

Materials in the *Manwen lufu* regarding Hui Muslim Migrants to Xinjiang

HUA LI

1. Hui Muslim Immigrants: An Important Issue in Qing Xinjiang Studies

Two issues come to mind when one considers Qing Xinjiang. First, how did the Qing dynasty establish its rule in this vast inland area and what were the characteristic mechanisms of its rule? Second, in what kind of society did the Turkic-speaking Muslims (Uyghurs) live in under Qing rule, and what changes did that society undergo? These two questions have tended to dominate work on the history of this period.

Besides these questions, I think that in order to fully understand Xinjiang of the Qing period, close attention must also be paid to another civilian class, namely the immigrants from the Chinese provinces to the east. Immigration from surrounding provinces to Xinjiang began as soon as the Qing Dynasty established its rule in Xinjiang (from the mid-1760s) and continues until today. This population inflow has not only changed the demographic structure, but also affected the various aspects of Xinjiang's development. Moreover, it is important to point out that the immigration from China's *neidi* 內地 to Xinjiang did not involve only the immigration of Han into Xinjiang. In fact, besides Han, people who went west included a large number of Hui, people with ethnic characteristics different from the Han. This group comprised an important and peculiar portion of Xinjiang immigrants. Up until now, however, little research has focused on this demographic group.

The Chinese-speaking Muslims today known as Hui were known to Turkic-speakers in Xinjiang as Tungan or Dungan (the etymology of this word is still unclear). The Qing period definition of "*hui*" was more inclusive than today, including such ethnic minorities in Northwest China as the Salar and Dongxiang who were likewise believers of Islam. Chinese historical documents employ the terms *Huihui* (回回), *Huimin* (回民) or *Hanhui* (漢回), while Manchu documents use such terms as "*hoise irgen*" or "*dorogi ba i hoise*." The origins of Hui people are varied. The earliest can be sought back to Tang and Song dynasties when Arabs and Persians entered China from the West. In the Yuan and Ming periods, sources refer to people called *semuren* 色目人 (varied category people) immigrating into China. They were, by and large, Muslims from Central Asia. The immigration of Semuren greatly increased the number of Hui residents in China; they established their own communities, mainly clustered in Shaanxi and Gansu Provinces. Since Hui people

lived intermingled with the Han majority, they were greatly influenced by Han culture (and continue to be today). They spoke Chinese as their daily language and generally wore Han dress. Inter-marriage with Han women who converted to Islam over the generations further eliminated the Hui's non-Han physical features. On the other hand, the Hui Muslim community consistently maintained a strong sense of its own unique ethnicity and strictly observed a life style shaped by Islam, which gave them affinities to their fellow Muslims in the Xinjiang region.

In Qing Xinjiang, Hui immigrants settled both north and south of the Tianshan range. They were involved in commerce, agriculture, handcrafts, and long distance transportation, or they hired out their labor. Some of them served in the local military or performed administrative functions. The Muslim Rebellion of 1864 in Xinjiang, a violent uprising that nearly wiped out Qing rule in the region, first demonstrated how numerous and economically and politically significant the Hui were in Xinjiang. Since the Hui people first started the uprising and were later joined by Uyghurs, this event is also called the "Tungan Rebellion."

Scholars have long faced a major obstacle to studying the Hui in Xinjiang: the scarcity of primary sources, or, to be more specific, the frequent failure of sources to distinguish between Hui and Han residents in the region. Since Hui spoke Chinese, dressed the same as Han, lived intermingled with Han, and immigrated to Xinjiang with Han people, Qing materials often vaguely referred to them as *neidi minren* 內地民人 (inland commoners) or simply as *minren*, without acknowledging their particular ethnic characteristics. It was only in special situations, especially violations of the law, that their Hui identity was noted. Generally speaking, in such official compilations as the *Veritable Records* (*Da Qing lichao shilu* 大清歷朝實錄) and *Military Annals* (*fanglue* 方略), the records about Hui people are at best scarce and fragmented. As Saguchi Toru, a pioneer of this field, has pointed out, based on Qing-era compilations alone, it is difficult to delineate the immigration of Hui people to the Xinjiang region since they are mentioned only when their activities caused concern to the Qing rulers.¹

Recently, with the reorganization and publication of primary sources from Qing archives, more and more materials related to the Hui have emerged. From 2001 to 2003, I worked with the archival materials from the First Historical Archives of China (中國第一歷史檔案館) in Beijing and the Archives of National Palace Museum (國立故宮博物院圖書文獻館) in Taipei.² I made many surprising

¹ SAGUCHI Tōru 佐口透 1986 *Shinkyō minzokushi kenkyū* 『新疆民族史研究』, Tokyo: Yoshikawa kōbunkan, p. 296.

² The project, "*Shindai Kaimin no Shinkyō ijūshi no kenkyū* [A Study of Chinese Muslim (Hui Min) Migration to Xinjiang during the Qing Period]" was funded by JSPS (Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, Project No.13610434). For the information regarding the research accomplishment report, see HUA Li 華立 2004b *Shindai kaimin no shinkyō ijūshi no kenkyū* 『清代回民的新疆移住史の研究』, Research accomplishment report of Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research.

findings, especially in the Manchu Grand Council Archives (軍機處滿文錄副奏摺), henceforth in this paper called *Manwen lufu*) held by the First Historical Archives of China. Given that scholars have taken little notice of these valuable sources, I will introduce the *Manwen lufu* materials here below.

2. Categories of Memorial Documents and the Characteristics of *Manwen lufu*

2.1. What are the *Manwen lufu*?

As is well known, memorials are Qing senior officials' reports to the emperor; after receiving memorials, emperors wrote their feedback on the same paper to send back to the officials. After Emperor Yongzheng, the Grand Council (軍機處) took charge of communications through memorials. Because the emperor's comments were written in red ink, the original memorials are called *zhupi zouzhe* (朱批奏摺 vermillion rescript memorials). In addition, the Grand Council always made a quick copy of the *zhupi zouzhe* before returning it to the sender. These copies are called *lufu zouzhe* (錄副奏摺). The *zhupi* memorials were collected periodically and archived in the palace while the *lufu* copies of the memorials remained with the Grand Council.³

Theoretically speaking, since the *lufu zouzhe* archived at the Grand Council are copies of the *zhupi* official memorials, their contents should be the same. They are not, however, for several reasons: first, the *zhupi zouzhe* had to be sent back to the sender and then later collected back at the palace, a process involving shipment two times, often over great distances. This sometimes resulted in damage or loss of content of the memorials, while the Grand Council copies are usually intact. Second, *zhupi zouzhe* files carried only the senders' submission dates, not the date on which the emperor added his rescript. But the *lufu zouzhe*, in addition to completely copying the content of the original memorial, note the date of submission as well as the text and date of the imperial rescript. Compared to the *zhupi zouzhe*, then, the information within the *lufu* is richer and fuller. It is a common knowledge among archive users that the key to correctly examining and utilizing memorials is to know both submission date and vermillion rescript date simultaneously. Moreover, in the top left corner of the first page of the *lufu* file copy there is always a note (written top to bottom and left to right) with synopses of sender's name, rescript date (in the Chinese format of month-then-day), key points of the

³ See FIRST HISTORICAL ARCHIVES OF CHINA 中国第一历史档案馆 ed. 1985 *Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan guancang dang'an gaishu* 『中国第一历史档案馆馆藏档案概述』, Beijing: Dang'an chubanshe, p. 60.

memorial and the final result of the process. Even if the synopsis is as brief as two or three lines, it provides a signpost leading the reader at a glance to the main ideas of the memorial.

Third, memorialists often attached supplementary documents, known as *jiapian* 夾片 (inserts or enclosures),⁴ *Lulidan* 履歷單 (personal autobiography), *qingdan* 清單 (list of items), *gongdan* 供單 (confession), *tuce* 圖冊 (charts, diagrams and maps), and so forth. These enclosures contain very important information. They were not returned to the sender after the emperor had read and rescripted the memorial, but instead archived with the *lufu* copies in the Grand Council. The attachments to memorials, therefore, can only be viewed with the *lufu* copies at the Grand Council archive, not with the original *zhupi zouzhe* themselves. The reasons mentioned above demonstrate the value of *lufu zouzhe* as historical sources in many respects more valuable than the *zhupi* memorials.

Lufu zouzhe are usually bundled together by month in *Yuezhebao* (monthly-memorial-packs). They are additionally sorted into *Manwen lufu* (滿文錄副 memorials in Manchu-language version) and *Hanwen lufu* (漢文錄副 Chinese version memorials), packaged and stored separately. As some scholars have pointed out, the contents of Manchu and Chinese *lufu* are relatively independent of each other. On a specific subject, the contents of the Manchu and Chinese documents might be related or partially overlapping, but they are not simple repetitions.⁵ Besides this, the Manchu *lufu* are, relatively speaking, more legible than *Hanwen lufu*. As readers of Chinese-language Qing documents well know, *zhupi* memorials written in *kaishu* script are easily made out, while the *Hanwen lufu* in *caoshu* can pose difficulties. In my own experience, however, the Manchu documents present the opposite situation: the hand-written *lufu* are easier to read than the printed *Manwen zhupi zouzhe*.

With regard to materials on Hui people in Xinjiang, the *Manwen lufu* are more significant than the Chinese *lufu* because the Qing court consistently posted Manchu or Mongolian officials to Northern and Northwestern border regions and required them to report in the Manchu language. This requirement not only kept the information secret, but also promoted the official language and tradition of Manchus. In the latter days of the Qing dynasty, this requirement became a mere

⁴ The Qing court ruled that the subject of memorials be restricted to one matter, and, moreover, it quite severely limited the number of memorials that could be submitted to the court on a single day. For this reason, officials frequently employed enclosures when they had many things to report at once. These attachments had the character *zai* 再 written in their heading, but not the memorialist's name or the date. Therefore, if an enclosure has been separated from its original memorial, it is extremely difficult to determine its original provenance.

⁵ See ELLIOTT, Mark C. 2001 "The Manchu-Language Archives of the Qing Dynasty and the Origins of the Palace Memorial System," *Late Imperial China* 22, no. 1, pp. 25–26. On the basis of my own reading of these documents, I fully concur with this point of Elliott's.

formality, since few Manchu bannermen could still write in Manchu. Therefore, the earlier the period, the more we see Manchu memorials from the border regions.

2.2. *The Best Roadmap for Manwen lufu: Qingdai bianjiang manwen dang'an mulu* (清代邊疆滿文檔案目錄 *The Catalogue of Manchu Archives on the Qing Frontier*)

According to the First Historical Archives of China (hereafter FHA), there are over 180,000 *Manwen lufu* items. Among them, more than 150,000 documents, about 76%, deal with frontier regions.⁶ It is not hard to imagine the vastness of the project to categorize and index these materials. Fortunately, considerable progress has been made in less than two decades. *Lufu* memorials have been microfilmed in their entirety and made available to the public, which is a good news to historians. Additionally, the Catalogue of Manchu Archives on the Qing Frontier (QBMDM), a large-scale catalogue of the *Manwen lufu*, was published in 1999. This catalogue was compiled by the specialists of the FHA Manchu department and its publication assisted by the Research Center for Chinese Frontier History and Geography (*Zhongguo bianjiang shidi yanjiu suo*) and the Institute of Qing History at Renmin University. It is no exaggeration to claim that this catalogue is the best road map for *Manwen lufu* archival materials.

As a scholar deeply indebted to this catalogue, I would like to reemphasize its value here. Currently, readers can view the *Manwen lufu* only on microfilm, with little access to the original paper documents. The microfilm is not categorized by region, but by chronology, ordered by reign-period, year, month and day. Although a single day would seem to be a small enough unit, in fact each day contains enormous numbers of unclassified memorials from a great number of various frontier regions. Working only from the date, therefore, it is extremely difficult and time consuming for a reader to pinpoint what he/she is looking for in such a huge pool of memorials. With the assistance of the QBMDM, however, the search is much more efficient.

The QBMDM Catalogue lists 120,000 documents, dated between the 8th year of Yongzheng's reign and the 3rd year of Xuantong (1730–1911). The Catalogue's 12 volumes are divided by region. Within each region, the memorials are sorted by submission date. All the memorials are registered in Chinese with a label including the sender's name and position and a synopsis of the document's content. Additional notes give the classification and number of any attachments enclosed with the document. Each archived document bears unique code numbers, in two

⁶ See the Preface of QBMDM: *Qingdai bianjiang Manwen dang'an mulu* [清代邊疆滿文檔案目錄].

series. On the left side (at the beginning of the text)⁷ is the code number from the original file, while at the right side (following the text) is the microfilm code number. The first number corresponds to the document itself and the second to the location of the microfilmed item by reel and frame). If an original document must be consulted (and if a reader is permitted to do so), it may be retrieved by this code number.

The composition of the 12 volumes are detailed in the following table.

Volume nos.	Region covered
1	Shengjing (Mukden)
2	Jilin and Heilongjiang
3	Inner Mongolia
4–5	Wuliyasutai (Uliasutai)
6–11	Xinjiang
12	General, incl. Tibet, the maritime frontier, Southeast regions, Taiwan, and the Southwest frontier (Guangxi-Yunnan)

Xinjiang materials make up half of the total number of *Manwen lufu* memorials: these 63,682 memorials will have a significant impact on the whole spectrum of Xinjiang historical study.

Regarding Xinjiang, I searched through the *Manwen lufu* focusing on the Qianlong, Jiaqing, Daoguang and Xianfeng imperial reigns. The portion of memorials from the Qianlong reign is most prominent, comprising more than 60 percent of the total. Starting in the Jiaqing reign, the number of *Manwen lufu* memorials decreases dramatically, and continues to taper off through Daoguang and subsequent reigns. Statistics provided by Wu Yuanfeng, the chief of Manchu Department at the FHA also support this. According to Wu, the distribution of memorials in *Manwen lufu* across various emperors' reigns between 1730 and 1911 is Yongzheng – 391, Qianlong – 41,798, Jiaqing – 9,377, Daoguang – 8,375, Xianfeng – 2,656, Tongzhi – 520, Guangxu – 525 and Xuantong – 40.⁸

The *Manwen lufu* of the Qianlong reign are not only the most numerous, but also particularly rich and thorough in their contents. They cover all aspects of Xinjiang, including political and military affairs, local economy, ethnic matters, judicial affairs, the social situation, and so on. Compared to other time periods, the *Manwen lufu* of this period has the highest historical value. After the Daoguang

⁷ Manchu is, of course, written from top to bottom and left to right.

⁸ Wu Yuanfeng 吴元丰 2000 “Junjichu Manwen yuezhebao nei Xinjiang shiliao ji qi yanjiu jiazhi” [“军机处满文月折包内新疆史料及其研究价值”], *Xiyu yanjiu* 2000, no. 1, pp. 92–93.

reign, the proportion of Chinese memorials gradually increases while the *Manwen lufu* decrease significantly value of contents as well as in number. The later Manchu memorials mostly concern personnel changes, yearly crop harvests, crop storage, quartermastering the troops, inspections of military affairs, and other routine public affairs. Their writing style is reduced to cliché-ridden formality.

We thus cannot generalize over time about the value of the *Manwen lufu*. Without doubt, the *Manwen lufu* of the Qianlong period will make a great contribution to the study of Xinjiang. But for the second half of the Qing dynasty we must dig into other resources besides the *Manwen lufu*, such as the *Hanwen lufu* and other documents.

It is often thought that the *Manwen lufu* contain no Chinese records, but this is a misunderstanding. As mentioned above, aside from the memorials themselves, there were usually a large number of attachments written in Chinese, especially the records of oral confessions. If the subject was an immigrant from the core provinces of China, the oral testimony was always recorded in Chinese, regardless of whether the witness was Hui or Han. It is because these valuable materials describe social life in detail that we are able to visualize historical events and processes in their full vividness.

2.3. *Manwen Yuezhe Dang* (滿文月摺檔): *Manwen Memorial Copies in Addition to the Yuezhe Bao* (月摺包)

The *yuezhe dang* (月摺檔), also called *zouzhe dang* (奏摺檔 *ma. wesimbuhe buk-dari*) were record books compiled monthly by the Grand Council based on *lufu* memorials. All the existing 2,480 volumes have been microfilmed. Based on the introduction of Wu,⁹ the original size is 40cm × 28cm. I was not able to view the original since only microfilms are available.

Since the *yuezhe dang* recopies *lufu* memorials, their content is similar but not identical. The differences include the order and inclusion of attachments. The *yuezhe dang* were put together according to the order of the emperors' rescripts, and do not include the dates of submission by the memorialist. *Lufu* memorials, on the other hand, are put together according to the senders' dates with the dates of vermillion rescripts noted. But the *yuezhe dang* reproduces both the memorials and the attachments, compiled together so that there are fewer attachments missing from the documents. I have compared the comparable sections relating to Hui immigrants in both *yuezhe dang* and *lufu* and found that some attachments missing in *lufu* are still available in the *yuezhe dang*. Apparently, then, *yuezhe dang* can be supplementary to *lufu* when it comes to attachments and they can be used interchangeably. The

⁹ Wu 2000: 92.

problem with the *Manwen yuezhe dang* (滿文月摺檔), however, is that the available catalogue is not detailed, listing only the volume numbers for a given month, with neither senders' names nor content synopses. It is not very helpful to readers. The most effective way to use the *yuezhe dang*, then, is to find out the date of a given rescript from the *lufu* and then come back to search *yuezhe dang*.

3. What Can We Find in the *Manwen lufu*? Examples of Hui Cases in the Archive

Under normal circumstances, Xinjiang Qing officials did not differentiate between Han and Hui, referring to both groups as “*minren*.” Researchers thus have to depend on other clues, such as last names or occupations, to decide if a given person is Hui. Some last names are particularly characteristic of Hui people (like Huo 火 or Hei 黑 for example), while some Hui even have Koranic names; some occupations are also characteristic of Hui, such as butchers selling beef and mutton. But in the context of a particular incident, not only are Hui immigrants' identities specified but there are also series of reports which can provide researchers with rich primary sources. Based on my experience, the following subjects often involve Hui people:

3.1. Jade Smuggling

Folklore has it that “nine out of ten Hui are merchants.” Hui people are good at commerce and have a tradition of entrepreneurship. Just as Hui businessmen monopolized the fur trade in Mongolia, in Xinjiang they were mostly engaged in trade or long distance transportation as well as running inns or restaurants. Most of them were small entrepreneurs; one rarely finds a Hui merchant with ample resources.

In the Qianlong era, jade from the Xinjiang cities of Khotan and Yarkand was very popular and attracted the attention of many businessmen from China proper. Since Emperor Qianlong himself loved jade, jade became very popular with high officials and the upper crust of the society. Suzhou and Yangzhou jade shops bought large quantities, and jade trade between Xinjiang and the coastal provinces reached unprecedented levels. Yet, in 1778, when it was revealed that Yarkand superintendent (葉爾羌辦事大臣) Gao Pu abused his authority by smuggling jade for huge profit in collusion with begs (Uyghur local officials) and Chinese merchants, the emperor strictly forbade private jade trading. However, due to the enormous potential profits, jade smuggling never really ceased. Many extant *Manwen lufu* concern local government attempts to capture those who smuggled jade.

Case 1: Qianlong 46th year 5th leap month 22nd day, Gingfu (ch. Jing-fu), Kashgar Banshidachen, reports the capture of Hui merchant I Shi-Yoo (ch. Yi Shiyao) and others at Yangi Hisar.

Microfilm no. 122-0067

This case involved four people, identified as two Hui and two *minren*. The narrative not only informs us how they trafficked in jade, but also when they entered Yarkand, what they lived on and if they had contact with local Uyghurs. Among the four, I Shi-Yoo was a Hui from Weinan county in Shaanxi; he had come to Yarkand the year before and became a mutton butcher. Ma Yun was a Hui from Jiezhou in Gansu Province who had come to Yarkand three years earlier and sold meat from sheep's heads. Zhou Mou and Xiao Youfu were both *minren* (Han) and from the same village. Zhou sold pancakes while Xiao was a laborer. They both confessed that they had bought jade from Uyghurs outside the town. Since they didn't have enough money, they bought only a small amount of low quality jade. They planned to sell it in Aksu, but were followed and apprehended by soldiers while passing Yangi Hisar. Since all four were later sent back to their hometowns, there were memorials from the Shaan-Gan governor in Chinese included in the collection of the *Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe*¹⁰ (宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺 Secret palace memorials of the Qianlong reign). Through comparison we find that the Chinese memorials are far less detailed than the Manchu memorials: they fail to mention that I and Ma were Huis. Obviously, for those trying to study Hui people, this omission is a fatal weakness.

Case 2: Qianlong Reign 50th year 8th month 9th day, Yang-Chun-bao, Kucha Banshidachen, reports the capture of Hui merchant Zhao Shihong and others for smuggling jade through the region.

Microfilm no. 135-0115 (attached 2 confessions)

This case involved a large number of people and suggests mass jade trafficking. A Hui named Zhao Shihong from Chang'an County, Shaanxi, made his living on transportation and the hotel business. He and fellow Hui, Guo San, who was a house servant of an official, Tetongge, who was returning to Beijing, as well as Yan Zigui (a *Huimin Xiangyue* 回民鄉約 of Yarkand) were the core of the conspiracy. They took advantage of the fact that Tetongge was very sick and unable to control his servants. Not only did they hide jade in their luggage, but they also sent out word through their social contacts that they would smuggle jade for other people

¹⁰ GQCZ: *Gongzhongdang Qianlong chao zouzhe* 『宮中檔乾隆朝奏摺』, vol. 49: 784-85, (Qianlong 46-11-23)

for a fee. More than fifty people were involved, half of them Han, and the jade weighed in total more than 5700 *jin*. The smugglers were arrested at Kucha.¹¹ This is an excellent case study of social relations among the migrants at the time.

The brief record about this case in the *Daqing Ichao shilu* mentions only the name of Guo San, Tetongge's servant.¹² The reason I can tell the whole story is because the archive contains a detailed record, especially one attachment which consists of a written confession by thirty people. Please see the chart below (an * indicates Hui identity).

Name	age	hometown	occupation
Zhao Shihong*	41	Shaanxi Changan	innkeeper
Chen Laigui	44	Gansu Wuwei	carter
Guo San*	30	(unknown)	house servant
Guo Yulong*	44	Gansu Suzhou	furrier
Liu Zong	43	Shanxi Taiyuan	trader
Xu Wei	53	Shaanxi Xian	trader
Chang Daye	44	Shanxi Taiyuan	trader
Li Changtong	39	Shanxi Taiping	trader
Zhang Shiming	40	Shanxi Fenzhou	trader
Yuan Kongzhao	56	Shanxi Taiyuan	trader
Gao Danwu	57	Zhejiang Xiushui	trader
Lu Wencai	39	Shanxi Taiyuan	trader
Cao Yuqing	34	Shanxi Fenzhou	trader
Dong Nengliang	37	Shaanxi Xian	trader
Shi Ruji	30	Shanxi Taiyuan	trader
Wang Dongshan	42	Shanxi Zezhou	trader
Wang Dabang	40	Shanxi Taiyuan	trader
Yao Tai	32	Shanxi Taiyuan	Trader
Li Shilong	35	Shanxi Taiyuan	Trader
Li Xiu	38	Gansu Suzhou	Trader
Yang Guoxiao*	40	Gansu Hezhou	Cook
Zhang Jiakui	46	Gansu Wuwei	Carter
Ma Wei	44	Gansu Guyuanzhou	cart driver
Zhang De	39	Gansu Wuwei	cart driver
Yang Dakui	40	Shaanxi Tongzhou	cart driver

¹¹ See HUA Li 華立 2004a “Shindai no gyokuseki kōeki to Sinkyō shakai” 「清代の玉石交易と新疆社会」, in TAKIZAWA Hideki 滝沢秀樹編著 ed. *Higashi Ajia no kokka to shakai: Rekishi to genzai* 『東アジアの国家と社会——歴史と現在』, Tokyo: Ochanomizu shobō, pp. 161–205.

¹² DQGCBS: *Daqing gaozong chunhuangdi shilu* 『大清高宗純皇帝實錄』, vol. 1241, (Qianlong 50-10-dingyou).

Zhuang Siyou	30	Gansu Wuwei	cart driver
Liu Zhongyuan	52	Gansu Suzhou	cart driver
Ma Yinghu	33	Gansu Gulang	cart driver
Xu Pei	36	Gansu Suzhou	Trader
Tang Guoming	20	Gansu Lanzhou	Trader

Case 3: Qianlong 53th year 3th month 16th day. Taki (ch. Taqi) reports that Yarkand Hui merchant Lan Gui-boo (ch. Lan Guibao) was smuggling jade with Andijani (ch. An-ji-yan) merchant Alabaidi.

Microfilm no. 141-1723 (attached 1 confession)

The Hui merchant Lan Guibao was from Weinan County, Shaanxi. He traveled between Aksu and Yarkand selling tea and groceries. In Yarkand, he lodged in a place owned by Hao Tingyan, a Hui from his hometown. In order to increase his income, he thought about buying high quality jade and selling it at a high price in Aksu. He went to see a fellow merchant with a stall at the bazaar, a Central Asian named Alabaidi, and, together, they bought two huge pieces of jade (the biggest one weighed 120 kilograms) from a Uyghur and a person from Badakhshan. In order to carry the jade out safely, Lan Guibao hired two Uyghurs of his acquaintance and asked them to carry the jade pieces to the outskirts of Aksu and bury them there for him to dig out later and take into town. Only half way through, however, the two Uyghurs were spotted by locals and everyone involved arrested.

This case provides another profile of the Hui merchants' social network south of the Tianshan. Lan Guibao's business and social circles included not only local Uyghurs, but also immigrants from Andijan and Badakhshan. Apparently, within these circles Huis from interior China could take advantage of their Muslim identity to approach the locals. I surmise that Lan probably used Uyghur to communicate with the locals since many historical documents attest that more than a few Hui merchants knew the Uyghur language. (see also case 5.)

3.2. Criminal Cases in Daily Life

Several years ago, Hori Sunao attempted to use the criminal case records in the Qing archive to illuminate Uyghur society of south Xinjiang (also called the Muslim region, ch. *Huijiang* or *Huibu*) during the Qing dynasty.¹³ His work has

¹³ See HORI Sunao 堀直 1998 “Kaikyō hanka chō: Shindai kanseki shiryō kara mitaru shakai no ichi sokumen” 「回疆犯科帳——清代漢籍史料からみたる社会の一断面」, *Kōnan daigaku kiyō*: *Bungaku hen* 105, pp. 24–43.

inspired me to pursue the same approach. Since there were many cases of Hui people involved in mundane physical altercations that did serious harm, abundant reports of this nature in the *Manwen lufu* provide a glimpse of Hui immigrants' life in Xinjiang.

Hui immigrant farmers usually settled stably with their families north of the Tianshan, while traders, transportation workers and laborers were mostly single people traveling all over Xinjiang. A substantial number of Green Standard (*liy-ing* 綠營) officers and soldiers were Hui. Therefore, the cases involving Hui were varied and different individuals offered different stories reflecting their vocation and place of residence.

Case 4: Qianlong Reign 45th year 6th month 26th day, Kuilin, the Urumchi Dutong, reports that a *minren* merchant Yang murdered a Hui in Dihua Prefecture. Microfilm no. 119-760

This is a case of physical conflict between a *minren* (probably Han) and a Hui that led to a death. The accused, Yang Jung-fu and the victim H'an Jung (both names as transcribed from Manchu) were neighbours. They were both lumberjacks, cutting timber in Urumchi's Nanshan (South Mountain) for sale. One day, Yang killed a sheep to entertain some friends. H'an took offense that he had not been invited. When he came over to reproach Yang, Yang hurt him with a wooden pole. Days later, H'an died.

Case 5: Qianlong 49th year 9th month 27th day, Ayanga, Yarkand Banshidachen, reports about how a Hui asking for payment led to murder. Microfilm no. 132-2563 (attached 1 confession)

This important case involves a Hui and a Uyghur, and reflects the economic relationship between Hui immigrants and Uyghurs. The accused was a twenty-four year-old Hui merchant, Xiao Wang (ma. Siyio-Wang) from Longxi County, Gansu. The victim was a Uyghur villager named Maimayar who resided outside Yarkand. Xiao Wang had come to Yarkand from Aksu to join his uncle Zhang Cheng selling tea, porcelain and other items. He sold groceries wholesale to Maimayar on loan while the later took them to his village to sell. Since Maimayar failed to repay the loan for a long period of time, Xiao Wang asked for a payment. They started quarreling and Xiao Wang stabbed him to death.

Through this case, we observe three phenomena: first, Xiao Wang was doing business with Zhang Cheng. Zhang Cheng was 58 years old and had extensive business experience, but he could not speak Uyghur. In his testimony,

Zhang mentions that he depended on Xiao Wang's Uyghur language ability to communicate and do business with Uyghur people. Second, in this case, Xiao Wang was doing business with a Uyghur from outside Yarkand; their merchandise from interior China was retailed by Uyghurs in villages outside Yarkand. Third, the close business relationship between the Hui and the Uyghur made it impossible to avoid conflicts and disagreements. Here, asking for payment of a business loan eventually led to a conflict that ended up in one party's unfortunate death.

Case 6: Qianlong 51st year 2nd month 2nd day, Yung do (ch.Yong-Duo), Urumchi Dutong, reports that Hui trader Ma Jung-liyang committed adultery and killed the wife of a Green Standard soldier.
Microfilm no. 136-1454¹⁴

In this case, the accused is Hui trader Ma Jung-liyang; the victim is the wife of a Hui Muslim soldier Ma Tiyan-fu (both names as transcribed from Manchu). Since the 1760s, the Qing government had continuously transferred Green Standard soldiers from the Shaan-Gan region to northern Xinjiang to settle in military colonies. It is a fact that Hui composed a large part of the Shaan-Gan Green Standards, but we rarely see detailed documents about these Hui soldiers' lives in Xinjiang. Information on the lives of Hui soldiers and their family members working on garrison lands are even scarcer. This record provides such details about family life.

The murderer Ma Jung-liyang was a small time businessman in Kur-kara-usu (庫爾喀喇烏蘇) and was acquainted with the peasant soldier Ma Tiyan-fu. According to the memorial, since Ma Tian-fu spent a lot of time away from home tending his crops, he asked Ma Jung-liyang to take care of his family. Ma Jung-liyang committed adultery with Tiyan-fu's wife. After Ma Tiyan-fu learned of this, he reproached his wife and forbade her from having contact with Ma Jung-liyang again. When Ma Jung-liyang returned to see Ma Tiyan-fu's wife, she rejected him and so he killed her.

Case 7: Qianlong 51st year 5th month 8th day, Kuilin, the Yili *Jiangjun*, reports that a Hui named Yang Zifu had murdered four members of Li Cheng's family.
Microfilm no. 137-0575 (attached 4 confessions)

¹⁴ The beginning of this file indicates that there should exist a confession in Chinese, yet there is no confession in the microfilm; it is not known when it was lost. Other memorials have likewise lost attachments, which means that not all of the original enclosures in the *Manwen lufu* were kept intact in the Grand Council.

This is a case of a marriage betrothal leading to murder. It not only reflects the relationships among Hui immigrants, but also provides valuable information regarding the life of Hui criminals after completion of their term of exile. The accused, Yang Zifu, was a 32-year old Hui from Lingzhou (靈州) in Gansu Province. He came to join his father who was doing trade in Yili; Zifu himself worked in a flour mill. The victims were the family of Li Cheng. Li Cheng's father had been exiled to Yili in the 30th year of Qianlong's reign. After serving his term, he remained in Yili and opened a roadhouse inn catering to horse cart traffic. Yang Zifu came to the inn often because he had to pull a cart to Qingshui River (ch. Qingshuihe) to sell flour. The Li family mentioned that they would marry their daughter to him and asked Yang to give money or goods to subsidize the family. He always provided what was asked for. Yet, when Yang asked to marry the daughter, Li family broke the marriage promise. In anger, Yang killed Li Cheng, his mother, his younger brother and his sister and went to the government to confess. This memorial has four Chinese confession attachments from Yang Zifu, and Li Cheng's wife, his second younger sister and youngest brother. All the details above also came from the confessions.

Overall, compared to cases involving jade trafficking, the criminal cases concerning Hui daily lives were insignificant in the eyes of the government. They were not recorded in official historical compilations or published books. But from a social historical point of view, these first hand materials are clearly important—enough so it is worth combing the original archives for such information. Other than the *Manwen lufu*, moreover, the “nationality affairs” category in the Chinese *lufu* (漢文錄副) and the Board of Punishments (*Xing bu* 刑部) archives all have ample materials. I intend to explore these materials in the future.

3.3. *Prohibition and Suppression of Xinjiao, the Hui “New Teaching”*

In 1781 and 1784, there were two armed uprisings against the Qing by a group of Hui who subscribed to the “Jahriyya” Sufi order (in Qing documents it is called the *xinjiao*, “New Teaching”). The founder of this new branch was Ma Mingxin, who after years of study in Bukhara and Yemen returned to Gansu in 1761. The spread of Sufism from Central Asia into Northwestern China was the occasion of increasing conflicts among Hui Muslims, who formed into two rival groups, known as “old sect” and “new sect” or “old teaching” and “new teaching” (老教, 新教). Failing to understand the situation, the Qing government did not adopt a proper strategy to deal with this civil strife between the groups, leading ultimately to a standoff between the government and the Jahriyya, though there was nothing intrinsically rebellious about Jahriyya teachings. The first revolt broke out in Xunhua (循化, then part of Gansu Province, now in Qinghai) led by Jahriyya followers of the

Salar ethnicity. The Jahriyya leader Ma Mingxin did not participate in the revolt, but was nonetheless sentenced to death by the government. His execution turned the Jahriyya against the Qing, and three years later, a larger uprising known as the Tian Wu rebellion broke out in the central Gansu region.

Qing government proscribed Jahriyya as an evil cult and forbade its spread. In the past, study of the “New Teaching” revolts have focused on Gansu province. In reality, however, the rise of new Hui religion in the northwest had a lot to do with trends in Sufi practice popular in Xinjiang at the time. Therefore, the suppression campaign quickly led the Qing government to look at Xinjiang. After suppressing the first revolt, the Qing government widened its surveillance from Gansu Hui migrants to Xinjiang. After suppressing the second revolt, Qing authorities in Xinjiang undertook a large-scale search and arrest of suspected rebels and their relatives in Xinjiang. The state attitude of guilt by association created an atmosphere of terror. For this reason, officials generated a large number of records regarding the New Teaching and Hui migrants in Xinjiang, records retained in the *Manwen lufu*.

Case 8: Qianlong 46th year 5th month 26th day, Kuilin, Yili Jiangjun, reports the death of a New Teaching criminal, Hemaliohu (ch. Hemaliuhu 賀麻留虎).
Microfilm no. 121-2755

Hemaliohu was a former leader of the Jahriyya in Xunhua. In 1770, he was exiled to Urumchi due to a conflict with the Old Teaching adherents. Until this memorial, no further documents concerning his case after are known. Here, we learn that he was sent to Lucaogou (蘆草溝) near the city of Manas and died of illness there in 1777. This information is very helpful not only in our study of this person, but with regard to the Qing court’s attention to Jahriyya adherents and the Xinjiang connection—a connection that since the beginning of the first Salar revolt the Qing court was eager to sever. The Qianlong Emperor urgently ordered that Hemaliohu be kept under surveillance, and was considering sending him to Beijing. In his Manchu-language edict to Kuilin, the emperor wrote that since Hemaliohu was once the criminal head of the new sect, even if he had been living quietly, he absolutely could not remain in Urumchi. The emperor ordered Kuilin to dispatch dependable military officials and soldiers to escort Hemaliohu to Beijing. Qianlong was even concerned that if they took the Hami-Turfan-Lanzhou route, Hemaliohu might be kidnapped by New Teaching believers; he thus ordered that the military escort travel via Mongolia to speed the journey and to insure the completion of the work. The plan was eventually dropped because of Hemaliohu’s death. But we can tell from the wording of Qianlong’s edict how nervous and deeply uneasy the emperor was about the presence of the new sect leader in Urumchi.

Case 9: Qianlong 49th year 7th month 16th day Gudung (ch. Guo-dong), Aksu Banshidachen, reports that the Hui, Bai Yi-xiang, was captured and questioned. Microfilm no. 132-0085 (attached 1 confessions)

This case truthfully reflects the large scale of the Qing government's search for the rebels' relatives in Xinjiang. Gudung wrote in a memorial that he had been ordered to search for six relatives of the rebels. After looking into the list of names of merchants in Aksu, he found traces of Bai Yixiang (ma. Bai I-xiang) and Ha zhi-wazi (ma.Ha jyi- wa-dzi). He immediately went to their inn outside the town and arrested them. He also found out that two others had traveled from Aksu to Ush, and he reported this information. The two arrested were lodging in an inn operated by Hui, and several Hui provided testimony on the spot.

Case 10: Qianlong 50th year 10th month 29th day, Kuilin, Yili Jiangjun, reports on the capture and execution of a runaway woman with the surname Ma. Microfilm no. 135-3300

After the suppression of the first Hui Revolt, many rebel family members (mostly women) were exiled to Yili.¹⁵ But we know very little about their life in exile.¹⁶ This memorial provides us with much important information, and other similar records can be found in *Manwen lufu*. The Ma woman was the wife of Ma Musha, a participant in the He Zhou (河州) Hui uprising. While in exile, she was enslaved at the Chahar garrison, where she worked as a herding woman and was frequently reproached and beaten. Ma could not bear the suffering and ran away. Unfortunately, she was recaptured and executed. Kuilin also reported that due to the considerable number of runaways and the large number of exiled Hui women at the various garrison pasturelands in Yili, he ordered the Ma woman to be sent to the Chahar ranch to be executed in front of all the exiled women whom he gathered

¹⁵ The sentence stipulated that dependent female relatives of the rebels be exiled to Yili as slaves for the Oirat, Solun, and Chahar troops, while young men were sent to the "miasmatic" frontiers of Yunnan and Guangxi. See QLJ: *Qinding Lanzhou jilue* [欽定蘭州紀略] juan 13.

¹⁶ According to QLJ juan 13, we know that Mrs. Zhang (張夫人), wife of Xinjiao leader Ma Minxin, was sent to Yili along with her two children. It is said that later with her own hand she killed a Qing court official to avenge her husband's death and was then herself executed. (See ZHANG Chengzhi 張承志 1999 *Xinling shi* [心靈史], Changsha: Hunan wenyi chubanshe, p. 71.) The tombs housing Mrs. Zhang's and her second daughter's remains still stand, and are sites of pilgrimage for Jahriyya adherents. However, for most of the exiled Hui women, it can be said that for a long time we knew nothing of their bitter lives; only the *Manwen lufu* provides a glimpse.

there to observe and learn a lesson.

Case 11: Qianlong 49th year 10th month 19th day, Yamatai reports on the discovery of a Hui (Muslim) Koran at the home of cart driver Han De.

Microfilm no. 132-2687 (attached 1 confession)

Hui cart driver Han De, also known as Han Ahong, was 31 years old and came originally from Xining. Han had come to Xinjiang with his father many years earlier and was just returned to Xinjiang after a visit back east. When he got back to Xinjiang, he was asked to give two copies of the Koran to Ma Qijiao of Kucha (from Ma Guoying, a Hui living in Asku) and Ma Yingjian of Hami (from Ma Huide, also living in Asku), respectively. He was, therefore, suspected of disseminating cultic (New Teaching) literature. Han De and his relations and associates were arrested for this. This case was recorded in the Daging lichao shilu and a memorial manuscript (hand-copy) by Fu-kang-an¹⁷ (then Shaan-Gan governor); however, the *lufu* memorial's content is much more detailed. Most interesting is the attached confession which in question-and-answer format records the dialogue of the official with Han De and three other people. On the one hand, we note what a high degree of vigilance the Qing government maintained toward the New Teaching sect, especially regarding texts of the Jahriyya. On the other hand, we also find abundant details regarding Hui immigrants' religious life in Xinjiang.

From the interrogation, we learn that Ma Guoying's Koran was actually Ma Qijiao's family heirloom which had been passed on for generations. For years, Ma Qijiao had kept the Koran with him to read while traveling in Xinjiang. Since he was leaving for his hometown in 1781, however, he left it temporarily in Ma Guoying's keeping. Because Ma Qijiao knew the Koran well, he was also called Erahong (二阿訇) by Huis who knew him. Ma Huide also carried a Koran with him while traveling on business. Worried about damaging the Koran during his trip, he wanted to ask Ma Yingjian, a furrier in Hami, to keep it for him. These Huis all claimed that their Koran had nothing to do with the new sect. The government eventually had to agree that theirs were "normal Korans," not sectarian texts, and did not violate the law. Nevertheless, the government refused to release the men, but rather sent them to Urumchi to be under surveillance so as to warn all others

¹⁷ These memorials are housed in the Tōyō Bunko in Tokyo; the memorialist is listed on the catalog card as "unknown," but through investigation I have determined that they were written by Fu-kang-an. See HUA Li 華立 1995 "Fu-kang-an no sōkō wo osameru ni atatte" 「福康安の『奏稿』を納めるにあたって」, *Osaka Keizai Hōka Daigaku Toshokan Refaransu Rebyū* 10, pp. 9-11.

who tried to pass religious literature.¹⁸

Summary and Conclusion

Close to Han Chinese in their language and to Uyghur in their Islamic religion, Hui immigrants gradually became an important group in Xinjiang society. However, the Hui group in Xinjiang was formed through a historical process. What were the characteristics of their acculturation into Xinjiang society and how did they maintain and develop their own ethnicity while in contact with various other ethnic groups? We need to further study these issues. The effective use of archive materials can help us solve these riddles.

At the same time, searching in archives is a large and difficult undertaking that demands persistence. To effectively take advantage of the existing resources, it is necessary to promote sharing resources and information among colleagues. I hope this article can provide a little useful information towards that end.

Finally, there is exciting news to report. The First Historical Archives of China has now embarked upon a project to photocopy and publish historical materials from the Xinjiang section of the *Manwen lufu*. Completion of this enormous project is scheduled for 2010. The photocopy will have a Chinese table of contents based on the original *Catalogue of Manchu Archives on the Qing Frontier* with corrections and supplements. This will fulfill the long-held wish of many scholars of Qing dynasty Xinjiang history. With the publication of this material, access to and use of Manchu materials not only for Xinjiang history, but for Qing history generally, will be greatly encouraged and improved.

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¹⁸ For the details of the investigation and confession of Han De, see HUA Li 華立 2006 “Kenryūchō no shinkyō kaimin danatsu to shinkyō he no hakyū” 「乾隆朝の新教回民弾圧と新疆への波及」, *Higashi ajia kenkyū* 45, pp. 88–91.

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