

NIHU Program  
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No.2**

**250 Years History of the Turkic-Muslim  
Camp in Beijing**

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## Preface and Acknowledgments

In the 18th century, the Manchu Qing dynasty (1616-1912) reached its peak under the reign of the sixth emperor Qianlong (1736-95). The empire's advance into Central Asia during 1755-59, which resulted in the extermination of the Zhungars and the annexation of Eastern Turkistan oases, is acknowledged as the most symbolic demonstration of the Qing's imperial might. The conquest of this region, today known as Xinjiang, created a unique situation between China and Central Asia, making it the recipient of much scholarly attention.<sup>1</sup>

During the Xinjiang conquest, Turkic-Muslims of Eastern Turkistan (today's Uyghur) were brought to the capital of Beijing and forced to live in a government-established residence called "*Huiziying*," or the Turkic-Muslim Camp.<sup>2</sup> The Turkic-Muslims of Qing Beijing are often mentioned in narrations of a tragic Xiangfei (Fragrant Concubine) legend,<sup>3</sup> but other attention has not been given to them. Indeed, their presence was only a small part in the enormous system of the dynasty, and they played a relatively small role in history. However, their existence in Beijing was very unique after the Mid-Qing period, and it is possible that study of their lives may result in a better understanding of the relationship between the Qing emperor and his Muslim subjects. Specifically, a study of the Turkic-Muslim Camp in Beijing may reveal changes in Muslim subjects' political and social positions from the Qing time to modern China.

This research has three main objectives:

(1) I seek to complete the text and translation of the imperially

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<sup>1</sup> In the last ten years, considerable studies have been published, including Millward 1998, 2007; Wang 2003; Kim 2004; Newby 2005; Bellér-Hann 2008.

<sup>2</sup> The Chinese character "*Hui* 回" usually refers to Muslim people. Although *Huiziying* was also called *Huihuiying* or *Huiying*, this paper uses *Huiziying* throughout.

<sup>3</sup> See Chap. 2, pp. 36-37.

authorized stela placed inside the mosque that was built inside the Turkic-Muslim Camp on the Qianlong emperor's order. Although the physical whereabouts of the stela are unknown, rubbed copies are stored in some institutions. The stela was inscribed with four scripts: Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, and Arabic/Turki. The inscription clearly reflects the emperor's imperial vision and attitude toward his Muslim subjects. This work will also benefit recent discussions about the need to reexamine Qing imperialism.

(2) The Turkic-Muslim Camp was established in 1760 in today's East Anfu Alley (*Dong'anfu hutong*) in the Xicheng ward, where the Xinhua Gate<sup>4</sup> crosses Chang'an Street. This area was a center of Turkic-Muslim activity in Beijing, and by detailing its establishment, construction, and decline, I wish to offer the first monograph of the 250 years of history of the Turkic-Muslim Camp, and to provide a new viewpoint regarding Qing-Muslim relationships.

(3) This research also will offer information about today's East Anfu Alley, the original site of the Turkic-Muslim Camp. Although East Anfu Alley is not what it used to be, some of the camp's descendants still reside there. Regretfully, this area is a designated region of the Beijing redevelopment project and its residents will be forced to move soon. As such, a principal goal of this research will be to preserve the history of the Turkic-Muslim Camp that has been passed down through generations.

In the course of writing this paper I have received help from many institutions and individuals. JSPS (the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science) Research Fellowships for Young Scientists in 2006-2007 and the research project of TIAS (the Islamic Area Studies Center at the University of Tokyo) in 2008 supported this research financially.

I am grateful for Professor Zhao Lingzhi's assistance in researching the stela's rubbed copies stored in the Library of Central University for Nationalities. Professor Matsumoto Masumi and Mr. Katagiri Hiromichi also provided me with valuable information about other rubbed copies stored in the SOAS Library at the University of London and the Library of Graduate School of Letters at Kyoto University. Dr. Suzuki Kōsetsu commented on the stela's contents. I am thankful for their instructions and help.

My sincere thanks to brothers Chang Baocheng and Chang Baoguang. They are Muslim descendants of the Turkic-Muslim Camp who still reside in

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<sup>4</sup> The Xinhua Gate is the front gate to the Zhong'nanhai area, which is the central headquarters for the PRC government and the Communist Party of China.

East Anfu Alley. I met them purely by chance on a summer morning in 2006. I visited them three times to hear their reminiscences, and each time I received a hearty welcome from them and their families. Without my encounter with them, the idea for this research would surely never have flashed into my mind.

Finally, I wish to express my gratitude to Professor Komatsu Hisao for making me a TIAS project member and consenting to publish this research as a part of the *Central Eurasian Research Series*.

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## 1. The Stela Erected by the Qianlong Emperor

The purpose of this chapter is to present the text and translation of the stela erected at the mosque in the Turkic-Muslim Camp (hereafter *Huiziying* mosque). Although the stela's physical whereabouts are unknown,<sup>1</sup> rubbed copies exist in several institutions.<sup>2</sup> The stela was inscribed in four languages: Chinese and Manchu on the front and Mongol and Arabic/Turki on the back. The sentences were written by the Qianlong emperor in the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the 29<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign (31 May to 28 June, 1764). The translation process is not clear; perhaps the Chinese version was the original, which was then translated to Manchu, and from Manchu to Mongol, and finally from Mongol to Turki.

To my knowledge, the institutions that contain a rubbed copy of the stela are as follows: (1) National Library of China,<sup>3</sup> (2) Beijing University Library,<sup>4</sup> (3) Library of Central University for Nationalities,<sup>5</sup> and (4) Library of Graduate School of Letters at Kyoto University.<sup>6</sup> In addition to these, the (5) SOAS Library has a photograph of the rubbed copy.<sup>7</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> In 1987 this stela was located in what used to be the Inner City Capital City-god temple. See Naquin 2000: 573, n. 26.

<sup>2</sup> According to the date of the National Library of China, the size of the copy is 31 × 33 cm (head tablet) + 92 × 87 cm.

<sup>3</sup> 1 set. This copy is printed in BTShT, vol. 72: 59-60. Using the online search system, we can retrieve its bibliographical information. See <http://www.nlc.gov.cn/index.htm>.

<sup>4</sup> 1 set. Using the online search system for rare books, we can retrieve its bibliographical information. See <http://rbd.calis.edu.cn/pages/Search.htm>.

<sup>5</sup> 2 set. These copies are stored in the rare books room. The numbers for request are 1135 and 1136.

<sup>6</sup> 1 set. Because of sorting and researching, the rubbed copy was not open to the public in 2008. According to Katagiri Hiromichi, who has read this copy previously, the condition was good.

<sup>7</sup> CIM (China Inland Mission) in the Special Collection Reading Room, Box 21, File 430.

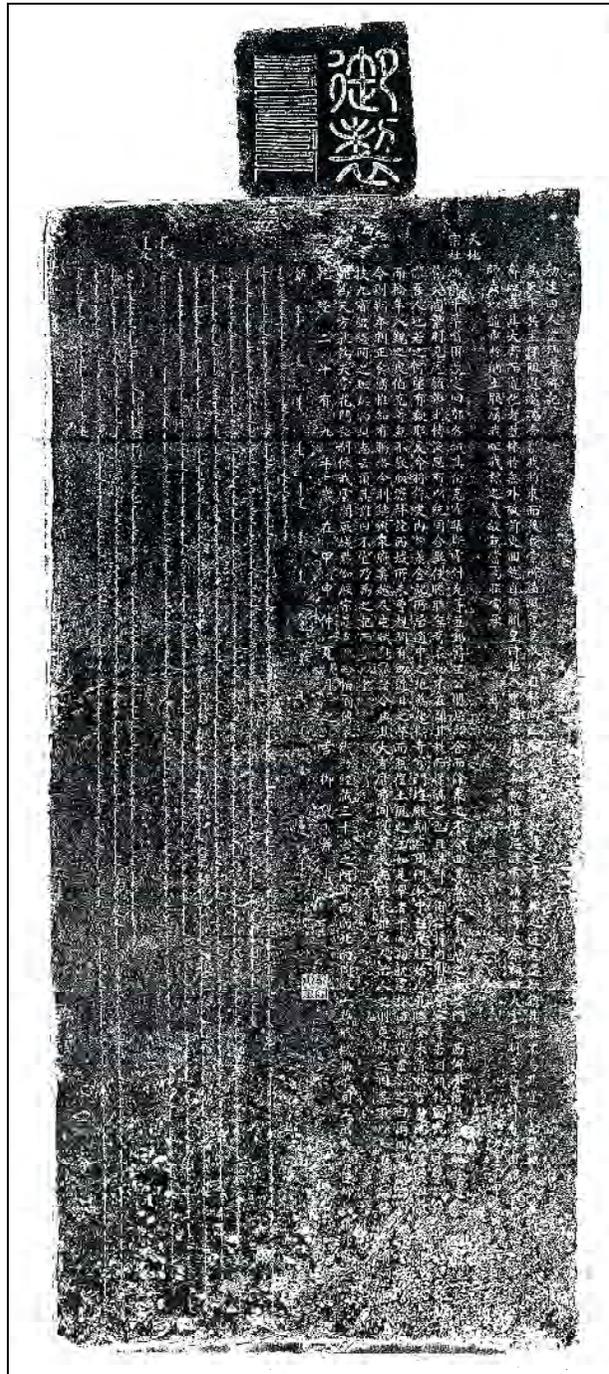


Figure 1. The Front: Manchu (left) and Chinese (right)

Source: Inserted between 532-533 of Meng 1960 [1937].



Figure 2. The Back: Mongol (left) and Turki (Right)

Source: Inserted between 532-533 of Meng 1960 [1937].

Next I would like to discuss previous research on the stela that has been important to this project. *Qingding rixia jiuwen kao* (*Imperial Commissioned Ancient Accounts Heard in Precincts of the Throne*, hereafter QRJK), which is a compilation of materials on Beijing history published in 1774, records the text of the stela's Chinese inscription.<sup>8</sup> Some of the lettering on the stela is illegible because of wear,<sup>9</sup> so the record in QRJK is very useful to the restoration of the Chinese text. However, the transcription in QRJK has some inaccuracies; for example, *zongshe* in line 6 was recorded as *zushe* by mistake.

Around 1900, philological studies on the stela were made by some Western scholars. M. Devéria was the first to translate from the Chinese text into Western language.<sup>10</sup> Cl. Huart proposed the Arabic/Turki text and translation.<sup>11</sup> His work was very useful in reading worn parts of the Turkic inscription. Photographs of the stela standing in the mosque, as well as a rubbed copy of it, are inserted into the book of M. Broomhall.<sup>12</sup> This book includes an English translation with commentaries based on the Turkic inscription. Although this translation contains some inaccurate and insufficient parts, it furnished us with fundamental information about the stela.<sup>13</sup>

A few Chinese scholars have given attention to the stela. The posthumous work of Meng Sen, a pioneer in Manchu Qing history, offers information on the Xiangfei legend along with a rudimentary consideration of the stela's record.<sup>14</sup> His book contains a photograph of a relatively clear rubbed copy.<sup>15</sup> Yang Naiji's work is one of the most important historical researches on the Turkic-Muslim Camp. His work includes research not only on the mosque's

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<sup>8</sup> QRJK 71, repr. 1981: 1193-1194.

<sup>9</sup> In particular, damage to the lower part of the Turkic inscription is very heavy. It is impossible to read.

<sup>10</sup> Devéria 1897. Although Devéria's paper includes a photograph of the rubbed copy in a good condition, I cannot find which institution stores this copy.

<sup>11</sup> Huart 1902.

<sup>12</sup> This copy can be identified as that at (5) SOAS. For the photograph of the stela standing in the mosque, see Chap. 2, p. 46.

<sup>13</sup> Broomhall 1910: 92-98.

<sup>14</sup> Meng 1960 [1937]: 545-546.

<sup>15</sup> This copy can be identified with (2) at the Library of Central University for Nationalities.

architecture, but also on the condition of the East Anfu Alley in the 1980s.<sup>16</sup>

The stela has been noted since the Qing period. However, no studies have ever examined its contents deeply or used it to trace the Qing's imperial policy toward his Muslim subjects. Before discussing these issues, I must present an accurate text and translation of the stela.

Text: Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, and Turki

**Note: Explanation of symbols for text and translation**

- 回子 Suggested restoration from the Chinese text in QRJK
- Abc* Suggested restoration from the context or the comparison with other language texts
- [ ] Supplementary words by Onuma
- ///// Section that is indecipherable due to damage to the original text
- 。 . , Punctuation marks in the Manchu and Mongol texts are based on original inscriptions; those in the Chinese and Turki texts are marked by Onuma for convenience.
- ^^ *Taitou* (higher head) grade for showing respect
- ^ One-*Taitou* grade
- ^^ Two-*Taitou* grade

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<sup>16</sup> Yang 1982.

## Chinese

- 0 御製勅建回人禮拜寺碑記。
- 1 為天下共主，俾阻遐邇聽，壹稟我約束，而後戎索所屆，風氣莫敢以  
自私，尚已。顧在昔寄象鞮譯之掌，必與之達志通欲，脩其教不易其  
宜，厥旨豈相戾哉。蓋惟極天下之不
- 2 齊以致其大齊，而觀化者益轅於無外。攷前史，回紇自隋開皇時始入  
中國，至唐元和初，偕摩尼進貢，請置寺太原，額曰大雲光明，實為  
禮拜寺所由昉。然其致之也，或以假
- 3 師或以通市，於納土服屬我毗我隸之義故無當焉。朕寅承  
4 ^^天地
- 5 ^^宗杜鴻庠，平準噶爾，遂定回部各城。其伯克霍集斯，霍什克等並錫  
爵王公，賜居邸舍。而餘衆之不令回其故地者，咸居之長安門之西，  
俾服官執役，受廛旅處，都人因號稱回子
- 6 營。夫齒繁則見厯，類辨則情渙，思所以統同合異，使瞻聽無竒袤，  
初不在關其教而揉矯之也。且準部四衛拉特內附，若普寧寺，若固爾  
札廟，既為次第勅構，用是寵綏，回人
- 7 亦吾人也，若之何望有缺耶。爰命將作支內帑羨金，就所居適中之地，  
為建斯寺。穹門塏殿，翊廡周阿，具中程度。經始以乾隆癸未清和吉  
月，浹歲落成。回衆以時會聚其下，
- 8 而輪年入覲之衆伯克等無不觀欣拜。託西域所未曾觀，問有叨近日之  
榮，而兼擅土風之美，如是舉者乎。咸鞠脞虞抃曰，然。復重諗之曰，  
爾回之俗嚮，惟知有魯斯訥墨，
- 9 今則朔奉朝正矣。嚮惟知有騰格，今則鑄頒泉府矣。越及屯賦觀饗諸  
令典，其大者靡弗同我聲教，而國家推以人治人之則，更為之因其教  
以和其衆。揆諸萬舞備銅繩之
- 10 技，九賓綴纏頭之班，此物此志云爾。其誰曰不宜。乃為之記而系以  
銘。
- 11 孰為天方，孰為天堂。花門秘刹，依我雲閭。厥城默伽，厥宗默克。  
派哈帕爾，傳衣鐵勒。經藏三十，咨之阿渾。西向北向，同皈一尊。  
珉城枏梁，司工所作。會極歸極，萬邦是若。
- 00 乾隆二十有九年歲在甲申仲夏之吉，御製并書。

## Manchu

- 0 Han i arahangge hesei ilibuha hoise sai doroloro hengkilere juktehen i eldengge wehei ejebun.
- 1 Abkai fejergi i uheri ejen ofi, lakcaha jecen goroki ba i urse be gemu musei kadalame jafatara doru be dahame yabure de isibuha manngi, feshelehe ele jase jecen i ba i an kooli, teni gelhun akû cisulerengge akû ombi. Ere yala wesihun kai. Julgei fonde, duin ergi aiman i an tacin, etuku gisun i jergi baita de afaha urse, urunakû ishunde mujin be hafumbume, buyenin de acabume, tesei tacihiyen be tuwancihiyara dabala, tesei an be halarakû bihe.
- 2 Terei gûnin ainahai ereci encu ni. Ainci abkai fejergi i teksin akûngge be, bireme gemu umesi teksin de isibuci, wen be hargašarangge, ele jecen akû de isinaci ombi. Nenehe suduri be kimeci, hûi he aiman, sui gurun i k'ai hûwang sehe forgon de teni durimbai gurun de dosinjiha. Tang gurun i yuwan ho sehe sucungga fonde isinjiha manggi, molo albabun jafanjiha ildun de baime wesimbufi tai yuwan i bade juktehen ilibufi, boconggo
- 3 tugi jaksaka eldeke sere iletulehen lakiyabuhabi. Ere uthai doroloro hengkilere juktehen ilibuha deribun. Tuttu seme terei jihengge, embici cende cooha baire jalin bihe, embici ishunde hûdašara jalin bihe dabala. ba na nisihai haratu ome dahanjifi, musei irgen ofi, kadalabure jurgan ci cingkai encu kai. Bi
- 4 ^^abka na,
- 5 ^^mafari juktehen, boihoju jekuju i mukdehun i ferguwecuke hûhuri be gingguleme alifi, jun gar aimen be necihiyefi, geli hoise aiman i geren hoton be toktobuha. Tere bek hojis, hosik sade, gemu wang gung ni hergen bufi, gemun hecen de boo šangnafi tebuhe. Geli da bade amasi unggirakû geren hoise sebe, gemu enteheme elhe dukai wargi ergi bade icihiyeme tebufi, hafan sindafi, alban nekebufi, caliyen ulebume, emu bade tebuhe turgunde gemungge hecen i niyalma
- 6 tereci gemu ubabe hoise sai falga seme gebulehebi. Damu anggala geren oci, gûnin mujin tarin ombi. Duwali encu oci, buyenin gari mari ombi. Ede

- adalingge be uheleme, encungge be acabume, tuwara donjire de aldungga akû obuki seci, umai terei tacihyan be milarabufi, murime tuwancihyara de akû kai. Tere anggala, jun gar aiman duin oirat sa, dosi dahanjire jakade, gubci iktakangga juktehen, gûlja juktehen be siran siran i deribume
- 7 weilebufi gosire bilure gûnin be tuwabuhabi. Hoise sa serengge, inu musei harangga niyalma oho kai. Ainu damu tesei erecun be tesuburakû ni. Tuttu weilen be kadalara hafasa de afabufi, dorgi namun i fulu tucike menggun be icinggiyafi, hoise sai tehe falga i tob dulimbade ere juktehen ilibufi, gûldun duka, amba deyen, ashan i boo, şurdeme fu be gemu durum kemun i songkoi weilebuhe. abkai wehiyehe sahanûn honin aniya duin
- 8 biya ci weileme deribufi, emu aniya ofi şangnaha. Ede geren hoise sa, erileme ubade isanjimbime, aniyadari idurame hargaşanjire geren bek sa, gemu selame urgunjeme hargaşame dorolome, erebe wargi bade oron sabuhakûngge seme kiyakiyame ferguwendumbi. Tesei baru hargaşan de hanci nikenjire derengge be aliha bime, geli tesu ba i an tacin i sain be yongkiyabuha baita, ere gesengge bio seme fonjici, gemu niyakûrafi alimbaharakû urugunjeme, yargiyan i akû sehe. Geli
- 9 esede ulhibuhe gisun, suweni hoise sai tacin daci damu rusunamai bisire be saha dabala. Te oci, abkai gurun i aniya inenggi be dahahabi. Daci damu tengge bisire be saha dabala. Te oci, durun i jiha hungkerefi selgiyehebi. Jai alban i usin weilere, şulehen jafara, hargaşanjire sarilara amba kooli be oci, gemu mini tacihyan wen be dahame yabubuharakûngge akû. Uttu bime gurun boo, niyalma i niyalma be dasara doro be badarambufi, suweni tacihyan be dahame
- 10 suweni geren be hûwaliyambuhabi. Te hacingga maksin i dorgi teişun futa de negeleme yabure efin be dabuha. Geren antahasa be sarilara faidan de, uju hûsire urse be dosimbuha be bodoci, ineku suweni jaka be baitalafi, suweni mujin de acabuha kai. Erebe we ojorakû sembio sefi, tuttu ejebun arafi, folon i gisun ashabuha..
- 11 Ya babe abkai falga sehe. Ya babe abkai tanggin sehe. Yangsangga saikan hoise juktehen be yargiyan i dorgi hoton de hanci weilebuhe. Tubai hoton

- be medine sembi. Tubai wesihulerengge be meke sembi. Tuttu paigambar sere niyalma, tuktan tiyei le gurun de doro be ulhabi. Asaraha gûsin yohi kuran nomun be, ahun de fonjifi ulhihe. Amargi baru fororo wargi baru fororongge, aibsi ocibe, emu adali wesihulehe. Eldengge wehe i *colgoroko*
- 12 ordo be ere weilen be kadalara hafasa sain i weilehebi. Enteheme ubade acanjime isanjifi, ede tumen gurun yooni dahanjimbi.
- 00 Abkai wehiyehe orin uyuci aniya niowanggiyan bonio juwari dulimbai biyai sain inenggi han i banjibuha arahangge..

## Mongol

- 0 Qayan-u bičigsen bolai jarliγ-iyar bayiyuluγsan qotung-ud-un yosulaqu mörgükü süm-e-yin gereltü kösiy-e čilayun-u temdeglel.
- 1 Delekei dakin-u bügüde-yin ejen boluyad tasurayai kijayar qoladaqi γajar-un ulus-i čöm bidan-u erke-dür oruyuluγad jakirqu yosun-i dayaju yabuqui-dur kürügülügen-ü qoyin-a, arbidlayсан el-e jaq-a kijayar γajar-un keb qauli sayi ayumsiy ügei duran meden yabuqui-bar ügei bolumui. Ene inu üneker erkim bolai. Erten-ü čay-tur dörben жүg ayimay-un tus tus öber-ün yosun, qubčasu kele jerge kereg-**tür tusiyagysan** ulsu, erke ügei **qarilčunjoriγ-i tuyulyaju, sedgil-dür neyilegülged**
- 2 teden-ü surγayuli-yi bolbasurayulqu-ača busu teden-ü jang bayidal-i araljiqu ügei aγsan ajuγu. Tegün-ü sanayan γayunai egünče öger-e ajuγu. Yerü delekei dakin-u tegsi ügei-yi inu neyiteber čöm masi tegsi-dür kürügülbasu, soyul-i sösülküi anu, neng kijayalasi ügei-dür kürčü bolumui. Uriduki sudur-i kinabasu, küi ke ayimay süi ulus-un qai quwang kemekü čay-ača sayi dumdadu ulus-tur oruju irebei. Tang ulus-un yuwan qo kemekü angq-a čay-tur **kürügsen**
- 3 qoyin-a, molu alba barir-a iregsen ayantal-a γuyun ayiladqayad tai yuwan-u γajar söm-e bariγad önggetü egülen tülebei geyigülbei kemekü ilerkei bičig<sup>17</sup> elgüjüki. Ene yerü mön yosulaqu mörgükü süm-e bayiyuluγsan angqan toyurbil bolai. Teyin kemebečü, teγün-ü iregsen anu ese bögesü teden-eče čerig γuyuqu učir ba. Ese bögesü qarilčan qudalduy-a kikü-yin učir aγsan-ača bosu. Γajar orun selte qariyatu bolun oruju ireged biden-u irgen bolju, jakirayaqu jirum-ača tung öger-e bui. Bi
- 4 ^^ngri γajar
- 5 ^^ebüged-ün süm-e sakiγlsun-u mandal-un γayiqamsiytu buyan-i kičiyenggüyilen küliyejü abuyad. Jegün γar-un ayimay-i tübsidkejü, basa qotung ayimay-un olun qotan-i toytayabai. Tere bek Qoγis, Qosiy tan-dur čöm wang gung-ün kergem ögčü, neyislel qotan-dur ger šangnayad

<sup>17</sup> ilerkei bičig: “a clear letter, handwriting.” A calque from Man. iletulehen (tablet).

sayulʻabai. Basa nutuʻtur qoyisi ilegekü ügei qamuʻ qotung-ud-i čöm asida amuyulangtu qaqalyan-u barayun eteged-tur si[g]idgejü sayulʻayad, tüşimel talbijü, alban tulʻajü

- 6 öggüged, čaling olʻayulʻju, nigen ʻajar-a sayulʻaysan učir-tur neyiselel qotan-u kümün tegünče čöm egün-i qotung-ud-un ayil kemen nerelejügtüi. ʻačakü aman olan bolbasu sedgil qajayar muʻjayar bolmui. Nam öber-e bolbasu, küsel alay čoyuʻ bolumui. Egün-dür adaliqan-i inu yerüngkeyileju öber-e-yi inu neyilegül-ün üjekü sonusqui-dur sonin ügei bolʻyasuʻjai kemebešü, yerü tegün-ü surʻayuli *unʻjʻultu*, musgin ʻalaraqui-dur
- 7 ügei bolai. Tere čü bayituʻjai, ʻegün ʻar-un ayimaʻ-un dörben oyirad-ud dotuʻysi oruʻju iregsen-iyer, qotal-a engkeʻjigülügči süm-e, gülʻa süm-e-yi daray-a-bar ekilejü bariʻyuluʻyad, örüsiyekü oltuqu tayalal-i üjügülösen bui. Qotung-ud kemegči, mön biden-ü qariyatu kümün boluʻysan bolai. Yayundu yerü teden-ü egerel-i ülü qangyaqu bui. Teyimü üiledbüri-yi ʻakiraqu tüşimed-dür tusiyaʻju öggüged dotuʻyadu sayid-un ilegüü ʻaraysan
- 8 mönggü-yi ködelgejü qotung-ud-un sayuʻysan ayil-un töb dumba ene süm-e bayiyulʻju ʻuldung qaqal-a,<sup>18</sup> yeke ordu, ʻjigür-ün ger, toʻyurin kerem-i čöm dürim kemʻjiy-e-yin yosuʻyar üiledkegülbei. Tngri-yin tedkügsen-ü qarayčın qoni on-u ʻjun-u terigün sar-a-ača üiledjü ekileged, nigen ʻil bolju tegüşgebei. Egün-dür olan qotung-ud čay čay-iyar egün-dür quraʻju irekü büged ʻil büri ʻjisiyelen barayalqar-a irekü olan bek-üd čöm *amaraʻju*
- 9 bayasulčajü qarayalʻjal yosulaʻju, egün-i barayun ʻajar-a oru üjegsen ügei kemen šaysin ʻayiqamui. Teden-lüge qarayalʻjayči yamun-dur sidar kürčü irekü, niʻyur kürtegegsen büged, basa nutuʻ ʻajar-un keb surtal-un sayin-i tegüşgegsen kereg, ene metüs bui buyu kemen asaʻyubasu, čöm sögüdtüged teskel ügei bayasulčajü, üneker ügei kemebei. Basa eden-dür uqayuluʻysan üge, tan-u qotung-ud-un surtal, uʻy-dayan ʻayča-kü rusnama büküi-yi medeksen
- 10 -eče busu. Edüge bolbasu, tngri-yin ulus-un ʻil edür-i dayajuqui. Uʻy-dayan

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<sup>18</sup> ʻuldung qaqal-a: “an arched gateway.”

γaγča-kü tengge büküi-yi medegsen-eče busu. Edüge bolbasu, keb yosun čidquju tarayajuqui. Basa alban-u tariyalang üiledkü. Alban bariqu barayalqaqu qurimlaqu yeke qauli-yi bolbasu, čöm minu suryal soyul-i dayaju ülü yabuyad bür ügei. Eyimü büged ulus törü kümün-iyer kümün-i jasaqu yosun-i badarayulju tan-u suryayuli-yi dayaju, tan-u olan-i nayirayulujuqui.

- 11 Edüge jüil büri büjig-ün dotur-a γauli degesü-dür giskijü yabuqu nayadam-i toyučaysan. Olan jočid-i qurimlaqu jıysayal-dur toluyai oriyadaqu ulus-i oruyuluysan-i bodubasu, mön kü tan-u yayum-a-yi keregleju tan-u sedkil-dür neyilegülügsen bolai. Egün-i ken bolqu ügei kemeku bui kemeged. Teyin kü temdeglel bičiged seyilümel üge jégülgebei..
- 12 Ali γajar-i tngri-yin küriyen kemebei. Ali γajar-i tngri-yin ordu kemebei. Asuru yangjutai sayiqan qotung süm-e-yi ayui<sup>19</sup> yeke dotuyadu qotan-dur oyir-a bariyulbai. Tendeki qotan-i medine kememüi. Tendeki degedleküi-yi inu meke kememüi. Teyimü payiyambar kemekü kümün. Teyin kü tiyei le ulus-dur yosun-i angqan-a ündüsülejüki.. Qadayałaysan γučin iji küren nom-i qamuy egün-eče asayuyad uqabai.
- 13 qoyitu jüg ba, barayun jüg anu, Qamiγ-a bolbaču nigen adali degedlebei. Erdeni gereltü čilaγun ketüydügsen ordu-yi inu, ene üiledbüri-yi jakirqu tüssimed sayitur üiledčüküi. Egüride ende jolyar-a quraju ireged, egün-dür tümenulun bürin-e oruju iremui.
- 00 Tngri-yin tedkügen-ü qorin yisüdüger on, köke bečin jun-u dumdadu sar-a-yin sayin edür-e qayan-u jokiyen bičigsen bolai.

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<sup>19</sup> ayui < ayuu: “great.”

## Turki

- 0 Khān nīng pitigāni yarlıq bilā qofaryan muslmānlar nīng namāz otayduyan<sup>20</sup> bash qoyaduyan masjid chīlaliq<sup>21</sup> tash nīng bilgūsi<sup>22</sup> ta ‘rīf qīlip qoshdī.
- 1 Āsmān zamīn bārīnīng igāsi bolup, ozulgān yāqā yīraqdaqī yernīng ilini
- 2 bārīnī bizning ‘ilāji yoq bashlap, rasmīnī ergāsh<sup>23</sup> turup, yūrūshkā yetkūzgān
- 3 din keyin ashīp bolungan yāqā yernīng öz rasmīnī ḥalī qorqmay māylichā<sup>24</sup> boladuyānī
- 4 yoq boladu. Bu rāst mu bālīyī.<sup>25</sup> Ilgārīki<sup>26</sup> zamānda, tōrt tarafdaki ilning öz rasmī
- 5 igīn sōz qatarlıq ishqa kirishīp yūrgān il taḥqīq arasīda kōnglini tafīshīp,
- 6 mīligā qamlashturup, shularnīng tūzā<sup>27</sup> almasa, shularnīng rasmīnī budhaduyān
- 7 nemā yoq. Shularnīng kōngli qaydaq mundīn bōlāk boladu. Āslī āsmān zamīn birdik
- 8 emās ikānnī hār-nā bārusīnī āslī birdik qīlīshqa yetikūrsā, ergāshīp
- 9 yuluqaduyānlarnī, tola yaqasī yoq yergā yetkūzsā boladu. Ilgārīki kitāblarnī
- 10 akhtarsa, Khūy Kha digān ilning Sūy digān yurtnīng Kāy Khuwāng digānning
- 11 chayīda, yānggi ottradaqī ikhlīmya<sup>28</sup> kirip keldī. Tāng ilning Yuwān Kha digān awwalqī
- 12 waqtīda yetip kelgendin keyin, mullā tartīq ālbān tutup kelgāndā eyfichā<sup>29</sup>

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<sup>20</sup> otayduyan < otayduyan. One of the features of this stela’s Turkish is that “حورغان (-duryan)” is spelt “حوغان (-duryan).” I cannot accept Huart’s interpretation: “حوغان.”

<sup>21</sup> chīlaliq < chīlaylıq.

<sup>22</sup> bilgū: “mark, sign, token.” See Jarring 1964: 55.

<sup>23</sup> ergāsh-: “to follow, to follow after, to go after somebody.” See Jarring 1964: 42.

<sup>24</sup> māyl < mā’il: “inclination.” See Shaw 1880: 184; Jarring 1964: 185.

<sup>25</sup> bālīyī < bārīyī.

<sup>26</sup> Ilgār < ilyar~ilqar.

<sup>27</sup> There is a possibility of “to[γ]ra (correct, right).” See Huart 1902: 212, n. 1.

<sup>28</sup> ikhlīm < iqlīm.

<sup>29</sup> eyfichā (يفيحه): Huart noted that this word corresponded “hep eyüce” (< hep iyice, or always pretty good) in Ottoman-Turkish. See Huart 1902: 218, n. 6.

- tilip, ma'lūm
- 13 qīlīp, Tāy Yuwān digān yerdā masjīd qofarīp, rānglik bulutdik chīlalīq  
rōshan
- 14 āshkāra khaṭ asiptur. Bu shu yasunlayduryan namāz ōtidūryān masjīdni  
15 qofarīp bashlayan ikān. Shundaq digān bilān anīng kelgāni, bir bolsa ularyā  
chirik
- 16 tilāmāk ichūn<sup>30</sup> edi, bir bolsa arada sūdā qīlīshmaq ichūn edi kelip bolgay.  
Yer yurti
- 17 bilān ta'āba<sup>31</sup> bolup, ergāship kelip, bizge ra'tya bolup, bashlatīsh rasmdīn  
18 bōlāk ōzgichā. Men
- 19 ^^Āsmān zamīnni,  
20 ^^bābālarīmning sūmāsi, arwālari<sup>32</sup> mīdad<sup>33</sup> qīlīp 'ajāyib suwābnī ikrām  
birlān koyup
- 21 alīp, Zūng-γār āymāqni tuqtatīp, yānā muslmān āymāqning bār shajrīni<sup>34</sup>  
tuqtatīm. Shu beg
- 22 Khwāja Sī, Khūshikā beglārgā rāst wāng gūng digān mangsūb<sup>35</sup> berip,  
khāmbalīqda
- 23 ōy shanglap olturyuzdum. Yānā ōzning yurtīya yandurmayduyan bārcha  
muslmānlarnī
- 24 bārīnī uzaq tinjliq darwāzanīng qibla tarafida rastlap olturyuzup, beg  
25 qopup, ālbān toqtatīp, chinling berdūrūp<sup>36</sup>, bir yerdā olturyuzyan sababdīn  
26 khāmbalīqning khalq andīn keyin, bārī bu yerni muslmānlarning mahhalasī  
dep atadī.
- 27 Aṣlī<sup>37</sup> jān tola bolsa, khiyāli uyān buyān<sup>38</sup> bī-sar majjān boladu. Kōngli

<sup>30</sup> ičūn < ūčūn.

<sup>31</sup> ta'āba < ta'abiyat.

<sup>32</sup> arwā < arwāh: "the spirit of a dead person." See WTQWJ 19, *qiy bu, guiguaili*, 14b (repr. 1957: 2664); Tamura 1968: 561 [no.10031].

<sup>33</sup> mīdad (ميدد): Unclear. Huart identified it with the transcription of "madad" (assistance, help) in Arabic. See Huart 1902: 218, n. 13.

<sup>34</sup> shajr < shahr.

<sup>35</sup> mangsūb < manšib.

<sup>36</sup> I follow Huart's interpretation. See Huart 1902: 214, n. 1. However, there is a possibility of "yidūrūp" (to cause to eat).

- qoshulushmay
- 28 bōlāk bolsa, nāri bāri boladu. Munga okhshāshnī bir qīlīp, bōlākni  
qamlashturup,
- 29 ishitishgā körüşhgā zābūn körküsiz qīlay desā, ašlī unī dīndin yīraq qīlīp
- 30 zūr bilān tūdhmāk tā emās. Ummā<sup>39</sup> turay, Zūng-γār aymāqning dōrbūn  
Oyrāt ichgāri
- 31 ergāship kelgān sababdin, bārchani tinj qīladuryan sūmāsi, Γūlja sūmālārni
- 32 arqa arqasidin bashlap ättürdüm köchürüp siläydüyan könglني körkätti.
- 33 Muslmān digān rāst yānā bizgā taba‘ bolyan kishmiz emās mu. Nemāge ašlī  
ularning ārzūshini
- 34 qandurmaγuluq. Aning ichün ishni qīlduraduryan mangsūb-dārlaryā
- 35 tafshurup, ichgāri yazīnadin<sup>40</sup> ziyāda chīqan kümüşni chīqarīp  
muslmānlar
- 36 ning olturyan mahhalasining jing ottrasida, bu masjidni ättürüp,
- 37 [ä]gmārā<sup>41</sup> darwaza, uluy masjid, yanīdaqī öy, chōrāsidadaki tāmnī chāq<sup>42</sup>  
kemjisi<sup>43</sup> bilān
- 38 ättürdüm. Tengri tetküksining qararaq qoy yili törtünchi ayda bashlap,
- 39 ättürüp, bir yil bolup, adā qīldi. Mungā bārchā muslmānlar chaq chaqcha  
munda yiγilip
- 40 kelip, yil yildā naubat birlā baralqayali kelādüryan bārchā beglār bārī  
sōyünüp,
- 41 khūshhälliq bilān körüp, namāz ötip, bash qoyup, mundaq masjidni mayrīb
- 42 tarafida orunnī mā<sup>44</sup> körgān emās dep, ‘ajā’ib hay hay dep ta‘rīb qīladu.
- 43 Ularyā körünüş bergändā silār yaqīn kelip, körünüş qīlīp, özlük

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<sup>37</sup> ašlī < ašlā.

<sup>38</sup> uyān buyān: “with one thing and another.” See WTQWJ 17, *renbu* 8, *landuolei*, 63a (repr. 1957: 2418); Tamura 1968: 510 [no.9117].

<sup>39</sup> ummā < ammā.

<sup>40</sup> yazīna < kazīna.

<sup>41</sup> [ä]gmārā (?) > Modern Uyg. ägmā: “an arched gateway.”

<sup>42</sup> chāy: “regulation, rule.” See WTQWJ 5, *zhengbu*, *zhenglei*, 4b (repr. 1957: 420); Tamura 1968: 92 [no.1598].

<sup>43</sup> kemjis: the translation from Mon. kemjiiy-e.

<sup>44</sup> orunnī mā (اورننى ما) < orun nemä (?).

- 44 bolup turup, yänä özüngläarning yurt-tunglarning rasmicha yaxshılıqnı  
45 tamām qılıyan ish, mungä okhshash barmu dep sorasa, bārī söküp, nahāyatı  
46 khūshhāl bolup, rāst lā mundaq yoq dedi. Yänä ularyā anglatıp qılnan<sup>45</sup>  
guf,<sup>46</sup> silär  
47 muslmānlarning kitābinglarda, ilgäri aqlı rüz-nāma bar dep bilgänsilär. Hālī  
bolsa,  
48 uluy yurtning yil-künni ergäshiptür. Bashda tänggä barnı bilgänsilär. Hālī  
bolsa, yosunda  
49 yarmaq chıqarıp türgürüp jarladı. Yänä ālbānning yerni tarıp, kharāj tutup,  
50 baralqayalı kelgängä tōy berädüyan uluy yosun bolsa, bārī mening  
örgäishimni  
51 ergäship, yürümädüryanı yoq. Mundaq bolup, uluy yurt kishning kishisini  
52 yasadüyan rasmını āshkāra qılıp, silärning khüyinglarnı ergäship,  
53 silär hammānglarnı ittifāqlıq qıldım. Hālī här rang oyunnıng ichidä sım  
tanada  
54 oynayduyan oyunnı kirgüzdüm. Bārcha mihmānlargä tōy berädüyan  
sürünyä  
55 bashya dāstār chirmayanlarnı kirgüzgänni hisāb qılsa, silärning nemānglarnı  
56 lāzım qılıp, silärning khiyāliklaryā qamlashturyan emäs mu. Munı kim  
bolmadı  
57 dedür dep, anıng ichün bilgüsini qoshup, ta‘rif guf nu tutti.  
58 Qaysı yeri khodāning mahhalası dedi. Qaysı yeri khodāning ordası dedi.  
gözgüdik<sup>47</sup>  
59 khūshlik muslmānlarning masjīdni rāst ichgäri ordaya yaqın ättürdi. Andaqı  
shahrini  
60 Madīna **dedür**. Andaqı uluqla ///yanı Makka dedür. Shundaq fayambar<sup>48</sup>  
digän kish ol bashda  
61 Tilü **digän** yurtya ////////// ////////////// ////////////// ////////////// ottuz tamām safārat qur’ānnı

<sup>45</sup> qılnan < qilyan.

<sup>46</sup> guf < guft (?): “a word.”

<sup>47</sup> gözgü: “mirror (?)” See Zenker 1994[1866]: 722.

<sup>48</sup> fayambar < payyan-bar.



## Translation

Imperially Composed Inscription on a Monument of Muslim mosque constructed by Imperial Command.

Since the people in the remotest regions came to follow our controlled way, I, as a united master of the world under Heaven, have never tampered with the old practices of the extended frontier regions. It is really sublime! In ancient times, the policy put in place to control each of the tribes from all directions, who had different practices, clothes, and languages, was always to develop mutual understanding and to correct the people's distorted ideas according to their character, but not to change the people's true nature. Why can it be said that there is a difference between the [ancient policy's] heart [and mine]? In my opinion, if we can put varied things of the world under Heaven in one order, our respects to the virtue must be even more limitless.

According to an ancient historical book, the Uyghurs (*Huihe*)<sup>49</sup> first entered the Central Nation during the beginning of the Kaihuang era<sup>50</sup> of the Sui dynasty.<sup>51</sup> During the beginning of the Yuanhe era<sup>52</sup> of the Tang dynasty, some Mani [monks]<sup>53</sup> came to pay tributes. At that time, a temple was built in Taiyuan by their request, and the tablet on which was written, "Great colorful clouds are

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<sup>49</sup> The *Huihe* correctly corresponds to the "Uyghur," which was one of the main Turkic tribes that formed a tribal confederation, referred to by the Chinese as *Jiuxing Tiele* (Tur. *Toquz Ögüz*, or Nine Clans, see p. 24, n. 67), in Mongolia for about a century between the 7<sup>th</sup> and 8<sup>th</sup> centuries. In 745, this tribal confederation overthrew the Second Turk Kaganate and established the Uyghur Kaganate (745-840). However, as Broomhall points out, the *Huihe* is here used by mistake for "Muslims" (Chin. *Huizi*), because "hui" in Chinese is usually imaged with the Muslim people. See Broomhall 1910: 95.

<sup>50</sup> 581-600 A.D.

<sup>51</sup> We cannot find from any historical sources such a record that the *Huihe*/Uyghur first paid tribute to the Sui dynasty during the Kaihuang era. After all, the Sui dynasty at the time opposed the *Tujue*/Turk, and the Uyghurs were known only as a part of *Jiuxing*/Toquz Ögüz.

<sup>52</sup> 806-820 A.D.

<sup>53</sup> Broomhall points out that the "Mani" (Chin. *moni*) engraved here is used by mistake for "Mullā," or Islamic master, but really applies to the "Manicheans or followers of Manes." See Broomhall 1910: 95. It is certain that, in this stela, Chin. *moni* was translated to Man. *molu*, Mon. *molu*, Tur. *mullā*. However, I think this "mistake" was an intentional translation by the Qing government to justify their rule of their new Turkic-Muslim subjects. For a more detailed discussion, see Chap. 2, pp. 42-43.

shining brightly,” was hanged.<sup>54</sup> This was the first worship-temple (mosque) ever built [in China]. However, the reason why they (the Uyghurs and Mani monks) came was to either ask for military assistance or to trade with each other. It is different from the [today’s] situation, which [the frontier people] follow us as our subjects with their territory and they become our person under our control.

Through the supreme graces of Heaven-earth, Ancestral Hall, and Tutelary Hall, I could subjugate not only the Zhungar but also each city in the Muslim region.<sup>55</sup> The begs such as Khwāja Sī<sup>56</sup> and Khūsh Kōpek<sup>57</sup> were bestowed the titles of *wang* (Prince) or *gong* (Duke), and the houses were set inside the capital for them. Besides, I let all Muslims who did not return to their hometown live together in the place at the west of the Chang’an Gate, and moreover appointed the officials, assigned the tributes, and provided money and food. Because they have lived in the same place since then, this place has come to be called *Huiziying* by the citizens of the capital.

However, as the population increases, people’s minds vary, and as classes differ, people’s natures are inconsistent. Therefore, in the case that we hope to treat the same kind of people together with different people without spreading strange rumors, [the method] is not to keep them away from their

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<sup>54</sup> This story is based on the fact that Mani monks as members of the Uyghur Kaganate’s envoy visited the Tang in 806 (the first year of the Yuanhe era), and the Mani temples built at Henan (Luoyang) and Taiyuan in the next year. See *Jiu tangshu* 14, *Xianzhong benji*, *Yuanhe* 2 (repr. 1975: 420). However, permission to build the Mani temple, called Dayun Guangming Temple, for Manichean-Uyghurs dates back to 768, and the Dayun Guangming Temples were built in 771 at Jingzhou, Yangzhou, Hongzhou, Yuezhou and so on. See *Zizhi tongjian* 237, *tangji* 53 (repr. 1956: 7638); Devéria 1897: 470-472.

<sup>55</sup> This “Muslim region” means *Alti/Yeti Shahr* (Six/Seven Cities), or today’s south Xinjiang.

<sup>56</sup> The former Hakim at Ush (Uch-Turpan) and Hotan. His activity can be found around 1754 in TKh. During this time, he tried to obstruct the return of Khwaja Yusuf of the Ishaki line from Yili to Kashgar in cooperation with Dawachi, but his stratagem fell through. After the fall of Zhungar, he captured Dawachi at Ush, handed him over to the Qing army, and moreover counseled to use the Afaq line’s brothers to overthrow the Ishaki government. In 1758, as the Qing army advanced to Eastern Turkistan, he appeared again and was appointed Hakim beg at Ush. However, his opportunism and ambition gave rise to distrust from the Qing, so he was ordered to reside with his family at Beijing. He received the title of *junwang* (Commandery Prince). See Onuma 2002; Brophy 2008: 76-81.

<sup>57</sup> The former Hakim at Kashgar. TKh describes him as an irresolute and foolish person. Immediately after the Qing’s conquest, he was provisionally appointed Hakim Beg at Kashgar, but was soon sent to Beijing. He received the title of *fuguo gong* (Bulwalk Duke). His tomb is near the Afaq Khwaja Mazar at Kashgar. See Fletcher 1995 [1983]; Sugawara 2007: 22.

religions and reform them by force. On the contrary, after the Four Oyrads under the Zhungar submitted to our dynasty, I showed my benevolence by immediately starting to build the Puning Temple and the Gulja Temple,<sup>58</sup> one after the other. Now the Muslims equally became my subjects. Why should their wishes not be satisfied? Consequently, accommodating surplus money of the Imperial Treasury, I ordered the supervising officials to build this mosque at the center of the *Huiziying*, with an arched gate, main hall, wing room, and surrounding quadrangle according to standard regulations. The construction work began on the good 4<sup>th</sup> month of the 28<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign, and I granted it [to them] one year later.

Since then, Muslims assemble here at the proper times. And the begs, who come to the court for audience to the throne by annual rotation, also do worship delightedly. They declare with admiration, “We have never seen such a Mosque in the Western Region.” When I asked them, “You received an honor to attend in my presence for audience. Is that just the way to complete good parts of local-old practices?” They replied appreciatively on their knees, “Certainly!”

Again I admonished them, “In your Muslims’ knowledge, you formerly only knew the *Rūz-Nāma*,<sup>59</sup> now you follow the true-time calendar<sup>60</sup> of our great dynasty; and you formerly only knew *Tānggā*,<sup>61</sup> now you use the currency. When cultivating the field for tribute, paying tax, and holding banquets for audience, you always do everything according to my system. Thus spreading a way, ruling the people by the people, our dynasty has harmoniously united your various people in accordance with your practices. Now the acrobatics of walking on a brass rope<sup>62</sup> by the Turban-Head<sup>63</sup> people was added to various

<sup>58</sup> Both the Puning Temple (built in 1755) and the Gulja Temple (a.k.a. Anyuan Temple, built in 1764) were Tibetan temples, which were built at Chengde to commemorate the Zhungar conquest. The latter is a reproduction of the temple at Yili (Gulja), called Jinding Temple in Chinese, which was burned down at the time of the Zhungar conquest.

<sup>59</sup> The *Rūz-Nāma* here means Islamic almanac.

<sup>60</sup> With the introduction of Western astronomy into China via the Jesuits, the motions of both the sun and moon began to be calculated with sinusoids in 1645 the *Shixian* calendar (Book of the Conformity of Time) of the Qing dynasty, made by the Jesuit Adam Schall.

<sup>61</sup> *Tānggā* was the nominal monetary unit in Eastern Turkistan. 50 *pul* (copper coin) = one *tānggā*.

<sup>62</sup> This probably refers to East Turkistani’s traditional acrobatics *darwaz* (ropewalking). See Millward 2007: 366-370.

entertainment groups [in the Court] for treating an honored guest. As I see it, this is also what I put your hearts together by using your things. Who will say that it is incorrect? This is a reason why I wrote and added this inscription.

What is the Heavenly Country?<sup>64</sup>

What is the Heavenly Hall?<sup>65</sup>

Splendor mosque of Muslims was built near my palace.

The city over there is Medina.

The holy place over there is Mecca.

The Peigambar<sup>66</sup> first brought Turk (*Tiele*)<sup>67</sup> the doctrine.

He taught Akhun<sup>68</sup> the Koran in thirty parts.<sup>69</sup>

Traveling north and west, he always honored anywhere.

Supervising officials of the work built beautifully up the Palace glittering with gems.

People get together there forever.

So all countries come to follow us.

The good day of the 5<sup>th</sup> month of the 29<sup>th</sup> year of the Qianlong reign.

Imperially written record.

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<sup>63</sup> Originally, *chantou* meant “turban-head” in Chinese, but during the Qing period, it was the Chinese name for Turkic-Muslims. Today this word is often used with a derogatory nuance.

<sup>64</sup> *Tianfang* in old Chinese means Arabia.

<sup>65</sup> *Tiantang* (Heavenly Hall) here perhaps means Kaaba.

<sup>66</sup> The Prophet Muhammad (570-632).

<sup>67</sup> The *Tiele*, identified as *Türk*, were the nomads who existed in the Central Eurasian steppe in the first half of the 6<sup>th</sup> century. Of course, the story of Muhammad’s propagation to the *Tiele* is not a historical fact.

<sup>68</sup> The *Akhun*[d], in a wide sense, can be interpreted as any person familiar with Islamic doctrine. In Eastern Turkistan it meant a religious leader such as the teacher of *Madrassa* or the chief of the mosque.

<sup>69</sup> “The Koran in thirty parts” suggests that the Koran (*Qur’ān*) is divided in thirty parts (*juz’*) for reading aloud during the 30 days of Ramadan, the ninth month of the Islamic calendar. *Daming yitongzhi* has such a record that “the scripture (the Koran) consists of thirty parts, and total a little more than 3,600 volumes.” See *Daming yitongzhi* 90, *waiyi*, *Modena guo* (Medina); Sugita 1995: 76-77. According to Matsumoto Masumi’s suggestion, *Baoming zhenjing*, which was the Chinese translation of the Koran by Du Wenxiu (1823-72), a leader of Yunnan Muslim rebellion (1856-73), was also in 30 parts.

## 2. The Turkic-Muslim Camp in Beijing: 1760-1950

In 2008 Beijing, the capital of the People's Republic of China (PRC), was the most visible city in the world. The 2001 naming of Beijing as the site of the 2008 Summer Olympics prompted an unprecedented economic boom in Beijing. Redevelopment made rapid progress everywhere, and new high-rise buildings sprang up like so many mushrooms after a rain. The stately buildings on Chang'an Street bears no resemblance to the place once derided as the "great countryside."

If one were to head westward from Tian'an Gate along Chang'an Street and turn south just before coming to Xidan Street, where the department stores are concentrated, one would find a small *futong* (alley), called *Dong'anfu* (East Anfu). The construction of high-rise buildings is limited in this area because it fronts the Zhong'nanhai area across Chang'an Street, which is the central headquarters for the PRC government and the Communist Party of China. As a result, the area still contains many traditional types of residence, called *Siheyuan*. In this chapter, I begin 250 years of unknown history that can still be seen in this ordinary back alley with the flavor of "*lao Beijing* (Old Beijing)."

## Establishment of the Turkic-Muslim Camp

### The Qing's Conquest of Eastern Turkistan

This story dates back to the Mid-Qing period, about 250 years ago. The Qing, the last imperial dynasty of China, was not founded by Han-Chinese people. At the beginning of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Tungusic Manchu people, who rose in one corner of today's Northeastern China (Manchuria), rallied the nomadic Mongols and forced the surrender of the Han-Chinese troops from the Ming dynasty, establishing the *Daicing Gurun* (Chin. *Daqing guo*, or the Great Qing Empire) at Shenyang in 1636. After the Ming's collapse in 1644, the Qing army went beyond the Great Wall. The Manchu ruler took Beijing easily and instantly became the successor of the Ming dynasty. After that, the Qing gradually conquered the surrounding groups to expand its domain. During the reign of the sixth emperor Qianlong (r. 1736-95), the dynasty's power reached its peak.

A noteworthy incident symbolic of the Qianlong's "*shengshi* (Flourished Period)" is the overthrow of the Zhungar nomadic empire and the annexation of extensive territory in Central Asia (today's Xinjiang). In the first half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the Oyrads/West Mongolians throughout the northern steppe land of the Tianshan range (Zhungaria) combined under the Zhungar tribe, and its influence extended over nearly all of Central Asia. The Qing and the Zhungar repeatedly battled for rule over Mongolia and Tibet. However, in 1755, exactly twenty years after Qianlong's enthronement, the Qing army conquered its sworn enemy's headquarters, Yili (Gulja), taking advantage of the Zhungar's internal disturbances. The Qing at last fulfilled their long-cherished desire.

At the time of the Zhungar conquest, the Qing had already made a plan to obtain not only Zhungaria but Eastern Turkistan, situated at the south of the Tianshan. The Turkic-Muslim people (today's Uyghurs), who were farmers, handicraftsmen, and merchants, made up the larger part of the population in this oasis area. In Eastern Turkistan, the arrival of the *khwāja* clans (*Mahudūm-zāda*), who were leaders of an Islamic Sufi order, *Naqshbandīya*, exerted great influence

over Bukhara and Samarqand at the end of the 16<sup>th</sup> century. There were two main sects: Ishakiya (*Qara Tāyliq*, or Black Mountaineers) and Afaqiya (*Aq Tāyliq*, or White Mountaineers). The leadership struggle between them,<sup>1</sup> which radicalized during the second half of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, caused the Zhungar's intervention, and the two sect leaders were abducted to Yili at the beginning of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The Zhungar forced the Ishaki Khwajas to return to Eastern Turkistan as puppet rulers. However, after the Zhungar were struck with internal conflict, the Ishaki Khwajas recovered their own ruling power, beginning in 1755.

When the Qing conquered Yili, they were keenly interested in the brothers of the Afaqi line who were confined there. The elder brother, Burhan al-Din, was sent to Eastern Turkistan with the Qing troops in order to overthrow the Ishaki Khwajas and to win the Turkic-Muslim's hearts.

Although this mission succeeded, the Afaqi brothers gradually took a defiant attitude toward the Qing after the younger brother, Khwaja Jahan, returned. At that time, the Qing was struggling to manage the Oyrads and they could not take effective action against the brothers.<sup>2</sup> In 1758, when the suppression of the Oyrads was in reach, the Qianlong emperor dispatched an army to Eastern Turkistan. After more than a year's hard fight, the Afaqi Khwajas were finally driven from Eastern Turkistan. Thus the Qing succeeded in expanding his power into Central Asia.

### **Establishment of the Turkic-Muslim Camp**

Key rear assaults in the battle with the Afaqi Khwajas at Yarkand and Kashgar were instrumental to the Qing's victory. The fighters involved in these assaults also belonged to the line of the Mahudum-zada, not through Khwaja Afaq but through his younger brother, Khwaja Kiramat. They accepted the invitation of the Qing and arrived in Beijing one after another from the end of 1759 to the beginning of 1760.<sup>3</sup> They were given titles of nobility and placed

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<sup>1</sup> For more detail on the conflict between the Khwaja sects, see Shaw and Elias 1897; Saguchi 1948; Schwarz 1976; Sawada 2005.

<sup>2</sup> For information on the Qing policies to Eastern Turkistan during 1755-59, see Onuma 2003.

<sup>3</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* (main) 80: 4a, QL24. 10. *jimao*; *zhengbian* 85: 6a-b, QL25. 2. *xinsi*; *Qinding*

under the *Lifanyuan* (Court of Colonial Dependencies). They were received as state royalties, called *Waifan* (Outer Vassals), like Mongol nobles. However, the Qianlong emperor ordered them to settle in Beijing, not permitting them to return to their homes because of their great influence in Eastern Turkistan.<sup>4</sup> In addition, some of the local chiefs, called *beg*, who were thought to pose an obstacle to Qing rule were also taken to Beijing with their families. Thus, exclusive place of residence was secured for Turkic-Muslims at the outside of West Cang'an Gate at the southwest of the Imperial City, today's East Anfu Alley.

What we notice here is a residence restriction in Beijing City under the Qing. *Cheng* in Chinese does not mean a "fortified castle" for influential persons like *shiro* in Japanese, but rather a "walled city" containing a citizen's place of residence. Beijing City, constructed during the Ming dynasty, had a fourfold structure: the Inner City (*neicheng*) in the north, the Outer City (*waicheng*) in the south, the Imperial City (*huangcheng*) at the center of the Inner City, and the Forbidden City (*gongcheng*, *zijincheng*, or today's *Gugong*/The Palace Museum) at the center of the Imperial City. The Qing, after taking Beijing City in 1644, shut the Han-Chinese people out of the Inner City, making it the residence place of the Bannermen (Man. *gûsa-i niyalma*, Chin. *qiren*), who belonged to the Eight Banners (Man. *jakûn gûsa*, Chin. *Baqi*). The Eight Banners were military, administrative, and social organizations into which all Manchu families, some Mongols, and the Han-Chinese were placed. Each Banner had a flag color by which it was called. The Manchu, Mongol, and Han-Chinese who were organized into the Eight Banners (total 24 Banners) were called *qiren*. They had many privileges and they were sharply distinguished from Han-Chinese citizens (*minren*). The Eight Banners/Bannermen were the foundation of the Qing dynasty. Under the Qing, Beijing Inner City was the exclusive domain of the Bannermen so, as a general rule, Han-Chinese citizens were forbidden to live there.<sup>5</sup>

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*waifan menggu huibu wanggong biao* 107; Xiao 1985 [1979]: 40.

<sup>4</sup> Saguchi 1963: 80-89.

<sup>5</sup> Elliot 2001: 98-105.

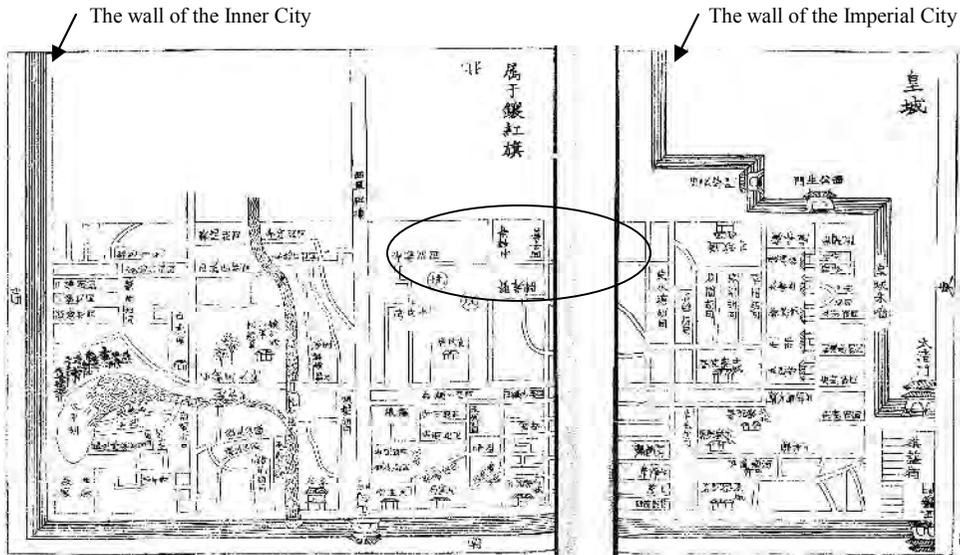


Figure 3. The site of the *Huiziying*

Source: MMZ 3, *jingshi, neicheng*, 44b-45a.

This regulation was applicable to the Turkic-Muslims as well. When forcing them to reside in the Inner City, the Qianlong emperor ordered the following:

Among the Turkic-Muslims living in the capital, Hussein has *gong* title, Mahmud and Turdi Khwaja have *jasay* title. Therefore they should be placed under the *Lifanyuan*. On the other hand, form one *niru* from musicians, craftsmen, and entertainers, and appoint Bay Khwaja the *zouling* (Company Captain). They should be placed under the *Neiwufu*. From now on, incorporate all Turkic-Muslims who will come [to Beijing] into this *niru*. Thus, I order that Babaq and his families be incorporated into *Neiwufu*, who was dismissed from Ghazanaci beg and *fu zongguan* (Vice Supervisors-in-Chief), and who will soon arrive in the capital. Make them reside together with Turkic-Muslims who already have arrived.<sup>6</sup>

<sup>6</sup> PDZFL, *zhengbian* 84: 21a-b, QL 25. 1. *renxu*.

Thus the Turkic-Muslims, except for the khwajas under the *Lifanyuan*, were organized into *niru* (Chin. *zouling*, or the fundamental subunit of the Banner). To be more exact, they were incorporated into the Plain White Banner of Mongol. One noteworthy feature is that *Neiwufu* (Man. *dorgi yamun*, or Imperial Household Department),<sup>7</sup> which managed the Court finance, supervised this *niru*. We can say that Turkic-Muslims in Beijing were under the direct control of the Qing emperor.

Soon this *niru* would be called with the prefix “*huizi*” or “*huiren*,” meaning “[Turkic] Muslim.” And the *niru* officials—one *zouling* (Company Captain), one *xiaoqixiao* (Courageous Guard), and four *lingcui* (Corporals)—were appointed. They were treated as *qiren* and received silver and rice as a monthly salary from the dynasty.<sup>8</sup> The management office of the Turkic-Muslim affairs (*Banli huiren zouling shiwuchu*) was set up at their residence place.<sup>9</sup>

At the beginning of 1760, the Turkic-Muslims who were moved to Beijing numbered 126 people, and in a while, 203 people were admitted. The government repaired or built public housing with 147 rooms for them; the total number of rooms reached 310 by 1762.<sup>10</sup> The expanded Turkic-Muslim residence at the outside of West Cang’an Gate came to be called “*Huiziying*,” “*Huihuiying*,” or “*Huiying*” (Turkic-Muslim Camp) by Beijingers. This is the origin of 250 years of history of the Turkic-Muslim Camp in Beijing.

### The Inhabitants

What kind of people lived in the Turkic-Muslim Camp? The following is a list of the names and backgrounds of the main inhabitants.

#### *Khwajas of the Kiramat line:*

- Khwāja Ḥussein Erke (Chin. *Eseyin*)

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<sup>7</sup> For *Neiwufu*, see Torbert 1977.

<sup>8</sup> PDZFL, *xubian* (sequel) 1: 25b-26a, QL 25. 4. *yihai*; *xubian* 2: 18b-19a, QL 25. 4. *guimao*.

<sup>9</sup> QRJK 71, repr. 1981: 1193.

<sup>10</sup> Niu 2008.

The fifth son of Khwaja Kiramat's second son Mumin. Because of his meritorious service in the attack on Burhan al-Din, he received the title of *fuguo gong* (Bulwalk Duke) after arriving in Beijing.

- Pārsā (Chin. *Pai'ersa*)

The sixth son of Mumin. The fourth-ranked *Taiji*.

- Maḥmūd (Chin. *Mamute*)

The sixth son of Mumin's eldest son Musa. The first-ranked *taiji* with *jasay* title.

- Turdī (Chin. *Tu'erdu*)

The son of Mumin's third son Ali and the elder brother of Rongfei.<sup>11</sup> After Rongfei entered the inner palace, he was raised from the first-ranked *taiji* with *jasay* title to *fuguo gong*.

- Bābā (Chin. *Baba*)

The son of Mahmud. The third-ranked *Taiji*.

### **Begs:**

- Khwāja Sī[r] Beg (Chin. *Huojisi boke*)

See Capt. 1, p. 22, n. 56.

- Khūsh Kōpek Beg (Chin. *Heshike boke*)

See Capt. 1, p. 22, n. 57.

- Bay Khwāja (Chin. *Bai Hezhuo*)

The eldest son of Manggalik, who had been Darqan bek at Turfan under the Zhungar. After the Qing advance, Manggalik was appointed one of the *jasay* in Turfan, and he dispatched Bay Khwaja to Beijing. Shortly thereafter, because Manggalik revolted against the Qing in conspiracy with the Oyirads, the Qing ordered Bay Khwaja to reside in Beijing. The first *zuoling* of the *Huizi-niru*.

- Bābā[q] (Chin. *Baba[ke]*)

A beg of Aqsu originally. He was appointed *fu zongguan* and

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<sup>11</sup> The problem on Rongfei is taken up later.

Ghazanachi beg at Aqsu after the Qing conquest. He was sent to Beijing with his families and servants in 1759 because he was accused of embezzling public properties.<sup>12</sup>

- Pulat/Fūlād (Chin. *Polate*)

A beg of Aqsu originally. He was appointed *fu zongguan* and Ishik-agma Beg at Aqsu after the Qing conquest. Although he succeeded in the impeachment of Baba[q], he was also taken to Beijing for embezzling public properties in 1760.

- *Chalama*

Originally a Hakim of Arghun in the Kashgar district. Because his younger brother, Niyaz, and his son, Mulla Khwaja, toed the Afaqi line, he was ordered to move to Beijing with his family in 1760.<sup>13</sup>

- Saqal Şūfī (Chin. *Sahale Suofei*)

Details unclear. He submitted to the Qing with Mendu Sufi and Niyaz Sufi, and was appointed the first *xiaoqixiao* of *Huizi-niru* in 1760.

- Mendū Şūfī (Chin. *Menduo Suofei*)

Details unclear. The first *lingcui* of the *Huizi-niru*.

- Niyāz Şūfī (Chin. *Niyasi Suofei*)

Details unclear. A candidate for the *lingcui* of the *Huizi-niru*.

### **Chaghatay clans:**

- Mansūr (Chin. *Mansu'er*)

The descendant of Chinggis Khan's second son Chaghatay. After the Qing advance, he submitted to the Qing. At first, the Qing planned to make him Turfan's ruler, but he had already lost political power in the local society. Thus, the Qing decided to abandon this plan and take him to Beijing in 1760. The first-ranked *Taiji*.<sup>14</sup>

- Qāsīm (Chin. *Hashimu*)

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<sup>12</sup> Onuma 2007: 50-52.

<sup>13</sup> Wang 2003: 176.

<sup>14</sup> Saguchi 1968: 35-39.

The younger brother of Mansur. The first-ranked *Taiji*.

**Others:**

- Nūr Maḥmūd (Chin. *Nu'er Mamute*)  
The cook who served Rongfei.<sup>15</sup>

Khwajas, begs, and Chaghatay clans had been influential in Eastern Turkistan, and they were treated well by the dynasty. The persons, serving as the Imperial Guard (Man. *hiya*, Chin. *shiwei*) or the Banner office, were on the payroll of the dynasty according to the grade of their title or post; moreover, they received financial assistance for ceremonial occasions such as marriages, funerals, and so on.<sup>16</sup> They could take part in the banquets held under the auspices of the emperor with the Manchu and Mongol princes. Some of them were married to Manchu women, or allowed to be buried in their hometowns. In one case, a child with no one to support it in Beijing was allowed to return to his hometown to be with relatives there.<sup>17</sup> However, as generations passed, the clans of khwajas and begs gradually declined so that there was not much difference between them and ordinary Muslims.<sup>18</sup>

Although not leaving behind the names, there were Turkic-Muslim professionals such as musicians, craftsmen, and entertainers, serving at the Court. They belonged to the *Heshengshu* (Music Office)<sup>19</sup> under the *Neiwufu*, which was a department that managed entertainment (music, dance, circus, opera, etc.) in the Court. In the stela, as was introduced in Chapter 1, the Qianlong emperor said, “Now the acrobatics of walking on a brass rope by the Turban-Head people was added to various entertainment groups [in the Court] for treating an honored guest.” This “acrobatics of walking on a brass rope” probably referred to *Darwaz* (ropewalking), which is a well-known part of traditional Uyghur culture.

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<sup>15</sup> Xiao 1985 [1979]: 43.

<sup>16</sup> *Neige daku dangan*, 022539-001, QL 41. 10. 14, the memory of Yu Minzhong.

<sup>17</sup> *Renzhong shilu* 98: 8b-9b, JQ 7. 5. *dingchou*.

<sup>18</sup> Saguchi 1963: 85-86; Millward 1994: 434.

<sup>19</sup> The *Heshengshu* was reorganized in 1827, and the name was changed to *Shengpingshu* (Court Theatrical Office).



Picture 1. The Tomb of Khūsh Köpek Beg at Kashgar

Photo: Onuma, 2006.

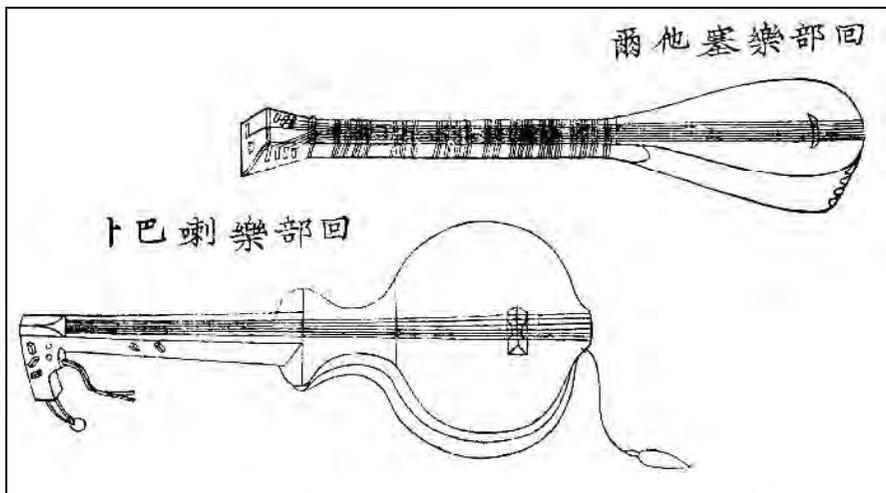


Figure 4. Stringed Instruments of Eastern Turkistan in the Qing Court

Source: MMZ 3, *jingshi, neicheng*, 12a.

Incidentally, it would be untrue to say that only forced immigrants from Eastern Turkistan made up the population of the Camp. Since ancient times, the people of Central Asia had organized caravans and engaged in long-distance trade. Caravansaries, where travelers could stay, existed at every major city in Eurasia; those who immigrated of their own accord were not unusual. The Sogds in the Tang period are the most typical example. We must also draw attention to the circumstances that could be observed in Qing Beijing. In 1676, a Russian envoy, Sparthary, witnessed the arrival of 400 Central Asian traders during his stay in Beijing. According to his report, most aggressive traders in Beijing were Turkic-Muslims, and their activity was free.<sup>20</sup> Zhungar leader Galdan Khan (r. 1671-97) dispatched 3,000 people in a tribute mission to Beijing in 1684. Most of these 3,000 people were organized by Central Asian traders.<sup>21</sup> Furthermore, recent research on Qing Beijing history has revealed that many Han-Chinese citizens went into the Inner City to engage in various works, and some bought lands or houses from the Bannermen and lived there.<sup>22</sup> Thus, the previous understanding that “only the Bannermen were allowed to live in the Inner City” must be reformed.

From this evidence it is clear that Turkic-Muslims existed in Beijing City before the conquering of Eastern Turkistan; therefore, it seems reasonable to state that the Qing government gathered these residents in one place at the time of the establishment of the Turkic-Muslim Camp. Added to this, one descendant of the Camp, who is still living in East Anfu alley, told me that some Turkic-Muslims were brought from Chengde in Hebei province. This indicates that Turkic-Muslims living in other cities were later enrolled in the Turkic-Muslim Camp in Beijing.

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<sup>20</sup> Baddeley 1919: 374.

<sup>21</sup> For the Central Asian Muslim traders under the Zhungar, called “Buharians,” see Haneda 1982: 258-262.

<sup>22</sup> Liu 1998: 262-346; Liu 2006; Liu 2008: 240-440.

## The Qing Government and Turkic-Muslims in Beijing

### **Xiangfei and Rongfei**

There is a legend surrounding the reason for the Qing government's establishment of an encampment of Turkic-Muslims just outside the wall of the Imperial City.

When the Qing army began the expedition in the western region, the Qianlong emperor heard a rumor that a sister (or wife, daughter in other versions of the legend) of Khwaja Jahan (or Burhan al-Din) was of matchless beauty. After conquest, she was brought to the capital and installed within the imperial harem. Because her body emitted a sweet-smelling fragrance without perfume, she came to be called Xiangfei (Fragrant Concubine). The Qianlong emperor was obsessed with Xiangfei. He courted her fervently day and night, paying no attention to state affairs. However, the Qianlong emperor was the deadly enemy to Xiangfei's clan, and she stubbornly remained chaste. To ease her deep homesickness, the Qianlong emperor built a Central Asian-style hall (*Baoyuelou*, or Precious Moon Hall) and bathroom, and caused a Turkic-Muslim town to be built outside the southwest wall of the Imperial City, on which Xiangfei could look down from the *Baoyuelou*. However, the Empress Dowager, who was anxious about the dynasty's future, granted Xiangfei the favor of death during the emperor's absence. At last, according to a version of the legend, her corpse was carried to her hometown of Kashgar and buried in the Khwaja Afaq Mazar, the holy tomb of the khwaja family of Afaqi line.

In the Xiangfei legend, the *Huiziying* was established in order to console her heart. Needless to say, this was a story created and later embellished; however, a real model of Xiangfei existed: Rongfei (?-1788) of the Kiramat line. Unlike the legend of Xiangfei, there is little tragic color to be seen in Rongfei's life at Court. She was specially treated in a way appropriate to a Muslim woman; she lived in a *Baoyuelou*, and ate Muslim cuisine cooked by the chef attached to her. She lived out her allotted span, and finally her remains were buried together with those of the Qianlong emperor in his tomb (*Yuling*) at Zunhua, Hebei

province. Although this is a marked difference from the Xianfei legend, it may be that Rongfei also was reminded of her hometown far away when she saw the *Huiziying* below.<sup>23</sup>



Figure 5. Xiangfei portrait painted by Giuseppe Castiglione<sup>24</sup>

Source: Feng 2002: 31.

<sup>23</sup> For Xiangfei and Rongfei, see Meng 1960 [1937]; Yu and Dong 1985; Millward 1994.

<sup>24</sup> It is said that this woman in European armor was Xiangfei, but it is not certain. For this problem, see Millward 1994.

## The Role of the Turkic-Muslim Camp

Next, we consider the role of the Turkic-Muslim Camp in the Qing dynasty. Their roles in the Qing Court as musicians, dancers, and acrobats have been mentioned before. But Turkic-Muslims in Beijing also held more political positions in the dynasty.

The Most important role is that their participation in administrative affairs related to frontier control. Immediately after the Zhungar conquest in 1755, the Qianlong emperor showed his belief that the Imperial edict issued to the Oyrads and the Turkic-Muslims as new subjects should be written in their own languages. In those days, however, very few had the ability to write Oyrad-Mongolish (Todo script) or Chaghatay-Turkish (Arabic script) in Beijing, so the Qianlong emperor gave an order to Commander Zhaohui at Yili to “select several persons with a high ability to write Todo script or Muslim (Arabic) script and send them with their families to the capital city.”<sup>25</sup> In the next year, the Qing government established a “government-managed Turkic-language school (*huizi guanxue*)” to train members of the Imperial Household in the Turkic language near the *Wuyingdian* (Hall of Military Brilliance) in the Forbidden City.<sup>26</sup> After incorporating Zhungaria and Eastern Turkistan, the Qing came in contact with Turkic-speaking groups in the western part of Central Asia, the Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Khoqand khanate, and their rulers regularly dispatched envoys to Beijing. There is no doubt that the role of Turkic-Muslims in Beijing as secretaries and interpreters grew even more.<sup>27</sup>

The beg officials of the oasis towns in Eastern Turkistan, as mentioned below, visited the Turkic-Muslim Camp when they came to Beijing for an audience with the Qing emperors. J. Millward has also pointed out that the East Turkistani merchants and clerics joined in the Camp.<sup>28</sup> In the Zhungar empire there were merchant groups called “bederge[n]” organized from Central Asian

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<sup>25</sup> *Junjichu manwen shangyu dang, junwu*, 3-17 (1), QL 20. 9. 16, the edict of the Qianlong emperor.

<sup>26</sup> QRJK 71, repe. 1981: 1195; Naquin 2000: 572.

<sup>27</sup> The Qianlong emperor spoke to envoys from Khoqand khanate through Turkish interpreters. See Howorth 1880, vol. 2: 818; Fletcher 1968: 221-222; Newby 2005: 46-47.

<sup>28</sup> Millward 1998: 160.

Muslim traders. After the Zhungar disappeared, the Qing authority also used them for the Sino-Russ trade at Kyakhta.<sup>29</sup> Of course, the East Turkistani merchants came to trade in Beijing occasionally. Far from their hometowns, the Turkic-Muslim Camp, where the people had the same language and customs, must have been a comforting place.

### **Mosque Construction by the Qianlong Emperor**

Regarding the establishment of the Turkic-Muslim Camp, the most noteworthy point is the magnificent mosque (*qingzhensi* or *libaisi*) built in the Camp site on the Qianlong emperor's order. Whenever one hears mention of a "mosque at Beijing," we are reminded of the one at Niujie, Xuanwu ward. However, the Niujie mosque was built for Chinese-speaking Muslims (*huimin* or *hanhui*, today's *Huizu*) living in the Outer City. In contrast, the *Huiziying* mosque was for Turkic-Muslims in the Inner City.

The construction of this mosque began on the fourth month of the Qianlong 28 year (May 13 ~ June 10, 1763), and it was completed one year later. On the premises, an "Imperially Composed Inscription on a Monument of Muslim mosque constructed by Imperial Command" was erected, in which the Qianlong emperor explained the origin of the mosque. It was inscribed in four languages: Chinese, Manchu, Mongol, and Turki. He remarked:

After the Four Oyrads under the Zhungar submitted to our dynasty, I showed my benevolence by immediately starting to build the Puning Temple and the Gulja Temple, one after the other. Now the Muslims equally became my subjects. Why should their wishes not be satisfied? Consequently, accommodating surplus money of the Imperial Treasury, I ordered the supervising officials to build this mosque at the center of the *Huiziying*, with an arched gate, main hall, wing room, and surrounding quadrangle according

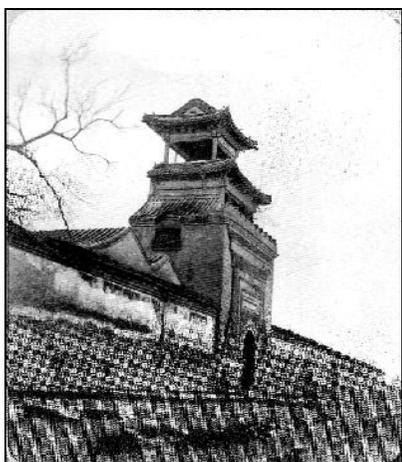
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<sup>29</sup> Saguchi 1986: 242-243. According to Saguchi, "bederge[n]" means "merchant" in Turkish and Mongolish. We can also find in TKh the existence of "bāzar-gān" who arrived at Yili. For example, see TKh, Ms. Orient, 4°3357, p. 115, l. 10.

to standard regulations.

The Qing Emperor, a ruler who held together various ethnic groups, had to do all people impartial favors (*yishi tongren*). The mosque construction was an embodiment of this principle, which the successive Qing emperors attached great importance to. The expenses for the construction were disbursed not from the National Treasury but from the Court Treasury, that is to say from the emperor's pocket money.

The Qing materials tell us about a few of the mosque's structures. From the stela's inscription, we can only know that the mosque was situated in the center of the *Huiziying*, and that it had an arched gate, a main hall, a wing room, and a surrounding quadrangle. Based on later records, the mosque had azure blue roof tiles and cinnabar red pillars, and it was surrounded by one hundred oak and willow trees.<sup>30</sup> The main gate, which included a lofty building for the Islamic call to prayer (*adhān*), was named *Banggalou*. The mosque had a semi-Arabic and semi-Chinese style.



Picture 2. *Banggalou*

Source: Inserted between 14-15 of Broomhall 1910.

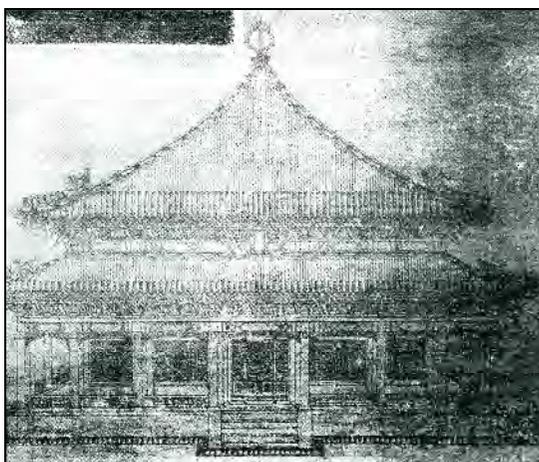


Figure 6. Sketch of the Main Hall

Source: *Huijiao yuekan*, 1 (7), 1938.

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<sup>30</sup> Tang 1938: 57.

## Justifying the Qing's Rule

The Qing emperor was an infidel ruler to East Turkistani Muslims. But some Muslims, especially beg officials and intellectuals, did not necessarily regard the Qing emperor as a target to defeat by *jihād* (holy war); rather, they put confidence in his “Fair Rule” and were rewarded by his grace for their loyalty.<sup>31</sup> Mulla Musa Sayrami (1836?-1917?), a historian of Eastern Turkistan who participated in Ya'qub Beg's rebellion against the Qing rule, justified submission to the Qing Emperor by a moral norm of ancient Turkic origin, the “*namak haqqi*” (obligation of salt).<sup>32</sup> The Qing emperor, on the other hand, thought that the relationship with his Muslim officials was rhetorically represented in terms of imperially bestowed grace (Man. *kesi*) and the servant's deep, personal obligation in return.<sup>33</sup>

A Russian Orthodox Priest, P. Kafarov, also known by his monastic name Palladii, who made a long stay in Qing China around the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, heard from an old *akhun* (a chief religious leader in the mosque) of a mosque in Beijing in which they said the Qing emperor's name aloud during the Islamic sermon (*khuṭba*) at Friday Service.<sup>34</sup> According to J. Bredon, a visitor of the *Huiziying* mosque in the 1920s, “Manchu Emperors ruled almost as many Moslem subjects as the Sultan of Turkey and the Shah of Persia together.”<sup>35</sup>

It is very important that not only Beijing Turkic-Muslims but also local beg officials from Eastern Turkistan who came as part of “tribute missions” prayed to Allah in this mosque.<sup>36</sup> In the stela, the Qianglong emperor said:

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<sup>31</sup> This logic for justification of infidel rule can be observed in Central Asia under the Moghul rule in the 14<sup>th</sup> century and under Russian rule at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century. See Kato 1999: 62-67; Komatsu 2007: 4-9.

<sup>32</sup> Hamada 1994, 2001.

<sup>33</sup> Atwood 2000; Millward and Newby 2006: 119-120.

<sup>34</sup> Kafarov 1866: 455. Kafarov does not mention this mosque's name and place, but he noted that there were sixteen mosques in Beijing in those days. See Kafarov 1866: 453. However, the Russian Tatar '*ulamā*' Abdurreshid Ibrahim, visiting Beijing in 1909, heard the name of the Ottoman emperor with the title Caliph called at Friday Service while the Ottoman '*ulamā*', dispatched by II. Abdulhamid (r. 1876-1909), had been in Beijing. See Komatsu 1995: 138. This gap between the Mid-Qing period and the Late-Qing period may suggest a decline in the allegiance of the Muslim subjects to the Qing emperor.

<sup>35</sup> Bredon 1922: 151.

<sup>36</sup> In Beijing, the Muslim nobles of Hami (Qumul) and Turfan stayed in the *Hami guan* (Hami

Since then, Muslims assemble here at the proper times. And the begs, who come to the court for audience to the throne by annual rotation, also do worship delightedly. They declare with admiration, “We have never seen such a Mosque in the Western Region.” When I asked them, “You received an honor to attend in my presence for audience. Is that just the way to complete good parts of local-old practices?” They replied appreciatively on their knees, “Certainly!”

The *Xuiziying* mosque was one of the graces granted by the Qing emperor. We should not ignore that his subjects could read the Turkish inscription on the stela, which characterized the Qing’s imperial vision and ethnic policy. What kind of emotion must the beg officials who worshiped in the mosque and read the phrases on the Imperial monument have felt on their return trip from Beijing? The *Huiziying* mosque occupied a very important position in the process of creating the “Fair Ruler” image of the Qing emperor.

However, at the same time, we should not overlook the Qing’s shrewdness. As for the history of the worship-temples (mosques) built for Muslim subjects in China, the Qianlong emperor explained in the stela:

According to an ancient historical book, the Uyghurs (*Huihe*) first entered the Central Nation during the beginning of the Kaihuang era of the Sui dynasty. During the beginning of the Yuanhe era of the Tang dynasty, some Mani [monks] came to pay tributes. At that time, a temple was built in Taiyuan by their request, and the tablet on which was written, “Great colorful clouds are shining brightly,” was hanged. This was the first worship-temple (mosque) ever built [in China].

Here, it is not so important whether the historical interpretation of the Qianlong

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Hostel), the beg officials stayed in the *Siyi guan* (Translator Hostel). See *Qingding huijiang zeli* 3: 20b-21a.

emperor was correct or not.<sup>37</sup> More noteworthy is that he considered the *Huihes* to be the first Muslims to enter China, and the Mani monks dispatched to the Tang dynasty from the *Huihes* as *mullā* (< Mon. *molu* < Man. *molo* < Chin. *moni*). In his interpretation, the Mani temple built for them was an Islamic mosque. Broomhall thought that these were just his misunderstandings about history. But I think it is not so simple.

We can find record of Muslim people with the title *mullā* (Man. *molo*, Chin. *muluo~moluo~maola*, etc) in the edicts and memorials written during the Xinjiang conquest. Undoubtedly, the Qianlong emperor, who read those official documents almost every day, knew the difference between *moni* and *mullā*. At the beginning of the construction of the mosque, it is unlikely that any Turkic-Muslims in the Camp could have read the complicated Chinese sentences on the stela. The difference in nuance between the Chinese and Turkish version should suggest that the manipulation of the translation was performed intentionally and officially. In a word, this is an example of a ruler who altered history in order to accomplish the submission of his new subjects. In recent discussions of Qing imperialism, scholars often emphasize the “almighty” or “multiple” properties of the Qing dynastic system. Yet, at the same time, we must keep in mind the “clever” side of the Qing rulers as well.

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<sup>37</sup> See Capt. 1, p. 21, n. 51.

## Changes in the Turkic-Muslim Camp

### Expansion

After the construction of the mosque, records of the Turkic-Muslim Camp decreased sharply. The reason for this was perhaps that an incident worthy of mention did not occur in the Camp under the patronage of the Qing government. A peaceful life brought an increase in population to the residents of the camp, and by the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, *Huizi niru* had doubled. These two *nirus* were called *tou zuoling* (Head Niru) and *er zuoling* (Second Niru).<sup>38</sup>

Moreover, other Turkic-Muslim residence places outside East Anfu Alley were established in the Inner City. Wu Changyuan wrote in *Chenyuan shilüe*, published in 1788, as follows:

Pushou Temple on Jinshifang Street has an Imperial tablet.

Changyuan thinks that this temple concerns Islam. There is a small tetrahedral tower within the main gate, which rises into the sky. It must be the place of the *Huibu*-Muslims' morning-evening worship service, *namāz*.<sup>39</sup>

This Pushou mosque, where *Huibu*-Muslims (East Turkistani Muslims) did the *namāz* in the Mid-Qing period, exists near the Fucheng Gate today; however, it is the mosque for *Huizu* (Chinese Muslim) now. Wu Changyuan also said that there was another *Huiziying* on the north side of the Baita Tibetan temple.<sup>40</sup>

According to an inquiry after the Qing collapse, the number of Muslims living in East Anfu Alley in the 1930s rose to 108 houses/795 people, and moreover, Beijing had five place names with the “*Huihuiying*” (including East Anfu Alley). All of them were new communities formed by the Turkic-Muslims moving from East Anfu Alley.<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>38</sup> Yang 1938: 44.

<sup>39</sup> *Chenyuan shilüe* 7, *neicheng* 3: 26a.

<sup>40</sup> *Chenyuan shilüe* 8, *neicheng* 4: 2a.

<sup>41</sup> Tang 1938: 57.



Picture 3. Today's Pushou Mosque

Photo: Onuma, 2008.

### **Twilight in the Turkic-Muslim Camp**

Into the Late-Qing period, foreigners visiting Beijing left records on the Turkic-Muslim Camp. M. Broomhall, who generally introduced the various problems of Chinese Muslims, referred to the Turkic-Muslim Camp at East Anfu Alley. He took photographs of the inside of the mosque and tried to translate the stela inscriptions into English. Additionally, he mentioned the situation in the Turkic-Muslim Camp:

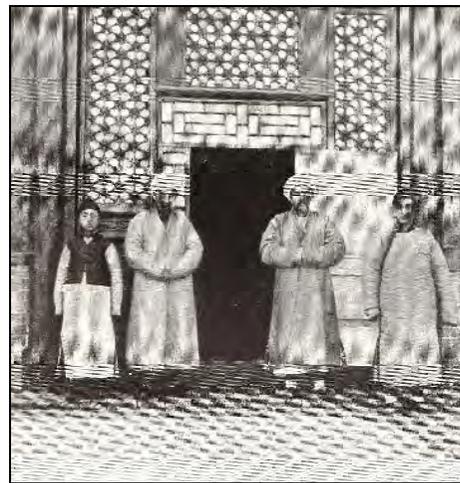
The older ones among them can speak the Turkish language, but none of the children, who now all speak Chinese. All their customs and dress, except for

religious matter, are purely Chinese. They are not well educated nor industrious. Every three years they are visited by officials from Chinese Turkistan, and according to the testimony of these visitors the aged Turks of Peking are well aware of their decadent position, and the danger there is of their losing their nationality. These men are eager to find some way of improving their position and reviving their national language.<sup>42</sup>

130 years after its establishment, the Sinicization of the Muslim inhabitants had become nearly decisive. Although they narrowly kept a connection with their countrymen in Eastern Turkistan, their existence, coupled with the fact that the Muslim children no longer spoke Turkish, gave the aged Muslims tremendous worry about losing their national characteristics.



Picture 4. Imperially Erected Stela



Picture 5. Mosque Entrance

Source: Inserted between 92-93 of Broomhall 1910.

Two of the persons with turbans standing at the side of the stela (Picture 4) and the entrance (Picture 5) are *mullās* from Kashgar. It is possible that the person standing at the leftmost in Picture 5 is Ma Rong'en (see below).

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<sup>42</sup> Broomhall 1910: 263-264.

The mosque structures became superannuated. At one time, there had been a ruined shrine on the mosque premises of a pilgrim to Mecca who had formerly managed worship service. An elderly man maintained it along with several faithful, but after he died in 1908, the inner wall and pillars fell in. The mosque was “still beautiful in the last stage of ruin,” but it was not what it used to be and was now a “pathetic monument.”<sup>43</sup> A scene of happy children innocently playing in the courtyard of a ruined mosque suggests well enough that the Turkic-Muslim Camp would soon reach its twilight.<sup>44</sup>

### **Collapse of the Qing and New Crisis**

The outbreak of the Xinhai Revolution worsened the Camp’s situation. After the collapse of the Qing in 1912, payment of wages to the *Xuiziying* Muslims as Bannermen (*qiren*) was stopped. This brought about their ruin. In addition, what the government of Yuan Shikai, the first President of the Republic of China (RC), placed at Zhong’nanhai caused serious problems. The wall of the Imperial City had been at the south of *Baoyuelou*. The government of Yuan Xikai diminished a part of the wall and exposed the whole *Baoyuelou* to Chang’an Street. The name was then changed to Xinhua Gate after its repair. Yuan Shikai was displeased with the *Xuiziying* mosque in front of the RC government, and he pressed to move the mosque, in part because the sorrowful tone of the Koran recitation, heard from the mosque every midnight, made his hair stand on end.<sup>45</sup> The *akhun* Ma Rong’en, his ancestor from Aqsu, discussed this problem with Muslim elders, but they disagreed on the move of the mosque with its nearly 200 years of history. Yuan Shikai was so enraged that he immediately sent his soldiers to destroy the worship hall, wing rooms, and the *Banggalou* on the main gate. Ma Rong’en tried to rebuild the destroyed buildings, but his work was unfinished when he died at the age of 81 in 1937, when the Japanese-Chinese War broke out.

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<sup>43</sup> Backhouse and Bland 1914: 340.

<sup>44</sup> Bredon 1922: 155. A gazetteer compiled by the military headquarters of the Japanese army also described how decadent the *Xuiziying* mosque was. See *Pekin shi* 1908: 681.

<sup>45</sup> Tang 1938: 58.

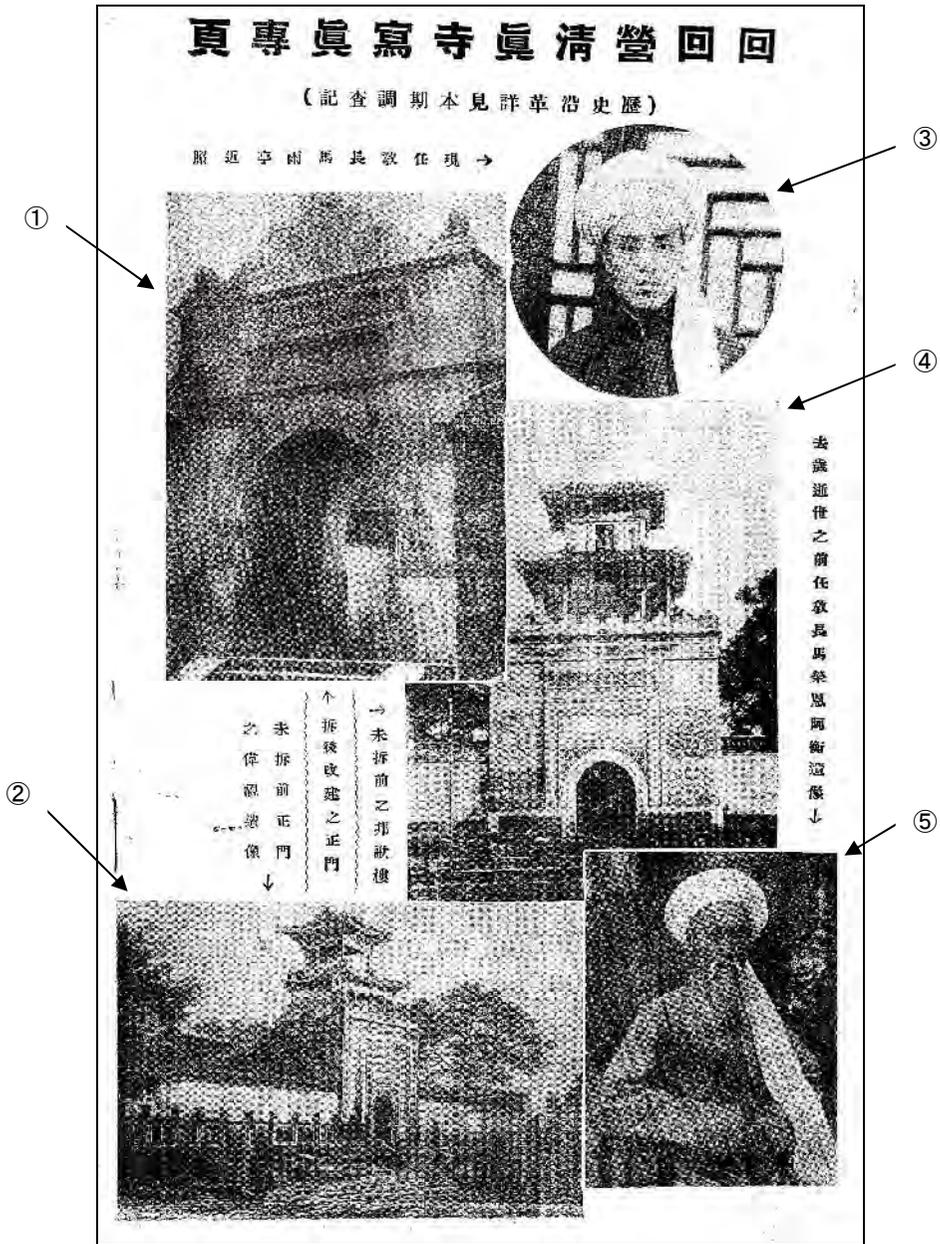


Figure 7. The Xuiziying mosque and its Akhuns

- ① Repaired main gate after the attack, ② Sketch of main gate before the attack, ③ Ma Yuting,  
④ Banggelou before the attack, ⑤ Ma Rong'en.

Source: *Huijiao yuekan*, 1 (7), 1938.

The new *akhun*, Ma Yuting, the grandson of Ma Rong'en, was only 21 years old in 1938. Nevertheless, he was well-informed about Islamic history and Northwest China geography. He devoted himself to Islamic education, and at one time, opened an "Islamic School" (*qingzhen yishu*).<sup>46</sup>

His life was full of turbulence. Immediately after the Lugouqiao (Marco Polo Bridge) Incident in 1937, which marked the start of the Japanese-Chinese war, Beijing was occupied by the Imperial Japanese army. With strategy in mind, Japanese military authorities enthusiastically built up the "Muslim Campaigns" (*kaikyō seisaku*), also known as "Hui-Muslim Campaigns" (*kaimin kōsaku*) in order to gain Chinese Muslims' cooperation.<sup>47</sup> In 1938, two big events occurred on the Japanese mainland: the establishment of the Tokyo mosque and the Greater Japan Muslim League (*Dai nihon kaikyō kyōkai*). Keeping up with this movement, the United Association for Chinese Muslims (*Zhongguo huijiao zhong lianhehui*) was organized in Beijing.

It is very interesting that Ma Yuting's paper and lecture notes for the students of the China Young Muslim Association (*Zhongguo huijiao qingnian tuan*)<sup>48</sup> were carried in "*Huijiao yuekan*" (Monthly Islam), which was the Chinese journal published by the China United Association for Islam in order to spread its propaganda. He expressed his opinions on the Islamic doctrine and the Five Pillars (declaration of belief, ritual pray, almas-giving, fasting during the month of Ramadan, and pilgrimage), and advocated reviving the Islamic culture in China, calling himself "Xiangfei Descendant" (*Xiangfei yihou*).<sup>49</sup> His connection with Japanese military authorities is unclear, but the insistence in his articles was sincere, and we cannot discern any comments that accommodated the Japanese "Muslim Campaigns." It seems clear that he sincerely wished Chinese Muslims' development.

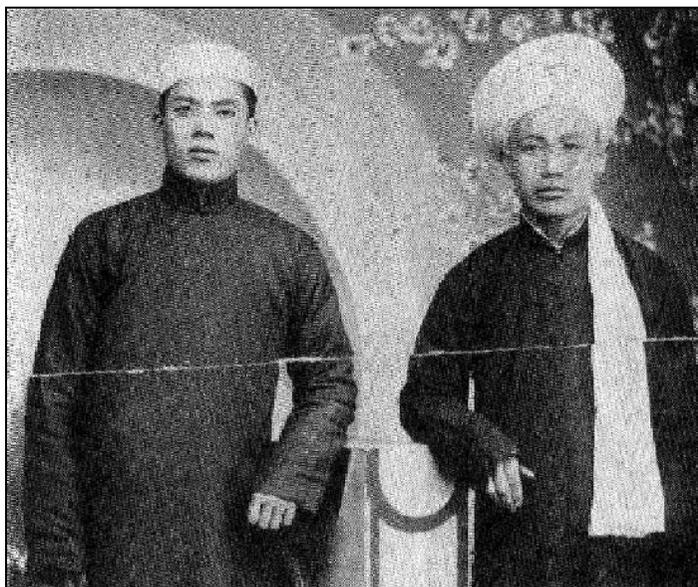
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<sup>46</sup> See Tang 1938: 58-60.

<sup>47</sup> See Liu and Liu 1990: 99-107; Komura 1988: 89-128; Andō 2003.

<sup>48</sup> The China Young Muslim Association was an educational organization for young Muslims under the direction of the United Association for Chinese Muslims. But in actuality, the main subject of teaching was secret military training under the Japanese army. See Shinbo 2000.

<sup>49</sup> Ma 1938a, b.



Picture 6. Okada and *Akhun* (Ma Yuting?)

Source: Komura 1988: 528.

In addition to this, it is noteworthy that some Japanese Muslims stayed at the *Xuiziying* mosque to practice Islam. Komura Fujio, also named Mustafa Komura, visited there many times since the spring of 1938. According to his memoirs, Ibrahim, the son of the late Khwaja Niyaz,<sup>50</sup> lived together with his mother and younger brother. Ibrahim presented Komura a Koran with gold thread made in Kashgar and a copy of Xiangfei's portrait. Also, Japanese Muslim Okada Yoshio studied Islamic doctrine with Ibrahim during 1943-45.<sup>51</sup>

We cannot know how Ma Yuting, Ibrahim, and Okada spent their lives later. Their fortunes were tossed about by the intensification of the Japanese-Chinese war and the Chinese Civil War.

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<sup>50</sup> Khwaja Niyaz was a leader of the First Eastern Turkistan independence movement. For his life, see Shinmen 1991.

<sup>51</sup> Komura 1988: 528-531.

## Epilogue: Memory of East Anfu Alley

In 1949 Mao Zedong proclaimed the founding of the PRC on the Tian'an Gate. Maybe some Muslims were present at that scene near East Anfu Alley, but the expectations for the dawn of a new era were swallowed up in the torrent of the Cultural Revolution (1966-76). The *Xuiziying* mosque was also destroyed completely by the Red Guard. We have not been able to find any records on the *Xuiziying* during the Cultural Revolution. It is possible that young Muslims were taken to the countryside.

Yang Naiji, researching the *Xuiziying* of the East Anfu Alley in the 1980s after that confused era, reported that many Muslims still lived there. He met an old Muslim named Chang (*Chang daye*), whose maternal grandfather had been a player of the Central Asian instrument belonging to the *Shangpingshu*. *Chang daye* told him that part of the relief of the mosque's main gate still existed on a private wall at the back of the public lavatory, and he took a photograph of it.<sup>1</sup>

In July 2006, on a visit to East Anfu Alley, I confirmed the existence of this relief. While I was taking my photographs, an old man suddenly called out to me. His features were noticeably different from Han-Chinese people. I wondered if he might be a descendant of the *Xuiziying* Muslims; he was indeed. His name was Chang Baoguang (then 60 years old), the fourth son of *Chang daye*, whose real name was Chang Wenling (d. 2004). Chang Baoguang readily answered my questions with the help of his younger brother, Chang Baocheng (then 59 years old), the fifth son of Chang Wenling.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Yang 1982.

<sup>2</sup> The following includes the contents of my interview with them in November 2006 and September 2008.



Picture 7. A Part of the Main Gate Relief

Photo: Onuma, 2006.

The Chang brothers were born in the 1940s, so in childhood they played together in the mosque, and learned easy phrases to recite at worship time. However, the *akhun* at that time was not Ma Yuting but Yang Wenguang. They did not know where Yang Wenguang lived now, but he would be over eighty if he were still alive. Before its demolition, the mosque contained “Three Treasures”: the architecture erected by the Qianlong emperor, the Koran, and Xiangfei’s portrait with an amulet mirror. This portrait is probably the same one that Ibrahim

gave to Komura.

Figure 8 is a diagram of the inside of the mosque around 1950, drawn from their memory. The shape of the main gate was almost the same as that from the RC period, but the upper part of the gate had collapsed. In the courtyard, the pillar-bottoms of the original worship hall and the wing rooms constructed by the Qianlong emperor and destroyed by Yuan Shikai's soldiers still remained here and there. Compared with the original main hall, the rebuilt one was smaller and simpler. The well and water house was used for purifying with water. The stela erected by the Qianlong emperor was standing at the north side of the mosque; it looked just like the facing the former *Baoyuelou*. However, they told me that there was another pedestal without a stela at the left side, after entering the main gate. I think it is possible that the imperially erected stela was moved.

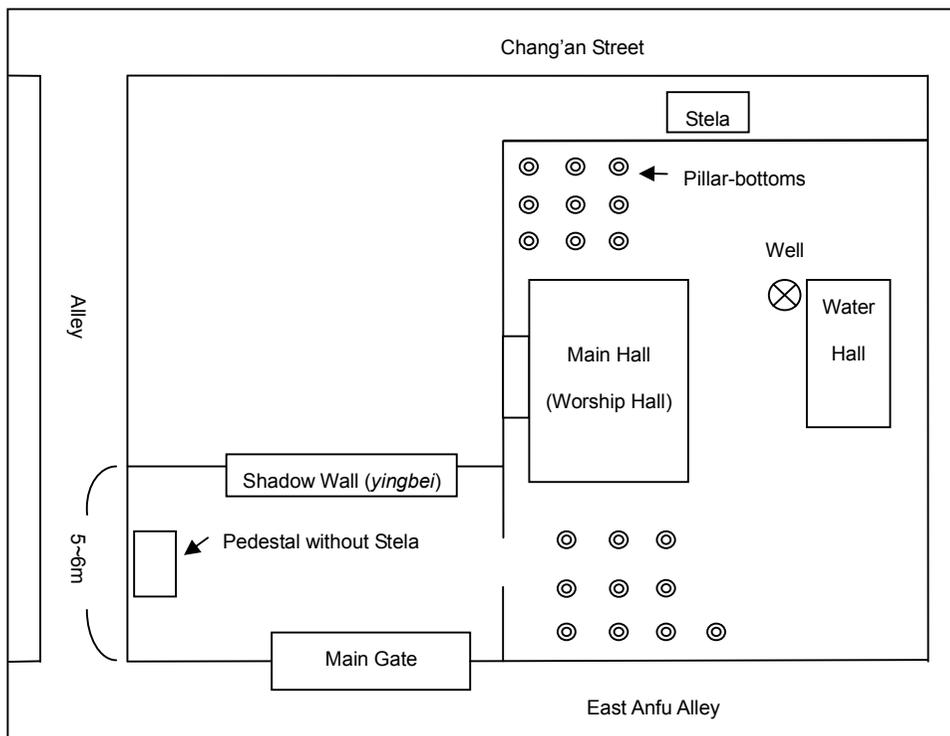


Figure 8. Inside of the *Xuiziying* Mosque (1950s)



Picture 8. Rebuilt Main Hall



Picture 9. Well and Water House

Source: *Huijiao yuekan*, 1 (7), 1938.

The ratio of Muslims living in East Anfu Alley is lower than before. Today, most of the inhabitants are Han-Chinese people. As for the ethnic category of the PRC government, the descendants of the *Xuiziying* Muslims were not registered as Uyghur but *Huizu* (Han-Chinese Muslim). The Chang brothers did not know why this was the case, but they had kept their identity as “descendants of the ‘Xinjiang people (*Xinjiangren*)’ or the Persians.” Of course, they have faith in Islam and don’t eat pork. But it is rare for them to go to the mosque in the city for worship except on Islamic fate day, so they indicated that their belief in Islam was very light. Their response to my question, “What do you think about losing your own national language?” was simply, “We have nothing special to say.” This left a deep impression on me.

The East Anfu Alley has been designated as a rezoning area by the city government. Its inhabitants must move out before long, and with them, 250 years of history of the *Xuiziying*, which was influenced by the political powers of each era, will come to an end.



Picture 10. Today's East Anfu Alley

Photo: Onuma, 2008.



Picture 11. The Chang Brothers

Chang Baocheng (left), Chang Baoguang (upper right), and their younger sister (front).

Photo: Onuma, 2008.

## Glossary

### Chinese

anyuan 安遠	er zouling 二佐領
Baba[ke] 巴巴[克]	fuguo gong 輔國公
Baqi 八旗	futong 胡同
Bai Hezhuo 白和卓	fu zongguang 副總管
Baita 白塔	gong 公
Banli huiren zouling shiwuchu 辦理回人佐領事務處	gongcheng 宮城
Bangelou 邦歌樓	Gugong 故宮
Baoming zhenjing 寶命真經	Hami guan 哈密館
Baoyuelou 寶月樓	Hashimu 哈什木
Beijing 北京	han 漢
Chalama 察拉瑪	Hanhui 漢回
Chantou 纏頭	Hebei 河北
Chang Baocheng 常寶成	Henan 河南
Chang Baoguang 常寶光	Heshengshu 和聲署
Chang daye 常大爺	Heshike boke 和什克伯克
Chang Wenling 常文齡	Hongzhou 洪州
Chang'an 長安	huangcheng 皇城
Cheng 城	hui 回
Chengde 承德	Huibu 回部
Daqing guo 大清國	Huihe 回紇, 回鶻
dayun guangming 大雲光明	Huihuiying 回回營
Dong'anfu 東安福	Huijiao yuekan 回教月刊
Du Wenxiu 杜文秀	Huimin 回民
Eseyin 額色尹	Huiying 回營
	Huizi 回子

- Huizi guanxue 回子官学  
 Huiziying 回子营  
 Huojisi boke 霍集斯伯克  
 Jinshifang 錦石坊  
 Jinding 金頂  
 Jingzhou 荊州  
 jiuxing 九姓  
 junwang 郡王  
 Kaihuang 開皇  
 lao Beijing 老北京  
 libaisi 礼拝寺  
 Lifangyuan 理藩院  
 lingcui 領催  
 Luoyang 洛陽  
 Ma Rong'en 馬榮恩  
 Ma Yuting 馬雨亭  
 Mamute 瑪穆特  
 manla 滿拉  
 Mansu'er 滿蘇爾  
 Mao Zedong 毛沢東  
 maola 毛喇  
 Menduo Suofei 們多索丕  
 minren 民人  
 moluo 摩羅  
 moni 摩尼  
 neicheng 內城  
 Neiwufu 內務府  
 Niyasi Suofei 呢雅斯索丕  
 Niujie 牛街  
 Nu'er Mamute 努爾瑪穆特  
 Pai'ersa 帕爾薩  
 Polate 頗拉特  
 puning 普寧  
 pushou 普壽  
 qi 旗  
 qiren 旗人  
 Qianglong 乾隆  
 Qing 清  
 qingzhensi 清真寺  
 qingzhen yishu 清真義塾  
 Rongfei 容妃  
 Sahale Suofei 薩哈勒索丕  
 Shenyang 瀋陽  
 Shengpingshu 昇平署  
 shengshi 盛世  
 shiwei 侍衛  
 shixian 時憲  
 siheyuan 四合院  
 Siyi guan 四夷館  
 Sui 隋  
 taiji 台吉  
 Tang 唐  
 Taiyuan 太原  
 Tian'an 天安  
 Tianfang 天方  
 Tianshan 天山  
 Tiantang 天堂  
 Tiele 鉄勒  
 tou zouling 頭佐領  
 Tu'erdu 圖爾都  
 Tujue 突厥  
 waicheng 外城  
 wang 王  
 Wuyingdian 武英殿  
 Xiangfei 香妃  
 Xiangfei yihou 香妃裔後  
 Xicheng 西城  
 Xidan 西單  
 xiaoqixiao 驍騎校  
 Xinhai 辛亥  
 Xinhua 新華  
 Xinjiang 新疆  
 Xinjiangren 新疆人  
 Xuanwu 宣武

Yangzhou 揚州	Zhongguo huijiao zong lianhehui
Yang Wenguang 楊文広	中国回教総連合会
Yili 伊犁	Zhongguo huijiao qingnian tuan
Yuling 裕陵	中国回教青年团
yishi tongren 一視同仁	Zhong'nanhai 中南海
yingbei 影背	Zijincheng 紫禁城
Yu Minzhong 于敏中	zongshe 宗社
Yuezhou 越州	zouling 佐領
Yuanhe 元和	zushe 祖社
Yuan Shikai 袁世凱	Zunhua 遵化
Zhaohui 兆惠	

### **Japanese**

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