

Eastern Turki Royal Decrees of the 17th Century in the Jarring Collection

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There are eight documents in the Jarring Collection at the Lund University Library in Sweden originally issued by khans, princes, and khwājas in Eastern Turkestan during the 17th and the 18th centuries. In his handwritten catalogue, Gunnar Jarring called these “Eastern Turki judicial documents” and wrote that they had been “acquired by G. Raquette in Kashghar or Yarkand sometime in the early 20th century.”¹ According to Raquette, he acquired a few “Eastern Turkestan documents” in 1914 from “an old Russian Aksakal” who had worked during the period of Consul Petrovskii. It is likely that those are the documents now preserved in Lund. Of these eight documents, Raquette published only one, Prov. 220, in facsimile in 1930.²

Admittedly, the history of Eastern Turkestan during the Later Moghul khanate (*Ulus-i Moghul*), also known as the “Yarkand khanate,” is not well studied; what we know is only a rough contour of the political history based on a few chronological works by Muḥammad Ḥaydar Mīrzā, Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, and others.³ Considering this obvious lack of knowledge, the importance of discovering

¹ This catalogue, consisting of 857 handwritten pages, has not been yet published (cf. EKSTRÖM, Per, and Ulla EHRENSVÄRD 1988 “A Note on the Jarring Collection of Eastern Turki and Other Oriental Manuscripts in Lund University Library,” in *Turcica et Orientalia: Studies in Honour of Gunnar Jarring on His Eightieth Birthday 12 October 1987*, Stockholm: Swedish Research Institute in Istanbul, pp. 187–91), but most of the contents are now available on the web (<http://laurentius.lub.lu.se/jarring/>). I would like to thank Eric Nicander and Gunilla Törnvall of the Manuscript Department, Lund University Library, who not only kindly sent me the copies of these documents but also provided me with a detailed description of them. I also thank the Lund University Library for giving me the permission to publish the photocopies of these documents.

² RAQUETTE, Gustaf 1930 *Eine kaschgarische Wakf-Urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Turkestans*, Lund: C.W.K. Gleerup. His work was critically reviewed by Giese (cf. GIESE, F. 1931 “Bemerkungen zu G. Raquette: Eine kaschgarische Wakf-urkunde aus der Khodscha-Zeit Ost-Turkestans,” *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 11, no. 3, pp. 277–83.). Raquette responded to his criticism in a paper (RAQUETTE, Gustaf n.d. “Einige Anmerkungen zur Beleuchtung von F. Gieses,” n.p.), and Fuad Köprülü also published a short article, explaining the word “tüshimel” (KÖPRÜLÜ, Fuad 1938 “Bibliyografya,” *Vakyflar Dergisi* 1, pp. 159–61).

³ Cf. AKIMUSHKIN, O. F. 1976 *Shah-Makhmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, Khronika*, Moskva: Nauka; WEI Liangtao 魏良韜 1994 *Ye'erqiang Hanguo shigang* [叶尔羌汗国史纲], Ha'erbin: Heilongjiang jiaoyu chubanshe.

and investigating primary sources is self-evident. Among the above-mentioned eight documents, seven were issued in the 17th century, and they can be called “royal decrees.” In view of their importance as primary source materials for the history of Central Asia in the 17th-century, I will provide general descriptions of each of the documents here,⁴ along with transcriptions and translations.⁵

1. General Description of the Documents

The documents examined here, seven royal decrees, were all issued in the 17th century. All of these documents are written on hand-made paper without any watermarks, but the thickness of the paper varies. Listed in chronological order, they are:

- [1] Document 1 (Prov. 223), by Muḥammad Khān in 1600 (260 ×395).⁶
- [2] Document 2 (Prov. 226), by Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad Khān in 1606 (320 ×650).
- [3] Document 3 (Prov. 221), by Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad Khān in 1609 (305 ×465).
- [4] Document 4 (Prov. 225), by Sulṭān Maḥmūd in 1628 (265 ×665).
- [5] Document 5 (Prov. 224), by ‘Abd Allāh Khān in 1640 (300 ×740).
- [6] Document 6 (Prov. 220), by Yōlbārs Khān in 1662 (380 ×785).
- [7] Document 7 (Prov. 227), by Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Khān in 1677 (285 ×605).

It is interesting to note that nearly exact copies of all these decrees except for Document 2 are stored at the Houghton Library, Harvard University.⁷ These handwritten copies are very helpful in deciphering some obscure or blotted words. There is a small, rectangular seal stamped at the top-left corner of each copy. It has the four characters “拉烏洛夫 (La-dao-luo-fu),” maybe standing for the Russian name “Radlov.”⁸ The copies are very well-made and even the seals were minutely

⁴ I have omitted Prov. 222, which was issued by Khwāja Ya‘qūb b. Khwāja Dāniyāl in 5 Rabī‘ I, 1155 (May 10, 1742), because it belongs to the 18th century.

⁵ Because many parts of the document Prov. 226 are illegible, I have not translated it here.

⁶ These numbers are the width and the height (in mm) of the document papers.

⁷ The Houghton Library also has a decree by Khwāja Ya‘qūb b. Khwāja Dāniyāl in 5 Rabī‘ I, 1155 (May 10, 1742), which is a handwritten copy of Prov. 222 of the Jarring collection. In addition to this, the Library holds a few other interesting copies, including another document issued by Khwāja Ishāq Valī in Samarqand, which is not a copy but an original document with seals affixed.

⁸ The second character could be 烏 not 鳥. In that case, the name could be read “Lavrov” instead of “Radlov.”

imitated. I could not ascertain how the Houghton Library acquired these copies.

All of these documents were issued by reigning monarchs (*khān*) or princes (*sultān*), and they show striking similarities not only in their overall structure but also in their words and phrases. There is no doubt that the chancellery practice at the court of the Moghul khanate was fairly well-developed and regularized. Having examined and compared these seven decrees, we can draw a conclusion that the edicts consist of the following eight parts: (1) invocation, (2) addressor, (3) addressees, (4) beneficiaries and privileges, (5) admonitions and warnings, (6) date and place, (7) seal and finally (8) certification. It is interesting to note that this structure is almost exactly the same as that of the royal decrees issued by khans of the Mongol empire and its successor states. Although the chancellery practice and its peculiarities in the Mongol and the post-Mongol period have been quite extensively studied,⁹ there is no mention about the existence of a similar tradition in Central Asia, i.e. in the Chaghatay Ulus. Thus I hope this study on the 17th-century edicts from Eastern Turkestan will contribute new knowledge to this subject. Now let us examine each of these parts more in detail.

1.1. Invocation

All the copies at the Houghton Library start with the phrase, *bi-ism-i subhānahu* (“In the Name of the Most Holy”),¹⁰ which apparently corresponds to *bi-ism illāh al-rahman al-rahīm* (“In the Name of Allāh, the Compassionate, the Merciful”), the most frequent invocation in Islamic literature. This last phrase is found in the edicts (*farmān*, *yarligh*) of Ghazān Khān (r. 1295–1304),¹¹ but before the Il Khans were

⁹ To take a few examples, see CLEAVES, F. W. 1951 “A Chancellery Practice of the Mongols in the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 14, nos. 3–4, pp. 493–526; GRIGOR’EV, A. P. 1978 *Mongol’skaya diplomatika XIII–XV vv.*, Leningrad: Izdatel’stvo Leningradskogo universiteta; USMANOV, M. A. 1979 *Zhalovannyye akty Dzhuchieva Ulusa XIV–XVI vv.*, Kazan’: Izdatel’stvo Kazanskogo universiteta; MÉNAGE, V. L. 1985 “On the Constituent Elements of Certain Sixteenth-Century Ottoman Documents,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 48, no. 2, pp. 283–304; MATSUKAWA Takashi 松川節 1995 “Daigen Urusu no meileibu shoshiki” 「大元ウルスの命令文書式」, *Machikaneyama ronsō: Shigaku hen* (Osaka university) 29, pp. 25–52.

¹⁰ According to STEINGASS, F. 1892 *A Persian-English Dictionary*, London: Routledge & Kegan Paul (6th impression, 1977), p. 64, *subhānahu* means “Glory be to Him; the Most Holy (used as a name of God).”

¹¹ RASHĪD al-DĪN 1994–95 *Jāmi’ al-tavārīkh*, Muḥammad Rawshan, and Muṣṭafā Mūsavī ed., 4 vols. Tehran: Nashr-i Alburz, vol. 2, pp. 1387, 1390, 1395, etc. Cf. THACKSTON, Wheeler M. tr. 1999 *Rashiduddin Fazlullah’s Jami’u’t-tawarikh = Compendium of Chronicles: a history of the Mongols*, part 3, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, pp. 708, 723, 731, etc.

converted to Islam their edicts began with the phrase of *möngke tngri-yin küchün-dür* (“by the power of Eternal Heaven”). Of course, the change from the “Eternal Heaven” to “Allāh” or the “Most Holy” was a natural result of the Islamization of the Mongols.

Among the original documents in the Jarring Collection, the phrase *bi-ism-i subhānahu* is found only in Document 1 and Document 4. Since this phrase was written in a different ink color and has gradually faded, it is less clearly legible than the main text. As for the other four documents, it is not certain whether this phrase was never included or was somehow damaged. Comparing the copy of the 1662 decree published by G. Raquette with the Houghton copy, we can recognize that the invocation in the latter was written on the uppermost edge of the paper. However since the original documents were badly damaged, it is quite possible that the uppermost parts containing the invocation were torn away.

1.2. Addressor

The invocation is followed, without exception, by the name of the addressor, i.e. the person who issued the edict, and a phrase *sözüm* (“My Word”). Sometimes when a prince issued a decree, he invoked the authority of the reigning khan or a deceased ruler, using the phrase “-ning *yarlighidin*.”¹² As already pointed out by V. V. Bartol’d, *sözüm* (or, in plural form, *sözümüz* “Our Word”) is a literal translation of *üge manu* (“Our Word”) in Mongolian.¹³ During the imperial age of the Mongols, only the *qa’an*, i.e. the grand khan, could use the term *jarligh* (“edict”), or *yarligh* in Turkic, while local khans and such nobles as queens, princes, princesses, sons-in-law and high ministers used *üge* (“word”).¹⁴ Later, however, when local rulers became politically more and more independent from the great khan, the distinction between *jarligh/yarligh* and *üge* became blurred. Our documents also show this kind of confusion: although the word *sözüm* was used on the initial lines, in the text the

¹² As for this expression and its political meaning, see WOODS, John. E. 1984 “Turco-Iranica II: Notes on a Timurid Decree of 1396/798,” *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* 43, no. 4, pp. 331–37.

¹³ BARTOL’D, V. V. 1968 “Dvenadtsat’ leksii po istorii turetskikh narodov Srednei Azii,” in *Sochineniya*, vol. 5. Moskva: Nauka, p. 180.

¹⁴ Bartol’d 1968: 434, note 15; POPPE, Nicholas 1957 *The Mongolian Monuments in Hp’ags-pa Script*, Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz; LIGETI, Louis 1972a *Monuments en écriture Phags-pa*, Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó; CLARK, Larry Vernon 1975 “Introduction to the Uyghur Civil Documents of East Turkestan (13th–14th cc.),” Ph.D. thesis, Indiana University, pp. 216 and 248–49; SUGIYAMA Masaaki 杉山正明 2004 *Mongoru teikoku to Daigen Urusu* 『モンゴル帝国と大元ウルス』, Kyoto: Kyōto daigaku gakujutsu shuppankai, pp. 442–44.

term *yarligh* was freely used.¹⁵ Khans and princes indiscriminately employed both terms for their written commands. Later, *yarligh* was used almost synonymously with *hukm* (“command”) as we see in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās.¹⁶

Another feature of the documents that originated from the imperial period is the so-called “honorific elevation.” The Mongols in the early 13th century also adapted it. It was a well-established practice in China by which such words as “heaven,” “holy,” “edict,” “ancestors” and personal names of rulers were written on a new line starting at a point a slightly higher than the other lines. Having adopted this practice, the Mongols became intermediaries in disseminating it to other parts of Eurasia. The Mongols continued this practice even after they converted to Islam and horizontal Arabic scripts replaced the vertical Uighur and Pags-pa scripts. However, new vocabularies and expressions pertaining to Islam gradually found their way into official documents, and some innovations were introduced. We cannot go into detail here, but it would be interesting to examine the dissemination and transformation of these chancellery peculiarities in the Mongol and the post-Mongol periods. The main point here is the distinctive feature of “elevation” in our documents. First of all, different alignment of the lines where the names of addressors and addressees are written certainly reflects the similar format from the early 13th century. Second, instead of starting a new line with an honorific word, scribes simply inserted a caret mark like // or Arabic numerals and wrote the omitted phrase at the right margin of the document. Third, gold colored ink was used for the lines of invocation and addressor’s name. Additional notes on the right margin and the two words on the lines of addressees, i.e. *qarīndāshlar* (“brothers”) and *farzandlar* (“sons”), are also written in gold ink. Such “elevation” and its variations are also found in other parts of the former Mongol empire.

Now, the addressors of the seven decrees are as follows.

- [1] Document 1: Muḥammad Khān Ghāzī. He was the son of ‘Abd al-Rashīd Khān (r. 940/1533 ~ 967/1559–60) and took the throne three months after the death of his brother and predecessor, ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān (r. 967/1559–60 ~ 999/1590–91). According to Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, he was enthroned one year before 1000, i.e. A.H. 999/1590–91, and ruled independently for 18 years. Based on this, Akimushkin estimates that his reign ended in 1018/1609–10.¹⁷ However, we cannot accept this because of the date of Document 2, as dis-

¹⁵ See Document 1, line 12; Document 3, line 10; Document 4, lines 2, 11 & 16; Document 5, line 23; Document 6, line 2 & 18; Document 7, line 13.

¹⁶ Akimushkin 1976: (text) f. 79r.

¹⁷ Cf. AKIMUSHKIN, O. F. 1984 “Khronologiya pravitelei vostochnoi chasti Chagataiskogo ulusa (liniya Tugluk-Timur-khana)”, in B. A. Litvinskii, ed. *Vostochnyi Turkestan i Srednyaya Aziya: Istoriya, kul'tura, svyazi*, Moskva: Nauka, pp. 156–63; Akimushkin 1976: 290, note 164.

cussed below.

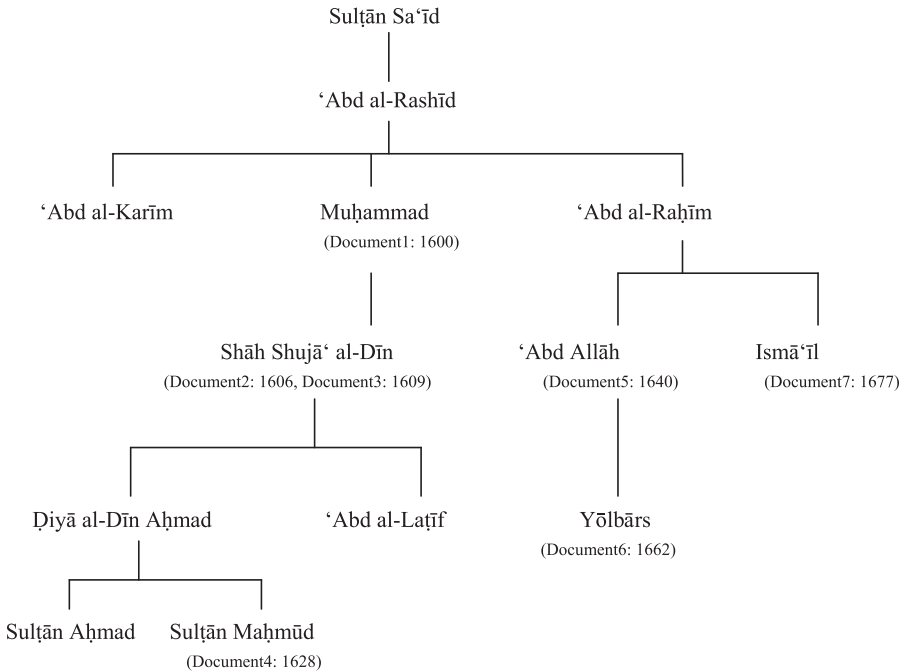
- [2] Documents 2: Abū al-Manṣūr Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad Bahādur Ghāzī. He is Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad, who was enthroned after the death of his father Muḥammad Khān. Document 2 was issued at the beginning of Rabī‘ I, 1015, which corresponds to July of 1606. The seal affixed on this document is exactly same as the one on Document 3 which was issued in 1609. Therefore, it is beyond doubt that he was already khan in July, 1606, and his predecessor Muḥammad Khān had died before that date. Shāh Maḥmūd Churās asserted that Muḥammad Khān ruled for 18 years, but based on this new evidence, we can only conclude that Muḥammad Khān reigned 17 years, covering the period from 999/1590 to 1015/1606. Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad was killed ca.1028/1618–19 by the amīrs belonging to the Shāh family, and for that reason he was also called “Martyred Khan” (*Khān-i shahīd*). Apparently *Abū al-Manṣūr* (“The Victorious”) and *Bahādur Ghāzī* (“The Brave Holy Warrior”) were his epithets (*laqab*) during his lifetime.
- [3] Document 3: Abū al-Manṣūr Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad Bahādur Ghāzī (the same person above)
- [4] Document 4: Abū al-Muṭahhar Sulṭān Maḥmūd. Sulṭān Maḥmūd (Qilich Khān) and his elder brother Sulṭān Aḥmad (Pulad Khān) are the sons of Sulṭān Ḍiyā al-Dīn Aḥmad. *Abū al-Muṭahhar* (“The Purified”) is an epithet for Sulṭān Maḥmūd. After the assassination of Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn (Sulṭān Ḍiyā al-Dīn Aḥmad’s father) in 1028/1618–19, his younger son ‘Abd al-Laṭīf (Āfāq Khān) became khan because Sulṭān Ḍiyā al-Dīn had died earlier, around 1023/1614–15. ‘Abd al-Laṭīf ruled until his death in 1036/1626–27. According to the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, influential amīrs consulted and decided to enthrone Sulṭān Aḥmad, who was called in from Aqsu to Yarkand, the capital city of the khanate. However, his younger brother Sulṭān Maḥmūd, who was staying in Kashghar, did not assent and continued to challenge Aḥmad’s khanship. In 1042/1632–33, he succeeded in expelling his brother, but when Maḥmūd died in 1045/1635–36, Sulṭān Aḥmad regained the title and ruled until 1048/1638–39.¹⁸ Based on this chronology, and considering that Sulṭān Maḥmūd did not call himself khan, we can assume that this decree, written in Rabī‘ al-ākhir, 1038 (November 28 – December 26, 1628), was written after the death of ‘Abd al-Laṭīf and before his ascent to the khanship. It was the period when Sulṭān Aḥmad assumed the khanship in Yarkand and made *khuṭba* and *sekke* in his own name, which Sulṭān Maḥmūd did not acknowledge. It is not strange that Sulṭān Maḥmūd begins this decree with the phrase of “By the Edict of My Father, His Majesty Khān,” not mentioning the name of his brother, who was actually the reigning khan. Although his father Sulṭān

¹⁸ See Akimushkin 1984: 160–62; Akimushkin 1976: (text) ff. 66v–68r.

Ḍiyā al-Dīn Aḥmad had never been called khan during his lifetime, we find a phrase in the middle of the decree: “His Majesty Khan, my grandfather, and His Majesty, my father.” This suggests the possibility of a posthumous conferment of the title. It is also interesting to note that the estate mentioned in this decree was located in Khotan, which demonstrates that not only Kashghar but also Khotan were included under the rule of Sulṭān Maḥmūd.

- [5] Document 5: Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān Ghāzī. ‘Abd Allāh, son of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān, ruled Turfan until his father’s death in 1044/1634–35. *Abū al-Faṭḥ* (“The Triumphant”) is his epithet. In 1048/1638–39, he attacked and expelled Sulṭān Aḥmad and reunified the entirety of Eastern Turkestan. This edict was written only two years after this event. In 1078/1667–68, after reigning thirty years and faced with an attack by his son Yolbars, he took asylum in India and performed the pilgrimage to Mecca.¹⁹
- [6] Document 6: Abū al-Ghāzī Yōlbārs Bahādur Khān Ghāzī. Yōlbārs Khān was the son of ‘Abd Allāh Khān, and *Abū al-Ghāzī* (“The Holy Warrior”) is his epithet. At the age of eight he was sent to Kashghar, where he ruled for about 30 years. Toward the end of ‘Abd Allāh Khān’s reign, his domain extended to Khotan and Keriya and became so powerful that he began to challenge his father’s throne. However, around 1076/1666 he was defeated by the allied army of ‘Abd Allāh Khān of Yarkand and his brother Nūr al-Dīn Sulṭān of Aqsu and fled to the “Qalmaqs,” i.e. Junghars. He succeeded in taking Kashghar and Yarkand only after the flight of his father in 1078/1667–68. This decree was issued in 1662 when he was ruling Kashghar as sulṭān and his father was still a reigning khan. That was why he began the decree with the phrase “By the Edict of His Majesty, My Father.” Giese was mistaken in translating *dadam* as “mein Grossvater.”
- [7] Document 7: Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Bahādur Ghāzī. He was the younger brother of ‘Abd Allāh Khān, and the son of ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Khān. After the murder of Yōlbārs Khān in 1670 by a Junghar chief called Erke Beg, Ismā‘īl, who had been ruling Aqsu, Bai and Kucha, was enthroned in Yarkand with the support of the Qarataghliq khwājas and the Junghar troops. Around 1680, however, he was deposed by Galdan, a new Junghar ruler, who allied himself with Āfāq Khwāja, the leader of the Aqtaghliq khwājas.

¹⁹ For a more detailed description of his reign, see Wei 1994: 126–41.

<Genealogy of the Moghul Khans>²⁰*1.3. Addressees*

The decrees enumerate the people to whom they were addressed. Generally their titles, not personal names, are written. The list of addressees starts with a reference to the “brothers” (*qarīndāshlar*) and “sons” (*farzandlar*) of the addressors in two lines, and the two words, *qarīndāsh* and *farzand*, are usually written in gold color. Then it is followed by the grantees in the court (*umarā'*, *vuzarā'*, etc.), high military and civil officials, religious leaders, and finally residents of a certain province, town, or village. In the edicts from the 13th and 14th centuries we find a similar enumeration of officials. For example, the edict of Mangala (1276) in Pagspa script includes, right after the name of addressor, “A writ, addressed to military commanders, military personnel, *darughas* of cities and villages, to *noyans*, and to messengers going to and fro.”²¹ Almost the same statements are found in the edict of Buyantu Khan (1314) and in the edict of Dharmapāla's Widow (1321) as well.²²

²⁰ The dates of the edicts issued by each ruler are indicated in parentheses.

²¹ Poppe 1957: 47.

²² Poppe 1957: 49, 52.

In the edict of Tughluq Temür (1352), the founder of the Moghul Khanate, we also see, “To Iduqud Ching Temür of Qocho, to *darughas* and *noyans* beginning with Yus Qya and Qudlugh Qya, and to the officials (*tüshimed*) beginning with Turkis Temür, Tükel Qya, and Kerei...”²³ However, compared with these edicts, the list of the addressees in the royal decrees of the 17th century became more elaborate. Therein are found almost 30 different official titles, and they can be divided into several groups: high military and administrative officials, religious dignitaries, and local officials. Usmanov’s study shows that a similar development is observed in the domain of the Jochi Ulus.²⁴ The following are official titles and terms mentioned in the decrees (in alphabetical order):

- *‘amaldār & şāhib-i jam*: “tax collector.”²⁵
- *aqsaaqal & qarasaqal*: “village elder.” The literal meanings are “white-beard” and “black-beard.”
- *arbāb*: “lords, chiefs.”
- *aymaq-begi*: “tribal leader.” Raquette translated *aymaq-begi* as “Distrikts-Beg,” to whom the *yüz-begi* and *on-begi*, governing small districts, belonged.²⁶ However, as is generally known, *aymaq* means “clan, tribe.”²⁷ Shāh Maḥmūd Churās writes in his work that when Ismā‘il Khān was marching toward Yarkand, “*aymaq* of Dolan and Bairin” joined him in the village of Barchuq.²⁸ This shows that the term *aymaq* was applied to a group which still maintained tribal solidarity. Therefore, *aymaq-begi* should be understood not as “district beg,” but rather as “tribal leader.”
- *beg begāt*: “beg and begs.” The word *begāt* seems to be a plural form of *beg*. In the Old Turkic inscriptions we find words with the plural ending of -t, for example, *oghliṭ*, *tarqat*, etc.²⁹ However, since the writing is not clear, it is possible to read it as *yigīṭ* (meaning “cavalry soldier”).
- *bitikchi*: “scribe.”

²³ LIGETI, Louis 1972b *Monuments préclassiques* (vol. 1: XIII^e et XIV^e siècles), Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, pp. 220, 222, 229, etc.

²⁴ Usmanov 1979: 205–28.

²⁵ On these words, see GIESE, F. 1931 “Bemerkungen zu G. Raquette: Eine kaschgarische Wafurkunde aus der Khodsca-Zeit Ost-Turkestans,” *Ungarische Jahrbücher* 11, no. 3, p. 279.

²⁶ Raquette 1930: 19, note 2.

²⁷ BUDAGOV, L. 1869. *Sravnitel’nyi slovar’ Turetsko-Tatarskikh narechii*, vol. 1. St. Peterburg: Tipografiya Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk, p. 208; SHAW, Robert Barkley 1878 *A Vocabulary of the Language of Eastern Turkistán*, Extra number to *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* 47, part 1, p. 38.

²⁸ Akimushkin 1976: 247, (text) f. 84r.

²⁹ TEKIN, Talat 1968 *A Grammar of Orkhon Turkic*, Bloomington: Indiana Univeristy Press, p. 122.

- *darugha*: In the Mongol imperial age, the official title of *darugha* or *darughachi* was ubiquitous. The root of this term is *daru-* which means “to press; to oppress; to pursue; to subdue; to stamp; to print; to affix a seal.” The primary function of this office was the collection of tributes in the conquered regions.³⁰ During the Timurid period, *darugha* functioned as “a governor, either over a region or over a city or town, governing sometimes in conjunction with a local native ruler.”³¹ It is not clear what the function of a *darugha* was in 17th century Eastern Turkestan, but considering that it was mentioned next to *hākīm* (also in Document 7, line 9), it seems that a *darugha* was still a relatively high official responsible for the collection of taxes and tributes. Later in the 19th century, however, the status and influence of this office seem to have gradually weakened, and it became that of a lower functionary.³²
- *hurchin-begi*: This title is mentioned three more times in our documents (lines 9 and 10 in Document 6, and line 8 in Document 7). According to Raquette, the meaning of *hurchin* was completely unknown to the people of Eastern Turkestan at the beginning of the 20th century. He points out the existence of another form, *khurjin* (“saddle-bag”)-*beg*, which he regards a folk-etymological modification of *hurchin-beg*.³³
- *ishchi* & *gushchi*: literally “worker and listener.” Raquette and Giese read these words *ishchi kushchi* and translated them as “Arbeiter und sich Mühende,”³⁴ assuming that *kush* is related with *kuch* (power, endeavor). However, I think the last word should be read *gushchi*, which comes from the word *gush* meaning “ear.” According to J. Th. Zenker and L. Budagov, *gushchi* means “listener, spy, emissary.”³⁵ Thus, these words literally mean “worker and listener,” but they seem to have been lower functionaries who performed miscellaneous duties and

³⁰ On the institution of *darughachi*, Endicott-West’s work is the most detailed (see ENDICOTT-WEST, E. 1989 *Mongolian Rule in China: Local Administration in the Yuan Dynasty*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press). For a fresh discussion on the relations between *darughachi* and *basqaq*, see OSTROWSKI, D. 1998 *Muscovy and the Mongols: Cross-cultural Influences on the Steppe Frontier, 1304–1589*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 36–45.

³¹ MANZ, Beatrice Forbes 1985 “The Office of *Darugha* under Tamerlane,” *Journal of Turkish Studies* 9 (An Anniversary Volume in Honor of Francis Woodman Cleaves), pp. 59–69.

³² KIM Hodong 2004 *Holy War in China: The Muslim Rebellion and State in Chinese Central Asia, 1864–1877*, Stanford: Stanford University Press, p. 13.

³³ Raquette 1930: 19–20; cf. RAQUETTE, Gustaf. 1914 *Eastern Turki Grammar: Practical and Theoretical with Vocabulary*, (Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Jahrgang XV, XVI, XVII, Abteilung II: Westasiatischen Studien), Berlin 1914, p. 29.

³⁴ Raquette 1930: 19–20; cf., p. 20, note 1.

³⁵ ZENKER, Theodor 1866–76 *Türkisch-Arabisch-Persisches Handwörterbuch*, Leipzig: W. Engelmann, Repr. Hildesheim: Georg Olms Verlag, 1979, p. 774; Budagov 1869: 156.

listened to rumors and complaints from the people. In Document 5 (Line 10) we see a similar pair of words, *söz* and *ishi* (“speech and action”).

- *kalāntar*: “leader.”
- *kökbashi*: “supervisor of agriculture.” This word is made of *kök* (blue, heaven, root, harmony) and *bash* (head). Raquette explains that this is an official who supervises agriculture and crops.³⁶
- *ming-begi*: “chief of a thousand.”
- *mūrāb*: “supervisor of water.” This word is made of *mūr* and *āb*, which means literally “the lord of water.” It is the title of an official who supervises the distribution of water and the repair of canals.
- *mutavallī*: “Superintendent or treasurer of a mosque; an administrator or procurator of any religious or charitable foundation; a prefect, governor.”³⁷
- *on-begi*: “chief of ten.” As Raquette has already remarked, *tümān-begi*, *ming-begi*, *yüz-begi* and *on-begi* were originally military titles, but as the Moghuls moved into the Tarim Basin and their nomadic tribal bonds became gradually weakened, these titles seem to have transformed into those of civil officials governing local districts.
- *qādī*: “judge.”
- *qushun-begi*: “chief of an army corp.” *qushun* came from a Mongolian word *qoshighun*, meaning originally “beak, peak,” then “vanguard,” then “army corp,” and finally “banner” (administrative unit).³⁸ It still has the same meaning in the modern Uyghur language.³⁹
- *sharīk*: “merchant.” Raquette read this word as *tezik* (from the verb *tizmek* meaning “zu stellen, in Glieder, Reihen usw. zu ordnen”) and translated it as “Knecht.” Thus he rendered the phrase *khwāja tezik* as “Herrn und Knecht.” However, it is beyond doubt that this word should be read *sharīk*. Giese, based on Steingass (p. 743: “a partner in trade, companion, associate”), correctly translated the phrase “Hodschas und Genossen.”⁴⁰
- *shaykh*: “tribal or religious elder.”
- *sipāhī*: “soldier.”
- *tavachi*: “inspector of the army.” Raquette translates this word as “Inspektoren.”⁴¹ In the Timurid sources we find numerous mentions of this title. According to Beatrice Manz, “*tovachīs* were troop inspectors, who had as their task the supervision of the numbers, condition and equipment of the army, along with con-

³⁶ Raquette 1930: 21, note 3.

³⁷ Steingass 1892: 1171.

³⁸ DOERFER, G. 1963–75 *Türkische und mongolische Elemente im Neupersischen*. Vol. 1 Wiesbaden: Otto Harrassowitz, pp. 406–10.

³⁹ *Uyghurchā-Khānzuchā lughāt* 1982, Ürümchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanshe, p. 712.

⁴⁰ Giese 1931.

⁴¹ Cf. Zenker 1866: 317 (chef, préposé, inspecteur).

scription for campaigns and the transmission of orders from the sovereign to the soldiers.”⁴²

- *teyarchi*: literally “the one who makes something ready (*teyar*).”
- *tümān-begi*: “chief of ten thousand.”
- *tüshmel*: “official.” Both Raquette and Giese failed to comprehend the correct meaning of this word. It is actually a Mongolian word meaning “official.” In several decrees of the Moghul khanate in the 14th century we find the plural form of this word *tüsimed*.⁴³
- *ulugh kichik khwāja*: “great and little khwāja.”
- *yüz-begi*: “chief of a hundred.”

1.4. Beneficiaries and Privileges

In the six decrees we find diverse privileges bestowed upon the beneficiaries who are indicated in the text. They are actually the recipients of the decrees. These privileges range from the confirmation of the private right over a certain tract of land or water and the conferment of the *vaqf* land, to the bestowal of official titles. The beneficiaries and the privileges mentioned in the decrees are as follows:

- [1] Document 1: The bestowal of the privilege of *tarkhān* and the exemption from levies to the shaykhs of a holy mausoleum (the location not identified).
- [2] Document 2: The bestowal of the titles of *shaykh* and *mutavallī* to a person at a certain mausoleum.
- [3] Document 3: The bestowal of the governorship of [?] Tepe to Abū [?] Beg.
- [4] Document 4: The confirmation of the private rights over land about the size of 20 *patmans* at Altunchi Ariq in the province of Khotan, to Mīrzā Muḥammad Ya‘qūb, the son of Amīrā Ayyūb Beg Churās.
- [5] Document 5: The confirmation of the private right over six sections of land at the town of Opal in the province of Kashghar, to the late Mīr Maḥmūd.
- [6] Document 6: The bestowal of the water of one canal and a section of land, at the towns of Astin Artuch and Üstün Artuch in the province of Kashghar, as *vaqf* to Sayf Allāh Beg Churās.
- [7] Document 7: The bestowal of the titles of *shaykh*, *mutavallī* and *qāḍī* at the mausoleum of Satuq Boghra Khan, in the town of Astin Artuch in the province of Kashghar, to Nizām Khwāja.

⁴² MANZ, Beatrice Forbes 1989 *The Rise and Rule of Tamerlane*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 173–74.

⁴³ See Liḡeti 1972b: vol. 1, 216–22. For a more detailed discussion, see Köprülü 1938: 159–61.

When a landed property is mentioned, its boundaries (*ḥaddī*) are usually explained by the so-called “four boundaries” (*tört ḥaddī* or *sičī*).⁴⁴ According to research by Mori Masao, who analyzed the Uyghur contract documents found in the Turfan area, the general pattern follows the direction of east→south→west→north, and, this pattern, unlike the Chinese pattern of east→west→south→north, originated from the customs of the Old Turkic people.⁴⁵ Three of the six documents under our perusal contain information about the “four boundaries.” It is interesting to note that all three give different directions: north→east→south→west (Document 4), east→south→west→north (Document 5), east→north→west→south (Document 6). It seems to be impossible to draw a conclusion from this data whether the general pattern formerly used in Eastern Turkestan was abandoned or not.

1.5. Admonitions and Warnings

After clarifying the privileges, the royal decrees introduce a section which invariably begins with the phrase “as soon as you see this edict of splendor and authority....” The only exception is Document 7. I cannot say if this is just an exception or a change in chancellery practice. This section contains not only admonitions to those who enjoyed the privileges but also warnings to the officials in the concerned area not to interfere, or meddle with, their special rights. In this sense, again we cannot help but point out its striking similarity to the edicts of the 13th and 14th centuries.

Especially interesting are a number of regular and irregular taxes enumerated in Document 6 and Document 7, which provide important information on the socio-economic history of Eastern Turkestan in the 17th century. This is a list of the terms given:⁴⁶

- *ālūqāt*: Giese interprets this word as Arabic feminine plural form of *alūgh*. In Line 21 of Document 5 we see *alūqī*, which seems to be its singular form. *Alūq~ alūqī~ ālūqāt* apparently have the same root of *al-* (“to take”). In Western Turkestan we find frequent mentions of *alugh~alghat* employed to mean “levy

⁴⁴ On the term *tört ḥaddī*, see ERDAL, Marcel 1984 “The Turkish Yarkand Documents,” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 47, no. 2, p. 281. The word *sičī* is transcription of Chinese *sizhi* (“four extremes”).

⁴⁵ MORI Masao 護雅夫 1967 *Kodai Toruko minzokushi kenkyū I* 『古代トルコ民族史研究 I』, Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, pp. 477–93.

⁴⁶ Minorsky lists and explains a number of taxes and levies mentioned in a *soyūrghāl* document of Aq-qoyunlu dated 1498, but we can find only a few common items (see MINORSKY, V. 1939 “A Soyūrghāl of Qāsim b. Jahāngīr Aq-qoyunlu (903/1498),” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 9, no. 4, pp. 927–60.).

or levies.”⁴⁷

- *dābiṭāna*: *dābiṭ* means “governor, commander, superior, etc.,” so *dābiṭāna* could literally mean a levy for such a person. However, in 16th-century Central Asian documents, this term referred to the levy collected for the expenses of officials working at the tax-collecting office (*dīvān-i dābiṭ*).⁴⁸
- *dah-yak*: Literally “one-tenth,” i.e. tithe tax. It is equivalent to ‘*ushr*’ in Arabic, a regular tax on the private farm land. But this can also mean an additional levy for the stipends of religious people working at madrasa.⁴⁹
- *ḥākimāna*: “a fee for the district governor (*ḥākim*).”
- *ḥashar*: According to Shaykh Sulayman Efendi, this means “laborers who were gathered every year to dig out the river[-bed].”⁵⁰ This term is synonymous with *bigar*, and frequently these are mentioned together in the documents of Western Turkestan. The only difference is that *ḥashar* could be organized by the government as well as by private persons, while *bigar* was mobilized only by the government.⁵¹
- *jārāna*: According to Steingass, *jār* means (1) news and (2) a neighbor. Raquette takes the second meaning (“neighbor-fee”) and Giese the first (“messenger-fee”). Considering the existence of a word *jārchī*, I am inclined to agree with Giese.
- *javāzī ālūqī*: *javāzī* means “a large wooden or stone mortar for pounding grain; oil-press, sugar-mill.”⁵² Giese translates *javāzī ālūqī* as “oil-press tax.”
- *juvālgha*: *juvāl* means “a sack, bag.”⁵³
- *kōrūmāna*: *kōr-* is a verb meaning “to see.” So this term may mean “a fee for an interview [with government officials].”
- *kūchetāna*: *kūchet* is “plant[ing] of a tree.”⁵⁴ So this term may mean “a fee for planting trees.”
- *mahrāna*: “marriage-fee.” Raquette read it *muhrāna* (“seal-fee”) but Giese corrected it.
- *mardikār*: This is also very similar to *ḥashar*. It means the conscription of people for repairing irrigation canals, roads, bridges, and town walls.⁵⁵
- *mecherek*: In the Steingass dictionary we find the word *majarag*, meaning “press-

⁴⁷ See Bartol’d 1973: 203; ABDURAIMOV, M. A. 1970 *Ocherki agranykh otnoshenii v Bukharskom khanstve v XVI – pervoi polovine XIX veka*, vol. 2. Tashkent: Fan, pp. 169–73.

⁴⁸ Steingass 1892: 798; Abduraimov 1970: 185–86.

⁴⁹ Abduraimov 1970: 52–56, 181.

⁵⁰ ŠEJX Sulejman Efendi 1902 *Čagataj-Osmanisches Wörterbuch*, Bearbeitet von Ignaz Kúnos, Budapest: Franklin-társulat nyomdája, p. 77.

⁵¹ Abduraimov 1970: 192–93. On *bigar*, see Minorsky 1939: 950.

⁵² Steingass 1892: 376.

⁵³ Steingass 1892: 376.

⁵⁴ JARRING, Gunnar 1964 *An Eastern Turki-English Dialect Dictionary*, Lund: C.W.K Gleerup, p. 179.

⁵⁵ Abduraimov 1970: 192.

- ing (post-horses, carriages or ships); compelling one to work without hire.”⁵⁶
- *muhtasibliq*: “a fee for *muhtasib*.” *Muhtasib* is a “superintendent of police, who examines weights, measurers, and provisions, and prevents gambling, drinking, &c.”⁵⁷ During the Qing period we find a beg official called “*Mao-te-se-bu*” with similar duties.⁵⁸
 - *mulklik*: According to I. P. Petrushevskii, during the Mongol period, *mulk*, *milk*, or *arbābī* meant “the full ownership by landowner (*mālik*) of land and water (channel or *kārīz*), unconditional and without obligation of service to the State, free to be sold and bequeathed.... Mulk land as a rule paid land tax to the *dīvān* but mostly paid a tenth (Arabic *‘ushr*, Persian *dah-yak*) and not the *kharāj*.... But there were also ‘free’ mulks (*mulk-i hurrī*) with fiscal immunity.”⁵⁹
 - *mutavallīliq*: “a fee for *mutavallī*.”
 - *narkhāna*: “the expense for the taxation” (Raquette); “the tax for the price-fixing” (Giese). *Narkh* is a Persian word meaning “price, tariff, tax, duty upon commodities, etc.”⁶⁰
 - *ortaqchi tārimchi*: According to Raquette, *ortaqchi* was a person who cultivated someone else’s land and took half of the income and who was responsible for all the auxiliary expenses and taxes. On the other hand, *tārimchi* was a person who cultivated the land of other people but did not pay for expenses and taxes which should have been covered by the owner of the land. But his share of the income was small, usually one-sixth or one-seventh. This difference is reflected in the etymology of the two words: *ortaqchi* has the connotation of “partner” while *tārimchi* means “cultivator.”
 - *pādishāhī mamlaka*: The estate called *mamlaka* is land owned by the khan or his family members. *Pādishāhī mamlaka* is land owned by the state whose revenue was mostly appropriated by the khan. We can also find expressions like *sulṭānning yeri* (“the land of *sulṭān*” in Lines 14 and 16 of Document 4) and *mamlaka yer* (“the state land” in Line 15 of Document 4).
 - *qolqa qonalgha*: *qonalgha* means “quartering, lodging.” This is a levy especially to meet the expenses for the lodging of soldiers. According to Raquette, the meaning of *qolqa* is “something borrowed,” such as things like dishes and carpets needed for quartering. However, its etymology is still not clear. In Line 21 of Document 6 we find a similar expression, *sar qonalgha*. *Sar* is “head,” so can we interpret *qolqa* as “hand” and suffix *-qa*?

⁵⁶ Steingass 1892: 1177.

⁵⁷ Steingass 1892: 1183–84.

⁵⁸ SAGUCHI Tōru 佐口透 1963 *18–19 seiki Higashi Torukisutan shakaishi kenkyū* [18–19 世紀東トルキスタン社会史研究], Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, p. 114.

⁵⁹ BOYLE, J. A., ed. 1968 *Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 5, *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 517–18.

⁶⁰ Steingass 1892: 1395.

- *ṣābūnchiliq*: *ṣābūn* is “a soap.” So *ṣābūnchiliq* can mean “a fee for those who make soap.”
- *shiqauluq*: “a fee for *shiqaul*.” *Shiqaul* or *shaqaul* is a “master of ceremony who leads the emissaries to the audience.”⁶¹
- *tamgha* & *tirawul*: The original meaning of *tamgha* is “seal, cattle-brand.” In the Mongol period, however, it also meant a kind of tax, especially the tax on merchandise. Taxes on the products by artisans were also called *tamgha*.⁶² Documents of the Bukhara khanate also make similar use of this term.⁶³ It is not clear what the meaning of *tirawul* is, although there is no doubt that it is the combination of a verb *tir-* or *tira-* and a suffix *-wul*, and that it was some sort of tax or levy.
- *tarkhān* & *marfū’ al-qalam*: *tarkhan* was originally a title given to high military commanders during the Türk Qaghanate of the 6th–8th centuries, but in the Mongol period this title was given to persons of exceptional merits. Those who carried this title were bestowed with special privileges, i.e., the exemption from punishment up to nine times. Later, the scope of the privileges expanded, including exemption from taxes, the right to carry one’s own goblet and quiver, the right to take freely the spoils of battle, the right to take any game shot while hunting, and so on. Here, in this edict, *tarkhān* seems to be basically a synonym of *marfū’ al-qalam*, i.e., “the exemption from taxes.” However, since there is a lacuna just before *tarkhān*, other interpretations are possible.⁶⁴
- *ulaghchiliq*: *ulagh* is a “beast of burden, sumpter, animal, load,”⁶⁵ and *ulaghchiliq* seems to be a fee for somebody who drives such an animal.

1.6. Date and Place

All the decrees end with the dates and the localities. The dates are usually expressed in the Hijri calendar as well as in the Duodenary animal-cycle. In the edicts issued in the Mongol imperial age we see only the Duodenary animal names. So the use of the Hijri calendar certainly reflects the pervasive influence of Islam among the Moghul nomads in Eastern Turkestan. However, the problem is that these two

⁶¹ Budagov 1869: vol. 2, p. 668; Shaw 1878: 134.

⁶² See HONDA Minobu 本田實信 1991 “Tamuga zei” 「タムガ税」, in *Mongoru jidaishi kenkyū* 『モンゴル時代史研究』, Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, pp. 322–32.

⁶³ Abduraimov 1970, vol. 2, pp. 181–82.

⁶⁴ On the title of *tarkhan*, see HAN Rulin 韓儒林 1941 “Menggu Dalahan kao zengbu” 「蒙古答刺罕考增補」, in *Qiongluji* 『窮廬集』, repr. Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1982; KEITANI Shunzi 恵谷俊之 1963 “Tarahan kō” 「荅刺罕考」, *Tōyōshi kenkyū* 22, no. 2, pp. 61–78; Doerfer 1963–75: vol. 2, pp. 460–74.

⁶⁵ Jarring 1964: 322.

systems, the Hijra and the Duodenary, do not correspond well. The following is a list of dates given in the documents:

- [1] Document 1: Sha‘bān, 1008 (Feb. 16–March 14, 1600) and the year of the Ox.
- [2] Document 2: The beginning of Rabī‘ al-avval, 1015 (July, 1606) and the year of the Dog.
- [3] Document 3: The end of Ramaḍān, 1018 (Dec. 1609) and the year of the Ox.
- [4] Document 4: Rabī‘ al-ākhir, 1038 (Nov. 28–Dec. 26, 1628) and the year of the Hen.
- [5] Document 5: The end of Ṣafār, 1050 (June 1640) and the year of the Hen.
- [6] Document 6: Ṣafār, 1073 (Aug. 16–Sept. 14, 1662) and the year of the Horse.
- [7] Document 7: The end of Jumāda al-avval, 1088 (August 1677) and the year of the Monkey.

As this list shows, not only do the Hijra and the Duodenary years not agree with each other, but also the differences between the two are not coherent at all. For example, in Document 1, the year of the Ox should have been 1601, a one year difference from the Hijri year given. However, in Document 2 there is a four year difference between the years, and in Document 3, it is two years. This is an extremely anomalous situation. Nonetheless, we should note that the Duodenary system in Kashgharia was very peculiar. For example, in *Tārīkh-i amniyya* and *Tārīkh-i ḥamīdī* written by Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī, 1864 (actually the year of the Rat) is recorded as the year of the Snake (which should be 1869), 1866 (the year of the Tiger) is the year of the Sheep (which should be 1871), and so on. So the Kashgharian Duodenary calendar was consistently 5 years earlier than the normal cycle. To explain this difference, Sayrāmī mentions a very interesting episode during the time of Sa‘īd Khān (r. 1514–33).⁶⁶ However, even if we take this difference into account, it does not explain the extreme incoherence of the Duodenary system in these decrees. Hamada Masami has already discovered this anomalous situation and has discussed this thorny question in detail.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Cf. Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī 1905 *Tārīkh-i amniyya*. N. N. Pantusov ed., *Taarikh-i emenie: Istoriia vladetelei Kashgarii*, Kazan’: Tipografiya Imperatorskago Universiteta, pp. 18–19; Molla Musa Sayrami 1988 *Tarikh-i Hamidi*, Ānwār Baytur tr., Beijing: Millātlār nāshriyati, pp. 124–25.

⁶⁷ HAMADA Masami 1992 “Rupture ou continuité: Le calendrier des douze animaux chez les musulmans Turcophones du Turkestan oriental, in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, Paris: L’Harmattan, pp. 285–91.

1.7. Seal

The seal of a khan or prince is affixed on the decrees. On Documents 2, 6 and 7 the seal is affixed twice. The name of the khan or prince is inscribed in intaglio on the surface of the seal. In many cases, the outer parts of these seals were embellished with Arabic phrases praising God. The shape of the seals is without exception round. However, it is well known that in the realms of the Jochi Ulus and Il Khans the rectangular seals engraved with Chinese, Pags-pa, or Arabic characters in *zhuan* 篆 style were widely used even up to the end of the 16th century.⁶⁸ Several documents found in Turfan also show that in the middle of the 14th century both rectangular as well as round or oval seals were used in Eastern Turkestan.⁶⁹ The following are some details regarding these seals:

- [1] Document 1: ca. 49mm (diameter), black, on ll. 11–13.
- [2] Document 2: ca. 51mm, black, twice on ll. 3–4 and 21–22.
- [3] Document 3: ca. 51mm, black, on ll. 11–12.
- [4] Document 4: 41mm, black, ll. 9–10.
- [5] Document 5: ca. 55mm, black, ll. 8–9.
- [6] Document 6: 60mm, red, twice on ll. 9–11 and 16–18.
- [7] Document 7: ca. 61mm, black, twice on ll. 3–4 and 10–11.

1.8. Certification

On the reverse side of the several documents we find the name and the seal of the certifier, who probably transmitted the royal order to the scribes so that it could be drawn up as a document. We can read the following names:

- [1] Document 1: Mīrzā [?], seal not seen.
- [2] Document 3: Mīrzā Ghiyāth, seal not seen.
- [3] Document 4: Mīrākhur(?) Khwāja, one black seal of 19mm.
- [4] Document 5: Shāhbāz Beg, one black seal of ca. 22mm.
- [5] Document 6: Sulṭān Qulī, one black seal of 15–20mm.

Their names are written on the top-left of the reverse side and the seals are affixed on the top-right. Those documents not carrying certifier's name or seal are

⁶⁸ KURAT, Akdes Nimet 1940 *Topkapı Sarayı Müzesi Arşivindeki Altın Ordu, Kırım ve Türkistan Hanlarına ait Yarlık ve Bitikler*, İstanbul: Bürhaneddin Matbaası; Usmanov 1979.

⁶⁹ CERENSODNOM, Dalantai, and Manfred TAUBE 1993 *Die Mongolica der Berliner Turfansammlung*, Berlin: Akademie Verlag.

badly damaged ones. These certifiers were top-ranking officials in the court and three of them are possibly identified in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās. The practice of certification by high officials is well attested in other successor states of the Mongol Empire as well.⁷⁰

From the preceding discussion, we can draw a few conclusions with regard to the royal decrees of the 17th century issued in Eastern Turkestan:

(1) They show a fairly fixed structure with the elements of (a) Invocation, (b) Addressor, (c) Addressees, (d) Beneficiaries and Privileges, (e) Admonitions and Warnings, (f) Date and Place, (g) Seal and (f) Certifier. Beyond the structural stability, we also note the usage of similar vocabularies and phrases. These facts unequivocally prove the existence of a highly developed and stabilized chancellery practice at the court of the Moghul khans and princes.

(2) By comparing these decrees with the edicts issued in the 13th and the 14th centuries, we discover that the structural characteristics of the 17th century decrees can be traced back to the imperial period. At the same time, we note similar features found in the decrees issued in other areas of the former Mongol empire. Because of the difference in time and space as well as the changes in political and economic conditions, new terminologies for official titles and various taxes and levies were introduced.

(3) In the decrees we notice several different layers of culture. The lowest layer is the Turkic, in whose language the decrees are written, but of course there may be some vestiges of pre-Turkic culture. The middle layer is the Mongol. When this region was a part of the Chaghatay Ulus, the Mongolian steppe customs and traditions exerted a strong influence over the political and economic systems. In the middle of the 14th century, the first Moghul khans like Tughluq Temur and Ilyās Khwāja still issued royal edicts in the Mongolian language. And almost at the end of the 14th century, Moghul nobilities in Semirechye sent a diplomatic letter written in Mongolian to the Hongwu Emperor of the Ming Dynasty.⁷¹ Although the nomadic Moghuls were gradually assimilated into the Turkic population of this region and the Turkic language replaced the Mongol at the court of the Moghuls, the Mongol influence remained for a long time. The last layer is the Islamic and Persian cultures. The invocation of “By the power of the Eternal Heaven” was replaced by “In the Name of the Most Holy,” and the dates were indicated not only by the traditional Duodenary cycle but also by the Hijri calendar. This was the result of the Islamization of the Moghuls. The decrees were packed with highly

⁷⁰ Cf. CLEAVES 1951; BUSSE, Heribert 1959 *Untersuchungen zum islamischen Kanzleiwesen*, Kairo: Kommissionsverlag, pp. 69–76; Keçik 1976: 52–57; Schamiloglu 1984; Atwood 2006.

⁷¹ See KIM Hodong 1999 “The Early History of the Moghul Nomads: The Legacy of the Chaghatay Khanate,” in AMITAI-PREISS, R., and D. MORGAN eds. *The Mongol Empire and Its Legacy*, Leiden: E. J. Brill, pp. 290–318.

elaborate Arabic and Persian phrases. There is no doubt that those who drew up the decrees were fairly well versed in the Islamic and Persian literary traditions.

(5) The official titles and names of the taxes and levies provide us very important information for the understanding of the administration of and society in 17th-century Eastern Turkestan. Many of them are not fully comprehensible and need to be studied in comparison with similar institutions in Western Turkestan.

2. Transcriptions and Translations

Document 1

(Prov. 223)

- (1) bi-ism-i subhānahu
- (2) []⁷² Muḥammad Khān Ghāzī sōzūm⁷³
- (3) ‘imād-i mulk vā dawlat ‘ināyat-i salṭanat vā ayālat qarīndāshlar bilā
- (4) shajā‘at-shi‘ar sakhāvat-dithār javān-bakht barkhūr-dār farzandlar-gha⁷⁴
- (5) umarā’-i kibār-i kāmgār vā vuzarā’-i nīkū-rāī šāhib-i ikhtiyār vā kāfi-kaf-i kifāyat-āthār vā arkān-i dawlat-i qāhira vā a’yān-i ḥaḍrat-i bāhira basa Yārkanḍ vilāyatining zumra-i sharīfa
- (6) nuqabā’-i kirām vā nujabā’-i sayyid al-anām vā šudūr-i munshariḥ al-šadr-i ‘ālī-maqām vā quḍāt-i sharī‘at-anjām vā mavālī-yi lāzim al-iḥtirām vā ahālī-yi khujasta-kalām vā jumhūr-i sakana vā ‘amma-i
- (7) ra‘āyā’-i mutavaṭṭinalari bilā ming-begi yüz-begi on-begi ishchi gushchi mutavallī tavachi tūshimel ‘amaldār šāhib-i jam‘ bitikchilārighā ‘alā al-khušūš ‘affa-i šāliḥa-i sājida //⁷⁵-
- (8) ning mīrāb vā kökbashi arbāb kalāntar sipāhī vā aqsaqal vā ḥimāyatī-yi uluq kichik khwāja sharīk ra‘tyatlarigha vāḍih vā lāṭḥ bolsun kim //⁷⁶-ning mazār-i fāiḍ al-anvār-ning shaykh-

⁷² Not clearly legible.

⁷³ These two lines are written in a different color and faded that the letters are hard to recognize.

⁷⁴ In most of our edicts the two words on lines 3–4, *qarīndāsh* and *farzand*, are written in a different color.

⁷⁵ In the text we see only the caret mark ‘//’, but there is no additional note in the margin. This is probably because the right margin of the document was torn away and new paper was pasted to the document. It seems that the name of a mausoleum is omitted. In the Houghton copy there is no ‘//’.

⁷⁶ In the text we see only ‘//’, also without any corresponding note on the margin.

- (9) lārini ‘iyāl vā ushaqlari bilān maghfūrī vā marḥūmī⁷⁷ ۷۷ tarkhān vā marfū‘ al-qalam qilghan ikändüklār⁷⁸ ۷ hām ushbu humāyūn maḍmūngha muṭṭali‘ bolup hār ne⁷⁹ shaykhlārni
- (10) vā oghlanlari bilā ‘ināyat-i⁸⁰ ۷۷ vā marḥamat-i khusrawāna bilā muftakhir vā sar-āfrāz qilip tarkhān vā marfū‘ al-qalam qilduq vā taqi⁸¹ qaddasa Allāh asrārḥāning mujāvīr aylighā yuqari alti tigärmān-
- (11) din su kelgāndin⁸² su yatqunchā nawbat bilā hār aydā besh kün bāghlarga yārliḡh qilduq vā taqi marḥūmī vā maghfūrī⁸³ Khwāja ‘Ubayd Allāhning arīqīdin qadīmdin⁸⁴ chaqa-
- (12) lari bar sababdin bir arīq su berdük emdi yārliḡh-i khūrshīd-sha‘ā‘-i ‘alam-muṭī⁸⁵ körgāch madhkūr bolghan sularni bu mushar-alayhumlarga ḥaqq bilip mīrāb kökbashi
- (13) vā ghayr ham etmāsunlar⁸⁶ vā qīsmasunlar vā tamgha vā tirawul qilmasunlar vā taqi mushār-alayhumlarni⁸⁷ oghlanlar vā farzandlarni kull-i takālīfat-i dīvānīdin mu‘āf vā marfū‘ al-qalam bilip nemā
- (14) kerāk almasunlar vā ḥavāla qilip aldurtmasunlar tanj-köngül vā farāgh-khāṭīrlari bilā⁸⁸ madhkūr suni zirā‘atlarigha ṣarf qilip du‘ā‘-i dawlat-i rūz-afzūngha mashghūl bolup ṣubḥ
- (15) vā shām belkā ‘alā al-davām fātiḥa oqip⁸⁹ oltursunlar dep muhrluq nishān-i ‘ālīshān⁹⁰ tārikh-i ming sākiz oy yili Sha‘bān ay Yārkanḍ vilāyatidā bitildi

(muhr) Muḥammad Khān ibn ‘Abd al-Rashīd ibn Sa‘īd Ghāzī⁹¹

⁷⁷ In the text we see only ‘۷۷’. It seems that the name of a person is omitted.

⁷⁸ In the text we see only ‘۷’. The words like ‘biz’ or ‘pādīshāhāna’ should be inserted.

⁷⁹ These two letters (*hār ne*) are not clearly read, and we cannot find them in the Houghton copy.

⁸⁰ In the text we see only ‘۷۷’. Based on comparison with other edicts, the word ‘pādīshāhāna’ can be inserted here.

⁸¹ In the Houghton copy, after ‘taqi’ we see the sign of ‘//’.

⁸² *kelgānd* (Houghton copy).

⁸³ *maghfūrī vā marḥūmī* (Houghton copy).

⁸⁴ In the Houghton copy there is no *qadīmdin*.

⁸⁵ *jahān-maṭā‘* (Houghton copy).

⁸⁶ *hāmā etmāsunlar* (Houghton copy).

⁸⁷ *mushār-alayhumlarning* (Houghton copy).

⁸⁸ There is no *bilā* in the Houghton copy.

⁸⁹ *oqup* (Houghton copy).

⁹⁰ There is no ‘ālīshān in the Houghton copy.

⁹¹ The seal is affixed on the lines 11–13. In the Houghton copy we find “Muḥammad Khān ibn ‘Abd Allāh ibn Sa‘īd Ghāzī,” but this seems to be the mistake of the copyist.

(reverse) šādiq al-ikhhlāṣ mu‘tamad al-khavāṣṣ Mīrzā [?]⁹²

In the Name of the Most Holy

Muḥammad Khān Ghāzī,

My Word

To the brothers who are the pillars of the kingdom and the state, and the guardians of the sultanate and the dominion; and to the sons who are valiant, generous, young and fortunate. To the great commanders (*umarāʾ*) who accomplish whatever they wish, the ministers (*vuzarāʾ*) of good judgement who are the lords of right decision and mighty capability, the pillars of the victorious state, and the chiefs of excellent dignity; and, in the province of Yarkand, to the group of nobility, the eminent leaders, the grandees of noble blood, the blissful high officials, the judges discharging the holy law, the lords fit to veneration, the people of the blessed words, all the inhabitants and the commoners, along with chiefs of a thousand (*ming-begi*), chiefs of a hundred (*yüz-begi*), chiefs of a ten (*on-begi*), workers (*ishchi*), listeners (*gushchi*), superintendants (*mutavallī*), inspectors of the army (*tavachi*), officials (*tüshmel*), tax-collectors (*ʿamaldār*), controllers (*ṣāhib-i jamʿ*), and scribes (*bitikchilār*); and, especially, at the pious and holy sanctuary of [?], to supervisors of water (*mīrāb*), supervisors of agriculture (*kökbashi*), chiefs (*arbāb*), leaders (*kalāntar*), soldiers (*sipāhī*), elders (*aqsaqal*), patrons of great and little khwājas (*ulugh kichik khwāja*), merchants (*sharīk*), and peasants. [The following] should be clear and manifest.

[In the past] we bestowed the [privilege of] *tarkhān* and the exemption of levies (*marfūʾ al-qalam*) on the shaykhs of the holy mausoleum of [?], together with their family and children,⁹³ and to the deceased [?]. Having considered those royal contents, we honored the shaykhs and their sons with royal protection and favor and bestowed on them [the privilege of] *tarkhān* and the exemption from levies. And, we issued edicts (*yārliḡh*) [allowing] the water to flow from the upper six mills (*yuqari alti tigärmän*),⁹⁴ until it subsides, five days in turn each month, to the village (*ayl*)⁹⁵ and to its gardens located in the vicinity of the holy place.

⁹² On the top-right of the reverse side we find additional notes, written on a patch of paper attached later; they do not look like a part of the original.

⁹³ *ʿiyāl vā ushaqlar*: *ʿiyāl* means “family, children, domestics; a wife” (Steingass 1892: 875), and *ushaq* “little, young; boy, youth; male servant.”

⁹⁴ *tigärmän*: “mill, mill-dam.” Cf. Šejx Sulejman Efendi 1902: 188 (*tikirmen*); Zenker 1866: 333 (*tikermen*).

⁹⁵ *ayl*, *ail* or *aul* means “village” (Zenker 1866: 151).

Moreover, since there have been wards (*chaqalar*)⁹⁶ along the canal of the late Khwāja ‘Ubayd Allāh⁹⁷ from long ago, we gave them the water of one canal.

Now, as soon as you see this edict of splendor and authority, you should know that the aforementioned water rightly belongs to the above-mentioned persons. You – supervisors of water and agriculture, and anyone else – should not either block or divide [that water] and should not impose [such taxes as] *tamgha* and *tirawul*. Moreover, you should know that the aforementioned persons, their sons and children, are exempted from all official levies (*takālifat-i dīvānī*) and you should not take, or make someone else to take, anything necessary from them. [In the meantime,] you [the descendants of the aforementioned shaykhs], should use the aforementioned water, with tranquil heart and peaceful mind, for cultivation, and devote yourselves to praying for the ever-strengthening state. You should live reading [the chapter of] Fātiḥa morning and evening, or rather ceaselessly.

The decree (*nishān*) affixed with a seal was written in the month of Sha‘bān, 1008, the year of the Ox,⁹⁸ in the province of Yārkaṇd.

(seal) Muḥammad Khān ibn ‘Abd al-Rashīd ibn Sa‘īd Ghāzī

(reverse) Mīrzā [?] who is the trust of qualities and the faithful of sincerity [...].

⁹⁶ *chaqa*: G. Raquette explains this word as “ward, district (in the country).” See Raquette 1912–13: 25.

⁹⁷ It is highly probable that this is the famous sūfī active during the reign of ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān. He was a disciple of Muḥammad Walī Šūfī who was a close companion of Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf. According to the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, he made an important contribution to the enthronement of ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān, who was also Muḥammad Walī Šūfī’s disciple. He became minister (*vazīr*) and wielded great authority in the court of ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān and was stubbornly opposed to the missionary activities of Ishāq Valī, the son of Makhdūm-i A‘zam, the famous master of the Naqshbandi order. Khwāja ‘Ubayd Allāh died prior to ‘Abd al-Karīm Khān (d. 1000/1591–92). Cf. Akimushkin 1976: 159–70. It is possible that the name of the person who was buried at the mausoleum but omitted on line 8 could be Khwāja Muḥammad Sharīf. His tomb is located in the city of Yarkand. For a detailed description of this mausoleum, see SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔 1999 “Tarimu bonchi shūenbu Isurāmu shiseki chōsa hōkoku” [タリム盆地周縁部イスラム史跡調査報告], *Tezukayama gakuin daigaku ningen bunka gakubu kenkyū nenpō* 1, pp. 65–66.

⁹⁸ This date corresponds to February 16–March 14, 1600 A.D. However, according to the lunar calendar, this year is the year of the Rat, not Ox.

Document 2

(Prov. 226)

This document is badly damaged and almost illegible in many parts. Thus the transcription and the translation are not given here.

Document 3

(Prov. 221)

- (1) [bi-ism-i subhānahu]⁹⁹
- (2) Abū al-Manşūr Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad Bahādur Ghāzī sözü
- (3) nayyir-rif‘at khūrshīd-tanvīr kayvān-murattīb tashīl-tā‘thīr qarindashlar bilā
- (4) shajā‘at-shi‘ar sakhāvat-dithār javān-bakht barkhūr-dār farzandlarğa
- (5) vā umarā‘-i kibār-i kāmgār vā vuzarā‘-i nīkū-rāy şāhib-i ikhtiyār vā arkān-i dawlat-i bī-zavāl vā a‘yān-i ḥaḍrat-i bī-intiqāl vā sakina-i ‘ataba-i bārgāh vā sudda-i sadana-i jahān-panāh basa Khotan vilāyatining
- (6) zumra-i sharīfa nuqabā‘-i kirām vā nujabā‘-i sayyid al-anām vā şudūr-i munshariḥ aş-şadr-i ‘ālī-maqām vā quḍāt-i sharī‘at-anjām vā mavālī-yi vājib al-iḥtirām vā ahālī-yi khujasta-kalām vā ḥukām-i bilād vā ḥifza-i ‘ibād
- (7) ichkilār ba-ḥuşūşihum vā tashqilār ba-‘umūmihum vā sā‘ir-i sakina vā ‘amma-i ra‘āyā‘-i mutavaṭṭinalari bilā ming-begi yüz-begi on-begi ishchi gushchi mutavallī tavachi tūshimel ‘amaldār şāhib-i jam‘ bitikchilāri bilā
- (8) mīrāb vā kökbashi arbāb vā kalāntar sipāhī vā ḥimāyatī-yi uluq kichik khwāja sharīk ra‘iyatlāriḡhā vāḍih vā lāṭḡ bolsun kim mu‘tamad al-khavāşş şādiq al-‘aqīdat vā al-ikhlaš jalīs-i majlis khāşş-i
- (9) qadīm al-khidmat Abū [?]¹⁰⁰ Begni ‘ināyat-i // (pādishāhāna) vā marḥamat-i khusravāna bilā muftakhir vā sar-āfrāz qilip [?]¹⁰¹ Tepesining ḡakimlighni Mīrzā Muḥammad Sharīfning dastūri bilā
- (10) ‘alā al-ḡuşūş otun saman jubā-dā teyarchiliq manşabni sīyūrḡhāl qilduq yārliḡh-i khūrshīd-sha‘ā‘-i lāzim al-itbā‘ körgāch mushār-alayhini özingizlārḡhā ḡākim bilip ertā geḡhā jāri
- (11) yetkāch juzī‘ vā kullī ishlārdā qashlarigha yighlip kelip jāri vā büljārlari kim

⁹⁹ This phrase is not found in the document, but in all probability the part on which it was written has torn away.

¹⁰⁰ Because of a blot in the text this part is almost illegible. In the Houghton copy it is left blank.

¹⁰¹ Because of a blot in the text this part is hard to recognize. In the Houghton copy it is left blank.

muṭaḍammīn-i ṣalāḥ-i dawlatdur tajāvuz qilmaghaylar yolluq turalik sōzini ishtip ōzkā qilmanglar

- (12) burunqi ḥākimlārghāni dastūr bilā nemā berip khidmat qilghan bolsanglar mūmā-alayhighā ushal dastūr bilā nemā berip qilsang i‘zāz-ikrāmini kamā-huwa al-lāiq ba-ḥāla ba-jāi keltürünglār
- (13) vā taqi bu kim burunqi ḥākimlārghā ta‘alluq kishi vā qira yer vā sulari ankā ta‘alluq bilip hich kim mudākhilat vā munāzi‘at qilmasunlar hār kim äyqtāndāk ‘amal qilmasa siyāsātqā sazāvār
- (14) vā ‘uqūbatgha giriftār bulghusidur dep muhrлуq nishān-i ‘ālīshān ta‘rīkh-i ming on sekiz oy yili Ramaḍān al-mubāarak ayning avākhiri dār al-saltānat-i Yārkindā bitildi

(muhr) Shāh Shujā‘ al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān ibn Muḥammad Khān Ghāzī¹⁰²

(reverse) mu‘tamad al-khavāṣṣ ṣādiq al-‘aqīda vā al-ikhilāṣ khilāṣ-i majlis-i qāṣṣ Mīrzā Ghiyāth parvānasi bilān.

[In the Name of the Most Holy]

Abū al-Manṣūr Shāh Shujā‘ ad-Dīn Aḥmad Bahādur Ghāzī,
My Word

To the brothers who are exalted like stars, shining like the sun, decisive like Saturn, and of penetrating influence; and to the sons who are valiant, generous, young and fortunate. And to the great commanders of power, the ministers of good judgement, the lords of right decision, the pillars of the prospering state, and the chiefs of excellent firmness, the inhabitants of the threshold of the royal tent and the world-protecting court of felicity; and, in the province of Khotan, to the group of nobility, the eminent leaders, the grandees of noble blood, the blissful high officials, the judges discharging the holy law, the lords befitting veneration, the people of the blessed words, the governors of the countries, the guardians of devotees—especially the insiders and generally the outsiders—and the rest of the residents and commoners; and to the officials and functionaries such as the chiefs of a thousand, chiefs of a hundred, chiefs of ten, workers, listeners, superintendants, inspectors of the army, officials, tax-collectors, controllers, and scribes; and to the supervisors of water, supervisors of agriculture, chiefs, leaders, soldiers, patrons of great and little khwājas, merchants, and peasants. [The following] should be clear and manifest.

¹⁰² The seal is affixed on the lines 11–12.

Having raised and distinguished Abū [?] Beg, who is the trustee of sincere and faithful nobles and the companion of the congregation of hereditary nobles in the service, with the royal favor and grace, we bestowed (*sīyūrghāl*)¹⁰³ upon him, according to the precedent (*dastūr*) of Mīrzā Muḥammad Sharīf, the governorship (*ḥākimligh*) of [?] Tepe and, especially, the title (*manṣab*) of *teyarchi* [who makes ready the supply] of firewood, straw and wood.¹⁰⁴

As soon as you see the edict of splendor and authority, you should know that the aforementioned person is your own governor. From morning till night, whatever matter, specific or general, takes place, you should come to gather around him and should not disobey the protector of the welfare of the state. Having listened to those who are traveling or staying, you should not act otherwise. If you have given anything to the former governors and have served them according to precedent, you should give that [same thing] to the aforementioned person following that precedent and should show appropriate honor to him. And, moreover, you should consider the people, the cultivated land¹⁰⁵ and the water which belonged to the former governors as belonging to him, and nobody should interfere or oppose. Anyone who does not perform the work stated above shall be subjected to punishment.

The exalted decree with seal was written at the end of the blessed month of Ramaḍān, 1018, the year of the Ox,¹⁰⁶ in the state of Yārkand.

(seal) Shāh Shujā‘ al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān ibn Muḥammad Khān Ghāzī

(reverse) Following His order (*parvānasi bilān*), Mīrzā Ghiyāth who is the trust of

¹⁰³ The system of *soyurghal*, named from a Mongolian word meaning “bestowal,” was widespread in Central and Western Asia after the Mongol domination. The recipient of estates as *soyurghal* enjoyed a perpetual and hereditary right as well as tax exemption and administrative immunities. Later, however, this system gradually changed and lost its original features, and frequently this term was used merely to express a favor or grace bestowed by the ruler, as is the case in this decree. Cf. Minorsky 1939; Kim 2004: 105–6.

¹⁰⁴ *otun saman chubā-dā teyarchiliq manṣab*. The reading is not certain. *Otun* means “firewood,” *saman* “straw,” and *chubā* (< *chub*) “wood.” The title (*manṣab*) of *teyarchi* can be understood as “the one who makes something ready (*teyar*).”

¹⁰⁵ *qira yer*. This can be read as *qara yer*, and, according to Jarring, it means “cemetery” (Jarring 1964: 239). But this does not make sense in this context. So it should be read as *qira yer* which means “cultivated land” (NADZHIP, E. N. ed. 1968 *Uigursko-russkii slovar*, Moskva: Sovetskaya entsiklopediya, pp. 623, 784).

¹⁰⁶ This date corresponds to December 1609, the year of the Hen.

qualities, the faithful of religion and sincerity, and the leader of courtiers.¹⁰⁷

Document 4

(Prov. 225)

- (1) [bi-ism-i subhānahu]
- (2) Ḥaḍrat-i Khān dadam yārliḡhidin
- (3) Abū al-Muṭahhar Sulṭān Maḥmūd sōzūm
- (4) ‘uliyā-ḥaḍrat-i Iskandar-shawkat Jamshīd-ḥashamat qarindashlar bilā
- (5) shajā‘at-shi‘ar sakhāvat-dīthār javān-bakht barkhūr-dār farzandlar-gha
- (6) vā umarā’-i kāmgār-kibār vā vuzarā’-i nīkū-kār-i ‘ālī-miqdār basa Khotan vilāyatining mashhāhīr-i nuqabā-i kirām vā nujabā’-i sayyid al-anām vā šudūr-i ‘ālī-maqām vā quḍāt-i sharī‘at-anjām
- (7) vā ‘ulamā-i khujasta-kalām vā fuḍalā-i taqvā-farjām vā ḥukām-i dhūī al-iḥtishām vā rū‘asā’-i nīkū-nām-i kāffa-i anām vā jumhūr-i khavāšš vā ‘avammī bilā ishchi kushchi mutavallī tavachi tūshmel‘amaldār šāḥib-i jam‘
- (8) bitikchilāri bilā ‘alā al-khušūš Altunchi Ariqining mīrāb vā kökbashi arbāb vā kalāntar sipāhī uluq kichik khwāja sharīk ra‘īyatlarighā vāḍih vā lāih
- (9) bolsun kim // ♪ (ḥaḍrat-i khān babam) bilā // ♫ (ḥaḍrat-i dadam) *nawwara marqad-huma wa ‘aṭtara mashhad-huma* Nūr ‘Alī Yasāwuldin Beg Qulī Yasāwul alghan madhkūr Altunchi Ariqidaghi takhmīnān yigirmā patmanliq yerlār
- (10) barur marḥūm Amīrzā Ayyūb Beg Churāsgha mulklikghā berip ikāndūrlār bu uchurda // ♪ (biz) taqi zill-i humā-i sipihr-sāī-yi dawlat vā shafaqat vā sāya-yi ‘ālī-pīrāya-yi rāfat vā ‘āṭifatimizni
- (11) oghli Mīrzā Muḥammad Ya‘qūbning ḥālighā shāmīl qilip qulidaghi irgelik humāyūn yārliḡhlarning maḍmūnlarighā muṭṭali‘ bolup madhkūr yerlārni mulklikkā berdük shamālān

¹⁰⁷ Mīrzā Ghiyāth seems to be the same person mentioned in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās as “Mīrzā Ghiyāth Sāghrīchī.” According to Churās, Muḥammad Khan appointed him to the highest military post with the titles of *qushbegi*, *uchbegi* and *amīr al-umarā*, and Shujā‘ al-Dīn Aḥmad Khān also let him keep the same post until he died. *Parvāna*, or *parvānachā*, is a Persian word meaning “order, licence, permit,” and there was an official called *parvānachi* who handled royal orders. Steingass (1892: 245) translates this term “a government official; a secretary for writing royal orders.” For various formats of certification, and different scholarly opinions, see Minorsky 1939: 943; Busse 1959: 69–76; Keçik 1976: 52–57.

- (12) Tursūn bilā Murādning yerlārikā muttaşil fāşil örāk ba‘dī Bülek Bābāning üjmālikikā muttaşil sharqān Khwāja Valīning yeri bilā Bürbāshning vā Turdī Muḥammadning vā Qarā
- (13) Ḥawlīning yerlārikā muttaşil fāşil qir ba‘dī Quyūqning yerigā muttaşil fāşil rāh-i ‘āmma ba‘dī Murgablī bilā Khwāja ‘Abd al-Qādirning vā Khusraw Lāfchīning yerlārikā muttaşil fāşil qir
- (14) vā ba‘dī Ghāzīkāning yerigā muttaşil fāşil örāk janūbān Ḥabīb Lāfchīning yeri bilā Qutlūq ‘Alīning vā Achā Khātūning vā Qāḍī Riḍāning vā Bāqī Sārīghning vā Tu[?]-
- (15) ning vā Muḥammad Bāqīning yerlārikā muttaşil fāşil örāk gharibān Ismā‘īlning yeri bilā Mullā Zulālning yerigā vā mazārgha muttaşil vā ba‘dī Tursūning vā Muḥammad Düstning
- (16) yerlāri bilā Tūlek Bābāning sögütlikkā muttaşil fāşil qir ba‘dī Altūnchī Arīqīgha muttaşil vā ba‘dī Qudūqning arīqīgha muttaşil emdī yārīgh-i jahānmutā‘-i
- (17) khūrshīd-sha‘ā‘ körgāch madhkūr maḥdūd ichidāki yerlārni mushar-alayhining vā oghlanlarining oghlanlarigha baṭnān ba‘d-i baṭin qarṇān
- (18) ba‘d-i qarīn mulkī bilip zirā‘at vā ‘imārat qilip ifāda-yi rizq-i avlād vā istifāda-i nafaqa-i aḥfād qilsa hich kim mudākhillat vā mushārakat munāzi‘at
- (19) vā mukhāşamat qilmasunlar tarir yerlāri bilā mu‘tadd aqitur sularini mīrāblar vā kökbashilar vā ghayr hām<ā> etmāsūnlār vā qismasunlar vā taqī Markūyā Östāngidā-
- (20) ki bāzār tigärmānigā vā Barmasiyā Östāngidaki kimāchilārdin alghan tigärmānigā vā Darāzkāldaki Mullā Ṭalīb bashligh mīrāth-khwārlardin alghan
- (21) tigärmānigā mīrāblar vā kökbashilar vā ra‘iyatlar vā ghayr hām dakhil vā ta‘arruḍ qilmasunlar vā sularini etmāsūnlār vā qismasunlar belkā āfarīda-i hīch
- (22) mamar vā hīch rah-gudhārdin ḍarar vā zaḥmat yetkürmāsūnlār vā taqī Zavā Östāngidā yā <bi-> Tāzghūndin chiqqan hār ne bulaq
- (23) bilā hār ṭarafdin qushuladurghan bulaqlarining sularini vā Yalghūz Ōghūlgha chapip alip barghan arīqni
- (24) mushār-alayhighā mulkikkā berdük hich kim dakhil vā ta‘arruḍ qilmasunlar hār yergā vā hār ṭarfka alip barsalar āfarīda-i muzāḥim vā muta‘arrīḍ bolup
- (25) māni‘ kelmāsūnlār tanj-köngül vā farāgh-khāṭirlari bilā zirā‘at qilip hār ne maḥşūlini öz madad vā ma‘āshlarigha şarf qilip du‘ā-i
- (26) dawlat-i rüz-afzūngha mashghūl bolsunlar dep muhr luq nishān-i ‘ālīshān tārikh-i ming otuz sekiz takhāqū yili Rabī‘ al-ākhir ay Kāshghar dār al-salṭanasida bitildi

(muhr) Sulṭān Maḥmūd ibn Ḍiyā al-Dīn Aḥmad¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁸ The seal is affixed on the lines 9–10.

(reverse) Siyādat-panāh sa‘ādat dastgāh šāhib al-ḥaur vä al-karm Mirākbur (?)
 Khwāja parvānasi bilān.
 (muhr)

[In the Name of the Most Holy]

By the Edict of My Father, His Majesty Khān,¹⁰⁹
 Abū al-Muṭahhar Sulṭān Maḥmūd,
 My Word

To the brothers who are the most eminent lords, courageous like Alexander and magnificent like Jamshīd; and to the sons who are valiant, generous, young and fortunate. And to the great commanders of power and the high ministers of good works; and, in the province of Khotan, the celebrated great leaders, the grandees of noble blood, the blissful high officials, the judges discharging the holy law, the religious leaders of the blessed words, the pious scholars, the magnificent governors, the magistrates of good reputation among the people, all the nobles and the commoners; and to workers, listeners, superintendants, inspectors of the army, officials, tax-collectors, controllers, and scribes; and, especially, at Altunchi Ariq,¹¹⁰ to supervisors of water, supervisors of agriculture, chiefs, leaders, soldiers, great and little khwājas, merchants, and peasants. [The following] should be clear and manifest.

His Majesty Khan, my grandfather, and His Majesty, my father – let the light shine upon their graves and the fragrance spread over their tombs – had given the land of approximately 20 *patmans*¹¹¹ at the aforementioned Altunchi Ariq, which Beg Qulī Yasāwul had taken from Nūr ‘Alī Yasāwul, to the late Amīr zā Ayyūb Beg Churās¹¹² as his private property (*mulklik*). At this moment, once more, we equally

¹⁰⁹ For the same expression of *yārlīghidin* in a Timurid decree, see Woods 1984.

¹¹⁰ Location not identified.

¹¹¹ *patman* (or *batman*) was the measure of weight as well as width in Central Asia. During the Qing period 1 *patman* was equal to weight of 4 *shi* (石) 5 *dou* (斗) of grain seeds (after 1761, 5 *shi* 3 *dou*). Thus, the land of 1 *patman* was equal to the amount of land upon which that many seeds could be planted. Based on a study by Ji Dachun, 1 *patman* was about 64 *mu* (畝). (Ji Dachun 2002: 295–310). However, it is not certain whether the measure of the *patman* during the 16th century was equivalent to that in the 18–19th centuries. According to the Qing regulations, second-rank beg officials received 150 *patmans* of land and seventh-rank begs received 30 *patmans*.

¹¹² In the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās there is a mention of a certain Ayyūb Beg who came from Khotan with soldiers and joined ‘Abd Allāh Khān’s (r. 1048/1638–39 ~ 1078/1668) expedition to Andijan (Akimshkin 1976: 219). He may be the Ayyūb Beg mentioned in this decree.

extend the magnificent royal shadow of fortune and compassion and the exalted shadow decorated with magnanimity and benevolence to his son Mīrzā Muḥammad Ya‘qūb, and having considered the contents of royal edicts in our hands, we gave him the aforementioned lands as his private property. To the north, it adjoins to the lands of Tursūn and Murād and its border is a trench.¹¹³ Partly it adjoins the mulberry trees¹¹⁴ of Būlek Bābā. To the east, it adjoins the lands of Khwāja Valī, of Būrbāsh, of Turdī Muḥammad, and of Qarā Ḥawlī, and its border is a levee.¹¹⁵ Partly it adjoins the land of Quyūq, and its border is public road. Partly it adjoins the lands of Murgablī, of Khwāja ‘Abd al-Qādir and of Khusraw Lāfchī, and its border is a levee. Partly it adjoins the land of Ghāzīka, and its border is a trench. To the south, it adjoins the lands of Ḥabīb Lāfchī, of Qutlūq ‘Alī, of Achā Khātūn, of Qāḍī Riḍā, of Bāqī Sārīgh, of Tu[?], and of Muḥammad Bāqī, and its border is a trench. To the west, it adjoins the land of Ismā‘īl and borders with the land of Mullā Zulāl and a mausoleum. Partly, it adjoins the lands of Tursūn and to the land of Muḥammad Dūst, and to the willow field¹¹⁶ of Tūlek Bābā, and its border is a levee. Partly it adjoins to Altūnchī Arīq and partly to a canal of Qudūq.

Now, as soon as you see the edict of splendor and authority, you should know that the lands within the aforementioned boundaries are the private property of the aforementioned person and of his offspring through generation after generation. If he cultivates the land and constructs buildings, and thus makes profits and earnings for his descendants, no one should interfere, share, oppose, or altercate with him. As for the flowing water enumerated with the cultivated lands, you – supervisors of water and supervisors of agriculture, or any other – should not block (*etmäsünlär*) or divide them. And, moreover, you – supervisors of water and supervisors of agriculture, or any other commoners – should not interfere with, or infringe upon, the mills in the market at Markūyā Östäng,¹¹⁷ the mill at Barmasiyā Östäng that

¹¹³ *öräk*: “trench” (Nadzhip 1968: 94).

¹¹⁴ *ūjmā*: “mulberry-tree” (Shaw 1878: 217; Jarring 1964: 329).

¹¹⁵ “Steppe” in Raquette, and “Wüste” in Giese. However, according to Jarring, the exact meaning of this word (*qīr ~ qī ~ qīj*) is “edge of a field,” “edge of earth or clods of earth which surround each field (cultivated and irrigated square) and which hinder the water to run away when the field is irrigated,” or “bank of a river” (Jarring 1964: 248). So I will translate this word as “levee.”

¹¹⁶ *sögüt*: *söget*, *sögät*, or *sögüt* means “willow” (Jarring 1964: 278). Cf. *Uyghurchä-Khänzüchä lughät*: 440; SCHWARZ, H. G. 1992 *An Uyghur-English Dictionary*, Bellingham, Washington: Western Washington University, p. 486.

¹¹⁷ *östäng* means “big canal”(幹渠), while *ariq* means “little canal”(支渠). On the difference of these two waterways, see HORI Sunao 堀直 1980 “Shindai Kaikyō no suiri kangai” 「清代回疆の水利灌溉——19～20世紀のヤールカンドを中心として」, *Ōtemae joshi daigaku ronshū* 14, pp. 74–75; Jarring 1964: 219.

he took from the boatmen,¹¹⁸ and the mill at Darāzkāl that he took from the heirs, beginning with Mullā Ṭalīb. And you should not block or divide the water [flowing to those places]. Indeed, you should not harm or damage any passenger or passer-by. Moreover, we gave to the aforementioned person as private property all the springs found at Zavā¹¹⁹ Östäng or flowing from Tāzghün,¹²⁰ as well as the water of the springs gathered from every direction and the canal which is channelled onto Yalghüz Öghül. Nobody should interfere or contend [in this matter]. If anyone who takes [the water] to any land or any direction, he shall be [regarded as] the injurer and the hinderer. [So] he should not obstruct. With tranquil heart and peaceful mind, you, [the aforementioned person,] should cultivate and use whatever harvest you obtain for your own benefit and living. And you should devote yourself to praying for the ever-strengthening state.

The decree affixed with seal was written in the month of Rabī‘ al-ākhir, 1038, the year of the Sheep,¹²¹ in the state of Kāshghar.

(seal) Sultān Maḥmūd ibn Ḍiyā al-Dīn Aḥmad

(reverse) Following His order, Mīrākḥur (?) Khwāja who is the lord of felicity, generosity and nobility.

Document 5

(Prov. 224)

- (1) bi-ism-i subḥānahu
- (2) Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān Ghāzī sözü
- (3) kavākab-i sipāh-anjum ḥasham-i falak-dastgāh ‘uṭārid-raqam qarindashlar bilā
- (4) kayvān-qadr khūrshīd-i ‘tibār javān-bakht barkhūr-dār-i ‘ālī-miqdār farzandlargha
- (5) vā umarā’-i nuṣrat-qarīn ṣafar-qirān raft’-i manzilat-i ‘ālīshān-i Bahrām-rutbat Rustam-nishān basa Kāshghar vilāyatining ḥākim vā darughalari bilān ming-begi yüz-begi ishchi gushchi mutavallī tavachi hurchin-begi

¹¹⁸ *kimāchi*: *kimā* means “ship” (VÁMBÉRY, H. 1867 *Čagataische Sprach-Studien*, Leipzig: F. A. Brockhaus, Repr., Amsterdam: Philo press, p. 335; Zenker 1866: 787), so *kimāchi* is “sailor, boatman.”

¹¹⁹ Zava or Zawa is located 40km to the west of Khotan.

¹²⁰ There is a place called Tazghun 80km to the west of Zava, but it is unclear if it is the same place mentioned here.

¹²¹ This date corresponds to November 28–December 26, 1628 A.D., the year of the Dragon.

- (6) tūshimel ‘amaldār šāhib-i jam‘ bitikchilāriḡhā ‘alā al-khuṣūṣ Ūpāl kentning mīrāb vā kökbashi arbāb vā kalāntar sipāhī vā himāyati-yi beg vā begātning mulāzimlari bilā uluq kichik khwāja sharīk ra‘iyatlāriḡhā
- (7) vāḡih vā lāṡh bolsun kim marḡūmī maghfūrī (Mīr Maḡmūd)¹²² ning alti qit‘a yer ata babalaridin mulklik // (khavāqīn-i māḡiya) ḡhā ma‘lūm bolḡhach ūchūn [Mīr Maḡmūdḡha]¹²³ mulklikkā berip ikāndūklār bu uchurda √ (biz)
- (8) taqi zill-i makramat vā sā‘ya-i humā-i himmat []¹²⁴ kelḡān alti qit‘a qulidaki mīrāth yetḡān yerlārni mulklikini musallam tutup mulk-
- (9) likkā berdūk Ūpāl ṣadasidā Qarābāshning sharqān Sachqānchīning yerigā muttaṣil janūbān uluq yārgḡha muttaṣil gharibān pādishāhī mamlaka yerigā muttaṣil fāṣila qir shamālān sāiḡha muttaṣil yene bir qit‘a
- (10) Nūqāt yerining ḡaddī sharqān Qarā Tazḡhūning shākhābchāsighā muttaṣil janūbān ba‘ḡsi shākhābchā-i madhkūrḡha muttaṣil fāṣila sāi gharibān Nadir Aḡhāning ḡawlī vā bāḡhigḡha muttaṣil ba‘ḡsi Bābā Yāḡhchi-
- (11) ning yerlārikā muttaṣil ba‘ḡsi Malik Ajdarning yerigā muttaṣil shamālān yārgḡha muttaṣil Farrāshdaki yerining ḡaddī sharqān Bābā ḡājīlarning yerigā ba‘ḡsi Qūm Qasārgḡha barip Ūrōnūrčīlḡhāḡhā
- (12) muttaṣil janūbān ‘āmm yolḡha ba‘ḡsi yerlāriḡā vā ba‘ḡsi gurunjilargḡha muttaṣil gharibān ‘āmm yolḡha muttaṣil Kāshḡhardaki yol ūstidāki iki tigār-mān shamālān bāḡhlar ūstāngighā muttaṣil yene Būlḡhū
- (13) yerining ḡaddī sharqān Tunḡluq Maḡāzīsīdā shūrīstān janūbān ūlūḡ ūstāngighā muttaṣil gharibān Yāḡhchīning bāḡhigḡha ba‘ḡsi qāḡīlarning yerigā muttaṣil vā ba‘ḡsi Jamāl Terekikāḡhā
- (14) muttaṣil shamālān Qūrūq Tāzḡhūngḡha muttaṣil vā yene ḡalāldaki yerlārning ḡaddī sharqān sulṡānning yerigā muttaṣil fāṣila arīq ba‘ḡsi ‘Abd al-Rawfning bāḡhigḡha muttaṣil ba‘ḡsi yerigā muttaṣil
- (15) janūbān Dīvāna Shāhning yerigā muttaṣil ba‘ḡsi ḡalālning ūstāngighā muttaṣil gharibān mamlaka yerḡhā muttaṣil fāṣila qir shamālān Aqā Arīqning yerigā muttaṣil ba‘ḡsi Ttārčhining yerigā muttaṣil vā yene
- (16) Kāhil Arīqdaki bir qit‘a yerning ḡaddī sharqān Āḡri Terek vā ba‘ḡsi sulṡānning yerigā muttaṣil janūbān sulṡānning yerigā muttaṣil fāṣila terekān gharibān Dīvāna Shāhning yerigā muttaṣil shamālān
- (17) Fayḡbādning ūstāngighā muttaṣil Yermā yerining ḡaddī sharqān Qōridāining yerigā muttaṣil janūbān ‘āmm yolḡhā muttaṣil gharibān Alā Atliqning yerigā muttaṣil shamālān ḡalālning ūstāngighā muttaṣil
- (18) Tōqrāq ṣadasidā Mūsāmūr Arīqida sharqān khwājalarining yerigā muttaṣil fāṣila qir janūbān khwājalarining yerigā ba‘ḡsi Mullā Ashrafning yerigā muttaṣil

¹²² This part is discolored in the text, but his name is added at the right margin of the edict.

¹²³ This part is discolored too.

¹²⁴ Not legible because of the stamping of the seal.

- gharibān Tūmagha muttaşil ba‘ḏisi ‘Ala’ al-Dīn-
- (19) ning bāghigha va ba‘ḏisi ‘Iwad Salīmning yerigā muttaşil shamālān gul-gulning bāghigha ba‘ḏisi toghraq ba‘ḏi Shūghāzilarning yerighā muttaşil shakhābchāsigha muttaşil ba‘ḏisi Moghullarning yerigā
- (20) va Ghalchalarning yerigā muttaşil va yene Tigān yerining ḥaddi nishān-i malīk ol yūzida ma‘lūm bolghusidur va yene Oy Bāgh ḥawli va yerining ḥaddi sharqān ‘āmm yolgha muttaşil ba‘ḏisi Muḥammad Qulīning
- (21) bāghigha va ba‘ḏisi Mīrzā Valī Jānning bāghigha ba‘ḏisi shahr östāngighā muttaşil gharibān Mullā Shāhmaning bāghigha va ba‘ḏisi Muḥammad Valī Bakhshīning va ba‘ḏisi Raḥīm Qulīning shamālān Mullā ‘Adī Salīm-
- (22) ning va Mullā Jalamaning va Mīrzāning bāghigha muttaşil va ba‘ḏisi Shāh Valīning ba‘ḏi Şūfī Tūqūmning bāghigha muttaşil fāşila tam va yene Kōl Bāghning ḥaddi sharqān Jarīm Taman janūbān ba‘ḏisi Pahlavān-
- (23) ning bāghigha ba‘ḏisi mīrānning bāghigha muttaşil gharibān ‘āmm yolgha muttaşil Taman Sāī barur yolgha muttaşil bu maḥdūd ichindāki yerlāri yārliḡh-i khūrshīd-sha‘ā
- (24) kōrgāch mushār-alayhining oghlanlarining oghlanlarigha baṭnān ba‘d-i baṭin mulkī bilip hich kim mudākhilat va mushārakat va munāzi‘at qilmasunlar qadīmīdin mu‘tadd aqitur yer suni
- (25) mīrāb va kōkbashi va ra‘īyat etmāsūnlar va qīsmasunlar hār ne ta‘alluq kishi qaralarini jamī‘-yi takālīf-i dīvānī va mū‘nāt-i sulṭānīdin [?]¹²⁵ bilip hich va hich rah-gudhardin
- (26) muzāḥim va muta‘arruḏ bolmasunlar tanj-kōngül bilā olturup zirā‘at qilip hār ne ḥāşilini öz madad va ma‘āshlarigha şarf qilip du‘ā-i dawlat-i rüz-afzūngha mashghūl bolsunlar
- (27) dep muhr luq nishān-i ‘ālīshān tā‘rīkh-i ming ellig takhāqū yili Şafar ayning avākhiri dār al-salṭanat-i Yārkan-d-i şamt ‘an al-āfāt va al-gazand vilāyatidā bitildi

(muhr) ‘Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān Ghāzī¹²⁶

(back) şādiq al-‘aqīda muqarrab-i dargāh Shāhbāz Beg parvānasi bilān

In the Name of the Most Holy

Abū al-Faṭḥ ‘Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān Ghāzī,

¹²⁵ The text reads “MṬRF” which does not make sense in this context. In the Houghton copy, it was written khālī (“exempted, free”).

¹²⁶ The seal is affixed on the lines 8–9.

My Word

To [my] brothers who are the constellations of the stars like an army, the suite of the heavenly orbit, and the figures like Mercury; and to [my] sons who are mighty like Saturn, venerable like the Sun, noble, prosperous and lofty. And to the victorious and triumphant commanders who are elevated at the high place equal to the dignity of Bahrām and to the sign of Rustam; and, again, in the province of Kāshghar, to the governor and lieutenants, along with chiefs of a thousand, chiefs of a hundred, workers, listeners, superintendents, inspectors of the army, *hurchin-begi*, officials, tax-collectors, controllers, and scribes; and, especially in the town of *kent Ōpāl*,¹²⁷ to supervisors of agriculture, chiefs, leaders, soldiers, patrons of attendants of *beg* and *begāt*, as well as great and little khwājas, merchants, and peasants. [The following] should be clear and manifest.

Because the six sections of land belonging to the late Mīr Maḥmūd had been recognized by the former khaqāns as private property inherited from his ancestors, those have been given to him as private property. Therefore, at this moment, as for those six sections (*alti qiṭ'a yer*) which came under the great royal shadow, [i.e.,] the land which was bequeathed to him as inheritance, we confirm as private property and give to him as his private property. [The section] of Qarābāsh¹²⁸ in the *ṣada*¹²⁹ of Ōpāl. To the east it adjoins the land of Sachqānchī. To the south it adjoins a big cliff. To the west it adjoins the royal estate (*pādishāhī mamlaka yeri*), and its border is a levee. To the north it adjoins a river-bed.¹³⁰ Another section. As for the boundaries of the land in Nūqāt, to the east it adjoins a brook at Qarā Tazghūn.¹³¹ To the south, partly it adjoins the aforementioned brook,¹³² and its border is a river-bed. To the west it adjoins the house and the garden of Nadir Aghā; partly it adjoins the land of Bābā Yāghchi and partly the land of Malik Ajdar. To the north, it adjoins a cliff. As for the boundaries of land in Farrāsh,¹³³

¹²⁷ A village lying about 48km southwest of Kashghar.

¹²⁸ In a map drawn by A. Stein we find two place names called “Kara-bāsh” in the eastern vicinity of Opal. See STEIN, Mark Aurel. 1928 *Innermost Asia: Maps*. Oxford: Clarendon Press: Map Serial No. 2.

¹²⁹ This word can only mean “a troop or company of a hundred men” (Steingass 1892, p. 784). It is not certain why the village of Ōpāl was called *ṣada*.

¹³⁰ *sāi: saj* (“gravel-desert, river-bed”) in Jarring 1964: 263, and *say* in *Uyghurchä-Khänzuchä lughät*: 407.

¹³¹ According to Shaw 1878: 63, *tazghūn* means “a stream, a flood. [Specially applied as the proper name of a River and district 14 miles south of Kāshghar.]” It is not clear whether Qarā Tazghūn is a name of a locality or just means “black stream.” In Line 14 we also find Qūrūq Tazghūn (“dry stream”).

¹³² *shākhābchä*: a diminutive suffix *-chä* is added to a Persian word *shākh-āb* (“branch of water”). See *ṣaxabčī* (“brook, a tributary river”) in Jarring 1964: 283.

¹³³ A town located about 15 miles south of Kashghar on the way to Yangihissar.

to the east it adjoins land of Bābā Hājji; partly it extends to Qūm Qār and adjoins to Ōrōnūrchīl. To the south it adjoins the public road; partly it adjoins the land and partly to the rice-field.¹³⁴ To the west it adjoins the public road. There are two mills over the road in Kāshghar. To the east it adjoins the big canal (*östāng*) of the gardens. Another [section]. As for the border of the land in Būlghūq, to the east it adjoins a salt-marsh (*shūristān*)¹³⁵ at Tunghūq Maḥāzī. To the south it adjoins a big canal (*östāng*). To the west it adjoins the garden of Yāghchī; partly it adjoins the land of the judges, and partly it adjoins Jamāl Terekikā.¹³⁶ To the north it adjoins Qūrūq Tāzghūn. As for the border of the land in Ḥalāl, to the east it adjoins the land of sultān and its border is a canal; partly it adjoins the garden of ‘Abd al-Rawf and partly to his land. To the south it adjoins the land of Dīvāna Shāh; partly it adjoins the big canal of Ḥalāl. To the west, it adjoins the state land (*mamlaka yer*) and its border is a levee. To the north it adjoins the land of Aqā Arīq; partly it adjoins the land of Ttārchi (?). Another [section]. As for the borders of another section of land in Kāhil Arīq, to the east it adjoins Āgri Terek¹³⁷ and, partly, to the land of sultān. To the south it adjoins the land of sultān and its border is the poplar grove (*terekān*). To the west it adjoins the land of Dīvāna Shāh. To the north it adjoins the canal of Fayḍābād.¹³⁸ As for the borders of the land at Yermā, to the east it adjoins the land of Qōridāi. To the south it adjoins the public road, and to the west the land of Alā Atliq. To the north it adjoins the *östāng* of Ḥalāl. [As for the land] at Mūsāmūr Arīq in the valley of Toqraq, to the east it adjoins the land of khwājas and its border is a levee. To the south it adjoins the land of khwājas; partly it adjoins the land of Mullā Ashraf. To the west it adjoins Tūma; partly it adjoins the garden of ‘Ala’ al-Dīn and partly to the land of ‘Iwad Salīm. To the north it adjoins the garden of roses; partly it adjoins the poplar-wood¹³⁹ and partly to the land of Shūghāzī. [Also] it adjoins a brook; partly it adjoins the land of the Moghūls¹⁴⁰ and to the

¹³⁴ *gurunji*: “rice” (Jarring 1964: 106).

¹³⁵ *shūristān*: a Persian word meaning “marsh, salt-marsh.

¹³⁶ Jamāl Terekikā: *terek* means “poplar” in Eastern Turki, but the meaning of *terekikā* is unknown. Maybe my reading is perhaps not correct.

¹³⁷ Āgri Terek: *āgri* or *āgrū* means “curved, crooked” (Raquette 1914: 5), so *āgri terek* means “curved poplar.”

¹³⁸ A town located about 48km east of Kashghar.

¹³⁹ *toghray*: “poplar, balsam-poplar (*Populus basamifera*), poplar wood” (Jarring 1964: 309).

¹⁴⁰ *Moghullar* literally means “Mongols.” Apparently in the 17th century the descendants of Tughluq Temür and nomadic tribes following them were so fully sedentarized and Turkicized that they did not call themselves “Moghul.” The term Moghul in this edict seems to indicate a small number of nomads who were living in the vicinity of Kashghar and were still keeping the old nomadic customs.

land of Ghalchas.¹⁴¹ And as for the borders of the land in Tigān the royal decree (*nishān-i malīk*) will inform accordingly. Another [section]. As for the borders of the house and the land at Oy Bāgh,¹⁴² to the east it adjoins the public road; partly it adjoins the garden of Muḥammad Qulī, partly to the garden of Mīrzā Valī Jān, and partly to the city canal. To the west it adjoins the garden of Mullā Shāhma; partly it adjoins [the land] of Muḥammad Valī Bakhshi¹⁴³ and partly that of Raḥīm Qulī. To the north it adjoins the gardens of Mullā ‘Adī Salīm, Mullā Jalama, and Mīrzā; partly it adjoins the gardens of Shāh Valī and of Šūfī Tūqūm, and its border is a wall. And another [section]. As for the border of [the land at] Kōl Bāgh, to the east it adjoins Jarīm Taman. To the south it adjoins partly the garden of Pahlavān and the garden of mīrs (*mīrān*). To the west it adjoins the public road and to the road going to Taman Sāī.

As soon as you see the edict of splendor, you should acknowledge that the lands within these boundaries are the private property of the descendant of the aforementioned person generation after generation. Nobody is allowed to interfere, share or oppose. You--*mīrāb*, *kōkbashi* and peasants—should not block or divide the flowing water and land that, from a long time ago, has been counted. And you should know that anyone and any land (*qaralar*) belonging to them are exempted from the official duties and governmental burdens and should not be injured or molested by the passengers. With a calm mind you should live and cultivate. Whatever harvest you get, you should spend it for your own benefit and living. And you should devote yourself to praying for the ever-strengthening state.

The decree affixed with a seal was written at the end of the month of Šafar, 1050, the year of the Sheep,¹⁴⁴ in the state of Yārkaṅd, the tranquil [city] which is immune from misfortune and calamity.

(seal) ‘Abd Allāh Bahādur Khān Ghāzī.

(reverse) Following His order, Shāhbāz Beg who is the lord of trust and the

¹⁴¹ *Ghalchalar*: according to Shaw 1878: 137, Ghalcha is “the name applied to the Aryan (Iranian) inhabitants of the mountain-districts chiefly Shīyar (Kolab, Mācha, Karategin, Badakhshān, Wakhān, &c.); also in Eastern Turkistān applied generally to a slave bought with money.”

¹⁴² According to *Khānzuchā-Uyghurchā Shinjang yernamliri lughiti*: 49, a village with this name is found in the vicinity of the Kuhnashahr of Kashghar.

¹⁴³ The title of *bakhshi* came from Chinese word *boshi* (博士). In Central Asia, during the Mongol period, this term denoted “Buddhist priests.” However, due to their ability to read and teach scripts, the scribes in the military service who counted the number of soldiers began to be called by this title. See Doerfer 1963–75: 271–77.

¹⁴⁴ This date corresponds to the middle of June, 1640, the year of the Dragon.

confidant of the court.¹⁴⁵

Document 6

(Prov. 220)

- (1) [bi-ism-i subhānahu]
- (2) Ḥaḍrat-i Khān dadam yārliḡhidin
- (3) Abū al-Ghāzī Yōlbārs Bahādur Khān Ghāzī sözü
- (4) nayyir-rifʼat khūrshīd-tanvīr kayvān-murattīb tashīl-tāʼthīr qarindashlar bilā
- (5) shajāʼat-shiʼar sakhāvat-dithār javān-bakht barkhūr-dār farzandlar-gha
- (6) vā umarāʼ-ī kibār-i kāmgār vā vuzarā-ī nīkū-kār-i ʼālī-miqdār arkān-i dawlat-i qāhira vā aʼyān-i ḥaḍrat-i bāhira vā sakna-i ʼataba-i bārgāh vā sudda-i sadana-i jahān-panāh ichiki vā tashqī
- (7) khāṣa mulāzimlār bilā basa Kāshghar vilāyatining zumra-i sharīfa-i ṭabaqāt sādāt-i ʼizām vā nuqabā-i kirām vā nujabā-i awlad-i ḥaḍrat-i sayyid al-anām ʼalayhi al-ṣalavat vā al-salām
- (8) vā ʼulamā-i khujasta-kalām vā fuḍalā-i taqvā-farjām vā quḍāt-i sharīʼat-anjām vā ṣudūr-i ʼālī-maqām vā ḥukkām-i dhū al-iḥtishām vā rūʼasāʼ-ī nīkū-nām-i kāffa-i anām
- (9) vā jumhūr-i khavāṣṣ ʼavāmmī bilā tūmān-begi ming-begi yūz-begi aymaq-begi hurchin-begi ishchī gushchī mutavallī tavachi tūshimel kull-i ʼamaldār ṣāhib-i jamʼ bitikchilāri bilā
- (10) ʼalā al-khuṣūṣ Āstīn Ārtūch mawḍaʼining yūz-begi hurchin-begi arbāb vā kalāntarlari bilā Ūstūn Ārtūch vā Beshkerim mawḍaʼining mīrāb vā
- (11) kökbashi vā kalāntarlari bilā Māyerkentning aqsaqal vā qarasaqal söz vā ishi tegār ulugh kichik khwāja sharīk raʼtyatlārighā andagh vāḍih vā rawshan vā
- (12) lāīḥ vā mubarhan bolsun kim muʼtamad al-khavāṣṣ-i ṣādiq al-ʼaqīda vā al-ikhhlāṣ anīs-i majlis-i khāṣṣ vā jalīs-i bazm-i ikhtiṣāṣ Sayf Allāh Beg Churās ʼaqīda vā ikhlāṣini
- (13) dargāh-i ṣafar-panāh-i falak-qiyās vā bārgāh-i saʼādat-dastgāh-i gardūn asāsimizdā zāhir qilip anvāʼ-ī khīdmāt-i shāyasta vā aṣnāf-i ʼubūdiyāt-i lāīqa-
- (14) pasandīda bi-jā keltürgān sababidin zill-i humā-i sipīhr-sāī dawlat vā shafaqat vā sāya-yī ʼālī-pīrāya-yī rāfat vā ʼāṭifatimizni mushār-alayhi-ning aḥvāligha
- (15) shāmil tutup alʼtāf-i //(shāhāna) bilā mumtāz vā aʼṭāf-i //(khusrawāna) bilā

¹⁴⁵ Shāhbāz Beg is probably “Mīrzā Shāhbāz Beg Churās” mentioned in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās as a one of the highest amīrs of ʼAbd Allāh Khān (Akimushkin 1976: 210–12, 309).

- muftakhir vā sar-āfrāz qilip Yār Bālīgh östāngidin bir ariq su siyūrghāl qilduq vā taqi bir qit‘a yer ma‘lūm al-ḥudūd
- (16) vā al-favāṣil ke abān ‘an jadd mulkī kelip turur // (biz)¹⁴⁶ taqi mulklikini qabūl qilip vā musallam tutup vaqf qilip berduk bu madhkūr bolghan yerning ḥudūdi butur sharqān
- (17) Ūngūr Arīqning ariqigha muttaṣil shamālān Mirzā Sultān ‘Alīning yerigā muttaṣil ba‘ḍisi tāfīrlīqning yerigā muttaṣil fāṣila qir gharibān Ārghū[gha?] barur ‘amma yolgha muttaṣil
- (18) janūbān dāmāna-i kūhgha muttaṣil emdi yārlīgh-i jahān-muṭā‘-i khūrshīd-sha‘ā‘-i lāzim al-iṭā‘at vā al-itbā‘ körgāch bu mā-bayn ḥudūd ichidāki yer bilā madhkūr bolghan
- (19) bir ariq suni yurt-i mushār-alayhining vā farzand ma‘a farzand baṭnān ba‘d-i baṭin qarṇān ba‘d-i qarīn khalqī vaqf bilip hich kim mudākhillat vā mushāratat munāzi‘at vā mukhāṣamat qilma-
- (20) sunlar ortaqchi tārimchilārini kullī vā juzī‘-i ālūqāt vā taklifātardin mu‘āf vā marfū‘ al-qalam bilip khuṣūṣān ḥaqq-i dah-yak mutavallīliq
- (21) ḥākīmāna narkhāna mahrāna jārāna muḥtasibliq mīrābliq kökbashiliq shiqaul-liq javāz ālūqī tigārmān ālūqī qolqa qonalgha otun saman ḥashar mardikār
- (22) mecherekdā yer iltāy dep ḍarar zaḥmat etkümay qalam vā qadam tartsunlar hār kim bu humāyūn yārlīq-i muhr-sha‘ā‘-i sipihr-irtifā‘gha khilāf qilsa muj-rim vā gunah-kār
- (23) siyāsātgha sazāvār vā anvā‘-i ‘uqūbatgha giriftār bolghusidur dep muhrluq nishān-i ‘ālīshān ta‘rīkh-i ming yetmiş üç āt yili Ṣafar ay dār al-saltānat-i Kāshghar vilāyatidā bitildi

(muhr) Yōlbārs Bahādur Khān ibn ‘Abd Allāh Khān¹⁴⁷

(reverse) mu‘tamad al-khavāṣṣ ṣāhib al-‘aqīdat vā al-ikhhlāṣ Sultān Qulī parvānasi bilā

[In the Name of the Most Holy]

By the Edict of His Majesty, My Father,

¹⁴⁶ Raquette regards the three words (*shāhāna*, *khusrawāna*, *biz*) as a part of invocation, and translates them as “Grossherrlicher Königlicher Wir” (Raquette 1930: 18). However, as I explained above, these are “elevated” words written at the top margin. At the same time, on the top-right of the document we can see a note, “ḥadrat-i sultāngha //,” but I cannot find in the text a suitable place to it might have been meant to be inserted.

¹⁴⁷ The Khan’s seal in red color, the so-called *al-tamgha*, is affixed twice on the lines 9–11 and 16–18.

Abū al-Ghāzī Yōlbārs Bahādur Khān,
My Word

To [my] brothers who are exalted like stars, shining like sun, decisive like Saturn, and of penetrating influence; and to [my] sons who are valiant, generous, young and fortunate. And to the great commanders of power, the high-seated ministers of good works, the pillars of the victorious state, the chiefs of excellent dignity; and the inhabitants of the threshold of the royal tent and the world-protecting court of felicity; and the court attendant inside and outside; and, again, to the group of nobility belonging to the class of great sayyids, the eminent leaders, the grandees who are the descendants of the prince of mankind—*Blessing and peace be upon him!*—the religious leaders of the blessed words, the pious scholars, the judges discharging the holy law, the blissful high officials, the magnificent governors, the magistrates of good reputation among the whole of mankind, the congregation of the nobles and the commoners, along with chiefs of ten thousand, chiefs of a thousand, chiefs of a hundred, chiefs of a tribe (*aymaq-begi*), *hurchin-begi*, workers, listeners, superintendants, inspectors of the army, officials, all the tax-collectors, controllers, and scribes; especially, in the place of Āstīn Ārtūch,¹⁴⁸ to chiefs of a hundred, *hurchin-begi*, chiefs and leaders; in places of Ūstūn Ārtūch¹⁴⁹ and Beshkerim,¹⁵⁰ to supervisors of water and agriculture and leaders; and, in [the place called] Māyerkent,¹⁵¹ to elders, and the great and little khwājas, merchants and peasants who perform speech and action. [The following] should be clear and manifest.

Sayf Allāh Beg Churās,¹⁵² who is the trust of the qualities like the sincerity of faith and fidelity, the friend of the congregation of nobles, and the companion of the assembly of distinguished people, showed his faith and loyalty in front of our victorious heavenly court and the blessed celestial tent. And since he rendered various kinds of appropriate services and different sorts of pleasing obedience, we

¹⁴⁸ A town located 30km northeast of Kashghar.

¹⁴⁹ Or simply known as Artuch / Artush, located about 6.4km northwest of Kashghar.

¹⁵⁰ A town between Kashghar and Astin Artush.

¹⁵¹ A locality not identified.

¹⁵² Neither Raquette nor Giese realized that this person belonged to the tribe of Churās. His name was correctly read by A. K. Borovkov (BOROVKOV, A. K. 1960 “Vakufnaia gramota 1812 g. iz Kashgara,” in *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik za 1959 godu*, Moskva: Nauka, p. 345). Sawada Minoru also found his name in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās (cf. SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔 1981 “Kāshugaru Hān ke to Begu tachi: 17 seiki chūyō no Higashi Torukisutan” 「カーシュガル・ハーン家とベグ達——17世紀中葉の東トルキスタン」, *Machikaneyama ronsō: Shigaku hen* 15, pp. 7, 16–17). He was an amīr under Yōlbārs Khān and, when Nūr al-Dīn Sulṭān advanced from Aqsu to take Kashghar in 1666, he marched with his soldiers to block Nūr al-Dīn. Cf. Akimushkin 1976: 237, (text) f. 79v.

extended to the aforementioned person the magnificent royal shadow of fortune and compassion and the exalted shadow decorated with magnanimity and benevolence. We distinguished him with royal favors and elevated him with kingly bounties. [Thus] we gave him the water of one canal flowing from Yār Bālīgh¹⁵³ Östäng as *siyūrghāl*. And, moreover, there is a section of land whose boundaries and borders are known and which has been private property from the time of his ancestors. We also confirm it as his private property and gave it as *vaqf*.¹⁵⁴ The boundaries of the aforementioned land are as follows. To the east it adjoins the canal of Ūngūr Arīq.¹⁵⁵ In the north it adjoins to the land of Mīrzā Sultān ‘Alī;¹⁵⁶ partly it adjoins to the steppe land,¹⁵⁷ and its border is a levee. To the west it adjoins the public road going to Ārghū.¹⁵⁸ In the south it adjoins to the foot of the mountain.

Now, as soon as you see the mighty and splendid edict which needs to be obeyed, you should consider the land within those boundaries, along with the aforementioned water of the canal, as the estate (*yurt*) of the aforementioned person and his descendants, generation after generation. You people should know that it is the defined *vaqf*¹⁵⁹ and that nobody may interfere, share, oppose, or altercate. And as for its tenants (*ortaqchi tārimchilāri*), they should be exempted from the general

¹⁵³ The name of a district located to the north of the northern branch of Kashghar (= Tūmān) River. Beshkerim is situated 12km to the northeast of this river (Raquette 1930: 22, note 1).

¹⁵⁴ *vaqf qilip*. Borovkov, judging from the photo-copy of the decree published by Raquette, points out that the two places where the phrase “*vaqf qilip*” is written were scraped off and rewritten by another hand, which suggests the possibility of forgery (Borovkov 1960: 345).

¹⁵⁵ Probably Ūngūr Ariq. It seems to be a place name, as Giese presumes, but Raquette translates it “Hauptkanal” as if it is a common noun. It is not clear how he could get that meaning, because *ōngūr* is “a cave, which is used as a shelter for shepherds” (Jarring 1964: 219).

¹⁵⁶ This person can be the same man mentioned in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās, according to which he was an amīr in Kashghar and, during the strife between ‘Abd Allāh Khān and Yolbars, he became an adherent of Yolbars (Akimushkin 1976: 239).

¹⁵⁷ *tātīrlīqning yeri*. According to Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī’s dictionary, *tatir yer* means “steppe” and *tatīrligh yer* means “smooth hard ground.” DANKOFF, R. tr. 1982 *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, part 1, Duxbury, Mass.: Harvard University, Dept. of Near Eastern Languages and Civilizations, pp. 279, 367; also cf. Giese 1931: 281, note 3.

¹⁵⁸ *ārghū barur ‘amma yolgha*: “an die als Scheidelinie sich hinziehende allgemeine Strasse” (Raquette); “an den öffentlichen Weg, der nach Argu geht” (Giese). Apparently Raquette understood *ārghū* as meaning “boundary line.” However, in the dictionary of Maḥmūd al-Kāshgharī, this word is explained as “ravine between two mountains” (Dankoff tr. 1982, part 1, p. 151). Giese regarded it as a proper name, but as he himself admitted the construction of *ārghū barur*, not *ārghūgha barur*, is grammatically awkward.

¹⁵⁹ *khalqī vaqf*. *khalqī* cannot be other than adjectival form of *khalq*, and, if so, *khalqī vaqf* can mean a kind of “communal *vaqf*.” However, we should admit that it is a very odd combination.

as well as partial taxes (*ālūqāt*) and levies. In particular, you should not inflict harm in writing and action, by saying that “The land makes profit,” by way of [collecting] the tithe, the fee for superintendants, the fee for governors (*ḥākimāna*), the expense for taxation (*narkhāna*), the marriage fee (*mahrāna*), the messenger fee (*jarāna*), the police fee (*muḥtasibliq*), the fees for supervisors of water (*mūrābliq*) and agriculture (*kökbashiliq*), the fee for masters of ceremony (*shiqauiliq*), the oil-press fee (*javāz ālūqī*), the water-mill fee (*tigärmän ālūqī*), the quartering fee (*qolqa qonalgha*), fire-wood (*otun*), straw (*saman*), [and] corvéés (*ḥashar mardikār mecherek*), saying that “I will let the land be cultivated.”¹⁶⁰ Anyone who violates this royal edict of heavenly loftiness shining with the seal shall be held to be a criminal and subjected to punishment.

The exalted decree with seal is written in the month of Şafar, 1073, the year of the Horse,¹⁶¹ in the state of Kāshghar.

(seal) Yölbārs Bahādūr Khān ibn ‘Abd Allāh Khān.

(reverse) Following His order, Sulṭān Qulī who is the special trustee and the lord of trust and sincerity.¹⁶²

Document 7¹⁶³

(Prov. 227)

- (1) [bi-ism-i subḥānahu]
- (2) [Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Bahādūr Ghāzī sözü] ¹⁶⁴
- (3) kayvān-qadr sipihr-iqtidā’ ‘adīl al-badr khūrshīd-i‘tibār zumra-i khāndān
- (4) khilāfat-i thamara-i shajara-i [?] ¹⁶⁵
- (5) shajā‘at-shi‘ar sakhāvat-dithār qarindashlar bilān mihr-i sipihr-i pādishāhliq

¹⁶⁰ *yer iltāy*. The verb *iltmek* means “to bring, to carry” (Vámbéry 1867: 237). So the literal meaning of *yer iltāy* is “we (or I) will bring the land,” but in this context it can be understood as “we will expropriate [the profit] of the land.”

¹⁶¹ This date corresponds to August 16–September 14, 1662, the year of the Rat.

¹⁶² Sulṭān Qulī seems to be “Sulṭān Qulī Beg” mentioned in the chronicle of Shāh Maḥmūd Churās (Akimushkin 1976: 234, 239). He was a dignitary under Yolbars Khan but later plotted a conspiracy against him.

¹⁶³ This document is badly damaged especially in the left edge and it is very difficult to read. Some of these words are more clearly shown in the Houghton copy.

¹⁶⁴ The first two lines are missing in the original document, but can be filled base on the Houghton copy.

¹⁶⁵ In the Houghton copy “// (shāhāna).”

- badr-i mayz-i shahinshāhliq farzanda-i a'lām-i dīn vā dawlat farzanda-i chirāgh-i mulk vā millat 'azīm al-shā'n
- (6) dawlat-qarīn sa'ādat-yār javān-bakht barkhūr-dār farzand basa Kāshghar vilāyatining zumra-i ṭabaqāt-i sādat-i 'izām vā quḍāt-i sharī'at-anjām
- (7) vā nuqabā'-i kirām vā 'ulamā-i khujasta-kalām vā fuḍalā-i farkhunda-farjām vā ahālī-yi vājib al-iḥtirām vā umarā-i mulk-ārā-i gardūn-madār vā vuzarā-i kāfī-kifāyat-i rāī-āthār vā arkān
- (8) vā a'yān-i ḥashamat-i bī-intiqāl vā rū'asā-i nīkū-nām-i <vā> zumra-i anām vā jumhūr-i khavāṣṣ vā 'amm vā kāfa-i ahl-i Islām bilān tūmān ming qushun yūz on-begi aymaq vā hurchin-begi ishchi gushchi
- (9) tūshimel 'amaldār ṣāhib-i jam' bitikchilār bilā 'alā al-ḥuṣūṣ Āstīn Ārtūch qariyasining ūstūnidā manṣūb bolghan ḥākim vā darugha vā mutavallī vā qāḍī vā arbāb kalāntar-
- (10) lari bashliq ulugh kichik khwāja sharīk ra'īyatlarighā vāḍih vā lāih vā hūida bolsun kim janāb-i faḍāil-ma'ab siyādat-intisāb sharīf-ansab bi-Kamāl al-Dīn mīr sayyid sharīf
- (11) vā al-dīn vā mazhar-i shar' ḥāmī-yi ahl al-īmān māḥī-athār al-kufr vā al-ṭughiyān mukarram-i bi-ikrām ikhbār-i mu'jiz-āthār *avval min Islām min al-Turk al-Satūq maḥī al-dīn*
- (12) chunān yangliq mazār-i pur-anvār fayd-āthārlari bilā avqāf larighā abān 'an jaddin shaykh vā mutavallī vā qāḍī kelgāch khavāqīn-i māḍīya vā salātīn-i sābiqa musallam tutup bu
- (13) kishilārni berip igāndūklār bu uchurda taqi mushār-alayhining shaykh vā mutavallī vā qāḍīliqini musallam tutup humāyūn yārlīghlarining maḍmūnighā muṭṭali' bolup
- (14) Nizām Khwājani shaykh vā mutavallī vā qāḍī qilip bu mazār-i pur-anvārning mashhad navāḥīsidaghi olturghan mujāvīr vā musāfir yerlik vā yersiz kishilāri kim bu buzurgvārgha [yārlīgh-i]¹⁶⁶
- (15) jahān-muṭā'-i khūrshīd-sha'ā'-i falak-irtifā' körgāch mushār-alayhini shaykh vā mutavallī vā qāḍī bilip vā musallam tutup hich kim belkā hich āfarīda bu mashhad-i mutabarrakkā vā nīk-rāikā
- (16) hich mamar rah-gudhārdin munāzi'at vā mushārat vā mudākhillat qilip muzāḥim vā muta'arriḍ bolup tashvīsh-i khāṭir bermāsūnlār vā yene bu madhkūr bolghan avqāf yerlārni zirā'at
- (17) qilghan vā bāgh etgān kishilār dah-yakingizlārni qadīm dastūr bilā rāstliq qilip sharī'at-i gharrā yosūni bilā beringizlār mushār-alayhini shaykh vā mutavallī vā qāḍī

¹⁶⁶ Not clearly legible. According to the Houghton copy, we can put here “// (bīz).” But in the original document, we see on the right margin, between the lines 14 and 15, a word *oghli* in red ink.

- (18) və ikrāmlarini kama haqqa bi-jā keltürüp olarning rāi və istiṣvābin özkā qilmay amrlarini vājib və lāzim bilip buyurghan maṣlahatlik khidmatlarighā khilāf
- (19) qilmangizlar bu madhkūr yerlärni bī-idhn bī-rukḥṣat mutaṣarraf bolup zirā‘at və ‘imārat qilmangizlar zirā‘at və ‘imārat qilghan kishilär buyurghanni
- (20) bi-jāi keltürmasalar mushār-alayhighā idhn berdük kim alip khidmatni bi-jāi keltürür kishilärgä bersünlär ta bu ṣadaqa-i jāria mansūkh bolmasun və yene bu madhkürghā
- (21) muzāḥim və muta‘arriḍ bolup ḥashar mardikār qolgha qonalgha sar qonalgha və khīra-dūdī shiqaulluq qurimanliq mīrābliq dakhī []¹⁶⁷ oqush cherīk [?otun]¹⁶⁸
- (22) saman ulagh ulaghchiliq küchetāna dābiṭāna jārāna körümāna mechereg narkhana ṣābūnchiliq almasunlar və salmasunlar və ikän tigän bāgh və javāz tigärmānlārikā nemā kārāk juvālghalarini
- (23) jamī‘-yi takālīf-i dīvānī və mū‘nāt-i sulṭānīdin sawā dastasini min-hu və marfū‘ al-qalam və fāriḡh al-bāl olturup ol mutabarrak āstānada khidmat qilip adā-i istiḥqāqgha
- (24) mashghūl bolsunlar mutavalliyān və gumāshtahā-i ṣudūr və sāir-i mutaṣaddiyān-i āmūr mushār-alayhining shaykh və mutavallī və qāḍīliqini []¹⁶⁹ kishilärni bu tārikhdin
- (25) qilip taghayir və tabdīl bersälär ol kishilär []¹⁷⁰ zumrāsida bolup la‘nat-karda-i dunyā və ākhirat bolup bu buzurgvārning
- (26) marḥūm bolghularidur dep tārikh-i ming seksen sekiz bechin¹⁷¹ yili Jamīd al-thānī ayning avākhirī Yārkaḍ dār al-salṭanasida da muhr luq nishān-i ‘ālīshān bitildi

(muhr) Quṭb-i Dawla Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Khān ibn ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Bahādur Ghāzi¹⁷²

[In the Name of the Most Holy

Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Bahādur Ghāzi,
My Word]

¹⁶⁷ Not legible.

¹⁶⁸ Not clearly legible.

¹⁶⁹ Not legible.

¹⁷⁰ Not legible.

¹⁷¹ *tāūq* (Houghton copy).

¹⁷² The seal is twice affixed on the margin to the right of the lines 3 and 4, and on the lines 10–11.

To [my] brothers who are powerful like Saturn, prominent like the heavens, righteous like the full moon, respectable like the sun, the company of the family of the caliphate, the fruit of royal tree, valiant and generous; to [my] sons who are the heavenly sun of royal magnificence, the exalted moon of kingly pompousness, the sons who are the standards of the religion and the state, the sons who are the lamps of kingdoms and creeds, and who are lofty, fortunate, blissful, noble and prosperous. And, in the province of Kashghar, to the group of great *sayyids* of various classes, the judges discharging the holy law, the auspicious scholars, the people befitting to veneration, the commanders who adorn the heaven-revolving kingdom, the powerful ministers who possess the penetrating opinion, the pillars and the chiefs of firm magnificence, the magistrates of good reputation among mankind, the congregation of nobles and commoners, and all the people of Islam; and to chiefs of ten thousand, chiefs of a thousand, chiefs of regiment, chiefs of a hundred, chiefs of ten, chiefs of a tribe (*aymaq[-begi]*), *hurchin-begi*, workers, listeners, officials, all the tax-collectors, controllers, and scribes; and, especially, [the officials] who have posts in the village of Āstīn Ārtūch such as governor, lieutenant, superintendants, judges, chiefs and leaders, as well as the great and little *khwājas*, merchants and commoners. [The followings] should be clear and manifest.

The *khaqāns* of the former days and the *sultāns* of the past had confirmed Kamāl al-Dīn and Mīr Sayyid Sharīf vā al-Dīn, who were the lord of excellency, sublimity and eminence, as [the guardians of] the glorious and gracious mausoleum¹⁷³ – the manifestation of the holy law, the defender of the people of faith, the eraser of the trace of unbelief and sedition, the venerable who performs the miracle, i.e., al-Satūq Maḥī al-Dīn, “The first who embraced Islam among the Turks”¹⁷⁴ – along with its *awqāf*. They had given [privileges] to these people. Now, we bestowed again the exemption to [those who hold] the post of shaykh, superintendent and judge of the aforementioned [place], and, having considered the contents of the royal edicts, we appointed Nizām Khwāja as shaykh, superintendent and judge. Those who live in the environs of this glorious holy mausoleum – whether they are neighbors or travellers, natives or non-natives – as soon as they see [our edict of] splendor and authority, should recognize that the aforementioned person is shaykh, superintendent and judge of the holy place. Anyone or any creature should not, by means of transit and travel, be injurer and hinderer by opposing, sharing

¹⁷³ Line 12: *yangliq*. “Equal, same” (Shaw 1878, p. 197; Vámbéry 1867, p. 351).

¹⁷⁴ *Avval min Islām min al-Turk al-Satūq*. This refers to Satūq Boghra Khan, a Qarakhanid ruler, widely regarded by the people of Eastern Turkestan as the first nomadic monarch who embraced Islam. There is a legend about his conversion with the help of a *ṣūfī* named Abū al-Naṣr Samanī. See HANEDA Akira 羽田明 1982 *Chūō Ajia shi kenkyū* 『中央アジア史研究』, Kyoto: Rinsen shoten, pp. 435–48.

or interfering with this blessed mausoleum, thus disturbing his mind. And those who cultivate the aforementioned land of *awqāf* and make a garden should prepare the tithe according to the old customs and deliver it according to the illustrious custom (*vosūn*) of the holy law. You should acknowledge the aforementioned person as shaykh, superintendent and judge and should pay appropriate respect to him. And you should not act against his opinion and approval and you should, acknowledging his commands as obligatory and necessary, not oppose his advice. Without permission or approval you should not appropriate the aforementioned land and cultivate or construct [there]. If those who cultivate or construct do not follow his commands, we permit the aforementioned person to seize and give it to those who properly serve his commands, so that the issued donation should not be ineffective. And, again, you should not injure or harass by taking or imposing [such levies as]¹⁷⁵ corvées (*hashar mardikār*), quartering fees (*qolgha qonalgha sar qonalgha*), *khīra-dūdī*,¹⁷⁶ the fee for *shiqaul* (*shiqauluq*), *qurimanliq*,¹⁷⁷ the fee for supervisors of water (*mīrābliq*), *vaḥī oqush* (?), the fee for soldiers (*cherīk*), straw (*saman*), [conscription of] beasts (*ulagh*), the fee for beasts (*ulaghchiliq*), the fee for planting trees (*kūchetāna*), the levy for superiors (*dābiṭāna*), the messenger-fee (*jārāna*), the fee for interview (*körümānā*), corvées (*mechereg narkhana*), and the soap-fee (*ṣābūnchiliq*). As for the garden and the lawful plot of land that you plant and cultivate, you, without taking any necessary provision, should be exempted from the official levies and the court provisions and live with peaceful mind, devoting yourselves to fulfil your service and duties at that blessed mausoleum. From this time on, if superintendants, high officials and other lower officials who are in charge of affairs change or alter the posts of *shaykh*, superintendent or judge of the aforementioned [place], that person shall be [regarded as belonging to] the group of [criminals], and shall be cursed in this world and the next, and shall be forbidden from this holy place.

The exalted decree affixed with a seal was written at the end of the month of Jamid al-thani, 1088, the year of the Monkey,¹⁷⁸ in the state of Yarkand.

(seal) Qutb-i Dawla Muḥammad Isma‘īl Khān b. ‘Abd al-Raḥīm Bahādur Ghāzī.

¹⁷⁵ For these terms, see the explanation in the previous section.

¹⁷⁶ *khīra* means “confounded, dazed, torpid, etc.” (Steingass 1892: 491–92), and *dūd* “smoke, vapour” (Steingass 1892: 541), so *khīra-dūd* can mean “smoke that makes someone confounded” such as opium or hashish. Does this term thus mean “a subsidy for opium-smoking”?

¹⁷⁷ This is certainly *quriman* + *liq*, but I do not know the meaning of *quriman*.

¹⁷⁸ This date corresponds to the end of August 1677, the year of the Snake.

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