

THE QUMUL REBELS' APPEAL TO OUTER MONGOLIA

One aspect of the chaotic events of the early 1930s in Xinjiang which remains to be clarified is the nature of relations between the rebels of Xinjiang's eastern oases, and the neighbouring Peoples' Republic of Mongolia (Outer Mongolia). My purpose in this article is to shed some small light on this issue by introducing a letter signed by Khoja Niyaz Haji¹ and other leaders of the Qumul (Hami 哈密) uprising, sent to Outer Mongolia in the spring of 1932. The letter describes the motivations behind the uprising, reprises the events of 1931 and Ma Zhongying's 馬仲英 incursion, and concludes with an appeal for arms and military advice, in the face of pressure being exerted by the forces of Jin Shuren's 金樹仁 government in Ürümqi. By the end of the year, their letter had been conveyed to the Comintern's Eastern Secretariat, whose files are housed in the Russian State Archive of Social and Political History (RGASPI) in Moscow.²

The Qumul uprising broke out in February 1931, and set off a series of events that ultimately led to the downfall of the Jin Shuren regime and the formation of the short-lived Eastern Türkistan Republic in Kashgar.³ The immediate catalyst for it was outrage at the forced marriage of a

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¹ Khoja Niyaz Haji (1889-1937) was a veteran of earlier rebellions, and had since spent a number of years in the Altay and Soviet Central Asia, making the acquaintance of other Uyghur political leaders. Upon returning to Qumul in 1929 his military skills were recognized by the reigning Qumul Wang, and he was appointed captain of the palace (*orda*) guard, a position he held at the time of the uprising.

² RGASPI, 495/18/894 l. 1. Unfortunately, the letter is not accompanied by further explanatory material, and apart from a Russian translation addressed to Piatnitskii of the Eastern Secretariat of the Comintern (RGASPI, 495/154/457 l. 78-79, dated November 21, 1932) my search of other files turned up no references to the letter or any discussion that it provoked.

local girl to a Chinese lieutenant, but discontent among Turkic-speaking Muslims had been growing since Jin's abolition of the local *wang* (king) administration in 1930, the immediate effects of which were the imposition of new taxes, and an influx of poor Chinese immigrants. The list of signatories to this letter confirms that the leadership of the uprising was dominated by local officials whose authority had been undermined by these reforms: former ministers, *dorghas* (district headmen), and *qormals*.⁴

Not surprisingly given its hit-and-run tactics, the Qumul uprising has left behind little in the way of documentation. Foreign observers, such as Mildred Cable and Francesca French, and later Sven Hedin, provide something of the flavour of the period, but little concrete analysis of the complex course of events.⁵ Likewise, most Uyghur histories of Republican Xinjiang were written by politicians who were either from the oases of the south,⁶ or were absent from Xinjiang at the time,⁷ and provide little insight into the early phases of the revolt in Qumul.

Burhan Shāhidi (Baoerhan 包尔汉), a Tatar politician who had access to Khoja Niyaz Haji's (forced) confession and other contemporary accounts, provides the most detailed information regarding Uyghur-Mongol relations⁸. He describes an initial delegation from Outer Mongolia, which included Mongols, Kazakhs, and Uyghurs, some originally from Xinjiang.⁹ Among these was Isma'il Akhun, who was sent back as one of Khoja Niyaz Haji's representatives (see below). They arrived early in 1932, while the rebels were lodged in the mountains to the east of Qumul, known as the Twelve Mountains (*On Ikki Tagh*). Upon their arrival a meeting was convened to resolve questions of leadership and strategy. Apart from Khoja Niyaz Haji, among those with their own claim to authority over the movement were Yolbars Beg, a former *ordabegi* of the

³ For an overview of 1930s Xinjiang, the best account remains FORBES 1986. On events in Qumul itself, see SHINMEN 1987.

⁴ The structure of the Qumul *wang*'s administration is yet to be studied in detail, but it combined elements of the Qing Dynasty's *jasag* banner system of Outer Mongolia, with local Islamic and Turco-Mongol institutions (e.g. *mīrāb*, *yasavul*). See HUANG/SU 1993: 25-30. On the term *dorgha*, see DOERFER 1963: Bd. 1, 319-323. The title *qormal* appears to be Mongolian (perhaps related to *khuramal* "gathered, assembled"), but I have been unable to establish its etymology. A modern Uyghur dictionary defines it as "a person below the *dorgha* in the *wang* system responsible for overseeing grain, crops, forests and beasts of burden." (YAQUB *et al.* 1999: 808).

⁵ See CABLE/FRENCH 1943; HEDIN 1936.

⁶ e.g. BUGHRA 1947.

⁷ e.g. ALPTEKIN 1985.

⁸ After aligning with Sheng Shicai 盛世才 in 1933 and joining his government as vice-chairman, Khoja Niyaz Haji was imprisoned in 1937 and executed.

⁹ Their names are given as Jamtsin (Jiang-sheng) Dorji, Lobsang Dorji (Mongols), Abay (Kazakh), Hasan and Turdi (Uyghurs). When and why these Uyghurs left Xinjiang for Outer Mongolia is unknown, but Sherip Khushtar says that in 1928 over one hundred and eighty natives of Xinjiang went to Outer Mongolia for studies (KHUSHTAR 2000: 174-75).

Qumul court, and Beshir Wang, claimant to the Qumul throne.¹⁰ Deliberations resulted in the confirmation of Khoja Niyaz Haji as leader of the uprising, and the decision to send an embassy to Outer Mongolia.¹¹ Those appointed to this embassy carried a letter of introduction written by the Mongolian representatives who remained in Khoja Niyaz Haji's camp, as well as the letter below, dated to March 2, 1932.

Such information as can be gleaned from the letter's contents largely matches Shāhidi's account, although the opening lines appear to refer to an earlier communication between Qumul and Outer Mongolia in the summer of 1931, not mentioned elsewhere. From the point of view of political history, most interesting is Khoja Niyaz Haji's adoption of the term "republic" in the name of the "Chantou peoples"¹², suggesting that the objective of an independent, ethnically-constituted republic was already being put forward at this stage. Likewise his claims to enjoy the support of the Qarashahr Mongols, and be in communication with oases as far away as Khotan deserve further attention.¹³

The only record left by a participant in these events are Yolbars' memoirs, composed in exile in Taiwan in the 1960s.¹⁴ Yolbars gives a very different version of events, claiming that the Mongolian delegation first sought him out, and made their offer of assistance directly to him alone. When he realised that they were Communists, he flatly rejected them, shocked that they would turn his "popular revolt against official wrongdoing" (*guanbi minfan*) into something so abhorrent as a "revolution". Afterwards they approached Khoja Niyaz Haji, who was less scrupulous, and accepted their overtures, much to Yolbars' chagrin. The self-serving nature of this vignette, inflating both Yolbars' position in the uprising and his anti-Communist credentials, makes it highly unreliable. Moreover the fact that Yolbars' name appears as co-signatory to this letter effectively refutes his claim that he was opposed to seeking the support of a Communist country.

¹⁰ According to Abdurehim Ötkür's fictionalised account, *Oyghanghan zemin* (ÖTKÜR 1994: 344), the progressive educationalist Makhsut Mühiti was also in attendance at this meeting, but since most accounts place his death in 1931, this seems doubtful.

¹¹ BAOERHAN (1983: 136) lists four emissaries in total, adding the name of Baqi Niyaz Haji (perhaps to be identified with the signatory Baqi Niyaz Dorgha) to the three men listed in the letter.

¹² *Chantou* 纏頭 means "those who bind their heads", in reference to the turbans worn by Central Asian Muslims. It first came into use during the Qing to distinguish Xinjiang's Turkic-speaking Muslims from China's Sinophone Muslims (Dungan, Hui). Considered derogatory by many Uyghur nationalists, its public use was banned by Sheng Shicai in 1935, but this letter is one of a number of examples which show that it was not always seen in this light, and could sometimes be used as an autonym. For other instances, see MENGES 1976: 46, 48.

¹³ On the Qarashahr Mongols, see note 32. According to Bauman, then Soviet Consul in Kashgar, in March 1932 the merchant Noruz Bay sent a delegation from Artush to Qumul for talks (RGASPI, 62/2/3037 l. 48).

¹⁴ YAOLEBOSHI 1969: 115-121. On Yolbars' career, see BENSON 1994.

The mission to Outer Mongolia was evidently successful. They returned in the summer of 1932 with two trucks of arms and ammunition. In the following winter further supplies were provided, including uniforms, flour, and bullets that had been imported from England via Khabarovsk!¹⁵ Khoja Niyaz Haji claims to have turned down any formal agreements proposed by the Mongols, but he maintained Outer Mongolian personnel among his entourage, and dispatched several of his own men for political and military training to Outer Mongolia in 1933.¹⁶

Despite the value of this letter, many questions remain surrounding this episode. Foremost among them, to what extent was Outer Mongolian policy towards the rebels dictated by Moscow? While the Soviets ultimately condemned the Xinjiang insurrection as reactionary and aided in its suppression, their initial response was mixed, with Comintern analysts identifying its anti-imperialist potential. The timing of the Qumul uprising coincided with a heightened Soviet intervention in Outer Mongolia, and Guang Lu, Xinjiang's former consul in Tashkent, was in no doubt that the Mongolian emissaries were sent by Moscow.¹⁷ According to his analysis, the Soviet objective was not to arm the rebels for victory, but rather use them to force Jin Shuren to move closer to Moscow. In 1932 Khoja Niyaz Haji's camp was home to a mixture of political tendencies, including both representatives of the Qumul royal family, and Soviet-trained political advisors (e.g. one Qasim Äpändi, a Kazakh from Barköl).¹⁸ It seems likely that the interactions between Qumul and Outer Mongolia were prompted by some Soviet direction to one or either party, but further research, ideally drawing on Mongolian archival sources, is required to improve our understanding of this encounter.

TRANSCRIPTION¹⁹

[1] ta'riḥqa bir miñ üç yüz ällik-kinčün²⁰ yili ikkinči ayda bizlär Čanto ḥälqlärniñ jum'ḥūriyät²¹ ḥāniniñ tofa²² yeriniñ başliq-[2]-laridin, Moñğol

¹⁵ BAOERHAN 1983: 134.

¹⁶ Some of Khoja Niyaz Haji's Outer Mongolian advisors later found employ in Sheng Shicai's new government (BAOERHAN 1983: 135).

¹⁷ GUANG 1964: 149-153.

¹⁸ On Qasim Äpändi, see KHUSHTAR 2000: 101-108.

¹⁹ There is no consensus on the proper transcription of modern Uyghur, let alone texts such as this which pre-date standardization. Treating the language as Chaghatay would result in all sorts of anachronisms, not least restoring a long-lost /i~/i/ contrast. Allowing for the idiosyncrasies of its orthography, therefore, I have adopted a vocalisation reflecting Modern Uyghur, while avoiding secondary morpho-phonological features (e.g. vowel-raising) unless required by the script.

²⁰ Final *nūn* is clearly written.

²¹ This word is consistently misspelt as the result of a re-analysis into two separate components: *jam'* "collection, assembly" and *ḥurriyyat* "freedom" i.e. "common freedom."

jum⁶-hūriyāt hāniniñ tofa yeriniñ başlıqlariğa mǎ'lūm qilip bergān hātımizniñ uçuri :

biz Čanto hālqlar [3] nečändä yüz yıldın beri Hıṭāy qoli astanida alvan qilip it işäkniñ ornida işläp²³ turup ikānmiz. āl-hāl on yigirmä [4] yıldın beri bu Hıṭāylariniñ zulmi nihāyätä köp bolup yer sularimizdin čiqqan hūsūlatlarimizni, qollarimizdiki ful²⁴-māllarimizni [5] hār yaŋza²⁵ amāllar qilip hār yerlärgä uluğ qoyup čerik toqtatıp, şularğa ot-otun, āş-ozuq berdürüp, hāddin [6] hisābsiz zulümlarni qildi. uşbu qılğanlarni kōtürüp, heş bir āmāl qila almay tursaq, bu işlarniñ taşayında ḥatun, bala-čaqa-[7]-larimizğa qol saldı. andin bu işlarğa biz Čanto hālqlar čidiya almay, “āḥir bu zālamlarniñ qolida ölgüdekmiz, ölsäkmü <ölsäkmü> [8] soqaşip ölsäk. qačan ḥudāyim nuşrāt bersä, bu zālamlarni öltürüp öz yerimizğa özimiz egä bolsaq” dep ikkinči aydin [9] tartıp ātrāflardiki čazılarni²⁶ yoqatıp čerikläri öltürüp, Barkölni hām alıp Qumulğa barğanda töbāndin Tung^vanlar [10] čiqip bizlarğa qoşulup, Lāvduŋ degān yerdä köp soqaşip birnečä miñ Hıṭāylarni öltürüp tof, filmut, köf [11] şaymanlarni alıp, āmdi Ürümčigä čiqamiz dep turğanda bu Tung^vanlar bar şaymanlarni alıp kirip ketti. andin Hıṭāy-[12]-larniñ bar čerikläri Qumulğa Barkölğa kirip ketiduğan bolğanda, biz Čanto hālqlar bar māl-i dunyālarimizni taşlap öz jānimizni [13] alıp On Ikki Taqğa čiqip alıp, ātrāflärgä āskār qoyup turğanimizda, Hıṭāy čerikläri hār tārāfdin [14] čiqip soqaşip, čiqqan čerikläri az tola öltürüp şaymanlarni alıp arqasiğa yandurup, andin keyin biz jāmi [15] Čanto hālqlar mǎşlāḥāt qilduq ki “tağda soquşsaq şaymanimiz bar, va lekin tüzdä šāhārdä soquşuduğanğa [16] şaymanimiz yoq” dep mǎşlāḥāt qilaşip Moŋğol yeriğa kişi ibärsäk bizdin burun şularmu bu zālīm Hıṭāyniñ [17] zulmğa čidimay jān-fidā bolup soquşup Hıṭāylardin özini čiqarip alğan. bizlär körgān zulmni şular ham [18] körgān, başidin hām ötkān. biz barip şulardin mǎşlāḥāt körüp yārdim sorisaq yārdim bolup šāhārdä [19] tüzdä soquşuduğan şayman berürmükin? ” dep ümīd qilip öz ornımızda vākīl qilip Ismā'īl Āḥūn, İmin Qorimal, Žordun Āḥūn-[20]-larni ibārduk. qalğan hār türli iş bolsa uşbulardin sorap bilürlär. uşbu üç kişiniñ hār türli qilip [21] kelgān işläri qabūl qilamiz.

vā yānā sözimiz : biz Čanto hālq Turfandin, Kāşğar, Ḥotāngäčālik yer astanidin ḥābār alıšıp [22] turimiz. yānā Qaraşahr Torğutlar bizlärgä

²² i.e. *topa* “dirt, earth,” givin the compound *topa yer* “earth and land” i.e. “country.”

²³ Here and in line 6 *taşayin* the phoneme /s/ is represented by the Arabic letter *thā*.

²⁴ i.e. *pul*. The substitution of /f/ for /p/ in the written language is common in texts from Xinjiang in the Qing and Republican periods (cf. line 10 *kōf* for *köp*), an over-correction of the soundshift in the spoken language of /f/ > /p/ in Arabic and Persian words.

²⁵ Chinese *yangzi* 樣子 “type”.

²⁶ Chinese *qiazi* 卡子 “guardpost”.

qarap turudur. ular birlän hām hābärläšip turimiz. biz Čanto özimiz [23] üčün bu işlarni qilğanimiz yoq, Hıṭāy qoli astida zulum tartqan hāmāimiz üčün uşbu işqa jān-fidā bolduq. [24] hār birläri bizdin burun bu işlar başlarığa kelip körgän, biz bilmägän ‘āqıl bolsa bar (?) məşlähät kösätüp yardım qiliş-[25]-laridin ümīd qilip, ällikinçi yili on birinçi aynıñ yigirmä beş küni uşbu yuqurqı sözlärimizniñ rāstlığağa,

[26] jum‘-ḥūrī-yāt ḥāniniñ tofa yeriniñ başlıqı {hām äskär-başı}, Hōjī Niyāz Hājī

[27] töbändikidek²⁷ füttürgičälär (?): Yolbas Qāzī Qurbān Daruğa

[28] Şālih Daruğa Bāqī Niyāz Daruğa

[29] Şādīq Qorimal Mollā Tömür Niyāz

TRANSLATION

In the second month of the year thirteen hundred and fifty [June 1931], [this is] the message which was conveyed in our letter from the leaders of the territory subject to the republic of we, the Chantou peoples, to the leaders of the lands belonging to the Mongolian Republic:²⁸

For several hundred years we, the Chantou peoples, have carried out impositions²⁹ under the hand of the Chinese, labouring in the place of dogs and donkeys. Now, for the last ten or twenty years the tyranny of these Chinese has increased, and [they have taken] by all variety of means the proceeds of our lands and waters, the wealth and goods in our hands, and by placing officials everywhere and stationing troops, and forcing us to provide them with feed and firewood, food and sustenance, they have carried out countless injustices beyond limit. While we put up with this, unable to do anything, above and beyond these matters they laid their hands on our women and children. Thus we Chantou, unable to tolerate these things, said to ourselves: “We will die at the hands of these tyrants. If we are to die, it is better we die fighting. If God grants us victory, we will kill these oppressors, and ourselves become masters of our own land”. Thus, from the second month [i.e. June 1931] we destroyed the guard posts around us and killed the *cherik*.³⁰ When we went to Qumul after capturing Barköl, the

²⁷ Reading doubtful, but cf. line 1 *älik-kinchin*.

²⁸ If it does indeed refer to an earlier letter, it is not obvious where the quotation ends and the new communication begins.

²⁹ *alvan* (i.e. *alban*) here refers both to taxes and to *corvée* duties.

³⁰ The word *cherik* here carries the narrow sense of government troops, therefore I have left it untranslated.

Dungans came out from below³¹ and joined us,³² and in heavy fighting in a place called Liaodun³³ we captured ammunition, machine guns and many supplies. When we were about to go to Ürümqi these Dungans took all the supplies and left. Then when the Chinese decided to send all their troops to Barköl and Qumul, we Chantou people abandoned all our belongings and took our own souls up into the Twelve Mountains, and stationed soldiers in the vicinity. The Chinese *cherik* attacked from all directions; we killed most of the *cherik* who appeared and took their supplies and chased them off. Then we Chantou people considered that we have equipment to fight in the mountains, but we don't have any equipment for fighting on the plains and in the cities. It would be good if we sent someone to Mongolian territory. Before us they were unable to bear this cruel China, and by sacrificing their lives they fought and removed themselves from China. They have experienced the injustices that we have experienced. If we were to go and get advice and ask them for assistance, they might help us and give us equipment to fight on the plains and in the cities. With this hope we have sent as representatives in our place Isma'il Akhun, Imin Qormal and Zordun Akhun. Whatever other matters there are, you can find out from them. We will accept whatever these three people do.

We also say: We Chantou people are in underground contact with territories as far as Turfan, Kashgar, and Khotan. Also, the Qarashahr Torghut³⁴ are loyal to us. We are exchanging information with them. We Chantou people have not done this for ourselves. We have sacrificed our lives for all of us who have suffered at the hands of China. From all of those who have experienced these things before us, should there be any wisdom that we are unaware of, our hope is that they will give advice and assistance. On the twenty-fifth day of the eleventh month of the fiftieth year (March 2, 1932), in confirmation of the truth of these, the above words of ours:

Leader of the territory of the republic {and military commander},
Khoja Niyaz Haji [Seal]

³¹ i.e. from Gansu province, to the east.

³² Dungan leader Ma Zhongying reached the Qumul oasis on June 28, 1931. See FORBES 1986: 56-62.

³³ Liaodun 瞭墩 lies approximately one hundred kilometres to the west of Qumul, located along the main rail route to Ürümqi.

³⁴ A plausible claim, though otherwise unsubstantiated. The spiritual leader of the Torghut Mongols, Tsetsen Puntsag Gegeen, had fallen out with Jin Shuren after an attempt on his life in 1930, and refused to commit his cavalry to attack Ma Zhongying. In May 1932 he was summoned to Ürümqi and killed. See FORBES 1986: 60-61, 70-71. NYMAN 1977: 82-3 describes the Gegeen as a staunch anti-communist and his death as a loss for the conservative camp.

Co-signed:
 Yolbars Qazi, Qurban Dorgha, Salih Dorgha,³⁵ Baqi Niyaz Dorgha,³⁶
 Sadiq Qormal,³⁷ Molla Tömür Niyaz


³⁵ Two men by this name participated in the Qumul uprising, one from Shopul, the other from Nom, both locations in Yiwu 伊吾 County. The former (1887-1938) was an early leader of the uprising, and later held office in Aqsu before being arrested and killed by Sheng Shicai in 1938. According to KHUSHTAR (2003: 90), the latter Salih Dorgha (1870-1950) helped to procure supplies from Outer Mongolia, and hence is the one most likely referred to here.

³⁶ See KHUSHTAR 2003: 91-93.

³⁷ BAOERHAN (1983: 136) calls him a *baihuzhang*, i.e. *yüzbashi* (village chief), and says that the first meetings with the Mongolian emissaries were held at his home.

- 1 تالایغ قه بومنگ اوچ بوز الدک مجبای نی ائیچی آس ده بار جونتو خلق لار تکیب جیجی دور برست خان نیک توبه بری نیک بک شایست
- 2 لارین مدنگفول جیجی دور برست خان نیک توبه بری نیک بک شایست لاریخ مطهر قلب میران خلیع منیر اوچورک بوجنتو لار^{طاف}
- 3 نچند یوز یلدرین برست خضای قولی آسانیدر آوان قلب است ائنگ نیک اوریدر ایشلاب تور در انکان منر السحال اوان کور
- 4 یلدرین بری بو خضایلا نیک خلیع نهکایت کور بولد یسولامز وین جققان خصوصیات لاری منیر قول لاری منر ویکه خل مال لاری منیر
- 5 یه یانکده احلام لاریب لاری لاریک اولریخ قولوب جبریک تو قمتایب شولا غ اوت اوتی آشی اوغ ووق برور و بروریا
- 6 جسابر بر خضایلا لاری منر اوشو قلیقان لاری کدور و بر بریشی بر آلام قیلا السمال تورسلق بواشی لاری نیک قشایند خاتون بلان^ط
- 7 لاری منر غ قلی سالار آدرین بواشی لاری منر جنتو خلق لاری منیر یالما آفر بو ظلام لاری نیک تو لیدر اولک ویکه منر اولسیک ویدر اولسیک و
- 8 سورا شیب اولسیک قشای خورایم نهرت برست بو ظالم لاری منر اوتور و بر اوزیر منیر غ اوغ منر انکار لاساق و برست ائنگی لاری من
- 9 ناریب اطراف لاریک جان لاری یوقا تیب جبریک لاری منر اوتور و بر بارک لاری منر جم الیب تمهله بارکانه توبه وین تونکوان لار
- 10 جقیب برنار غ قوشلور اودونک ویکه برور کور سسقا شیب بری نیک نیک خضایلا لاری منر اوتور و بر توبه فلیم کدوف

- 11 حایمانان الیہ امدا اور ویرجیک جیتا فربیب تورعنانده بو تو نگولان لاریار حایمانان الیہ سیریب کیتی آدین فطاً
 12 لاریک باری جریک لاری تمی لاری اکر لاری کیری سیریب و رعنان بولغانده بر حیدنه خلق لاریار طاله دینا لاری خنی تا شلاب و فوج تار
 13 الیہ او لاری کیتی تا فطه جریب الیہ اطراف لاری کراسه توریوب تورعنانده لاری فطاه جریب لاری کیتی حیدر فیدین
 14 جعیب سونفا شیب جققان جریک لاریک آتولار اولتورورب حایمانان الیہ الیہ آرقیم سیریب یاندرورب تدرین کالان و قی
 15 جندو خلق لاری ملکی ت قلدور کیتی تا افلا سوقوشنی کایاق طایمان خن بار ولایک تیزو کاشده ده سوقوشدور وغان
 16 حایمان خن لاری فوق دیب ملکی ت قیلک شیب مریک خولایری کیتی ایدریک بیدین بورورن شولامو مو طایم خن طایمان نیک
 17 طغیر جیدیم جان فدا اولوب سوقوشدورب خفا یلادی و دین اوز دین جققان بآلخان بزارا کور کالان ظالم شولامو
 18 کور کالان بکیشیدین سم اوز کالان بزارا بوش و لاری دین ملکی ت کورورب یادیویم سوروساق یادیویم اولوب کور کور
 19 تورعنا سوقوشدور وغان حایمان بورور کالای ایدریک قیلک اوز اوز شکر و کور کور قیلک اجماعی آفون ایمیم توریریمال ضرور
 20 لاری ایدر کور کالان بزارا تور کالای ایشی لیلی سم اوز لاری دین سوروسا بلور لاری اوز شکر و کور کور کور کور قیلک

- 21 کلکان ایسی لایسن قبل قیلاسر و سینه سوزیمیز بر جسته خلق توو فان کاش خوقن مجیکه لیرا کسانیدین خبر الیش
- 22 توریمیز یی قرانسه تور عورت لار بر لار کی قراب تور و رار اقرار لار هم خبر لاشیب تور یی عز جسته اوزیمیز
- 23 اوصون بواشی لایق قیلاشیمیز یوق خصلای آستیده صطو و تارغان هم ارا و جوقن اوشم و ایشیق جان فید و بولوق
- 24 لور لار و بر و دین بواشی لار لایق کلیم کور کور این بر و یلیم کور قیل بولس بار و صلحت کور کور سوزیمیز یار و سوزیمیز
- 25 لار دین اومید تلب اللیجی لایق اوز بر یی آن نیک بکرمیش کورن اوشم و یوق و قورق سوز لار یی خرن نکر استی لیمیز
- 26  ^{هم اسکر بکیش} خوجی نیاز حو ^{تجی حور لار یی} خان نیک توو یی سینه کلیمیش
- 27 ^{توریمیز} کور کور قورق و کور کور یار ^{یو الیشی قاضی} قوربان اوز
- 28 ^{طایب اوز} باقی نیاز اوز
- 29 ^{عادتی قورق} ملاخور نیاز

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David BROPHY, *The Qumul Rebels' appeal to outer Mongolia*

This article presents a piece of documentary evidence on the 1931 uprising among Turkic-speaking Muslim in Qumul (Hami), Xinjiang or Eastern Turkistan. The document is a letter found in the Comintern archives in Moscow dating to early 1932, when a meeting took place between the uprising's leaders and representatives from Outer Mongolia. The letter describes the course of the rebellion, and addresses an appeal for arms and military council to the Mongolian government. As such, it is a valuable source for this early stage of the rebellion, which eventually spread to the rest of Xinjiang Province, leading to the founding of the First Eastern Turkistan Republic in Kashgar in 1933. The article provides a transcription, translation and facsimile of the letter.

David BROPHY, *L'appel à l'aide des rebelles de Qumul auprès de la Mongolie extérieure*

Cet article présente un document concernant la rébellion survenue en 1931 parmi les musulmans turcophones de Qumul (Hami), dans le Xinjiang ou Turkestan oriental. Il s'agit d'une lettre trouvée dans les archives du Komintern à Moscou, datée du début de 1932, à un moment où eut lieu une rencontre entre les chefs du soulèvement et des représentants de la Mongolie extérieure. Cette lettre décrit le cours de la rébellion et demande au gouvernement mongol des armes et du conseil militaire. Il s'agit donc d'une source de valeur sur cette rébellion qui finit par se répandre sur le reste de la province du Xinjiang et amena à la fondation à Kachgar en 1931 de la première République du Turkestan oriental. L'article fournit la transcription, la traduction et le fac-similé de la lettre.