

ISLAMKUNDLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN · BAND 185

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(Hrsg.)

Bamberger Zentralasienstudien

Konferenzakten ESCAS IV
Bamberg 8.–12. Oktober 1991

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KLAUS SCHWARZ VERLAG · BERLIN · 1994

ISLAMKUNDLICHE UNTERSUCHUNGEN · BAND 185

Bamberger Zentralstudien

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KLAUS SCHWARZ VERLAG · BERLIN

Vorwort

Dieser Tagungsband reiht sich ein in die lockere Abfolge von Veröffentlichungen der Materialien von bisher vier stattgehabten Konferenzen des 1985 in Utrecht gegründeten European Seminar on Central Asian Studies (ESCAS),¹

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Wie es dem Charakter eines Seminars als offenes Diskussionsforum eher denn hermetischer Zirkel entspricht, haben auch die Tagung und damit in dieses Buch Eingang gefunden, deren Inhalte und der Tenor der Aussagen möglicherweise Widerspruch hervorrufen. Die Herausgeber sehen sich nicht gerufen, das Verhängnis anders zu beurteilen, sondern die Aufgabe eines Wissenschaftlers wahrzunehmen, wo die Grenze



ESCAS I (Utrecht 1985): *Utrecht Papers on Central Asia*, ed. Mark J. ...
Utrecht 1987 (*Utrecht Turkological Series* 20). ESCAS II ...
Change and Continuity in Central Asia, ed. Ingeborg Baldauf ...
(Paris 1989): *L'Asie Centrale et ses voisins. Influences et interactions* ...
1990 und *En Asie Centrale asiatique. Ethnies, Nations, Cultures* ...



Inhaltsverzeichnis

Vorwort	iii
Inhaltsverzeichnis	v
Marek GAWĘCKI: Polen und Deutsche in Kasachstan. Ein Entwurf der ethnologischen Forschungsproblematik	1
Gabriele RASULY-PALECZEK: Kinship and politics among the Uzbeks of Northeastern Afghanistan	11
Klára AGYAGÁSI: Weitere Beiträge zur Aufdeckung eines internationalen Wanderwortes (Das Wort "Buch" im Wolgagebiet)	29
Ágnes BIRTALAN: Further remarks on the Mongolian loanwords in Nogai	37
Zsuzsanna GULÁCSI: The Turkish loanword <i>kecse</i> in the middle age Hungarian felt culture	45
Henryk JANKOWSKI: Mongolian loanwords in the Crimean toponymy	61

Firdaus G. XISAMITDINOVA: Иранские элементы в башкирском языке	75
Edhem R. TENIŠEV: Die kirgisische Literatursprache und ihre Beziehungen mit dem Tatarischen	81
Hendrik BOESCHOTEN & Mark VANDAMME: Rabghuzi's syntax revisited	87
Manfred LORENZ: Zur Wiedergabe deutscher Nebensätze im Täğikischen	99
Irina A. MURAVYOVA: Non-marked noun forms in Turkic and Mongolian languages (A comparative study)	105
Vladimir M. ALPATOV: Mahmud Kashgari and the Japanese linguistic tradition	117
Edward TRYJARSKI: Languages along the Silk Road. A few critical remarks on the knotty problem	123
Charles F. CARLSON: Language reform movements in Central Asia	133
Kenesbai M. MUSAEV: Демографические процессы и функционирование языков в Казахстане	153
Bubiyna O. ORUZBAEVA: Die kirgizische Sprache als Staatssprache unter neuen Voraussetzungen	165

Xalyk G. KOROGLY: "Кёроглы" в Центральной Азии	171
Xénia CELNAROVÁ: The role of folklore in creating the interliterary community of Turkic nations	179
Hamid ISMAILOV: National Consciousness and Uzbek Poetry (1920-80)	185
Sigrid KLEINMICHEL: °Alīšīr Nawāī über das Lachen	205
Roza SULTANOVA: Rhythms of Central Asian traditional music through the prism of <i>aruz</i> poetic meters	217
Tadeusz MAJDA: Ceramic tiles from Central Asia in the National Museum in Warsaw	223
Iris COLDITZ: Shād-Ohrmezd and the early history of the Manichaean Dīnāwarīya-community	229
István ZIMONYI: Volgar Bulghars and Islam	235
Elyor KARIMOV: Sufi brotherhoods in 15th century Central Asia	241
Rozija G. MUKMINOVA: Die Rolle der beiden Hauptrichtungen des Islam in der Politik der Kriege Šajbānī-Ĥāns und Šāh Ismāīls	249
Audrey BURTON: Who were the Almān?	257

Turaj ATABAKI: A study in the history of Bukharan modernism. The journey of Aḥmad Dānish to St. Petersburg	263
Dov B. YAROSHEVSKI: Bukharan students in Germany, 1922–1925	271
Gasym M. KERIMOV: Исламские эволюционные процессы в Советской Центральной Азии	279
Jakob TAUBE: Märchen und Brauchtum als religionshistorische Quellen	291
Elisabetta CHIODO: The <i>γaril</i> sacrifice to the ancestors in the cult of Činggis Qaγan	301
Klaus SAGASTER: Stone and bird. A motif of Mongolian symbolism	311
Käthe URAY-KÓHALMI: Vom Sippenkult bis zum Staatskult	317
Oleg F. AKIMUŠKIN: Библиотека Шибанидов в Бухаре XVI века	325
Ildikó BELLER-HANN: The Scotsman of the Gobi	343
Zbigniew JASIEWICZ: Leon Barszczewski's collection of photographs from Russian Turkestan and the Bukharan Emirate as a historical and ethnographical source	361

Kinga MACIUSZAK: Soviet publications on Afghanistan for the last fifteen years	365
Tatiana A. PANG: Manchu shaman materials in A. V. Grebenščikov's archives	375

Die Bemerkungen, die ich hier darlegen möchte, machen sich nicht anheischig, als Resultat eines gezielten, vorgefaßten Forschungsplans gelten zu wollen. Es war sozusagen ein Schlag on passant während meiner Forschungsarbeit zur Kultur und dem ethnischen Bewußtsein der seit 1936 aus dem Gebiet der Westukraine nach Kasachstan deportierten Polen. Ich möchte meine Darstellung nur als eine vorbereitende Ausgangsbasis für künftige Studien an Ort und Stelle verstanden wissen. Unser Forschungsplan ist in diesem Zusammenhang für einige Jahre befristet. Im Rahmen der Studien ist vorgesehen, die verschiedenen interethnischen Relationen, darunter auch die zwischen Polen und Deutschen,¹ zu identifizieren und zu interpretieren.

Es hat sich schon an einer der ersten Stationen des Forschungsunternehmens, in Ozioroc in der Oblast Kokčektaw deutlich erwiesen, daß sowohl Polen als auch Deutsche in dieser Ortschaft zahlreich vertreten sind. Dabei stellte sich heraus, daß die Oblast Kokčektaw, von den Oblast Karaganda und Celnograd (früher *Akmolinskaja oblast*)² abgesehen, das Hauptansiedlungsgebiet der von uns zu erforschenden ethnischen Gruppen in Kasachstan ist. Die Problematik der wechselseitigen Relationen zwischen den beiden Gruppen unter so extremen Bedingungen scheint uns einer spezifischen Aufmerksamkeit und vertieften Analyse würdig zu sein.

Kasachstan ist ein Vielvölkerstaat, in dem mehr als 100 Ethnien repräsentiert sind. Zu den größten Populationen gehören die Kasachen, Russen, Deutschen, Ukrainer, Usbeken, Tataren, Uiguren, Belorussen, Koreaner, Aseri, Polen, Čeden, Türken und Griechen. Nach der letzten Volkszählung (Dezember

¹ Das interdisziplinäre Forschungsprojekt "Polen in Kasachstan. Kultur und ethnisches Bewußtsein" wird im Institut für Ethnologie der AMU zu Posen durch eine Forschungsgruppe von acht Mitarbeiterinnen unter der Leitung des Autors seit 1990 realisiert. Die Vorbereitungsstudien in Kasachstan sind für die Jahre 1990-1994 vorgesehen.

The Scotsman of the Gobi

Ildikó BELLER-HANN, Canterbury

About a year ago I was given a curious little book entitled "Examples of the Various Turki Dialects. Turki text with English translation". The book was bound in a peculiar fashion and contained various Turkic texts in the Arabic script with English translation. At first sight it appeared to be hand-written. However, the English introduction explained that the volume was a mimeograph copy produced by G. W. Hunter, a member of the China Inland Mission in 1918 in the province of Sinkiang. Curiosity aroused, I set out to learn more about the author who appeared to have a thorough knowledge of some Eastern Turkic languages and of whom I knew nothing. The present paper is a summary of the data I have collected so far.

First of all, who was George Hunter of Sinkiang, the "Scotsman of the Gobi", the "Apostle of Turkestan"? George Hunter's name must have been well known in missionary circles in the first half of this century, especially to those involved in missionary activities in China, and also to travellers who actually visited the province of Sinkiang during his long sojourn there. His personality and life were also deemed worthy of interest by the famous British missionary ladies, Francesca French and Mildred Cable who devoted a small book to Hunter's biography (Cable & French 1948). It is from this book that I borrowed the title of the present paper and it contains a great deal of valuable information concerning Hunter, enhanced by the fact that Cable and the French sisters were personal acquaintances and colleagues of George Hunter. French and Cable's biography is primarily an appraisal of Hunter's activities as a devout missionary. The aim of the present paper is to draw attention to and evaluate Hunter's activities as a traveller and to a certain extent, Orientalist. This seems appropriate as his achievements bear comparison with the work of many other missionary explorers now well known through their published works.¹

¹ See for example the numerous publications by Cable & French. In addition to Raquette's publications on Eastern Turki the work of the members of the Swedish Mission was also utilised by Gunnar Jarring: 1975-76, 1979-80, 1984-85.

George Hunter was born in Aberdeenshire in Scotland on 31 July 1862. He lived in Wales in his youth and it was here that he became absorbed in religious studies. He started work as a missionary in China in 1889 and died there, in northwest Kansu, fifty-seven years later, in 1946. During his long stay in China he visited his home country only once, in 1900. He started his missionary work in Kansu and moved to the province of Sinkiang in 1906. He spent the rest of his life, i. e. nearly forty years, in this province. During his time there he visited the coast twice, once when attending a Missionary Conference in Shanghai (1907), and once to escort back to Sinkiang a new group of young missionaries (1932). Apart from these visits he did not leave the province. He was based in the provincial centre, Urumchi, or, as he liked to call it, Tihwa and represented the China Inland Mission. For most of his time there he lived in relative isolation, alone apart from the short periods of time during which he had the company of Europeans. The only exception was the long companionship of a fellow missionary, Percy Mather, whose dedication to the mission matched Hunter's. Mather joined him in Urumchi in 1914 and stayed there until his death in 1934. Throughout his stay in Sinkiang Hunter witnessed enormous changes there. It was a result of some of these changes that he was eventually accused of being a British spy and imprisoned in Urumchi for thirteen months, before being required to leave the province for good. He was then deported to Kansu where he spent the next four years. Towards the end of his life he slowly tried to make his way back nearer to the border of Sinkiang. He got as far as Kanchow, where he died without being able to return to his chosen home.²

Hunter was first and foremost a devout Protestant missionary dedicated to evangelising. But working in a large province in an environment of many different peoples, languages and even religions meant that to do his work really well he had to learn a lot about these cultures and above all he had to master the languages. That he did so with great enthusiasm and good results is proven by a number of references in his own writings as well as materials in his biography and other sources. He became a keen translator of Christian works and we shall see that he had a particularly deep interest in the language and

² This biographical sketch is based upon Cable & French 1948; Cable & French 1935; Bentley-Taylor 1947; Cable 1947.

culture of the Turkis.³ In this respect his activities were complemented by those of Percy Mather, his long-term companion, who "lost his heart to the Mongols" (Cable & French 1935, 153).

What traces can be found of his activities in Sinkiang today? As far as his missionary work is concerned the results can be considered as meagre, in spite of all his hard work.⁴ But we are more interested here in what must have been of secondary importance to him, i. e., his scholarly work. Compared to materials by some other missionaries working there, his heritage is not so substantial. There are various reasons for this. One of them is his own taciturn nature which inhibited him from ever writing at length for a large audience. In Mildred Cable's words "... he ... knew Turkestan, where he had spent some forty years, as no living man knows it. He was aggravatingly reticent about his findings, and travellers who visited him hoping to learn something of the social and political conditions of the land where he lived were baffled as their questions were met with a courteous phrase which told them nothing, and when the distinguished old man had bowed and bade them farewell at the door of the mission compound they realized that he had imparted with but little information and committed himself to no line of judgement" (Cable 1947, 321). Behind this tendency to silence must also have been an awareness that any judgement, particularly concerning political developments in the province, might have jeopardized his own missionary work there. In spite of such guarded attitudes he was to be accused of spying and even imprisoned and tortured in old age merely for staying on after all the other foreign missionaries including the well established Swedish mission, had left the province.⁵ A second reason behind the relatively limited size of his heritage follows directly from the unfortunate turn of events referred to above. To quote Cable again, "The cruelest blow to George Hunter was that on being expelled from the country he was never allowed to revisit his home or even to collect his valuable books and manuscripts. Where they have been scattered no one knows" (Cable 1947, 321).

³ Hunter uses the term Turki to refer to the Turkic speaking group which later became known as "modern Uighur."

⁴ For example, Bentley-Taylor talks about the "absence of much visible result from his work": 1947, 14.

⁵ On the Swedish Mission see for example Hogberg 1911; Raquette 1939.

So, what has survived of his immense knowledge accumulated in the course of nearly forty years? We do have some of his diaries published in various issues of a journal entitled "China's Millions", the main organ of the China Inland Mission. There have also been some other shorter articles published by Hunter in other periodicals and finally we also possess two little volumes written and produced entirely by himself. The total remains modest, but it is enough to suggest that Hunter should also be appreciated for his travellers' accounts and linguistic activities as well as for his proselytising.

His writings were inspired by several factors. A knowledge of several local languages enabled him to translate the Scriptures, to preach directly to the people without an interpreter, and to sing hymns, a favourite practice with children. But his professional interest was coupled with a natural curiosity which compelled him to study. This is clear in some articles written to transmit general information concerning Sinkiang.⁶

1. General articles

In spite of the relative dryness of his style Hunter's writings are not without sharp and appropriate perceptions and even his prejudices are revealing. His description of his first encounter with Muslims in China echoes a number of prevalent stereotypes: "Here [in Hochow] the Mohammedans are much more active and more successful in business than the Chinese.... The Mohammedans have a trait of character which the Chinese call *kien*, a word which seems to mean both cunning and deceitful.... The Mohammedans themselves seem particularly fond of fighting... Some of the Hochow Mohammedans are fairly smart in argument.... Of course all the Mohammedans are not rascals, and some of them have been exceedingly kind to me" (Hunter 1911, 5). The bias of the educated Christian missionary is expressed in the following: "The Sart [Turki] as a whole are extremely bigoted and ignorant. Their own books are few, and alas! full of superstitions and lies" (Hunter 1920a, 170).

In his description of Muslims in China Hunter also comments on the relationship between Muslims and Tibetans. According to him the Muslims are keen on doing business with Tibetans within Tibet itself, an attitude

⁶ It seems appropriate to note that even in the 1980s one could come across a similar type of missionary in Sinkiang, i. e., who in addition to or rather parallel with his evangelical work also studied local cultures.

characteristic of the Muslims only, since "as a rule the Chinese do not dare to go into the heart of Tibet" (Hunter 1911, 6). This is why many of the Muslims live on the border of Tibet and learn some Tibetan. Tibetan Lamas often took Muslims as interpreters to Peking. In the same passage Hunter also quotes an example of the deceitfulness of Muslims, who apparently cheated Tibetans with false silver on a regular basis (Hunter 1911, 6).

In several of his articles Hunter gives general descriptions of the peoples of Sinkiang. It is in these relatively short writings that he actually seems ready to reveal at least some of his accumulated knowledge of the area. Of course, today, when more detailed and up-to-date accounts abound, his writings may be seen as imprecise and inadequate. But at the time interest was only just turning towards this area, and while details of the expeditions of Sven Hedin, Aurel Stein and others were given increasing publicity, a general overview such as Hunter provided was still very much needed. The above quoted general article also contains some interesting details about Muslim groups in the areas that he knew personally, i. e. Kansu and Sinkiang. He gives some data concerning the distribution of the Tungans in the province of Sinkiang, naming the cities of Hami, Karashahr, Urumchi, Manass and the cities of the Ili district as their major centres. Hunter makes particular mention of the Salars, a group which is still relatively little known in the province of Kansu. He recognizes their language as "a sort of Turki now mixed with Tibetan" (Hunter 1911, 7). At the time, according to Hunter, many of them did not speak Chinese at all. More comprehensive is his article on "The Chinese Moslems of Turkestan" (Hunter 1920a). In this he classifies the Muslims of Sinkiang into five groups, namely the Sarts, the Kazaks, the Kirghiz, the Tungans and the Tatars. His information is particularly detailed on the modern Uighurs whom he called Sarts of Turki, also introducing their Chinese name *Ch'an T'eo* or *Wrapped Heads*. In the best missionary tradition he comments bitterly on the high rate of illiteracy among them, and mentions the abortive attempts on the part of the Chinese government to teach them Chinese. Here a good summary of the Christian literature available in their own language is given, and reference is made to other educational publications including an English Turki Grammar prepared in Kashgar and printed in Europe, by which he no doubt means Raquette's Eastern Turki Grammar.

Hunter also produced a general article on "Islam in Central Asia" (Hunter 1930) which takes a less balanced standpoint. In it the Christian missionary's

prejudices are clearly articulated, although most of the article is devoted to an overview of the nineteenth century history of Sinkiang. It is flavoured with several anecdotes about the personality of Yakub Beg, which no doubt were still being related by people as popular mythology. Another of his articles entitled "Islam in Northwest China" (Hunter 1923) appeared in the *Current Topics* section of the *Moslem World* and in it Hunter concentrates on recent events. Though not without biased generalizations, his article is revealing of the situation in Sinkiang under Chinese rule. After describing the various cruel actions of the Chinese military commander, a Yunnan Muslim called Ma, Hunter sums up the state of affairs as follows: "Many of the Mohammedans themselves are quite content with this backward policy. The only thing they do not like is the interference with their financial matters, which is also being done now on a large scale through the use of paper money, etc. A large amount of hard cash, land property, house property, goods and live stock are in the hands of high officials, while the merchants and poorer people have to accept government local paper money, now one-fourth of its face value and still going lower" (Hunter 1923, 204).

Two more articles must be mentioned in this same context. Although they were not actually written by Hunter they were evidently inspired by him. Even his style is reflected in the writing of his colleague, Percy Mather, when supplying a brief account of his impressions in Chuguchak. Among the descriptions of the local ethnic groups, including the Tatars, Kazaks, Mongols, Manchus, Chinese, Turki and Russians, biased generalizations are juxtaposed to observations which give more insight into the social stratification of the place: "The Tatars are exceedingly kind and the finest Mohammedans I have ever met. Many of them are merchants and comprise the wealthiest class here. They are very intelligent and about eighty per cent of them can read.... The Kazaks of Chuguchak are mostly poor people, and I have marvelled to find them so honest.... The Manchus and Mongols are mostly from the country and the mountains and are naturally shy.... The Chinese are mostly merchants and engrossed in money matters.... The Russians are very numerous in Chuguchak, many of them being poor refugees" (Mather 1932, 24).

Finally, we may note an anonymous article published in the *Journal of the Central Asiatic Society* (1930) entitled "The Peoples of Sinkiang". The author is aiming to provide a more structured account of the peoples of Sinkiang, first by classifying them into groups (settled indigenous population, the nomads, and

immigrants) and secondly by analyzing their physical characteristics and their nature. The materials are grouped according to geographical localities, e. g. the Turkis of Altishar, the Turkis of Kumul, of Turfan, various Mongol groups, etc. In spite of his aspiration to a more structured presentation the author is soon carried away by the kind of generalizations already familiar from Hunter's writings, and it does not come as a surprise that at the end he thanks G. W. Hunter and P. Mather for the valuable information they had supplied.

Hunter's immense knowledge was utilized by contemporary scholars in a different way, too. In his journals he often gives information concerning the estimated size of the population in the places he visited. Marshall Broomhall quotes this statistical data, although he also warns that Hunter's estimates seem exceedingly high compared to available Chinese figures as well as the numbers quoted by Raquette. At the same time he acknowledges Hunter's superior local knowledge (Broomhall 1911, 1).

2. The Diaries

What I call his journal consists of reports written in the form of a diary which he dutifully sent to the mission headquarters. Unfortunately the editors usually published these in an abbreviated form so that often the whole text was rewritten and the first person was replaced by the third. The style and shape of these diaries are such that we can safely assume that they were regularly kept on a day to day basis. It is hoped that at least the full text of Hunter's diaries as sent to his mission will be recovered in the near future.⁷ I have been able to piece the published extracts together and evaluate the information conveyed. The diaries were abbreviated in such a way that sections referring to the author's evangelising achievements were preserved as he wrote them. Typical, recurring sentences are "My audience, which was composed of Chinese, Tongan, Turki and Mongol, listened very well" (Hunter 1912, 130). On other occasions he comments on the negative attitude of the local mollahs to his own activities: "Many of them [the local people] have been willing to purchase portions of Scripture in Arabic and Chinese, although the Mullahs prevent the people buying the Arabic portions when possible" (Hunter 1911, 6). "I heard

⁷ At present for technical reasons the archives of the Overland Missionary Fellowship (previously China Inland Mission) cannot be consulted, but this situation is expected to improve in the near future.

a Mohammedan beggar-preacher speaking about [against] the Gospels and the books I am selling" (Hunter 1907, 147). "I tried to sell books and tracts in the bazaar, but failed, some of the Mullahs being rather rude" (Hunter 1913, 43). It is evident that the less emasculated extracts from these diaries reveal a great deal more than his evangelizing achievements.

I would like to argue that Hunter's diaries even in their present incomplete form have the same value as other travellers' descriptions. Although he spent a long time uninterrupted in Sinkiang based in Urumchi he also spent a great deal of his time travelling around the province and in very difficult circumstances. The diary extracts include descriptions of some of his travels. Hunter's style may lack the eloquence of French and Cable's numerous fascinating books and may be less engaging than the letters sent home by his colleague and friend, Percy Mather.⁸ However, Hunter's writings also provide us with a number of interesting details. He always gives accurate descriptions of the route taken and his reports are rich in facts about the size of the population at a particular locality, stereotypes of various groups, anecdotes, historical allusions accumulated while preaching in the bazaars, in shops, in inns, in the streets, and even in mission hospitals. In other words his diaries have all the essential ingredients for inclusion in the ranks of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Central Asian travel literature.

The journal also includes descriptions of his initial journey from Kansu to Sinkiang, a trip from Urumchi to Kashgar and repeated visits to Ili. Early entries which were published more fully include descriptions of basic facts about various towns such as Kanchow, Suchow, Korla, Kucha, and Aksu. These accounts outline the size and ethnic composition of the population, the market day, occasionally the physical characteristics and even wildlife of the environment, and other details he found important. For example the city of Aksu is described as a "double city. There is a Chinese Aksu and a Mohammedan Aksu, the Muhammedan city being quite distinct from the Chinese city" (Hunter 1907, 147). Like in other travelogues, there are numerous passages about the difficulties he encountered. Although such descriptions are frequently inserted to increase the appeal of exotic travel accounts, in Hunter's case the motif was probably to warn young missionaries before they commit themselves to working in such a place.

⁸ The letters Percy Mather sent home to members of his family are frequently quoted by Cable & French in their 1935 biography.

The difficulties he encountered were both physical and spiritual. The former can be illustrated by a paragraph under the title "A Specially Trying Day", which was published as usual in an abridged form mostly in the third person: "March 11th was a 'specially trying' day. His cash and cash bag were stolen. His progress was hindered by official interference, a 'trick' he styles it. 'When we had gone ten *li* from Sin-ho, through a very bad road, a soldier brought us back, saying that we could not cross a certain river further on. (I think this was only a trick to detain us.) We went to Shan-tan Hsien by another route. I found that the Yong-chang Hsien magistrate had sent a criminal in chains to be escorted with me. Arrived at Shan-tan Hsien rather late and tired. I fear I have not been victorious today.'" (Hunter 1906, 43). Other similar incidents include his being robbed (Hunter 1907, 145) and his house nearly burning down (Hunter 1913, 44). Difficulties of other kinds must have included the relative lack of response to his evangelizing efforts, and later on the changing political situation, which must have made his life there increasingly difficult. We have no reports presently available for this period, but short announcements expressing concern for his safety and well-being appear regularly (CM 1940, vol. lxvi/4, 59; 12; CM 1941, vol. lxvii/1, 47).

Hunter's diaries often allude to major social problems that were also prominent in the writings of other missionaries working in China.⁹ Among these were opium smoking and gambling, two of the many evils Christian missionaries felt strongly about. "We learned ... that there is still a little opium secretly grown in the back recesses of the mountains, and in the midst of the large pine forests. ... We passed some opium fields but saw no person near them. The planters conceal themselves like robbers" (Hunter 1912, 129). "Outwardly one does not see any opium smoking, but gambling goes on openly, and short sticks, issued by gamblers, are used as current coin" (Hunter 1912, 130).

Hunter's criticism of low moral standards is familiar from nineteenth-century travel accounts¹⁰: "In Kashgar and Yarkand, and many other places, the marriage laws are very loose, wives are divorced for little or no reason,

⁹ Issues such as the struggle against footbinding, gambling and opium-smoking, together with medical and educational campaigns, often appear in the *West China Missionary News*. Protestant missionaries provide a great deal of information concerning the geography, climate, local customs, folklore and even literatures of various peoples of China.

¹⁰ Cf. Warikoo (1985), 103-4.

and thus they are left homeless and friendless. The Turki people are also very poor, and are thus tempted to sell their daughters. For these and other reasons the country is filled with Turki prostitutes, which one would scarcely ever see among the Tungan Mohammedans" (Hunter 1911, 6).

Banditry, murder and the general lack of security are also often commented upon (Hunter 1910b, 155; Hunter 1913, 44-5; Hunter 1920b, 21). Incidents regarded as criminal activities which seem to have had political implications include the vivid description of the burning of Urumchi by a rioting crowd which reacted to the killing of an innocent soldier by a military officer (Hunter 1910b, 155).

In another place a description of how social discontent is articulated in the form of ethnic conflict is summed up on the basis of events the author witnessed among Kansu Muslims in 1895: "... at Hochow I had the opportunity of seeing how a rebellion starts. It is not unlike a pestilence in the air. Evil rumours begin to spread, and the Chinese in fear begin to remove their belongings into the city. The well-to-do Mohammedans did not wish for a rebellion, but the rude and baser sort who had nothing to lose were only too glad of an opportunity for loot. This lower class was stirred up by the Mullahs, and they set in motion evil rumours concerning a plot on the part of the Chinese to massacre the Mohammedans. Counter rumours were not wanting on the Chinese side, and thus the quarrel started..." (Hunter 1911, 6). In general Hunter tries to avoid topics of political nature, but occasionally he cannot refrain from commenting on the major events effecting everyday life in Sinkiang, e. g. the beginning of the Revolution in Sinkiang in the end of 1911 (Hunter 1913, 44).

The system of tax collecting among the Mongols is also shown to underlie social discontent and ethnic conflict: "Some Mongols visited our tent; also two Tongans, who were collecting the horse-tax and had got into trouble, the Mongols threatening to beat them.... The tax is farmed out by the Government to a Tongan who sends these other men to collect as much as they can. This plan is also a source of trouble and danger in Ili, the taxes on timber and hides, etc. being farmed out to Tongans, so that timber is now six or more times the price that it used to be" (Hunter 1920b, 21). Hunter's descriptions of some of the ethnic groups in the province are very rich. He devotes a letter to the Manchus (Hunter 1909, 172) and a paragraph to the Chinese immigrants and the social context they find themselves in (Hunter 1908, 170).

Some of the most interesting diary extracts are ethnographical, e. g. his description of a Muslim shrine near Tumchuk: "Mazar ... is the site of an old grave supposed to be that of some great saint. The people of Turkestan are very fond of paying homage to these old graves, though probably many are merely the graves of Buddhist monks. Two large hollows in the mountain are pointed out as the foot-marks of the horse, ridden by a sage who dismounted when he was near the grave and did homage" (Hunter 1913, 43).

3. Language work

There is ample evidence of Hunter's conscious efforts to master and to use some of the local languages. Hunter went to Sinkiang with a working knowledge of Chinese. He soon realized, however, that "it is absolutely necessary to be able to read and to speak this language [i. e. Kashgari Turki today known as modern Uighur] to work among them. A knowledge of Chinese is not necessary for work among these people, though it would sometimes be helpful" (Hunter 1911, 7). This statement remains true to a certain extent even today.

A short notice published in CM (Martin 1907, 161) tells us that "... not only has he [G. Hunter] found it necessary to know Chinese, but he has had to learn some Arabic, and we hear that he is now studying Turkish, that he may preach the Gospel to the Mahometans." In his diaries Hunter reveals that he spent some time at Kargalik, working and studying Turki with Mr O. Anderson of the Swedish Missionary Society. Eventually he also passed his first examination in this language set by the Swedish Missionary Society (Hunter 1910a, 13). According to his biographers Hunter also became acquainted with the Kazak, Manchurian, and Mongolian languages (Cable & French 1948, 54).

Hunter's translating activities have been referred to by a number of sources. In 1919 CM writes that the Gospels according to Matthew and Mark and the Acts were translated by him into the Eastern or Altai dialect of the Kirghiz Turks (CM 1919, vol. xxvii, N. S. 18-9). Elsewhere the Editorial Notes reveal that Hunter had completed work on a Kalmuk dictionary (CM 1931, vol. lvii, 237).

Hunter also produced at least two small books which are not translations of Christian literature from English into the native tongues. These are Muslim texts translated from Turkic languages into English. The books were written

out in hand and reproduced on a small mimeograph machine. The Turkic texts were transcribed by a mollah called Abdul Kader in the Arabic script, while the corresponding English translations appear in Hunter's own handwriting. Finally, it was Hunter himself, who printed the works. Cable and French give a description of the production of the first of these two books: "The coarse paper was made from local material, often from the leaves of the desert iris, and the format was the usual style of Chinese books, with each sheet written on one side only and folded back to back. The sheets were stitched together by a deft Chinese workman and made a neat volume" (Cable & French 1948, 59). Cable and French do not mention the second volume, and presumably did not know of it. Though Hunter apologizes for the poor quality of his publications in the preface to each of these volumes it must be regarded as an achievement in a land with virtually no printing tradition of its own.¹¹ The technique allowed the production of only a limited number of copies, i. e., no more than a hundred at one time.

As for the contents of the two volumes, they must also be regarded as remarkable achievements. They reveal Hunter's deep interest, bordering on the scholarly, in the languages and cultures of Sinkiang. What else could explain the fact that a Christian missionary who in his journals is very critical of the ways of the Muslims should spend many long hours in 1916 translating long sections from one of the most popular Muslim works, "The Narratives of the Prophets" from Kashgari Turki into English? Hunter got to know this text while studying Turki, since this was the standard textbook used by the Swedish missionaries for their Turki examinations. Hunter's reason for preparing this book was purely intellectual: "thinking that the translation might be of interest to students of Turki and to those engaged in work among Mohammedans" (Hunter 1916, introduction). He therefore must have realized that his mission stood a better chance of succeeding if he got to know the religion and culture of the local people as well as he could. This underlying idea is even more overtly expressed in his other volume produced in Urumchi in 1918. The Preface of this book entitled "Examples of the Various Turki Dialects" reveals that the translator/editor/publisher had complex motives: in addition to wanting to give examples of the various Turkic dialects spoken in the province he also

¹¹ See: Hartmann (1904).

wanted "to give an idea of the thoughts that are now occupying the minds of some of these Turki Mohammedans" (Hunter 1918).¹²

From a phonological point of view his texts are of little value, since both his volume and the "Narratives of the Prophets" give the Turkic text in the Arabic script. However, his selection of texts is interesting because they reflect those ideas Hunter thought of as having current importance to Muslims of Turkestan at the time. His selection covers a larger area than just Chinese Turkestan. He also includes texts which somehow found their way into Sinkiang from what we have got to know as Soviet Central Asia, e. g. contemporary newspapers printed in Tashkent. Others have been copied from locally available hand-written books, printed schoolbooks, and other obscure sources. His choice of passages reflects the intense cultural ties and exchanges which were characteristic of the province at his time. Muslim intellectuals in Sinkiang were indeed heavily influenced by the writings of their enlightened and generally more educated co-religionists in Western Turkestan. The fact that Hunter saw in such writings a true reflection of Muslim concerns in Turkestan in general also points to the cultural continuity between these regions, which later on became artificially devided. Finally, Hunter's textbook also shows that he recognized the importance of the study of the various Turkic dialects. As he expressed it in his characteristically modest way in his preface: "The book embraces a wide and new field and the writer is conscious that the work is not perfect. Still he hopes that it may be both interesting and helpful to students of the Turki dialects" (Hunter 1918).

Part I gives examples of the Kazak dialect. The stories are partly taken from a Reader published in Kazan, 1912. Hunter uses the examples to illustrate the new way of punctuation as well as the fact that some mollahs were trying to use modern methods in teaching. This is followed by extracts from a book entitled "My Life When Young" by A. A. Jandebeif, published in Kazan in 1907. Hunter chose this partly because of the ethnographic details it contains concerning the traditional Kazak way of life, their customs and manners, partly because of the enlightened attitude of the author striving for education. A brief survey of contemporary Kazak newspapers follows, with a quotation from an

¹² There is a problem with terminology here. In most of his writings Hunter tends to refer to the Turkic majority of Sinkiang, in other words the modern Uighurs, by the words *Turki* or *Sart*, although occasionally he talks about their language as Kashgari Turki. Here the term *Turki* is used in a collective sense referring to all the Turkic languages he was familiar with.

advertisement for the newspaper "Kazak" for the year 1918, and some short anecdotes taken from a book published in Orenburg complete this section.

Part II presents texts from the "Tartar Turki dialect" with English translation. First animal fables taken from a Tatar schoolbook (Kazan 1911) are presented, with an inserted paragraph by the editor on the principal Turkic languages of Central Asia. A short article quoted from the Tatar newspaper "Yoldız" describes the violence suffered by Muslim village priests from their own congregations in the district of Kazan. This is followed by an extract from "The History of the Turki Tartars"¹³ (Kazan 1916).

According to its title, Part III deals with texts written in the Uzbek dialect. The editor's notes however reveal another inconsistency of terminology, since in addition to Uzbek texts he also presents "Kashgar Turki and Kirghese Turki" texts here "as they have much in common" (Hunter 1918, III, 1). After indicating the distribution of the Turki [Sart] and Kirghiz population in Chinese Turkestan an extract from the Uzbek translation of a Persian book is given. More interesting than the actual text is the brief grammatical note at the end in which Hunter discusses the major differences between Uzbek and Kashgari Turki. The chapter is concluded by a brief illustration of Kashgari Turki. This text was taken from a manuscript which had been copied out about eighteen years before at a place called Jai-terek, near Karghalik. The book bears the title "The Memoir of His Holy Eminence Jalaloodeen", a saint from a village near Aksu. "His spirit is supposed to help students in their literary studies. Jalaloodeen originally came from Bokhara. The family Memoir is continued down to the death of Jalaloodeen's great-grand-son Fahradeen who died at Aksu." It seems certain that Hunter chose the text because of its ethnographic value, since the quoted paragraph relates a legend about the founding of the city of Yarkand.

Finally, Part IV demonstrates "Stamboul Turkish", which proves that Hunter really wished to create as complete a textbook of the Turkic languages as he could.

It is evident that Hunter's undertaking was extremely ambitious and inevitable that the result would be incomplete. Even today readers which cover all the Turkic dialects are few and far between and the availability of texts from various regions is very uneven. Hunter's undertaking was a pioneering

¹³ This is Hunter's rendering of the title "The History of the Turko-Tatars".

one and in spite of its shortcomings its place in the history of Turkic philology deserves recognition.

To conclude, Hunter's name should be added to the list of those who pioneered scholarly research in Central Asia. I hope to be able to trace more of his manuscripts in England, but these are probably only a small part of what was left and presumably lost in China.

Abbreviations

CM = *China's Million*

MW = *Moslem World*

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The aim of this paper is to present information about the exceptionally valuable collection of photographs from Turkestan, mainly from the area of the Bukharan Emirate, created by Leon Barszczewski. The collection is not generally known as yet and has rarely been used by researchers. I would also like to discuss the basic sources connected with the collection and the state of its condition.

Leon Barszczewski was an officer of the Tsar's army, at the end of his life a colonel, stationed in Turkestan in the years 1876-1896 and 1897, principally in Samarkand. He travelled a lot, also as a participant of scientific expeditions, accompanying among others a botanist, V. L. Lipskij, and a geologist, V. D. Sokolov. He maintained contacts also with other travellers and scientists, including G. P. Barvalov and V. V. Bartol'd.

His personal history, reports, and travel notes, which he left, some of them published, as well as memoirs of people who knew him, allow us to reconstruct the routes of his travels, and provide evidence of his wide interests in geography, geology, glaciology, botany, zoology, archaeology and also in history, archaeology, and ethnography. He was highly valued both in scientific circles—he received a silver medal of the Emperor's Russian Geographic Society—and among photographers—he was awarded a gold medal at the Paris exhibition in 1883 and another gold medal at the 1st Exhibition of Photography in Warsaw in 1901, for his photographs from Central Asia.

The photographic collection created by Leon Barszczewski may be analyzed as a separate form in itself, or the analysis can be broadened to reflect the ups and downs of the author's life, his aims and the values he believed in. He learned, for instance, many crafts apart from photography. He regarded the mastering of technical, medical, handicraft and artistic abilities as a necessary supplement to the military and general education and preparation for travels. His scientific interests, in turn, could develop as a reaction to certain difficulties