

Research Trends in Xinjiang Studies

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Introduction

The first years of the 1980s were an important turning point in Xinjiang studies. In China, after the tumultuous and tragic years of “the Great Cultural Revolution” during which all scientific activities had been suppressed, Xinjiang studies were revived on a scale never before seen. The open-door policy adopted by the central political authorities of China enabled foreign scholars to visit the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region, closed to them not only during the “Cultural Revolution” but, ironically, also since the “Liberation” of the region in 1949. At the same time, in the world outside China, studies based mainly on the indigenous sources that had appeared in the previous decade were carried out in earnest.

Because the author of these lines is a historian, in this chapter he will not attempt to deal with fields such as anthropology, linguistics, sociology and so on that fall outside his primary academic concerns.

1. Research Trends in China

1.1. General trends

In China, historiography has always been, and is now, a state affair. It is therefore quite in the nature of things that all students of history must respect the orientation given by the state power if they want their works to be published in their country. In the case of Xinjiang studies, they must follow the political orientation all the more strictly, because their task as expected by the state power is to prove and affirm the legitimacy of Chinese domination in this region. Under the recent open policy, specialists on the Taiping Rebellion, for example, could freely question its “progressive” nature as affirmed by the “peasants’ rebellion theory” of Mao Zedong, while those who study the history of Xinjiang do not dare to cast doubt on Mao’s declaration that the Ili rebellion (according to the official terminology of China, Revolution of the three regions) “is a part of the democratic revolutionary movement of our whole Chinese people.” Such a doubt would render the Liberation of

Xinjiang problematic.

In 1980, the Institute of Nationalities of Xinjiang Academy of Social Sciences published the first two volumes of *Xinjiang jianshi* (A Short History of Xinjiang), covering the time from early Neolithic to the May Fourth Movement. The Institute of History of the same Academy published the third volume, covering from 1919 to the Liberation, in 1988.¹ The publication of these volumes suggests that official standard views on important historic matters had been formed among the political authorities. This work's opinions for the main issues of Xinjiang history after the 18th century are as stated below.

1. Rise of the Junghar kingdom: secessionism destroying the entity of China.
2. Subjugation of Junghars by Emperor Qianlong: unification of China, achievement of his historical duty.
3. Activities of Amurusana: insurgence against the fatherland.
4. Suppression of Amurusana by Qianlong: righteous patriotism (without mention of the genocide directed at the Junghars).
5. Activities of Burhan al-Din and Khwaja Jahan, brothers in the Tarim basin: revolt against the fatherland.
6. Relations between Qing and the "small Islamic countries" Tashkent, Kokand, and Bukhara: subjugation of these countries.
7. Status of Kazakhs: the Great Djuz was the subject of Qing.
8. Qing administration in Xinjiang: establishment and exercise of central state power.
9. Organization of the colonial militias: good function for the development of the agricultural production; soldiers' life was miserable.
10. Society of the Han emigrants: landlord system.
11. Society of the native sedentary population: serfdom system.
12. Jahangir's jihad: rebellion.
13. Sino-Russian treaty of Kulja (1851): the first unequal treaty aiming the invasion to Xinjiang.
14. Revolt of 1864: in the first stage the righteous peasants' revolt, then the usurpa-

¹ *Xinjiang jianshi* [A Short History of Xinjiang], Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin Chubanshe, 354+407+534p. This work was translated into Uyghur. I have seen only the second volume, published in 1992 (that is, ten years after the original Chinese version). According to Yan Haiying, a specialist in Mongol history and ethnology, required procedures exist for publishing the versions in minority languages: to pass the control by party, and the administrative and military authorities, and to meet with their approbation. See Yan's "The Hui Rebellion in 19th Century Mongolian History: Focusing on the Comparison between the General and Regional History of China Compiled as a State Project and the Mongolian Chronicles," in *Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology* 23/3 (2002), p. 479 (in Japanese).

- tion of hegemony by the feudal lords.
15. Emirate of Ya'qub Beg: invasion from Kokand; calamity of the native population.
 16. Re-conquest of Xinjiang: righteous struggle of Qing government.
 17. Sino-Russian treaty of St. Petersburg (1881): unequal treaty disgracing the nation.
 18. Changing the status of Xinjiang to that of regular province: one of the inevitabilities of history.
 19. Republican Revolution in Xinjiang: bourgeoisie-led revolution, abortive.
 20. Yang Zengxin: reactionary.
 21. Jing Shuren: reactionary, worse than his predecessor.
 22. Sheng Shicai: camouflage progressist, in reality greedy warlord.
 23. Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan: separatist movement supported by Britain.
 24. Activities of Chinese Communist Party (CCP): foundation of anti-Japanese powers in Xinjiang.
 25. "Revolution of the three regions": partly under the influence of CCP; an element of the Neo-democratic Revolution of all of China (without mention of the East Turkistan Republic).
 26. Mas'ud Sabri: pan-Turkist, agent of the Nationalist Party.
 27. Burhan Shahidullah: supporter of "peaceful rousing," that is, recognition of the CCP's authority.
 28. Peaceful Liberation of Xinjiang: end of semi-colonial and semi-feudal society; entrance into the socialist age.

As well as this general history, another standard work appeared, a compilation of the materials on Uyghur history annotated by famous scholar Feng Jiasheng and others.² Designed as a reference book for the cadres who engaged in the minority policy, this work was done in 1954 and its first volume, covering to the 16th century, was published in 1958, while the second volume, covering to the end of the Qing era, has remained unpublished.

During the same period, the several series of the *Wenshi ziliao* (Historical Material) began to be published by the special committees founded in some main cities, like Urumchi or Kashgar, under the direction of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference. Because in the 1980s the circulation of these publications was limited among the cadres (*neibu chubanshe*) and it was unforgivable to take them abroad, we could see them only sporadically. According to our frag-

² FENG Jiasheng, CHENG Suluo and MU Guanwen, *Weiwuer-zu shiliao jianbian* [A Short Compilation of Materials of the Uyghur History], 2 vols., Beijing: Minzu chubanshe, 1981, 475p.

mented information, the main parts of these *Materials* were reserved for personal recollections about events before the “Liberation.” It seems the events after 1949 were not considered, at least during the 1980s, as historical issues. A chronological table of the history of Urumchi extends from its foundation in 1755 to the promulgation of the formation of the province and the city on 17 December 1949.³

1.2. *New trends since the 1990s*

In 1991, the Academy of Social Sciences of the Uyghur Autonomous Region began to publish the *Xiyu yanjiu* (The Western Regions Studies), its quarterly organ dedicated to the domains of culture and history. Except for the *Shibei shidi* (The History and Geography of the North-West), published by the University of Lanzhou since 1981, this was the first journal specializing in Xinjiang studies. In a short time, it won the leading position in the academic circles of China due to the scientific level of its contents as well as its careful and beautiful printing, which was rare in China. Among the articles on historic issues that appeared during the ten years from its appearance to the year 2000, three-quarters concern the ancient era, while the rest treat the modern era.⁴ Among the authors of articles of the first domain, we find many persons who live outside Xinjiang, but almost all authors who deal with the modern era live in Urumchi.

1.2.1. *Finding and using new historical materials*

One of the remarkable trends of the Qing era studies is the successful use of the archival materials kept in the First China Historical Archive in Beijing. (The Second Archive, keeping the documents of the National Republic era, is in Nanjing.) The specialists of younger generations, like Wang Xi, Wu Yuanfeng, Pan Zhiping and others, highly disciplined in the Manchu language, showed very well that using archives in this language is unavoidable for the more detailed studies.⁵ Pan’s work

³ “Wuermuchi erbainian dashi nianbiao [Chronological Table of the Historic Events of Urumchi through 200 Years],” *Wuermuchi wenshi ziliao* [Historical Materials of Urumchi], vol. 6, 1983: 134-182.

⁴ According to the theory of the era division of Chinese historiography, the ancient era extends from the very beginning of the history to the time of the Opium War. The modern era (*jindai*, “near era,” if translated literally) ended in 1949 when the People’s Republic was founded and the history entered a completely new stage, that is, the socialist stage. This era division seems to be one of the reasons, along with political delicacy, why the historians do not treat issues subsequent to the Liberation.

⁵ WANG Xi, “Qindai wuermuchi hasake maoyi-de liange wenti [Two Problems of Kazakh

cited in note 5 is based not only on Manchu and Chinese documents but also on some original official letters in Chaghatay sent by the khans of Kokand to the Chinese court. At the same time, the author consults almost all the literature concerning this issue, whether in Russian, English, French or Japanese, and presents a model to his Chinese colleagues specializing in modern history who have sometimes been too confident in the Chinese sources and neglected studies outside their own country. The use of archives is more frequent and successful in the domain of economic and colonial history than for any other issues.⁶

1.2.2. Rehabilitation of some historical figures

Another remarkable trend in the 1990s was that specialists began to propose some revisions that opposed the opinions revealed in *A Short History of Xinjiang*. According to this work, the native feudal lords (many of whom were overthrown by the rebellion of 1864, such as Prince Aḥmad of Kucha and Prince Bashir of Hami) were negative figures standing against the righteous peasants' uprising. As to Prince Aḥmad, who in front of the rebels insisted on his obligation to obey the Emperor of China and was slain by his co-religionists, the authors say his words were 'absurd.' Along the same lines, they say the struggle of peasants in the region of Hami was once 'unfortunately' suppressed by Prince Bashir's forces. (He was killed at the beginning of 1867 by Muslim forces from Kucha.)

Recently Li Zhongyao tried to rehabilitate Bashir.⁷ In his interesting article, Li asserts that the main conflict of Xinjiang at that time was between secession and anti-secession (i.e., by implication, the class conflict was not primary) and that "as a prince of a minority nation, his loyalty and fidelity towards the State are very touching and never of the negative nature." It is evident that in the period of the *Short History*, the peasants' revolt theory was applied to the great rebellion of 1864, and that the class struggle was more appreciated than the defense of the Qing domination of Xinjiang, whereas Li's proposal wants to overturn this proposition and

Trade in Urumqi in the Qing Dynasty],” *Xinjiang yanjiu* 1991/2: 79-84; WU Yuanfeng, “Qing Qianlong nianjian Yili qiantun [Exiles' Activities of Reclaiming Wastelands in the Ili Valley during the Reign of Qianlong],” *Xinjiang yanjiu* 1993/3: 50-58; PAN Zhiping, *Zhongya hao-han-guo yu qingdai xinjiang* [The Kokand Khanate of Central Asia and Xinjiang in the Qing Period], edition of Zhongguo shehui kexue chubanshe, 1991, 208p.

⁶ For example, HUA Li, “Qingdai xinjiang tunken fanshi zhongxin-de zhuan yi jiu qi yi yi [The Shift of Focus on the Way of Stationing Troops to Open Up Wasteland in Xinjiang in the Qing Dynasty, and its Significance],” *Xiyu yanjiu* 1991/4: 42-53.

⁷ Li Zhongyao, “Xue an hongsha caomu xiang, Xiao Xiong bixiade qishi hami wang Boxier [Boxier, the Seventh King of Hami in Xiao Xiong's Writings],” *Xinjiang yanjiu* 1999/4: 77-80.

place the defense of the entity of the State at the top.

In the same way, Yang Zengxin (1867-1928), recognized by the authors of the *Short History* as a reactionary who “surrendered to Tsar-Russian imperialism, carried out a dictatorship in domestic administration, made conflicts in the minority problems, defended the feudal system in the domain of economy, and carried out an obscurantist policy in the cultural domain,”⁸ has been rehabilitated since 1993. Chen Yanqi demands a fair estimation on behalf of Yang and enumerates his achievements⁹: (1) after the republican revolution, putting an end to the dual power situation and recovering the entity of Xinjiang (in the Ili valley, Guan Fu, the former governor-general, had pretended to be the governor of the new regime.); (2) incorporating the Altai region into the Xinjiang Province against the claim of the newly independent Mongols (whereas under the Qing regime, this region had fallen under the jurisdiction of the minister of Khobdo.); (3) saving the area, to a certain degree, from economic crisis; and, finally, (4) defending Xinjiang against the invasions of foreign imperialism and keeping the sovereignty of China. In the same way as the case of Bashir, the central issue of this article is defense of the entity of China. In the same number of the *Xiyu yanjiu*, two other articles appeared, aiming similarly for the rehabilitation of Yang. Chen Chao appreciates Yang’s countermeasures against the diffusion of pan-Turkism in Xinjiang,¹⁰ and Luo Shaowen demonstrates Yang’s positive role in the development of stock farming in the region.¹¹ The publication of the three articles all at once in the same issue strongly suggests a sort of collective decision to rehabilitate Yang Zengxin, although not the political authorities’ decision. His rehabilitation continues in the *Xiyu yanjiu*; Wu Jinshan recognizes that Yang’s policy of closing river transportation against Tsarist Russia was appropriate to defend territorial rights,¹² and finally, as to Yang’s atti-

⁸ *Xinjiang jianshi*, vol. 2, p. 329.

⁹ CHEN Yanqi, “Yinggai shishi qiushi-di kendin Yang Zengxin-de lishi diwei [Yang Zengxin’s Place in History Should be Realistically Affirmed Based on Facts],” *Xiyu yanjiu* 1993/1: 60-69.

¹⁰ CHEN Chao, “Fan-yisilan-zhuyi, fan-tujue-zhuyi zai xinjiang-de zaoqi chuanbo yu Yang Zengxin de duice [The Spread of Pan-Islamism and Pan-Turkism in the Early Period in Xinjiang, and Yang Zengxin’s Countermeasure],” *Xiyu yanjiu* 1993/1: 70-75. In the notes of this article, the author mentions Hamada Masami, author of the present paper, and his article in a shortened Chinese translation but omits the name of the journal in which it appeared. The reference is “La transmission du mouvement nationaliste au Turkestan oriental (Xinjiang),” *Central Asian Survey* 9/1 (1990): 29-48. Chen Chao credited two citations to Hamada, but the later founds that Chen also owes him for many other facts incorporated into his article.

¹¹ LUO Shaowen, “Yang Zengxin fazhan xinjiang muye-de zhuyao cuoshi [The Principal Measures Taken by Yang Zengxin to Develop Animal Husbandry in Xinjiang],” *Xiyu yanjiu* 1993/1: 76-81.

¹² WU Jinshan, “Yang Zengxin zai kaiban zhong-wo hangyun wenti-de lichang pingshu

tude towards the Russian Revolution, Chu Peimin, professor at the CCP's College of the autonomous region, affirms that Yang observed neutrality at the first stage, then he "aided the Reds and destroyed the Whites" and always kept normal relations with the young Soviet State for the purpose of territorial integrity.¹³ One could say Yang was rehabilitated as to all his activities, except the obscurantist policy towards minority populations.

Then, the case of Sheng Shicai (1895-1970) came around, and it is more delicate than that of Yang—who was rehabilitated almost unanimously—because Sheng apparently opposed the CCP actively and killed communists, including Mao Zemin, brother of Mao Zedong. In 1992, Zhao Ming, an officer of the Ministry of the Public Security who had been arrested and thrown to jail by Sheng Shicai in 1942, criticized the "leftist" point of view of *A Short History*, affirming that Sheng was a real progressive and pro-communist from his youth to 1939, at which time he chose to become "the third independent political power" of China.¹⁴ After this revisionist article, Chen Zhao repeated the long-held opinion that Sheng was an ambitious person by nature.¹⁵ In 1999, Cai Jinsong, author of the chapters about Sheng in the *Short History*, partly revised his old opinions, saying Sheng was a patriot who defended the country from the invasion (of the Soviet Union) as far as he could.¹⁶ Cai came to recognize that the establishment of authorities of the Nationalist Party in Xinjiang after the downfall of Sheng "was useful and not harmful for the State and nation" in the struggle against the Japanese invasion.

1.2.3. *The beginning of studies of contemporary history*

For a long time, the contemporary history after "Liberation" has been a forbidden zone (*jinqu*) into which no one dared enter. But writing contemporary history is an inevitable task to sustain the legitimacy of the actual regime, and Chu Peimin, mentioned above, is undertaking most of this task. In his book of 25 articles,¹⁷ 14 articles concern issues after 1949. Except for the Great Progress Movement and the

[Discussion on the Yang Zengxin's Position for Opening River Potations between China and Russia]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 1997/3: 73-78.

¹³ CHU Peimin, "Woguo shiyue gemin dui xinjiang-de yingxiang-jianlun Yang Zengxin dui suwo-de zhence [The Russian October Revolution's Influence on Xinjiang and the Yang Zengxin Policy towards Soviet Russia]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 1999/4: 36-44.

¹⁴ ZHAO Ming, "Zenyang pingjia Sheng Shicai [How to Evaluate Sheng Shicai]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 1992/3: 32-40.

¹⁵ CHEN Zhao, "Sheng Shicai zhengquan jianli ji gonggu [The Forming and Strengthening of Sheng Shicai's Political Power]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 1997/4: 95-101.

¹⁶ CAI Jinsong, "Sheng Shicai pingyi [Sheng Shicai Appraisal]," *Xiyu yanjiu* 1999/1: 91-101.

¹⁷ CHU Peimin, *20 shiji xinjiang shi yanju* [*Studies in 20th Century Xinjiang History*],

Cultural Revolution in which the author recognizes, in accordance with the formal opinion of the CCP, some mistakes caused by the leftist policy, he approves all the measures applied to Xinjiang by the State and the Party.

Finally, we should consider the interesting reminiscences of two important persons, Burhan Shāhidi and Säypidin Äzizi.¹⁸

Among the specialists mentioned above, none are of minority origin. It seems reasonable to suggest that modern and contemporary history remains a forbidden zone for the minority natives of Xinjiang.

2. Research Trends in Japan

2.1. General trends

Since the beginning of modern oriental studies in Japan, the history (including historical geography) of the so-called “Western Regions” (a historical term approximately indicating the Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of today) has always been one of the most frequent fields of study. We can say that Japanese scholars of the first generation, like Shiratori Kurakichi (1865-1942), versed in the classical Chinese language, chose this field—so popular in the European academic world of the 19th century—because they could participate in and contribute to its research with relative ease due to their linguistic competence. This linguistic advantage, enjoyed by Japanese scholars, at the same time restricted their studies to those issues in which the Chinese sources are dominant and available. They therefore concentrated their interests on the pre-Islamic history of this region. Almost inevitably, the nature of their source materials limited their views of the relations between this region and the Middle Empire, as well as that empire’s control of the region. In other words, they had little interest in the native society and its history. As early as 1917, Haneda Toru (1882-1955), the real founder of Japan’s Central Asian studies, indicated the limitations and the faults of Chinese sources on Central Asia. He himself insisted on studying native sources, but he was almost unique for his time. In 1942, his son, Haneda Akira (1910-89) shed light on the Islamic dimension of Eastern Turkistan history¹⁹ and demonstrated with success how to use Chinese

Urumchi: Xinjiang renmin chubanche, 2000, 429p.

¹⁸ Baoerhan (Burhan Shāhidi), *Xinjiang wushi-nian [Fifty Years of Xinjiang]*, Wenshi ziliao chubanche, 1984, 379p.; its Uyghur version, *Shinjangning 50 yili*, Urumchi: Millätlär nāshriyati, 1986; ÄZIZI, Säypidin, *Ömür dastani [Life History]*, Urumchi: Millätlär nāshriyati, 2 vols., 1990, 508+506p.

¹⁹ HANEDA Akira 羽田明「明末清初の東トルキスタン：その回教史的考察」[Eastern Turkistan during the End of Ming and the Beginning of Qing: A Study from the Point of View of Islamic History], *Toyoshi-kenkyu* 7/5 (1942). A revised version of this article, 「17-

materials for the Islamic studies. He was also the first to study the Turkic sources of Eastern Turkistan without the intermediary European translations.²⁰ As to studies of the modern history of Xinjiang, the orientation given by the Hanedas, father and son, became dominant in the 1970s, five decades after the first proposal. We may say that at the present stage of studies all the students, including the specialists in economic and colonial history for which the availability of Chinese sources is predominant, share to a greater or lesser degree an interest in the conditions of the native societies.

2.2 Particular issues of the modern history of Xinjiang

2.2.1. General history

Since the 1980s, several books of Central Asian general history were published under joint authorship. The joint work edited by Egami Namio²¹ appeared in 1987 as one volume of a series on world history, but his co-authors had actually written their articles at the beginning of the 1970s. Then the publisher renewed the series entirely, with a volume edited by Komatsu Hisao and this time entitled *A History of Central Eurasia*²² replacing the Egami version. Because the new version is more compact than its predecessor, its chapters concerning the modern history of Xinjiang do not include as much specific information. Nevertheless, as author of these chapters, we would like to say that readers may find here more consistent explications based on recent research from native sources.

Up to the present, no specialist has written an integral modern history of

18世紀の東トルキスタン」[Eastern Turkistan in the 17th and 18th Centuries] is contained in his collective work 『中央アジア史研究』[*Studies in the History of Central Asia*], Kyoto: Rinsen Shoten, 1982: 3-48.

²⁰ HANEDA Akira 羽田明「倭里汗の乱の一史料」[Historical Material on the Revolt of Walī Khan] in 『塚本博士頌寿記念仏教史学論集』[*Essays on the History of Buddhism: Presented to Professor Zenryu Tsukamoto on his Retirement from the Research Institute for Humanistic Studies*], Kyoto, 1961: XIII-969-96-9p.; HANEDA Akira 羽田明「Ghazāt-i Müslimīn 訳稿：Ya'qūb-bāg 反乱の一史料」[A Preliminary Translation of the *Ghazāt-i Müslimīn*: a Historical Document on the Revolt of Ya'qūb Beg] 『内陸アジア史論集』[*Essays on the History of Inner Asia*], Tokyo: Daian Shoten, 1964: 324-339.

²¹ EGAMI Namio 江上波夫 ed. 『中央アジア史』(世界各国史16) [A History of Central Asia] (*History of World Countries*: 16), Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 1987, 696-82 (index, bibliography) p.

²² KOMATSU Hisao 小松久男 ed. 『中央ユーラシア史』(新版世界各国史4) [A History of Central Eurasia] (*History of World Countries*, New Edition: 4), Tokyo: Yamakawa Shuppansha, 2000, vi-456-96 (index, bibliography) p.

Xinjiang. Imatani Akira, an eminent scholar of Medieval Japanese history who had been interested in this field since his youth, wrote a book²³ for the general reader in view of the absence of any monograph that could answer his questions. To some degree, this book makes up for the lack of a monograph in the genre, even though it contains misunderstandings and inept transliterations of native proper names (stemming mainly from the studies consulted by the author) and the period from the government of Shen Shicai to the Liberation is treated rather briefly.

2.2.2. Administration of the Qing Dynasty

During the period of interest, studies of the Qing administration in Xinjiang became rather unpopular, despite their predominance in preceding decades. Against the general trend towards native sources, however, Kataoka Kazutada reexamined all available Chinese materials and produced a comprehensive monograph.²⁴ Enoki Kazuo, a great master of Central Asian studies, directed his attention towards modern history in his closing years and wrote several articles in this field.²⁵ Judging from the subtitle of the second article cited in note 25 he had planned to write an integral modern history, but his untimely death deprived us of the chance to enjoy this history. As is commonly known, Enoki's erudition thoroughly covered Chinese and European literature concerning all dimensions of Central Asian studies; strangely enough, however, he did not direct his attention towards the native literature of the Islamic period. It is not far from the truth to say that in his articles on modern times the main theme is a sort of Chinese intellectual history concerning Xinjiang rather than a history of native society.

Saguchi Toru, an authority known worldwide by his monumental work published in 1963,²⁶ compiled and published his articles on the several minorities under

²³ IMATANI Akira 今谷明『中国の火薬庫・新疆ウイグル自治区の近代史』[*Powder Magazine of China: A Modern History of Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region*], Tokyo: Shueisha, 2000, 252p.

²⁴ KATAOKA Kazutada 片岡一忠『清朝新疆統治研究』[*A Study of the Qing Dynasty's Administration for Xinjiang*], Tokyo: Yuzankaku, 1991, ix-391-10 (index) p.

²⁵ ENOKI Kazuo 榎一雄「徐松の西域調査について」[Xusong's Exploration in the Western Regions], *Kindai Chugoku* 10 (1981): 135-148; 11 (1982): 147-168; 13 (1983): 167-189; 14 (1983): 147-166; ENOKI Kazuo 榎一雄「新疆の建省：二十世紀の中央アジア」[Establishment of Xinjiang Province, Central Asia in the 20th Century], *Kindai Chugoku* 15 (1984): 158-190; 16 (1984): 36-69; 17 (1985): 75-90; 18 (1986): 44-59; 19 (1987): 48-82. These articles were re-published in the second volume of his complete works. ENOKI Kazuo 榎一雄『中央アジア史』[*History of Central Asia*] vol. 2 of『榎一雄著作集』[*Collected Essays of Prof. Enoki Kazuo*], Tokyo: Kyuko shoin, 1991, 430p.

²⁶ SAGUCHI Toru 佐口透『18-19世紀東トルキスタン社会史研究』[*The Social History*

the Qing administration of Gansu (i.e., Sarīgh Uyghur [Yoghur] and Salar) as well as on the modern regional histories of the Turfan Basin and the Ili Valley.²⁷ The study of the Kazakhs' relationship with the Qing dynasty included in this monograph is the first attempt in Japan to report on this subject.

2.2.3. *Studies on Turkī literature*

As mentioned above, in the 1960s Haneda Akira started to study the Turkic (Chaghaty or Turkī) literature of Eastern Turkistan. Being guided by him, Hamada Masami became involved in this field. He edited a local history of the Khotan oasis²⁸ and gave a general introduction to the Turkī literature about the revolt of Eastern Turkistan and Ya'qūb Beg's emirate.²⁹ His general remarks on the Turkic manuscripts collected in Eastern Turkistan³⁰ remain a unique study of this genre. On another occasion, he discussed the problem of the twelve-animal cycle calendar used in these manuscripts.³¹ As to the *Tadhkira-i Khwājagān*, written by Muhammad Sādiq Kāshgharī in about 1768/69, Sawada Minoru has gathered the bibliographical information and identified the Muslim "aristocrats" who ordered the writing of this work.³²

of Eastern Turkistan in the 18th and 19th Centuries], Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1963, x-755p.

²⁷ SAGUCHI Toru 佐口透『新疆民族史研究』[*History of Ethnic Minorities in the Xinjiang Region*], Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1986, x-459p.

²⁸ HAMADA Masami, "L'Histoire de Hotan de Muhammad A'lam: (I) Texte turc oriental édité, avec une introduction; (II) Un essai de traduction du texte turc oriental; (III) Commentaires avec deux appendices," *Zinbun* 15 (1979): 1-45; 16 (1980): 173-208; 18 (1982): 65-93.

²⁹ HAMADA Masami 濱田正美「十九世紀ウイグル歴史文献序説」[Introduction to the Uyghur Historical Writings of the 19th Century], *Toyo Gakuho* (Kyoto) 55 (1983): 353-401.

³⁰ HAMADA Masami, "Un aperçu des manuscrits chaghaty en provenance du Turkestan oriental," in *Documents et archives provenant de l'Asie centrale, Acte du colloque franco-japonais*, Kyoto, 1990a: 102-115.

³¹ HAMADA Masami, "Rupture ou continuité: le calendrier des douze animaux chez les musulmans turcophones du Turkestan oriental," in *Mélanges offerts à Louis Bazin*, Paris, 1992: 285-291.

³² SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔「『タズキラ・イ・ホージャガーン』研究についての覚え書き」[A Preliminary Note on the Studies on the *Tadhkira-i Khwājagān*], *Tezukayama Gakuin Tankidaigaku Kenkyu Nenpo* 39 (1991): 1-15.

2.2.4. Historical studies mainly based on the Turkī literature

Relying on the philological studies of the *Tadhkira-i Khwājagān* and other Turkī and Persian hagiographies, Sawada focused on the activities of Khwāja Ishāq and his descendants, known as Ishāqiyya or Qarataghliq.³³ As to the period after the Qing conquest, Hamada discussed how the native Muslim “aristocrats” could maintain the cohesion of a society in which the *sharī‘a* had validity and yet, at the same time, they had to justify their submission to the infidel Manchu dynasty.³⁴ He also analyzes the revolt that broke out in 1864 at the oasis of Kucha, to demonstrate the metamorphosis of the religious authority of a mystic into political power.³⁵ The same author discusses the antipathy against this politicized sufism held by Mullā Mūsā, a native historian of the age.³⁶ As to the emirate of Ya‘qūb Beg, especially its human resources, Shinmen Yasushi analyzes the native sources as well as British and Russian documents to conclude that most of the dignitaries had come from Kokand.³⁷ Relying on materials of the same nature, Shinmen sheds light on the several political tendencies of the Turfan basin during 1864-1877, that is, from the beginning of the revolt to the re-conquest by Qing.³⁸

³³ SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔「ホージャ・イスハークの宗教活動：特にカーシュガル・ハーン家との関係について」[The Religious Activities of Khwāja Ishāq, with Special Reference to Relations with the Kashghar Khanides], *Seinan Ajia Kenkyu* 27 (1987): 57-74; ditto 「16世紀後半のキルギズ族とイスラーム」[Kyrgyzs and Islam in the Latter Half of the 16th Century], *Tezukayama Gakuin Tankidaigaku Kenkyu Ronshu* 43 (1995): 149-176; ditto 「ホージャ家イスハーク派の形成：17世紀前半のタリム盆地を中心に」[Formation of Ishaqiyya Khwājas during the First Half of the 17th Century in the Western Tarim Basin], *Seinan Ajia Kenkyu* 45 (1996): 39-61.

³⁴ HAMADA Masami 濱田正美「『塩の義務』と『聖戦』の間で」[Between “the Duty of Salt” and “the Sacred War”], *Toyoshi Kenkyu* 52/2 (1993): 274-300.

³⁵ HAMADA Masami, “De l’autorité religieuse au pouvoir politique: La révolte de Kûcâ et Khwāja Râshidîn,” in *Naqshbandîs: Cheminements et situation actuelle d’un ordre mystique musulman, Actes de la table ronde de Sèvres*, Istanbul-Paris, 1990b: 455-489.

³⁶ HAMADA Masami, “Le Sufisme et ‘ses opposants’ au Turkestan oriental,” in *Islamic Mysticism Contested: Thirteen Centuries of Controversies and Polemics*, eds. F. de Jong and B. Radtke, Leiden-Boston: Brill, 1999: 541-552.

³⁷ SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康「ヤークーブ・ベグ政権の性格に関する一考察」[A Study of the Nature of Ya‘qūb Beg’s Regime], *Shigaku Zasshi* 96/4 (1987): 1-42. See also SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康「ヤークーブ・ベグ」[Ya‘qūb Beg] in 『民族と国家：自覚と抵抗』(講座世界史3), ed. Rekishigaku Kenkyukai 歴史学研究会, Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1995: 365-380.

³⁸ SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康「19世紀動乱期のトゥルファーン」[Turfan in the Period of Disturbances of the Nineteenth Century], *Isuramu Sekai* 29-30 (1988): 56-76.

2.2.5. *Studies of the nationalistic conscience and movement*

The problem of nationalism is an important issue of modern and contemporary history. Using mainly reminiscences of Ahmet Kemal, sent to Xinjiang by the Young Turks government in 1914, as well as native and Chinese sources, Hamada confronts the emergence of nationalism.³⁹ As to the separatism that burst out in the 1930s among Turkī-speaking people, especially the revolt of Qomul that was the first anti-Chinese armed uprising, Shinmen examines its participants and their backgrounds.⁴⁰ In studies along the same lines, Shinmen analyzes the secret organizations that appeared in the early 1930s in Urumchi, Turfan and Khotan to show that the members of these organizations were formed within the nationalistic and reformist movement during the preceding two decades and that, nevertheless, they could not produce a unified headquarters.⁴¹ The complicated circumstances of the “Eastern Turkistan Republic” are made clear by the same author.⁴² Due to the lack of reliable sources, several enigmas must be left unsolved, but this is the first article that covers the history of this ephemeral independence. Oishi Shin’ichiro sheds light on the jadidist movement in Xinjiang, as well as the activities of a native rich family that was the backer of this movement.⁴³ As to Nūshīrvān Yā’ushef, a notable Tatar journalist, Oishi draws up a complete inventory of his own writings and information on him that appeared in Tatar journals like the *Shūrā* and the *Vaqit* and, using these materials, introduces the life of Yā’ushef, especially his activities in Xinjiang.⁴⁴ Relying on the same materials, Oishi investigates the career of Burhan (or Bao Erhan in Chinese style), who as governor of Xinjiang province peacefully accepted “Liberation.”⁴⁵ Oishi translates all the writings of Burhan that appeared in

³⁹ HAMADA Masami, “La transmission du mouvement nationaliste au Turkestan oriental,” *Central Asian Survey* 9/1 (1990c): 29-48.

⁴⁰ SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康 「新疆コムルのムスリム反乱」 [The Muslim Revolt of Qomul, Xinjiang], *Toyo Gakuho* 70/3-4 (1989): 105-135.

⁴¹ SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康 「新疆ムスリム反乱（1931-32）と秘密結社」 [The Muslim 1931-34 Rebellion in Xinjiang and Secret Societies], *Shigaku Zasshi* 99/12 (1990): 1-42.

⁴² SHINMEN Yasushi 新免康 「1933-34 東トルキスタン共和国に関する一考察」 [The “Eastern Turkistan Republic” 1933-34], *Ajia Afurika Gengo Bunka Kenkyu* 46/47 (1994): 1-42.

⁴³ OISHI Shin’ichiro 大石真一郎 「カシュガルにおけるジャディード運動：ムーサー・バヨフ家と新方式教育」 [The Reformist Movement at Kashgar: The Musa Bayofs and New-Method Education], *Toyo Gakuho* 78-1 (1996): 1-26.

⁴⁴ OISHI Shin’ichiro 大石真一郎 「ヌーシルヴァーン・ヤウシェフのトルキスタン周遊について」 [About Nūshīrvān Yā’ushef’s Journeys to Turkistan], *Kobe Daigaku Shigaku Nenpo* 13 (1998): 20-36.

⁴⁵ OISHI Shin’ichiro 大石真一郎 「『ワクト』紙上のブルハン・シャヒドの記事について」 [Burhān Shahīd’s Articles in the *Vaqit*], *Seinan Ajia Kenkyu* 49 (1998): 68-84.

the *Vaqit* from 1913 to 1915 and makes it clear that Burhan had been a Tatar merchant before he assumed his pretended Uyghur nationality. The most important fruit of this field is a monograph on the East Turkistan Republic by O Ka (Wang Ke).⁴⁶ Taking advantage of first-hand materials, including unpublished secret documents and personal interviews, he describes the full process of this ephemeral but notable event. As for the contemporary issues, we have no comprehensive studies about them. Kagami Mitsuyuki's monograph dedicated to the minority problem in general,⁴⁷ especially the second chapter, 文化大革命と新疆边境 (The Great Cultural Revolution and the Xinjiang Frontier), is useful for general information about this period.

2.2.6. *Mazars and Bazars*

One of the most noticeable trends of Xinjiang studies in Japan is interest in the phenomenon of saint worship as it takes concrete shape in the mausoleum/tomb (mazār) cult. Saguchi Toru, a leading scholar of modern Xinjiang history from the 1950s, in one of his monographs (based mainly on reports by European travelers) lists the mausoleums and their locations and explains the history of the mausoleum of Āfāq Khwāja, alias Hidāyat Allāh, eponym of the āfāqī branch of the Kashgar khwājas.⁴⁸ Hamada's article mentioned above [1990b] analyzes the ideology and the function of the mausoleum cult as it appeared through the revolt of Kucha. He gathers information about the mausoleum of Satuq Bughra Khan to show its cult played an important role in the history from its beginning to the present day.⁴⁹ He also examines stories of finding (or forging) the saints' mausoleums and points out that the findings continue even today.⁵⁰ Of the contemporary findings examined by Hamada, the cases of Muḥammad al-Kāshgharī and Yūsuf Hāss Khājib are introduced by Sugawara Jun as well.⁵¹ In addition to studies based on the written mate-

⁴⁶ O Ka 王柯『東トルキスタン共和国研究：中国のイスラムと民族問題』[*A Study of the East Turkistan Republic: Muslims and the National Question in China*], Tokyo: University of Tokyo Press, 1995, xi-289-10p.

⁴⁷ KAGAMI Mitsuyuki 加々美光行『知られざる祈り：中国の民族問題』[*Unknown Prayers: The Minority Problems of China*], Tokyo: Shinhyoron, 1992, 338p.

⁴⁸ SAGUCHI Toru 佐口透『新疆ムスリム研究』[*Studies of the Xinjiang Muslims*], Tokyo: Yoshikawa Kobunkan, 1995, viii-362p.

⁴⁹ HAMADA Masami 濱田正美「サトク・ボグラ・ハンの墓廟をめぐって」[Satuq Bughra Khan's Mausoleum in History], *Seinan Ajia Kenkyu* 34 (1991): 89-112.

⁵⁰ HAMADA Masami 濱田正美「聖者の墓を見つける話」[Discover Saints' Tombs!], 『国立民族学博物館研究報告別冊』[*Bulletin of the National Museum of Ethnology. Special issue*] 20 (1999): 287-326.

⁵¹ SUGAWARA Jun 菅原純「創出される「ウイグル民族文化」：「ウイグル古典文学」

rials, some reports of field studies are presented. Sawada, who traveled in the oases of the Tarim basin, reports on some mausoleums.⁵² Historians and socio-anthropologists share the interest in the tomb cult. Wang Jianxin, who carried out most of the fieldwork in the Turfan basin, describes in detail the tomb cults in this region and analyzes their social functions.⁵³ On this issue, the future studies must be carried out, on one hand, from historical sources, including hagiographies, and on the other hand from observation of the actual state of the tomb cults.⁵⁴

Another noticeable trend concerns the economic activities of the native societies as represented by the marketplaces (bazār). Hori Sunao, specialist in the socio-economic history of Xinjiang, presents a concise economic history of Xinjiang, which helps the non-specialist get a general view on this issue.⁵⁵ Also in relation to economic history, the same author is interested in economic aspects of the oasis cities.⁵⁶ Sanada Yasushi, who in the 1970s began to study the bazar trading of the 19th century, presents a general explanation of the mutual relationship between city,

の復興と墓廟の「発見」 [Created 'Uyghur National Culture': Uyghur Classic Literature and Findings of Mausoleums], *Ajia Yugaku/Intriguing Asia* 1 (1999), Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan: 74-87.

⁵² SAWADA Minoru 澤田稔「オルダム・パーディシャー聖域について」 [Information on Ordam-Padishah System], *Nairiku Ajiashi Kenkyu* 14 (1999a): 91-109; ditto 「タリム盆地周縁部イスラーム史跡調査報告」 [Fieldwork at Islamic Historical Sites, Primarily in the Western Tarim Basin], *Tezukayama Gakuin Daigaku Ningen Bunka Gakubu Kenkyu Nenpo* 1 (1999b): 49-70; ditto 「タクラマカン砂漠南辺の聖墓」 [Mausoleums in the Southern Periphery of the Taklamakan Desert], *Tezukayama Gakuin Daigaku Ningen Bunka Gakubu Kenkyu Nenpo* 2 (2000): 160-182.

⁵³ O Kenshin 王建新「トゥルファン地域文化における分立と統合：ウイグル族の日常生活と聖墓信仰をめぐる」 [Separation and Unification in the Regional Culture of the Turfan Region: Everyday Life and the Mausoleum Cults of the Uyghurs], *Nairiku Ajiashi Kenkyu* 11 (1996): 41-64.

⁵⁴ We would like to mention here two recent publications, although they were published after 2001. One of them, SHINMEN Yasushi, SANADA Yasushi and O Kenshin (WANG Jianxin) 『新疆ウイグルのバザールとマザール』 [*Bazars and Mazars in Uyghur Xinjiang*], Tokyo: Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, 2002, is an interesting report on the fieldwork carried out in the northern part of the Tarim basin, including the Turfan region. The other is the third volume of the *Journal of the History of Sufism*, edition of Jean Maisonneuve Successeurs, 2002, a special issue for "Saints and Heros on the Silk Road," including a general introduction and the revised French version of [HAMADA 1991] as well as the English versions of [SAWADA 1999a, 1999b].

⁵⁵ HORI Sunao 堀直「新疆経済史の可能性」 [The Probability of a Xinjiang Economic History], 『東アジア経済史の諸問題』 [*Several Problems in East Asian Economic History*], ed. Matsuda Koichi 松田孝一, Kyoto: Aunsha, 2000: 161-175.

⁵⁶ HORI Sunao 堀直, "Muslim Cities under the Ch'ing Rule," in *The Proceedings of the International Conference on Urbanism in Islam*, vol. 3, 1989: 375-399.

village, and nomads, as demonstrated in the marketplaces.⁵⁷ In 1996, he carried out fieldwork and presented a preliminary report.⁵⁸ As to the marketplace of Khotan, there is a report by Umemura Hiroshi.⁵⁹

3. Studies in Other Countries

Until recently, the modern history of Xinjiang has been a remote issue in countries other than China and Japan. Only a very few specialists have been attracted. Though the situation has begun to change substantially, it is fair to say that, at least during the period with which this paper is concerned (i.e., before 2000), the achievements have been rather scarce. (The works of the late J. Fletcher remain always as the authoritative standard.) Besides, the author of these lines has to recognize that he does not monitor foreign journals closely. Consequently, he must be content with a short and incomplete enumeration of the notable monographs.

Svat Soucek's general history,⁶⁰ although short and accessible, is also smart and useful, even for specialists. As to the Qing dynasty's conquest of Xinjiang, the monograph of Ablat Khodzhaev is a remarkable achievement.⁶¹ Though it is regrettable he did not consult the works of Japanese scholars (for example, Saguchi, who had examined the same issues), this book's use of the Persian and Turkī materials kept in Tashkent is a great advantage. D. A. Isiev's monograph on the emirate of Ya'qūb Beg is short but very useful, especially its description of the Turkī historical materials of the Institute of Oriental Studies in St. Petersburg.⁶² Kim Ho-Dong presented his Ph.D. dissertation to Harvard University in 1986.⁶³ This is the most

⁵⁷ SANADA Yasushi 真田安「都市・農村・遊牧」[City, Village and Nomadism] in 『イスラム・社会のシステム』(講座イスラム3) [The System of Islam Society] (Lectures on Islam 3), ed. Sato Tsugitaka 佐藤次高, Tokyo: Chikuma Shobo, 1986: 108-148.

⁵⁸ SANADA Yasushi 真田安「バザール・混沌の奥にある社会システムを求めて」[Bazar, in Research for the Social System Hidden behind Chaos], *Ajia Yugaku/Intriguing Asia* 1 (1999), Tokyo: Bensei Shuppan: 54-73.

⁵⁹ UMEMURA Hiroshi 梅村担「オアシス都市とバザールの機能について：最近のホタンの例を中心として」[Oasis Cities and the Function of Bassar: Centering on Recent Khotan] in 『イスラム都市における街区の実態と民衆組織に関する比較研究』[A Comparative Study of the Islamic City Quarters 'Mahalla' and Popular Organizations], ed. Shimizu Kosuke 清水宏祐, Tokyo: Tokyo University of Foreign Study, 1991: 57-80.

⁶⁰ SOUCEK, Svat, *A History of Inner Asia*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000, XIII-369p.

⁶¹ KHODZHAEV, Ablat, *Tsinskaya imperiya i vostochnyi Turkestan v XVIII v. (K istorii mezh-dunarodnykh otnoshenii v Tsentral'noi Azii)*, Tashkent: Fan, 1991, 132p.

⁶² ISIEV, Daut Abdulimovich, *Uigurskoe gosudarstvo Iettishar (1864-1877)*, Moskva: Nauka, 1981, 89p.

⁶³ KIM Ho-Dong, *The Muslim Rebellion and the Kashghar Emirate in Chinese Central*

comprehensive study of the 1864 revolt and Ya'qūb Beg's emirate but for now remains unpublished. The revised version in Korean⁶⁴ appeared in 1999, and its English version will be welcomed by all specialists. Th. Zarccone throws light on the life of an interesting figure, Ya'qūb Khan Tura, 'nephew' of Ya'qūb Beg, who took an active part in the diplomacy of the latter's emirate.⁶⁵ The same author analyses the political role of the mausoleum of Āfāq Khwāja at Kashghar during its entire history, including the contemporary situation.⁶⁶ Except for *A Short History of Xinjiang*, mentioned above, the book of A. D. W. Forbes is the only monograph dedicated to the whole republican period.⁶⁷ That the author consults British archival documents sufficiently is admirable, but his use of Chinese materials is limited. For example, to discuss Yang Zengxin's policy he relies entirely on the article of R. Yang that appeared in 1961 in the *Central Asiatic Journal*, but he never consults the Yang Zengxin self writings, the *Boguoelai wendu*. As to the East Turkestan Republic, Linda Benson published a book prior to O Ka's monograph.⁶⁸ Judging from the preface of his book, he does not have a high estimate of Benson's work, while it is entirely fair to say that her work has the advantage of having used British and American archival documents. But O Ka has every reason to claim his superiority results from his using secret documents. The book on the Kazakh people of

Asia, 1864-1877, 1986.

⁶⁴ KIM Ho-Dong, *Revolution and its Failure in Modern Central Asia: The Rise and Fall of a Muslim State (1864-1877) in Eastern Turkistan*, (in Korean), Seoul: Sakyejul Publishing, 1999, 387p.

⁶⁵ ZARCONE, Thierry, "Political Sufism and the Emirate of Kashgaria (End of the 19th Century): The Role of the Ambassador Ya'qūb Xān Tūra" in *Muslim Culture in Russia and Central Asia from the 18th to the Early 20th Centuries*, vol. 2: *Inter-Regional and Inter-Ethnic Relations*, eds. A. von Kügelgen, M. Kemper and A. J. Frank, Berlin: Kraus Schwarz Verlag, 1998 (Islamkundliche Untersuchungen Bd. 200): 153-165

⁶⁶ ZARCONE, Thierry, "Quand le saint légitime le politique: le mausolée de Afaq Khwaja à Kashgar," *Central Asian Survey* 18/2 (1999): 225-241. The special issue of the *Journal of the History of Sufism*, vol. III (2002), contains, apart from the articles of the Japanese specialists mentioned above: REICHL, Karl, "Hero and Saint: Islamic Elements in Uighur Epics," 7-24; TOGAN, Isenbike, "Differences in Ideology and Practice: the Case of the Black and White Mountain Fraction," 25-38; LOUBES, Jean-Paul, "The 'Rectification' of Documents of Architecture: the Afāq Khwāja Sufi Complex in Kashgar," 113-132; ZARCONE, Thierry, "Le Culte des saints au Xinjiang (de 1949 à nos jours)," 133-172.

⁶⁷ FORBES, Andrew D. W., *Warlords and Muslims in Chinese Central Asia: A Political History of Republican Sinkiang 1911-1949*, Cambridge-New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986, 376p.

⁶⁸ BENSON, Linda, *The Ili Rebellion: The Moslem Challenge to Chinese Authority in Xinjiang 1944-1949*, edition of M. E. Sharpe, Armonk, 1990, 265p.

Xinjiang edited by Benson with Ingvar Svanberg⁶⁹ presents the general picture of this minority, in history as well as for the present day. The interesting chapter on Osman Batur by Benson would be a supplement to her book mentioned above.

⁶⁹ BENSON, Linda and SVANBERG, Ingvar, eds. *The Kazaks of China, Essays on an Ethnic Minority*, Uppsala: Uppsala University (Acta Universitatis Upsalensis: Studia Multiethnica Upsaliensia: 5), 1988, XII-250p.