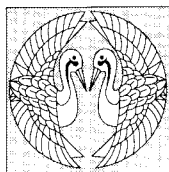


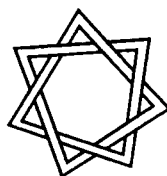
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## TURKIC VERSIONS OF THE *TĀRĪKH-I RASHĪDĪ* IN THE MANUSCRIPT COLLECTION OF THE ST. PETERSBURG BRANCH OF THE INSTITUTE OF ORIENTAL STUDIES

In terms of its content and literary fate, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* by Mīrzā (Muḥammad) Ḥaydar Dūghlāt (1500—1551) is one of the most interesting texts in the history of sixteenth-century historical literature in the Persian language [1]. The manuscript tradition associated with the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is quite rich and diverse. Judging by available catalogues and research, at present there are more than thirty known copies of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's work. The autograph copy remains undiscovered. Surviving copies of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are not always complete and display certain discrepancies. In sum, however, they make possible a reconstruction of the entire text. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* gained especial fame and authority both with the generations of Muslim readers in close chronological proximity to the author, as well as with later readers. Eloquent testimony to the popularity of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work is provided not only by the number of manuscripts of the Persian original, the frequent recitations and significant excerpts from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* employed by Muslim authors in their writings on the history of Moghūlistān, East Turkestan and North India, but also by Turkic translations of this work. The latter date back to the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and bear witness to the long-term influence of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*.

Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work exerted an appreciable influence on European oriental studies as well. Beginning from the 1840s, every scholar who touched on any questions connected with the medieval history of Central Asia and North India inevitably referred to it. An indication of the growing attention to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Western European oriental studies was the publication in London of an English translation of the work in 1895, which appeared thanks to the efforts of N. Elias and E. Ross (re-issue 1898; repr. 1970, 1973). At the beginning of the 1990s, an American scholar, W. Thackston, published the Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* along with a new translation into English. A Russian translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was published in Tashkent in 1996.

Despite this big popularity of the composition with the scholarly circles, there is neither a reliable critical edition of the text, nor a monograph-length study of it. There are also serious problems with the literary history of Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. First and foremost, the number of independent translations of this work into Turkic

languages and the dates of their composition have not yet been determined. W. Barthold, for example, wrote that there are two Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*: that of Muḥammad Šādiq, made in the eighteenth century, and a translation completed in Khotan in the nineteenth century [2]. In the opinion of A. M. Muginov, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was translated into Turkic at least three times, with the earliest translation dating from 1160/1747 [3]. Z. V. Toğan's remarks on the writing are of especial interest for the literary history both of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and of the Turkic translations. In an addendum to V. Barthold's entry on Mīrzā Ḥaydar in the Turkish "Encyclopedia of Islam", he writes that "although Mīrzā Ḥaydar wrote his *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Persian, it is clear from several Chaghatāy copies of the work that he personally translated it into Turkic" [4]. Z. V. Toğan does not cite his source. The expression "several Chaghatāy copies of the work" should, in all likelihood, be taken to mean the copy of the Turkic translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* preserved in London. This idea is suggested by a remark in a work by J. Pierson on Oriental manuscript collections in Great Britain and Ireland. He writes that in the library of The British and Foreign Bible Society there are many Persian manuscripts, including "an important Turki MS of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, written in 1543 A.D." [5].

This date for the Turkic manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* seems to be dubious. As is known, the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* consists of two independent parts, the second of which was written before the first. The second part was begun no later than 948/1541—42 and finished no earlier than Muḥarram 950/April—May 1543, while the first part was begun no later than 951/1544—45 and completed on the last day of Dhū'l-Ḥijja 952/3 March 1546 [6]. The existence of a manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Turkic, "written in 1543" (the autograph?), would mean that Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt began to write his historical work simultaneously in two languages — Persian and Turkic — and that the Turkic version was completed earlier. Thus, the first part of the Persian text, finished in March 1546, would be a translation from the Turkic made by the author himself. However, the brevity of J. Pierson's remarks and, most importantly, their incompatibility with the currently established facts of the work's literary history do not allow us to go as far as this.

It should be noted that G. Hofman, author of a thorough work on medieval Turkic literature, has also turned his attention to the possible consequences of this new date for the chronology and language of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Dissatisfied with J. Pierson's remarks and conscious of the importance of this information for the literary history of the text, he inquired on this issue with the staff of the library of the above-mentioned Bible Society. In answer to his query, they replied that the library's inventory book contains the following entry on the manuscript which interests him: "3 vols. Written by Mirza Haydar, a Prince of the Royal family from Kashgar... The book was written in the country of Kashmir of which he was the ruler about the year 1543 A.D. Presented by Rev. F. St. Baring May 25, 1889" [7].

The contents of the inventory entry convinced G. Hofman that J. Pierson meant that the book was written in 1543, and not that the manuscript was copied then [8]. But the year 1543 cannot, however, be the time when the book was written: the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was fully complete only in 1546 (see above). As concerns the entry in the inventory book, it contains many inaccuracies. In fact, the original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian. Secondly, Mīrzā Ḥaydar was not a prince by blood, and, finally, he ruled Kashmīr from 1541 to 1551.

It seems obvious that the date which J. Pierson gives for the composition of the Turkic manuscript of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* — 1543 — was taken by him from the inventory entry cited, without verification or correlation with earlier known facts. This date indicates only one of the years of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's reign in Kashmīr. It has, consequently, no relation either to the time of the Persian original's composition, nor to the time of the Turkic translation. As Elias and Ross noted already in 1895, the manuscripts preserved in the library of The British and Foreign Bible Society which they used for their English translation of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are copies of Turkic translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work made in East Turkestan in the nineteenth century [9].

This study aims to investigate the copies of Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, which contains copies of nearly all currently known Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Several of them are the translators' autographs. The relationship of all these translations is vague, though the manuscripts have been described [10]. In addition, the current descriptions do not establish the relation between the Persian original and these Turkic translations. In our view, only a detailed study of the structure of the Persian original and a careful comparison of all surviving copies of the Turkic translations with the original and with each other can clarify the literary history of the text, as well as the individual features of each translation. The first step in this direction would be an extensive, comparative and scholarly description of each of the copies of the Turkic translations, as well as a single, composite table of contents of the Persian original.

The Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* consists of two independent parts, termed *daftar*s by the author himself. Each *daftar* forms a compositional whole. They differ in the character of their basic sources, the form in which the material is presented, and in their intended function. Aside from the main body of the text consisting of 69 chapters, the first *daftar* comprises an introduction and a conclusion.

The text of the second *daftar* includes: the introductory and concluding chapters, the main section containing 144 chapters, and three addenda [11].

Three brief works not belonging to the author are included as addenda in the second *daftar*. They are: a treatise written by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's spiritual mentor, Muḥammad Qādī; a treatise written by an acquaintance of the author known by the *laqab* Khwāja Nūrā; and a letter by the same Khwāja Nūrā [12].

Of seven Turkic translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental studies collection, the earliest one exists in one copy (call number C 570), which entered the Institute's holdings from the collection of S. F. Oldenburg. The author of this translation is unknown: in the manuscript he simply calls himself *bende*, giving neither his name nor his *laqab*. The copy lacks a translator's foreword, if such ever existed, and we know nothing of the motives for the translation or the conditions in which it was composed. There is a brief conclusion by the translator, but the information it contains is of hardly any significance. It does, however, tell us that the translation was made "in the year 1160, corresponding to the year of the Sheep" [13].

A. M. Muginov accepts 1160/1747 as the year of the translation's composition [14]. But the year of the Sheep, in fact, here corresponds not to 1160, but to 1164 (A.D. 1751). This chronological confusion has a simple explanation: in Turkestan and adjacent regions, there was no single duodecenial calendar. This fact has been established by a number of Muslim historians. Thus, Maḥmūd b. Walī in his *Baḥr al-asrār* speaks, though in contradictory and unsure fashion, of the non-correspondence of the "day and week" of the calendar in Kāshgharia to those of Māwarannakhr, Balkh and other areas. For this, he cites popular accounts [15]. Information of a more definite character on this subject is contained in a work by the East Turkestan historian Mullā Mūsā, the *Tārīkh-i amniya*, first brought to attention by the well-known Kazakhstani orientalist V. P. Yudin. As Mullā Mūsā makes clear, under the rule of Sa'īd-khān (1514—1533), the duodecenial calendar used in Kāshgharia suffered some correction. As a result, the count of years (on the duodecenial cycle) was four years ahead of the count used in other areas. However, the dates according to the Hijra were the same [16].

In this fashion, by bringing the Hijra date (1160) into account with the date of the duodecenial calendar (the year of the Sheep), with an eye to the local, East Turkestan "correction" of Sa'īd-khān, we arrive at the needed 1164 (A.D. 1751). The following information given by the translator of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* himself testifies to the fact that the translation was in fact made in 1164. He writes: "In 1164 I translated into Turkī *Targhīb al-ṣalāt*, *Tab-i a'rād* and this book" (fol. 144b). By "this book" he undoubtedly means the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt.

Thus, an anonymous translator made a Turkī translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in 1164/1751. In his own words, it took him 46 days to translate it (fol. 293a). From this information and the phrase cited above we can conclude that, like the majority of late-medieval Muslim translators, he was a literary professional.

With this we come to the end of the concrete information about the translator contained in the manuscript. It remains to cite here his address to the reader, which is noth-

ing other than a contribution to the literary tradition. The translator expresses his confidence that having performed a deed (translation) pleasing to God, he has secured his place in the memory of Muslims and therefore hopes that they will recall him in their prayers (fol. 240b). The translator concludes with the traditional formula of *iltimās* ("appeal"): "If mistakes have been allowed, may they not be condemned. Allah is the most knowledgeable, the most just" (fol. 293a).

A. M. Muginov characterizes this translation by an anonymous author as a "heavily abridged and crude translation of the first, second and third parts of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*" [17]. This judgement, pronounced without any supporting evidence, is hardly just. As will be shown later, such an assessment is applicable to the copy of the translation, but not to the translation itself. In order to clarify the situation, we turn now to the distinguishing features of manuscript C 570.

The manuscript is a book of medium size in a leather, brown, restored binding with an imprinted design. The copy contains 300 folios [18]. The folios size: 26.0 × 17.0 cm, the size of the text: 21.0 × 12.0 cm. The number of lines per page varies from 9 at the beginning to 20 in the middle and at the end of the manuscript. One section of the manuscript is written on Oriental paper, the other — on European paper of a different type and colour, with stamps and an advertisement text in Russian (fols. 207a—207b, 255b, 261b, 264a—264b, and others). Six folios at the beginning of the manuscript (fols. 01—06) are without text; on folio 138a the text is not written in completely; on folio 138b, there is only one line; on 206b, there are two.

The manuscript was copied by two people for their own needs. The full family name of the main copyist is indicated in the colophon — Ḥājī Yūsuf b. Mullā 'Ashūr-Khalīfām b. Qurbān-Šūfī b. Dawlat-Šūfī (fol. 298b). The other copyist was evidently his father, Mullā 'Ashūr-Khalīfām. With the exception of a few pages, the entire manuscript is copied in a heavy, sloppy and very coarse hand, from which one can conclude that the main copyist was not used to writing. Moreover, he was a poorly educated man: the text of the manuscript bristles with orthographic errors. They are especially common at the beginning of the copy. In a number of cases, the orthographic errors have been corrected in red ink (fols. 12a, 14a, 15a—15b, 16a, and others), but the overwhelming number remain uncorrected. In an address to the reader, the copyist writes: "If mistakes have been allowed, may they be mercifully forgiven, may they fix them with a pen, may they read the *Fātiḥa* for this weak, property-less poor man and remember him in their prayers" (fol. 293b).

It seems that in this particular case these words should not be considered merely as a traditional formula. Ḥājī Yūsuf's confession of his weakness in what was undoubtedly a new endeavour for him was sincere. In fact, he did not understand a significant number of the Persian expressions and words and conveyed them in a heavily distorted fashion (especially on fols. 112b, 146b, 199a, 204b, 223b, 230a, 241b, and 243a). One can conclude from this that his Persian was poor. In analyzing the manuscript, one forms the general impression that the main copyist was a man

who had learned only the basics of Arabographic writing (Mullā 'Ashūr-Khalīfām's son?).

The handwriting of the second copyist, however, is a sure and accurate *nasta'liq* (fols. 102b, 103b—104a, 179b, 246b—247a, 298a), his spelling is good as well. He not only had a solid knowledge of *qalam*, but also seems to have possessed a poetic gift: there are verses at the end of the manuscript dedicated to the completion of this copy of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. They were written by the second copyist. In all probability, the verses were composed by him as well.

In the words of the copyist, he copied out the "book *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, consisting of forty-four *jūzs*" in one month (fols. 293a, 298b). The manuscript was copied in 1322/1904—05 in the village of Tāshimlīq of the Kāshghar vilayet (fols. 293a, 298b). Later, the manuscript turned up in "Kuchārī", where it was bought by S. F. Oldenburg "for 10 *lan*" on 20 January 1910 (fol. 02a).

This copy lacks copyist's introduction. The first *daftar* begins on folio 1b with the words "In the name of God, the Beneficent, the Merciful". It ends on folio 104b. Of the 69 chapters in the Persian original, 41 are entirely absent. The second *daftar* begins on folio 104b and ends on folio 292b. In this part, 12 chapters of the narrative text have been omitted. Also omitted are two treatises, Khwāja Nūrā's letter, Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the second *daftar* and 19 chapters from the section dealing with outstanding figures of the Herat circle. Omitted in both *daftar*s are a large part of the poetic verses and *ḥadīth* contained in the Persian original, as well as the beginning and end of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the first *daftar* and the beginning of the author's introduction to the second *daftar*. The final eight folios of the manuscript (293a—300a) form an afterword by the main copyist and his notes about various events, in particular earthquakes and fires, which took place in Kāshghar, Khotan, Ṭurfān, etc. Verses dedicated to the completion of the copy are found on folio 298a.

The sequence of chapters in the copy does not correspond to that of original. In the first *daftar*, the final section of chapter 22 (fol. 51a) corresponds to the end of chapter 55 (in the original). In the second *daftar*, chapters 87—116 follow chapter 57, the text of which ends at the beginning of folio 235b. Folios 270a—292b correspond to chapters 59—83. Thus, the final chapter in the copy is 83; in fact, the final chapter (144) is located on fols. 269a—270a. In a number of cases, the name of the chapter is missing, although the text is given (fols. 59a, 104b, 140b, 169b, 217b, and others). It is difficult to say whether the incorrect sequence of chapters and the occasional absence of chapter titles are due to the condition of the manuscript on which the copy is based or by the lack of experience in the field and carelessness of the main copyist — Ḥājī Yūsuf.

Another feature of the copy is that all of the chapters and sections copied by the main copyist are a heavily abridged and extensively adapted retelling in Turkī of the corresponding chapters and sections in the Persian original. In many cases, two or more chapters are brought together in one small chapter with a single title.

To illustrate this, we cite here two fragments from the Persian text of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* with the parallel text of the copy, all in English translation:

## Translation

## Fragment 1

## The Persian original

"A tale about Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. No traditional accounts have survived among the Moghūls about this Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. I remember what I heard from my father, may Allah illuminate his grave, the name of Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. The circumstances of his life are described in some detail and cited in coherent form in the *Zafar-nāma*. They are reproduced here" [19].

## Manuscript C 570

"Tale about Ilyās-khān [20]. No traditional accounts have survived among the Moghūls about this Ilyās-Khwāja-khān. This is contained in the *Zafar-nāma*" (fols. 27b–28a).

## Fragment 2

## The Persian original

"The campaign of Shāhībek-khān against Khwārazm, the liberation of this country, his return to Māwarannahr and setting out for the Khurāsān regions. When Shāhībek-khān had finished with the affairs of the Moghūls, Sultān Abū Sa'īd-khān fled to Moghūlistān, and my father to Khurāsān. He killed a number of the Moghūls, and took a number prisoner. Shāh-Bekīm he sent to Khurāsān, and took the other Moghūls with him to Khwārazm. He besieged Khwārazm for eleven months. Chīn-Şūfī was in Khwārazm, as he had been appointed there by *hākim* Mīrzā Sultān Husayn. During the eleven months, no one came to his aid. He (Shāhībek-khān) put up such a surprising fight, that up to the present it is considered a model among the Uzbeks. In the end, as nothing remained [in the city] to eat, a large part of the people died from hunger, and further resistance became impossible. At that time, Shāhībek-khān took the fortress of Khwārazm, put Chīn-Şūfī to death and returned to Samarqand" [21].

## Manuscript C 570

"The campaign of Shāhībek-khān against Khwārazm [22]. When Shāhībek-khān, having taken with him the remaining Moghūls, set off for Khwārazm, Chīn-Şūfī had been *hākim* there for the last fifteen months, appointed by Sultān Husayn-mīrzā. He besieged it. For eleven months no one came to his aid. He put up such a surprising fight and conducted such marvellous battles that they remained a model for the Uzbeks. Finally there was nothing to eat, and people began to die; resistance became impossible. Shāhībek-khān took Khwārazm, put Chīn-Şūfī to death and returned to Samarqand" (fols. 155b–156a).

The abridgements in the translation, its treatment of the original, the unification of chapters, and other changes noted in the copy are, in our opinion, the deliberate work of the main copyist, Hājji Yūsuf. It seems that he never intended to produce an exact copy of the protograph. His basic task was to learn *qalam* in as short a time as possible. This conclusion is based on the following fact: the fragments copied by the second copyist are distinguished by a greater degree of completeness and accuracy and thus tes-

tify to the fact that both the translation itself and the manuscript on which it was based were entirely satisfactory. To illustrate this we cite in English translation an excerpt copied by the second copyist. For purposes of comparison, we reproduce in translation the text of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The fragment published here was not selected from the Turkic original at random: it simultaneously gives a clear idea of the character and method of working with the text exhibited by both copyists.

## Translation

## The Persian original

"A word in conclusion to the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. ... Chingīz-khān had four sons. He divided the world among these four sons. The *ulūs* of each son represented one quarter part of the populated cultured countries and deserts of the conquered world. Where in historical works the *ulūs arba'a* ("the four *ulūses*") are mentioned, these same four parts just mentioned are meant. The scholar Mīrzā Ūlūghbek wrote a historical work and also called it *Ūlūs arba'a*. One of the four *ulūses* was [the *ulūs*] of the Moghūls. The Moghūls were divided into two groups: one group was Moghūls, the other — Chaghatāys. But these two groups, because of mutual antipathy, call each other by other, derogatory names, namely: the Chaghatāy call the Moghūls *jete*, and the Moghūls call the Chaghatāy *qarāunās*. None of the Chaghatāys are now left, except for the Chaghatāy pādīshāhs, who are descendants of Bābur-pādīshāh. Ordinary people have taken the place of the Chaghatāys in their hereditary cities and regions. As for the Moghūls, perhaps about thirty thousand of them

## Manuscript C 570

"A word in conclusion to the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. ... Chingīz-khān had four sons. He divided the world among these four sons. Each of these sons, whatever country he set off for, was victorious. Where in historical works the *ulūs arba'a* are mentioned, these four sons are meant. And the historical work by Mīrzā Ūlūghbek is called *Ūlūs arba'a*. One of the four *ulūses* was [the *ulūs*] of the Moghūls. The Moghūls comprise two groups: one group is Moghūls, the other — Chaghatāys. But these two groups, because of antipathy, derogatorily call each other by other names: the Chaghatāy call the Moghūls *jete*, and the Moghūls call the Chaghatāy *qarāunās*. None of the Chaghatāys are now left, except for [the descendants of] Bābur-pādīshāh. Of the Moghūls, thirty thousand families have remained within the borders of Turfān and Kāshghar. Uzbeks [-Qazāqs] and Qīrghiz have begun to lay claim to Moghūlistān. All of the Moghūls have accepted Islam, but the Qīrghiz have remained in the grip of unbelief. For this reason [24] they are no longer

have remained within the borders of Ṭurfān and Kāshghar. Uzbeks[-Qazāqs] and Qīrghiz have begun to lay claim to Moghūlistān. Although the Qīrghiz are also from the Moghūl tribes, because of their frequent obedience to the *khāqāns* they have separated from the Moghūls. All of the Moghūls have become Muslims and joined the number of followers of Islam, but the Qīrghiz, as before, have remained in the grip of unbelief. For this reason they are no longer Moghūls. A consequence of this is that the Moghūls have now become the most distant and smallest creations" [23].

From the examples cited above it is evident that the Turkic text copied by the second copyist is close in content to the text of the Persian original; where, on the contrary, the *qalam* is taken up by Hājī Yūsuf, the text of the translation is retold and refashioned. The changes introduced by him to the translated text are quite significant: thus, in the last fragment cited, the Persian original, and evidently the anonymous eighteenth-century Turkic translation, takes up an entire folio. Hājī Yūsuf has "conveyed" the content in three sentences. It is revealing that the narrative here is conducted in the third person.

And so, the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī was made by an anonymous author in 1164, which corresponds to 1751. This is the earliest of the known Turkic translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's work. The translation is represented by a single copy in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, copied by two people whose linguistic skills were at different levels. An evaluation of the quality of the translation is complicated by the fact that the text of the Petersburg copy is heavily distorted by the low skill level of the main copyist and by his free treatment of the original. Judging by the few fragments copied by the second copyist, however, the anonymous author's eighteenth-century was on the whole entirely satisfactory.

By analysing the text of the manuscript, one can obtain a certain sense of the character of the translation. In the Turkic text, the following are given in Persian without translation: Mīrzā Ḥaydar's foreword to the first *daftar* (heavily abridged in the copy, and partly distorted), poetry, and nearly all the chapter titles. These are, in all probability, features present in the translation. Of the chapter titles, six are translated into Turkic (Nos. 3, 4, 6, 17, 25 in the first *daftar*; No. 75 in the second), and in three cases the titles are given both in Persian and Turkic translation (No. 3, 17, 25). The translation of the titles cannot belong to the anonymous author of the eighteenth century — the translation is far from accurate, and the Turkic names of several chapters cannot even be termed translations. For example: in the Persian original a chapter is entitled *Raftan-i khān be-Andijān bār-i dūyim*; in the Turkic text — *Raftan-i khān Andijānga bār-i dūyim* (fol. 283). As one can see, the "translation" here consists of replacing the Persian preposition *be*, which is usually prefixed to words to form the dative and instrumental cases, with the suffix *ga*, which forms, in part, the dative case in Turkic languages. These half-translations evidently belong to Hājī Yūsuf, the main copyist.

Thus, manuscript C 570 in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies is a heavily abridged and reworked copy of an eighteenth-century Turkic translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. Without recourse to the Persian original or other Turkic translations

Moghūls in any way. The author of the book says: 'I hope that if mistakes and errors have been allowed, they will be forgiven and no one will condemn them. The goal of the book is to leave a memory, so that the [names and deeds of] the Moghūl *khāqāns* will not disappear entirely in the darkness of time'. This *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was completed in [the year] nine-hundred-fifty-two in Kashmīr. The author of the book is Mīrzā Ḥaydar [25] Muḥammad Ḥusayn Gūrgān" (fols. 103b—104b).

of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, the manuscript is practically impossible to use for scholarly research, which renders it of limited interest. It still provides, however, significant historical evidence of a Turkī translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* already in the middle of the eighteenth century, and of the existence in Kāshgharia at the beginning of the century of another, probably more reliable, copy of this translation. In its particulars (the information contained in the colophon, the copyist's notes, etc.), it is of interest for specialists on the cultural history of East Turkestan.

Chronologically, the next Turkī translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* belongs to Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī. His name is well known to specialists. Judging by his literary legacy, Muḥammad Ṣādiq was a prominent literary figure, a man of great diligence and capacity for work. He is the author of at least two large works in Turkī: *Tadhkira-yi aṣḥāb-i kahf* and *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān*. The latter is also known as *Tadhkira-yi khwājagān* and *Tadhkira-yi jihān*. The Uzbek Academy of Sciences' collection of Oriental manuscripts and the libraries of London hold copies of a work by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī entitled *Durr al-maḥḥar* [26]. However, as is indicated in one of the Petersburg manuscripts, *Durr al-maḥḥar* (or *Kitāb-i durr-i maḥḥar*) is in fact merely another name for *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān* [27]. The existence of the *Tadhkira-yi 'azīzān* under several names is explained by the fact that the work has reached us in several, apparently late, versions [28], each of which has its own title. According to A. A. Semenov's "Index", there is a copy of this work in Persian entitled *Tadhkira-yi khwājagān* [29].

V. P. Yudin as well as N. Lykoshin include among the original works of Muḥammad Ṣādiq the *Ādāb al-ṣāliḥīn* [30]. According to research conducted by G. Hofman, however, the *Ādāb al-ṣāliḥīn* is a Turkī translation of the second part of *Zubdat al-masā'il* — a work by the Indian author 'Abd al-Ḥaqq b. Sayf al-Dīn Dihlawī Ḥaqqī [31], who wrote in Persian. Muḥammad Ṣādiq's literary output is characterised by its variety: he not only composed independent works, but also translated extensively. Aside from the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* and the second part of the *Zubdat al-masā'il*, he translated the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* into Turkī, entitling his translation *Tārīkh-i Iskandariya wa tāj-nāma-yi shāhī* [32]. It is possible that the translation of Muḥammad Ṣādiq Yārkandī's *Majmū'at al-ḥaqqīqatayn* [33] is his work as well.

As is evident, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī left an appreciable mark on the cultural history of East Turkestan. Nonetheless, we have practically no biographical information about him; his dates have not even been established. Yu. Mukhlisov's catalogue states without reference to a source that Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī died in 1849 [34]. This date is accepted by A. M. Muginov [35] and other Turkologists [36]. However, as has already been

noted in the scholarly literature, this date does not fit in with the time of the *Tadhkira-yi 'azizān*'s composition — 1182/1768—69 [37]. This date is in chronological conflict with the time of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's greatest creative activity, which falls on the final forty years of the eighteenth century. Judging by his *nisba*, he was born in Kāshghar; it appears that all of his work was conducted in East Turkestan in the eighteenth century.

His translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was also completed in Kāshghar. According to Ch. Valikhanov (or his informant) and A. M. Muginov, the translation was initiated by Yūnus-Tājī-bek b. Iskandar-bek b. Ayman [sic!] (Imīn-)Khwāja [38]. According to C. Salemann, the initiator was Ḥaḍrat Iskandar-wāng ḥākim-begīm [39]. G. Hofman, who used information in the literature rather than the original, considers it sensible to rely on the authority of Valikhanov and the compilers of the new catalogue of Turkic manuscripts of the Institute of the Peoples of Asia [40], which in this case means A. M. Muginov. He is not, however, consistent in his choices: in another volume of his work, he mentions that the translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was made by Muḥammad Ṣādiq for Iskandar-wāng, the son of Amīn [sic!]-Khwāja-wāng [41], in this case following C. Salemann. We will not attempt here to explain why the section of the manuscript which treats the initiator of the translation was read differently by Ch. Valikhanov (or his informant), C. Salemann, and A. M. Muginov. We merely note that certain sections of the text are indeed difficult to understand, but on the whole the text is fairly “transparent” and leaves no doubt that the translation was commissioned by Iskandar-wāng. We turn to the translator's foreword [42], which has yet to be cited in detail by anyone.

The foreword opens with the translator's lengthy discourse on the nature of the “nine heavens” (pp. 2—7). After that the translator gives his own name in the following phrase: “This despicable poor one, a recluse whose name is in the darkness of obscurity, the most unworthy Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī informs ...” (p. 7). He goes on to write that the son of the deceased Ḥaḍrat Imīn (ایمین)-Khwāja-wāng-beklīk, his Majesty Iskandar-wāng ḥākim-beklīk, “on mounting the throne of Majesty and of the sultanate, in the company of his dear son Ḥaḍrat Yūnus Tājī-beklīk, possessor of the true faith, — may Allah the Most High increase from day to day his happiness and may He ennoble him from hour to hour — honoured this poor one, [who] offers up [his] prayers, by addressing him”. He said that he gave Muḥammad Ṣādiq an order to translate into Turkī the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī*, where events which took place in the course of 5—6 thousand years are relayed. And while the events connected with Chingīz-khān's appearance on the historical arena are described in the *Ẓafar-nāma-yi Timūr-nāma*, there is little information about this in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. But it contains extremely detailed accounts of the reigns of the Moghūl khāns from Tūghlūq-Timūr to ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān. As this book was written in Persian, “in a refined style”, it remains “concealed from the inhabitants of Moghūlistān.” It is necessary, said Iskandar-wāng to Muḥammad Ṣādiq, to translate this historical book into the “Turkic dialect” widely used in Kāshghar, thus rendering the contents “concealed in the book” accessible to “all people” of this region that “they may recall our and your name with kind words before the Final Judgement and say a prayer of benevolence” (pp. 8—9).

Muḥammad Ṣādiq dedicates the next lines to praise for Iskandar-wāng. In his words, with the ascension to power of “this powerful amīr” in Kāshghar, a large part of the deserted “steppes and deserts have turned into cultivated fields”, discord and feuding have ceased, justice has triumphed, and a time of abundance has begun. For this reason, writes Muḥammad Ṣādiq in the conclusion to his foreword, “with all my heart and soul I approved” of this necessary work, and despite his lack of skill, set about fulfilling his ruler's order. “If mistakes and omissions have been allowed, then I hope that knowledgeable people will correct them with the pen of corrections. To Allah belongs all perfection,” — he writes (pp. 9—10).

The date of the translation is not indicated in the manuscript; the time of the translation's appearance can only be established by indirect evidence, and then only approximately. It is known that Ḥaḍrat Imīn (Aymīn)-Khwāja-wāng, Iskandar-wāng's father, was for many years the ḥākim of Ṭurfān and received for his services to the Qing empire the title of prince of the second rank, *jun wang* [43]. According to materials gathered by A. Temir, Imīn-Khwāja's father was Niyāz-Khwāja-Akhūnd, the son of Mīr-Ḥabīballāh Walīallāh Šūfī Khwājam [44]. His name appears in the sources in connection with military and political events in East Turkestan from the 1730s up through 1759 [45]. In all probability, he died in the 1760s. The years of Iskandar-wāng's reign in Kāshghar have not been firmly established. All that is known is that he was succeeded by his son Yūnus; his other son, Ismā‘īl, became the ḥākim of Yārkend. Moreover, Yūnus held the title of *wāng* already at the beginning of the nineteenth century [46]. On the basis of the preceding information, one can conclude that Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī's translation appeared in the last third of the eighteenth century.

We will now examine the structure of the manuscript and some of its individual features. The Petersburg manuscript is today the only known copy of Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation. Like the Persian original, the translation consists of two *daftar*s; each *daftar* has its own pagination, pencilled in Arabic numerals. Unfortunately, both sections are incomplete. The first *daftar* begins on page 10 [47] and ends on page 184. Fourteen chapters are missing entirely, and two chapters (Nos. 11 and 13) are unfinished. A large lacuna — 10 missing chapters in a row at the outset — is explained by a defect in the manuscript. At this place several *kurrāsas* were evidently lost. Page 78, on which chapter 26 ends is a *verso* and in the custode the next folio begins with the word *bār* (بار). The next page, however, is chapter 36 of the first *daftar*. The copy gives titles only for the first and final nine chapters (Nos. 60—69); in all other cases they are absent, including the author's title for the afterward to the first *daftar*. Almost everywhere space has been left for the text of the titles. The bulk of the poetry and *ḥadīth* in the Persian original have been omitted as well.

A folio has been inserted between the first and second *daftar*s; it is smaller than the folios of the manuscript itself and has been folded in two. This list, an insertion evidently belonging to one of the owners of the manuscript, contains the following text in Persian: “A translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into the Turkic language of Kāshghar. The translation from Persian into Turkī was made by Muḥammad Kāshgharī on the injunction of Yūnus-Tājīk (sic!)-bek b. Iskandar-dāng (sic!)-bek b. Imīn-Khwāja, amīr of Kāshghar. This Muḥammad Ṣādiq is the same man who



translated the *Tārīkh-i Ṭabarī* from Arabic [48] into Turkī. The original is a work by Muḥammad Ḥaydar-mīrẓā b. Ḥusayn-Gürgān, who was known among people as Mīrẓā Ḥaydar. He is one of the descendants of amīr Bulādī Dūghlāt (p. 19). The book contains a history of the Moghūl khāns, from the reign of Tūghlūq-Tīmūr-khān to the time of ‘Abd al-Rashīd-khān b. Sa‘īd-khān’s rule. It consists of two *daftar*s ...”. After that a *fihrist* of the first and second *daftar*s follows.

On reading this note, one may ask: was it not under its influence that Ch. Valikhanov (or his informant) and A. M. Muginov indicated Yūnus-Tājī-beklik as the initiator of the translation? The author of the note, however, misunderstood the text of the foreword. That the ruler at that time was in fact Iskandar-wāng is already evident from the formula which follows his name: “may Allah the Most High immortalise his reign and his power.” The glorification after Yūnus’ name contains only good wishes. Yūnus’ connection to the translation is limited to his presence at the reception at which his father, “on mounting the throne of Majesty and of the Sulṭānate”, dictated his orders to Muḥammad Ṣādiq [49].

The second *daftar* begins with the words: “Second *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. In the name of Allah the Beneficent and the Merciful!” This section of the manuscript also contains a large *lacuna* — 13 chapters are missing at the beginning of the *daftar*. The text of the manuscript breaks off on the chapter which tells of Shāh-Muḥammad-sulṭān. Similarly, 38 chapters are missing at the end of the manuscript, along with the author’s foreword to the second *daftar*, the second treatise and Khwāja Nūrā’s letter.

The chapter entitled “The Tale of the Final Circumstances of My Father Mīrẓā Ḥusayn-Gürgān” is given twice (pp. 19–23 and 32–6). This repetition could not have arisen because the translator returned to the same text (in both instances the translation is the same), but rather because the copyist made a second copy of this chapter. It is difficult to say whether this is explained by the carelessness of the copyist or by some feature of the manuscript from which he made his copy.

In many places we encounter pencilled notes and corrections of the copyist’s mistakes. A note in French pencilled into the margin of page 12 of the first *daftar* clearly indicates their origin: “All the pagination in the present manuscript, as well as the marginalia and dates in pencil are well known and belong to our colleague and friend, Mirza Jafar Topchibashev. Baron Desmaisons”.

Since the end of the manuscript is missing, there is no information either about the copyist or about the time and place of the copy’s composition. One can state with confidence only that the copy was made no later than 1266/1849–50, which is evident from the following note made by one of the manuscript’s owners: “Two volumes of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in Turkī. Bought for 30 *tanga*. 1266 [A.H.]” (p. 01). In the opinion of A. M. Muginov, the copy was made in East Turkestan [50].

In the scholarly literature, V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov has made especially full use of Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s translation. The second part of his *Issledovaniia* (“Researches”) contains extensive excerpts in text and translation from the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (based on the manuscript in the Oriental Faculty of the St. Petersburg University) along with the Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s Turkic translation in parallel text [51]. He notes both omissions

and various additions in the Turkic translation. Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s translation was also used in *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv* (“Materials on the History of the Kazakh Khānates”) [52].

V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov terms Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s translation “outstanding” [53]. On the other hand, in the words of G. Hofman, Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s translation is “not very accurate” [54]. This judgement is undoubtedly based on the following remarks by C. Salemann. Noting that V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov cited excerpts of the Turkic text, he writes that “as the excerpts show, this translation is unclear, as many places are simply incomprehensible without recourse to the original. One can, however, make full use of it as an aid to textual criticism. On the linguistic level, I direct the attention of Turkologists to the strange noun *ikāndūk* (ایکاندوک), pl. *ikāndūklār* (ایکاندوکلار), which I have not encountered anywhere else” [55].

It is true that the Petersburg copy of Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s Turkic translation omits more than a few words, expressions and dates. It also contains some serious errors. I provide several examples not noted by V. V. Velyaminov-Zernov. In the translation, the seventh child of Yūnus-khān is given as Sulṭān Nigār-khānim (p. 9, second *daftar*); in the Persian original it is Dawlat Sulṭān-khānim. On page 166 of the translation, the year A.H. 950 is erroneously written instead of A.H. 905. In another place, A.H. 928 is replaced first with A.H. 916, later the word “ten” is crossed out and “twenty” written above it (p. 283). On page 115, the date (A.H. 912) is omitted entirely. In place of the correct “Qara-Tegīn”, the copy contains “Qatar-Tegīn” (p. 181), and so on.

One should also note that the Petersburg manuscript completely lacks regular using of geographic names and ethnonyms. Especially telling is the word *qazāq* (قزاق). Until page 229 of the second *daftar*, the word is written either in the form *qazāq* (قزاق) or *qadāq* (قضااق). On the page indicated we encounter the expression “... One of the scholars drew up the chronogram for that event: *ashtī-yi qadāq* (اشتی قضااق)”. As the *abjad* can only give the needed date (A.H. 919) from the phrase *ashtī-yi qazāq* (اشتی قزاق), the word *qadāq* (قضااق) is crossed out and *qazāq* (قزاق) is written above it. It should be noted that the form *qazāq* (قزاق) is used for the remainder of the text.

A comparison of the extant chapters of the Turkic manuscript with the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* shows that in Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s translation there are no changes, additions, digressions, etc., which would indicate beyond doubt conscious, creative contributions on the part of the translator. The omissions of words, certain expressions and dates noted in the Petersburg manuscript are explained by flaws in the copy on which Muḥammad Ṣādiq based his translation, as well as by mistakes added by the copyist. On the whole, Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī’s translation conveys in reasonably accurate fashion the text of the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, although it is somewhat dry and contains a large number of Arabic and Persian words and expressions rarely used in Turkic languages. The translator’s adherence to Persianisms, in particular, is surprising: Muḥammad Ṣādiq leaves untranslated not only Persian nouns, adjectives, adverbs, etc., but sometimes even verbs and verbal forms. For a reader unfamiliar with the basics of Persian grammar, reading and understanding Muḥammad Ṣādiq’s translation is quite difficult.



Judging by the number of copies, neither the anonymous author's eighteenth-century translation nor Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation was widely known. Insufficient familiarity with these translations in East Turkestan as well as the constant attention on the part of the society's upper levels to written histories, genealogies of former dynasties and tales of ancestry stimulated new translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* in the nineteenth century. Among these is the translation by Muḥammad Niyāz. The new translation contains a detailed foreword, where the translator describes precisely the circumstances in which the translation was made, his work methods, etc. [56]. We summarise the foreword here, as its contents are of interest in a number of ways.

The sovereign ruler of Yārkend, 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākīm-beklik, writes Muḥammad Niyāz, told him on more than one occasion, "honouring this insignificant creature with his mercy", that this region belongs to the area of Moghūlistān and is the residence of the Moghūl khāns. 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākīm also said that the conditions in which the khāns lived from the time of Chingīz-khān to the interruption of the khān dynasty in Moghūlistān were not known. Also unknown is how many rulers reigned in this vilayet, what order they established, how this was observed, and when it ceased to function. 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng ḥākīm-beklik explained that it was the reason it was necessary "to find a book which would relay the history of the khāns' rule, or to find a trust-worthy story-teller who would tell of these events so that the names of the Moghūl khāns do not disappear in this world and the conditions of their life not remain forgotten".

Muḥammad Niyāz writes further that no one has any definite information on whether such works existed in the region's collections of books. By chance, however, a copy of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Gūrgān's *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was found. On reading it, Muḥammad Niyāz discovered that the book was dedicated entirely to the Moghūl khāns and the description of events in Moghūlistān. The manuscript was in bad condition, and it was almost impossible to use. "We regretted this very much," writes the translator. "Had this copy been in good condition, it would have been translated into Turkī then", that is, under 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng. Later, when Muḥammad Niyāz found himself, in his words, in the service of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ḥākīm-beklik, the ruler of Khotan, he succeeded in finding in the palace library another copy of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. This copy was distinguished (from the one discovered earlier) by its "perfect completeness, impeccable execution and beautiful preservation". As the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Persian, states the foreword, not everyone could use it or comprehend its contents. For this reason Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ordered to translate the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī in order to make its contents accessible to many and to ensure that the initiator of the translation and the translator would be well-remembered and prayers of benevolence be said for them. Although Muḥammad Niyāz did not consider himself qualified or worthy of this great task, in his words, he undertook the translation, for "in the execution of the royal order and highest will there [cannot] be delays or omissions".

Muḥammad Niyāz goes on to describe his methods of working. In brief, they are as follows: the translation is made in simple language, in expressions accessible to all. Suras from the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, translated by the author

from Arabic into Persian, are here translated into Turkī. Those Arabic verses and expressions not translated by the author of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are left "without interference." Certain Arabic verses, the meaning of which is difficult to understand, are also left untranslated. The Turkic verses which belong to Mīrzā Ḥaydar himself, or were borrowed by him from other authors, are given as they stand in the original. The Persian verses which contain *tārīkhs* (chronograms) or *mu'ammā* are also reproduced without change or adaptation, so as not to "spoil" them. The remaining Persian verses are translated into Turkī. "Various words not of Arabic or Persian origin, which are possibly Mongolian, from those distant times of their victory, or Qālmaq, such as, for example, *manghlāy*, *qūrultāy* and other such expressions, are translated approximately according to their meaning, although I wish it were otherwise," — writes the translator. In all probability, says Muḥammad Niyāz, mistakes have also been made in the translation of some little-known Persian words. But "to the fullest extent of my abilities, I strove to observe the rules of translation and contented myself with satisfactorily conveying the content of the Persian text with Turkic words," — Muḥammad Niyāz adds.

Finally, the translator announces that he, like Mīrzā Ḥaydar Gūrgān, who dedicated his work to 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān, dedicates his translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* to Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, which he does for the following three reasons: (1) the Persian original of this book was discovered and became known in his time, (2) the translation was made in accordance with his royal order, and (3) his lineage extends across generations to Ḥaḍrat Mawlānā Jamāl al-Dīn, whose tomb is located in the vilayet of Aqsū, in the Ay-Kūl district.

The translator's foreword concludes with verses (fols. 11a—12a). There are many poetic interpolations in the very text of the foreword as well.

The afterward to the translation [57] has a special title: "The Completion of the Translation of This Book and the Completion of the Rough Copy". It begins with words of praise to Allah, who gave the translator strength to complete this "great task". He goes on to inform us that the translation was completed in Khotan on 20 Jumādā II 1253 (22 September 1837), corresponding to the year of the Cow. He continues with the traditional formula of Muslim translators: he asks the readers to forgive him for the imperfections of the translation and calls on them to correct the mistakes which have been allowed. The afterward closes as does the foreword, with a poem by the translator.

Our information about the translator is limited. His full name was Muḥammad Niyāz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr (D 120, fols. 2b, 6a). He was a poet by vocation and used the *takhalluṣ* of Niyāzī. This pen-name is cited several times at various places in his poetry (D 120, fols. 12a, 61b, 62a; D 121, fol. 147a). As the translation shows, he had an excellent knowledge of his native Turkic and was fluent in Persian. Moreover, he not only translated from Persian, but also wrote poetry in it (see D 120, fol. 11a). The dates of Muḥammad Niyāz are unknown. As is evident from the text of the foreword, he served 'Abd al-Raḥmān-wāng, the ruler of Yārkend, who died, according to Chinese sources, in 1833 [58]. Muḥammad Niyāz then found himself in Khotan in the service of 'Abd al-Raḥmān's son, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng, in all probability, as a court writer. It is difficult to say whether he was called to the

Khotan court as a result of old acquaintance or thanks to his literary fame.

The manuscript section of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains a copy of a work by Muḥammad Niyāz not mentioned in other catalogues. It is called *Qīṣaṣ al-gharā'ib* [59]. The name of the author is cited in it as Muḥammad Niyāz b. Ghafūr-bek [60]. In the poem which closes the author's foreword, his *takhalluṣ*, Niyāzī, is given as well (fol. 3b). The *Qīṣaṣ al-gharā'ib* is a short compilation in the genre of "general history" of Muslim dynasties. In the words of the author, it is a "translation into Turkī" of the most interesting and, from his point of view, entertaining stories from such Persian-language works as the *Tārīkh-i Akbarī*, *Rawḍat al-jannāt*, *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā*, *Nigāristān*, *Rawḍat al-ṣafā*, and others (fols. 2b, 120a, 128b). The work was finished in the "Yārkend vilayet, on Monday, the twenty-first day of Rajab of 1268, corresponding to the year of the Fish" (fol. 128b), that is, 11 May 1852.

The *Qīṣaṣ al-gharā'ib* was written by order of the ḥākīm of Khotan, Muḥammad 'Azīz-wāng ḥākīm-beklik (fol. 2b). As is evident from this information and the formula after his name — "may his might increase" — Muḥammad 'Azīz was still alive in 1852. Incidentally, this refutes the claim, advanced without reference to a source, that he died in 1842 [61]. From the content of the author's foreword, it is clear that Muḥammad Niyāz continued to serve the Khotan khān. The reason for Niyāzī's move from Khotan to the Yārkend vilayet is unknown, as is the year of his death.

To close our section on the translator, it is worth noting that at the beginning of the nineteenth century, an individual who called himself Niyāzī Kāshgharī translated the *Tadhkira-yi uwaysīya* into Turkī [62]. Without studying a copy of his translation, it is problematic to claim, solely on the basis of the *takhalluṣ*, that Muḥammad Niyāz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr is this translator or whether we have here two individuals with the *takhalluṣ* Niyāzī.

Unlike the translations by the unknown, eighteenth-century author and Muḥammad Ṣādiq, Niyāzī's translation has come down to us in a comparatively large number of copies. At present, scholars have information about the existence of no fewer than ten manuscripts of various degrees of completeness, all copies of Muḥammad Niyāzī's translation. Niyāzī's translation is represented in the collections of the former Soviet Union by six manuscripts. We will describe first the Petersburg manuscripts, noting those features unmentioned in the descriptions of V. D. Smirnov and A. M. Muginov [63]:

1. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 120). In the opinion of A. M. Muginov, this is, "possibly the translator's autograph copy". This manuscript, beautifully executed and preserved, contains a translation of the first *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*. The copy ends with the chapter on 'Abd al-Rashīd-khān, and thus lacks Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the first *daftar*. Otherwise, the manuscript is distinguished by its exceptional completeness. We note among the copy's, and, consequently, the translation's features, an additional section included in his translation by Muḥammad Niyāz. After the chapter dedicated to amīr Khudāyād, Muḥammad Niyāz writes that his constant wish was to perform the ḥājj. When he learned that amīr Khudāyād had

received the honour of visiting Mecca and even being buried there, he was moved to write the poetic verses he then includes. The verses are dedicated to the same theme — Niyāzī's desire to visit the places holy to Muslims. The text inserted by the translator takes up a full three pages (minus two lines) (fols. 60b—62a).

2. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 121). The manuscript contains only a part of the second *daftar*, beginning with the thirty-ninth chapter. The manuscript ends with a translator's afterward in prose and verse. In a number of cases, the chapter titles are missing (fols. 3b, 70a, 106a); the title of one chapter is incompletely written in (fol. 48b). Folio 88a and a part of folio 87b are not filled in, although the gap is only spatial, not textual. In format and handwriting, the manuscript is close to D 120. It is possible that they were produced in the same place and represented separately bound parts of a single copy of the translation. If this is the case, there must be a third manuscript of the same format and handwriting which contains the first chapters of the second *daftar* missing in D 121.

3. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 122). The manuscript was copied by an unknown individual for his own purposes on paper of various sizes and types. The text of the translation is incomplete and the order is extremely distorted. The origin of most of the lacunae is explained by the particular features of the copy from which the manuscript under discussion was made. This is clear from a marginal note in the hand of the copyist, which follows the chapter on Yūnus-khān: "At this place twelve folios are missing" (fol. 32a). In fact, "at this place" the text of three chapters of the translation is missing. In place of Muḥammad Niyāz' afterward, the manuscript contains a brief note: "The book *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* was written in Farsi; it was translated into the Turkic dialect on Wednesday, on the first day of the month of 'īd-i qurbān of 1253" (fol. 12a).

4. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 192). The manuscript contains the text of the translation of the final 35 chapters of the second *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, as well as the second treatise, Khwāja Nūr's letters and Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the second *daftar*. The text is very close to manuscript D 121; both manuscripts contain an identical translator's afterward.

5. St. Petersburg, the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies (D 138). We shall discuss this manuscript later, in connection with another translation.

6/1. Tashkent, Institute of Oriental Studies (No. 10191/P). Judging by the date of the manuscript (1253/1837—38), this is possibly a copy of Muḥammad Niyāz' translation, although the catalogue, where the description of the manuscript is given, states that it is an "Uighur-Uzbek version" (?) completed by an unknown individual on the orders of the "ruler of Kāshghar, Zūkhūr al-Dīn Tājī ḥākīm-beklik" [64]. The manuscript contains an appendix dealing with a history of Kāshgharia from the 1540s to the nineteenth century. According to V. P. Yudin and O. Kh. Zhalilov, the appropriate chapters from the *Tārīkh-i Kāshghar* together with a book entitled *Tawārīkh* were used to continue the narrative of East Turkestan history. "By *Tawārīkh*, it would seem that the *Tārīkh-i Sayyid Rāqim* is meant" [65], as the author of an article on the appendix suggests.

7/1. Delhi, The Archeological Museum. Red Fort [66]. The translator's name is given in the catalogue as Muhammad Niyayuhi, son of 'Abd al-Ghaffar. No descriptive characteristics of the manuscript are provided, aside from its length (676 fols.) and size (36.0 × 23.0 cm).

8—10/1—3. London, The British and Foreign Bible Society. Three manuscripts [67]. They are all incomplete, and each contains only a partial text of the translation. The manuscript which contains part of the text of the second *daftar*, according to N. Elias, ends with the following words: "I finished this translation on 22 Jumādā II 1263, in the city of Khotan" [68]. If this note has been accurately reproduced by N. Elias [69], then it is quite clear that, as frequently happens with dates and numbers in general, the copyist has allowed an error here: instead of "22 Jumādā II 1263", it should read "20 Jumādā II 1253". A second possibility exists, although it is quite a stretch; namely, that this note belongs not to the translator, Muḥammad Niyāz, but to the copyist. In that case, the date indicated is the date on which the manuscript was copied.

11/1. London, The India Office Library (Turkī ms. I) [70]. We have no information on the manuscript. Judging by the sections cited by Hamada Masami, the manuscript begins with Muḥammad Niyāz' foreword.

All currently known copies of Muḥammad Niyāz' manuscript date from the nineteenth century. The broad and relatively rapid distribution of this translation was aided both by the virtues of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's work and the high quality of the new translation. Niyāzī's translation is distinguished by great accuracy and even elegance. The translator succeeded not only in conveying the meaning of the original, but also the simple style of the Persian text, its lightness and clarity of exposition. This is equally true of the poetry: the Persian verses contained in the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* are translated into Turkī with the poetic rhythm

intact, which testifies to the translator's poetic gifts. It seems to us that the task set in the foreword — to translate in simple language and expressions accessible to all — should be seen not only as Niyāzī's wish to bring his translation into accord with the linguistic and aesthetic needs of contemporary East Turkestan educated society, which had a poor command of Persian. The orientation toward a primarily Turkic lexicon, judging by the language of his *Qisaṣ al-gharā'ib* and the detailed foreword to the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, represents a deliberate decision by Muḥammad Niyāz. His fluent command of Persian and his excellent knowledge of Turkic allowed him to follow this principal consistently, without harming the accuracy or clarity of the translation. The text's easy comprehensibility to a Turkic reader unfamiliar with Persian, along with the accurately conveyed content allow us to speak of the high quality of Muḥammad Niyāz' translation. One should also take into account that the translation was made from a manuscript "of perfect completeness, impeccable execution and beautiful preservation". Also important here is the fact that most of the translation (manuscripts D 120 and D 121) is apparently represented by Muḥammad Niyāz' autograph copy or, in any case, a copy of beautiful workmanship and good preservation made during the translator's lifetime. Thus, the significance of this new translation for textual criticism of the Persian original is quite great. Thanks to its virtues, Muḥammad Niyāz' translation can perform for the modern scholar of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* services which, as a result of the specific features of "Oriental translation" [71], Muslim translations rarely perform.

In order to give the reader an idea of the breadth and accuracy of Muḥammad Niyāz' translation, we cite here in English translation a fragment from the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* with the Turkic translation in parallel text.

## Translation

### The Persian original

"A narration about Sulṭān Aḥmad-khān, the son of Yūnus-khān. ... Sulṭān Aḥmad-khān was an extremely religious, devout and pious ruler, so he decided the majority of matters on the basis of divine law and experienced no difficulties in this. He was a stern, daring man of perfect valour; his thought was sound, his judgments proper. He showed special concern for *sayyids*, *darwīshes*, *'ulamā'* and the virtuous. He dedicated the major part of his time to carrying out moral and religious injunctions and publicly performed the rituals of stipulated prayer. He strictly observed the bonds of kinship. Respect for good deeds and lofty spiritual qualities was matchless in his time. His blessed age was thirty nine [when he died]. A complete description of the conditions of his life is given in the second *daftar*" [72].

As is evident from the comparison, Muḥammad Niyāz follows the Persian original very closely, giving throughout a clear and almost everywhere outstanding translation. There is no doubt that the translator set himself no stylistic, textological or other tasks which aimed to change the letter of the original. Strictly observing the "rules of translation," he simply strove, as is indicated in the foreword, "to reproduce accurately the meaning of the Persian text in Turkic words" (D 120, fol. 10a).

### Manuscript D 120

"A narration about Sulṭān Aḥmad-khān, the son of Yūnus-khān. ... Sulṭān Aḥmad-khān was an extremely religious, devout and pious *pādishāh*, so he decided the majority of matters on the basis of divine law and experienced no difficulties in this. He was very energetic, audacious and of perfect valour; his thought was sound, his judgments proper. He extended exceptional patronage to *darwīshes*, *'ulamā'* and the virtuous. He dedicated the major part of his time to carrying out moral and religious injunctions and publicly performed the ritual of the stipulated five prayers. He strictly observed the bonds of kinship. In his time, respect for good deeds and lofty spiritual qualities was incomparable. His blessed age was thirty nine [when he died]. A description of the other conditions of his life is given in the second *daftar*" (fol. 94b).

We should add to the three translations considered here one more Turkic translation, apparently completed in the nineteenth century, also in East Turkestan. This translation is represented in the collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies by a single copy (D 138). Neither the name of the translator nor the date of the translation is indicated in the manuscript. For unclear reasons, C. Salemann believed that the translator was Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī [73]. As for A. M. Muginov,

he assumed that the translation of all four parts of the work represented in this copy was made by Muḥammad Niyāz b. 'Abd al-Ghafūr [74]. However, a comparison of the text with all available Turkic translations shows that we have here an independent translation from the Persian original. The translation is incomplete, and its text occupies only a part of the manuscript. The text of the second part of the volume, as will be shown below, goes back to Muḥammad Niyāz' translation. As this manuscript has not yet been investigated or studied, we give a more detailed description.

The manuscript is a large-size volume (42.0 × 27.0 cm) bound in green cardboard with coloured imprints. The first folios (fols. 01–03b, 1a) and the last folios (fols. 245b, 001a–004b) contain no text. At the beginning of folio 03a there is a brief note consisting of four words: "*Huwa*. Beginning of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*". The folios left blank at the beginning and end of the volume were, evidently, intended for the translator's foreword and afterward. Like the original, the translation is divided into two *daftar*s. The text of the first *daftar* is distinguished by significant omissions: three chapters are missing after fol. 12a, and the *daftar* itself ends with the chapter "The tale of Yūnus-khān and Ayrāzāq's setting out for Samarqand, to Mīrzā Ūlūghbek" (fol. 41b). Consequently, in comparison to the original, the first *daftar* lacks 36 chapters and the author's afterward. The second *daftar* begins with the words "Foreword to the second *daftar* of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*" (fol. 42b). There are few lacunae in this section of the manuscript: only three chapters are missing, among them the chapter about singers (fol. 80a). Folio 239a is blank, and contains on the reverse side a note unrelated to the main text in the hand of the copyist: it is an enumeration of the ancestors of the amīr Pūlādchī and Tīmūr with some brief information about them. There is no break in the main text.

The manuscript was copied in 1308/1890–91 (fol. 245a) by a single copyist in a neat, cursive *nasta'liq*. The copyist's name is not indicated, nor are there any clear indications of where the copy was made. Judging by the fact that the manuscript was acquired by the Asiatic Museum in 1897 as part of the collection of J. Lütsch, "former consular secretary in Kāshghar" [75], the manuscript was copied in East Turkestan.

A comparison of the texts quite clearly shows that the manuscript under consideration contains two different translations of the Persian original and that the second *daftar* of the copy is based on Muḥammad Niyāz' translation. Furthermore, the texts from the first *daftar* of manuscripts D 138 and D 120 differ both in style and usage. Tellingly, this section reveals differences even in the poetry translated into Turkī. Moreover, in manuscript D 138, certain verses are given both in Persian and Turkic translation (fol. 34a). The reconstruction of the Farsi verse, partly absent in Niyāzī's translation, would have been impossible unless the translator had the Persian original of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* at hand.

The text of the first *daftar* of manuscript D 138 does not agree in its particulars either with the anonymous author's eighteenth-century translation or with Muḥammad Ṣādiq's translation.

The texts from the second *daftar* of manuscripts D 138 and D 121, on the other hand, reveal complete accord. They contain the exact same translation, namely, that of Muḥammad Niyāz. In manuscript D 138, however, the text of Muḥammad Niyāz' translation has been somewhat

abridged in comparison with manuscript D 121: absent are the chapter on Tāj al-Dīn's return to Ṭurfān (fol. 179b), the description of Kashmīr (fol. 216b), poetry in several places (fols. 221b, 226b, 230a), one chapter title (236b), and Muḥammad Niyāz' afterward to the translation. One also finds the omission or addition of certain words and the distortion or improvement of certain readings, etc.

It was noted above that in manuscript D 138, the anonymous author's translation ends in the middle of folio 41b on the thirty-sixth chapter of the first *daftar*. Moreover, the chapter's text concludes with the word *tamām* ("finished"). As the remaining text of the first *daftar* is missing in the manuscript, and the text of the second *daftar* of Niyāzī's translation is incompletely represented in the manuscript available for comparison — which lacks the author's foreword and the first 38 chapters — it is difficult to establish the chapter and *daftar* where Muḥammad Niyāz' translation actually begins. There is some uncertainty about the word *tamām*. What does it relate to? What is "finished"? The unconnected and independent translation from the Persian original? The text of the first *daftar* represented in the protograph? Is the copyist's work — copying the text of the anonymous author's translation — "finished"? Consequently, the following remain unelucidated: the true degree of completeness of the anonymous author's translation; the time of the new translation's appearance; the reason for the compilative nature of manuscript D 138. Who is responsible for uniting in one book the texts of two different translations? Was it the translator himself or the copyist?

The possibility of giving convincing answers to all these questions is limited by the absence of the appropriate information which could, under favourable circumstances, be gleaned directly from the manuscript. The current state of our knowledge leaves much room for guesses and speculation. The goal of our article, however, is concrete — a study of the Turkic manuscripts of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* preserved in the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies collection with an elucidation of their main features through a comparison of the Turkic copies with the Persian original and with each other. The new, independent translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī revealed in this fashion is one of the concrete results of the present work.

Thus, the manuscript collection of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies contains at least four translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī, the earliest of which dates from 1751. They are all independent and unconnected to each other. That is, the Turkic translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt's historical work which have reached us do not represent the evolution of a single basic translation, but rely on various copies of the Persian original.

All of the translations are of East Turkestan origin, and were evidently made by literary professionals. The translations are not, however, of equal value, which is explained not only by the quality of the translations themselves, but by the degree of completeness of the copies, as well as by the degree of preservation of the author's text of each individual translation. The most significant of them is the translation by Muḥammad Niyāz, a well-educated and knowledgeable translator and, evidently, a gifted man with a good knowledge of languages and of the country described by Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt.

The East Turkestan origin of the translations is not a coincidence. The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* is a central source for the history of East Turkestan from the fourteenth to the sixteenth centuries, the period of Moghūlīstān's formation and, in particular, the Moghūl state centred around Yārkend. When the needs and demands of local cultural development compelled East Turkestan scribes of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries to turn to the history of an earlier period, they found themselves dependent on their predecessors, who wrote primarily in Persian. First among them was Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt. This is the chief explanation for the number of translations of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* into Turkī. On the other hand, the appearance of new translations of Mīrzā Ḥaydar's work was provoked by in-

sufficient knowledge of each of the preceding translations. This is supported both by the number of copies of eighteenth-century translations which have reached us and by the absence of information testifying to each translator's knowledge of his predecessors.

As is evident from the material cited, at least two of the four translations were commissioned by highly placed individuals. The readership of the translations under consideration was, nonetheless, socially diverse. Evidence for this is found not only in the author's descriptions of their motivation — to make the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* accessible to all Turkic-speaking inhabitants of Moghūlīstān — but also in the existence of a copy made for their own needs by the inhabitants of a rural area.

### Notes

1. For information on Mīrzā Ḥaydar and his work, see V. V. Bartol'd, "Khaider-mirza" ("Ḥaydar-mīrzā"), *Sochineniia* (Moscow, 1973), viii, pp. 598–9; also Ch. A. Stori, *Persidskaia literatura. Bio-bibliograficheskii obzor* (Persian Literature. A Bio-Bibliographical Survey). In three parts, trans. from English, re-worked and expanded by Iu. E. Bregel' (Moscow, 1972), pt. II, No. 1068; T. I. Sultanov, "Tārīkh-i Rashīdī" Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāta. Literaturnaiia istoriia pamiatnika" ("The *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* of Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt. The Literary history of a text"), *Pis'mennye pamiatniki Vostoka. Istoriko-filologicheskie issledovaniia* (Moscow, 1982), pp. 116–35; H. F. Hofman, *Turkish Literature. A Bibliographical Survey*, section 3, pt. I (Utrecht, 1969), iii, p. 156.
2. V. V. Bartol'd, "Chagataiskaia literatura" ("Chaghatāy literature"), *Sochineniia*, (Moscow, 1968), v, p. 610; *idem*, "Khaider-mirza", p. 599.
3. A. M. Muginov, *Opisanie uigurskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of Uighur Manuscripts in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences) (Moscow, 1962), No. 37.
4. *Islām Ansiklopedisi*, cüz 43 (Istanbul, 1949), p. 388.
5. J. D. Pearson, *Oriental Manuscript Collections in the Libraries of Great Britain and Ireland* (London, 1954), p. 55.
6. See N. D. Miklukho-Maklaï, *Opisanie persidskikh i tadzhikskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Persian and Tajik Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. 3: *Istoricheskie sochineniia* (Moscow, 1975), No. 465.
7. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 162.
8. *Ibid.*, p. 162.
9. *The Tarikhi-i Rashidi of Mirza Muhammad Haidar Dughlat. A History of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, an English version, ed. with commentary, notes and map by N. Elias, transl. by E. Denison Ross (London, 1895), pp. IX–X.
10. Muginov, *op. cit.*, Nos. 31–37; L. V. Dmitrieva, A. M. Muginov, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta narodov Azii AN SSSR* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of the Peoples of Asia of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. I: *Istoriia* (Moscow, 1965), Nos. 87–93.
11. The following are omitted in the English translation of the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* noted above: Mīrzā Ḥaydar's conclusion to the second *daftar* and 25 chapters of the basic text; several chapters are given in abbreviated form.
12. Both of these treatises and the letter are omitted in the English translation.
13. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī tarjamasi*, MS C 570 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 240b.
14. Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 37.
15. Maḥmūd ibn Valī. *More ta'īn otnositel'no doblestei blagorodnykh (geografiia)* (The Sea of Secrets Regarding the Noble Valours: Geography). Introduction, translation, notes and indices by B. A. Akhmedov (Tashkent, 1977), p. 72.
16. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov (izvlecheniia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochinenii)* (Materials on the History of Kazakh Khānates of the Fifteenth to Eighteenth Centuries: Excerpts from Persian and Turkic Works) (Alma-Ata, 1969), pp. 482–3.
17. Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 37.
18. The pagination in the manuscript itself is Oriental (custodes). The numeration of the pages apparently belongs to A. M. Muginov. Toward the end of the copy he made a counting error and in place of fol. 240 wrote fol. 270. We have corrected the old numeration, and therefore references to folios after fol. 240 do not correspond to those given by A. M. Muginov.
19. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fol. 14a; MS C 394, fol. 12a; MS C 395, fol. 17b; MS D 71, p. 20 (all these MSS in the possession of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies).
20. The title of the chapter is given both in Persian and in Turkic translation.
21. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fol. 120a–b; MS C 394, fols. 98b–99a; MS C 395, fols. 157b–158a; MS D 71, pp. 191–2.
22. The title of the chapter is given in Persian.
23. Mīrzā Ḥaydar Dūghlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fols. 83b–84a; MS C 394, fol. 58a–b; MS C 395, fols. 102b–103a; MS D 71, pp. 124–5.
24. Henceforth, the text in the manuscript is in the hand of the main copyist.
25. The copyist first wrote "Mīrzā Abā-Bakr", but then crossed out this name and wrote "Mīrzā Ḥaydar".
26. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei AN Uzbekskoi SSR* (Collection of Oriental Manuscripts of the Uzbek SSR) (Tashkent, 1955), iii, No. 2721; Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 29.
27. L. V. Dmitrieva, S. N. Muratov, *Opisanie tiurkskikh rukopisei Instituta vostokovedeniia AN SSSR* (Description of Turkic Manuscripts in the Institute of Oriental Studies of the USSR Academy of Sciences). Fasc. II: *Istoriia, akty, bibliografiia, entsiklopedii, geografiia, kalendar*, A. S. Tveritina (Moscow, 1975), No. 24.

28. *Ibid.*, Nos. 24–30; W. D. Smirnow, *Manuscripts turcs de l'Institut des Langues Orientales* (St.-Petersbourg, 1897), No. 78.
29. A. A. Seménov, *Ukazatel' persidskoj literatury po istorii uzbekov v Srednej Azii* (Index of Persian Literature on the History of Uzbeks in Central Asia) (Tashkent, 1926), p. 15.
30. Review by V. P. Iudin in *Trudy Instituta istorii, arkhologii i étnografii AN Kazakhskoj SSR*, XV (Alma-Ata, 1962), p. 202 of Mukhlisov's "Uğur klassik adabiati koliazmlirinin katalogi" ("Catalogue of manuscripts of classical Uighur writings") published in *Shinzhan ėrlik muzėiga taťiarlik korush bashkarmisi* (1957).
31. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 23.
32. See Mukhlisov, *op. cit.*, No. 41.
33. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 23.
34. Mukhlisov, *op. cit.*, No. 41.
35. Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 32.
36. Dmitrieva, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. II, No. 24.
37. Stori, *op. cit.*, pt. II, No. 1068, p. 1204, n. 4.
38. Ch. Ch. Valikhanov, "Iz "Tarikh-i Rashidi"" ("From the *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*"), *Sobranie sochinenii* (Alma-Ata, 1961), i, p. 437; Muginov, *op. cit.*, No. 32.
39. C. Salemann, "Neue Erwerbungen des Asiatischen Museums", *Mélanges Asiatiques tirés de Bulletin de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Petersbourg*, IX, 1880–1888 (St.-Petersbourg, 1888), pp. 383–4.
40. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 163.
41. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 21.
42. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, translation into Turkī by Muḥammad Ṣādiq Kāshgharī, MS C 569 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, pp. 2–10.
43. L. I. Duman, *Agrarnaia politika Tsinskogo (Manchzhurskogo) pravitel'stva v Sin'tsiane v kontse XVIII veka* (Agrarian Policy of the Qing (Manchu) Government in Xinjiang at the End of the Eighteenth Century) (Moscow–Leningrad, 1936), p. 97.
44. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 164; iv, p. 21.
45. Duman, *op. cit.*, pp. 97, 107, 164, 191; M. Courant, *L'Asie Centrale aux XVII et XVIII siècles, Empire Kalmouk ou empire Manchou?* (Lyon–Paris, 1912), p. 121–2.
46. M. Hartmann, *Chinesisch-Turkestan. Geschichten, Verwaltung, Geistesleben und Wirtschaft* (Halle, 1908), p. 35.
47. A. M. Muginov mistakenly identified the text of the author's foreword with the translator's foreword, and therefore indicated the pages incorrectly. In actuality, the translator's foreword takes up pages 2–10, and the author's foreword pages 10–16 (see Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 93).
48. At first, "from Persian" was written. Later, the author of the note crossed this out and wrote "from Arabic".
49. See the description of the translator's foreword.
50. Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 93.
51. V. V. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *Issledovanie o Kasimovskikh tsariakh i tsarevichakh* (A Study on the Kasimov Tsars and Tsareviches), pt. II (St. Petersburg, 1864), pp. 144f.
52. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv XV–XVIII vekov (izvlecheniia iz persidskikh i tiurkskikh sochinenii)*, pp. 191, 520ff.
53. Vel'iaminov-Zernov, *op. cit.*, pp. 137–8.
54. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 163.
55. Salemann, "Neue Erwerbungen", p. 383, n. 12.
56. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, translation into Turkī by Muḥammad Niyāz, MS D 120 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 1b–12a.
57. *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS D 121 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fols. 146b–147a.
58. Hamada Masami, "Islamic saints and their mausoleums", *Acta Asiatica, Bulletin of the Institute of Eastern Culture*, XXXIV (Tokyo 1978), p. 92.
59. Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 27.
60. Muḥammad Niyāz, *Qīṣaṣ al-gharā'ib*, MS D 106 in the holdings of the St. Petersburg Branch of the Institute of Oriental Studies, fol. 2a.
61. Hamada Masami, *op. cit.*, p. 92.
62. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iv, p. 279.
63. Smirnow, *op. cit.*, No. 76; Muginov, *op. cit.*, Nos. 31, 33–36; Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, Nos. 88–92.
64. *Sobranie vostochnykh rukopisei Akademii nauk Uzbekskoj SSR* (Tashkent, 1964), vii, No. 5014.
65. *Materialy po istorii Kazakhskikh khanstv*, pp. 410–1; Omonbek Khusainbek ugli Zhalilov, "'Tarikhī Rashidī' ning ilovasi", *Sharqshunoslik*, 5 (Tashkent, 1994), pp. 88–95.
66. *Manuscripts from Indian Collections, Descriptive Catalogue* (New Delhi, 1964), p. 110.
67. Hofman, *op. cit.*, iii, p. 162. According to N. Elias, two manuscripts (see *The Tarikh-i Rashidi*, ed. Elias, p. IX).
68. *The Tarikh-i Rashidi*, ed. Elias, p. X.
69. In any case, N. Elias has made an error in his conversion of dates from the Hijra to the European calendar: Jumādā II 1263 corresponds not to 1845, as he has it, but to 1847.
70. Hamada Masami, *op. cit.*, p. 81.
71. For "Oriental translation"'s features see V. D. Smirnov, *Turetskie legendy o Sviatoī Sofii, o drugikh vizantiiskikh drevnostiakh* (Turkish Legends about Saint Sophia, [and on] other Byzantine Antiquities) (St. Petersburg, 1898), especially p. 13; E. E. Bertel's, "Nevai i Attar" ("Nawā'i and 'Aṭṭār"), *Mir-Ali-Shir. Sbornik k piatisotletiiu so dnia rozhdeniia* (Leningrad, 1928), p. 27.
72. Mīrzā Haydar Dughlāt, *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī*, MS B 648, fol. 67b; MS C 394, fol. 45a–b; MS C 395, fol. 84a; MS D 71, p. 102.
73. K. G. Zaleman, "Rukopisi Ia. Ia. Liutsha" ("J. J. Lütsh's manuscripts"), *Mélanges Asiatiques*, XI, 1895–1901 (St.-Petersbourg, 1901), p. 55, No. 4.
74. Dmitrieva, Muginov, Muratov, *op. cit.*, fasc. I, No. 91.
75. Zaleman, *op. cit.*, p. 55.