The latter seem to be the Eastern Mongols of European writers; the former the Western Mongols or Qalmäqs.

The following tribes of Saryğä Qalmäqs are in and about the Ila region, north of the Tien Shan mountains, but they state that they originally came from Bě-tu-dār (or Mongolia):

1. Chungur (which seems to be the tribe known to western nations as Sunghar or Zaughar).
2. Turghut who live in the south of Ila and have only recently (circa 1870-72) been driven out of the Yuldax pastures by the incursions of the Tunganis or Dunganis. The Turghut tribe is said to include (i) the Khosot, (ii) the Barlyg, who inhabit Tarbagatai, (iii) the Khosîtä, who migrated to Russia and back again in the last century.
3. Turbet (? Derbet).

Then there are two other tribes of more Eastern origin:—

1. Sohan which includes the sub-tribes Dīghur and Un-gur (? right and left hand). They are said to have immigrated from Sugholon-Ula.
2. The Shība or Shibar who also are said to have come from the East (from the mountains of Liu-dung or Liuchung, they say) more recently than the rest and who now occupy the north of Ila.

The Sohan and the Shibar are said to have been located here by the Chinese in the 16th year of the Emperor Jia-Ching, for the purpose of overthrowing the other Qalmäqs. They are reported to have enjoyed certain privileges. They call themselves Manchos and the Turks call them Manchos Qalmäqs.

The tribes about the Koko-Nor and Sining are also called Qalmäqs by their Turkic neighbours. All the abovenamed Qalmäqs are Buddhists and revere the Dalai Lama of Lhasa.

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The tribes denominated Kara (black) Qalmäqs by the Turks live further East. They include the Kalkas. They are said to call themselves Aid or Angul.

This account was given to me by a Shibar Qalmäq. Another account makes the fourfold division of the Saryğä Qalmäqs as follows:—

1. Chalos.
2. Durbet.
4. Turghut.

This is, I believe, a Chinese compound, or _EXTENSIONS.\_1 It was put forth as a probable origin of Tartar.\_2

Liu-tung—N. E.  

\_1 Ria King or Chia Ching—The fifteenth year of whose reign would be 1820.—N. E.

\_2 B. B. S.