

JAPANESE RESEARCH ON CHINESE MUSLIMS IN MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY HISTORY: A REVIEW OF THE LAST TWENTY YEARS AND FUTURE PROSPECTS FOR THE FIELD

INTRODUCTION

The first order of business in reviewing the past two decades worth of Japanese research concerning the modern and contemporary history of Islam in China is to state exactly what we mean by “Chinese Muslims.”

Given that this is already a research topic [Nakada 1971, 1992; Chūgoku Musurimu Kenkyūkai 2012], we will summarize the results as follows. To begin with, at present, in the People’s Republic of China (PRC), there are ten designated minorities (Shaoshu Minzu 少数民族) that have been classified as adhering to Islam. They are the Uighurs, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Kyrgyz, Tatars, Tajiks, Salars, Dongxiangs, Bonans, and Hui people. These minorities can be further divided linguistically into Han- and non-Han- (i.e., Turkic, Mongol, etc.) speaking groups. According to Nakada Yoshinobu 中田吉信 [1971: 8–9], the former group of Muslims “who speak Han Chinese in their everyday lives” should be called “Huimin” 回民. In recent research, the term “Huimin” has often been replaced with “Chinese Muslim” (Chūgoku Musurimu 中国ムスリム). That being said, strict attention should be paid to each individual researcher’s terminology whenever

er referring to that group.

The present review will be devoted to introducing and analyzing the research done to date on Chinese Muslims residing within the borders of China.¹ Moreover, while the field of Chinese Muslim studies includes aspects ranging from cultural and social anthropology and sociology to political science, geology, theology, economics, and area and gender studies, not to mention interdisciplinary approaches, this review will be limited to the research done by historians, mainly since the year 2000, on that community in China during the modern and contemporary periods.

1. A BRIEF OVERVIEW OF THE PRE-2000 RESEARCH

In this section, I review the research done up until 2000, mainly based on an article written by Kataoka Kazutada 片岡一忠 [1980] who, in his introduction to the field of Chinese Muslim studies from the end of the Asia-Pacific War through the 1970s, proposed a three-phase development approach to the research done up until 1980. His three phases described 1) pre-Manchurian Incident era work (1910s–1930s), 2) studies done after the Incident up to 1945 (that is, the era of the Second Sino-Japanese War), and 3) postwar research.

The pre-Manchurian Incident era work began with Kuwabara Jitsuzō 桑原隲藏 who was an expert in the history of East-West communication and studied the life of Pu Shougeng 蒲寿庚 in an attempt to clarify the contact between China and the Islamic world [Kuwabara 1923]. This theme then developed into research on the history of Islam as a religion. Such research mainly involved Japanese translation of European works on the subject [Ishida 1918] and focused on field surveys and eyewitness reports from missionaries working in China. It was also at this time that Japanese scholars, represented by Kuwata Rokurō 桑田六郎 [1919, 1925], began bibliographical studies of the sources related to Islam in China, written in, or translated from Arabic or Persian into, Classical Chinese by *huiru* 回儒, i.e. Chinese Muslim intellectuals active in the Ming and Qing eras who tried to understand Islamic thoughts and principles in the framework of the Confucian traditions.

However, alongside such pure research, there were investigations motivated by a growing interest in Japan's advance onto the Asian continent and "continental management" strategies in preparation for that occasion [Kataoka 1980: 24]. This investigative work was conducted by Japanese Muslim pan-Asianists, such as Sakuma Teijirō 佐久間貞次郎 and Tanaka Ippei 田中逸平, as well as collaborators in Japan's Islam campaigns

(Isurāmu kōsaku イスラーム工作) on the Asian continent, such as Kawamura Kyōdō 川村狂堂 [Kataoka 1980: 23–29].

The second phase began with the outbreak of the Second Sino-Japanese War in September 1931 and the establishment of Manchukuo during the next year, followed by the Japanese invasion of northern China and the resulting foundation of several “puppet” regimes. Phase two marked a veritable boom in Japanese research regarding all aspects of the Asian continent, including an important step forward in the study of Islam in China. Since it was inevitable that Japan’s advance onto the continent would involve contact with the Muslim communities of China’s north and north-east regions, an important research topic evolved around how to respond to such contact. This topic stimulated interest in Islam since it was influential in the Japanese-occupied areas and the Northwest Region.

At the same time, Islamic studies inside Japan were becoming better organized with the establishment of government-funded research associations devoted to the study of the Islamic world and the expansion of existing institutes to encompass sections conducting Islamic studies and surveys. Examples include the establishment of Isuramu Bunka Kyōkai イスラーム文化協会 (Islamic Culture Association) in May 1937, Kaikyōken Kōkyūjo 回教圏攷究所 (renamed Kaikyōken Kenkyūjo 回教圏研究所; Islamic Sphere Research Institute) in March 1938, the publication of the journal *Kaikyō Jijō* 回教事情 (Islamic Current Affairs) by the Survey Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in May 1938, and the founding of Dai-Nihon Kaikyō Kyōkai 大日本回教協会 (Greater Japan Islamic Association) in September of that year.

These were followed with fieldwork projects sponsored by institutions such as Tōa Shominzoku Chōsakai 東亜諸民族調査会 (East Asia Ethnic Group Survey Team) within the Imperial Academy and Minzoku Kenkyūjo 民族研究所 (Ethnic Studies Research Institute). The projects were led by prominent Asian studies scholars like Ono Shinobu 小野忍 (Chinese literature), Saguchi Tōru 佐口透 (history of Turkistan), and Iwamura Shinobu 岩村忍 (Eurasian history and East-West communication), whose involvement brought about the publication of the result of their work. The following reports were noteworthy in the area of Islamic studies: *Kita Shina Kaikyō Jijō* 北支那回教事情 (The present situation of Islam in northern China), which was published in 1941 as a result of a survey conducted by Mita Ryōichi 三田了一 and Takeuchi Yoshinori 竹内義典 from February 1939 till June 1940, and Niida Noboru’s 仁井田陞 report on Muslim commercial guilds based on his 1943 survey.

In a more journalistic vein, a growing number of pamphlets were released, arguing the need for “campaigns” targeting the Muslim community

as a “fortress against communism,” while translations of the works written by European authors and outstanding Chinese historians, like Gu Jiegang 顧頡剛 (ancient China), Jin Jitang 金吉堂 (Islamic history), and Fu Tongxian 傅統先 (Islamic history), also continued. The result was a clear shift from pure research to studies reflecting the events of the day; on the other hand, some work continued on essential topics like the introduction of Islam into China, the predominance of Persian elements in Chinese Islam, and the social history of China’s Muslim communities [Kataoka 1980: 29–36].

Upon entering the third and final phase, which occurred postwar, the research on Islam in China that had been actively conducted in accordance with the needs of the times was forced to change in the wake of Japan’s defeat in the war. After publishing their empirical research findings, most scholars who had been involved in research and fieldwork before and during the war shifted their research themes to areas of interest other than Chinese Islamic studies. Among the works published after that shift were a collection of papers by the scholars involved in the 1944 ethnic studies project, namely Mōkyō Kaimin Chōsa 蒙疆回民調查 (Survey of the Hui People of Mengjiang) [Iwamura 1949–50] and Maejima Shinji’s 前嶋信次 research on the arrival of Islam during the Song and Yuan periods [Maejima 1952, 1953]. There were, however, those who went against such trends, and among them was Tasaka Kōdō 田坂興道 who continued his research on Chinese Islamic history until his untimely death at the age of 45, at which time he left a posthumous body of work [Tasaka 1964].

After Tasaka, the current of Chinese Islamic studies that had raged since before the war was reduced to a trickle [Kataoka 1980: 36–37]. This trickle was nurtured by a “postwar faction” headed by Nakada Yoshinobu, who was influenced by the Marxian approach, historical materialism, and the developmental stage theory of history, all introduced along with the formation of the PRC.

Nakada focused his attention on the history of Chinese Muslims during the Qing period, evaluating the social and economic activities of the Muslim community at that time. Following the traditional socio-historical approach of Tasaka and others, this postwar faction took up such topics as Muslim uprisings during the Ming and Qing eras, which they defined as *qiyi* 起義 (lit. rise up for righteousness), placing them within the context of all the anti-Qing dynasty rebellions. All of Nakada’s research on Muslim *qiyi* [1959, 1971, 1987] was an outgrowth of his interest in social history as influenced by the Chinese Revolution and the historical viewpoint of the “people’s struggle” through which he placed Muslim uprisings in the modern history of China [Kataoka 1980: 37–39]. Thus, studies on Muslim re-

bellions were conducted during the flourishing of “*qiyi* studies” parallel to those concerning non-Muslim movements like the Taiping Rebellion.

In the area of religious studies, focus was laid on Sufism, and attempts were made to clarify the formation and content of Xinjiao 新教 (lit. “new religion”) [Saguchi 1959], while research was also emerging on such topics as Islamic astronomy, Islamic calendar, and mosque architecture. Nakada’s book [1971] provides an overview of the research at that time. It has also been recommended as an introduction to Chinese Islamic history studies in Japan up to that date [Kataoka 1980: 38–39].

Reviews describing trends during the 1990s include the articles prepared by Saguchi [1996] and Kataoka [1999]. The former deals with the Ethnic Studies Research Institute and related fieldwork, and the latter looks back on the history of Chinese Islamic studies beginning with the postwar research done by Nakada Yoshinobu, who we already mentioned as a field leader through the 1990s and whom we can credit with providing a metaphorical beacon for tracing the research done during those decades. For example, Nakada’s 1971 work, which examines such various themes as Muslim kinship and clan organization within Han-Chinese society and the Hui-*qiyi* research, also provides an overview of Chinese Islam in general. In addition, there are his findings on a myriad of themes including the role and influence of Sufism in China and a study of Japanese Muslims. Moreover, the research he did during the late 1980s and 1990s, while introducing the present state of Chinese Islamic studies based on information available from post-Cultural Revolution China, also reexamined many of the important themes taken up in his 1971 publication. Then, from 2000 on, when the availability of source materials greatly improved, scholarly interest dramatically increased in Japan, leading to the flourishing of research on the history of Chinese Islam, which will be described in detail in the upcoming pages.

What should be pointed out concerning the research done up to the turn of the millennium is the discontinuity that appeared between wartime and postwar developments. The former concentrated on Chinese Islam as a political and strategic target for Japan’s successful advance into and occupation of regions on the Asian continent. Thus, it mostly involved description and analysis of the then-present situation of Muslim communities. Those practical concerns, guided along by the Japanese military, gave birth to Islamic studies in Japan, which was based largely on field surveys of Muslim communities conducted by organizations like Iwamura Shinobu’s survey team and Mōkyō Zenrin Kyōkai 蒙疆善隣協会 (Mengjiang Friendship Association) [Sawai 2013]. The research fueled by such aggressive military concerns was then accompanied by the introduction and translation

of the research done until that time by overseas scholars, historical studies based on the philological method of the Japanese traditional Asian studies, and the survey of ethnic societies in Japanese-occupied areas. Owing to the fact that prewar and wartime research is characterized by a tight link between its objectives and interests and the Japanese external expansion, postwar researchers have not effectively utilized all that it had achieved [Kataoka 1980: 22].

Sawai Mitsuo 澤井充生 commented on the pre- and postwar research gap and more recent trends as follows while fully recognizing the worth of reports concerning the Research on Ethnic Minorities in China (Minzoku Chōsa 民族調査) conducted before the war:

As far as the postwar Japanese research on mainland China is concerned, these valuable resources have yet to be consulted and utilized to their fullest. Among today's younger scholars, who are becoming more and more specialized, less and less are bothering to review the research findings of the prewar and wartime eras. And while we must admit that the Research on Ethnic Minorities of the past strongly reflected Japan's national policy concerns at the time, the worth of the resources themselves is unquestionable and should be duly recognized. For example, in the case of research regarding Japanese colonies and other occupied regions, it would be nearly impossible to fully understand historical changes which have occurred within their contemporary societies without the knowledge offered by the Research on Ethnic Minorities of the prewar and wartime eras [Sawai 2013: 75–76].

Elsewhere, Sawai touched upon the present situation in the field, commenting that the “relationship between ‘ethnic minorities’ residing in China and the colonial authority of the Japanese Imperial Army have, since the year 2000, finally begun to be studied and discussed in a more straightforward manner” [Sawai 2017: 126].

Before going into detail on research done since 2000, the reader may also find Nakanishi Tatsuya's 中西竜也 “Chūgoku Isurāmu no kenkyū dōkō” (Trends of studies on Islam in China) interesting since it deals with recent research focusing on Classic Chinese works written by the *huiru* Islamic scholars of the Ming and Qing periods as well as related studies on the academic history of these periods [Nakanishi 2016a]. [Alimu Tuoheti 2019], which is a weighty tome on the history of Islamic studies in Japan, may also be of interest since it focuses mainly on the study of China.

2. THE STUDY OF THE LATE QING/EARLY REPUBLIC OF CHINA ERA SINCE 2000

Let us begin with recent studies of Muslim uprisings, which, since the work of Nakada Yoshinobu, have been presented as *qiyi* in both Japan and China and have also been placed within the very positive, progressive context of ethnic peoples' struggles and movements for the group survival and defense of identity [Kuroiwa 2002: 61–62]. Since 2000, attention has been increasingly directed towards the actual events and circumstances leading up to each revolt.

[Kuroiwa 2002] is, in fact, an attempt to reconstruct the image of the Muslim uprisings, taking up the rebellions staged in Shaanxi and Gansu during the Tongzhi era (1862–78) in particular by focusing on the interrelationship between those outbreaks and the changing social environment, specifically the social circumstances surrounding certain unfounded rumors that spread along with the uprisings through the Gansu region and reflected the consciousness of the area's residents. [Kuroiwa 2004] then closely examines the relationship between the leaders of the uprisings and local society in order to better understand the interaction between the Muslim community's religious foundations and its regional characteristics. Here, the author identifies the influences that differing styles of belief in Shaanxi and Gansu exerted on leadership personality and the workings of Muslim communities, in general.

In contrast, [Andō 2002a] takes up disputes arising between Han and Hui peoples in western Yunnan during the Jiaqing (1796–1820) and Daoguang (1820–50) eras as a prelude to later Muslim uprisings in the region, explaining both the background and causes of the conflicts. The author cites the region as a frontier of migration and land reclamation in which lost cooperation between the two groups developed into outright hostility. Last but not least, the work of Zhang Chengzhi 張承志, a Chinese Muslim author and scholar whose historical analysis of the Jahriyya Order (one of the main groups that participated in the Muslim Rebellion in the Northwest Region) is based on both oral accounts and Muslim written sources, resulting in the research focusing on the Muslim communities' relations with the external world through the lens of their rebellions [Zhang 1993a, 1993b].

Owing to the PRC's economic reform program (Gaige Kaifang 改革開放), the last 20 years have also seen a reexamination of people who has been cut off from the mainstream as so-called "feudal" forces based on a critique of revolutionary historical consciousness and a developmental stage theory of history. In accordance with this tide in Chinese historical

studies, this approach has been adopted in the study of Muslim secular military forces (the Huimin and Xibei 西北 warlords) like the Ma 馬 clan, which became a power to be reckoned with in the Northwest Region during the Republican era. See [Terashima 1984, 1985, 1992] and [Nakada 1994] for treatises on the Xibei Muslim warlords of Gansu, etc.

The “modernization” of Islam as a religion and the Muslim community are among the most popular themes characterizing the post-2000 research. Both pertain to internal issues with such focal points as Muslims’ spontaneity and autonomy. Since the uprisings of the late Qing period, the Muslim community had suffered from a negative public image, the struggle against which generated internal reform efforts aimed at freedom from poverty and a lack of educational opportunities and the general improvement of the position of Muslims within Chinese society beginning in the Republican era. The movement saw the founding of organizations like Zhongguo Huijiao Jujinhui 中国回教俱進会 (China Islamic Progress Association; CIPA), which attempted to integrate the Muslim community; and Chengda Shifan Xuejiao 成達師範学校 (Chengda Normal School), which focused on training modern Islamic scholars.

In Japan, Matsumoto Masumi 松本ますみ studied the theme of Muslim modernization from several perspectives. These include the relationship between the Islamic reform movement and national identity [Matsumoto 2000] and Muslim survival tactics and the reform movement under the Republic of China [Matsumoto 2003]. This research discusses the involvement of the reform movement, its social and cultural functions, and its influence on the Muslim community today. It argues the existence of a continuum between the Islamic organizations formed during the Second Sino-Japanese War and the prewar reform movement. [Matsumoto 2008] then takes up the relationship between Muslim intellectuals in Yunnan and modern thought through an analysis of the transition from the universal idea of the oneness of being (*wahda al-wujūd*) to the birth of the ethnic identity that is characteristic of the modern state.

One of the research fields which have attracted many scholars’ attention is the group identity of Chinese Muslims in the modern period. During the Republican era, it was the Islamic reform movement that promoted the reorganization and redefinition of Muslim identity by closely linking such elements as overseas Islamic revivalist ideas with modern Chinese thought [Andō 2009]. For that very reason, it has been argued that the “age of modernity” for Chinese Muslims is the same period in history when the group began reconsidering and debating their national identity. Their debates unfolded around such theses as “We are an ethnic group” (回教民族説), or “We are a sociocultural group with a common religion” (漢人回教徒説),

both of which have been the focus of numerous recent studies. These theses, in turn, necessitated a confrontation with the dual identity of ethnicity and nationalism [Andō 2009; Matsumoto 2000, 2003; Yamazaki 2011]. In [Andō 2009], we find an examination of the structural development of the class of intellectuals who promoted the Islamic reform movement in the first place. This examination focuses on their key issue: identity. The author cites various ways of thinking about the complete overhaul of Muslim ethnicity, encompassing such issues as exactly what kind of people Muslims residing in China were, or in other words, where to place their group identity in terms of role and importance. The author points out that from the 1920s onward, the definition of Chinese Muslims as a specific, indigenous ethnic group became more and more dominant over the “common religion” argument, and their ideas concerning ethnicity in turn perpetuated an intimate connection to those about Chinese nationalism in general. [Yamazaki 2014] addresses one aspect of the Muslim “ethnicity” debate in modern China. The author follows the kind of Muslim identity not compatible with the “ethnic group” concept that existed around the 1930s by looking at the “common religion” definition. Interestingly, the author doubts that the reason Muslim elites so stubbornly denied the Han-Hui dichotomy as one of an “ethnic” lineage was only out of concern for toeing the Kuomintang Party line. [Unno 2015] focuses on the controversy among various Muslim elites (clerics or *Ahōng*, journalists, scholars, educators, etc.) of northern China at the beginning of the 20th century over the *queue* hairstyle (*bianfa* 辮髮) and the movement to cut it in the context of Muslim identity, showing a rather diverse set of values among Muslims which is not necessarily integrated into patriotism (Aiguo 愛國). [Unno 2016] examines the role played by *halāl* dietary standards (*qingzhen* 清真) as an identity marker responsible for forming and maintaining a boundary between Muslims and non-Muslims in early 20th century northern China. Despite the rather fluid, ambiguous ideas concerning “ethnicity” and Hui-Han consciousness at the end of the Qing and beginning of the Republican periods, regarding the issue of *halāl*, the author shows a feeling of being discriminated at odds with a pride over cleanliness among Muslims, as having significance in the formation of a “we-they” attitude towards non-Muslims. The author argues that it was Islamic concerns with “sanitation” and “purity” that influenced Islamic awakening rather than “ethnic” consciousness. The author also indicates that, for Muslims, the “Han people” may not have been considered an “ethnic group,” but rather a group believing in a “Han religion” (Hanjiao 漢教) that was different from Islam (Huijiao 回教). Finally, [Matsumoto 2013] investigates international consciousness among Muslim intellectuals in the media during the 1930s through a study

of their Chinese language periodicals.

The origins of Muslim identity in conflict with Han identity can be traced back to the Republican era during which marked differences arose between the two groups in terms of lifestyle, giving rise to contradictions and direct confrontations that are symbolized by various *wujiao* 侮教 (Muslim bashing) incidents during the 1930s, the most sensational of which occurred in Shanghai and Nanking in 1932. In October of that year, the literary journal *Nanhua Wenyi* 南華文芸 (South China Literature) published an article entitled “Why Muslims do not eat pork,” which contained a quote from a book published by the Beixin 北新 Bookstore of Shanghai entitled *Xiao-Zhu Bajie* 小豬八戒 (“Little” Zhu Bajie). The book claimed that the son of Zhu Bajie, the cantankerous pig from the ancient Buddhist tale *Journey to the West*, was the founder of Islam. This led to Muslim outrage and public protest and resulted in the eventual demise of both the journal and the bookstore involved. [Mitsuta 2014] not only traces and gives background for these events but also examines how the incident was discussed by the very influential public intellectual Hu Shi 胡適. Focusing on the political atmosphere of 1932, which was characterized by desperate government attempts at national integration and unification, the author identifies various views about how those goals should be attained, using the aforementioned incident as a clue to the overlap of ideas. In contrast, [Andō 1996] looks at the incident from the perspective of the burgeoning identity of a group that was struggling with the outside world. Andō argues that in order to better understand the Muslim community’s encounter with the state and its national integration in modern and contemporary Chinese history, we must discuss the ways in which Muslim ethnic identity was promoted vis-à-vis the Han community and the Chinese state. Thus, the question arises: Does such confrontation in the Republican era form a continuum with the antagonistic tactics (e.g. armed uprisings) used during the dynastic eras? Andō’s reply is that the ethnic identity shared within the Muslim community was by no means a result of the “ethnic labeling” policy implemented by the PRC. Rather, what may have happened was an integration of the seemingly contradictory aspects of an ethnic group clearly proclaiming its autonomy, on the one hand, and a political regime emphasizing the common national character of the people, on the other, resulting, ironically, in a mutual reinforcement of both endeavors.

Another topic is Christian missionary work within the Muslim community, which was an important task for the evangelical churches from the 19th to the mid-20th century. While, during the age of colonialism, Muslims in the other areas were placed under European rule, Muslims in China who were under “heathen” regimes were considered isolated from the gos-

pel. [Matsumoto 2005] takes up the Christian churches' missionary activities directed at Chinese Muslims from the first in-earnest efforts by the Edinburgh Missionary Conference in 1910. The author examines resistance to such endeavors in the form of the publication of refutations and Islamic primers together with the founding of Islamic schools. The author also points to the absence of any serious confrontation between the two groups, owing, in part, to Christian missionaries empathizing with Islam, in general, and recognizing the Chinese Muslim "tradition" of coexisting in a multi-religious culture, in particular. [Matsumoto 2007a] continues along this line by discussing the relationship between Christianity and Islam in modern China, including both opposition and agreement between the groups over the dispatch of Christian missionaries. Meanwhile, [Matsumoto 2007b] considers missionary efforts by the China Inland Mission (Zhongguo Neidihui 中国内地会) and experiments in modernity launched by the Muslim community. The author examines how Muslims dealt with the Christian "challenge" through reforms to their own belief system, from the viewpoint of both the missionary activities aimed at Muslims and reactions to these in the form of Islamic revivalism. In doing so, the author clarifies the process by which Islamic ideas were accommodated in the context of the authoritarianism and national morality demanded by the modern nation-state.

The research on both the previously mentioned Han-Hui confrontations and Christian proselytizing in the Muslim community focuses on Muslim relations with "the other;" the former in the guise of fellow Chinese citizens and the latter as foreigners following a strange religion.

3. THE STUDY OF THE NATIONALIST GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC ERAS SINCE 2000

Let us begin with recent research on the relationship between Muslim communities and the Chinese modern state, including such topics as public policy concerning religious sects and ethnic groups, which definitely fall within the category of encounters between Muslims and "outsiders." Leading this particular area of interest is Matsumoto Masumi, whose study of the Chengda 成達 faction of reformist Muslims found at least one group ready to collaborate with the Nationalist government [Matsumoto 1999, 2000, 2003].

[Matsumoto 1999] contains an analysis of public discourse and policy concerning ethnic groups, including the Muslim community, from the last years of the Qing dynasty to 1945, while [Matsumoto 2011] narrows the

topic to Sun Wen's 孫文 ideals concerning the "integration" of a great nation at the turn of the 20th century. Within Sun Wen's blueprint for the Chinese state, the author analyzes his discourse on "national integration" and "thorough and complete nationalism" (*chedi de minzu zhuyi 徹底的民族主義*), revealing Sun's views on nationalism and ethnicity.

There is also research on the Muslim community's relationship with the New Life Movement (*Xin-shenghuo Yundong 新生活運動*) promoted by Jiang Jieshi 蔣介石 and the Nanking Nationalist government. [Hirayama 2010] offers an analysis of the Muslim community of Kaifeng's response to the Movement, concluding that, concerning the proposed reforms, its Muslim intellectuals were able to maintain legitimacy while retaining their appeal within the community by not opposing the government's policy. [Hirayama 2012] takes up "proclamations and appeasement" (*xuanwei 宣慰*) in order to explain the Nanking central government's policy direction as conducted by Ma Hongdao 馬宏道, one of its Muslim bureaucrats. From that came an examination of the kind of relationship being formed between the government and the Muslim community as evidenced by the opinions and behavior of the latter's intellectuals. It was found that a perception gap developed between Muslims and the Nanking government. In addition, there is a study of the presence of the "ethnic group" within the process of state building [Wang K. 2006].

As mentioned previously, there used to be a very close relationship linking the study of Chinese Muslims to Japan's advance onto the Asian continent and local collaboration with Japanese war efforts, the analysis of which was virtually taboo for postwar researchers up through the 1990s. Then, from the turn of the millennium, we began to see attempts at self-reflection on Japanese wartime operations. By producing interesting findings, this developed into a hot research topic that was greatly influenced by progress in the study of Japanese colonialism and local collaboration for its activities. Opening this path of inquiry was Shinbo Atsuko 新保敦子, whose work has been collected into a volume of papers [Shinbo 2018].

Japanese research on the Chinese Muslim community during the Second Sino-Japanese War centered around Japanese propaganda efforts and Muslim life in Japanese-occupied regions. For example, there are studies of Japanese campaigns in northern China, the Mengjiang 蒙疆 region of Inner Mongolia, and Manchukuo, and the related Islamic associations of the time, such as Zhongguo Huijiao Zong-lianhehui 中國回教總聯合會 (Chinese Islamic General Assembly; hereafter the General Assembly) and Xibei Huijiao Lianhehui 西北回教聯合會 (Northwest Muslim General Assembly), which focused on political power and social organization. Such Japanese research on specific associations and communities pales, however, in

comparison to the amount of Chinese work devoted to aspects of anti-Japanese resistance, salvation of the nation, and patriotic movements with detailed accounts of how such personages as Bai Chongxi 白崇禧 (1893–1966), a Muslim association director, and his rank and file contributed to the war against the Japanese.

In this vein, [Matsumoto 2009] focuses on Japan's Islam campaigns in Shanghai, particularly the activities of pan-Asianist Sakuma Teijirō, who converted to Islam during the 1920s and founded, along with his compatriots, the Hikarisha 光社, which, in turn, published an in-house organ entitled *Huiguang* 回光 during 1924–25, which “shocked” the local Muslim community into supporting the Chinese Islamic reformist movement. The author points to Sakuma's pro-Japanese government activities before and after the war as representing a continuum in the study of Islam in Japan. The piece also introduces “commentary” on the effectiveness of Islam campaigns evaluated in books and articles written by members of the Chongqing Muslim community during the war.

Last but not least, probably the most prolific work on this topic has been done on the Japanese efforts in northern China and Mengjiang, particularly the collaborative relations involving the General Assembly. To begin with, [Andō 2002b] is an attempt to present a clear overview of Japan's Islam campaigns from the 1910s until the end of the war. This is followed by [Andō 2014], which relies on the progress made since the 1990s in research on Japan's colonies and militarily-occupied territories in order to place Islam campaigns within the process by which the majority of the residents of those militarily-occupied regions came to the conclusion that it was best to “live in peace with the enemy.” Andō recognizes the reason why they assumed such an attitude to be self-interest in protecting their families and community and/or avoiding a regional power vacuum that would threaten to throw local society into chaos. It is within this analytical framework that the author proceeds to systematically examine the interrelationship and interaction between Muslim communities and the General Assembly, describing in detail the body's origins as well as organizational background, structure, and characteristic features in order to fully explain its activities and “weaknesses.” Shinbo Atsuko has also contributed to the subject of religious policy implemented by the Japanese occupation forces with her case study of the General Assembly and Zhongguo Huijiao Qingnian tuan 中国回教青年团 (Chinese Muslim Youth League). Her study better clarifies Islam campaigns in northern China and the actual involvement of the Japanese army in Muslim affairs [Shinbo 1998, 2000, 2003, 2018]. Utilizing articles from the monthly periodical *Zhenzong Bao* 震宗報, [Yamazaki 2011] analyzes the ideas and activities of “pro-Japanese” Muslims

who collaborated with the implementation of Japan's Islam campaigns during the war, by quoting the attempt by a group led by Tang Yichen 唐易塵, one of the pro-Japanese leaders in the General Assembly, to make a pilgrimage to Mecca and the opposition raised against it in Chong-qing, which involved denying the simple dichotomy of "pro-Japanese" and "anti-Japanese."

Turning to Islam campaigns in Mengjiang in coordination with the General Assembly, [Sakamoto 2008b], included in a compilation of papers focusing on the connection between the Muslim community and the war itself [Sakamoto 2008a], touches upon such topics as wartime Japanese policies regarding Islam and how they related to Tartar refugees. Shinbo Atsuko's efforts here include an examination of the Islam campaigns conducted by the Northwest Muslim General Assembly under Mengjiang Lianhe Zizhi Zhengfu 蒙疆聯合自治政府 (Mengjiang United Autonomous Government) like the activities of Komura Fujio 小村不二男, etc. as well as youth education programs (Huimin Nüshu 回民女塾; Hui women's private school). She delves into questions like what the actual goals of Japan's Islam campaigns were and what kind of path led to their conclusion—or rather, what sort of after-effect they had on Mongolia [Shinbo 1999a, 1999b, 2018].

Concerning the relationship between Islam campaigns and the Muslim community itself, we can look to the comprehensive research done by Sawai Mitsuo. [Sawai 2013] concisely summarizes the direction, policy, and implementation of Islam campaigns in Japan's colonies and occupied territories. Cases reported in fieldwork conducted by Iwamura Shinobu and the Mengjiang Friendship Association, etc. are used to examine the influence of those activities on local communities, thus reconstructing the overall image of Japan's Islam campaign and the Japanese-sponsored Research on Ethnic Minorities throughout the prewar and wartime eras and elucidating the connection between the two. [Sawai 2014] investigates the relationship between the Northwest Muslim General Assembly and mosques (*qingzhensi* 清真寺) of the Mengjiang region, looking at the encounter between the intentions of the rulers and those of the ruled and focusing on what kinds of relations resulted from such conflict. In more concrete terms, the author considers the character of Islam campaigns conducted by the Japanese military in the major cities of the region, specifically the impact of violent, coercive attempts to make Muslims Japanese imperial subjects (*Kōminka Seisaku* 皇民化政策), Japanese cultural chauvinism towards others, power relations between the Japanese and the indigenous people, and Japanese colonial administration of the region, in general. The reader will also find a detailed account of the caravan transportation link-

ing Mengjiang with the Northwest Region and the camel drivers who provided it, as well as the Japanese authorities' attention to the latter as local collaborators who were knowledgeable about the situation on the ground. [Sawai 2015] vividly depicts the circumstances faced by mosques and the Muslim community under the Mengjiang regime. The author does this by focusing again on the camel transportation business, the owners of which were powerful forces managing mosque affairs and supporting their socio-economic base. The author then discusses how special agents of the Japanese military attempted to organize Muslim trade unions, regulate local economic activity, and proactively utilize Muslim leadership to Japan's advantage. [Sawai 2016] focuses on the formation process and the activities of the Northwest Muslim General Assembly set up by special Japanese military agents under the Mengjiang regime, utilizing the Assembly's organ, *Huisheng* 回声 or *Xibei Zhongsheng* 西北钟声 (The Voice of Islam or Ringing from the Bells of the Northwest), to better clarify the power relations among Japanese agents, the Assembly, and local mosques, in addition to reconstructing the portraits of the Assembly's Muslim leadership and the reality faced by the communities that produced them, while examining the characteristic features and changes occurring in the local power structure. The author also points out that even after the withdrawal of the Japanese occupation forces, those same Assembly leaders joined mosques and continued to exercise significant influence over their internal affairs. [Sawai 2017] takes up examples of accounts left by Japanese people as well as by local Muslims pertaining to their mutual contact in Inner Mongolia. In order to determine the kind of intercultural contact formed between the occupiers and the occupied, the analyses of these examples focus on themes like how the Japanese view Muslims as "others" and the treatment and social position of Muslims under Japanese occupation. The author concludes that there were not only Muslims who fully supported Japan's anti-communist position, but also many who used Japanese policy to their own advantage in an attempt to maintain their former power and privilege and/or to plan a "Muslim revival." Overall, Sawai's work represents a new approach in experimenting with the anthropology of colonialism and has certainly pointed us in a new research direction. Along those lines, [Nakao 2016] examines the connection of the Research on Ethnic Minorities with the concept of ethnicity, Japanese ethnology and cultural anthropology during the occupation era, and the utilization of the concept of *minzoku* 民族 to support Japan's war effort. Finally, [Sawai 2018a] deals with the internal affairs of Muslim communities in modern and contemporary Inner Mongolia.

Regarding Islam campaigns under Manchukuo and the Muslim com-

munity living there, we may look to the research done by Tajima Daisuke 田島大輔, beginning with [Tajima 2009a], which examines the lives and activities of local Muslims for 12 years before the collapse of that state in 1945. [Tajima 2009b] discusses the relationship between the problem of Muslim education and Manzhou Yisilan Xiehui 滿洲伊斯蘭協會 (Manzhou Islamic Association) during the early years of the regime, while [Tajima 2010] takes up the issue of the relocation of Muslim burial sites under the regime. In addition, [Tan 2017], which analyzes the promulgation of the Manchukuo Family and Inheritance Act (Manchukuo Qinshujicheng Fa 滿洲國親屬繼承法) in relation to the inheritance rights of women, also touches upon local Muslim family customs.

With respect to Islam campaigns conducted within Japan proper, one only need turn to the research done by Shimada Daisuke regarding Japan's Islamic policy and its implementation during the prewar and wartime eras. It focuses on the Greater Japan Islamic Association, beginning with [Shimada 2009], which provides an introduction to the subject matter. In [Shimada 2015a], the author traces the activities of the Association under the chairmanship of Shiōten Nobutaka 四王天延孝 from November 1942 until the end of the war, characterizing that time as a transition from peaceful cultural propaganda to international cooperation that was enthusiastically promoted by Dai-Tōa-shō 大東亞省 (Ministry of Greater East Asia), marking a shift from a "pan-directional" Islamic policy that included the Middle East to prioritizing the concerns of Islam within Greater East Asia. The author attributes this change in policy to the belief that winning the hearts and minds of Muslims closer at hand was indispensable to the continuing success of the Greater East Asia Co-Prosperty Sphere (Dai-Tōa Kyōeiken 大東亞共榮圈), as well as to differences of opinion with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. [Shimada 2015b] takes up the Foreign Ministry's Islamic policy, giving us a general history of the Association's organizational structure, management, and day-to-day activities. Unlike the Imperial Army, the Foreign Ministry regarded its policy objectives as encompassing the entire Islamic world centered around the Middle East and emphasizing cultural programs above all, thus giving rise to the appearance of a division of labor, which allocated to the Army full reign over Islamic policy in the Japanese-occupied territories of the Far East. As Japan's war effort worsened, the Greater East Asia Ministry began exerting more and more influence on the Association, leading to the collapse of that division of labor. Relying on the above findings, [Shimada 2015c] presents a comprehensive overview of the Association with respect to Japan's Islam campaigns during the wartime era.

Turning to the issue of how the Muslim community was perceived and

described by “outsiders” during the wartime period, [Matsumoto 2015a] analyzes the Kahoku Kōtsū Photograph Collection (Kahoku Kōtsū Shashin 華北交通写真) in terms of the history of relations between Japan and Mengjiang. Matsumoto’s work includes an attempt to give a clear image of how Mongolia and Mongol people, as well as Islam and Muslims, were presented to the Japanese public.² [Matsumoto 2015b] then takes up the role of “genderized” ethnic minorities in the implementation of national integration. In so doing, the author utilizes sources produced by the mass media under such regimes as Manchukuo, Japanese military administration, and the Chinese Communist Party (CCP), in order to clarify the images of Mongol and Muslim women during that time. Despite under different regimes, the author identifies common patterns and historical continuity in the images of ethnic minorities during those 80 years. According to her, depictions of them were of “natural,” “primitive,” and “backward and defenseless” young females; that is to say, they were to be incapable of determining their own lives.

In addition to the above study of Japanese propaganda activities in Chinese Muslim communities, Matsumoto Masumi [2002] conducted some research from the Chongqing Nationalist regime’s perspective on the Islamic reform movement during the wartime era. I have also taken up this topic on several occasions, focusing on Zhongguo Huijiao Jiuguo Xiehui 中国回教救国協會 (Chinese Islamic Association for National Salvation; CIANS), which is a group closely affiliated with the Nationalist government aiming for Muslim self-improvement and community organization. To begin with, [Yakubo 2010] presents an analysis of the two official Muslim holidays (‘Īd al-Fiṭr at the end of Ramaḍān and ‘Īd al-Aḍḥā on the tenth day of Dhū al-Hijjah) celebrated by the CIANS headquarters and its Chongqing branch, based on information concerning the Association’s religious activities during the war. [Yakubo 2013a] then draws attention to the complex inter-relationship between religion and the state under wartime conditions by examining the Association’s most strictly held ideals during that time, while [Yakubo 2013b] discusses the Association’s projects for education promotion and the response of the Nationalist government to them, citing the case of the movement for constructing *qingzhen xiaoxue* 清真小学 (schools for Muslim children) in Hubei province. Next, [Yakubo 2015] turns to the Association’s Muslim sociopolitical improvement activities and its perceptions of the idea of constitutional governance, which were most loudly expressed during 1939 and 1940. Finally, [Yakubo 2016] takes up the perceptions and ideals of the Association and its affiliated intellectuals with regard to the management of mosques and the process of creating institutions for that purpose.

On the other side of the Chinese political spectrum, [Hirayama 2008] delves into the CCP's efforts to win support within the Muslim community, examining the ideal of its Islamic policy and the penetration of its power in the Muslim community in regions like Shaanxi and Ningxia through Muslim elites who were trained in the Party line. The author points to former CCP leader Wang Ming's 王明 advocacy of a KMT-CCP United Front (Guo-Gong Hezuo 国共合作) within the Muslim community and indicates that he may have been the founder of the CIANS branch in the CCP stronghold of Yan'an (Shaanxi).

Turning to the study of the postwar Chinese Muslim community, research in fields related to contemporary history, such as cultural anthropology, flourished, while the attention of historians was drawn, in large part, to Muslims who relocated from the mainland to Taiwan after the war. In [Hirayama 2017], we find an examination of the activities of the Chinese Muslim Association and Chinese Muslim Youth League between 1949 and 1979 as well as their relationship with one another and with the Taiwanese government. This is done in an attempt to clarify one aspect of the government's policy regarding the Middle East and Southeast Asia. Meanwhile, [Hirayama 2018] focuses on Muslim intellectual Xiao Yongtai 箫永泰, detailing his intellectual roots and activities as director of the Muslim Youth League and hoping to shed light on such topics as Muslim intellectuals' perception of the external world, their anti-communist propaganda efforts, and ideas about Islamic reform, ethnic identity, and historical perspectives. [Kimura 2003] starts out by placing Taiwanese Muslims within the context of an immigrant community in order to discuss the relationship between migrants' ethnicity and religious culture; it then traces the historical evolution of the rituals on the Prophet's birthday (*mawlid*) which have been conducted in that community up to the present day in order to explain, in anthropological terms, how the issue of ethnic identity was handled and how it changed over time. [Kimura 2004] analyzes the ethnic identity expressed by the Chinese Muslim Association on the occasion of the crisis experienced by the Xinsheng 新生 Mosque in Taipei in 1999 and the Association's efforts to preserve it. The work focuses on how Muslims were regarding themselves as members of the Taiwanese society and finding a dual relationship of both "differentiation" and "resonance" between their religiosity and ethnicity, thus indicating differing identity boundaries depending on the particular situation. Finally, [Kimura 2009a] traces, in detail, changes in how Muslims who relocated to Taiwan in 1949 talked about identity over the years. This latter work summarizes the process as an identity transformation into Huimin citizens of the Republic of China.

Regarding postwar Japanese government policy and Islamic organiza-

tions, [Shimada 2017] identifies both continuous and discontinuous aspects over the prewar and wartime eras in an examination of Kokusai Mōsuremu Kyōkai 国際モスレム協会 (International Muslim Association) and propaganda operations directed at Muslims during the 1950s.

Meanwhile, in the research aimed at postwar mainland China, [Matsumoto 2018] focuses on the memories and discourse of the Muslim community, analyzing recollections of “the great disaster” in the Ningxia region during the Cultural Revolution and subsequent efforts at an Islamic revival there.

As mentioned in the introduction, a great amount of interest was drawn to the study of Classic Chinese sources regarding Islam and Chinese Islamic thought. This is represented by [Nakanishi 2013], which addresses the conversation that ensued between Islam and Han China from the 17th to the 19th century, involving Muslim thinkers and their Chinese works. Nakanishi then turns to Ma Liangjun 馬良駿, who was active in Xinjiang during the Republican era, offering a textual analysis of his history of Islam entitled *Kaosheng Huijiao Lishi* 考証回教歴史, in which Nakanishi discovers elements of Yangming 陽明 neo-Confucianist thought. [Nakanishi 2016b] takes us back to Yunnan and the Northwest Region in the wake of their Muslim uprisings where we find Muslim intellectuals attempting to calm tensions between the Hui and the Han Chinese communities through discourses on Islamic law that was devised for emphasizing coexistence with the non-Muslim.

In addition, over the two decades in question, a veritable treasure trove of research on present-day China was produced that was both interdisciplinary and specialized, incorporating the purview of modern and contemporary Chinese history on topics like the Islamic revival movement. Within this latter vein, [Matsumoto 2014] utilizes both fieldwork and source materials to discuss the tendency of the Hui people of Yunnan returning to the Islamic faith. In so doing, She takes up topics like the role of the Zhong-A 中阿 Arabic language academy, which was set up to combat threats of secularization within the Muslim community as well as the relocation of both people and knowledge. Also, [Nara 2016] analyzes contemporary Chinese Islamic movement, in general, while [Matsumoto 2010] presents the results of fieldwork, including interview materials, regarding the current role of women’s education within the overall historical environment in which female Muslims have always been situated.

With respect to Muslims who migrated from mainland China to regions like Southeast Asia, [Kimura 2009b] offers an analysis of the history of the Muslim community called Panglong in Burma. The ancestors of that community fled Yunnan after the fall of the Du Wenxiu 杜文秀 “sultanate”

in 1872, and as such, he takes up the issue of colonial and post-colonial identity dealing with “home” and “foreign” settlements in China, Burma, and the British colony. [Kimura 2016] then provides us with a comprehensive gazetteer of the Muslims of Yunnan from the Republican era to the present from the perspective of migration and diaspora, while [Wang L. 2011] takes up Yunnan Muslims who formed communities in Thailand.

Regarding the very important “internal” issue of the recollections and narratives specific to minority groups, [Matsumoto 2017] addresses the question of the ways in which the image of Zheng He 鄭和 (1371–1434), a Ming period eunuch warrior, has been capitalized on as a “cultural asset” serving various purposes. She points, for example, to the tendency to reconstruct Zheng He as a hero of the Chinese nation and its Muslim community, symbolizing the kind of national spirit necessary to implement the current Belt and Road Initiative (Yidai Yilu 一帶一路). On recollections regarding the Muslim uprisings, [Yang 2002] takes up the rebellions staged in the Northwest Region at the end of the 19th century, analyzing the Mongol collective memory about “what really happened” by using methodologies native to historical studies and anthropology.

Finally, [Sawai 2018b] deals with postwar Muslim organizations, using the case of Yinchuan in Ningxia to describe aspects like the operations of the Islamic association under the People’s Republic and the contemporary system of mosque management.

4. SOME COMMENTS ON RECENT TRENDS

One of the most noteworthy advancements since 2000 has been continuing public access to an increasing volume of source materials, not only in Japan but also on mainland China and in Taiwan. Mainland China has seen the publication of source material collections like *Huizu dianzang quanshu* 回族典藏全書 (Complete works of Chinese Islam) and *Qingzhen dadian* 清真大典, which is a collection of 200 works on the history of Islam in China, including facsimile versions. In Taiwan, Guoshiguan 國史館 (Academia Historica), Zhongyang Yanjiuyuan Jindaishi Yanjiusuo Dang’an’guan 中央研究院近代史研究所檔案館 (Archive section of the Institute of Modern History at the Academia Sinica), and Guojia Dang’an Guanliju 國家檔案管理局 (National Archives Administration) are all going forward in making their materials readily available to the public, thus enabling a better understanding of the relationship between the Muslim community and the Republic of China’s government.

In Japan, digital databases have been created, focusing mainly on war-

time materials. These include Kokuritsu Kōbunshokan Ajia Rekishi Shiryō Sentā 国立公文書館アジア歴史資料センター (Japan Center for Asian Historical Records at the National Archives of Japan), which facilitate research on topics like the Second Sino-Japanese War, in general, and Japan's war-time Islam campaigns on the Asian continent, in particular. Another development is the appearance of a younger generation of Japanese scholars who have no qualms about the research done before and during the war. Their attitude enables them to freely utilize survey reports and official documents from imperial Japan, and this has led to the reevaluation of extensive rural field surveys conducted in northern China together with increasingly active searches for related sources, like the Waseda University main library's Islamic Archive section (Isuramu Bunko イスラム文庫), which consists of various materials transferred from the Greater Japan Islamic Association at its dissolution (Dai-Nihon Kaikyō Kyōkai kaisan kitaku shiryō 大日本回教協会解散寄託資料). In addition to the advances being made in publishing the written records, visual materials are coming into increased use as exemplified by the above-mentioned [Matsumoto 2015a], which is a study of how images of Chinese Muslims were presented in the Kahoku Kōtsū Photograph Collection.

Next, it is important to note that any progress in the historical studies of Chinese Muslims will always go hand in hand with progress in the research of the Sino-Japanese War and the Republic of China; the results of the latter two fields have already been utilized in the Chinese Muslim studies, leading to the combination of these three fields. On the other hand, over the last 20 years, we have witnessed attempts to incorporate the research results yielded from topics such as ethnic minorities in general, and Islamic Area Studies.

In addition, let us cite the popularity of viewing China from its “periphery” and the application of such a perspective to Chinese Muslims [Yakubo 2019], which may be divided into two separate approaches. The first involves conceptualizing the Chinese Muslim community as the “periphery” of both the Han Chinese world and the Islamic world in order to observe the contact and interaction going on between the two separate spaces [Mōri 1998; Ishijima 2004; Nakanishi 2013; Matsumoto 2015c; Sawai and Nara 2015]. Meanwhile, the second emphasizes the subjectivity of the entity under discussion, in order to transcend the frameworks of nation-state and regionality and to focus on the entity itself functioning within its socioeconomic environment, thus constructing histories of Chinese Muslims, overseas nationals, Tibet, and Inner Mongolia that are apart from the historical development of the nation-state. While their ultimate objectives are quite different, both approaches are often confused due to

their similar attitudes, eschewing viewing their subject matter from the “center” and thus aiming at relativizing any kind of centrality. In addition, the second approach, emphasizing subjectivity, frequently refers to “periphery” or “perimeter” in its methodology. On the other hand, the first approach, which favors “periphery” over “center” defined in terms not of geography but rather of Chinese culture and politics, has been very effective in relativizing modern and contemporary China vis-à-vis the “peripheral” character of its ethnic minorities [Yakubo 2019: 298–301]. A similar approach, shedding light on Chinese Muslims as “periphery,” is represented in [Mōri 1998], which deals with China and its ethnic minority question; [Matsumoto 2015c], which focuses on ethnicity in China’s geographical periphery in the 1920s and 1930s; and [Sawai and Nara 2015], which utilizes the concept to discuss the state of ethnic minorities today.

There is no doubt that the research done since the year 2000 has been dominated by such perspectives as the modernization of Chinese Islam and religious and/or ethnic identity, along with topics relevant to the Second Sino-Japanese War, including Islam campaigns, during that period. Most of this historical work has concentrated mainly on social, political, and intellectual aspects, with very little attention being paid to economic concerns. Another characteristic feature of the period is the incorporation of the methods of historical studies by cultural anthropologists, providing an interdisciplinary approach. Once again, the important recent themes of Muslim public imagery, perception, and recollection should also be noted.

To end this section, let us briefly review the research environment that has supported Chinese Muslim studies in Japan over the last 20 years. First, platforms formed to facilitate the exchange of opinions and information among scholars in the field have played an important role in raising the standards of research. For example, Chūgoku Musurimu Kenkyūkai 中国ムスリム研究会 (Chinese Muslim Research Association) was formed in 2001 to promote research and scholarly exchange regarding Chinese Muslims as well as Chinese immigrants to Southeast, Central, and West Asia. The Association’s characteristic feature has been its function to bring together scholars from very different fields (such as cultural anthropology, sociology, political science, history, gender studies, etc.) in an atmosphere of interdisciplinary study and discourse on the subject of Islam in China. We should also mention that the Association welcomes the participation of not only Japanese members, but also visiting scholars and foreign students. In order to enhance our knowledge of Chinese Muslims as well as the regions of China and Inner Asia where they reside, the Association convenes regular study meetings mainly within the Tokyo Metropolitan Area, providing a platform for scholarly exchange that leads to improved research tech-

niques through presentations and field survey reports that utilize various methodologies regardless of research field. Apart from regular meetings, guest lecturers are invited from overseas, and special sessions, workshops organized around common themes and in conjunction with other research institutes, as well as symposia are held. The accomplishments of the Association with regard to better understanding of Chinese Muslim politics, society, and culture are summarized in [Chūgoku Musurimu Kenkyūkai 2012] while [Sawai and Nara 2015] contains the results of the symposium commemorating the Association's tenth anniversary.

CONCLUSION

In the above review of the Japanese research in the field of Chinese Islamic historical studies over the past two decades, we have identified two major themes: subject matters pertaining to the internal affairs of Muslim communities, and those relevant to relations with external social and political forces, in the guise of state policy implementation as well as relations with the greater Han Chinese community and former Japanese colonial authorities.

In more specific terms, the research dealing with external issues included: Han-Muslim conflicts, characterized by the *wujiao* incidents during the 1930s; Christian propaganda towards Chinese Muslims; religious and ethnic policies during the Republican era; effects of the New Life Movement on the Muslim community; Islam campaigns conducted by various Japanese authorities (e.g., campaigns in Shanghai and northern China in relation to the activities of the Chinese Muslim General Assembly, similar campaigns in the Mengjiang region of Inner Mongolia in cooperation with the Northwest Muslim General Assembly, campaigns in Manchukuo, the activities of the Greater Japan Islamic Association, etc.); Muslim policies implemented by the Chongqing Nationalist regime and the CCP; and depictions and perceptions of Muslim ethnicity during wartime.

The specific topics that deal with affairs internal to the Chinese Muslim community included its Islamic reform movements, the Chinese Islamic Association for National Salvation affiliated with the Chongqing Nationalist regime and other organizations formed during the wartime and postwar eras, the bibliographic studies and intellectual historical analysis of the works of Chinese Muslim authors, Islamic revivalism, Muslim emigrants from the mainland to Taiwan and other Asian destinations, the Muslim collective memory and related narrative, and Muslim organizations active in the PRC.

It goes without saying that the research has become both diverse in subject matter and detailed in content. In the field of historical studies, the research has tended to center around eras prior to the founding of the PRC. Meanwhile, the work being done on the postwar era tended to employ the methods developed in such fields as cultural anthropology, while concentrating on topics concerning the affairs internal to Muslim communities.

That being said, now is the time to begin linking the findings of pre-1940s historical inquiry with those regarding the post-1949 contemporary period, with a particular eye towards endeavoring to discover possible continua between modern and early contemporary times (the 1950s and 60s), thus making historical research relevant and important to the study of the present. Of course, the major issue that comes to mind in this respect is China's present "ethnic minority question," which is dominated by the problems that are encountered by Muslims and other ethnic groups alike, concerning how they should live their lives in the state governed by the (non-Muslim) majority. Furthering the study of such issues as multicultural symbiotic coexistence in China may well also have much to offer in solving related problems arising in contemporary Japanese society.

*—Originally written in Japanese
Translated by the Toyo Bunko*

NOTES

- 1 The research done to date in Japan on the Turkic-speaking Muslims of Xinjiang, which is out of the present article's scope, is also very extensive. Please refer to an introduction to that research in my review article on the studies concerning the Republic of China and its periphery [Yakubo 2019].
- 2 This visual media source collection was originally owned by Kahoku Kōtsū 華北交通. It was transferred to Jinbun Kagaku Kenkyūjo 人文科学研究所 (Institute for Research in Humanities), Kyoto University, and is categorized and introduced in [Kishi and Shirayama 2016].

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