



CHINESE TURKESTAN V. UNDER THE KHOJAS

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The Khojas (Ḳvājas, Ḳvājagān), descendants of the Naqšbandī Sufi [Aḥmad Ḳvājagī Kāsānī](#) (d. 949/1543), known as Maḳdūm-e Aʿzam, ruled over Chinese Turkestan between 1089/1678 and 1173/1759. As *sayyeds* (claiming descent from the Prophet Moḥammad), they had married into some of the leading families (*begs*) of the Eastern Chaghatays (see [chaghatayid dynasty](#)), including the ruling Chingizid clan, thus consolidating a broad power base in the region of Altīšahr (six cities), consisting of Aqsu (A-ke-su), Uch Turfan, Khotan (Hedian), Kashgar (Ka-shi), Yarkand (Suo-che), and Kucha (Ku-che). Throughout the 11th/17-18th centuries the two main lineages of the Khojas, the Eshāqīya (Qarataḡliq, Black Mountain) and the Āfāqīya (Aqtaḡliq, White Mountain), descendants respectively of the two sons of Maḳdūm-e Aʿzam (see [Table 39](#)), extended their power, ruling over a number of city-states with puppet Chaghatayid princes as nominal rulers (Saguchi, 1963, chaps. 1-2; Fletcher, *History*, chaps. 3-4). In the late 1080s/1670s the Oirad (Ūyrāt) Mongols, originally from Dzungaria and western Mongolia, invaded Altīšahr; with their support in 1089/1678 Ḳvāja Āfāq Hedāyat-Allāh, the great-grandson of Maḳdūm-e Aʿzam for whom the Āfāqīya lineage is named, seized the Chaghatayid throne in Yarkand (Kāšgarī, tr. Hartmann, p. 214). His



descendants continued to rule Kashgaria until the mid-12th/18th century. Their domain was relatively prosperous, characterized by irrigation agriculture dependent upon the *qanāt*@ (underground aqueduct) system originally borrowed from Persia. The Khojas' power was, however, severely limited by their overlords, the Dzungar khans from what was then the leading Oirad tribe, who required payment of tribute and frequently insisted on hostages to ensure their vassals' obedience. In 1168/1755 the armies of the Manchu Qing dynasty (1644-1911) invaded Dzungaria, where they found two brothers of the Āfāqīya lineage, Qīlīč Borḥān-al-Dīn and K̄vāja Jahan, being held hostage (Saguchi, 1978, pp. 67-80). Although the Chinese attempted to enlist the support of the brothers, they chose to resist and fled to their own territory in the western Tarim basin. Their independence was short-lived, however, and the Chinese conquest of Kashgaria in 1173/1759 brought the rule of the Khojas to an end (Fletcher, 1982, pp. 170-71). Descendants of Qīlīč Borḥān-al-Dīn (who fled to Badakḥṣān in 1173/1759) and his brother led Muslim resistance in the region until the second half of the 13th/19th century.

Although an indigenous Muslim and non-Muslim Turkic literature is attested in eastern Turkestan from an early period, the earliest surviving works embodying the historical traditions of the Chaghatayids in the 10th/16th century are in Persian, for example, the *Tārīk-e rašīdī* (952/1546) of Mīrzā Moḥammad-Ḥaydar Doḡlāt (q.v.). Especially during the reign of K̄vāja Āfāq (1089-1106/1679-94) the heterogeneous populations of the Altīšahr began to develop a common identity based on allegiance to Islam, especially the teachings of the Naqṣbandī order. One of the most pious Naqṣbandīs, [Šāh-Maḥmūd b. Mīrzā Fāzel Čorās](#) (d. ca. 1107/1696), left two important works in Persian: a political history intended as a continuation of the *Tārīk-e rašīdī* through the first three quarters of the 11th/17th century (Čorās, 1976) and a hagiography of the Eshāqīya lineage entitled *Anīs al-ṭālebīn* (1107/1696). The Khojas encouraged both translation of Persian works into Eastern Turkic and a revival of literary forms original to the latter language. This diverse literary culture continued to thrive long after the dynasty came to an end. For example, the major work on Maḡdūm-e A'zam, *Jāme' al-maḡāmāt*, had been written in 1026/1617 by his grandson Abu'l-Baqā', who belonged to a third lineage that had remained uninvolved in the politics of the Tarim basin. In 1208/1794 Moḥammad-Šādeq Yārkandī began a translation of *Jāme' al-maḡāmāt* into eastern Turkic; he completed it, with a supplement on the Khojas of Kashgar, in 1235/1819 under the title *Majmū'at al-moḥaqqeqīn* (ms. Orient. Oct. 1680, Staatsbibliothek, Marburg, pp. 15, 21, 154). From this series



of works it is possible to assess the importance of histories and tales about Muslim saints, especially those from different parts of the Tarim basin, in forging a sense of common Islamic identity. The Khojas also founded shrines to some of these saints and established pious endowments (*waqfs*) to support them. The shrines became sites of pilgrimage, at which the inhabitants of different parts of the region were brought closer together. Among the most important pilgrimage centers were the Yağdu tombs near Kashgar, where K̄vāja Āfāq (d. 1106/1694) is buried (Kāšgarī, tr. Hartmann, p. 217 n. 2).

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[Table 39](#). The Khoja Lineages