

TO THE HISTORY OF ORIENTAL TEXTOLOGY

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MEDIEVAL HISTORIOGRAPHY IN MANUSCRIPTS FROM EAST TURKESTAN

In one of his early works published in 1897 V. V. Barthold wrote: "The population of East Turkestan was obviously never renowned for its literary productivity; our evidence on the history of this land we obtain for the most part from Chinese literature and from the works of Muslim historiographers written in Māwarānnaḥr or in Persia" [1]. This remark is often cited in Orientological works. It is not mentioned, however, that this remark reflects the state of our source-basis in the 1890s. At the same time, from the end of 1897 various manuscript collections from East Turkestan have been coming to the Asiatic Museum in St. Petersburg (now the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Russian Academy of Sciences). These were manuscripts which were collected by Ya. Ya. Lutsch (acquired in 1897—1903), A. N. Samoilovich (in 1906—1908, 1914, 1920, 1930), N. F. Petrovsky (in 1909), S. F. Oldenburg (in 1910) and by other scholars and amateur collectors of antiquities. When traveling in Central Asia in 1902 V. V. Barthold discovered and bought for the Asiatic Museum manuscripts containing works by two scholars from East Turkestan [2]. In 1916 in Tashkent he became acquainted with a copy of the "Chronicle" by Churās in a private manuscript collection. The owner of the manuscript, Bāqī-Jān-bāy, allowed him to take it to Petrograd — "to make a photocopy" [3]. In 1904 M. Hartmann published a description of his manuscript collection from East Turkestan [4]. During the last several decades it became evident, that among the manuscripts now preserved in Central Asian libraries there are many which had been copied and decorated in East Turkestan. The manuscript funds of Xinjiang include hundreds of volumes. Copies of some works by East Turkestan authors are present in many European and Indian libraries [5]. At present we are aware of the existence of hundreds of Muslim manuscripts from East Turkestan, some of them including several different works.

As early as 1953 D. I. Tikhonov, a specialist in Uighur studies, wrote that the St. Petersburg collection of East Turkestan manuscripts was unsurpassable both in the number of volumes and in the range of subjects they treat [6]. In this article we shall try to survey the literary life of Kashgharia of the Islamic period, giving special attention to historiographic works created by East Turkestan authors.

The development of literacy basing upon Arabic script in East Turkestan was connected with the conversion of its

population to Islam in the 10th century and with the introduction of Arabic language and writing. The earliest known examples of East Turkestan Muslim literature were written in Arabic and Turkic in the 11th century: these are *Qūtādghū Bilik* ("Beneficial Knowledge") by Yūsuf, a native of Balāsāghūn, and two works by Abū al-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir (or 'Abd al-Ghaffār) ibn Ḥusayn al-Alma'ī al-Kāshgharī, who lived in Kashgharia and wrote (in Arabic) *Mu'jam al-Shuyukh* ("The Dictionary of Sheikhs") and *Tārīkh Kāshghar* ("The History of Kāshghar").

The ethico-didactic poem *Qūtādghū Bilik* was written in Kāshghar in 462/1069—1070 for the local khan. This poem by Yūsuf of Balāsāgūn is well known — it survived in three manuscripts. There are several publications of its text, it has been many times translated (completely or partially) into other languages; many articles dedicated to this early monument of Turkic literature consider its various aspects. The latest Russian translation of the poem by S. N. Ivanov appeared in 1983 (after the critical text published by R. R. Arat) [7].

None of the works by Abū al-Futūḥ have survived to the present time. There is some information about him and about his father in the works by Sam'ānī (12th century), Yāqūt (13th century) and Jamāl Qarshī (14th century). The sources used by Yāqūt and Jamāl Qarshī are unknown. Sam'ānī refers to what he heard from Abū Bakr Hibatallāh ibn al-Farākh of Hamadān and from Abū 'Abdallāh Muḥammad ibn al-Qāsim of Merv. That is what we know about Abū al-Futūḥ and his father from *Kitāb al-Ansāb* by Sam'ānī, from *Mu'jam al-Buldān* by Yāqūt and from *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* by Jamāl Qarshī [8].

The name of Abū al-Futūḥ's father was al-Ḥusayn, but he was known also as Abū Fadl. His full name was Imām Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥusayn ibn 'Alī ibn Halaf ibn Jibra'īl ibn al-Khalīl ibn Ṣāliḥ ibn Muḥammad al-Ta'ī al-Kāshgharī. He was a sheikh and a preacher, also the author of many works on the *ḥadīth* (their titles not mentioned). According to Sam'ānī, "there could be more than a hundred and twenty of them; they are rejected by everyone". As Sam'ānī was told by his informers, al-Ḥusayn outlived his son by ten years. Yāqūt wrote that Abū 'Abdallāh al-Ḥasan (sic!) had died in Baghdad in 484/1091—1092; but according to Jamāl Qarshī, he died in Kāshghar in 486/1093 and was buried there. His son, Abū al-Futūḥ 'Abd al-Ghāfir ibn al-

Husayn al-Alma'ī al-Kāshgharī (sic!), as it is recorded in *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, was a *hāfiẓ*, a truthful man, a fruitful but, unlike his father, reliable author. He attended lectures by scholars of authority, Abū Ṭāhir Muḥammad ibn 'Abd al-Malik al-Dānīkānī among them. From Kāshghar Abū al-Futuḥ has made a journey to al-Jibal, Iraq and to the region of Baghdad. From his pen came several works on all kinds of *tafsīr*, *ḥadīth* and other disciplines. On the evidence of Jamāl Qarshī, al-Alma'ī met a sudden death in Kāshghar and was buried in its suburbs (this place was formerly called Yatta).

What happened to Abū al-Futuḥ's religious writings and his "Dictionary of Sheikhs" is unknown. His "History of Kāshghar", however, survived the Mongol invasion, one of the greatest military and political upheavals of the Middle Ages. Jamāl Qarshī had a copy of this book when writing his *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* in Kāshghar at the beginning of the 14th century. As far as we know, Jamāl Qarshī was the last Muslim author who actually used this 11th century work.

The picture we have of the literary life of East Turkestan in the 12th century and during the first three centuries of the Mongol rule is incomplete: hardly any literary works created at that time have survived. Of those few available two works by Jamāl Qarshī should be mentioned. His full name — Abū al-Faḍl ibn 'Umar ibn Khālīd Jamāl al-Dīn al-Qarshī. He was born in 628/1230—1231 in the town of Almalyk (the basin of the Ili river near Kulja) in the reign of Suknāk-tekīn. He enjoyed the favour of his sovereigns, served as a court tutor to a prince and for this reason became known as al-Qarshī. At the end of 662/1264 Jamāl Qarshī moved to Kāshghar. There he was welcomed by local *ṣadr*s (civilian rulers) and under their friendly patronage was writing poetry, works on history and making translations. In particular, he translated from Arabic into Persian the alphabetic dictionary by al-Jawharī *Al-Ṣaḥāḥ* ("The Trustworthy One"). This fact is mentioned by the 17th century Ottoman scholar Ḥājji Khalifa. In his bibliographic encyclopaedia *Kashf al-Zunūn* we read: "7745. *Ṣurāḥ al-Lughat* belonging to Abū al-Faḍl Muḥammad ibn 'Umar ibn Khālīd al-Qarshī, who became known as Jamālī, is the translation of *al-Ṣaḥāḥ* into Persian" [9].

We do not know if a copy of this work was actually available to Ḥājji Khalifa. In the Bodleian Library in Oxford there are now several manuscripts of this translation, one of them — an autograph by Jamāl Qarshī [10]. In the foreword written in Arabic Jamāl Qarshī explains that he discovered a fine manuscript of *al-Ṣaḥāḥ*, an explanatory dictionary of Arabic by al-Jawharī (d. 1068) in four volumes, in the library of the Mas'ūdiyya *madrasa* built in Kāshghar under the Mongol rule by Mas'ūd-bīk (d. 1289). He decided to translate it into Persian. The draft version of the translation was accomplished in Kāshghar on the 16th of Ṣafar 681/May 26, 1282. But only many years later he managed to produce the final version. In 1301 the text was re-written again. This autograph by Jamāl Qarshī dated Dhū al-Qa'da 23, 700/July 30, 1301 somehow came to England and in 1859 was acquired by the Bodleian Library.

It was probably in 1301 when Jamāl Qarshī, answering the wishes of the local *ṣadr* Sa'd al-Milla ba al-Dīn, began to write a supplement to *Al-Ṣurāḥ min al-Ṣaḥāḥ*, titled *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* ("Additions to the Clear One"). He accomplished it before 705/1305—1306. *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* presents an encyclopaedia of history and literary history

written in Arabic. It contains much valuable, sometimes unique, evidence on the history of the Qarakhanid dynasty reigning in Almalyk in the 13th century. There are also some interesting facts about the first Mongol rulers of Central Asia and Kazakhstan and their associates. Besides that, stories recorded by Jamāl Qarshī about his contemporaries, scholars and sheikhs, "give some idea of the intellectual life of that period" in Central Asia and East Turkestan [11]. We know now two copies of *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ*, both preserved in the manuscript fund of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies. The two manuscripts were discovered in Central Asia, one of them (defective) — at the end of the last century, the other (more complete) — at the beginning of this century [12]. They were found by Russian scholars who came across a reference on this book in a work by the 16th century East Turkestan author Mirzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt [13]. To this point, however, we shall return later.

The 16th—17th centuries in the history of East Turkestan was a period full of most important events both in the field of politics and in the cultural life of the country. Let us mark the following facts. In the 15th century the supreme leaders of the Moghūls were living not in East Turkestan but in the cities of Māwarānnaḥr and Turkestan, where they held Tashkent, Sairam, Yasy and other cities. At the end of the 15th—beginning of the 16th century the leader of the nomadic Uzbeks of Dasht-i Qipchāq Muḥammad Shaybānī-khān intervened in the struggle between the members of the Timurid dynasty. In 1500—1501, with the help of Moghūl *khān* Maḥmūd, he conquered Bukhara and Samarkand. Soon he turned his arms against his former ally, Maḥmūd-khān. The Moghūl leader, who was a man of weak character and a total failure as a general, not being able to cope with Shaybānī-khān alone, resorted to the assistance of his brother Aḥmad-khān of Turfān. In the decisive battle by Akhsī in 908/1503 Shaybānī-khān not only won the day but took both brothers prisoners [14]. Soon, however, they were released on condition that they would abandon all claims to their former Central Asian possessions, leave Turkestan and return to their hereditary principalities. The two *khāns* came back to East Turkestan and wintered in Aqsū, where Aḥmad-khān died by the end of the winter. Maḥmūd-khān settled in Jetikent. It opened a new stage in the old struggle for power between the Chaghataids and the Dūghlāt emirs. The Chaghataids won, and in 920/1514 Yarkend became the capital of a new state created by Sa'īd-khān and the centre of cultural and literary life of Kashgharia [15].

Cultural traditions of Yarkend developed along the same lines as in the neighbouring Central Asian dominions. Moghūl rulers and nobles, their mother-tongue being Turkic, nevertheless (at least to some extent) cultivated Iranian literary culture. The influence of Iranian culture definitely reveals itself in historiography: two most famous historical works composed by the natives of Mongolistan, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mirzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (16th century) and "Chronicle" by Churās (17th century), were written in Persian [16]. In the same language Churās wrote his *Anīs al-Ṭālibīn* (ca. 1107/1696), a hagiographic work interesting from many points of view. The only known copy of this work is now in the Bodleian Library in Oxford. It came there in 1880 along with many other items of Younghusband's collection [17]. The original part of *Anīs al-Ṭālibīn* was published by O. F. Akimushkin in 1976 [18].

The literary culture of East Turkestan was rapidly developing in the 18th and in the 19th century. One of the characteristic features of this period is that from the 18th century Turkic becomes the dominating written language of East Turkestan. Perso-Tajik was still in use in cultural and literary circles, but only as a subsidiary language [19]. Along with the development of original literature in Turkī many translations from other languages were made at that time [20]. Another specific feature of the time was the increasing interest towards works on history: at present we know dozens of historical compositions written in East Turkestan in the 18th—beginning of the 20th century [21]. Among them are: *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*, *Tadhkira-yi 'Azīzān*, *Islām-nāma*, *Hidāyat-nāma*, *Jam' al-Tawārīkh*, *Tārīkh-nāma-yi Ya'qūb-khān*, *Tārīkh-i Amnīyya*, etc.

Undoubtedly, these centuries produced no figure equal to Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt [22]. Nevertheless, there are many attractive personalities among the scholars and writers of that time, whose works deserve to be most thoroughly studied by modern investigators. One of them was Niyāzī, a historian, poet and translator of the Later Medieval period.

All we know about Niyāzī is borrowed from his own works. His full name was Muḥammad Niyāz ibn 'Abd al-Ghafūr. He was a poet by vocation and used "Niyāzī" for his *takhalluṣ* — this pen-name several times occurs in his verse [23]. It is evident from his works that his native language was Turkic, and that he was fluent in Persian. He not only translated from this language but even tried to write Persian verse [24]. Not much is known about his life. He served 'Abd al-Rahmān-wāng, the ruler of Yarkend, who died, according to Chinese sources, in 1833 [25]. Then he moved to Khotan where he served 'Abd al-Rahmān's son, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, most probably as a court man of letters. It is difficult to tell if he obtained this assignment by his literary gifts or due to his old connections. The year of his death is unknown. He was still alive in 1852, which is testified by the following.

In the Manuscript department of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies there is a copy of *Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib*, the work by Muḥammad Niyāz not registered in any other catalogues. The name of the author appears there as Muḥammad Niyāz ibn Ghafūr-bīk; in a poem at the end of the author's preface his *takhalluṣ* — Niyāzī — is mentioned [26]. *Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* is a short compilation, some kind of a general history of Muslim dynasties. According to Niyāzī's own story, he received "the highest commission" from the *ḥākim* (ruler) of Khotan in whose service he was at that time, to write a history book describing all events "from Adam", with a detailed genealogy of Moghūl *khāns*, the descendants of Chingiz-khān. "It would be good — continued the *ḥākim* — if stories about wonders and rarities, witty and wise sayings were included into the narrative". Following these directions Niyāzī produces a book consisting of three parts: 1) a description of historical events from Adam to Chingiz-khān, 2) the history of Chingiz-khān, his descendants and followers, 3) a description of "wonderful and rare events" [27]. Niyāzī himself describes *Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* as a "translation into Turkī" of the most interesting and entertaining (from his point of view) stories from such works as *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, *Rawḍat al-Jannāt*, *Tadhkirat al-Shu'arā*, *Nigārīstān*, *Rawḍat al-Ṣafā*, etc., written in Persian and Arabic. The work was completed "in the *wilāyat* of Yarkend, on Mon-

day, day 21st of month Rajab 1268 [corresponding to] the year of the Fish", *i. e.* on May 11, 1852 [28].

Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib was written by the order of Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng *ḥākim-bīklīk*. It is evident from the formula used after his name — "let his power increase" — that he was still alive in 1852 (which disproves the statement by Hamada Masami that he died in 1842, made with no reference to any sources) [29]. It is also clear from the preface that in 1852 Muḥammad Niyāz continued in the service of the *ḥākim* of Khotan. The reason for his moving from Khotan to the *wilāyat* of Yarkend is unknown.

Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib is a very typical work of the Muslim court historiography, it can hardly give any idea of its author's creative individuality. It is also of no great interest as a historical source. We get much more information about the artistic personality of Niyāzī from his translations. There we find something, upon which we can make our guesses about his literary ideals, the level of his education, etc.

The dates of Niyāzī's life are unknown. Judging by the available materials he was active as a man of letters between the 20s and the early 50s of the 19th century. At that very time he wrote his historical work and translated *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt from Persian into Turkic. His translation contains a preface where he is describing in detail the circumstances connected with its coming into being, the methods of his work, etc. [30]. It is interesting enough from many points of view and deserves to be summarized here.

The sovereign ruler of Yarkend 'Abd al-Rahmān-wāng *ḥākim-bīklīk* who "enjoys the grace of Allah", as Muḥammad Niyāz puts it, said to him several times that this land belonged to the realm of Moghūlīstān and had been the residence of Moghūl *khāns*. The life-circumstances of these *khāns* from the time of Chingiz-khān till the termination of the *khāns* dynasty in Moghūlīstān are unknown. It is also unknown how many rulers there were in this *wilāyat*, what were the regulations established here, how they were followed and when ceased to function. "It is necessary to get a book narrating the history of the *khāns*' reigns or to find a trustworthy narrator able to relate all these events, so that the names of the Moghūl *khāns* would not disappear in this world and their lives and deeds would not be forgotten", says Muḥammad Niyāz.

The translator tells us that no one was aware if there were any books of this kind in local libraries. By chance, however, one copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt was found. When looking through it Muḥammad Niyāz discovered that it was dedicated entirely to the Moghūl *khāns* and to the description of events in Moghūlīstān. The manuscript was much worn out, with torn pages and almost unfit to be used. "We regretted it very much. If this copy was good, it would have been translated into Turkī at that time (*i. e.* under 'Abd al-Rahmān-wāng)", writes the translator. Later, when Muḥammad Niyāz came into the service of 'Abd al-Rahmān's son Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng *ḥākim-bīklīk*, the ruler of Khotan, he managed to find one more copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Unlike the first one it was "perfectly complete, irreproachably executed and wonderfully preserved". Because *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian (as he says in the preface), not everyone could use it and understand its contents. Therefore the highest order came from Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, suggesting to translate *Tārīkh-i Ra-*

shīdī into Turkī, to make its contents available to many, so that they would praise the initiator of this work and the translator and pray for them. Even though Muḥammad Niyāz was not feeling he had the abilities required to accomplish this great commission he, “relying on God”, undertook the translation, since “there is no place for delays and faults when executing the highest order and supreme command”, as the translator puts it.

Muḥammad Niyāz describes the methods of his work. In brief, they were the following. The translation was to be done in a simple language and common phraseology. *Sūras* of the Qur’ān and the *ḥadīths* translated by the author of the original work into Persian were given in Turkī, verse and phrases in Arabic not translated by the author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* were “left as they were”. Turkic verse by Mīrzā Ḥaydar or those borrowed by him from other respected authors were reproduced in the same manner as they were in the original manuscript. No changes were introduced also to those versified passages in Persian which contained chronograms — “to avoid corrupting them”. Other Persian verse were rendered in Turkī “as far as our abilities made it possible”. “Separate words of non-Arabic and non-Persian origin, which could be Mongolian surviving from those victorious times, or Qalmaq ones..., are translated tentatively, from the context”, the translator says. He also admits that some rare and little-known Persian words were translated incorrectly. “But I was working as diligently as I could, followed the rules of translation, being content to transfer the meaning of the Persian text in Turkic words”, he adds.

At the end of the narrative part of his work the translator declares that, like Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt who dedicated his work to ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān, he is dedicating his translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* to Muḥammad ‘Azīz-wāng, because there are three reasons to do so: 1) the Persian original of this work was found and became known in his time, 2) the translation was done by his highest order, 3) the origin of his family goes back through generations to Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Jamāl al-Dīn, whose grave is located in the *wilāyat* of Aqsū at the site of Ay-Kūl.

The translator's preface ends in verse (fols. 11a—12a), many versified passages are included in its text.

The author's conclusion which comes after the translation is titled: “The End of the Translation of this Book and the Completion of this Draft Copy” [31]. It opens with the words of gratitude to Allah, who gave the translator strength to accomplish this “great deed”. Then it is mentioned that the translation was completed in Khotan on the 20th of Jumādā II, 1253, corresponding to the year of Cow, *i. e.* on September 22, 1837. After that follow some words addressed to the reader, asking him to forgive the translator for his imperfect work and to correct his mistakes — a common formula of Islamic translators. Like in the preface, at the end of this conclusion comes a poem written by the translator.

Manuscript D 120 cited here includes the translation of only the first *daftar* (part) of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's work. The Manuscript collection of the Institute has also a complete translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Niyāzī [32]. According to our calculations, there are at least ten known manuscripts containing more or less complete versions of Niyāzī's translation.

All known copies of this translation are dated to the 19th century. The popularity of this work was ensured both

by the brilliance of the original text by Mīrzā Ḥaydar and by the good quality of Niyāzī's translation. The translation is not just very precise but is even endowed with some elegance. The translator managed to preserve not only the sense of the original but also the clearness, lightness and precision inherent in the Persian text. The same is characteristic of his rendering of Persian verse. The original metre of the Persian verse present in *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is preserved in Turkī, which testifies to the poetic gift of the translator. The task outlined in the preface — to translate in a simple and clear manner, using common language — should be regarded, in our opinion, not just as Niyāzī's wish to answer the linguo-aesthetic demands of the learned East Turkestan public, whose knowledge of Persian at that time was not too profound. His orientation, first of all, on the Turkic lexicon, judging by the language of his *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* and his voluminous preface to the translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, was his conscious position. His fluent Persian and his brilliant knowledge of the Turkic language allowed Muḥammad Niyāzī to follow this principle of translation without any loss of precision and clearness, so that even those readers who had no knowledge of Persian could easily understand it. This makes it possible to speak about the high quality of Muḥammad Niyāzī's translation. It should be also taken into account that the translation was made from a “perfectly complete, irreproachably executed and wonderfully preserved” manuscript. Due to its high quality Niyāzī's translation may help the present-day investigator of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in a way not often to be expected of the so-called “Oriental translations”.

Not being a specialist in the field of Turkic poetry the author of this article is not undertaking the task of estimating Muḥammad Niyāzī's poetic heritage. Our nearest practical aim is to indicate the sources which can be used for such investigation. The problem is that no *diwān* of Niyāzī's poems (if it ever existed at all) is available now, although his poetic works, some of them rather extensive, are scattered over his books sometimes appearing in quite unexpected places. Pages of the preface and the conclusion to his translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* containing verse by Niyāzī have been indicated above. Verse are present in the preface and the conclusion to his *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* (fols. 1b—3b, 128b—129a). But the number of his poetic works is not confined to these. Thus in his translation of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, after the chapter dedicated to emir Khudāyād, Muḥammad Niyāzī wrote that his constant wish was to make a *hajj*. So when he became aware that emir Khudāyād had enjoyed the honour of visiting Mecca and even of being buried there, he was so touched that he wrote a poem on this occasion and placed it at the end of the chapter. The poem is dedicated to the same subject, Niyāzī's dream to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and Medina, the sacred places of Islam. This translator's interpolation occupies almost three pages of the manuscript (but for two lines) [33].

Cases when the main narrative is interrupted by recollections, interpolations and additions, made either by the author himself or by a translator, was a regular practice in medieval Islamic literature. “By the way” passages were one of the compositional methods sanctified by the medieval literary tradition. Niyāzī is applying it once more, this time in his own historical composition. In one of the chapters of the third part of his *Qiṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib* Niyāzī is describing (after the works of Indian authors of the Great

Moghūl period) the life of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (murdered in 1551). At the end of the chapter comes an extensive poem by Niyāzī dedicated entirely to the author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* [34]. By our approximate calculations the general volume of versified text in the two works mentioned above is equal to several hundred *bayts* — enough to form a judgment of Niyāzī's poetic talent.

Let us now make a short summary, taking into account the following: in the middle of 1830s Niyāzī discovered a copy of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the palace library of Khotan and translated it from Persian into Turkī (the language used by the dominating part of the population of East Turkestan). This translation became popular. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is the principal source on the history of this land in the 14th—16th centuries. The author of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was well acquainted with the work by Jamāl Qarshī, the late 13th—early 14th century author from East Turkestan. In his turn Jamāl Qarshī was borrowing his materials from *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* and *Tārīkh Kāshghar* by Abū al-Futūḥ who lived in Kāshghar in the 11th century.

None of the mentioned works is a direct continuation of the other. Still they are the links of one chain of information binding together the literary activities of several generations of East Turkestan scholars. The main link of this chain is *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Unlike *Tārīkh Kāshghar* by Abū al-Futūḥ and *Mulḥaqāt al-Ṣurāḥ* by Jamāl Qarshī,

Tārīkh-i Rashīdī had a better fortune. At present over 30 copies of the work by Mīrzā Ḥaydar are known. It is often cited by Muslim authors. Several translations of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī appeared in the 18th—19th centuries in East Turkestan [35]. The “Chronicle” by Churās written in Yarkend around 1087/1675—1677 is totally basing upon *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* being its logical continuation [36]. Several decades later the author of *Tārīkh Kāshghar* was using *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the chapters of his work dedicated to the early history of the Moghūl *khāns* [37]. The Tashkent copy of one of the Turkic translations of *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is supplemented with a *dhayl* — the continuation of the history of Kāshghar up to the middle of the 1830s [38]. Finally, this work by Mīrzā Ḥaydar became the main source for “The History of the Rulers of Kāshghar” written in 1903 by Mullā Mūsā in the town of Aqsū in East Turkestan [39].

At present, contrary to what V. V. Barthold was writing in the 1890s, we have a complete fund of East Turkestan Muslim historiography. So far it has not been really explored. The number of published works is still too insignificant in comparison to the number of manuscripts waiting to be investigated. The growing interest towards the history of East Turkestan among European, Japanese and Russian scholars makes them pay more attention to the Muslim historiography of Kāshghar.

Notes

1. V. V. Barthold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii (Moscow, 1973), p. 63.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 173—4, 205—6.
3. Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika* (Chronicle). Critical text, translation and commentaries by O. F. Akimushkin (Moscow, 1976), p. 18.
4. M. Hartmann, *Die Osttürkische Handschriften der Sammlung Hartmann* (Berlin, 1904).
5. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoi SSR* (A Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR Academy of Sciences), 10 vols. (Tashkent, 1952—1975); Yusupbek Muhlisov, *Uyghur klassik adabiyati kolyazmalarining katalogi* (A Catalogue of Manuscripts of Uyghur Classical Literature) (Shinyan, 1957); M. Götz, *Türkische Handschriften*. Mit 2 farb. und 25 Schwarzweiss-Tafeln (Wiesbaden, 1979), Nos. 534, 538.
6. D. I. Tikhonov, “Vostochnye rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR” (“Oriental manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences”), *Uchenye zapiski Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR*, vol. VI (Moscow—Leningrad, 1953), p. 19.
7. Iu. Balasagunskii, *Blagodatnoe znanie* (Beneficial Knowledge), ed. S. N. Ivanov (Moscow, 1983).
8. *The Kitāb al-anṣāb of ‘Abd al-Karīm ibn Muḥammad al-Sam‘ānī*. Reproduced in Facsimile from the Manuscript in the British Museum Add 23. 355 with an Introduction by D. Margoliouth and D. Litt (Leyden—London, 1912), pp. 470a—472a. — E. V. Gibb Memorial Ser., Vol. XX; V. V. Bartold, *Turkestan v epokhu mongol'skogo nashestviia* (Turkestan in the Mongol Invasion Period), Pt. 1. Texts (St. Petersburg, 1898), pp. 129, 131; *Materialy po istorii Srednei i Tsentral'noi Azii X—XIX vv.* (Materials on the History of Central Asia of the 10th—19th Centuries) (Tashkent, 1988), pp. 79, 102—3.
9. *Lexicon bibliographicum et encyclopaedicum a Mustafa ben Abdallah Katib Jalebi dicto et nomine Haji Khalifa celebrato compositum*, iv (London, 1845), pp. 101—2.
10. Ph. D. Sachau and H. Ethè, *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Pt. 1. The Persian Manuscripts (Oxford, 1889), Nos. 1645—1648.
11. V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), i (Moscow, 1963), p. 100; *idem.*, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii, pp. 98—102.
12. A. I. Mikhaïlova, *Katalog arabskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii i Afriki Akademii nauk SSSR* (Catalogue of the Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian and African Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 3 (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 30—31; *Arabskie rukopisi Instituta vostokovedeniia Akademii nauk SSSR. Kratkii katalog* (The Arabic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences. A Concise Catalogue), ed. A. B. Khalidov, Pt. 1 (Moscow, 1986), Nos. 9338—9339.
13. N. Petrovskii, “Bashnia “Burana” bliz Tokmaka” (“*Burana* Tower near Tokmak”), *Zapiski Vostochnogo Otdeleniia Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva*, vol. VIII (St. Petersburg, 1894), p. 363, No. 1; V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii, pp. 205—6.
14. T. I. Sultanov, “Izvestiia “Sheibani-name” Mukhammada Salikha o mogolakh (XVI v.)” (“*Shaybānī-nāma* by Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ about the Moghūls”), *Strany i narody Vostoka*, fasc. 26, No. 3 (Moscow, 1989), pp. 200—3.
15. O. F. Akimushkin, “Khronologiia pravitelei vostochnoi chasti Chagataiskogo ulusa (liniia Tugluk-Timur-khana)” (“The chronology of the East Chaghatay *Ulus* Rulers: Tughluk-Timūr-khān line”), *Vostochnyi Turkestan i Sredniaia Aziia. Istoriia. Kul'tura. Sviazi* (Moscow, 1984), pp. 157—8.
16. *The Tarikh-i-Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia. An English Version*. Edited with commentary, notes and map by N. Elias. Trans. E. Denison Ross (London, 1895); T. I. Sultanov, ““Tarikh-i Rashidi” Mirza Haïdara Duglata (Literaturnaia istoriia pamiatnika)” (“*Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt. A literary history of the monument”),

Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia (Moscow, 1982), pp. 116—35; Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika*.

17. *Catalogue of the Persian, Turkish, Hindustani and Pushtu Manuscripts in the Bodleian Library*. Part: Additional Persian Manuscripts by A. F. L. Beeston (Oxford, 1954), No. 2494.

18. Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika* (supplement), pp. 331—4. Also see *ibidem.*, Introduction, pp. 49—52.

19. A. M. Muginov, *Opisanie uġurskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Uyghur Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1962).

20. T. I. Sultanov, "Nekotorye voprosy tiurkskoĭ srednevekovoiĭ perevodnoiĭ istoricheskoĭ literatury" ("Some problems of the medieval works on history, translated into Turkic"), *Tiurkologicheskii sbornik. 1976* (Moscow, 1978), pp. 141—52.

21. L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (A Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Asian Peoples of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 1. Istoriiia (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 22—23, 27, 132—145; L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopiseĭ Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (A Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences), fasc. 2. Istoriiia. akty. bibliografiia, entsiklopedii, geografii, kalendari (Moscow, 1975), Nos. 24—34; Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bibliograficheskii obzor* (Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey), Pt. 2 (Moscow, 1972), Nos. 1068—1073.

22. T. I. Sultanov, "Tarih-i Rashidi", p. 126 ff.

23. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, a manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number D 120, fols. 2b, 6a, 12a, 61b, 62a.

24. *Ibid.*, fol. 11a.

25. Hamada Masami, "Islamic saints and their mausoleums", *Acta Asiatica. Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, XXXIV (Tokyo, 1978), p. 92.

26. Muḥammad Niyāz, *Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib*, a manuscript in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, call number D 106, fols. 2a, 3b.

27. *Ibid.*, fols. 2b—3a.

28. *Ibid.*, fol. 128b. According to I. A. Orbeli's tables, *Sinkhronisticheskie tablitsy khidzhry i evropeiskogo letoischiŝleniia* (Synchronistic Tables of Hegira and of European Chronology) (Moscow—Leningrad, 1961) — the 11th of May 1852 was Tuesday.

29. Hamada Masami, *Op. cit.*, p. 92.

30. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, D 120, fols. 1b—12d.

31. *Ibid.*, fols. 146b—147a.

32. A. M. Muginov, *op. cit.*, Nos. 31, 33—36; L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. 1. Nos. 88—92.

33. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, D 120, fols. 60b—62a.

34. Muḥammad Niyāz, *Qīṣaṣ al-Gharā'ib*, fols. 85a—88a.

35. T. I. Sultanov, "Tarih-i Rashidi", pp. 123—9.

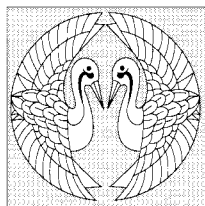
36. Shah-Mahmud ibn Mirza Fazil Churas, *Khronika*, pp. 68—102.

37. V. V. Bartold, *Sochineniia* (Works), viii, p. 173 ff.; O. F. Akimushkin, "'Tarih-i Kashgar': istochnikovedcheskii analiz" ("*Tārīkh-i Kāshghar*: the history of the text"), *Istochniki po srednevekovoiĭ istorii Kyrgyzstana i sopredel'nykh oblastei Srednei i Tsentral'noi Azii* (Bishkek, 1991), pp. 8—10.

38. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tardjamasi*, a manuscript in the collection of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Uzbek Academy of Sciences, call number 10191/P, fols. 344a—416a.

39. *Tarih-i Emenie. Istoriiia vladetelei Kashgarii, sochinenie Mully Musy ben Mulla Aīsa, sāiramtsa, izdanaia N. N. Pantusovym* (*Tārīkh-i Amniyya*. The History of the Kāshghar Rulers. Composed by Mullā Mūsā 'Aysa, a citizen of Sairam, and edited by N. N. Pantusov) (Kazan, 1905), p. 7; *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV—XVIII vv. (Izvlacheniiia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochineniĭ)* (Materials on the Kazakh Khanates of the 15th—18th Centuries. Extracts from Persian and Turkic Works) (Alma-Ata, 1969), pp. 476—86.

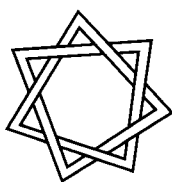
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Colour plates: *The Secret Visionary Autobiography* of the Fifth Dalai Lama (see pp. 54—65).

Front cover:

The *cakra* for the separation of the guardian deities from the person they are protecting.
A separate folio, 55×20 cm.

Back cover:

Plate 1. *Cakras* for summoning spirits of foes and for warding off evil spirits, as well as the articles used to perform the ritual for propitiating of the goddess lHa-mo. A separate folio, 55×20 cm.

Plate 2. The *cakra* for the suppression of the *dam-sri* spirits. A separate folio, 55×30 cm.

Plate 3. *Cakras* for calming illnesses and acquiring wealth, and the articles used to perform the corresponding ritual. A separate folio, 55×20 cm.