

## INTRODUCTION

This work presents the autograph manuscript of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (The History of Eastern Turkistan), the most important work of Muḥammad Amīn Bughra, a well-known 20<sup>th</sup>-century nationalist among the Uyghurs.

The Uyghurs are the largest group of Turkic peoples indigenous to the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region (新疆維吾爾自治區) of China. Today, the Uyghurs live primarily in Xinjiang, and have communities in almost all of the newly independent Central Asian republics, the largest being in Kazakhstan. Today, it is usual for this group of people to use the term “Uyghur” to refer to themselves. It is also a popular idea among them that the “Uyghur” as an ethnic group have existed in the area since ancient times. However, from a historical point of view, the Uyghurs only started to be called by the ethnic group name “Uyghur” during the 20th century, when Turkic urban-dwellers and farmers in Xinjiang, which included Kashgharia and Jungaria, began to be regarded as one ethnic group.

During the period of the Republic of China, the “Uyghur” people began exploring what it means to be a nation (ethnic group), in the modern meaning of the word. At this time, Uyghur intellectuals began independently publishing in conjunction with their rising sense of nationalism. Those intellectuals produced large volumes of material, including newspapers and journals. This flurry of intellectual activity had never been witnessed before, and it is no exaggeration to say that it is testimony to the modernization of Uyghur society.

Of particular interest is the fact that, throughout the published material, one constantly finds questions such as “Who are we?” “What is our motherland?” and “What is our history?” The Republic of China represented a period of transition, in which attempts were made to classify and establish ethnic groups in the modern sense of the word. Accordingly, differences began to emerge among fellow “nationalist” intellectuals over their nation’s proper name, the location of their ethnic homeland, and the geographical/physical scope of such a homeland.

Thus, the intellectual consciousness and opinions regarding ethnicity in particular are still a matter of debate, because it has formed the core of their nationalism. One must ask how this disparity in thinking reflected and had an

THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF  
MUḤAMMAD AMĪN BUGHRA'S *SHARQĪ TURKISTĀN TĀRĪKHĪ*

impact on the actual activities of the intellectuals. In the era of the Republic of China, there was no consensus over the name of the nation even among intellectuals, leaving one to inquire about the process by which the name “Uyghur” was introduced as a unified term.<sup>1</sup> In addition, one must ask how this name and the consciousness associated with it permeated and became established among the population at large. As long as a lack of clarity remains as to the intellectuals’ consciousness, which underlined their practical activities, it will not be possible to understand the norms of early-modern Uyghur society or the essence of its historical transformation.

In order to explore this issue, I direct my especial attention to Muḥammad Amīn Bughra’s *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*. As described later, Bughra was a leading figure who took an active part in the modern history of Xinjiang and *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*, his most important work, is noteworthy for being a systematic historical narrative written by a Uyghur from a nationalist perspective. I ought to mention here that Bughra did not see himself as a Uyghur, but a Türk—this will be discussed in detail below. I believe that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* is one of the most appropriate sources to use when attempting to examine the Uyghur



Muḥammad Amīn Bughra

intellectuals’ nationalist consciousness, as well as the various intellectual issues associated with such consciousness, in relation to the Uyghur intellectuals’ historical awareness.

There are a number of reasons for this approach. First, the historical context in which *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* was written has been largely clarified by past research, and recent studies are increasingly unveiling Bughra’s own background.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Regarding the issue of the ethnic name Uyghur, refer to Roberts 2009 and 清水 2011.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the life history of Muḥammad Amīn Bughra refer to 清水・新免・鈴木 2007: 4–12, 清水 2009: 22–29, 水谷 2008: 32–37 and SHIMIZU 2012: 4–16.

## INTRODUCTION

Therefore, when used as a historical source, there is relatively little possibility that defects and discrepancies will emerge, based on the researcher's perspectives and research methods. Of course, as Shinmen Yasushi (新免康), Suzuki Kentaro (鈴木健太郎), and I have pointed out,<sup>3</sup> given that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is a historical record of Bughra's own homeland and people, and based on his own nationalist perspective, anyone using it as a historical source should be aware of his bias, as the accounts are heavily colored by Bughra's nationalist views. However, if one is trying to clarify the universality and particularity of Uyghur intellectual thought, the bias in the accounts may actually provide a valuable historical perspective.

The second reason is that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is sufficient, due to both its size and its systematic nature, to serve as a reliable source for historical examination. As mentioned previously, the Uyghurs published many newspapers during the 1930s and 1940s, including *Yengi Hayāt* (New Life)<sup>4</sup> and *Erk* (Freedom).<sup>5</sup> These newspapers warrant investigation, because they contain many treatises, including opinions on Uyghur ethnicity and history that were held at the time by the Uyghur intellectuals who published the material. However, these treatises have limited value as historical sources. Owing to the mediatized nature of newspapers, authors' backgrounds (individual treatises were probably written by multiple authors) are not always clear, and only fragmented information can be obtained. In this respect, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is significantly better than other historical sources, as it constitutes a systematic historical source penned by a single author, and is more than 800 pages long.<sup>6</sup>

Thirdly, notwithstanding *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*'s exceptional value as a historical source, it has not been adequately utilized at an academic level. *Sharqī*

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<sup>3</sup> 清水・新免・鈴木 2007: 25.

<sup>4</sup> *Yengi Hayāt* made its first appearance in March 1934 in Kashghar. It was issued until May 1937, when the Xinjiang provincial government forced it to cease publication. *Yengi Hayāt* was published by Uyghur intellectuals in Kashghar on their own initiative. For that reason, their nationalistic beliefs are observed everywhere in the newspaper. For details, see 清水 2007: 62.

<sup>5</sup> *Erk* made its first appearance in December, 1946. It was published by Altay Publishing House, which was established in Urumchi in 1946 by 'Īsa Yūsuf Alptekin (see below) and Bughra. They made *Erk* a propaganda weapon for clearly stating their political claims and opinions regarding their history and ethnicity. For details see 清水 2010: 25.

<sup>6</sup> The book contains the initial 40 pages and 776 pages of the main part. See below for further details.

*Turkistān Tārīkhi* has been referenced in historical works on the Uyghurs such as Polat Qādirī's *Ölkä Tārīkhi* (The Province History), which was published in Urumchi in 1948.<sup>7</sup> In China, Han-Chinese historians have vilified *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* as a text inciting ethnic separatism.<sup>8</sup> However, in each of these examples, referencing *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is based on specific ethnic or political interests, and so it is questionable whether these examples are objective and academically sound.

In Japan, on the other hand, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*'s existence and general content were known as early as 1994 due to Shinmen's work.<sup>9</sup> However, other than being briefly referenced by Shinmen himself in order to clarify the history of a revolt, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* has hardly been used worldwide as a historical source. The reason for this absence of citation could be due to the scarcity of copies in circulation, as well as the fact that it is written in a Uyghur dialect that retains heavy elements of Chaghatay Turki, a language that has often been called "Eastern Turki" in previous research.<sup>10</sup>

Under these conditions, Shinmen, Suzuki, and I have provided an annotated Japanese translation of the key parts of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* based on the 1987 edition of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*, as well as its 1971 edition, which is called *Sharqī Turkistānning Millī Inqilāb Tārīkhi* (described later).<sup>11</sup> We have also discussed the work's features and historical value. Through these efforts, research on *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* has achieved some degree of progress. However, subsequent research developments and changes in the status of historical materials have led to various issues, which have forced us to review our assumptions. Mizutani Naoko (水谷尚子) conducted interviews with Fāṭima Bughra (Fatima Buğra), the only daughter of Muḥammad Amīn Bughra, and her husband Yūnus Bughra (Yunus Buğra) in Izmir in the Republic of Turkey, on

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<sup>7</sup> Polat Qādirī 1949. For details see Chapter V.

<sup>8</sup> Turghun Almas, a modern Uyghur historian and poet, published a history titled "Uyghurlar" (the Uyghurs) in Urumchi in 1989 [Turghun Almas 1989]. As described below, this book attracted criticism from Han-Chinese historians as a text inciting ethnic separatism. In connection with this, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* also became the target of criticism. See Chapter V.

<sup>9</sup> See 新免 1994b.

<sup>10</sup> See Raquette 1912: 1–2 and Jarring 1964: 3–4.

<sup>11</sup> 清水・新免・鈴木 2007.



## INTRODUCTION

which she reported in 2008.<sup>12</sup> I also conducted field surveys in Izmir in July 2007 and September 2008 and collected new information and historical materials on Muḥammad Amīn Bughra.<sup>13</sup> One particularly notable change occurred when Bughra's autograph manuscript of the *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*, whose existence had not been previously confirmed, was introduced to Japan after my fieldwork.

In view of these developments, this book aims to present the autograph manuscript of Muḥammad Amīn Bughra's *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*, which has not yet been shown to the public. As I will discuss later, a number of editions of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* have been published since 1947, but to date no editions have been faithful representations of the original manuscript. Having received the manuscript from its current owners, Fāṭima Bughra and Yūnus Bughra, I will present the Turkic text of the manuscript in this volume, and present a facsimile of the manuscript in the second volume.

In the following chapters, I will provide an overview of the complex circumstances surrounding *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*'s publication, much of which has not been disclosed in previous research.<sup>14</sup> I will also briefly discuss the distinctive features of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* as a historical narrative, as well as its historical value, by drawing upon the findings of previous research as well as new information obtained through my own studies. In spite of recent research into early-modern Uyghur society, unresolved issues remain, and I hope that this book will provide fresh material for understanding the norms of Uyghur society and the essence of its historical transformation.

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<sup>12</sup> See 水谷 2008. Regarding the biographies of Fāṭima and Yūnus, refer to 水谷 2008: 30–32.

<sup>13</sup> As a result of this survey, I published a book on Bughra's unpublished memoirs, “Muḥammad Amīn Bughraṇing Siyāsī Ḥayāti” (The Political Memoir of Muḥammad Amīn Bughra) and “Muḥammad Amīn Begning Qisqacha Tarjumaiḥāli” (A Brief History of Muḥammad Amīn Beg). See SHIMIZU 2012.

<sup>14</sup> Through our research, it was revealed that there were a number of editions of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* which differed from each other in date and place of printing [清水・新免・鈴木 2007: 12–14]. However, it was not known how and why these editions were published.

## I. Historical Background

Before discussing *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*, I will first briefly outline the historical context in which it was written. As previously mentioned in our joint work, Muḥammad Amīn Bughra lived during a time when the Uyghurs of Xinjiang were dominated by the rule of Han-Chinese dictators while also developing autonomous social and political movements.<sup>15</sup>

In 1911, the Qing Dynasty was overthrown by the Xinhai Revolution, but conditions remained unchanged in Xinjiang. The province was placed under the rule of the despotic Han-Chinese ruler Yang Zengxin (楊增新),<sup>16</sup> while at the same time Uyghurs were completely deprived of political rights and lagged behind economically. Under these conditions, however, the “bay” bourgeoisie was on the rise among the Uyghurs with the growth of Russian–Xinjiang trade, which had started at the end of the 19th century. As they saw the other Turkic Muslims in Russia or the Ottoman Empire developing and acquiring a wide range of knowledge and education, a sense of crisis began to emerge among them. As a result of that, a social and political movement, led by these *bays* and founded upon national consciousness, emerged and gathered momentum.

The initial driving force behind this mobilization was the reform movement of the 1910s, which sought the modernization of society. It particularly strove for a popularized school education that adopted new, modern teaching methods using the vernacular language, as an alternative to traditional Islamic education and the Chinese language-based education imposed by the provincial government. The so-called *usūl-i jadīd* (“new method” of teaching)<sup>17</sup> flourished in Kashghar and Turfan and ultimately spread to every area throughout Xinjiang.<sup>18</sup> To some extent, the emergence of this trend reflects the influence of the Islamic reform movements in Central Asia and Turkey. However, it also indicates that a new social group was emerging among Uyghur society, composed of the *bays* and

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<sup>15</sup> This section is based on 清水・新免・鈴木 2007: 2–4 unless otherwise specified.

<sup>16</sup> Yang Zengxin was a Han-Chinese who ruled Xinjiang province from 1911 to 1928. During the Qing period, he had held various important posts as local governor. Taking advantage of the confusion after the Xinhai Revolution in 1911, he seized real power and established a dictatorship over Xinjiang. However, he was assassinated in 1928.

<sup>17</sup> As for *‘usūl-i jadīd*, refer to 小松 1996: 120–123.

<sup>18</sup> Regarding this educational movement, refer to 新免 1990: 2–8, Hamada 1990 and 大石 1996.

## INTRODUCTION

modern intellectuals, and that this group was leading a new movement.

However, the reform movement eventually became a disappointing failure after it succumbed to a government crackdown and obstruction by conservative elements within Uyghur society.<sup>19</sup> Teachers were arrested and imprisoned and newly established schools were closed one after another. Few schools were left after that and the educational movement soon collapsed. Nevertheless, it had had a significant impact, not only in enlightening people about reformism and raising national consciousness among the Uyghurs, but also in leading them to an armed uprising instead of peaceful social reform movements. In other words, the 1931 Kumul uprising and wide-scale Uyghur rebellion that encompassed all of Xinjiang<sup>20</sup> was directed primarily by the *bays* and intellectuals who had previously led the reform movement, as well as by Uyghur leaders associated with the new movement.

This rebellion resulted in the short-lived Eastern Turkistan Republic in Kashghar in 1933.<sup>21</sup> As far as can be ascertained from the declared constitution, this “republic” was founded on a framework of national consciousness, in which the citizens’ ethnicity was Türk (not Uyghur) and the homeland was Eastern Turkistan, and it represented an attempt to establish the people’s own modern nation-state. The historical fact that the Eastern Turkistan Republic was established, if only for a few months, would continue to exert a tremendous influence on subsequent Uyghur political movements. In fact, during the 1944 revolt in Ili, in the north of Xinjiang, the Eastern Turkistan Republic was established again.<sup>22</sup>

Efforts were also made by Uyghur leaders working within the Chinese government to promote a nationalist agenda. While these political activities were nationalistic, they also built upon fears that the confusion and chaos caused by revolts might invite intervention from foreign powers, such as the Soviet Union. They sought to put pressure on the Republic of China government in a variety of ways, in order to improve the situation in Xinjiang and achieve self-rule for the

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<sup>19</sup> 新免 1990: 6–7.

<sup>20</sup> Regarding the Muslim rebellion in Xinjiang in the 1930s, see 新疆社会科学院历史研究所 1980 (3): 132–205, Forbes 1986: 38–127, 新免 1990.

<sup>21</sup> As for the Eastern Turkistan Republic, refer to 新免 1994a.

<sup>22</sup> Regarding the independence movement in the 1940s, see Forbes 1986: 163–228, Benson 1990 and 王柯 1995: 97–252.

Türks. These activities began during latter half of the 1930s, and further developed within the Nanjing (南京) government, the subsequent Chongqing (重慶) government,<sup>23</sup> and, from 1945 to 1949, under the Xinjiang provincial government.<sup>24</sup>

As explained above, these movements led by the Uyghur leaders had an enormous impact on the modern history of Xinjiang. Above all, Muḥammad Amīn Bughra recorded prominent achievements compared to his contemporaries. As I have already provided a detailed discussion of Bughra's activities in a previous work,<sup>25</sup> I will only touch briefly on the main points here.

Bughra was born in Khotan, located in southern Xinjiang, in 1900. At the time of the Muslim rebellion that swept across the whole of Xinjiang from 1931 to 1934, he organized a revolt in Khotan to drive Chinese power out of the country and succeeded in establishing his own government. After the failed national independence movement of the Uyghurs, Bughra took refuge in Afghanistan from 1934 to 1942 and during this period he completed *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*. He then moved to inland China and Xinjiang. While working in the 1940s as an official of the Republic of China in Chongqing and Urumchi (烏魯木其), the provincial capital of Xinjiang, he waged a political campaign alongside 'Īsa Yūsuf Alptekin<sup>26</sup> to attain autonomy for the Uyghurs. After the People's Republic of China was founded, he fled from his country to Turkey and there he devoted himself to publishing periodicals and books to arouse awareness of the problems of his homeland "Eastern Turkistan" until the end of his life in Ankara in 1965.

This overview of Bughra's life reveals the transition points of his activities. Nonetheless, these transitions do not necessarily mean that his nationalist core had been altered. The transitions in his activities should be regarded as a struggle to find and pursue the most realistic choices to achieve his goal. Whether through an armed uprising or a political campaign, Bughra consistently searched for a way to liberate his nation. He devoted himself to arousing international attention about the problem of "Eastern Turkistan" and to propagating his nationalistic ideas. This

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<sup>23</sup> For details, see 新免 2001: 163–171.

<sup>24</sup> See 清水 2010.

<sup>25</sup> SHIMIZU 2012: 4–17.

<sup>26</sup> 'Īsa Yūsuf Alptekin was a Uyghur political leader who worked as an official of the Republic of China both in inland China and Urumchi. Regarding studies on the roles and activities of Alptekin, refer to 新免 2001.

## INTRODUCTION

is why I describe him as an outstanding leader in both thought and action.

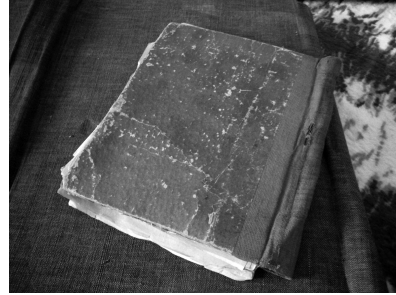
In the following chapter, I will outline the circumstances in which *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* was written and published. I would like to explain in advance that the description of the next chapter is, to a great extent, based on the dictation of Fāṭima and Yūnus, the persons who best knew Bughra, as well as on Bughra's works.<sup>27</sup>

## II. Background to the Production and Publication of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*

### 1. The production of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (1940)

As mentioned above, the national independence movement ended in failure in 1934, after which Bughra fled Xinjiang and resided in Kabul, Afghanistan from September 1934 to March 1942. According to Bughra's own account, he sought to write a modern history book as a way of serving his homeland while in Kabul,<sup>28</sup> and he completed *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* on April 18, 1940.<sup>29</sup>

Bughra's autograph manuscript, which is currently owned by Fāṭima and Yūnus, was written with a quill pen in a green notebook with a red spine. It was written in so-called "Eastern Turki."



Autograph manuscript

The text is more than 800 pages long. The initial 40-page preliminary section includes endorsements by Ismā'īl Hikmat Beg, an educational advisor in Afghanistan (formerly the director of public education in the Republic of Turkey) and Miyān Ḥasan Khān, a teacher at teacher training college in Kabul.<sup>30</sup> The other 776 pages form the body of the main text. It should

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<sup>27</sup> The next chapter is a revised and expanded edition of Chapter 2 of my thesis published in 2009. See 清水 2009: 29–34.

<sup>28</sup> Bughra 1950: 8.

<sup>29</sup> Bughra 1940: 776. See p. 3 in vol. II.

<sup>30</sup> See pp. 5–8 in vol. II.

be noted that pages 3 to 50 in the main text were lost,<sup>31</sup> but the rest of the pages have been preserved in near perfect condition. In addition, 24 colored maps are also preserved, as Bughra had prepared them with the intention of including them in *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*. These maps are presented in the second volume of this book alongside facsimiles of the text.<sup>32</sup>

## 2. The publication of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (1947)

When Bughra was residing in Kabul, a group of Uyghur exiles named the Sharqī Turkistān Millī Birlik Jam'īati (Association for the Unity of the People of Eastern Turkistan) was established in Kashmir. The head of the association was Muḥammad Qāsim,<sup>33</sup> Bughra's fellow revolutionary, and most of its members came from southern Xinjiang like Khotan, Guma, and Yarkand, although it also included members from northern areas like Ili. The association established its headquarters in a building called Hājī Sarāy, situated in the center of Kashmir. The association had a membership of somewhere between 150 and 200, and its primary activities included providing financial assistance to exiles, and helping exiles with the legal requirements for acquiring visas.

The association held the original manuscript of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* after its completion in April 1940, and preparations for its publication began in 1941. However, this process was delayed by six years because of the contemporary political situation surrounding the Uyghurs in Kashmir, as well as the rivalries within the association. Bughra himself explained that while the association began the publication process in 1941, it was delayed until 1947 because of financial

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<sup>31</sup> According to Yūnus, Bughra left the original manuscript of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* in the hands of Muḥammad Qāsim (see below) in Kashmir for publication and left for China via India. It was delivered to Bughra in Urumchi in 1948 by Yūnus' parents who had taken refuge in Afghanistan with Bughra in 1934. Yūnus said that the loss of the pages probably happened in 1948 in the process of the republishing of the *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* or during the confusion of Bughra's second exile in 1949.

<sup>32</sup> Yūnus said that these maps were drawn by Bughra himself based on an edition of the Oxford World Atlas. See pp. 775–800 in vol. II.

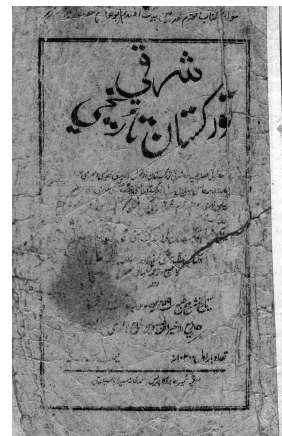
<sup>33</sup> Muḥammad Qāsim, who originally came from Karakash, joined the revolt in Khotan while it was in progress and managed the finances of the Bughra government. He fled from his country with Bughra in 1934 and served as head of Sharqī Turkistān Millī Birlik Jam'īati in Kashmir [Muḥammad Qāsim 1981: 3–5]. As for Muḥammad Qāsim, Īsa Yūsuf Alptekin relates in his memoir that he was a comrade of Bughra, both in ideas and war [Īsa Yūsuf Alptekin 1985: 425].

## INTRODUCTION

reasons and the impact of the Second World War.<sup>34</sup>

On the other hand, according to Yūnus, there were three principal reasons for the delay in publication. (1) *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* portrays Khōja Niyāz,<sup>35</sup> a central figure in the Kumul Uprising, in an unfavorable light. Members in the association came from a variety of backgrounds, and many refused to support the publication financially unless this content was modified. (2) Originally, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi's* publication was to be supported by donations from the association, specifically *zakat* (alms-tax) from merchants who were members. For this reason, it took an extremely long time to gain the members' consent. (3) In addition to these funding difficulties, many members were concerned that since Bughra's position was critical of China in the book, its publication might lead to political problems. Not only was the publication considerably delayed, when it was finally published it omitted all accounts of the national independence movement (this will be discussed later). I thus conclude that even his fellow countrymen regarded the book as something that could ignite political tensions with China or within Uyghur society.

The first edition of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* was finally published in 1947. The paperback's faintly purple front cover listed "*Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*" as the book's title, Muḥammad Amīn Beg as the author, and Sharqī Turkistān Millī Birlik Jam'īati as the publisher. Muḥammad Qāsim was accredited as the general editor. This 1947 edition was an oil-based print of a transcription of Bughra's original manuscript, completed by an individual in Kashmir. It has a total of 461 pages, and includes content corresponding to pages 1–614 of the original text. However, it does not contain the preliminary section and the last part of the main text, which



The 1947 edition

<sup>34</sup> Bughra 1948: a.

<sup>35</sup> Khōja Niyāz was a Uyghur independence movement leader who played an important role in the Muslim rebellion in the 1930s. At the beginning, he led the revolt of the Uyghurs against the Chinese, but later he formed a cooperative relationship with Sheng Shicai (see below), who had the real executive power in the Xinjiang provincial government. In exchange for his cooperation, he was appointed as a vice-chairman by Sheng in 1934, but was executed in 1937. For details, see Sherip Khushtar 2000: 155–190.

THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF  
MUHAMMAD AMİN BUGHRA'S *SHARQĪ TURKISTĀN TĀRĪKHĪ*

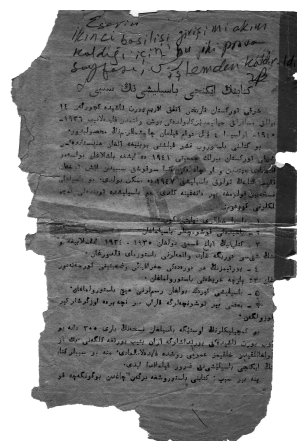
concern the “millī inqilāb” (national revolution) of the 1930s, in other words, the national independence movement from 1931 to 1934. In addition, Bughra’s maps are also omitted.

3. The plan to publish *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* (Bughra’s revised edition) and failure of this plan (1948)

Bughra was extremely dissatisfied with the 1947 edition of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*, and was determined to publish a revised edition.<sup>36</sup> His primary reasons included the numerous transcription errors (as it was transcribed by an individual in Kashmir who did not know “Eastern Turki” very well), the omission of the preliminary section, the content on the “national revolution,” maps and illustrations, and the fact that several sections had been deliberately amended. Yūnus also explained that Bughra was unhappy with the small number of copies of the 1947 edition published (only 300).

In 1948, when Bughra based his activities in Urumchi, he was planning to publish a revised version of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* from the Altay Publishing House.<sup>37</sup> However, the great change in the military and political situation in Xinjiang forced him to abandon this plan. As the communist forces that had defeated the Kuomintang Party in the Chinese civil war advanced west and closed in on Xinjiang, Bughra was forced to leave his country.

There is a galley proof of this revised edition. It contains 3 pages for the opening section, including the aforementioned endorsements by Ismā‘īl Hikmat Beg and Miyān Ḥasan Khān, and 76 pages for the main text. Having viewed the 80 pages of the galley proof, now in Fāṭima and Yūnus’ possession, I noticed that Altay Publishing House had produced the text using a



The 1948 edition

<sup>36</sup> In the revised edition of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*, for which publication was planned in 1948, Bughra expressed his dissatisfaction with the 1947 edition in his foreword entitled “the reason for publishing a revised edition of the book.” [Bughra 1948: a]

<sup>37</sup> This publishing house served as the base for their political activities. For details, see Khewir Tömür 1983 and 清水 2010: 29–34.



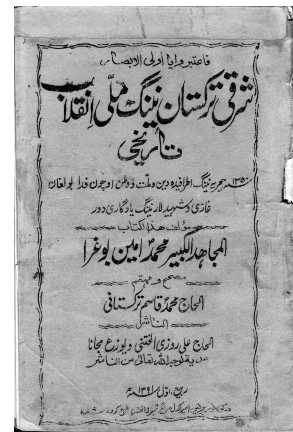
## INTRODUCTION

contemporary Uyghur print type, and that Arabic numerals (instead of the Eastern Arabic numerals in the original manuscript) and even Roman characters are used. It is also worth mentioning that the structure and content are evidently different from the original 1940 manuscript. Regarding these changes in structure and content, Bughra himself records that “I wanted the material to be republished in the best condition possible. I therefore resolved to add new information, and augment the existing content so as to compensate for incomplete accounts and the deficiencies thereof that exist in the first edition.”<sup>38</sup> This edition includes content approximately corresponding to pages 1 to 54 of the original text, although they do not always coincide due to the above-mentioned changes.

#### 4. The publication of *Sharqī Turkistānning Millī Inqilāb Tārīkhi* (1971)

The original text’s content regarding the “national revolution” was finally published in 1971 in Kashmir, half a decade after Bughra passed away in 1965. The editor was Muḥammad Qāsim, the same person who edited the 1947 work. The funding for the printing work came from Alī Rūzī al-Khotanī, an old comrade of Bughra’s who came from Khotan.<sup>39</sup> The book’s title was *Sharqī Turkistānning Millī Inqilāb Tārīkhi* (The History of the Eastern Turkistan National Revolution), which reflected the fact that it contained content on the “national revolution.” It was a paperback with a yellow-colored binding, and like the 1947 edition, the text was transcribed in oil-based print. This edition contains no information about the copyist. According to Yūnus, the 1971 edition is not a transcription of Bughra’s original manuscript, but rather is based on the transcription of the document prepared by Muḥammad Qāsim for the 1947 publication.

The 1971 version has a total of 208 pages, and includes the content



The 1971 edition

<sup>38</sup> Bughra 1948: b.

<sup>39</sup> Bughra 1971: 1. According to Yūnus, Alī Rūzī, having left his country with Bughra, started a business in Mecca and made a fortune. Yūnus said that he supported Bughra’s activities as a powerful patron for many years.

corresponding to pages 581 to 771 of the original text. It includes accounts from “Sharqī Turkistānda awwal daf’a millī oyghanish” (The first awakenings of national consciousness in Eastern Turkistan) to “Jin Shurenning hokūmat dawri” (The period of Jin Shuren’s rule), which pertain to the time before the “revolution.” This content was also in the 1947 edition, but the final section regarding “revolution” was not. This section asks, “Is the Eastern Turkistan revolution over, or is it still underway?”<sup>40</sup> I should also mention that the final section of the book contains material not found in Bughra’s original autograph manuscript, including Bughra’s poetry, a biography of Muḥammad Niyāz Akhun, and Muḥammad Qāsim’s biography of Bughra.

5. The publication of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* (Yūnus edition) (1987)

In 1987, Bughra’s daughter Fāṭima and Yūnus republished *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* in Ankara. According to Yūnus, the 1987 edition was published at the request of the Uyghur community in Saudi Arabia who were originally from Karakash, Xinjiang and it was funded by them. The hardback book had green binding and was based on the print type of Bughra’s original manuscript. The 1987 edition is made up



The 1987 edition

of a 32-page preliminary section and a 661-page main text, and the maps and illustrations that had been prepared by Bughra for *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* were finally included. The preliminary section of the 1987 edition includes a table of contents, an address by Fāṭima, a table of character equivalents, a biography of Bughra, an endorsement by Miyān Ḥasan Khān, a foreword by Bughra, and a bibliography. The main text includes 23 maps and photographs prepared by Bughra.

As stated above, the 1987 edition includes the original text’s entire contents. However, Yūnus modified the vocabulary of the entire text, out of consideration for the convenience of contemporary readers, and edited some parts (based on his own research) while respecting the will of the deceased. Therefore, I feel that the

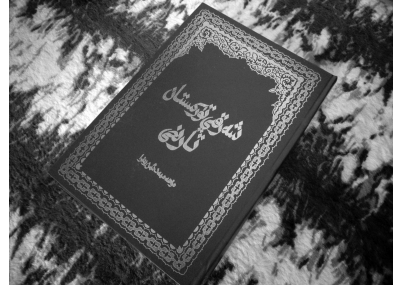
<sup>40</sup> Bughra 1940: 771–776. See pp. 3–8 in vol. II.

## INTRODUCTION

book, in terms of its structure and content, should properly be referred to as “*Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (Yūnus edition.)”

### 6. The publication of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (Muḥammad Ya‘qūb edition) (1998)

In 1998, Yūnus’ younger brother, Muḥammad Ya‘qūb Bughra, published a modern Uyghur-language version of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*. A hardback with a blue binding, it contains a 37-page preliminary section and a 527-page main text. The 1998 edition is a modern-day Uyghur translation of the 1987 edition, which generally retains the latter’s structure and content. However, Muḥammad Ya‘qūb



The 1998 edition

included some new information in the first part, specifically, a table of contents; a foreword by Bughra; an explanation of why the book has been republished (a rerecording of the 1948 edition); a bibliography; an address by Fāṭima; a biography of Bughra; a list of Bughra’s published works; endorsements by Miyān Ḥasan Khān and Ismā‘īl Ḥikmat Beg; an address by Batur Rasid al-Dīn, who transliterated the text into the Cyrillic script; and an address by the editor, Ya‘qūb Bughra. This edition also contains annotations that were not present in the 1987 edition.

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The above is a full picture of the editions of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* published to date including Bughra’s original manuscript.<sup>41</sup> I have listed the versions in chronological order below.

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<sup>41</sup> In 1991, another edition of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* was published in Almaty, Kazakhstan. However, as the publisher has no connection to Bughra and this edition is thought to be a mere transcription (into the Cyrillic alphabet) of the 1987 edition, it has been omitted here.

Chronology of the Publications of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*

- 1940: *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*—written in Kabul  
1947: *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (first edition) —published in Kashmir  
1948: *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (revised by Bughra himself)  
—preparations for publication in Urumchi  
1971: *Sharqī Türkistānning Millī Inqilāb Tārīkhi*—published in Kashmir  
1987: *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (revised by Yūnus) —published in Ankara  
1998: *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* (revised by Muḥammad Ya‘qūb)  
—published in Ankara.

Having viewed the original manuscript of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* as well as all of the published editions, I can safely assert that no publication to date faithfully reflects Bughra’s original text. As mentioned above, the discussion of the 1930s national independence movement—a topic that constituted the core of the original *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*—is omitted from the first edition. The 1971 edition sought to include the missing content, but still lacks a part. Moreover, the copy used for the 1947 edition contained numerous transcription errors. The 1971 edition also suffers in terms of accuracy, as it is a transcript of a transcript. One could perhaps consider the 1987 edition as providing a “complete version” of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*, in that it includes the entire content of the autograph manuscript as well as Bughra’s maps and illustrations. However, this version was subjected to extensive editing by Yūnus, including a reorganization of the structure and substitutions of words, as well as other additions and amendments. In this sense, it is even further from providing a reproduction of the original text than the 1947 and 1971 versions. The 1998 modern Uyghur translation of the 1987 version can also be dismissed in this regard. Given this situation, future research will significantly be aided by the fact that it is now possible to utilize the original *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* manuscript that obviously faithfully reflects Bughra’s intentions.

That being said, I do not deny the value of the previously published versions of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* or their significance for research. Hājī Ya‘qūb,<sup>42</sup> who

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<sup>42</sup> Hājī Ya‘qūb was born in Bursa, Turkey and raised in Aksu, Xinjiang. After graduating from a teacher training college in Aksu, he became a teacher in Uchturfan and then worked for a newspaper in Khotan. In 1945 and later, he was involved in publishing in

## INTRODUCTION

organized independent publishing activities in 1940s inland China, and was considered a “national writer,” attests to the weighty influence of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*. In *Doğu Türkistan’da Milliyetçilik Hareketleri* (The Nationalist Movements in Eastern Turkistan), Hājī Ya‘qūb used the description of a “spiritual bombshell” to describe *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*’s wide impact.<sup>43</sup> Hājī Ya‘qūb’s claim is supported, as *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* appears to be among the top prohibited books in present-day Xinjiang.

On the other hand, research into the published versions of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is necessary in order to determine the impact and significance that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* has had among the Uyghurs and in Xinjiang generally. The 1948 version will provide a particularly valuable resource for analyzing how Bughra’s own views changed. As mentioned previously, regarding the unpublished 1948 version, Bughra writes, “I wanted the manuscript to be republished in the best condition possible. I therefore resolved to add new information, and augment the existing content so as to compensate for incomplete accounts and the deficiencies thereof that exist in the first edition.”<sup>44</sup> The 1948 galley print reveals that Bughra made extensive revisions to the content from the 1940 manuscript. Therefore, a painstaking comparison between the content of the 1948 version and the corresponding sections in the original text will illuminate Bughra’s internal changes. This process will also contribute to advancing research on the thought of Uyghur intellectuals.

### III. Structure of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*

This chapter examines the structure of the original *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* manuscript. Regarding its overall structure, the original manuscript is broadly divided into three time periods. The main text begins with an introductory section, which discusses the history of humankind and ancient Turkic history. This is followed by the unique history of Eastern Turkistan, which is addressed in three

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inland China. During the era of the People’s Republic of China, he spent 20 years in prison and was exiled to Turkey in the latter half of the 1990s. For details, see Hacı Yakup 2003.

<sup>43</sup> Hacı Yakup Anat 2005: 67–85.

<sup>44</sup> Bughra 1948: b.

sections covering the first, second, and third ages. The section on the first age examines the ancient Uyghurs. The second begins from the time of the Huns (匈奴) and describes the rise and fall of the Türks, including the Khanates of Rouran (柔然), Gokturks (突厥) and Turgesh (突騎施). The third concerns the period from the Islamization of this area, that is, the acceptance of Islam by the Türks during the Karakhanate period, until the end of the 1930s national independence movement in Xinjiang (1931–1934).<sup>45</sup>

I should mention here, that the latter part of the third age, that is, the discussion of the independence movement titled “Sharqī Turkistānning akhrīqi inqilābi” (The last revolution of Eastern Turkistan) was added later. Bughra states, to ensure fairness as a historian, that he initially did not dare to write about the independence movement in which he was a key participant. However, after much consideration, he decided to write this part at the request of many fellow countrymen.<sup>46</sup> Therefore, the content of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* is actually composed of four sections, the first three (until the middle of the third section) presented as a traditional historical narrative, but the rest (Bughra’s portrayal of the independence movement) based largely upon his own recollections. Thus, while this latter content is chronologically contiguous with the former, there is something of a break in terms of the nature of the accounts.

#### IV. Features of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* as a Historical Narrative

Now, let us discuss the historical narrative that Bughra sought to develop around the structure described in Chapter III.<sup>47</sup> The first and most distinctive feature of this work is that it is a systematic history book written by a Uyghur from a nationalist perspective. Notably, Bughra describes his people as “Türks” and his homeland as “Sharqī Turkistān” (Eastern Turkistan) and portrays the history of this Turkic homeland as an unbroken lineage from prehistoric times to the present. It must be stressed here that while Bughra’s people would today be described as “Uyghurs,” according to the ethnic framework on which Bughra

<sup>45</sup> See the index of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* on pp. 731–761 in vol. II.

<sup>46</sup> Bughra 1940: 615–618. See pp. 161–164 in vol. II.

<sup>47</sup> This and the next chapter is a revised edition of Section 4–6 of the Introduction of our joint work. See 清水・新免・鈴木 2007: 14–28.

## INTRODUCTION

builds his historical narrative, they are not Uyghurs but rather Türks.

As pointed out in my previous work, in 1934, the ethnic name “Uyghur” began to be used in Xinjiang as part of the ethnic policies of Sheng Shicai (盛世才),<sup>48</sup> who had the real power in the Xinjiang provincial government, although Türk nationalism had many advocates among the Uyghurs who led the former independence movement.<sup>49</sup> Although Bughra penned *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* after Uyghur was determined as the group’s official ethnic name, he resisted this subdividing ethnic framework and rigidly adhered to the term Türk in his historical narrative. Bughra’s advocacy of Türk nationalism is clear from his arguments in a paragraph titled “Shengning hokūmatining māhiyati” (The realities of Sheng’s rule). In this paragraph, Bughra severely criticizes the ethnic classification made by Sheng Shicai, as follows:

After Sheng seized control of the government, he gradually revised the system for governing in accordance with the manner of the Russian communists. Moreover, the Russians gave him full support, providing arms, airplanes, and troops in exchange for his efforts. In this manner, Sheng eliminated the revolutionaries of Eastern Turkistan and subjected this country to his rule. [...] In accordance with the flawed manner in which Russian Bolsheviks divided the Türks [within Russian the territory], he proposed to divide the people of Eastern Turkistan, which had been existing as the “Türk nation” since ancient times, into fourteen groups. Of the fourteen ethnic groups created, one is [a group of] Buddhists composed of immigrants from China, and another is [a group of] outsiders composed of Russians. The other [groups that is, the other eleven groups including Uyghur] had artificial names, which were quite unfamiliar in Eastern Turkistan.<sup>50</sup>

Bughra’s stance as a Türk nationalist is clear from not only *Sharqī Turkistān*

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<sup>48</sup> Sheng Shicai was a Chinese warlord who ruled Xinjiang province from 1933 to 1944. After Jin Shuren (金樹仁), the chairman of Xinjiang province at the time, lost his power following a coup in 1933, Sheng Shicai took over the government. He suppressed the rebels with the aid of the Soviet Union and brought Xinjiang under his control. During the long period from 1933 to 1944, he was in power. See 新疆社会科学院歷史研究所 1980 (3): 166–334 in detail.

<sup>49</sup> See 新免 1994a: 22–25 and 清水 2011: 51–60.

<sup>50</sup> Bughra 1940: 763–764. See pp. 15–16 in vol. II. Supplementations by the editor are shown in square brackets ([ ]).

*Tārīkhī* but also his political campaigns conducted from 1943 to 1949, while working as an official of the Republic of China in Chongqing and Urumchi.<sup>51</sup>

Another important characteristic of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* reflecting Bughra's nationalist position is that Eastern Turkistan is presented as a country that has features influenced by only its historical and cultural backgrounds. In *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*, hundreds of pages describe Eastern Turkistan's history dating from prehistoric times to the present day, and the people of Eastern Turkistan are presented as the protagonists. It is noted that Bughra applies his consideration of Eastern Turkistan as an "autonomous country" in its relations with China also. However, it is well-known that following its subjugation by the Qing Dynasty in the 18th century, Eastern Turkistan, or Xinjiang, became part of the territory of Qing China and later the Republic of China and was administered accordingly. When Bughra was born in 1900, one hundred and fifty years had already passed since Xinjiang's subjugation. Nevertheless, Bughra considers that Eastern Turkistan and its people are entirely separate from China and its people and that the two do not overlap. The use of this concept was not limited to the period of Bughra's life; in fact, he applied it throughout his account of history, extending far into the past. Examples are shown here.

According to the official Chinese view (described later), Xinjiang was annexed to China during the era of the Han Dynasty. Since then, Xinjiang has been an inseparable part of China.<sup>52</sup> However, Bughra describes this historical event as the "first invasion" by China and the rule of the famous Protectorate of the Western Regions (西域都護府) established by the Han Dynasty as "the thirty-year war" between Eastern Turkistan and China. He stresses that the influence of the Han Dynasty was limited and the invasion was only a short-lived phenomenon, not a complete subjugation.<sup>53</sup> Bughra also gives an explanation of the invasion by the Tang Dynasty and its withdrawal and concludes as follows: "After that, Eastern Turkistan was free from the invasion by China for thousand years."<sup>54</sup>

Of course, although Bughra posited Xinjiang and China as separate countries, he did acknowledge the reality that Xinjiang belonged to the Republic of China.

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<sup>51</sup> See 清水 2010 and SHIMIZU 2012.

<sup>52</sup> 中国国务院新聞弁公室 2003:第 3 章.

<sup>53</sup> Bughra 1940: 103. See p. 676 in vol. II.

<sup>54</sup> Bughra 1940: 187. See p. 592 in vol. II.



## INTRODUCTION

However, it is precisely this reality—Xinjiang belonged to and was ruled by China, despite being an essentially different country—that motivated Bughra to fiercely denounce the latter. In *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*, China is portrayed as a country that was responsible for numerous cruel invasions and the despotic rule of Bughra’s homeland of Eastern Turkistan throughout history.

It is noted here that although Bughra strongly insisted on the uniqueness of Eastern Turkistan’s history, the range of Eastern Turkistan that he shows roughly corresponds to the boundary of Xinjiang province drawn by China.<sup>55</sup> It is common knowledge that the Uyghurs, or Turkic urban dwellers and farmers, originally resided at oasis cities dotting the region around the Tarim Basin in southern Xinjiang. Therefore, in earlier history books, such as *Tārīkh-i Amnīya* (The History of Peace) written by Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī in 1903, we often see the term “alty shahr” (six cities) as a generic name referring to all the cities inhabited the Uyghurs.<sup>56</sup> It is evident that the Uyghur people of those days did not consider the northern part of the Tianshan (天山) mountains, which was inhabited by nomads, as their dwelling place. In contrast, Bughra presents a region that includes both north and south Xinjiang as his historical homeland. Such difference between earlier history books and *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is important to understand the transition process of Uyghur intellectuals’ nationalist consciousness under the rule of China.

Let us continue with the original topic. As mentioned above, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* vividly conveys Bughra’s Türk nationalist advocacy and perspective. In addition, I cannot let another aspect—modernity—of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* pass unnoticed. During the period from the 16th to 20th centuries, many important and systematic history books were written in Xinjiang. However, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* clearly stands out from these works, as it is a rare historical narrative laced with modernist intelligence, which is largely absent in previous compiled Uyghur histories.

Earlier history books, including the aforesaid *Tārīkh-i Amnīya*, were stylistically similar in that they depicted a contiguous history of the region from ancient times to the present day (from the author’s perspective), but they clearly differ from *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* in terms of the author’s perspective and the

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<sup>55</sup> See maps drawn by Bughra on pp. 797–800 in vol. II.

<sup>56</sup> Мула Мыса 1905: 203, 堀 1987: 33.

norms of historical narrative.<sup>57</sup> For example, in *Tārīkh-i Amnīya*, narration starts from the legendary Noah, and references to the mythological origins of the author's people constitute the introductory section.<sup>58</sup> Further, in *Tārīkh-i Amnīya*, Mullā Mūsā Sayrāmī explains that a historic change (a change in regime) occurred because the people's laments about their persecution reached the ears of God. Thus, he claims that the essential history was driven by the will of God.<sup>59</sup> Therefore, it is obvious that religion (Islam) is an important factor in *Tārīkh-i Amnīya*'s historical narrative. In contrast, the narrative of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* has a more scientific basis.

*Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* begins in the Stone Age and discusses the ancient history of the Türks, drawing on contemporary archeological research findings in Xinjiang.<sup>60</sup> It is specially mentioned that in the discussions in *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*, Bughra not only refers to former history books such as *Tārīkh-i Amnīya* or *Tārīkh-i Rashīdī* (History of Rashīd), written by Mīrzā Hidar in the 16th century, but also takes into account research findings by Westerners.<sup>61</sup> He quotes the studies of Western researchers, including Aurel Stein, a famous Hungarian–British archaeologist<sup>62</sup>; Vasily Vladimirovich Bartold, a famous Russian and Soviet historian<sup>63</sup>; Marc and Wilhelm Radloff,<sup>64</sup> a German–Russian Turkologist, while providing criticisms or cross-examinations of historical materials. The words “This is an era of research and excavation”<sup>65</sup> mentioned in *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* is a good example of the importance that Bughra attached to modern historical and archaeological researches. Of course, there are several factual errors in *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī*; however, even when taking these into consideration, it is clear that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* is a rare history text based on modern research.

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<sup>57</sup> For details, see 新免 1994b.

<sup>58</sup> Мула Мыца 1905: 7–10.

<sup>59</sup> Мула Мыца 1905: c.301–c.302. Regarding the study of this “the will of God,” refer to 堀 1987: 82.

<sup>60</sup> Bughra 1987: 1–34.

<sup>61</sup> The 1987 and 1998 editions of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhī* include a list of references. See Bughra 1987: XXX–XXXII and 1998: XVII–XVIII.

<sup>62</sup> Bughra 1940: 70. See p. 709 in vol. II.

<sup>63</sup> Bughra 1940: 240 and 346. See p. 433 and 539 in vol. II.

<sup>64</sup> Bughra 1940: 468. See p. 311 in vol. II.

<sup>65</sup> Bughra 1940: 298. See p. 481 in vol. II.

V. Historical Value of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*

Finally, I discuss the significance of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* as a historical source. There are several reasons why *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* has exceptional value in terms of the history it describes. First, as mentioned above, the author of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is a Uyghur leader and a key nationalist player in modern history, and the text records the history of his homeland and people from a nationalist perspective. Further, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is the first history book written by a Uyghur that is based on modern historical studies. Therefore, an examination of this historical account reveals the political stance and ideas of a nationalist. In comparison with earlier historical narratives, modern nationalist overtones are conspicuous in *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*.

There is another reason why *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is valuable as a historical source. It provides a continuous history of the region as written by a Uyghur who expressed his historical understanding unencumbered by external political restrictions. Under the considerable political restrictions of modern China, historical narratives on Xinjiang and the Uyghurs—even those written by the Uyghurs themselves—have been forced to adopt the official Chinese line, which argues that Xinjiang has always been an integral part of China. Here, I quote a passage from the foreword of *A Brief History of Xinjiang* (新疆簡史), published in Urumchi as the official history of Xinjiang: “Xinjiang has been a part of our great fatherland from ancient times. The history of Xinjiang is a part of the history of our fatherland.”<sup>66</sup> This statement emphatically endorses the orthodox Chinese perspective that the Uyghurs consistently maintained political relations with China.

In 1989, Turghun Almas, a modern Uyghur historian, published a history book titled *Uyghurlar* in Urumchi. However, in this book, Turghun Almas expressed his view that the Uyghurs have an eight-thousand-year history in the Tarim Basin, situated in south Xinjiang; as a result, *Uyghurlar* was not only criticized by Han-Chinese historians as inciting ethnic separatism but also prohibited from being published. In connection with this, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* also became the target of criticism.<sup>67</sup> This is merely one example of how when Uyghurs write

<sup>66</sup> 新疆社会科学院歷史研究所 1980 (1): iii.

<sup>67</sup> See Turghun Almas 1989; 紀 1992; and 錢 1991, 1992.

their own historical narratives, they are not permitted to deviate from the official Chinese view. In this context, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is even more outstanding for its unabashed criticism of Chinese invasion and rule, because it was written in Kabul, Afghanistan, whose government had established a foreign policy based on neutralism in those days.<sup>68</sup> For this reason, it is valued as a rare and precious historical material conforming closely with the author's thoughts and perspective.

The significance of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* as a historical material is that it has strongly informed the nationalist discourse and continues to do so. As an important historical text, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* has proved to be useful for subsequent books written from a nationalist perspective. For example, a history book titled *Ölkā Tārīkhi* (The Province History) was published in Urumchi a year after the publication of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*. The author, Potat Qādirī,<sup>69</sup> confirms that he wrote *Ölkā Tārīkhi* based on *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*<sup>70</sup>; similarly, its composition does follow the style of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*. Qādirī's book also presents contiguous history from prehistoric times to current events from a nationalist perspective. Apart from offering such books specific historical information, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* was also used as reference material for *Ulugh Turkistān Fāja'asi*<sup>71</sup> (the Great Misfortune of Turkestan), the historical narrative by an Uzbek who took part in the establishment of the Eastern Turkistan Republic in Kashghar in 1933. In addition, as mentioned in our joint work, Turghun Almas's *Uyghurlar* shows similarity to *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* in composition and nationalist stance; although these two books adopted different ethnic frameworks (*Uyghurlar* uses the framework of Uyghurs), it is probable that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* acted as a model for *Uyghurlar*.<sup>72</sup>

As mentioned above, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* has influenced several subsequent historical narratives; however, its significance to the Uyghurs extends

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<sup>68</sup> See SHIMIZU 2012: 30–31.

<sup>69</sup> Potat Qādirī was a Uyghur intellectual who engaged in political activities with Bughra as a member of the aforementioned Altay Publishing House. He served as a president of the Uyghur–Kazakh Branch of the Xinjiang Ribao Company (維哈文新疆日報社). See 清水 2010: 29.

<sup>70</sup> Polat Qādirī 1949: 2.

<sup>71</sup> Mūsā Turkistānī was born in Andijan in 1904. In his country, he engaged in a resistance movement against the Soviet Union and later took part in establishing the Eastern Turkistan Republic in Kashghar. For details, see Mūsā Turkistānī 1981.

<sup>72</sup> 清水・新免・鈴木 2007: 27–28.

## INTRODUCTION

even further. Today, the Chinese government considers *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* a harmful book stirring up nationalist feelings or even ethnic separatism. Therefore, this book is banned in China. Furthermore, as *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is written in the Uyghur dialect used during the early 20th century, it diverges somewhat from modern Uyghur in terms of alphabet, notation, vocabulary, and grammar; hence, one may assume that even Uyghurs would find it difficult to understand the content accurately. Therefore, the direct impact of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* on the Uyghur people will likely be limited. However, it seems that not a few Uyghur intellectuals attribute a symbolic significance to *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* as a book written by a patriotic intellectual during the nationalist movement in the 20th century. Even those who have never read *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* regard it a precious book describing the history of their “homeland.” Therefore, due to its symbolic importance, *Sharqī Turkistān* keeps a certain position among the Uyghurs even today.

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In conclusion, it is clear that *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* deserves special mention in the historical studies of the region, as well as the spiritual, cultural, and political history, of the Uyghurs. In addition, *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* is valuable beyond simply providing the most basic material for researchers of “Eastern Turkistan” and Xinjiang. It will undoubtedly provide important data for examining the particularities of ethnic nationalism of the various minority groups in China, as well as that of the Turkic people in Central Asia.

As mentioned in the Introduction, the central aim of this book is to present the autograph manuscript of Muḥammad Amīn Bughra’s *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi*, which has never before been shown to public or used as a historical material. Therefore, it is hard to say that previous discussions on the features and historical value of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* are sufficient. Concerning this issue, I will continue investigating the book’s historical importance by comparing the original manuscript of *Sharqī Turkistān Tārīkhi* with all its published or unpublished editions.

I present the Turkic text of the manuscript in this volume. I will also provide a facsimile of the manuscript in addition to all the attendant text and maps in the second volume (it has been previously published in 2014) of this book. In the text

THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF  
MUḤAMMAD AMĪN BUGHRA'S *SHARQĪ TURKISTĀN TARĪKHĪ*

presented in the latter half of this volume, words are transcribed exactly as they are spelled or presented in the original manuscript. As for exceptions, refer to the Explanatory Notes section in this volume. Unfortunately, space did not permit me to insert indexes for the text. I plan to publish the indexes as an appendix in future.

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THE AUTOGRAPH MANUSCRIPT OF  
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