To Mr. R. Smith: Kemp
With all the best
Wishes
of the year.

PRINTS FROM KASHGAR
PRINTS FROM KASHGHIR

The Printing-office of the Swedish Mission in Eastern Turkestan. History and Production with an Attempt at a Bibliography by GUNNAR JARRING

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Preface

During my visit to Kashgar in 1929-1930 I had the opportunity to follow the work of the printing-office of the Swedish Mission there. I will not allege that the idea of the present paper took shape then. But soon thereafter I began collecting prints, emanating from the printing-office and data about its history and activities and I have been continuing this purpose during the years gone by. It is only now, more than sixty years after my first acquaintance with the printing-office, that I have come to publish this historical and bibliographical account of a Swedish cultural enterprise in innermost Asia which deserves the attention of all those who are doing research in the Central Asian field.

Upon finishing this work of mine, I wish to extend my warm thanks to the many who have in one way or another helped me to bring it to its conclusion. Some of them are no longer alive. I would like to mention Gustaf Ahlbert, John Anderson, Oskar Hermansson, Sigfrid Moe, Gustaf Raquette and Georg Robenzt, all of the Swedish Mission in Eastern Turkestan. They all took part in the literary and cultural activities of the Kashghar printing-office and they have all rendered me friendly help and assistance.

Furthermore my thanks go to Mrs. Astrid Nystrom Persson, born in Yarkand as the daughter of Rev. and Mrs. Rickard Nystrom. With her ardent interest in the country where she was born, she has on many occasions given me valuable assistance. With Jacob Stephen, likewise a native of Yarkand, I have had many fruitful discussions of linguistic problems for which I thank him. John Hultvall, the eminent historian of the Swedish Eastern Turkestan Mission, has always been available for discussions of the intricate problems of the mission of southern Sinkiang. Samuel Fränne who has done so much to further our knowledge of the pictorial geography of the country has often given me many valuable hints. To all of them go my warmest thanks. I am furthermore indebted to Dr. Per Ekstrom of the University Library of Lund, Professor Staffan Rosén of the University of Stockholm and Professor Christopher Toll of the University of Copenhagen for help and sound advice.

Last but not least I thank our daughter Eva Jarring Corones for all the trouble she has taken to correct and revise my English.

Stockholm, January 1991

Gunnar Jarring
The existence of the printing-office of the Swedish mission in Kashghar has in a few cases been noted in the international literature relating to this remote part of Central Asia. The references are in most cases scanty and sometimes even unreliable. The only existing comprehensive information about this cultural achievement in innermost Asia is to be found in Swedish missionary literature or reports of missionaries in the field. They have been made use of and analyzed by John Hultvall in his history of the Swedish Mission in Sinkiang. I now present an attempt at an account of the history and activities of the printing-office together with a bibliography of its production during the years 1901–1937.

It has been impossible to compile a complete list of the prints produced by the mission. There are no doubts lacunae in my bibliography. Some of the products of the printing-office have not been preserved, others have been lost during outbreaks of violence in Eastern Turkestan. Nonetheless I hope that my bibliography will give some idea of the cultural work performed by some lonely Swedish missionaries under difficult circumstances in one of the most isolated and inaccessible parts of Central Asia.

The source material for the publications of the printing-office of the Swedish Mission at Kashghar is to some extent, although imperfectly, available in a ledger kept by by the Literature Committee of the Mission in Kashghar comprising the years 1914–1937. This ledger, which is not complete, registers not only the manuscripts prepared for print in the printing-office, but also the numerous translations of tracts, songs and parts of the Bible into Eastern Turki which have remained unprinted. They were all kept in the archives of the Kashghar mission and were probably lost in connection with the forced departure of the missionaries in June 1938. The ledger generally gives the title of the works accepted for print in an Eastern Turki short form, usually only indicating the contents, not the real title of the work in question.

The Literature Committee was composed of missionaries with qualifications for literary work. Its duties were to scrutinize manuscripts intended for publication, to prepare new editions, and in general to supervise the

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1 Prinazk in his article "Das Nsouigirische" in Fundamenta 1, pp. 532–535 refers to some of the printed editions (it is to be noted that Nr. 43 was written by Oskar Hermannson, not by G. Raquette); Zeki Velidi Togan in Handbuch, pp. 244–245 writes the translation of the Bible into Kashghar Turki to some British missionaries; Loeventhal in his bibliography (1957), pp. 181–182 lists ten of the prints produced by the Mission; Novgorodsky in his Kitajski elementy (1933), pp. 21–24 has valuable information regarding some of the editions of the Swedish Mission; none of their prints are to be found in the catalogues issued by Otto Harrassowitz, Leipzig in the 1930s as well as in the Literae Orientales published by the same firm.


3 In the archives of the Swedish Mission in the RA.
production of the printing-office. At their disposal the Committee had educated native advisers who assisted in achieving the grammatical correctness of the Eastern Turki language of the printed editions.

Yearly reports in Swedish of the activities of the printing-office are to be found in Arberätselse (A) (annual report) of the Swedish Mission board, generally with data of the number of copies printed. The weekly Missionsförbundet (The Mission Covenant Church) also frequently reports on the conditions of the work of the printing-office. These reports are especially valuable for the troubled years 1933-37 and often give a detailed picture of the political situation in the southern parts of Sinkiang and its influence on the work of the printing-office.

As will be seen from the bibliography (pp. 30-116) there is an almost complete set of the prints of the Mission in the Lund University Library (L), to which I have donated my own collection, with more or less sporadic parallel copies in the Royal Library of Stockholm (S) and the University Library of Uppsala (U). Some specimens are also to be found in the library and archives of the Theological Seminary of the Swedish Mission at Lidingo (L.d).

In the bibliography the title-pages are reproduced with the complete text in Eastern Turki, followed by its equivalent in phonetically transcribed form and its translation into English. The phonetically transcribed texts represent Eastern Turki as spoken in Kashgar and Yarkand or generally in the southern parts of Sinkiang, before it was subject to the corrupting influence of modern Uighur in its Urumchi-based taranchi version.

It has to be remembered that Eastern Turki of those days had no officially recognized orthography. In the prints of the Swedish printing-office the missionaries tried to introduce a consistent spelling of Eastern Turki and Arabic and Persian loan-words. But there are, especially in the beginning, many orthographical inconveniences to be found both in the titles and in the texts. With Gustaf Ahlber's guide to spelling (1929) the foundation was laid for a normalized orthography of Eastern Turki as spoken in southern Sinkiang, which from then on was followed in the prints of the mission.

I have throughout my book used the term Eastern Turki instead of New or Modern Uighur, which was introduced into the Eastern Turki vocabulary only in 1931 and which was not used in the southern parts of Sinkiang until the revolution of the 1930's. Uighur appears in connection with the increasing Soviet influence in southern Sinkiang around 1934. The first instances are to be found in 1935/36. In 1935 Uighuristan and 1935/36 Uighur appears. From 1935 onwards it seems to be in common use. From 1936 the title of the yearly calendar, published by the printing-office of the Swedish Mission is changed to "Uighuristan Calendar" – probably under political pressure and compulsion from the authorities in power.

During the period dealt with the term Eastern Turkestan, or sometimes Chinese Turkestan, was generally used in the literature of those days. I alternately use Sinkiang, instead of modern Xinjiang, as the former term was the contemporary one. There are several different ways of transcribing the city of Kashghar. As it is written كاشغر in Arabic script throughout all the prints produced by the mission, I have kept to this form. Other forms occurring are Kashgar, Kaoshgar and in the later years Qashgar.

In the bibliography I have not taken into consideration the outside appearance of the prints. Most of them were published paper-bound with covers in different colours. The printing-office had a bookbinder's shop of their own, and some of the prints were bound there. This refers especially to the more basic books. The Bible and song-books were often leather-bound, while textbooks on the other hand were cardboard-bound. The outward appearance of the prints was casual and no rules can be laid down. In many cases the same copy was printed in varying sizes with differences of 0.5 up to 1 cm, evidently depending on the cutting-machine.

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4 Pritiska in Fundamenta 1, pp. 525 sq.
The Origin and Growth of the Printing-office of the Swedish Mission at Kashghar

At the general conference of the Mission Covenant Church of Sweden\(^1\) (Svenska Missionförbundet) in Stockholm in 1893, it was decided to open up a new mission field in Central Asia, in Kashghar in the Chinese province of Sinkiang or Eastern Turkestan as it was then generally called. The first Swedish missionaries, who had until then been stationed in Persia, arrived in Kashghar in February 1894 under the leadership of Lars-Erik Höjberg, a man who became the pioneering spirit behind all the Swedish missionary activities in Eastern Turkestan. He retired in 1916 and returned to Sweden.

But there had been tentative efforts to open the new mission field even earlier than 1893. In December 1891 N. F. Höjjer, who was then acting as a missionary in Tiflis in Caucasus, had left that city for a reconnoitering trip to Kashghar where he arrived in January 1892. With him was a man of Turkish origin, a Christian convert from Islam by the name of Johannes Avertanarais\(^2\) and two Armenians from Tiflis. Höjjer stayed in Kashghar only a few days and then returned to Tiflis with his Armenian fellow-travellers. Avertanarais was left behind to carry on missionary work as best as he could. His first efforts were devoted to translation of parts of the Bible. Thus the first experimental years of the mission can be said to have begun already in early 1892.

Soon after the establishment of the mission in Kashghar in 1894, it was extended also to other parts of south-western Sinkiang. In 1896 a new station was founded in Yarkand. Later on new stations were opened up in 1908 in Hancheng, the China-town of Kashghar, which was active exclusively with the Chinese population of Hancheng and Kashghar; and in 1912 in the town of Yangi-Hissar, halfway between Kashghar and Yarkand. The mission from the beginning devoted its efforts to the Turk (i.e. New Uighur) population of Sinkiang. The only exception to this rule was the China mission in Hancheng.

\(^1\) In the literature sometimes inadequately rendered as "the Swedish Mission Society".

\(^2\) For the general history of the Swedish Mission in Eastern Turkestan v. Hultvall (1981) and his extensive list of literature pertaining to the mission on pp. 274–283; comprehensive accounts of the years 1892–1917 in POG (1917); after the expulsion of the missionaries in 1938 the missionary work continued for some time in India in the Swedish Hindustani Mission, but without printing facilities, cf. Lydia Svärd’s account of its activities (1979).

\(^3\) His original Muslim name was Muhammad Shükrü. The reason that he took such a typical Armenian name, ending in -ian, is given by himself in his autobiography pp. 38–39. His conversion took place within Armenian evangelical circles where he received the name Avertanarais "Son of the Gospel".

\(^4\) Hultvall, p. 43 sq.

The Swedish printing-office in Kashghar.

The conversion of Muslims to Christianity was obviously the main task of the mission. It was no easy task, as is usually the case with Christian missions among Muslims. The missionaries soon realized the necessity of combining religious missionary efforts with medical care and educational activities. Hospitals were set up both in Kashghar and Yarkand and steps were taken to train native staff for medical work. Schools for both boys and girls were organized and secular education was given alongside instruction in the elements of the Christian faith in its Lutheran form.

Soon the need for printed material for religious and purely practical educational matters became urgent. In those days there existed no printing-office in the whole of southern Sinkiang which could be of help\(^3\). Books were written by hand and copied and sold as manuscripts. Some lithographed books were imported from Russian Turkestan mainly from Tashkent, Samarkand and Bukhara and sold in the bazaars of the larger towns of Eastern Turkestan. These lithographed books in general dealt with Islamic matters or, in some cases, represented the popular Chaghatai literature current all over Central Asia.

Already in 1893 a formal decision had been taken at the Mission Board in Stockholm to set up a complete printing-office in Kashghar. For different reasons this decision was not implemented until 1910 when all the necessary equipment was dispatched from Sweden to Kashghar. The problems of transportation were considerable. All the cases had to be packed with equal weight for transport by horse and camel caravans over the high mountains lying between Russian and Chinese Turkestan. The first consignment of printing material consisted of a high-speed press, a job-
printing machine, a cutting-machine and a stapling-machine. The new printing-office in Kashgar was supplied with full sets of both Arabic and Latin types and in addition with a small stock of Cyrillic types intended for commercial printing of Russian material. It was in full operation in 1922.

As provisional equipment the mission had received in 1901 a simple reproduction machine in the form of a "cyclostyle apparatus" with the help of which in the years 1901-1911 some song-books and religious tracts and booklets in Eastern Turki were printed by the mission.

As will be seen from the bibliography no prints are recorded between 1901 and 1907 which probably can be explained by the capacity of the cyclostyle apparatus being insufficient for its purposes.

All the prints were made in Kashgar except for 1907 d and 1908 f for which Yarkand is mentioned as the place of publication. I have not been able to ascertain if the cyclostyle apparatus was removed from Kashgar for these special prints.

The activities of the Swedish printing-office in Kashgar continued until 1938 when the mission under dramatic circumstances was forced to discontinue its work and all the missionaries were compelled to leave.

The main purpose of the printing-office was to print and publish literature, in the beginning of a religious nature but gradually widening to include literature of a secular character. But there is one aspect of the activities of the printing-office during its twenty-five years of operation which ought not to be forgotten: the training of young Turkestanians as composers and printers. It was a kind of technical aid to an underdeveloped country which was in line with the humanitarian and educational work of the mission. In the end it was taken advantage of by the revolutionary government of Eastern Turkestan (v. p. 25).
Literary Activities of the Swedish Mission

Upon arrival in Kashghar in 1892 Johannes Avertanarian, who was left behind there by Höjér, started to translate parts of the bible into Eastern Turkic. He acted simultaneously as a bible-seller for the British and Foreign Bible Society. His translations were later printed in Leipzig with the aid and support of the British and Foreign Bible Society. But the Swedish missionaries in Kashghar, especially Höberg and Raquette, were critical of his translations which they considered to be rather unreliable in many aspects.

There is no doubt that Avertanarian had a restless spirit and made his translations in a hurry. In addition he was sensitive to criticism considering himself, a native speaker of Osmani-Turkish, better qualified for translation of the Bible into Eastern Turkic than the Swedish missionaries whom he considered to be inexpert laymen. Against severe differences of opinion about the Bible translations, Avertanarian left the mission in 1897. He however continued his translation activities from Bulgaria where he had settled.

Swedish criticism of Avertanarian continued, emanating from Kashghar. This led to what Hultvall pertinently calls “the Bible-quadrel” which in the first decade of the 20th century involved not only the combatants but also the British and Foreign Bible Society and furthermore a commission of German orientalists headed by the respected scholar F. C. Andreas who took sides with Avertanarian against the Swedish missionaries. Andreas even published a 16-page paper with the title “the Translation of the Gospel According to St. Matthew into Kashgharian Turkis. A Review” with the note: “Printed for private circulation only. No date is given but probably it was published in 1909 when a conference between the parties involved took place in Berlin. A new edition of Avertanarian’s translation of St. Matthew, revised by Höberg and Raquette, was published in Tiflis in 1910. After long deliberations a compromise was found and Avertanarian consented to revise his translations in collaboration with Raquette. In 1914 after several years of arduous work the whole New Testament in Eastern Turkic was ready and was printed in Philippiopolis (Plovdiv) in Bulgaria (v. p. 114).

There is no doubt that Avertanarian was difficult to cooperate with. He repeatedly left the Mission feeling inferior but later returned to its service. In 1895 he suddenly decided to accompany the Swedish explorer Sven Hedén on his travels in Eastern Turkestan and left the mission. But his time together with Hedén did not last long. Hedén passed his judgment on Avertanarian in the following words: “I did not find Johannes the missionary much of a resource”.

Dr Hermann Francke, himself a Herrnhuth missionary and later professor of Tibetan at Berlin University, describes Avertanarian as a careerist. In a pamphlet which Avertanarian published in Shumen (Shumla) in Bulgaria in 1900, he describes himself as *μικρον βασιλιάς έτοιμος μετά του βασιλιά* “Known as Johannes Bai” – Bai being the Eastern Turkestanian honorific title for a wealthy merchant of the upper classes. In one of his translations (cf. p. 114), he adds the honorific title of *εν δόξαν τού λαού* of ‘noble birth’ to his name, indicating his relationship with the Prophet himself (cf. further his autobiography, p. 4). This seems to indicate that he did not hide his light under a bushel and his honorific title certainly did not have much to do with his missionary activities. But in his defence it can be said that this was after he had left the mission.

The mission continued its Bible-translation activities. In 1917 the book of Genesis, in 1921 the book of Job and in 1923 the book of Psalms were printed in the Kashghar printing-office. In 1935 G. Ahlberg and O. Hermannsen began a completely new translation of the New Testament into Eastern Turki which was printed by the British and Foreign Bible Society in Cairo in 1939. In 1942 they began translating the Old Testament which was printed in Cairo in 1950. This meant that a complete translation of the Bible was made available in Eastern Turki. As Ahlberg died in 1943 the translation is mainly Oskar Hermannsen’s achievement.

As will be seen from the bibliography a large number of books with religious contents, song-books, tracts and pamphlets were published by the mission during the years, all printed in the printing-office of the Mission in Kashghar. The majority of these prints consisted of translations from Swedish, English and Arabic but there are also to be found original works written by members of the mission.

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1. Hedén, Through Asia I, p. 480. And Hedén add: “He was one of those morbidly religious people, who imagine that true Christianity is incompatible with a sober joy in life, as well as with good spirits. This was no doubt partly due to his being a converted Moravian. Such proselytes are often ten times worse than their teachers. However, he was good-natured and helpful, though he always seemed to be depressed and in dull spirits”. I am not sure that this is a fair description of Avertanarian’s character. Maybe he was sulking because of his inability to get on with Hedén. Cf. Avertanarian’s own account of his dealings with Hedén in his autobiography, pp. 80-92.


That Avertanarian was active in publishing also Eastern Turki non-religious books is evident from Hartmann, “Handscritten” (1904), p. 2 1-1. In 1902 or 1903 he published in Shumla, Bulgaria a book with the title in (German translation) “Zwiefarbige der zweidinsprachligen Zitbito. Gedichte zum Preise der einheitlichen Handwerke”. Evidently it was a kind of Eastern Turki manna-salezah, cf. Hartmann, *The Thousand City*, p. 29 sq.

As a further example of Avertanarian’s far-reaching literary interests, I mention Migon-Munson, p. 158 and Vagrance somor’s Kazakh-Kyrgyz-Turkic translation, p. 204 with information of his interest in non-religious books which he evidently had got printed in Shumla (Bulgaria). A handwritten copy is kept in the Institut nationozy Aziz in Leningrad.

The literary production of the mission pertaining to the fields of education and culture started in 1911 with a Turkic reader for the schools which was printed on the old cyclostyle apparatus. School-books had until then been produced in handwritten form for use in the mission schools in their initial stage. In a report submitted to the Mission Board in Stockholm in 1940, Raquette states that during the year a small ABC-book and reading-book in the Kashgarian language had been compiled but every copy had to be written by hand. With the arrival of modern printing equipment in 1912, the production of educational material for the schools gathered momentum. During the years textbooks in all fields of education from ABC-books to textbooks in geography and science, were published. Most of them were based on textbooks of Swedish origin used in Swedish elementary and adult education, but revised and adapted to conform to the circumstances of Eastern Turkestan. In some cases the textbooks contain advice concerning matters of daily life. Thus for example the textbook of science (1920/22), in the part dealing with man, offers advice (printed) on different forms of hygiene. The guide to orthography written by G. Ahlbert and published in 1929 is especially remarkable as an attempt at normalizing the spelling of Eastern Turki written with the Arabic alphabet. With the History of Central Asia written by O. Hermansson, published in 1936, the mission went far beyond its educational aims and turned to the general educated public of Eastern Turkestan. The same can be said about the grammar of Eastern Turki, published in 1935.

Of special practical value for the inhabitants of the country were the almanacs produced by the mission. The first one was published in 1908, relating to the year 1909, and was initiated by G. Raquette. The almanacs, or calendars as they were called later on, were published on a yearly basis until the end of the mission's activities in 1938. Another print of practical use was the guide to letter-writing, which was published in three editions during the years 1931-1937. It was highly appreciated by the general public of Eastern Turkestan.

It is evident that some of the missionaries, in the first place Oskar Hermansson, had intentions to present some specimens of world literature, albeit those with a slight touch of religious content, to East Turkestanian readers, also outside the mission. As examples I note the following translations: one of Selma Lagerlöf's novels into Eastern Turki (1931/6), Sadhu Sundar Singh (1933/2), the Holy Franciscus (1934/4) and Lewis Wallace's Ben Hur (1935/7). It is of interest to note that these literary activities took place during the politically troubled years of the early 1930's.

An interesting example of educational and informative activities which went beyond the normal tasks of the mission belongs to the year 1914 when the mission had farreaching plans for the publishing of a monthly review with secular contents. It was to be called

*järnvägs alla åtskilda rznnamen*

(Enlightenment. A Newspaper for the Six Cities).

* A 1900, p. 120.
بیل

نمبر

انگلیسی سلطنتی نیکل راجپرست

ده سواد چریکی که لب توران، ایکی دولت و بریتانیا ارستا دیلیان هم چه ی ریمان تقیبی فوپریسیدن انگلیس ی فوارلری نیند خطای یوریپیده خانمی دیلیان سبک بیورنچه بیورنینک عملادار منصب‌دارلندین مئکر کشا اختیار بدلیب یول اچ ریپ اتام بیورنپ بیشی لیق کریشا سونادر، مرینک کولیفیغه من پیاده اعظم انگلیس سنال ویکسنبیندیتن نینک کاشگری، جنرال، قونسول مهر بابسیب اروشی بیلیندی درهم.

Specimen of a form printed for the British Consulate General in Kashgar.
sizes were printed in Turki and Persian. And in 1919, p. 138, mention is made of printing performed (mainly for the British Consulate in Kashgar) of forms for telegrams and advertisements, as well as other kinds of forms.

Two specimens of such prints, made for the British Consulate General and the Russian-Asiatic Bank, both in Kashgar, are presented on p. 16 and 17.

In three cases, books were printed for private persons who had no connection with the mission, namely in 1922 H. I. Harding’s “Diary from Srinagar to Kashgar via Gilgit”; in 1933 “Notes on Kashgar” by B. O. Burge; and in 1938 a medical treatise by Dr Boris Osipoff. Both Harding and Burge were members of the British Consulate General in Kashgar. Osipoff belonged to the Soviet Consulate General.

Needless to say these prints are today bibliographical rarities of the first order.¹

The Printing-office during the Eastern Turkestan Revolution of the 1930’s

In 1931 a rebellion of the Turk Muslims against the Chinese authorities broke out in the northern parts of Sinkiang and spread slowly southwards¹. In February 1933 it had reached the southern rim of the Tarim basin. Kashgar fell to the rebels on 3 May 1933 and the Chinese power in southern Sinkiang was brought to an end. The executive power in Kashgar was in the hands of an Uighur by the name of Tömür² and a Kirghize by the name of Osman⁴. The situation in Kashgar and southern Sinkiang was chaotic during the summer of 1933. Tömür was arrested and shot on 9 August. Osman took over the leadership on 16 August, but soon the Islamic Government of Khotan took hold of the whole of southern Sinkiang. Sabit Damollah, the Khotanese prime minister, soon thereafter appeared in Kashgar. In October 1933 the Khotan Amir, as they were called, had established themselves as the real leaders of the rebellion. On 10 September 1933 Khoja Niaz haji, the leader of the rebels in northern Sinkiang, had proclaimed a Republic of Eastern Turkestan. It was superseded on 12 November 1933 by The Turkish Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan, proclaimed by Sabit Damollah. The new state displayed its own flag consisting of a white star and crescent on a blue background³. In 1934 the Tungans entered the scene in Kashgar contributing to the already existing chaos. By June 1934 the Tungans had control over practically all of southern Sinkiang. The Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan coexisted with them for a short time, but their leaders were soon dispersed. Some of them succeeded in escaping to India. In July 1934 a combined Chinese-Uighur force took over in Kashgar, led by Khoja Niaz haji’s former Chief-of-staff Mahmoud Muhiti, an Uighur from Tufan, more commonly known as Mahmud Si-jang. In September 1934 an armistice was signed which brought the hostilities between the Tungans and the provincial authorities to an end. A period of relatively peaceful conditions followed lasting until 1937 when a new rebellion broke out.

For the Swedish missionaries the rebellion had a series of grave consequences. Under Chinese rule the mission had at least been relatively free to perform its religious activities. The Islamic government which took over did not display friendly feelings towards the mission. Carl Personson, who was then in charge of the printing-office gives an elucidatory description of the situation in a report to the mission’s head-office in Stockholm. He writes as follows: "In the beginning of the revolution it looked as if the

² Forbes Tomor, I prefer the actual pronunciation Tömür.
³ Forbes ’Uğrman, actually pronounced Osman.
⁴ Forbes, p. 114; for a picture v. Tarim, p. 1(3).
rebels intended to take over the printing-office by force. We learned later on that this had been seriously discussed. We managed to keep the printing-office in our hands by promising to work overtime in order to perform the tasks given us. Our printing-office nowadays is more of a commercial enterprise than a missionary printing-office. But owing to the inflation resulting from the revolution, we have not been able to make any profit, just to keep it balanced.  

Until then the mission had refused to print books or pamphlets with Islamic contents. Now they had to change their attitude - under the threat of force. And in 1934 Carl Persson reports that the printing-office had to work under abnormal conditions. In the beginning they were overloaded by printing orders for the Eastern Turkestan Republic. The night before the Tungans occupied Kashgar and the Republican government had to flee, the printing-office produced bank-notes for the Islamic government the whole night through. A few weeks after the Tungans had seized power, they had to print proclamations of different kinds for them. When the Turks together with the Chinese later reoccupied Kashgar, they again had to begin work for them.

But Carl Persson adds that the commercial profit had been better during this year. The printing-office had managed to survive - no doubt with the help of much personal diplomacy.

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3 A 1933, pp. 145-146.
4 J. Norstedt, 1929, reports that mullahs had from time to time visited the printing-office in order to see it in operation. Quite often they inquired if the mission would also print Islamic literature for them. The reply was negative. And Norstedt adds: "We cannot serve two lords even if the prospect of a nice profit is held out."
5 A 1934, pp. 150-151.

Among the tasks assigned to the printing-office was the printing of the first periodicals of the new regime. It began in 1933 with the short-lived review called Isqal "Independence", followed later in the year by the weekly Sharq Turkestan Hayati, "The Life of Eastern Turkestan" (cf. 1933). It was replaced by another weekly Erkin Turkestan, "Independent Turkestan" (cf. 1933-4 and 1934-5). In 1934 it was superseded by a short-lived weekly with the title Yengi Hayat Hurriyeti, "The Freedom of the New Life" (cf. 1934-6). It was in turn followed by a new weekly entitled Yengi Hayat "The New Life", which the mission printed throughout the years 1934 - 1937 (cf. 1934-7, 1935, 1936 and 1937). These weeklies contain important source material concerning the rebellion in Eastern Turkestan of these years. Happily an almost complete set of the weeklies has been preserved and is now available in the Lund University Library.

But the obligations of the mission printing-office were not confined to printing the newspapers of the rebels. It also had to supply the foreign news to the Yengi Hayat. In reality the source was the Reuter-telegrams which the British Consulate General in Kashgar kindly put at their disposal.

In addition the mission was forced to print all kinds of political propaganda material for the rebels. Very little of it is preserved in Swedish collections. But evidently quite a number of political pamphlets, leaflets and the like were printed. Leaflet 19339 may serve as an example. It is the proclamation about the establishment of a government in the province of Kashgar made by Sabit (Damollah) Abdul Baqi, prime minister of the new government.

9 Mentioned by Forbes, p. 114 and 255.
10 Novgorodsky, op. cit., p. 21 without mentioning the printing-office.
Bank-note printed by the Swedish printing-office. 1 sar.

Bank-note printed by the Swedish printing-office. 4 tanga.
The mission also began printing text-books for the Uighur schools of the government (cf. 1935:5 and 1936:1) as well as books with practical contents, for example a guide-book for the production of silk (1935:3).

It is worth noting that the mission printing-office had no authority over the orthography of the books printed for the government. This is evident in the lack of orthography of these products. Thus, in the title of 1935:5, the plural suffix is written "ئ" instead of "ئ/", and the word for school is written "سەند" instead of "سەند" in 1936:1 the plural is written "ئ" instead of "ئ/" in 1936:1.

In all the items earlier printed by the mission, there was always a strict orthography according to rules laid down by G. Ahlbert in his spelling-book from the year 1929 (cf. 1929:1). Evidently the influence of the Uighur of Urumchi and Turfan was now making itself felt.

A more sensational commission given to the mission by the rebel authorities was to print bank-notes for the new government. According to Forbes, the Sinkiang provincial currency, as well as the cruder notes being issued by the Tungan warlord Ma Chung-yieh, ceased to be regarded as legal tender, and TIETE (Turkish Islamic Republic of Eastern Turkestan) bank-notes were issued at both Kashgar and Khotan in their stead. The story of the bank-notes printing is related by George Robernz, who was at that time in charge of the printing-office. In 1933 he was ordered to start printing bank-notes by the rebel leader who exercised the power in Kashgar. In the beginning they were printed on paper of different kinds, but when the printing-paper came to an end and no substitute was available, they started printing bank-notes on white cloth. When this was used up, they turned to patterned cloth of different kinds, even striped silk-cloth. During the years 1933–37 a large amount of bank-notes were printed by the Swedish Mission Press. They were legal currency in southern Sinkiang as far north of Kashgar as Aq-su.\(^\text{12}\)

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B. Bank-notes for the Eastern Turkestan Republic

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Bank-notes</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>of 1 misgal</td>
<td>19.790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of 1 sar</td>
<td>83.174</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>of 8 tanga</td>
<td>12.500</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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12 Forbes, p. 114.
13 Forbes, p. 114. "The Press of the former Swedish mission at Yarkand was taken over by the TIETE authorities, and used to publish radical Islamic literature in support of the new state, including the journal Fazlul or Freedom." Here I must make some corrections: the mission press was in Kashgar, not in Yarkand; it was not a "former" mission but in full operation; the TIETE authorities never took over the press. It was business-like cooperation.
15 A full account of the bank-note printing is given by Georg Robernz's son Oyrar Robernz in his article "Warlord to missionary: Print my Sinkiang notes" (World Coin News, April 17, 1984).
16 A considerable amount of bank-notes were printed by the mission in Kashgar. A full report for the year 1933 is given in A 1933, p. 146. It presents the following picture.

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In May 1937 the local authorities set up a printing-office of their own in Kashgar and started to print the bi-weekly paper Yineng Hayat and pamphlets by their own means. This was in itself a relief as the printing of the newspaper had made heavy demands on the capacity of the Swedish printing-office. What was worse was that most of the staff, educated and trained by the Swedes for many years, felt more or less compelled to go across to the new government printing-office. The mission had nothing else to do but to start training new apprentices, a long and tedious affair. At the same time the general boycott of the mission made itself felt also in the printing-office. A Russian, Pavel Voronikov, who had originally been a member of the Sven Hedin Central Asia expedition, but had later taken employment in the Swedish printing-office, was arrested, abducted and never again heard of. This was the situation just before the Mission ceased to exist.

In the years 1934–38 the Soviet influence over the Chinese administration in Urumchi was increasingly felt. The southern parts of the province were, however, in the beginning not too much affected, especially, as Mahmud Si-jang in his capacity of Urumchi's special representative, had found a middle way of coexistence with both Uighurs and Tungans. But gradually the Soviet influence made itself felt also in the southern parts of Sinkiang. On 2 April 1937 Mahmud Si-jang found his position untenable and fled the country to India. This led to a new Uighur–Tungan–Islamic anti-Communist rising. Kashgar was attacked in May 1937 by rebel forces of mixed Uighur and Tungan composition. The whole of southern Sinkiang again was in a state of complete unrest and political disorder. The Swedish Mission soon found itself in a precarious situation. The station in Hancheng was attacked and burnt to the ground. The missionaries were isolated and could not perform their normal functions. Some of their converts were cruelly killed by the rebels. In February 1938 all the missionaries in Yarkand were told to leave the city and proceed to Kashgar. In June all the missionaries felt compelled to leave the mission field where they had been active for 46 years. Three missionaries stayed behind in the hope that they would be permitted to hold the fort until the situation had calmed down: Gustaf Ahlbert, John Anderson and Sigfrid Moen. This however was a vain hope. On 17 August they were expelled to British India.\(^\text{18}\)

This was the end of the mission and the end of the printing-office of the Swedish Mission at Kashgar.

What happened to the printing-office and its equipment after the expulsion of the missionaries?

In December 1946 two former members of the Swedish Mission in Kashgar, Sigfrid Moen and Georg Robernz, were given permission to pay a short visit to Sinkiang in order to ascertain the fate of the mission, and to enquire if there were possibilities for a continuation of its activities. In February 1947 they were able to inspect the mission property, and a pro-
tocol, drawn up by the British Consul General in Kashghar, representing Swedish interests in Sinkiang, was established. It was then found that the printing-office had been destroyed after the departure of the missionaries in 1938. All material used for the printing activities, including the printing-press, books and equipment for the bookbinding-shop, was missing. However, the Chinese officials who were present at the inspection stated that the printing-press was used by the Kashghar newspaper printing-office, over which they had no authority22.

Unfinished Business

When in 1938 the Swedish missionaries had to leave their field of activities, they were not permitted to take with them books or other printed materials from the printing-office. Gustaf Ahlbert in a letter to me1 tells that upon his departure, he had brought with him loads of the Uighur newspapers printed by the mission. They were all confiscated by the local rebel authorities together with some handwritten materials.

The files of the mission were burnt before the missionaries’ departure. It was felt advisable to do so, in order to protect the lives of the members of the Uighur Christian congregation2. The files of the printing-office were left behind and have never been recovered. It is therefore impossible to reconstruct the activities of the last months of the printing-office. There are however two documents in the archives of the mission in Stockholm which at least give some idea of the work in progress when the mission was forced to leave. One of them is dated 1934 and is a report from the Literature committee to the Eastern Turkestan Conference. The other is from 1935 and of the same character with a note “delivered in 1937”.

These two documents mention the following manuscripts which evidently were ready for setting in the printing office, but which were never finished or were destroyed in connection with the mission’s departure.

1. The History of Classical Antiquity. A translation of a Swedish history for junior secondary schools made by Oskar Hermansson.

2. A collection of tales from the Kalila va Dimna3 translated by Oskar Hermansson.

3. The novel De sjua dödssynderna (The Seven Deadly Sins) by Selma Lagerlöf, contained in her novel Drotninagar i Kungahall. Stockholm 1899. Translated from the Swedish by Oskar Hermansson.


5. A short biography of the martyr Geronimo, translated into Eastern Turki by R. Nyström. (Evidently Hieronymus of Prague, a helper of Hue, who suffered martyrdom 30 May 1468).

6. The History of Israel by Sven Herner. Translated from the Swedish, according to SA No. 169 by G. Arell.

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22 Cf. p. 25 on the setting up of a new government printing-office.

1 Ahlbert to Jarring 31 March 1939 (in Jarring’s letter collection LUB).

2 Hultvall, p. 206.

3 V. El, Kalila wa-Dimna.

In addition there were a number of manuscripts in the draft stage, the fate of which are not known.

Bibliography