THE HISTORY
OF THE
KHŌJAS OF EASTERN–TURKISTĀN

SUMMARISED FROM THE
TAZKIRA-I-KHWAJAGĀN OF
MUḤAMMAD ṢĀDIQ KĀSHGHĀRĪ,

BY THE LATE
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THE ĞALCHAN LANGUAGES, ETC.

EDITED WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES
BY
N. ELIAS.

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In 1875, when the late Mr. R. B. Shaw returned from duty in Kashghar 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 Jahān Kuskāz of Alāū-d-dīn Ātāu-l-Mulk, Juwaini, the Tārīḵh-i-Rashidi of Mirzā Ḥaidar, the Tāzḵirāt-i-Bughrā and the Tāzḵirāt-i-Khājagān of Muḥammad Ṣādīq, Kashghari. 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 Tārīḵh-i-Rashidi are to be found among these documents, and a portion of the memoirs of Sultan Satuk Bughra is actually in print—text and translation—as an appendix to Mr. Shaw’s Turki Grammar. It was on the memoirs of Khōjas, 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 Muḥammad Ṣādīq. 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.¹

(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 Turkish manuscript, of a printed Turkish 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 Turkish, 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 Šadiq, 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 Šadiq'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

¹ Appendix E is not printed with the other four, as it consists only of an extract from a published book, on a subject sufficiently explained in the Introduction.
been, but there are, I believe, some others, besides that of Muḥammad Ṣādiq which relate the story of the Kāshgār Khōjas, 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 Muḥammad Ṣādiq.

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 Türkī Munṣī from Būkhārā, by Khān Bahādur Maulā Bakhsh and Mirzā ʿAbdullāh, of the Khurāsān Agency to whom my thanks are due for their labour. Knowing nothing of Türkī 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 Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s manuscript, in amplifying certain passages in the epitome and in compiling the genealogical tables of the Khōjas and Khāns. It has also afforded the means of forming an opinion of the value to be placed on Muḥammad Ṣādiq’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 Khōja period by the wife of the “Ḥākim,” or Governor, of Kāshgār, at that time (1783), one ʿUṣmān Bēg.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 Khōja families and seeing that his sympathy for the Iṣḥāqī, or black party of the Khōjas 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 Mullā, for his mind seems to run on the lines of a religious devotee.

1 Mr. Shaw notes that this ʿUṣmān Bēg was son of Mir Zāhidī, a religious chief of Kāshgār.
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 Turkistan, which were under Khōja 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 Qalmaqs, their Kingdom and their rulers, who were usually the suzerains of the Khōjas (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 Khōjas 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 Tārīkh-i-Rayhīdi brings down the history of Eastern Turkistan and the neighbouring countries to the middle of the 16th century, while from about the middle of the 18th when the Chinese became 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 Sadiq's book helps us, however imperfectly, to fill up. It cannot, as will be seen further on, be said to extend over 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 only starting from the early part of the 17th century, while it carries us down to about the opening of the year 1758, 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 Sadiq'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 Turkistan by Captain Valikhanoff—a Russian officer, who, in 1856, had travelled in the country and had devoted a chapter 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 must have been the Taqkira-i-Khawāja. In the first place he tells us that, when at Kashghar, 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 Sultān and a native of the steppes", 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 recognizable, while a number of statements and a few dates are inserted (not always correctly) for which the author of the Taqkira 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 Sadiq's original manuscript, it appeared to be a question whether, in spite of serious inaccuracies, it might not be superfluous 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 Turkistán, he must certainly have read Captain Valikhanoff’s review of the Khöja period; yet there is nothing among his papers to show that he detected in it a summary of the work that he was engaged in translating and editing.

Meshed;

The 10th March 1896.

N. Elias.
INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

I.—THE KHĀNS AND THE KHŌJAS.

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 kingdom. The last of the Moghul line who ruled over the whole of the six cities of Eastern Turkistān (the kingdom of “Altishahr”) as well as over a portion, at least, of the country north of the Tiānshān, then known as Moghulistān, was Ābdūr-Rāshid Khān, otherwise Rasīd Sultān, the early years of whose reign are recorded in the closing chapters of Part I of the Šārkh-i-Rasjīdī. The kingdom that Ābdūr-Rāshid 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 Qūlmlqs. As far as the history of his reign can be traced in the Šārkh-i-Rasjīdī, it would appear that Ābdūr-Rāshid 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 considerable 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 certainly divided into two, if not split up into several different chiefships. He left thirteen sons to dispute over the inheritance, one of whom, Muḥammad Khān or Sultān Muḥammad, can be traced as having reigned at Kāshghar to within the 17th century, for his death is mentioned in 1609. Another, named Ābdūr-Karim, is spoken of as being in power (probably at Yārqand) 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 Ābdūr-Raḥim, as chief in Yārqand, but the remainder are scarcely more than mentioned by name.

These are the only Khāns of this generation of the Moghul dynasty for whose lives even odds and ends of dates are forthcoming, and as they are culled from various sources, which give no information regarding the country or its affairs, it is only by inference that we can conclude that the dominions of Ābdūr-Rāshid 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 Khāns were concerned 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 dissension.

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 Haft Iqlim of Amin Ahmad Ra'zi, where a list of the thirteen sons of Abdu-r Rashid is given, with some scanty indications of what had become of them down to the year when Ahmad Ra'zi wrote—viz., 1593. Secondly, there is the remnant of the narrative of the Portuguese missionary, Benedict Goez, who passed through Eastern Turkestan on his way from Lahore to China, vid Badakhshan and Wakhân, 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 Khân—Muhammad—whose seat was at Kâshghâr, 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 Târikh-i-Khânân Oghâta'în, that this Muhammad Khân and Abdu-l-Karim “succeeded to a divided Government in turn;” while during the reign of the former, and about the year 1572, 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 was effected by the Kirghiz, or whether it was due to dissensions between the Khâns. Fourthly, Dr. Bellew cites some passages from another book—the Taq'irat-i-Hidâyat of Mir Khâlu-d-Din, Yârquandî which he was, apparently, able to examine at Kâshghâr in 1873-74. But the extracts he furnishes afford no dates bearing on the generation of Khâns immediately succeeding Abdu-r-Rashid, 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 Yarlyghs or title-deeds (sanads) which he procured at Kâshghâr or Yarkand, and which afford unmistakable proof of certain Khâns 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 Muhammad Khân reigning in 996-H. (or 1587)

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1 See Quatremère's Notices et Extraits, XIV, pp. 474, seq. Ahmad Ra'zi calls Abdu-l-Karim the brother of Rashid, but it is obvious, from the context, that “son” is meant.
2 See Yule's Cathay and the way thereto, volume II.
3 Report of Sir D. Forsyth's Mission to Yarkand, etc., page 174. He notes, however, that he had not himself seen the book.
4 Report of Mission to Yarkand, etc., pages 175 to 178. This book would appear to be history or biography of the Khâja Hidâyat Alâ'h, whose name was Hidâyatul-lah.
5 Yarlygh ou Yarlyq, ordre royal, chiffre qui le surmonte. (Levet de Courteille.) [Ed.]
and dying in 1018-H. (1609); of Ābdū-1-Ḵārim in the year 1000-H. (1592); of Ābdū-1-Raḥim at Yārqaṇd in 1011-H. (1602-3) and at Kuchār in 1017-H. (or 1608).<sup>1</sup>

To these five sources, fragmentary and imperfect as they are, it would have been gratifying to be able to add the history of Khōjas 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 on the death of Ābdū-1-Raḥib, 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 Khōjas 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 "Khāfas," 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 Khōjas 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 Ābdū-1-Raḥib. Still more was this the case during the two succeeding and final generations of Moghul Chiefs, for it was then that the Khōjas began to raise themselves to temporal power, and brought their country's independence to an end.

Of grandsons of Ābdū-1-Raḥib, I can only find mention of two names. One of these, a certain Ṣuḥjā'ū-d-Dīn Abūmad, son of Muḥammad Khān, occurs merely in some deeds seen and noted by Mr. Shaw, in Kāshghar or Yārqaṇd, 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 Ābdū-Ilāh, a son of Ābdū-1-Raḥim, appears to have been a man of some mark and his name often occurs in the History of the Khōjas, as well as in Mr. Shaw's list of "Sanads." He had his seat of Government at Yārqaṇd, 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

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<sup>1</sup> See the Genealogical Table attached.
themselves been exercising power. Thus Mr. Shaw found documents of Shujā'ū-d-Dīn Aḥmad dated in 1611 and 1615, and of Aḥmad between 1637 and 1643 inclusive.1

Aḥmad Khān's sons, alone, constitute the next and last generation of the reigning Khāns. 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 Khājas. Their period may be placed, in the absence of more accurate information, at between 1650 and about the end of the century. The one who seems to have played the most noticeable part was called Isma'īl. He succeeded, for a time, as will be seen in the history, in ridding his country of the most powerful of the Khājas, and continued his career till 1678, when the Qalmaqs, intervening in favour of the Khājas, made the whole of Eastern Turkistān a tributary of their own, and carried Isma'il a prisoner to H. After this date one of his brothers, called Akhṣāq, is incidentally mentioned as a vassal of the Qalmaqs struggling against Khōja fanaticism in the year 1694, and he completes the tale.

As the author himself tells the history of the Khājas, there is no need to encumber this Introduction with more than a few remarks on them, gathered from Dr. B nce's notice of the Taṣkira-i-Hidayat, 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 Turk books in existence,2 which deal with the lines of saints [Auliya] and Khājas 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 Turkistān, or with the Khājas who governed there between the Moghul and the Chinese periods. Except those of our author, and of Khān-d-Dīn, I can find no reference to any. Several of the Mūsalmān general histories contain notices of saints and miracle-workers, more or less celebrated, who appear to have been mostly Khājas, 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 Turkistān, though many must have exercised considerable influence in the dominions of the Khāns or Sultāns to whom they attached themselves. A number of such characters will be found alluded to in the "Tārikh-

1 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 Aḥmad Khān. He does not mention his authority.

2 Such as the Sīsila-i-Khwājasān, the Taṣkira-i-Auliya, etc., etc.
Rashidi 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 Khōja mentioned in the Ṭārikh-i-Rashidi. 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 Mirzā Ḥaidar, for he furnishes dates so abundantly, that had it been otherwise, the descent of the Khōjas 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. Bellem, from Khālu-d-Din's Taṣkīra-i-Hidāyat are brief and consist chiefly of anecdotes which have no particular interest. Such indications as it contains regarding the Moghul Khāns 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 Khān—named Akbaḥ—is spoken of as the brother of one of the Khōjas, which is impossible, seeing that he was a "Khān." In another place Khānam Pādehā, the widow of Khōja Āfash is described as the daughter of Ābdūr-Raḥīm: yet, as is well known, Ābdūr-Raḥīm died in 1565-66, while Khānam Pādehā was not left a widow by Āfāq till 1693, 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 Raḥīm, named Muḥammad 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

1 It seems just possible that the Ḥagrat Makhdūm-i-ʿAẓam of our present author may be identical with the Ḥagrat Makhdūm-i-Nūrū so often spoken of in the Ṭārikh-i-Raṣḥīdī under various styles, such as Ḥagrat Khwāja Khārānd Maḥmūd Shīhābū-d-Din (which was his real name) and several other combinations of the same words. The last we hear of Makhdūm-i-Nūrū is his escape from the Punjab to Māwarān-ī-Nahr in the year 1640, while Mr. Vambery records the death of Makhdūm-i-ʿAẓam as having taken place in that country in 1642. In the Epitome, below, it will be seen that his proper name is given as ʿAḥmad Khwāja; this is evidently taken from Mr. Shaw's "other book," for it is not mentioned by Muḥammad Ṣādiq. (See Ṭārikh-i-Raṣḥīdī, page 399, and Vambery's History of Balbūr, page 399.)
the Qalmâqs and their acquisition of suzerainty over the Khôjas—the leading features of the history of the period—are not even mentioned.

Dr. Bellew'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 Khôjas that are not contained in the narrative of Muḥammad Ṣâdiq. We may gather from it, for instance, that the Khôjas themselves had split up into two opposing factions quite early in the 17th century, and that they were known, even then, as the Ak-taghyq and Kara-taghyq, or White and Black mountaineers, respectively, while these designations are never used by Muḥammad Ṣâdiq. 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 Mullâ Fāził of Artuṣh, the leader of the White faction, called for help from some powerful Khôja of Khôkand, and by means of the forces this ally brought him, succeeded in capturing Khâšghâr. Neither this event, nor the name of Mullâ Fāził is mentioned by our author, and it can only be conjectured that Fāził must be another name for one of the descendants of Ishân Kalân whose line eventually became the White party. Only very shortly after this incident we find Khôja Hîdâyatu-Îllâh, known as Ḥâẓrat Âfâq, mentioned as the leader of the White mountaineers, but it can hardly be to him that the style of Mullâ Fāził is applied, for he is so well known a personage that all his names and titles must have been handed down.

Âfâq was, without doubt, the most famous of all the Khôjas descended from Mâkhḍûm-i-Â'ẓam, and he attained to a greater degree of power than any other, of either party. He is described by Dr. Bellew's author as having held entire dominion, spiritual and temporal, over the six cities of Eastern Turkistân, as well as over Turfân and the eastern districts known, at an earlier date, as Ughuristân; while he had large numbers of disciples in foreign countries, from whom he received tithes. "Amongst the people of Khâshghâr," writes Dr. Bellew, "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 Ḥâẓrat Iṣâ (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 dancéd 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 Islâm, and appears to have lived to a great age. The date of his birth is not to be found, but if his biographer, Khûnûn-Î-Dîn, is to be
relied upon, his active career must have begun some time previous to the year 1622, while his death is recorded in the year of the Hijra 1105, or 1693-94 A. D.—dates which would point to a life of almost incredible length, considering the country and times in which it was passed. Among the appendices to the present volume will be found an interesting account of a visit paid by Mr. Shaw to Ḥaẓrat Āfāq’s tomb at Kāshghar in 1874, but it is remarkable that no mention is made of the duration of his life.

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 Ṣādiq, vouchsafes to his readers, in order to trace their identity and origin. He very naturally omits any explanation of what constitutes a Khōja (or khwaja, as it is more properly written), for it must have been a household word among his associates and countrymen, and in every-day 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 Khalifs Abū-Bakr and 'Umar, by other women than the daughters of the Prophet; and that they were divided into two categories:—the Khōjas Sayyid-atā, who possessed deeds proving their descent, and the Khōjas Jūibārī, whose deeds were lost and who could only appeal to tradition and repute. They differed from the Sayyids in that the latter claimed to originate from the Khalifs Uṣmān and Āli, 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 khwaja as “a title applied to the offspring of a Sayyid by a woman of any other family: also to their descendants.” In other words the Khōjas were Sayyids; for the offspring of Sayyids, by whatever woman, are always Sayyids; 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 Sayyid.

1 See Howorth, II, page 870.

2 It may be remarked here that the Khōjas belonged to the order of Darwishes known as “Naqesbandi”, but this does not affect the question of their being Sayyids.

3 Compare Richardson’s Persian Dictionary and Redhouse’s Turki Dictionary under the words Sayyid and Khwaja.
HISTORY OF THE KHÔJAS OF EASTERN TURKISTÁN.

But however this may be, our author, Muḥammad Ṣādiq, records the lineage of the Khôjas in a way which shows that they themselves could not have laid claim to the origin indicated by M. Schefer, for, in the pedigree which he gives, the names of the Khalifs Abû-Bakr and ʿUmār do not occur. He traces them directly from Fāṭima, the daughter of the Prophet and the wife of ʿAli, and thus classes them, in fact, with Sayyids. 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 pedigree may have no historical authority, the extract may, in some respects, be of interest. He writes: "Be it known to you that lineage [nisbat] is of two kinds, viz., spiritual and apparent. Apparent lineage means that so and so is the son of such an one, and so forth; and the succession comes to him. True [or 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 (on whom be peace) was of two kinds: one of prophecy, which concerns the perpetual knowledge of holy law: another of saintliness [Vilâyat], which concerns the perpetual knowledge of internal conditions. First we will describe apparent lineage [of the Khôjas]. The offspring of the Prophet (may God bless and save him) was the blessed Fāṭimah;

her son was Imām Ḥusain;
his son was Imām Zainu-l-Âbidîn;

" " " Ḥaẓrat Imâm Muḥammad Bâkir;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Imâm Jafar Ṣâdiq;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Muḥammad Mûsâ-i-Kâzîm;
" " " Ḥaẓrat ʿAlî Mûsâ;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Ṭâlib;
" " " ʿAbdu-Ilâh-i-Āraj;
" " " Ḥaẓrat ʿAbdu-Ilâh-i-Afzál;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Ubaidsu-Ilâh;
" " " Sayyid Ahmad;
" " " Sayyid Muḥammad;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Shâh Ḥusain;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Shâh Ḥasan;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Jalān-d-Dîn;
" " " Ḥaẓrat Sayyid Kamâl-d-Dîn;

1 The author omits to describe "Spiritual" lineage.
2 Imām ʿAlî Mûsâ Rîzâ whose shrine is at Mâshhâd.
3 The Shiʿas do not acknowledge Ṭâlib as a son of ʿAlî Mûsâ.
his son was Ḥażrāt Saʾyīd Burhānu-d-Dīn;
" " " Ḥażrāt Saʾyīd Jalālu-d-Dīn;
" " " Ḥażrāt Makhdūm-i-ʿAẓam; 1
" " " Ḥażrāt Išāq Wālī;
" " " Khwāja Shādī;
" " " Ḥażrāt Khwāja Abdu-llāh; 2
" " " Ḥażrāt Khwāja Dānyāl;
" " " Ḥażrāt Yaʿqūb (called Khwāja Jahān)."

This pedigree, then, whatever it may be worth in point of authenticity, shows that the Khōjas of Eastern Turkistān were accounted Sayyids, and it is to that fraternity that we may regard them as belonging.

Muḥammad Ṣādiq's history may be said to open with the life of the Khōja known as Ḥażrāt Makhdūm-i-ʿAẓam who was of the twentieth generation in descent from the Prophet. Nothing more interesting, however, is recorded of him than some disjointed tales of miracles that he performed and some brief notices of his wives 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 they show how it was that at the death of Makhdūm-i-ʿAẓam, a division took place among the Khōjas, which resulted in one party becoming followers of the Makhdūm's elder son, called Išān-i-Kalān, and another attaching themselves to his younger son, Išāq Wālī. The party of the Išān seem to have acquired the name of Ak-tagḥīq, or White mountaineers, and that of Išāq, Kara-tagḥīq, or Black mountaineers, but these names had no reference to the localities where their adherents lived. All were inhabitants of the lowlands and cities of Eastern Turkistān, but each section made allies among the Kirghiz of the neighbouring mountains, and apparently subsidised them to fight their party battles. The Kirghiz tribes of the Western Tien Shan ranges, lying to the north of Қaşbghar, were known as the "White mountaineers," and those of the Ṣamīr as the "Black mountaineers" so that the Khōjas came to assume the designations of their Kirghiz allies. Though these terms never occur in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's book 3 they were, apparently, in pretty general use, for they are found, according to Dr. 信念, in the Taṣkīra-i-Hīdāyat and are employed throughout the narrative of Captain Valikhanooff, who tells us, moreover, that they were current at the time when he wrote.

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1 For some remarks on this saint, see immediately below; and for the remainder compare the genealogical table, attached.
2 This name should be ʿUbadu-d-llāh.
3 He uses, sometimes, Išāq for the party of Išāq Wālī, but has no general name for the party of Išān-i-Kalān.
I.—Genealogical Table of Moghul Khans.

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<th>1</th>
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<th>4</th>
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<th>7 to 13</th>
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<td>ABDU-UL-RAHIM KHAN.</td>
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<td>Abdulla.</td>
<td>Abdur-Rahim.</td>
<td>Agham (or Sult.)</td>
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<td>Isma'il.</td>
<td>Yulbura.</td>
<td>Muhammed Amin.</td>
<td>Akbar.</td>
<td>Nurud-Din or (Khudabanda)?</td>
<td>Khānām Fādshāh.</td>
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<td>Babak.</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
II.—Pedigree of the Khôjas.

**White.**


**Black.**


**White.**


**White.**


**White.**


**White.**


**White.**

II.—THE QALMAQS.

The story of the Qalmāqs 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 Musliman 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 go by the name of 'Qalmāq' 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 Qalmāq (Cal- muck, 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 Turki-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 Musliman authors previous to the 15th 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 Turki- 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 Qalmāq or any variant of it.

The Qalmāqs' own name for themselves is Oirā, though more often seen and used in its plural form of Oirātā or more fully as Durben Oirāt, that is "Four Oirās"; and it is this word, in various phonetic forms, that the Chinese have always made use of in their writings. Thus we find Wā-la, Wā-lā-tē, Ī-lō-tē, Wei-lā-tē, etc., which European translators from the Chinese have rendered Olot, Ölöt, Eleuth, etc., according to differences of ear.1

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1 If it is a real Turki word, it would mean "to remain, to stay behind." See Shaw's Turkī vocabulary, p. 146. But Sir H. Howorth gives reasons for considering it to be synonymous with "unbeliever." (Volume I, pp. 497-498.)
3 Translators from the Mongol seem to read Oghlod, or Ogelbed (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 Oirâ, 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-Oirât), which were again more or less subdivided.

As in the case of most, if not all, Mongol tribes, the western, or Oirâ, nation originally consisted of two wings, called the "Right-hand" or Boronkhâr and the "Left-hand" or Zunghar. The former of these seems almost completely to have disappeared previous to the conquests of Cingiz Khân, 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 Oirat. Their names are:

1. The Choros (or Cholos—the Cho-lo-sze of the Chinese).
2. The Durbet (or Turbatê Tu-rh-po-tê).
3. The Turgut (or Turghnd—Tu-rh-hu-tê).
4. The Khoshot (Ho-Shê-tê).

Thus, when we read of the Zunghar tribe (the Chongkar 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 Oirât. 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 Khân (about 1671) took the title of "Zunghar Khân", and from this circumstance his tribe and country, especially, became known (for a time it would appear) by the name of Zunghar. In this way the whole of the Zunghar 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 Zunghar, this last name became subsequently a synonym with Oirât, or Eleuth—as indeed it more correctly should be. It may happen, therefore, that writings are to be met with where the term Zunghar is made to denote the Choros tribe alone, but if so it is incorrect. Our history of the Khôjâs is concerned almost entirely with the Choros tribe and its chiefs, so that when throughout the Turki author's text we read of the "Zunghar",

1 The Right-hand is always the Western, and the Left-hand the Eastern, Wing.
2 Medieval Researches, ii, page 171.
3 This will hardly appear in the Epitome, however.
it is, in fact, to the Choros section of the Zunghar, 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 Hucite) and, with some writers, this has been the cause of much confusion. Mr. V. M. Uspenski, 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 Zunghar proper, but that they are a tribe of the Boronghar, or Right-hand Qalmaq. If so, they are probably the only remnant 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 neighbours under the general term “Qalmaq.” The Turks, though, are not right when they apply this name, as they do in Eastern Turkistan, 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 as at present, that is, 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 pretty generally known now-a-days as “Zungharia.” 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 Khojis, the Choros (known as Zunghar) 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.

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1 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 Khojis. The particulars it contains were evidently gathered by him at Käshghar or Yärgand, and though not entirely correct, are interesting as coming direct from the people themselves.

2 Mr. Uspenski (in translation at least) is not very clear but I take his “Barin tribe” to be the Boronghar wing. [See Memoirs of Russian Geographical Society (Ethnographic Div.) No VI.]
The Turgut on the Imil 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 Khöjas of Eastern Turkistan, there is no necessity to go further back into the history of the Zunghars than about the year 1676, 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 Turkistan, the last representatives of the Moghuls were still nominally exercising the functions of Khöjas over the disintegrated provinces of that country, though the actual power lay already with the Khöjas.

This Galdan (or Galdan Bubđetu Khän) as his title afterwards became, was born in 1645, his father, known as the Erdeni Bantur (or Bahādur) 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 chiefship, 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 Kung-Taishi. 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 *Flight of a Tartar tribe*. They were compelled by tribal enemies gradually to migrate westward in the 17th century, and finally (in 1703) all settled between the lower Volga 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 Chors, had been practically exterminated by the Manchus, they returned to Zungharia 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 Turkistan in the year 1634, or about the time when temporal power there, first fell to the Khöjas. (Howorth, I, p. 617.)

4 The Taji of our Turk 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, Qalmāq tribes. Thus in 1677, he conquered the Koko-Nor country, with the result that large numbers of the Qalmāq and Tibetan tribesmen inhabiting the region fled eastward into China and placed themselves under the protection of the Manchu Emperor, who took up their cause, 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 Khōjas were already divided into two rival factions, according to their family extraction, though a descendant of the former Moghul Khāns was still the nominal King of at least the western part of the country. This Isma'il Khān, whose capital was at Yārgand was an adherent of the Black Mountain Khōjas, while the leader of the opposing faction was Khwāja Hidāyatu-llāh, more usually known by his title of “Hażrat Āfāq.” The White party being worsted in the struggle, Āfāq fled 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 Āfāq the assistance he required for re-establishing his authority in Kāshgār and Yārgand. Galdan seized the occasion, subdued the western cities of Eastern Turkestan in 1678, set up Āfāq as a feudatory, and exacted a yearly sum from him as tribute. At the same time he took Isma'il Khān prisoner and, carrying him off to Iī, settled him in the town of Kūjā.2 He also conquered the eastern districts of Turfan and Hāmi 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 Qalmāq seem scarcely to have interfered with Eastern Turkestan or the Khōjas.

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1 See Howorth, I, p. 628.
2 It will be seen in the Epitome, that these good offices of Galdan's were repaid shortly afterwards, by the treacherous Khōja allying himself, with a younger brother of Isma'il, named Muḥammad-Amin, and marching an expedition into Iī. The date of this expedition is nowhere given, but it seems to have been shortly before the death of Āfāq which occurred in 1106 I. (1693-4 A. D.), and was therefore probably at a time when Galdan was engaged in war with the Mongols or the Chinese. The expedition was successful however, and a large number of Qalmāq were carried back as prisoners to Kāshgār.
Eventually, about 1688, Galdan's operations against the Khalka Mongols caused the Emperor Kang-Hi to fear that the Qalmäqs 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. 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 in defence of 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 Qalmäqs 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 Qalmäqs, at a distance from the empire. Kang-Hi, however, saw that his enemy was by no means disposed of, and employed himself in organizing, 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 two others 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, 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, Tse-Wang-Rabtan, the eldest son of Senghe or Tsenka (the elder brother who had been murdered soon after the Erdini Baatur'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 oust 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 Howorth, I, p. 628.
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 Feyanku.

The Emperor at first thought that his troubles with the Qalmaqs were at an end, and withdrew the army under Feyanku, 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 against Galdan. It seems probable, indeed, that during the last few years of Galdan's life he had been supplanted by his nephew in Western Zungharia (the Ili region), and even to some degree in the eastern districts of Eastern Turkistan, 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-Kazaks,—a 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 horde of that people. He also humbled the Kara Kirghiz (the Purt of the Chineses), a tribe that lived in the regions about Lake Issig-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

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1 Howorth, I, pp. 639 and 642.

2 Sandship was the third son of Aynka, the chief of the Turgut, then settled in the steppes between the rivers Volga and Ural. 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. 567.)
INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.

than one defeat, having eventually to relinquish his design of marching a force southward, into Eastern Turkistân.

But these wars, while they augmented Tse-Wang-Rabtan's power and enlarged his influence, had no far-reaching effects, and failed to embroil 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 Turkistân. 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 Khôjas. It need only be mentioned, briefly, that the Tipa, or minister of the Grand Lama of Lhassa, who had been a protégé of Galdan's and a Zunghar partisan, had been attacked and driven out of Tibet by one Latsan Khân, the Chief of the Khoshots 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 Chiling Danduk,1 who captured Lhassa, put Latsan Khân to death and ravaged the country.2 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 Qalmâq, though taken somewhat by surprise, prepared an ambuscade, cut the invaders in pieces and marched upon Hâmî, which town they captured and destroyed. A war with China was thus begun, and Kang-Hî 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 Zungharia and the vicinity of the Zaisan Lake the objective of his attack. This region was the home-land of Qalmâq 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-Hî's death (1722), a campaign against the Zunghars, more or less desultory, was carried on almost without intermission.3

1 Probably the Ta Chiring (or Great Chiring) of the Chinese writers; for there were many of the name of Chiring—or perhaps more properly Tairing. Danduk, it may be mentioned, might perhaps be better written Tenduk.
2 Howorth, I, p. 643.
3 See Auvio, 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 Zunghar 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 Khōja rulers of Eastern Turkestān and intervening effectively in their affairs. Since the death of Gādan these factions persist, 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 Turkī author refer to it, but Sir H. Howorth cites a German authority on Russian history, who states that on Tse-Wang-Rabtan's accession, the Khōjas attempted to withhold their tribute, with the result that he led an expedition against Yārqand, and carried off the Khān together with other chiefs to the valley of the Iltī. The second occasion was about the year 1713 when the Qalmāqs were seized with a desire to revenge themselves on the Khōjas for the perfidy of Ḥāzrāt Āfāq in attacking his benefactor, Gādan, some twenty and odd years previously. The invasion of Kābghār and Yārqand which followed was brought to a favourable conclusion: the reigning Khōja, Dānyāl, and several other members of the Black Khōja family were led captive to Iltī, while all Qalmāq 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 Dānyāl as Governor over four of the cities of Turkestān, for which favour a tribute was levied from him of the same amount as that originally fixed by Gādan to be paid by Āfāq, viz., one tango 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-Hī, began his reign by reversing his father's policy in the matter of the Qalmāq wars. He saw no advantage in attempting to subdue the Qalmāqs 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 Turkī author tells us that it was caused by poison administered by his wife—

2 Fīz., Dr. Müller who (it seems possible) may be following Uskowski, the Russian Envoy at Tse-Wang-Rabtan's head quarters (p. 646).
3 Whether the "other chiefs" were Khōjas or not, is not mentioned.
4 A tanga is a small silver coin, worth, usually, about one-sixth part of a rupee.
probably the daughter of the Turgut Chief, Ayuka. Tse-Wang-Rabtan was no doubt the most powerful chief of the Zunghar dynasty, and he is said to have been able to put from 40,000 to 60,000 men in the field.

Tse-Wang-Rabtan's successor was a son named Galdan Chiring, the child of a Durbet wife. On assuming the chiefship, his first act was to put his step-mother to death together with all her children. He seems then to have taken up the hereditary war of his people against the Mongols under Chinese protection, and to have attained some success; but in 1734, the strife was terminated by the intervention of the Grand Lama. At the accession of Kien Lung to the Chinese throne in 1735, Galdan Chiring sent envoys to Peking to offer tribute and make submission, and for the rest of his life (i.e., till 1745) lived in peace with the Empire. "Charmed with my benevolence," writes Kien Lung, "Galdan was faithful to his promises. But Āchān, his son, the perfidious Āchān, did not follow in his footsteps. He advanced with giant strides on a career of crime . . . and was regarded by the chiefs of the different hordes as a monster of whom it was necessary to purge the earth." This estimate of the character of Galdan Chiring's successor is borne out by the view of our Turkı author, as will be seen below; but there is little to record of him, for his relations soon began to conspire against him, and finally capturing him, they put out his eyes and threw him into prison.

The sovereignty over the Zunghars now fell to the chief of the conspirators against Āchān, viz., to his half-brother, the son of a concubine of Galdan Chiring's. He was a Lama and his name is usually given as Dardađa, though the Emperor Kien Lung, in his memoir, invariably calls him "the Lama Torgui." Whatever Torgui (or perhaps Torgi) may have signified, it seems likely that it was the name by which this chief was usually known, for it is also the one—in the form of "Lama Tāji"—by which he is spoken of in Muḥammad Ṣādiq's text. In consequence of his illegitimate birth, Dardađa's accession was only partially acquiesced in by his people, or by the princes of his father's house, and it was not long before a

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1 Howorth, I, p. 649.
2 Ib., p. 646.
3 Ib., p. 649.
4 The reigns of the three Manchu Emperors of China with whom we are concerned here, were:
   Kang Hi . . . . . . . . . . . . . from 1661 to 1722
   Yung Ching (son) . . . . . . . from 1722 to 1735
   Kien Lung (son) . . . . . . . from 1735 to 1795

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.
5 Aulot, p. 339.
IltBMBT OF THE KHOJAS OF EASTERN TURKISTAN.

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 Tibet.

This Prince, called Ta-wa-tze by the Chinese, and Dākājī by our author,
was considered the legitimate khan, and his claim was actively supported by
one Amursana who was not a Zunghar, but belonged to the tribe of Khoit,
though he inhabited the same district as Ta-wa-tze, viz., Tarbagatai.
After sundry adventures, these two, aided by some Kirghiz tribesmen, fell
upon Dardæa, defeated his followers and killed him, when Ta-wa-tze was
established as Chief of the Zunghar. But 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
fled 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 fugitive the help he had come to
seek, in the shape of a mixed force under a Mandarin named Panti, who
was Governor of the provinces of Canton and Kwangsi. Within the
year following, this army had reached the Ili Valley, Ta-wa-tze was attacked,
and put to flight after scarcely any resistance. He crossed the Tien
Shan and took refuge in the Khoja town of Ush Turfan, but was made
prisoner by the Ḥākim Beg of the place, one Khoja Si Beg (the Hokis of
the Chinese writers), and delivered over to the Manchu general who
despatched him to Peking.

The Emperor treated him with consideration, and appears to have
entertained the idea of making use of him against Amursana, whom he
evidently mistrusted, but both the prisoner and his son, who had been sent
with him into exile, died before events had developed themselves, and with
them ended the legitimate line of Zunghar chiefs.

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,
under Panti and one Ngo-yung-ngan, the bulk of the force having been

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

2 A Chinese author of the last century says Amursana surprised, and killed Lama
Dardæa 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 Gucluy, Chins occidentale in Le museon,
1887, p. 103.)

3 According to Gucluy's author this force consisted of Manchus, Chinese, Solons
(a tribe of Manchuria) and Chakars (a Mongol people), ib., p. 104.
withdrawn to China. Thus, as puppet chief, it is not surprising that he should have had little power or influence over the Zungbars; indeed many of the tribal headmen, we are told, declined to recognise him, but continued to profess allegiance to the exiled Ta-wa-tze. Yet, notwithstanding his enforced subjection to the Chinese, he attempted, as our text shows, to recover possession of the towns of Eastern Turkistan from the Klójas, who had, in the meantime, revolted and set up a divided government of their own. This he was, in a manner, able to accomplish by utilising the services of two brothers—Burhānu-d-Din and Klán-Klója—descendants of the White Mountain Klója Ahmad, who had lived long in Ili as an exile. In other words, Amursana succeeded in setting one section of the Klójas against the other. The first named of these brothers was sent forward with a mixed force of Chinese and Qalmāqs, while the other was, at first, retained as a hostage in Ili. Treachery and dissension arose in the Klója camp, so that the most important of the cities were captured without difficulty, and the leading Klójas and Beys were either put to death or made good their escape, and Amursana, as a Chinese vassal, became the over-lord of the country.

It is at this point (about the end of the year 1755 or the beginning of 1756) that our author's history comes to an end, but we may briefly follow the fortunes of the Qalmāqs and the Klójas for some four years more when they finally disappear.

Amursana's success was short lived, for elated by the advantage he had gained in Turkistan, and unable to endure the restraints put upon him by the Chinese, he determined to shake them off. With the help of those of the Qalmāqs who supported him, and some other allies, he turned upon the force appointed to control him, destroyed it and executed the commanders. He then marched eastward, gaining some successes over other small garrisons of Chinese troops on the northern Tien Shan line of settlements, till he reached Barkul (the "Palikun" of the Chinese) where, apparently, he was shortly afterwards beaten by troops pushed forward by the Peking Government. The Emperor, again, against the advice of most of his ministers, was now determined to break down the last remnant of Qalmāq power, and despatched some of his best generals and troops to the Zunghar country. Amursana retreated westward and took refuge with the Kirghiz-Kazâks in the steppes to the north of Farghana. The Manchus, in small bodies, pursued him, but after a year of fruitless marching and negotiating, attended by some reverses, Amursana eluded them. He escaped into Western Siberia, where he found a refuge with the Russians at Tobolsk.

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1 Roworth, I, pp. 654-656.
2 The Bouraton and H. Kitchen of Gueuly's Chinese authors.
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 envoys.¹

Throughout 1757 Kien Lung had been pressing forward large bodies of troops to the Ili region. The power of the Zunghars, as well as that of other Qalmāq 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 Qalmāq-men, women and children, says a Chinese author ²—that failed to make good their escape. The land was practically depopulated, and the Zunghar 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 Khān Khōja having escaped from Ili, and joined his brother Burchān-d-Din, these two had become the rulers of nearly the whole of Eastern Turkistan, and were regarded, now, by the Chinese, as their direct dependents. There was, however, no Chinese Governor, but the Commander of the army in Ili, Chao Huei 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 Khōjas, thinking themselves secure at a distance from the Manchu garrisons of Ili, revolted and endeavoured to set up an independent Musalman Government. They declared themselves first at Kuchrā, but, after a long siege, had to fall back on Kāshghar and Yārqand. They were followed, however, by Chao Hui and his Lieutenant Fouté, and many months were spent in intrigues and in a desultory kind of fighting, until at length the Musalman inhabitants would seem to have become weary of the continued disorder and the weakness of Khōja rule.³ At both places, in the summer of 1759, they opened their gates to the invaders, and Eastern Turkistan, from that time forward, became like the Zunghar country, a Chinese possession. The two Khōjas, who had taken their last stand in Yārqand; escaped, together with a number of either

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

² Guénon, p. 107.
³ Guénon, pp. 108-114.
relations and followers, to the Pamirs, while several others of the Khoja family—descendants of Afâq—fell into the hands of Chao Huci and were sent to Peking.

The intention of Burhânû-d-Din and his brother was to find an asylum in Badakhshan, or perhaps Balkh, but they were closely pursued by a party under Fouté, 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 Alchur and beat them. On the 1st September 1759, they had arrived at Poulou Kol [Bulun Kul] where I obtained some information from a Pourourth [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 Badakhshan. 'This mountain,' said he, 'is between two lakes. The one on this side is called Bulun Kul, and that on the other side, Isil-Kol [Yeşil Kul]. . . . From the top of this mountain you will be able to see Badakhshan 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 Khojas, fearing that they might fall into our hands, fled in the direction of Badakhshan with all who were able to follow them. I did not count the dead, but was assured that the Great Khoja [Burhânû-d-Din] 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 cannons, 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 Gueluy's authors (p. 114) speak of a retreat to Khōran, 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.

2 See pp. 393-394.

3 Burhânû-d-Din was, I believe, not the Khoja known to the Musulmans as "Great Khoja," or Khoja kalâs. "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 Khōjas. Seeing, however, that it is based on the despatch 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 Kirghiz, Shīgānī and Badakhshān to be met with; but they tell the story without any mention of the sanguinary engagement near Yeṣābīl-Kūl, and divide the Chinese figures by about ten. In reality it would appear the Khōjas had a following of some hundreds of Musulmans and Qalmāqs 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 Shīgānān, they cut some characters on a rock and returned to Kūshgāh. There was no battle, the Khōjas and their party passed un molested into Badakhshān, and had reached Arūq, below Faizābād, when they were attacked by Sultān Shāh, then Mir of the country, and taken prisoners. Sultān Shāh plundered the whole party, beheaded the two Khōjas and kept the Qalmāqs as slaves.

On considering the part played by the Qalmāqs 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 Khōjas in Eastern Turkistān, and the latter to the Manchu Emperors of China. Had the Khōjas been independent of the Qalmāqs, it may perhaps be a question whether China would have been drawn so far westward as to interfere in the territory misgoverned by these factions 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 Khōjas would not have been long left to themselves.

In 1714 the Russian Governor of Siberia, Prince Gagarin, became possessed of information that Eastern Turkistān, and especially the district of Yārqand was a country whose rivers abounded in gold. In all probability it was Khatān that he had heard of, for the rivers there contain gold in fair quantities, while in those of Yārqand it is scarcely known; but this matters little. He reported his discovery to Peter the Great and

1 This was the stone seen by Captain F. K. Younghusband in 1890. 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. Pauthier’s China (Volume 1, 1843) representing not one, but two separate engagements of the most approved theatrical pattern. Knights in armour mounted on prancing Arab 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.
proposed as the readiest method of mining the gold, the annexation of the country. It belonged, he pointed out, to the Zunghar 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 Yamish, 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 Dondk, 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 Omsk) whence the commander was recalled to Russia.

A fresh force was pushed forward in 1716, 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 Yärqand. Stupin advanced up to Irtish for 228 versts above Lake Yamish, and there began, 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 Ili 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 Zaisan. The Qalmäq 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 See Howorth, i, pp. 646-648.
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 Turkistan. 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 Qalmucks during their short period of power, was not alone to draw the Chinese forward into Zungaria, but to keep the Russians back within the boundaries of Siberia.
II.—Genealogical Table of Qaimq Chiefts.

KHUTUGAITU  
OR  
ERDENI BAATUR.

'Senbā  
(Tsenka).

Galdan  
(Shibur Khan?).

Septen Palejir.

Tse-Wang-Babtan.

Galdan Chiring.

Chiring Donduk.

1  
2  
3  
4

'Āshān.  
(Daughter)  
Bias.

Dardsha  
(Lama Torgui  
or  
Tāji).

(Daughter)  
(Ulunbayr.  
son of Latean Khan).

(+ Tauchong,  
Taw-ntze  
or  
Dāhijī).

Amursana.

Lobtsang.

INTRODUCTORY NOTICES.
EPITOME

OF THE

MEMOIRS OF THE KHOJAS.

Makhdum-i-Azm, a very holy man, spread religion from Mecca to China. His great grand-father, Sayyid Kamalud-Din Majnun (a descendant in the seventeenth generation from the Prophet) lived at Medina and emigrated to Uz (or Uzkand) in Faraghana. At that time Sultan Iliq Mazi, one of seven kings, was ruler of Utrar, Kasan, Faraghana, Uzkand and Usb. In consequence of a dream the Sultan married his daughter to Sayyid Kamalud-Din. He returned with his wife to Medina, where after his death, a son named Sayyid Burhanud-Din Khilic was born to him, who returning, succeeded his maternal grand-father, Iliq Mazoi, on the throne of Uz. After a short time he gave up his government and became a devotee, retiring for the purpose to Khudand. 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 Iliq Mazoi was a grandson or descendant of Sultan Sutuk Bughra. Dr. Bellew in his remarks on the Taqkira-i-Bughra Khan infers him to be identical with Sutuk Bughra, but this is probably incorrect. Dr. Pretschneider, on the authority of the Kamila-i-tawarih of Ibnul-Azir, makes one Iliq, or Ilak, the successor of Sutuk, but does not mention the relationship; and it is uncertain whether he refers to the same person as Iliq Mazoi. Ibnul-Azir speaks of him as subduing the Sman dynasty in Transoxiana in 1008 A. D., while Sutuk Bughra is recorded, in the Taqkira, to have died only in 429 H.—or 1037-8 A. D. Thus it is quite uncertain to whom the text refers. The dynasty of the Bughra Khans was one of original Turks, or Oigurs, who had their capitals at Ilaaaghun and Karfish, and flourished chiefly in the 10th, 11th and 12th centuries. They are known sometimes as the “Kara Khans”, but more usually as the “Ilak Khans” —a circumstance which would point to the word Ilak 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 Lanc-Poole says, “the history of these Khans 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 Purhanud-Din is to be found in any of the lists of Ilak Khans (See Shaw’s Turki Grammar p. 334; Bellew in Yarjand Report pp. 125-6; Preuschneider’s Medieval Researches, I, pp. 252-8; and Lanc-Poole’s Muslimman Dymastics p. 134).
Hence Burhan-ud-Din obtained the name of Kilic (sword). His son was Jalâl-ud-Din, whose son was Abmad Khwâja, called Makhdûm-i-Āzam; then followed Ishâq Wall, then Khwâja Shâdî, then Khwâja Ubaidu-llâh, then Dânyâl, then Yaqûb Khwâja (called Khwâja Jahân). 3

Burhan-ud-Din's son and his grandson, Makhdûm-i-Āzam, were lights and pillars of religion.

Makhdûm was married to a certain Bibica Khâbgharî, a descendant of Sâtuk Bughrâ Khân. From them was born Ishâq Wall, 8 while she was enciente Makhdûm used always to rise with reverence when his wife approached, but he informed her that this homage 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 holy man 4. When he was grown to a certain age he went to Bâlkh, whence some of his father's followers (murîd) came out to meet him. A certain Khâlifa Khûrdâk, who was one of them, did not pay him this mark of respect. At that time Muḥammad Khân

3 The whole of this paragraph seems to have been taken by Mr. Shaw from his "other book." It is not in the original text of Muḥammad Ṣâdiq.

8 Muḥammad Ṣâdiq recounts the family history thus:—

"Makhdûm-i-Āzam had four wives. The first was called Kârân Sayyid, who had four sons and one daughter. The first son was Ishâh-i-Kalân, the second was Khwâja Dôst, the third Khwâja Bahân-ud-Din and fourth Khwâja Abdu-l-Khâlîq. But Khwâja Dôst was made chief of the Khalifa; and his august father gave Ishâq-ud-Din permission to follow his guidance. He also gave similar sanction to Abdu-l-Khâlîq and his brother Ishâh-i-Kalân. Another wife was the daughter of the Fâdshâb of Kârân, and was called Malikâ-i-Kârânî. She had two sons and two daughters: one of them was Khwâja Muḥammad and another Sultan Ḳâbîrî. He (Makhdûm) had another wife named Bibica-i-Kâbgharî, who was a descendant of Sultan Sâtuk Bughrâ Khân Ghârî. That illustrious child, Ishâq Wall, was born of her." (Kârân is said now-a-days to be a village some ten farâwâs from Bukhârâ on the road to Kâbgharî.)

4 This is explained by Muḥammad Ṣâdiq thus:—"It is known that while Ishâq Wall had not received clear permission and direction from Makhdûm-i-Āzam, his father (to exercise religious functions), Maʿlûnâ Luṭfû-llâh, who was Makhdûm-i-Āzam's nephew, had attained to this permission and direction from the Makhdûm. The latter had conferred them at the time of his death, when Ishâq Wall was studying at Bukhârâ ... The grace which had been confided to him, in trust, at the prompting of the Holy Prophet, he delivered over to Ishâq Wall, saying to his friends: 'whatever was left to me by my teacher, Makhdûm-i-Āzam, that I have given to Khwâja Ishâq Wall; now do you demand (instruction) from him.' But the faithful disciples of Ishâh-i-Kalân place their trust on this that the succession passed from Makhdûm-i-Āzam to Muḥammad Iśâq, and from him to Muḥammad Āmîr and from him to Ishâh-i-Kalân." Referring to this portion of the original text Mr. Shaw notes:—

"This passage is written in view of the rivalry which afterwards sprang up between the descendants and successors of these two brothers, as will be seen. An attempt is
was ruler of Balkh. At the latter's request, Ishāq went to visit the Khalifa, but the latter was found dead as a consequence of his want of respect to the saint. Ishāq raised from the dead a child of Sultan Muḥammad Ḫān. From Balkh he went to Hisār and Bukhārā.

Abdūl-Ḵarīm Ḫān of Kāshgār, invited him to Kāshgār. After some time the Ḫān became offended with him. He then retired to the land of the Kazāks and converted many of them, destroying several idol temples. Abdūl-Ḵarīm then again sent for him. The Ḫān's son-in-law was named Muḥammad Sultan, who was much devoted to Ishāq Wali, and the latter prophesied that he would shortly become King. The Ḫān set out with an army for Kanjāfūr against the advice of the saint. This army took panic and fled. The saint then advised Muḥammad Sultan to go, promising him victory. The prophecy was fulfilled but excited the wrath of the Ḫān. Ishāq Wali prayed for deliverance, and three days afterwards Abdūl-Ḵarīm died when Muḥammad Sultan became Ḫān.

Here it may be observed that Ishāq-i-Kalân's commission was less directly derived from their father, Makhdu sınıf-Agam, than Ishāq Wali's. It is, in short, the origin of two Ḫawja parties as explained in the Introduction p. 9 above. In another place Mr. Shaw remarks that:—"An Ishāq is also a religious teacher, but not of so exalted a spiritual rank as a Ḫawja."

I cannot trace this Sultan Muḥammad Ḫān. The date referred to would appear to be within the last quarter of the 16th century: if so, it would be a period when Balkh generally formed part of the Uzbek dominions of the successors of Shahbāz. But it is possible that Muḥammad was not an independent King: he may have been only a governor under the Uzbek Sultan of the day (at that time probably Abdūl-Ḫān II) who had his capital at Bukhārā.

Kanjafūr is, no doubt, intended for Kan-chou-fu, the capital of the province of Kansu in the extreme west of China. It might easily be confused with Khenja-fu, the Mongol corruption of King-chow-fu, an old name for Si-Num-fu, the present chief town of Shensi. This Mongol form had indeed survived till the middle of the 16th century; but for several reasons Si-Num cannot be the place here spoken of. Whether Kan-chow was ever invaded by a Khân of Yarqand, I can find nothing to testify, but it is known that by the date in question (which must have been towards the end of 16th century) Chinese power under the Ming dynasty, had fallen very low on the western frontiers. The border province of Kansu was often invaded from the neighbouring Muslim States of Hami (or Kumul) and Turfan, and it is just possible that the western cities of Eastern Turkestan may have sometimes lent their assistance. On this occasion, according to Muḥammad Ṣādiq's text:—"Muḥammad Khân rode forth with 500 horsemen. He found the King of that country unprepared and captured the city."

There are apparent discrepancies here but they may be accounted for. Mr. Shaw notes that a Yarlygh, or title deed is still in existence, granted by "Muḥammad Khân, son of Abdūl-Raḥīm," which is dated at Kāshgār in A.H. 996 or 1587 A.D. Yet he also notes that according to "the other book" Abdūl-Ḵarīm's
ISHAQ WALI remained twelve years in Yarqand, Kashghari Khutan and Aksu, teaching and making disciples, and then went to Samarqand, leaving a disciple named Udtur Khalfi in his place. The Khan and people of Kashghar became cool in their devotion and transferred it to a shrine at Turfan. Udtur 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 viceroy Udtur. This son, Shabbas by name, died at the same instant and Udtur was delivered.

Abdu-l-lah Khan, king of Bukhara, sent his younger brother Rustam Sultan with an army of 50,000 men to attack Muhammad (Sultan) Khan of Kashghar, who was saved by the prayers of Ishaq Wali. The King of Bukhara died of anger. After these events the Khan of Kashghar became much devoted to this saint, who shortly afterwards died and was buried at Isfudik (in Khokand) and not at Dahbid, near Samarqand, where Mahdum-i-Azam 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.

Ishaq Wali left two sons: (1) Quhsu-d-Din, whose descendants are in charge of the shrine of Ishaq Wali; and (2) Khowja Shadi, who was appointed his father's viceroy at Yarqand.

Now Mahdum-i-Azam had another son called Ishan-i-Kalan who left a son named Khowja Yusuf, whose son was Khowja Askh. These came over to Kashghar and were received with veneration by the people.

dead is placed at A.H. 1,600 which fell in 1691-2. But from an extract from the Haft Iqim, translated by Quatremere, it appears that Muhammad Khan or Muhammad Sultan, was governor of Kashghar under his brother, Abdu-l-Karim, as Khan of the country. Thus Muhammad Sultan must have succeeded to the Khanate about 1592, and it is he who is spoken of by Benedict Goes as the King in 1604. When, in the text above, Muhammad is spoken of as the brother-in-law of Karim, the author must have made a mistake. They were both sons of Abdu-l-Rashid. (See Quatremere in Notices et Extraits XIV, pp. 487-8 and Goes in Yule's Cathay, p. 565.)

* The 'Abdu-llah Khan mentioned here is the second of that name in the line of the Shaiban Uzbeki otherwise known as the "Abdu-l-Khair." Though he only actually reigned from 1688 to the date of his death in 1697-8, he was in power long before the former date. Detailed accounts of his life exist, but in none of them, accessible to me here, is such a person mentioned as a brother named Rustam. Indeed he seems to have had no brother; nor is there any record of an Uzbek invasion of Kachgar during his reign. It may be noted, however, that the words "younger brother" do not occur in Muhammad Sadiq's original manuscript; they must have come from Mr. Shaw's "other book."

* It appears that both these villages must be near Samarqand. Dahbid is said to be just beyond the suburbs of the city; and Muhammad Sadiq speaks of them
By this time Muhammad Khān (the king) had died, and Ābdū-llāh Khān was reigning. He had three sons: (1) Yulbars, Governor of Kāshghar; (2) Nūr-ud-Dīn, Governor of Aksu; and (3) ʿĪsāīl Khān, who stayed with his father.

Yulbars was disobedient to his father, but he revered the holy men Yūsūf and Āfāq, as did also the people of Kāshghar. Khwāja Shādi died at Yārqand leaving two sons: (1) Ābdū-llāh; and (2) Ḥubāy�-llāh. Yūsūf Khwāja came to Yārqand to pray over Shādi's grave, when the king and many of the people turned their devotions to him abandoning the sons of Shādi. 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 [bughrā] which was seized by a small camel [kiwa] that came out the Altun Mazār where the grave of Shādi was. In the morning Yūsūf departed without taking leave of the king. He fell ill at one day's march from Yārqand and died at Topāng. Ḥaḍrat Āfāq came and fetched his body and buried it at Yāghdu.

At Yārqand the sons of Shādi advanced in religious influence. The king (Ābdū-llāh) went away on pilgrimage to Mecca, leaving his son ʿĪsāīl to rule in his stead, who expelled Khwāja Āfāq from Kāshghar and placed his own son Bābak Sulṭān, as Governor there. This régime flourished exceedingly; never had there been such prosperity even in the days of the Khāns. For twelve years the people knew not whether there were soldiers in the land or not.

Khwāja Ābdū-llāh (son of Shādi) died, and Ḥubāy�-llāh became the sole religious chief; but he died before reaching the age of forty, and left two sons—(1) Khwāja Shudīb, and (2) Khwāja Dānāl. All obeyed them in religious matters.

Āfāq, on being expelled from Kāshghar, went towards Kashmir. He arrived at an idol temple of the Prophet Mānī at Ju. He performed as being separated by a canal, so that Isfudik should be close by. I do not know why Mr. Shaw has inserted the words "in Kōksand" in parenthesis. He spells Isfudik, instead of Isfudik, as it stands in the text.

Further on in his book, Muhammad Śādiq mentions other brothers of ʿĪsāīl, whose names I have inserted in the genealogical table as sons of Ābdū-llāh, though it is possible that the word "brother" may not be used in a strictly literal sense.

The so-called Golden cemetery. It still exists at Yārqand, and is much revered.

R. B. S.

The present shrine of Ḥaḍrat Āfāq. (See appendix B.)

R. B. S.

The original text adds that ʿĪsāīl himself "ascended the throne at Yārqand."
miracles and asked for help to take the country of Yārqand. 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 Tura (chief) of the Qalmaqs of Ila, saying:—"Oh, Shibur Khan! "Afāq is a great personage whom Ismail has expelled from Kāshgār.
You should send an army to restore him." He went and received aid. 16

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

16 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:—"Ismail Khan expelled Khwaja Afāq from Kāshgār. The Ḥaqrat 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 (Ṣādžī) who performed
miracles, and, by his teaching, had established his own religion. Ḥaqrat Afāq arrived
there and, by degrees, displayed virtuous habits and miracles, which surprised the
infidels. The infidels turned their faces to worship. Ḥaqrat Afāq, who was deter-
mined 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 Ḥaqrat replied: 'I belong to
the sect of Musulmāns, and am their Khwāja. I had disciples in Yārqand and
Kāshgār; 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 Tura of the Qalmaqs at Ila:—'Oh, Shibur
Khan, Khwaja Afāq is a very great personage whose country (Yurt) is Yārqand and
Kāshgār. In that country he is the Khwaja of the Musulmāns. Ismail Khan has
seized his country and expelled him. You should send an army, recover his country and
restore it to him.' Ḥaqrat Afāq took this letter to Ila and saw the
Tura of the Qalmaqs there. Shibur Khan treated him with great consideration. He
acted on the instructions contained in the letter, collected a large army and set out for
Kāshgār."
Yārqaṇḍ. The Yārqaṇḍ General, Iwāz Ḍeg, was killed, and by Ismā'īl Khān's advice, the people of Yārqaṇḍ treated with the enemy, conditioning for the exercise of their faith under their two Maḥdīum-ẓādās. This was agreed to. Āfāq was put on the throne and his son Yaḥyā was given the government of Kāshgār. The Qalmāqs carried away Ismā'īl and all his family to Ila. Āfāq agreed to an annual tribute of 100,000 tangās payable to the Qalmāqs. Thus the evil custom, which continues to this day was established by Khwāja Āfāq.

But the reign of Āfāq, 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, on the throne and married their sister Khānam Pāḏsḵāb. War was made on the Qalmāqs and several of their Chiefs were taken. The disciples of Āfāq then became very turbulent, the Khān, Muḥammad Amin, had to fly from Yārqaṇḍ, but was killed by his own servants and Khwāja Āfāq again seated himself on the throne.

has been, any name like Chī or Ju for Tibet, or for any particular province or town in that country, as far as I am aware; though Chīn is very frequently used as a name for Tibet proper, in Turkistān as well as in the hill regions north of the Panjāb. Probably, therefore, as he is said to have gone to Chīn, Āfāq did retire to Tibet, and it is just possible that Ju may stand for Ju-ko, which Mr. W. W. Rockhill tells us is the name of the chief temple at Lhassa. If this is the case, the “Brahman Shaikh” would seem to have been the Grand, or Dalai Lama, and his influence over the Qalmāq chiefs would have been, at that time, very great. It has been mentioned, indeed, (in the Introduction above) that Galdan had been a Lamaist pupil at Lhassa.

As regards the authenticity of the date furnished by Captain Valikhanoff, I can offer no suggestion except that 1678 falls within that period in Galdan's life, when such an event as the invasion of Eastern Turkistān might be looked for. Ismā'īl had succeeded Abū-Ḍāl in the Khanate, 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 Āfāq; while Āfāq's mission to Lhassa (if Lhassa it was), his journey thence to Galdan's seat at Ila, and the Qalmāq invasion must have occupied some years. Thus the year 1678 may have been reached.

The third puzzle in this passage is the name of Shībūr Khān. Captain Valikhanoff assumes it to represent Galdan, 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 "Galdan" has never come down to us. Galdan seems to mean "King," but in addressing him, the Dalai Lama of Lhassa would probably use some personal or familiar title.


μ Ho nut of Galdan's text has "4,000 tangās a month." Valikhanoff makes it 400,000 tangās a month! (Loc. cit. p. 170.)

16 'The text has:—"They brought Isma'īl's younger brother, Muḥammad Amla, from Turfān and placed him on the throne." One date can be fixed during Muḥammad Amla's reign by a reference to the Taškira-i-Maṣṣīm Khānī of Yūsuf Munsūdī, as
To get rid of the rivalry of the other faction—the adherents of the Makhdum-zadas—Afaq sent for their disciples, and having ascertained that the spiritual Chiefs held land, viz., at Faizabad near Kachghar, Tokuzkent 18 near Yarqand, Ak-Sarai near Khustan, and Ak-yar near Aksu—he caused a part of the rent of these lands to be applied to the service of the Altun Mazar at Yarqand (the shrine of Khwaja Shadi) 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 Tiznaf river, Shu'ab 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.” Danyal returned towards Kashmir, but a party of fanatical devotees of Hazrat Afaq came out, without orders, slew Shu'ab and, putting his body into a bag, threw it into the river Tiznaf.

The news of this deed did not reach Hazrat Afaq for some time, when one of the disciples of the Makhdum-zadas came and reproached the saint with it. Afaq 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 Altum. But Hazrat Danyal retired, in safety, to Dabbid near Samarqand, where the tomb of Makhdum-i-A'zam 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 Khujand. Here he married, and a son, Ya'qub, was born to him. His religious instructor gave him the title of “Khwaja Jahán,” saying: “He will become a Jahangir [conqueror] and raise again to dignity the line of the Khwaja.”

translated by Professor Senkowski. Among other ambassadors who arrived at the court of Subhan Quly, Khan of Bukhara, in the year 1102 H. or 1693, was one “sent by Muhammad Amin, Khan of Kachghar. His mission was to represent to the Khan that the infidel Kirghis, having taken possession of the country, Muhammad Amin had placed himself under the protection of Subhan Quly, had said the Kastha and struck the coin in his name and implored his assistance.” The result of the mission is not recorded. (Supplément à l’Histoire des Turks, etc., 1824, p. 57.)

18 Togus kent means “nine villages.” Mr. Shaw names them as follows:—Pialma, Gums, Zangora, Chodar, Sanju, Bora, Dawa, Koshtak and Ul-Tughrak. They all lie to the south and south-east of Yarkand.

19 Here Mr. Shaw notes:—“Another account says that Afaq inveigled the young Makhdum-zadas away from Kashmir and slew one of them—Al-Khwaja (i.e., Shuab)—at Sanju and murdered many hundreds of their adherents. Afterwards he himself went and increased the pile of fuel in hell, while his wife, surnamed the “Butcher Queen” (Jalidad Khanam), carried on his bloody policy. The devotees (Disciples) became
To Āfāq were born two sons: Mahdi Khwāja and Iḥsan Khwāja. He repented of having taken the country by the help of the infidel Qalmūqs, but said that he could now hold up his head again on account of the virtues of this Mahdi Khwāja. Āfāq presently died and was buried in the shrine called by his name. His widow Khānam Pādeṣhāh remained at Yārīqand with her son, who was then five years old; while Yahyā governed at Kāshīghar.

The Queen shortly afterwards went to pray at the shrine of her late husband. Yahyā’s councillors represented to him that a woman was unable to hold the reins of government; the Kirghiz on one side, and the Qalmūqs on the other, were formidable enemies: he should unite Yārīqand to his own government and become Khān. 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 Yārīqand and made her son Mahdi King there. After six months, this son’s adherents murdered Yāhīya Khān. He left three sons, two of whom were killed; while the third, Khwāja Aḥmad, was hidden away in a cave in the mountains. The Governor of Kāshīghar was Zaid Beg, and he also was killed; but some time afterwards Khwāja Aḥmad was put on the throne. Much bloodshed ensued from which the Queen earned the name of “Jallād Khānam”—the executioner, or butcher, Queen. She herself was also murdered six months after the death of Yāhīya.

After this Akbāsh Khān, the brother of Muḥammad Amin, came to Yārīqand and slew a thousand fanatics (diwāna). He put his son, Sultan Aḥmadī Khān, on the throne of Kāshīghar and married the widow of unrestrained in their wildness, and finally Akbāsh Khān came and took Yārīqand and restored order. He seized a thousand Diwānas and, at the Kaba-Ghatku gate, (the Aksu gate) cut their throats and made a mill go with their blood.”

20 Mahdi was son of Āfāq by his wife Khānam Pādeṣhāh, the younger sister of Iṣmaīl. But Iḥsan, according to Muḥammad Ṣādiq was grandson of Āfāq—not son. He was son of Mahdi, as marked in the genealogical table.

21 This was in 1105 H. or 1693 A. D.

22 Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s statement on this point is quite different. He writes:—“the people of Kāshīghar brought Khwāja Aḥmad from the cave in the hills and made him their Khān.” This Aḥmad, as we have seen, was son of Yāḥīya and was a Khwāja. The name of Sultan Aḥmadī does not occur in Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s text. If he were a son of Akbāsh, he would have been of the line of Moghul Khāns and not a Khwāja; and there is no mention in the text of any son of Akbāsh. My impression is that the Epitome is in error on this point, and that Khwāja Aḥmad should be the reading, without mention of any relationship to Akbāsh.
Yahyā. Akbaş Khān then retired with the remainder of Āfāk's family to India, having first sent for Dānyāl Khwāja from Ḫoǰand, stating that his ancestors had always been disciples of Dānyāl's ancestors. Dānyāl set out and was well received by the Kirghiz. The Kāšghar people, however, held out for their own religious leaders; so the Kirghiz took him on to Yārqand, where he was accepted as spiritual Chief.

At Kāšghar, Khwāja Ahmad was the nominal Khān, but the real rulers were some Kirghiz Chiefs who carried on a series of raids against the inhabitants of Yārqand. Not having any King of their own, the Yārqand people brought in a Kazāk Khān, called Ḥāshīm Sulṭān, to reign over and defend them. In one of their raids, the Kirghiz approached the town. Ḥāshīm, 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 Yārqand prisoners in exchange for him. The Yārqandis, 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 Sarṭa." The deceit was successful, for the Yārqandi 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 Yārqand.

In consequence of the intrigues of the devotees of Dānyāl Ḥāshīm, the Kazāk Chief retired from the government of Yārqand and returned to his own country, on which Dānyāl became ruler of Yārqand for several years.

Whereas the Qalmaqs of Ilā had been attacked by Ḥaḍrat Āfāq and Muḥammad Amin, the king of Yārqand, 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 Musulmāns, and with a large army they marched to Kāšghar and thence, without stopping, to Yārqand. Khwāja Dānyāl finding himself too weak to resist, accepted the rule of the infidels; and they,

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22 Here again there is a discrepancy. The author's text makes Khwāja Mahdī, and not Akbaş Khān, retire to India. Both in this case and that of the note above Mr. Shaw seems to have followed "the other book." Akbaş was obviously at Yārqand throughout these events, and Muḥammad Ṣādiq makes Mahdī take leave of him before setting out for India.

24 The Sarṭa are the cultivators and townsmen of the lowlands, as distinguished from the Nomads of the hill regions; the word has no ethnographic meaning.
taking him with them, now attacked Kāshghar which, after a short resistance, surrendered. Dānyāl advised the Qalmāqs not to offend the religious feelings of the country by slaying any of the Khojas. They approved of this counsel and merely imprisoned Ahmād Khwāja (son of Yāhyā), Ruler of Kāshghar, and put on a well-wisher of their own in his place; but they afterwards carried both Ahmād and Khwāja Dānyāl to Ila. Here the Chiefs treated Dānyāl with great respect, but sent Ahmād to one of their frontier stations, called Irān Kaburgha ²⁵.

When Muḥammad Amin had plundered Ila, he had captured thirty thousand people of the country, and from among them had bestowed a Chief's daughter on Dānyāl, who had converted her to Islām and married her. On the Qalmāqs taking Yārqand and Kāshghar, they had released their compatriots, and Dānyāl's wife, then encircled, was given to a Qalmāq Chief, who, however, had no intercourse with her, until her child by Dānyāl 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 Qalmāqs, without its being known, publicly, that he was the child of a Musulmān.

The mother, at last, found an opportunity to inform Khwāja Dānyāl of the fact, by means of a letter sent through a Musulmān merchant. He appealed to the chief of the Qalmāqs, 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 Musulmāns would eat him. Finally all the parties were brought to the court of the chief of the Qalmāqs. The husband fell at the feet of the Ḳongtāji ²⁶ (the chief) who was a relative of his, appealing to him not to deprive him of his only child, for the sake of the Musulmāns.

²⁵ Muḥammad Ṣādiq adds that Khwāja Ahmād remained at Irān Kaburgha, on the frontier of Ila, for seven years. The Irān Kaburgha district is in the range of hills forming the northern shed of the valley of the river Kāsh — a tributary of the I. The date of these events can be traced, through Chinese accounts of the Qalmāqs, to about the year 1713, if our author's indication of ‘seven years’ is to be accepted. See the next note below.

²⁶ Perhaps a better spelling would be Kung Teizhi. It was the title of the highest rank among the Qalmāqs and stood for “Sultān” or King. Sir H. Howorth, quoting Pallas, says the meaning of the words is “Swan-like Prince” (I, p. 617-n). The Kung Teizhi in the present instance was the famous Tse Wang Rabtan, and the date about 1720, for the author tells us, lower down, that the restoration of Dānyāl to the government of Eastern Turkiestān took place seven years previous to Tse Wang Rabtan’s death, an event which is known, from Chinese sources, to have happened in 1727 (see also p. 20 of the introduction, above).
The Kongtaji appointed a day when the Musulmans attended, dressed in their turbans, etc., and the principal Qalmâqs in their own costume. The suppositions father had warned his child against the “turbaned race,” telling him not to go near them, lest they should eat him, and instructing him to come and sit on his (the Qalmâq’s) lap. When the two parties were drawn up and the child set in their midst, the Kongtaji said:—“Oh child! Which of these two dost thou recognise as thy father?” The boy turned his face towards his Qalmâq 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 Dânyâl. The whole assembly was affected at the sight, and the Kongtaji, weeping, said:—“Oh Khwâja! The child is yours of right. I give you also the rule over four cities.” Thus saying, he dismissed him to his government. Dânyâl gave thanks to God, and leaving his elder son Khwâja Jahân (Ya’qib) at the court of the Kongtaji, set out for Yârqand. He clothed his newly found child as a Musulmân and gave a feast with much rejoicing, bestowing on the child the name of Yûsuf Khwâja.

On arriving at Yârqand, Dânyâl was accepted, with joy, as ruler of that city and province and also of Kāshghar, Aksu and Khūtân, as had been ordered by the Kongtaji of the Qalmâqs. The yearly sum of 100,000 tangas 77 agreed upon by Hâzrat Afâq, as tribute to the Qalmâqs, continued to be paid by Dânyâl, and thus seven years elapsed.

The Kongtaji had a daughter whom he was about to marry to the son of the Chief of the Turqut tribe of Qalmâqs. All the Governors of the seven cities (of Eastern Turkistân) with Khwâja Dânyâl 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 Kongtaji became angry and threatened them with death. They all fell at the feet of Khwâja Dânyâl and implored his assistance; they also held a solemn night of prayer, in the course of which news was brought that the Kongtaji was dead, and that his son Galdan Jirin 88 had become the chief. On enquiring, they found that one of the old Kongtaji’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. Dânyâl was also sent home and was confirmed in the government of the four cities. He had to

77 Muhammad Sadîq speaks of this sum as one tangâ per head of the population.

88 That is Galdan Chirîn. He succeeded in 1727.
content himself with the income from his ancestral lands and to give all the other revenues of the country to the Qalmāqs.

At last Dānyāl fell ill, and when about to die, made his will. After entrusting to his eldest son, Khwāja Jahān, 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 Mazār.

Dānyāl left several wives and five sons, viz., 1, Khwāja Jahān (named Yaqūb); 2, Khwāja Yūsuf; 3, Khwāja Ayyūb; 4, Khwāja Nizānu-d-Dīn (called Klamūsh Khwāja); and 5, Khwāja Ābdū-llāh. By order of the Chief of the Qalmāqs, Yārqand was allotted to Jahān; 99 Kāshghar to Yūsuf; Aksu to Klamūsh; and Khuṭān to Ābdū-llāh. They all regarded Klwāja Jahān in the light of their father.

Now the line of Khwāja Jahān was as follows—

Kamālu-d-Dīn (a descendant of Imām Husain in the 15th generation).
Burhānu-d-Dīn Kīlic.
Jalālu-d-Dīn.
Makhdūm-i-Āzam.
Ishāq Wāli.
Khwāja Shādi.
Khwāja 'Ubaidu-llāh.
Khwāja Dānyāl.
Khwāja Jahān (Yaqūb).

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 Ābdū-llāh, there were two holy men, between whom no cloud had ever arisen. The Khān, 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,

99 Mr. Shaw notes:—"On the title deeds of a Mazār, he is found to be reigning in 1148 A. D." (1735-36 A. D.)

98 In Muḥammad Ṣādiq's MS., Ayyūb is said to have been appointed to Aksu.
dances about and tries 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 Abdu-llah who had four sons:—
1, Shamsu-d-Din; 2, Yahya; 3, Ahmad; 4 'Abid.

Abdu-llah lived at Aksh and when his brother, Khamsah, died there,
he gave over his own government of Bhotan to his son Shamsu-d-Din.
He himself also died at Aksh; after which Shamsu-d-Din and Yahya
obtained Bhotan.

Yusuf went to Ila.11 He found the Qalmaqs in trouble among them-
selves and concluded that the longed for opportunity to strike for inde-
pendence was come. He took counsel with Khush Kipak Beg, the Gov-

ernor of Khashghar, who was also at Ila and sent him back to Khashghar to
fortify the city and prepare for war, telling the Qalmaqs that this was done
as a precaution against insurrections. But he sent a letter to 'Umar Mirza,
the Chief of the Kirghiz-Kipchaiks, 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 Khashghar; 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 Kirghiz
had attacked Khashghar, and that Yusuf's presence was required. The
Qalmaqs at first decided to send an army, but being themselves in diffi-
culties, they were finally compelled to give up this idea and to depute
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.32 His proposal was agreed to, but, according to a pre-
arranged plan, the sons sent back word that the task was beyond them,

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11 In Mohammed Sadiq'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 disturbance 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.' Galdan 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, (vis., 1754) or shortly
previous to it, perhaps about 1758.

32 The text of Mohammed Sadiq mentions only one son in connection with this
incident, and names him—Khwaja Abdu-llah.
and that their father's presence was necessary. This device succeeded, and Yusuf also started for Kāshgār. He had made one march on this (south) side of the Muzart Pass, when he was met by the Governor of Uch, 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 Kāshgār.

The Governor of Uch, on his side, pushed on to Ila, and warned the Qalmaq Chief, Dābāji, 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 Qalmāqs summon you to their assistance. Amursana is advancing against them with a large army." Yusuf, on the arrival of this messenger, professed illness as an excuse for not complying. Khudā Yār was Iabkāgha of Kāshgār and held by the Qalmāqs; while another adherent of theirs fortified himself at Artnsh, and sent to urge Khudā Yār to revolt against Yusuf. He forged a letter from the Qalmāqs in which they were made to say that a large expedition was advancing against them from China; it also contained an order to the Iabkāgha 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 Bega, however, would not join the Iabkāgha in this conspiracy, and the messengers took the letter at night to Yusuf, who armed all his people and remained on his guard. The Iabkāgha 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, Tamāku sal (fill up the tobacco), seize and imprison Khudā Yār." 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 Kipchāk seized Khudā Yār with one hand, and, lifting him up like an apple, forced him, crying out for mercy, down the steps. Yusuf re-assured the other Bega, telling them that they and even Khudā Yār's children, had nothing to fear. He then ordered a certain man to enquire how Khudā Yār was imprisoned. This man, whether he was a partner in the conspiracy and feared detection, or whether he did not hear the order

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22 Also written Usb. The place intended is Ush Tarfān.
24 Literally Lord of the gate. A kind of mayor or town-Magistrate.
distinctly, conveyed to the Kipchaks an order to slay Khudâ Yâr immediately, which they did.  

A force was sent against the rebels at Artûsh, who, after firing a few shots, fled to Aksu, by way of Kalta Yailâk and Kalpin. At Aksu they consulted with Abdu-l-Wahhab, the Governor, and wrote to inform the Qalmâq Chiefs of the events that had occurred, saying that unless troops were despatched at once, they must wash their hands of Kâshghar, Yârgand and Khuţân. The children of the slain Iâhkâgha also appealed for vengeance. The Qalmâq consulted about sending an army, but refrained on account of Arûrsans being known to have gone to the Court of Khâkân (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 Kipchâk-Kirghiz, who were passing the summer on the Ila pastures, being instructed by Yûsuf, came down to Kuchâr and thence went on to Khuţân. The Qalmâq envoy, therefore, was sent under the pretext of bringing back this tribe. Now the Qalmâq Government was in a state of disorder—ruler succeeding ruler, as each obtained the power. The envoy, Mudařji, was nominally deputed to Yûsuf, but he had letters to the Chiefs of Kâshghar and other places, appealing to them to seize Yûsuf and send him to Ila. He set out with three hundred horsemen in armour, and took the road via Aksu and Ush Turfan. Yûsuf sent a man to find out their intentions and received a report that they were adverse. He made warlike preparations, so that when the Qalmâqs 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 Yûsuf. He treated them well and dismissed them to their quarters, telling his people that, although they were Kâfirs, still they must be considered in the light of gilea.

When they reached their quarters, they sent for Khâb Kipâk, Governor of Kâshghar, and showed him their letters with the red (royal) seal. He repelled their attempts to corrupt his loyalty. He also dissolved them from their mission, warning them that they would fail. The Governors of Besh Karam and Faizâbad were, however, won over; they told the Qalmâqs that without them their country would fall a prey to the Kirghiz. They said it was easy to seize the Khôja of Yârgand, who was a simple Mûsulmân, but Yûsuf was a sagacious chief whom it was not easy to

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88 Mr. Shaw notes here:— "Another account says he showed Khudâ Yâr his own letter, and asked him what punishment he was worthy of, who thus conspired against his own Khôja. The criminal replied: 'death,' upon which Yûsuf gave orders for his execution."
beguile. Accordingly, they planned to bring him over to their own quarters on the plea of an interview, there to slay him and show his body to the people. This plot became known to Yūsuf, who, when invited according to previous arrangement, went accompanied by a sufficient guard. Seeing this, the schemers gave up their intention against his life, as impracticable. Finding all their plots unavailing, they took leave and went to Yārṣand.

Yūsuf, however, sent to warn Khwāja Jahān of Yārṣand against them, and to bid him remain day and night on his guard. The envoys saw that all the Khōja brothers were on the alert, so they contented themselves with inviting Jahān to go to Ila and visit their chief. He excused himself. After a time, with the assistance of Ghāzi Beg, Governor of Yārṣand, they succeeded in inveigling him to their dwelling, under the pretence that the chief envoy was dangerously ill and desirous of speaking to him. When he came in, they seized him and closed their doors. Some of his officers, who were outside, gave the alarm, and the palace was made safe and guarded. Some of the Khōjas fled towards Khūtan, while a messenger was despatched to Kāshgīr to inform Yūsuf. The Qalmaqs and their adherents went in pursuit of Khwāja Ṣādiq as far as the river Zaraṣṭān, but he escaped and got to Khūtan. He seized Ghāzi Beg’s house and family at Khūtan, sending off only one of the servants to tell Ghāzi Beg that he was coming, that the Beg should prepare for war, but that if he hurt a hair of Khwāja Jahān’s head, he (Ṣādiq) would destroy all his family to the seventieth generation. He then raised a force of some 6,000 or 7,000 men from among the Kipchaks who had established themselves at Khūtan, and from the inhabitants of the country.

Yūsuf, on being made aware of what had happened, shut up the messengers and made it publicly known that an army of Kirghis was coming to attack the town. By this means he induced the people to raise a considerable force, and, at the same time, sent to warn Ghāzi Beg, under a threat of retaliation, not to injure Khwāja Jahān. The messengers bearing this letter presented themselves before Ghāzi Beg and the Qalmaqs. A report spread that Yūsuf was coming with a force of 10,000 men, and was assembling the Kirghiz tribes under his standard.

Letters of reproach also came from other Muslims to Ghāzi Beg. He began to repent of his conduct and made an attempt to restore himself to favour, in case of accidents, by causing his own men to dress as Qalmaqs, and feign an attempt on the life of Khwāja Jahān, their prisoner, when he himself came in and pretended to save him at the peril of his own

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26 The Yārṣand river.

27 Ghāzi Beg was the Governor of the town of Yārṣand and had treacherously helped the Qalmaqs to seize the Khōjas. Muḥammad Ṣādiq says of him “God had made Ghāzi Beg a scoundrel from the day of his birth.”
48  HISTORY OF THE KHÓJAS OF EASTERN TURKISTÁN.

Life. His son, 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.

Yüsuf despatched 500 men to Bárcuk to intercept the Qalmágas, should they attempt to make off to Ila with their prisoner. The Kirghis also assembled at the call of Yüsuf.

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

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

Yüsuf, falling ill, took leave of his family and started for Yârqând; by way of Yarpurghâ. The people of Yârqând came out to meet him with a horse litter [takht-i-ravâda], 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-tse) was ruler of the Qalmágâs 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 (Khâqân), 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 Ush (Turfân), while Amursana ruled at Ila. The Governor of Ush, who was not subject to the Khója 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.28 There, however, he was treated with honour and his

28 This passage, which is one of the most interesting in the book, from a historical point of view, is given by Muḥammad Šàdiq in greater detail, and may be transcribed here. He writes:— "The cause of the disturbance in Ila was this:—Châldar Jirin [Galdan Chiring] was dead and his son Achan succeeded him when only twelve years of age. Being so young, he was not heeded by the infidels. He occupied himself only in amusements with dogs, in hawkmg and cock-fighting. He carried off Qalmág women and often committed [other] sins. The affairs of his country fell into disorder.
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 Kashghar, Yarkand and Khutun. But the Qalmuqs were in a depressed state, and the Chinese army, having come from afar, was weary, so that the despatch of a sufficient force was thought difficult. Abdu-l-Wahhab, the Governor of Aksu and a partisan of the Qalmuqs, advised the following plan. There happened to be two members of the Khoda family at Ila. Let one of

"Achan had a sister, called Ghulam Biia, who conspired with a Qalimq named Tamgu Jarghal, to imprison Achan and for Tamgu Jarghal to be made Tura. Achan was made aware of the plot, whereupon he seized his sister and her accomplice, put out their eyes, and threw them into prison. Galdan Chirin had a concubine by whom he had a son named Lama Tajji. Having heard the news of Ghulam Biia's capture, Lama Tajji came with a large force. On hearing of this, Achan, out of fear, took to flight, but Lamsa Tajji pursued him, seized him, and established himself as Tura. He then put out Achan's eyes and drove him into the streets where he died.

"A short time after this, Amursana and Dabaji, who were nephews of Galdan Chirin and belonged to the Turan family, heard of Achan's death and claimed their right to succeed as Tura. They collected an army and moved forward. Lamsa Tajji was unaware of their schemes, and when he heard that they were coming, shut himself up and was unable to move out from fright. Amursana's soldiers entered his tent (Ako) and killed him. They took many captives and plundered the country, while Dabaji established himself as Tura, but Amursana claimed the Turanship for himself and disputed it with Dabaji. He failed, however, in his object and went with 800 Qalimuqs towards Khata (China) and thence arrived at Hujin (Pekin). He asked the Khan (of Khata) for an army. The Khan entertained him with kindness and gave him a thousand troops under the command of a Jog Jung (Chiang Chung). This force accompanied him on his (return) march. Dabaji was not free from the fear of Amursana. For this reason the Qalmuqs were unable to send troops to prevent Kashghar being plundered.

Further on in the book the author continues on the same subject thus: "When Dabaji had become established as Tura, Amursana went before the Khogan Emperor of China and asked for a large army. He made a promise to take and deliver over Yarkan and Kashghar. From old the indefatigable of China had a quarrel with the Qalimuqs, but no favourable opportunity had presented itself (for action). When Dabaji heard of Amursana's approach with an immense army his limbs trembled, because there was much confusion and dissension in the country. Not being strong enough to oppose the Chinese he was compelled to take flight and went forth with 300 brave horsemen of his own kindred, but finding no means of escape in any (other) direction he travelled on till he came to the pass of Uch..." Thence he went on to the town of Uch, (i.e. Usb Turfan) where, for a time, he made himself secure, but the author continues: "Now, since Dabaji had fled from Ila, the throne of sovereignty had remained vacant, so Amursana came and occupied it. Khwaja Si Beg (Governor of Uch) took Dabaji prisoner and gave him up to Amursana. The latter was greatly pleased and sent Dabaji under escort of an army, to the Khagan of China."

Dabaji, or Ta-wan-tsue, had only one son, named Lobsang, who died at Pekin.
them, he said, be deputed together with an envoy, to Kashghar, and let it be proclaimed that he has been appointed ruler of the province by the Emperor of China.

Now Khwaja Yahya (son of Khwaja Afsaq) had left a son named Khwaja Ahmad, who had two sons: 1, Burhanu-d-Din, and 2, Khan Khaja. Burhan was sent with an embassy, accompanied by a force of Chinese, Qalmags 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 Kashghar, as it was reported that all the Kirghiz, as well as the people of Bhutan and Yarkand, were assembled for the defence of Kashghar.

When Yusuf heard the news from Ila, he was lying ill at Yarkand. He took counsel with his advisers, and it was recommended that he should not wait to be attacked in Kashghar, but should carry the war into the enemy's country, Ush and Aksu. But Yusuf did not approve of thus inviting 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 despatched from Yarkand, without Yusuf's knowledge or consent, under command of his brother Khwaja Yahya. The Kirghiz joined the army at Yangi Hisar, and the Governor of that place, who was suspected of complicity with the Qalmags, was made prisoner, and taken on to Kashghar; whence the force proceeded, by way of Artush to Ush. Khwaja Yusuf died two days after his army had left Yarkand.

Khwaja Jabah, 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 Khwaja Abdu-llah, son of Yusuf, was made ruler of Kashghar. He collected a contingent of troops from his province and sent it after Yahya, whom it overtook at Besh Karam. The united forces then marched by Akshai and Kakshal, to Ush. The invading Khwaja Burhan 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.

Yahya sent an embassy to Ush. On being introduced to the presence of Khwaja Burhan, they were scandalised at his dress and manners, which resembled those of the Qalmags and Chinese. With him were the Governors of Aksu, Ush, Kuchar, Sairam, Dolan and a Kirghiz Chief. There were also 400 Chinese troops under Turumtai Darin, and 1,000 Qalmags immediately after his father, and while still a child. This would have been some twelve or thirteen years previous to the date of Muhammad Sa'diq's book, and consequently, it might be thought, within his recollection.
After reading the letter from the Chiefs of the Kāshgār army, exhorting him to join the side of Islām, he began to mock the feeble intelligence of the Ishāqi Khōjas. He then recounted the deeds and power of his supporters, Amursana and the Khāqān, who had appointed him Ruler of the country, and he recommended the Kāshgār Khōjas to sue for pardon. His words and threats won over the emissaries, who reflected that Yūsuf 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 Yahyā, they spoke in exaggerated terms of the strength of the enemy. Yahyā professed his readiness to die in defence of the faith, and said:—"We looked upon Khwāja Burbān 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 Qalmaq, and now the power of the Chinese was added to it. When the fighting began, one portion after another of the Musulmān army went over to the enemy. The remainder, finding their case hopeless, fled.

On their return to Yār Qand, Khwāja Jāhān 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 them 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 Yār Qand territory.

The invaders then consulted and decided to go at once to Kāshgār, as the Kirghiz were friendly and the defending army broken up. On arriving at the city some of their local supporters worked upon the Kipchāk-Kirghiz guard at one of the gates, so that they agreed to let the rival Khōjas fight out the matter between themselves, without assisting either side. These were a body of Kipchāks who had fled in the days of Khwāja Dānyāl from Ila to Khuṭān. A certain Abdūl Majid, a supporter of the invading Chiefs, stood on the bank of the Tumān 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!"

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40 These are intended for Chinese names and titles. Tarumtai I can make nothing of. Dāris should read Ta-jēs, the ordinary title of any high official. Dān would probably be the surname Tāns or Tāng; while the office Jin-Jing is doubtless meant for chiang-chān, or "general ".

41 It is at this point that the MS. of Muḥammad Ṣādiq and Mr. Shaw's printed text come to an end.
After vain counsels, Khwaja Adbu-llâh retired with his followers to Yârquand, and Khan Khâja entered Kâshghar. He immediately prepared to follow up his success by advancing against Yârquand. He was accompanied by a numberless force of Kâshghar, Aksu and Ush men and of Kirghiz under Kubat Bi, to whom the government of Kâshghar had been promised as a reward for success.

Khwaja Jahân, at Yârquand, 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 entreatyng their pardon for any offence that he might have given by word or deed. "Now," he added, "we hear that a descendant of Hazrat Afsâq has taken Kâshghar with the help of the Chinese, and it is probable that he will also seek to become master of Yârquand. As it is not fitting that I and my family should submit to the rule of the infidel, we will carry out our long-formed desire of visiting the holy cities." The chief men of Yârquand 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 Afsâq, but would fight them if they would not remain content with Kâshghar.

Khwaja Jahân was persuaded to stay, and entrusted the defence of the town to Ghâzi Beg, who had formerly betrayed him. A force of 3,000 men went out from Yârquand, with orders not to attack their brother Musalmâns of Kâshghar, unless the latter should strike the first blow. But when the cavalry of the two armies began to skirmish the Kâshghars 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 'Allâh' 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 'Allâh,' " and he gave orders for the advance.

The Yârquandis fought so vigorously that the Kâshghari force retreated a tâsh "a distance, and made their "salâms" in the direction of Yârquand. A second time the Yârquand troops came out to the attack, and again proved victorious. They were in possession of two European rifles (Franç Miîîak) which could strike a mark at the distance of a tâsh: they had been the property of Khwaja Yusuf. Khwaja Burhânudd-Din, the Afsâq, was standing on the Bai-Dubba (or Tippa), a mound about half a mile from the Maskhara Darwaza (gate) on the east side of the city. A shot from the European gun, fired from the gate, struck his standard.

* The tâsh is a measure of distance, equal to about four miles. It is the Persian *sang* or *faridkh.*
bearer, who fell with the yak's tail standard (Tugh). After further fighting the Kâšîghâr force retired again, and the Yârquand officers returned triumphant.

Now when the Kâšîghâr troops first set out, a deputation of Yârquandis had represented to Khwâja Jahân as follows:—"Khwâja Bûrhanu-d-Dîn, with the help of the Chinese and Qalmâqs, has taken the whole country except Yârquand and Khutan; but Yârquand is, of all, the chief city of Mughalîsîn, 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—Ghâzi Beg and Niâz Beg—who would not scruple to barter 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 Khwâja 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 (Urdu) to give their orders.

To return: the invaders finding force of no avail, sent four envoys, two Chinese and two Qalmâqs—and they were allowed to come into the presence of Khwâja Jahân, who sat on a high throne surrounded by his chiefs. They presented a letter which ran in the name, first of the Khâqân, and secondly of Amursana, in which the Yârquandi leaders were reproached with their folly in withholding the tribute paid by their forefathers for many generations. Their error was ascribed to Dâbâjî, the expelled Tura of Ila. All the countries formerly in possession of the Qalmâqs 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 good terms and throwing the responsibility of rejecting this offer on Khwâja Jahân.

The Khwâja tore up the letter and burned it. He then replied, saying:—"Khwâja Bûrhan is eating dirt. If he knows himself to be a

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43 It is curious to see this name applied to Eastern Turkistân. At an earlier date the regions to the north of the Tien Shan alone were known as Mughalîsîn, because they were those inhabited by the Mughals, or Mongols. Early in the 16th century, when a Mughal Khân conquered Eastern Turkistan and made Khâshkhar his capital, the name of Mughalîsîn seems to have extended over the whole of his dominions; while our author, two centuries later, applies it to Eastern Turkistân only. Probably it was not a commonly used name even in his time: now-a-days it is never heard for Eastern Turkistân.

44 This expedition to Yârquand is not mentioned in the memoirs of Kienlung on the conquest of the "Eleutha" (as translated by Amiot), but the letter, although it is not expressly said to have come from the Emperor, has the real Kienlung tone about it.
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 Yârqând; when an envoy was despatched to Bûrânû-d-Din, 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 stone, the weapons of defence needles, and the defenders women, still he would not be able to take it. In reply Bûrânû-d-Din said that a theological disquisition of this kind would not accomplish the work of soldiering: 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 Yârqând—if not today, then to-morrow. Where will it go to escape me?” With these words he dismissed the envoy.

With this envoy had come a follower of Ghâzi 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 Qalmâq 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 Bûrânû 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. Khwāja Abdu-Ilāh interceded for him, saying that if he were killed, no son would, in future, reveal his father's conspiracies. Khwāja Jahān then proclaimed to the people that the son had begged for the father's life from him, and he (the Khwāja) 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 Ghāzi Beg's station in the defence was from the Khānaka gate to the Maskhara gate. It was reported to the Khwāja that Ghāzi's spies were constantly coming and going, and a petition was handed in that he might be imprisoned. The Khwāja replied:—"It is of no use. Our destruction is decreed: it is only delayed, not averted." Ghāzi Beg then planned to procure a defeat of the Yārqand army. The Khwāja consented to an attack being made and the whole male population of Yārqand, 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.

Burhān-d-Dīn's army retired before this mass. The Kirghiz, Kubat Bi, the accursed one, stood looking on. But Ghāzi Beg was marshalling the Yārqand troops, when a small force rode at him. He fled with his standard, and the Yārqand men being taken with fright at this defection, fled, and pressed on one another up to the gate. Khwāja Abdu-Ilāh 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 slain by the enemy.

After a few days of despair, the Khõjas and the chief people of Yārqand sallied forth with the intention of taking refuge in the mountains. Some on horses, some on camels, some riding two together on one horse, they set out and reached the Zarafshān (the Yārqand 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 Kara-Yun-tagh, and there began to cross. Then the Kirghiz in the enemy's army discovered their movements and went after them.

Ghāzi Beg finding the people had left the town, beat the drum of rejoicing and sent out to Khwāja Burhān who pushed forward 500 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
Khwāja Jahān's wives gave birth to a child during the night and could not follow.

Khwāja Ābdū-llāh 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. Ābdū-llāh 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. Ābdū-llāh saw the dead body of Yūsuf Khwāja'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 Kirghiz now offered them quarter if they would surrender. With the exception of Ābdū-llāh, all the princes agreed to do so, provided the chiefs of the Kirghiz would bind themselves to good faith by an oath. But Ābdū-llāh's pride would not consent to a surrender on any terms. Khwāja Jahān exhorted him to submit and not to fly from death, for life was only a prison to the faithful, though a paradise to unbelievers. Ābdū-llāh 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 Khwāja, suggested that if he did not believe their word, he should send his son Yahyā with them to the camp of Burhān-ud-Dīn, to obtain assurances from him in person. So Yahyā was sent off with them.

The Musulmāns 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. Ābdū-llāh then begged the Khwāja's permission to try and escape with his two children, lest the line of the Khwājas 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 Khwāja, let us come away into the presence of Khwāja Burhān 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 Urdal-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 MUSULMĀN RELIGIOUS ORDERS OR GUILDS.

The technical terms in the text require a little explanation. Among the Musulmāns of Eastern Turkistan, who follow chiefly the rule of the Naqshbandi order, the head of the hierarchy is the murshid or pīr, generally a descendant of the Prophet. The spiritual succession "nisbat-i-murshid" 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 murshid's descendants or representatives. He has also a special band of more closely united disciples or apostles called "khalīfa," i.e., vicereguents (vicars) who may be considered the clergy of this church, although their speciality merely extends to preaching and expounding and not to any priestly ministrations, for Islam recognises 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 waqfs 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 Musulmāns or by the conversion of tribes of a different religion, the initiatory process is called "inabat," i.e., conversion or religious submission, or "iradat," i.e., devotion. The commission, or ordination, by which the Khalīfas are inducted into this office, is called "rukhshat" (permission) or "irshād" (direction). Hence "murshid" a spiritual director. These churches or orders or guilds do not, I believe, differ doctrinally from one another among the orthodox Musulmāns. 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 "tariq" (road or path). Some of them, especially the Naqshbandī (to which the Khūjās of Kāshgārā belonged), have particular signs by which they can recognise their brethren in the faith among strange Musulmāns. 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 Khalīfa or will travel himself into the places inhabited by them, to confirm them in the faith and to raise contributions. Thus Ghafūr Shāh Naqshbandī, belonging to a family originally of Tāshkand, 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 Turkistānis when they visit Kashmir are entertained by his sons (he is now dead) in quarters,
specially devoted to this purpose at the mafrat or shrine of which he is guardian. So also Agha Khan of Bombay (a Shia sectary) has many adherents in the valleys of the Hindu Kush. Of course in some cases such an organisation is used for political purposes.
APPENDIX.

APPENDIX B.

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 Tunmān River by a wooden bridge, just below the south-eastern angle of the wall of Kāshgār 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 caravans to ask for alms with loud invocations and deep reverence. 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 Hāji, 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 Āfāqīde branch of the Khūja family. Among them is a tomb marked only with the initials K. Sh. (Ḵāf, Shīn). 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 (tūgā) and flags inscribed with Arabic texts, and by numerous huge horns of the Ovis Poli (or rather Ovis Karilīnī) 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 Musulmān holy place, although commonly found associated with grave-yards in Turkistān. They reminded 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 Turkistān, and which are variously called Dēvis (the haunts, that is, of female deities) in the Hindu region, Shāto (i.e. demon-dwellings) in the Buddhist region (where they are not considered

1 And even in Mongolia. See Perjevalski, Mongolia, volume I, pages 16, 283. Volume II, page 237. They are there called "obo."—B. B. S.
to be connected with orthodox religion) and Pir or Maññár, respectively, in the Kāshmirī and Turki Muslimān 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 associations, 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 Muslimān 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 Himalaya and far as 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-Muslimān features, viz., the fluttering tails and rags and heaps of horns. They merely carry on the local pre-Muslimān 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 Islam refuses to honour as the abode of local demons or deities.

Thus the Shrine of Ḥasrat ʿAzfāq would be but a magnified and glorified adaptation of the rough cairns 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 court-yard, sufficiently large to contain several hundred worshippers. The Ḥājī 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 'Īd, which closes the Ramāsān or month of fasting, and hence was called an 'Īd-gāh, or "place for celebrating the 'Īd."

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

* In the Buddhist countries—Western Tibet, China, etc.—these cairns on the tops of hills and cliffs are usually put up in connexion 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 beneficent spirits or influences, in others to obstruct them or to attract evil ones. The cairns are placed so as to divert the malicious currents and to facilitate those regarded as propitious. In short, they are devices 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 spiritualist "teachers," or mediums (who are usually Lamas in Tibetan countries) ascertain the proper positions for the marks, or cairns, by mystic methods known only to themselves, and are employed to erect them by the people of the villages for grazing grounds, who regard them as a measure of protection. The Mongolian etc., alluded to in Mr. Shaw's footnote, is not quite the same thing.—N. E.
for us, and we were treated to a repast, beginning as usual with fruit and bread, and ending with 'pilão' 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 ceiling and pillars, and open, as usual, in front and at one side. When the hour of afternoon prayer arrived, the Haji, our host, ran off to stop the mu'azzin 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 Musulmân attendants, but between every prostration he would look round to see whether we were showing no signs of displeasure, and would make signals 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 Turkistān, which one might suppose to be a refuge for the conservative and religious sentiment of the country, rather belies the usual idea of Musulmân fanaticism and intolerance in Central Asia, and is of a piece with all my experience of Eastern Turkistān.
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 Askund nominated by himself.

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

The Mutawalli collects the revenues of the endowment lands annually, and hands them to the Askund, who divides them into ten shares, which are distributed somewhat in the following manner, viz., to the Askund and Mudarris four shares; to the Mutawalli one share; for repairs, etc., one share; to the sustenance of the Jarab-Kagh, and sometimes of the students, four shares. Total ten shares.

In the city of Yarqand 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. 903 (A. D. 1497). The Ak-madrasa, mentioned in the text, is put down in my list as situated in the Altun Miähr, 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 Poakgam, Karchalik and Yarqand. It is stated that no public education is carried on in it now, but that its Qäsi (Askund) takes private pupils. Neither the date nor the name of the founder agree with the text, so it is probable that Khamûsh 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 198 houses or shops, whose rents form part of the revenues. Judging by some whose income is known, the total revenues of the Yarqand colleges must be about 400 gambia1 of silver, or about £6,800 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.

1 The Chinese Yuan Foo or shoe of syce silver.—N. E.
As for primary education there are maktab khānas 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’ān at home.
APPENDIX D.

TRIBE NOMENCLATURE OF THE QALMAQS.

The following note on the modern tribe nomenclature of the Qalmāqs, 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 Sarygūh (or yellow) Qalmaqs, and the Kara (or black) Qalmaqs. The latter seem to be the Eastern Mongols of European writers; the former the Western Mongols or Qalmaqs.

The following tribes of Sarygūh Qalmaqs are in and about the Ila region, north of the Tien Shan mountains, but they state that they originally came from Bē-tudāzê (or Mongolia):

1. Chungur (which seems to be the tribe known to western nations as Sunghar or Sunghar).
2. Turghut who live in the south of Ila and have only recently (circa 1870-72) been driven out of the Yulduz pastures by the incursions of the Tunganirs or Dungans. The Turghut tribe is said to include (i) the Khosot, (ii) the Bartug, who inhabit Tarbagatai, (iii) the Khoitt, 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. Solan which includes the sub-tribes Dāghur and Un-gar († right and left hand). They are said to have immigrated from Saghalan-Ula.
2. The Shibar or Shiba who 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 Solan and the Shibar are said to have been located here by the Chinese in the 15th year of the Emperor Ja-Ching, for the purpose of overcoming the other Qalmāqs. They are reported to have enjoyed certain privileges. They call themselves Manchus and the Turks call them Manchu Qalmāqs.

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

This is, I believe, a Chinese compound, c∫. Bē=wealth, tu=land, dāzê, (or theese) is the name commonly applied to the Mongols. (See Howorth, I, pages 701-2, where theese is put forth as a probable origin of Tartar.)—B. B. S.

* Lino-tung.—N. E.

* Kia King or Chia Ching—The fifteenth year of whose reign would be 1810.—N. E.
The tribes denominated *Kara* (black) *Qalmaqs* by the Turks live further East. They include the Kalkas. They are said to call themselves *Ald* or *Angul*.

This account was given to me by a *Shibar* *Qalmaq*. Another account makes the fourfold division of the *Sarygh* *Qalmaqs* as follows:

1. Chalas.
2. Durbet.
4. Turghut.