

# ‘Muslim Diaspora’ in Yuan China: A Comparative Analysis of Islamic Tombstones from the Southeast Coast\*

**Masaki MUKAI**

Doshisha University, Japan  
mmukai@mail.doshisha.ac.jp

## **Abstract**

*This paper presents a case study of the Muslim diaspora through comparative analysis of Islamic tombstones from the Southeast Coast of China under Mongol rule. The locations of the nisbas in the Islamic tombstones are widely dispersed, covering Xinjiang, Transoxiana, Iran, Khorasan, Khwarazm, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia. Unexpectedly, we did not find a single named location from India or Southeast Asia. It is well known that notable descendants of distinguished families traditionally produced*

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\* We would like to thank Editage ([www.editage.jp](http://www.editage.jp)) for English language editing. The arguments in this paper are based on data and analyses of my previous research. In particular, see Mukai Masaki, “Mongoru chika fukken enkaibu no musurimu kanjin sou,” *Arabuisuramu Kenkyū* 7(2009):79-94; “Genchō shoki no nankai kōeki to kōshō: Mangutai no shihakushi gyōsei kanyo to sono haikai,” *Machikaneyama Ronso* (History) 43(2009): 29-54; “The Interests of the Rulers, Agents and Merchants behind the Southward Expansion of the Yuan Dynasty,” in *Tulufanxue yanjiu: di san jie tulufan xue ji ouya youmu minzu de qi yuan yu qianxi guoji xueshu yantaohui lunwenji* (Shanghai: Shanhai guji chubanshe, 2010), 428-445; and Xiang Zhengshu (Mukai Masaki), “Yuandai zhongguo yanhai diqu yisilanjiao wangluo de yanjiu,” *Yuanshi ji minzu yu bianjiang yanjiu* 30(2016): 81-94.

officials, intellectuals, and wealthy merchants, and surrendered to the Mongols during the war against the Qara Khitai Khanate and the Khwarazm Empire. There were a great number of appointed officials with Muslim names in the Jianghuai (around Lower Yangtze) and Fujian regions. This is consistent with the concentration of epitaphs written in Arabic on the southeast coast of China. The frequent use of the specific tradition of the prophet Muhammad associating the death of the exile with martyrdom in Islamic tombstones in Quanzhou, Hangzhou, and Yangzhou indicates that the Muslims in these port cities eventually established an interregional or diasporic identity of Muslim foreigners who immigrated into the region.

### Key words

*Islamic inscription, nisba, Khwarazm, Diaspora, Martyrdom*

## STUDIES ON ARABIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM THE SOUTHEAST COAST OF CHINA

Europeans conducted the earliest research on Arabic inscriptions from Guangzhou, Kaifeng, Xi'an, and Quanzhou in China.<sup>1</sup> Moreover, Broomhall and d'Ollone published valuable reports on historic Chinese Muslim communities in the early twentieth century.<sup>2</sup> After the late 1950s, the Chinese scholar Wu Wenliang published pioneering research on the large number of religious inscriptions found in Quanzhou.<sup>3</sup> Following the 1980s, many studies on Arabic inscriptions in China were published on Quanzhou,<sup>4</sup> Yangzhou,<sup>5</sup> Guangzhou,<sup>6</sup> and Hangzhou,<sup>7</sup> with translations in Chinese, French, and English.

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<sup>1</sup> See K. Himly, "Die Denkmäler der Kantoner Moschee," *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 41 (1887): 141-174; C. Huart, "Inscription Arabes et Persanes des Mosquées Chinoises de Kai-fon-fou et de Si-ngan-fou," *T'oung Pao* 6, série 2 (1905): 261-320; and Greg. Arnaiz and Max van Berchem, "Mémoires sur les Antiquités Musulmanes de Ts'iu-an-tcheou," *T'oung Pao* 12, série 2 (1911): 677-727, respectively on Quanzhou, Kaifeng/Xi'an, and Quanzhou.

<sup>2</sup> See Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China: A Neglected Problem*, (London: Morgan & Scott, 1910) and d'Ollone, *Recherches sur les Musulmans Chinois*, (Paris: Ernest Leroux, Éditeur, 1911).

<sup>3</sup> See Wu Wenliang, *Quanzhou zongjiao shike*, (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1957).

<sup>4</sup> See Chen Dasheng, *Quanzhou yisilanjiao shike*, (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1984); Chen Dasheng et Ludvik Kalus, *Corpus d'Inscriptions Arabes et Persanes en Chine 1: Province de Fu-Jian (Quan-zhou, Fu-zhou, Xia-men)*, (Paris: Librairie Orientaliste Paul Geuthner, S.A., 1991); and two review articles, Donald Daniel Leslie and Ahmed Youssef, "Islamic Inscriptions in Quanzhou. A Review," *T'oung Pao* 74 (1988): 255-272; Ann Kumar

The importance of comparative research on these inscriptions has long been recognized;<sup>8</sup> for this purpose, several scholars have summarized the studies on Islamic Inscriptions during the 1980s and 1990s.<sup>9</sup> The list of later works by international scholars is available in the comprehensive bibliographical guide on Islam in China published by Donald Daniel Leslie with Yang Daye and Ahmed Youssef.<sup>10</sup> The accumulation of these previous efforts largely enables the author to complete a comparative analysis. However, full transcriptions of the Arabic-Persian text of the tombstones from Yangzhou dating from the fourteenth century are unavailable. As the information from these tombstones is crucial for comparative analysis, the author attempts to complete a tentative transcription and translation on a portion of the Arabic (and very short Chinese) texts on two of the four tombstones, consulting Chinese translation by Chen Dasheng (Nu'er).<sup>11</sup>

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L., "Islam, the Chinese, and Indonesian Historiography: A Review Article," *The Journal of Asian Studies* 46, no.3 (1987): 603-616.

<sup>5</sup> See Nu'er, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao beiwen xinzheng," *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, no. 5 (1983):105-109.

<sup>6</sup> Zhong Yuanxiu; Ma Jianzhao; Ma Fengda, *Guangzhou yisilan guji yanjiu*, (Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1989).

<sup>7</sup> Guo Chengmei and Guo Junmei, "Hangzhou yisilanjiaoli 707 nian bei, 730 nian bei kao," *Huizu yanjiu*, no. 3, 1993: 26-30; Qiaozhi Lan'en (George Lane), "Guanyu Yuandai Hangzhou de Fenghuangsi," *Qinghua Yuanshi* 1 (2010): 141-192; Yalishanda Modun (Morton, A.H.), "Yuan Hangzhou Fenghuangsi Huihui mubei kao," *Qinghua Yuanshi* 1 (2010): 192-214.

<sup>8</sup> For pioneering works of comparative research, see Chen Dasheng, "Wenlai faxian gongyuan 14 shiji chu musilin wangguo de yiwu," *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, no. 4, 1992 (gen. no. 50): 85-95; and Lu Yun, "14 shiji zhongguo dongnan yanhai yisilan mubeishi yanjiu zhaji," *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, no. 2, 2000 (vol. 38): 78-83.

<sup>9</sup> See Chen Dasheng, "Lun zhongguo dongnan yanhai gudai alabo, boshi-wen beiming zhi yanjiu," *Huizu yanjiu* 1(1991): 59, 60-67; Chin Tatsusei (Chen Dasheng), "Chūgoku enkaichiiki no isuramu," in *Ajia kara kangaeru 2: chiiki shisutemu*, (Tokyo: Tokyo daigaku shuppankai, 1993), 167-188; Chen Dasheng, "Iranian Impact on the Southeastern Coast of China in the 7th-15th Centuries: A Study on the Archaeological Evidence," *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, no. 2, 1999 (gen. no. 36): 98-116; Nakada Yoshinobu, "Kaigai ni okeru chūgoku isuramu no kenkyū," *Tohogaku* 65 (1980): 129-143; "Chūgoku ni okeru isuramu-shi no kenkyū jōkyō: Sōgen jidai no shiseki kenkyūwo chūshin ni," *Tohogaku* 76 (1988): 154-169; "Gendai no musurimu," *Shūjitsu joshi daigaku shigaku ronshū* 12 (1997): 69-222.

<sup>10</sup> See Donald Daniel Leslie, Yang Daye, Ahmed Youssef, *Islam in Traditional China: A Biblio-graphical Guide* (Monumenta Serica Monograph Series LIV), (Sankt Augustin: Monumenta Serica Institute, 2006), especially 36-37, 51-61.

<sup>11</sup> See Nu'er, "Yangzhou."

## VARIOUS TIES STRETCHING OVER THE CENTER AND THE PERIPHERY OF THE YUAN

A Chinese account informs us that several thousand Arab and Persian merchants resided at Yangzhou from as early as the 750s and were killed in a local disturbance.<sup>12</sup> There is little evidence that the Muslim community in Yangzhou existed during the Song era, however, Puhading, Gudubaiding (Qutb al-Dīn), and Saganda are said to have lived in Yangzhou. Among them, Puhading was the most eminent and the local gazetteer of Yangzhou (*Jiajing Weiyangzhi*) printed in 1542 during the Ming period, reported that in the 1st year of the Deyou era (1275) of the late Song period, a ‘Westerner’ Puhading (Puhading) came to Yangzhou and established a mausoleum by the eastern shore of the canal that surrounds the city wall. The mausoleum bearing his name, ‘Puhading muyuan’ or Puhading’s Mausoleum still exists today.<sup>13</sup> A more detailed history of Islam in Yangzhou and its maritime communication is depicted in previous studies.<sup>14</sup>

Conversely, it is certain that the Fujian region occupied a privileged position as the place of acceptance of the foreign Islamic population, as the location of the world-famed port city of Quanzhou, also known as Zaitun.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>12</sup> Liu Xu, *Jiu Tang shu* [Old Tang History], (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), ch. 110, 3313. See Angela Schottenhammer, “The ‘China Seas’ in world history: A general outline of the role of Chinese and East Asian maritime space from its origins to c. 1800,” *Journal of Marine and Island Cultures* 1, no. 2 (2012): 73.

<sup>13</sup> See Zhu Huaigan and Sheng Yi eds., *Jiajing Weiyangzhi* [Jiajing Gazetteer of Yangzhou] (Tianyige cang mingdai fangzhi xuankan: 12), (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shudian, 1863, reprint, 1981), ch. 38, “Zazhi,” 14r, “Libaisi.” Mi Shoujiang reported that Puhading was a sixteenth generation descendant of the Prophet Muhammad and he travelled to Yangzhou via Tianjin during the late Song period and was buried in the mausoleum. He is also recognized as the founder of the *Xianhesi* temple, or ‘Crane’ Mosque in Yangzhou. See Mi Shoujiang, “Yangzhou zaoqi de musulin yu yisilanjiao dongzhuang,” *Shijie zongjiao yanjiu*, no. 2, 1999 (gen. no.76): 13.

<sup>14</sup> See Zhu Jiang, “Yangzhou xianhesi alaboren mubei ji,” *Wenwu cankao ziliao*, no. 9, 1957 (gen. no. 85): 47+8 Plates (45-46); “Yisilan wenhua dongjian yangzhou shimo,” *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, no. 1 (1978):27-29 and no. 2 (1980): 43-48, reprinted in *Yisilanjiao zai zhongguo*, Yinchuan: Ningxia renmin chubanshe, 1982, 24-41, and Mi, “Yangzhou zaoqi.” On the Muslim population in Tang and Song China in general, see Morris Rossabi, “Islam in China,” in *From Yuan to Modern China and Mongolia: The Writings of Morris Rossabi*, edited and introduced by Morris Rossabi, (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 423-442.

<sup>15</sup> See Morris Rossabi, “The Muslims in the Early Yüan Dynasty,” in *From Yuan to Modern China and Mongolia*, 269-271.

When the Chinese port cities opened to overseas countries, Qubilai (Shizu, the founder of the Yuan Dynasty) established maritime trade supervisorates in Quanzhou and Hangzhou. Later, new maritime trade supervisorates were established at other major port cities, such as Qingyuan (Ningpo) and Guangzhou.

During the Mongol period, various personal ties connecting the coastal region and the imperial capital reinforced imperial control of maritime trade.<sup>16</sup> In this context, we can observe the new stage of population influx to the South China coastal area.

'Lateral' connections, including kinship and fraternity, efficiently functioned in the ruling system of the Mongol Empire, binding the court, the coastal region, and an urbanized economic zone in the Jianghuai region.<sup>17</sup> Jianghuai refers to the highly urbanized region around the Lower Yangtze; it included both Hangzhou and Yangzhou.

An example of the connections that covered a broad area is the family of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Dīn from Bukhara, the famous Muslim nobility in Yuan China. The title 'Sayyid Ajall' represents 'the true offspring of the Prophet Muhammad.' His son, Nasīr al-Dīn, succeeded to his father's post as the Governor of the Mobile Secretariat at Kunming in Yunnan Province, while his grandson Bayan, a well-known court official during the reign of Chengzong (r.1294-1307), is said to have been the Governor of Zaitun (Quanzhou) in the Fujian Province. Bayan's younger brother, Amīr 'Umar, was also later appointed as the Governor of the Mobile Secretariats in Fujian and Jiangzhe successively.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>16</sup> See Mukai, "Genchō shoki," 41-43 and "Interests," 437-439.

<sup>17</sup> The term 'Jianghuai' was often applied to the administrative units covering the South of Huai River (Huainan) and the Lower Yangtze River (Jiangnan). More strictly, during the Yuan, 'Jianghuai' was the geographic term used for an administrative unit, *xingsheng* (mobile secretariat) controlling the Lower Yangtze area for certain period of time during the early Yuan. Another term, 'Jiangzhe,' was often used for the same administrative unit when it normally excluded the Northern bank region, including Yangzhou, and the government was mainly in Hangzhou. When this administrative unit was extended to include Yangzhou within its control, it was known as 'Jianghuai.' See Song Lian, *Yuanshi* (Beijing: Zhonghuashuju, 1976), ch. 59, "Yangzhou lu [Yangzhou Route]," 1414.

<sup>18</sup> See Boyle, *Successors*, 279, 282, 288. For Sayyid Ajall, see A. Vissière, "Le Seyyid Edjell Chams ed-Din Omar (1210-1279) et ses deux sépultures en Chine," *Revue du Monde Musulman* 4, no. 2(1908): 330-346; Paul Buell, "Sayyid 'Ajall," in *In the Service of the Khan*, edited by Igor de Rachewiltz (Weisbaden: Harrassowitz, 1993), 466-479. See also, Rossabi, "Muslims," 283-286; Matsuda Kōichi, "Mongoru jidai chūgoku ni okeru isrāmu no kakudai," in *Sekai ni hirōgaru isrāmu: Kōza isrāmu sekai*, supervised by It-agaki Yūzō, Edited by

## ISLAMIC TOMBSTONES WITH ARABIC, PERSIAN, AND CHINESE INSCRIPTIONS IN THE PUHADING'S MAUSOLEUM OF YANGZHOU

According to Nu'er (Chen Dasheng), four tombstones from Yangzhou were excavated when the Dangjunlou Tower was demolished outside the South Gate to Yangzhou City during the 1920s.<sup>19</sup> According to Geng Jianting, the four tombstones were found under the bottom of the tower in 1927. Furthermore, some roof-shaped Islamic tombstones of different sizes that were gathered nearby and used as foundation stones were found while restoring the Water Gate and Dangjunlou Tower outside the South Gate in 1929. These two groups of Islamic tombstones were first moved to the *Xianhesi* Temple near the South Gate<sup>20</sup>; according to the report of Zhu Jiang they were embedded on the left side wall in front of the Main Hall for protection, because both sides of the stones could be seen there. Subsequently, all of the stones were moved to Puhading's Mausoleum (Puhading muyuan).<sup>21</sup>

As noted above, the transcriptions of the Arabic-Persian (and occasionally Chinese) texts on the tombstones from fourteenth century Yangzhou are unavailable. To perform a comparative analysis of the Islamic verses, the author attempts a tentative transcription and translation of the Arabic texts written on two of the four tombstones found in Yangzhou. Previous studies on Arabic inscriptions in China provide useful data for this research on Arabic inscriptions from Yangzhou, as there are many common features in the design and style of both the texts and decorations on the stones.

The texts of the four tombstones were studied on 5 October 2004 by the author during his first visit to Puhading's Mausoleum in Yangzhou. The second visit to the site was in October

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Horikawa Tōru, (Tokyo: Yūshisha, 1995), 157-192. For Amīr Umar's appointment to the governor of the mobile secretariat in Fujian and Jiangzhe, see Yang Zhijiu, "Guanyu wuma'er ren jiangzhe pingzhang de niandai wenti," in *Yuanshi sanlun*, (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985), 179-186; and Yang Huaizhong, "Yuan dai donglai de huihui shijia," *Huizu yanjiu* 1 (1991): 32.

<sup>19</sup> See Nu'er, "Yangzhou yisilanjiao," 105.

<sup>20</sup> See Geng Jianting, "Yangzhou chutu de alabowen shiji," *Wenwu*, no. 3, 1978 (gen. no. 262): 87.

<sup>21</sup> See Zhu, "Yangzhou xianhesi," 47.

2008, as part of a project on multi-lingual sources during the period of the Mongol Empire, conducted by Dr Yokkaichi Yasuhiro at Kyushu University. The timeline for this research is as follows: the transcription of the texts was first completed on 16 October 2008; a tentative Japanese interpretation was produced on 18 October 2008 by the author in a report for the project of Dr Yokkaichi; the Japanese translations were then re-examined during 19-20 October 2008 at Osaka University with support from Tamura Takeshi and Tomita Aki; finally, the text was re-examined and translated into English by the author between November 2012 and June 2016.

1. The Tombstone of Nie-gu-bai / Khwāja balad al-būliwālī, al-Qudsī (709A.H.)

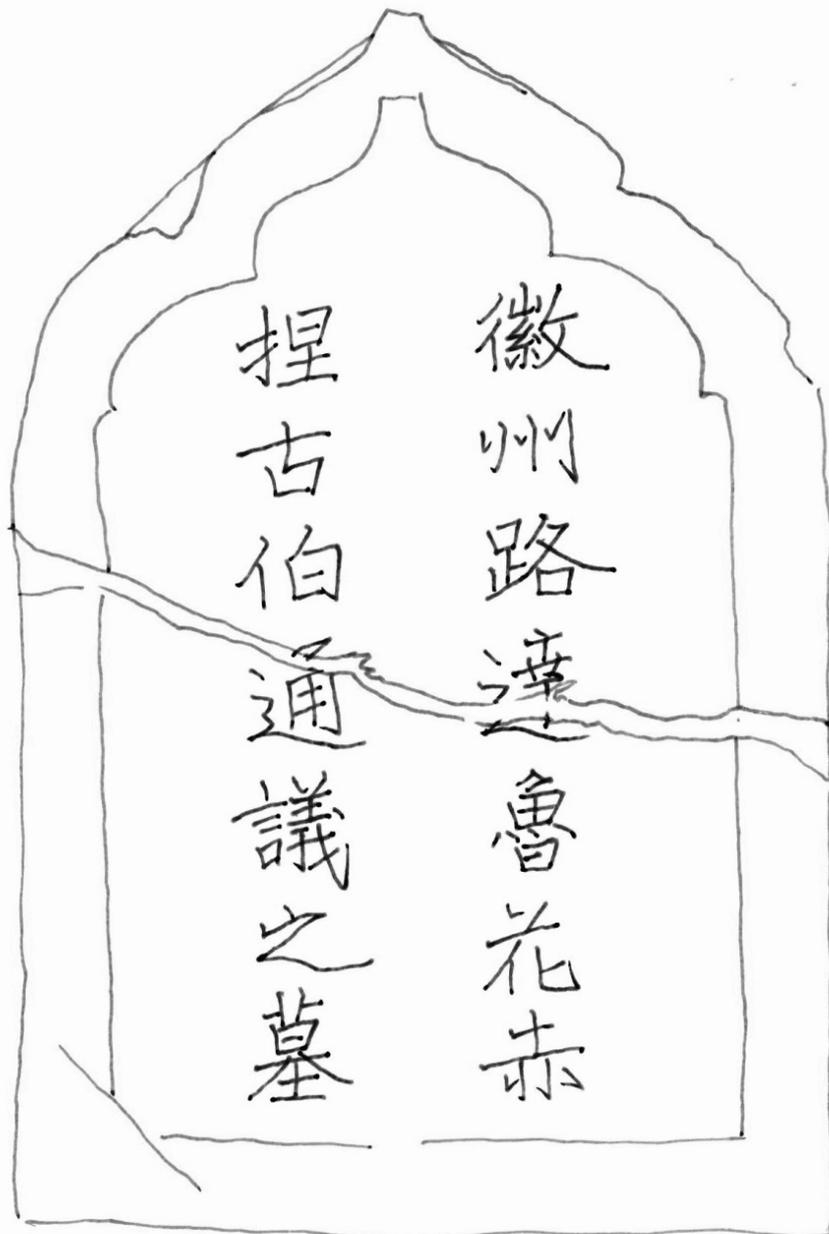
Description:

Pointed arch-shaped headstone; a complete piece of 75 x 49 cm<sup>22</sup> with a plain border following a petal-shaped outline and bilingual hollow carving inscription; Chinese (Side-a, two lines in vertical) and Arabic (Side-b, 10 lines in lateral).

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<sup>22</sup> This information is based on Nu'er, "Yangzhou," 105.

Side-a: Chinese inscription



*Text:*

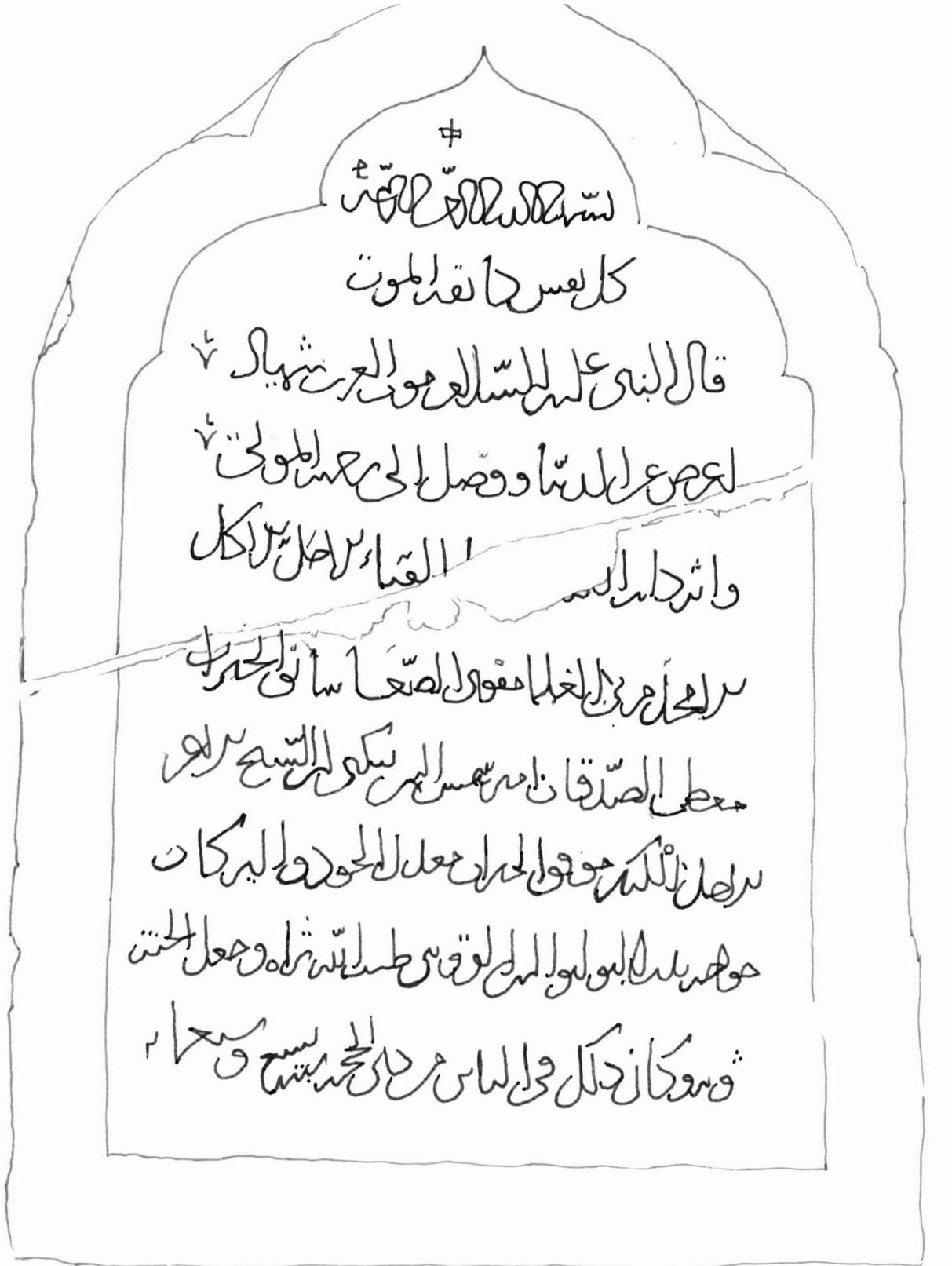
徽州路達魯花赤捏古伯通議之墓

(Hui-zhou-lu da-lu-hua-chi Nie-gu-bai tong-yi zhi mu)

*Translation:*

The tomb of Nie-gu-bai tong-yi, the Daruyači of Huizhou route.

Side-b: Arabic inscription



Text :

- ١ بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ  
 ٢ كُلُّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ  
 ٣ قَالَ أَنْبِي - عَلَيْهِ السَّلَام - مَوْتُ الْغَرِيبِ شَهِيد  
 ٤ أَعْرَضَ عَنِ الدُّنْيَا وَ وَصَلَ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ المُولِي  
 ٥ وَ أَثَرَ دَارَ [البَقَاءِ (من دار؟)] الفَنَاءِ الأَجَلِّ بِالكُلِّ  
 ٦ الأَمَجْدِ مُرَبِّي الخُلِّلِ مُقَوِّى الصَّدَقَاتِ سَالِفِ الخَيْرَاتِ  
 ٧ مُعْطَى الصُّدُقَانِ أَمِيرِ النَفْسِ البَيْتِ (يَمَكُنُ أَنْ؟) الشَّيْخِ الأَعَزِّ  
 ٨ الأَجَلِّ الكَبِيلِ (?) مُوَفَّقِ الخَيْرَاتِ جَعَلَ اللُّهُودَ وَ إِلَيْهِ كَانَ  
 ٩ خَوَاجَةَ بِلَدِ البُولِيوَالِيِ القُدْسِيِّ طَيِّبِ اللهُ ثَرَاهِ وَ جَعَلَ الجَنَّةَ  
 ١٠ مَثْوَاهِ وَ كَانَ ذَالِكَ فِي الثَّنَائِي مِنْ دُو الحِجَّةِ سَنَةِ تِسْعِ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةِ

Translation :

1. In the name of the merciful and compassionate God.
2. Every soul must taste of death.<sup>23</sup>
3. The Prophet — blessings and peace of God be on him — said, ‘The death of the exile is martyrdom.’
4. He has left this world and got under the mercy of the Lord.
5. He has passed from the fragile house (this world) to the eternal house (the hereafter).<sup>24</sup> [He is] the most splendid on the whole,
6. the most glorious, and the man of well-mannered friendships, intensive almsgiving, predecessor of good deed,
7. (the one) given friends, the lord (*amīr*) of the people of the house (of the Prophet? i.e. Muslims). It may be that (?) the most powerful chief (*sheikh*),
8. The most splendid, and the great<sup>25</sup> (chief) who is fortunate to doing good deed. He (?) made graves in which,

<sup>23</sup> *Qur'ān*, III, 182 (for English translation, see Palmer, *Qur'ān*. vol. 1, 69).

<sup>24</sup> This phrase is similar to a very common Islamic expression that typically begins with the word ‘انتقل’ instead of ‘اثر’.

9. Khwāja balad al-būlīwālī, al-Qudsī — May god rest him in peace and make the paradise
10. Be their abodes — (was buried). It was on 3 in the month of Dhū al-Hijja of the year of 709 of hejira [1310].<sup>26</sup>

2. The Tombstone of Shams al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Dīn Almalighī (724A.H.)

Description:

A pointed arch-shaped headstone; a recovered completed piece of 97 x 67 cm<sup>27</sup> comprising three pieces, with petal-shaped, doubled (nesting) bandeaus; the outer bandeau has a geometrically patterned relief that looks similar to a rhombus-hexagonal chain with Arabic text in geometric Kufic on Side-a; the inner bandeau has a foliage patterned hollow relief; the centre contains a hollow-carved Arabic inscription: on Side-a, 12 lines in Tawqī‘ style, and on Side-b, 4 lines in Naskhī style.

Side-a: Arabic inscription

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<sup>25</sup> Another possible reading of this part in Arabic is ‘الأهل الكتاب’ (‘the people with a holy writ’).

<sup>26</sup> Similar expressions appear in the so-called ‘Toghan Shā Inscription’ from Quanzhou, such as ‘May God enlighten their houses of the hereafter and make paradise their permanent abodes.’ See Chen et Kalus, *Corpus*, Pl. LXI-a; Chen, *Quanzhou*, Fig. 37. It is notable that Toghan Shā bears the title ‘Sayyid Ajall’ on his tombstone.

<sup>27</sup> This information is based on Nu’er, “Yangzhou,” 106.

(Line 1-6)

كَرِّمْنَا نَفْسَكَ لِمَا  
 نَرَوْكَ فِي الْأَمَّةِ مِنْ مَدَارِ الْخَيْرِ وَسُورِ الْمَلِكِ بِمَا عَمِلْتَهُ فِي الْحَيَاةِ  
 كُلِّهَا وَاللَّهُ يَرْفَعُ لَكَ رُتَبًا وَمَنْزِلَاتٍ وَمِنْ رُتَبِهِ  
 الصَّلَاةُ وَالْعَمَلُ وَالْغُرَّةُ  
 لِنَفْسِكَ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ  
 لِعَالَمَاتِكَ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ

(Line 7-12)

عَتْرَةً وَأَفْضَلَهَا حَسْبًا حَمْدًا بِمَا لَمْ يَكُنْ يَحْتَسِبُ لَهَا يَأْتِيهَا نَكَا  
 عَلَى فَرْخِ زَيْنٍ وَقَوْلِهِ لَعَلَّ الْأَكْرَبُ الْأَجْمَلُ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ  
 وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ  
 تَعْلَمُ أَنَّ اللَّهَ يَرْفَعُ رُتَبًا وَمَنْزِلَاتٍ وَمِنْ رُتَبِهِ  
 الصَّلَاةُ وَالْعَمَلُ وَالْغُرَّةُ  
 لِنَفْسِكَ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ  
 لِعَالَمَاتِكَ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ وَاللَّيْلَانِ

Text:

- ١ كُلَّ نَفْسٍ ذَائِقَةُ الْمَوْتِ
- ٢ (ثُمَّ) قَالَ فِي الْإِخْبَارِ عَنْ سُنَّةِ الْأَخْيَارِ وَ رَسُولِ الْمَلِكِ الْجَبَّارِ مُحَمَّدِ النَّبِيِّ الْمَخْبَارِ
- ٣ - عَلَيْهِ الصَّلَاةُ الْوَاحِدُ الْفَهَّارُ اللَّهُ - قَالَ مَنْ مَاتَ غَرِيبًا فَقَدْ مَاتَ شَهِيدًا وَ قَالَ - عَلَيْهِ
- ٤ الصَّلَاةُ وَ الْجَنَّةُ - مَوْتِ الْغَرِيبِ شَهَادَةٌ
- ٥ انْتَقَلَ مِنَ الدَّارِ الْفَانِيَةِ إِلَى الدَّارِ الْبَاقِيَةِ وَ اخْتَارَ الْأَجَلَ عَلَى الْعَاجِلَةِ وَ أَدَّ الْأَجْرَةَ عَلَى الْأُولَى
- ٦ أَعْلَمَهُ أَنْ آثَارَ الْأُخْرَى غَيْرَ أَوْلٍ وَ اتَّصَلَ إِلَى رَحْمَةِ اللَّهِ تَعَالَى إِحْسَانًا وَ عَفْوَةً عَفَى اللَّهُ
- ٧ حَتَّى قَنَّا فَضْلَهُ وَ إِحْسَانَهُ مُسْتَدْرًا بِأَلْيَفِ طُولِي وَ رِضْوَانَهُ مُسْتَعْفَرًا الْحَطَايَاهِ نَادِمًا
- ٨ عَلَى مَا فَرَّطَ مِنْ دُنْيَا وَ هُوَ الْأَجَلُ الْأَعَزُّ الْأَكْرَمُ الْأَمْجَدُ الْأَشْرَفُ الْأَوْحَدُ مَقُولُ الصَّدَقَا
- ٩ وَ الْأَمْرَ أَمْرَنَا الْعَالِمَا وَ الْفَقْرَا الْمَغْفُورُ الْمَرْحُومُ شَمْسُ الدِّينِ بِنِ شَرَفِ الدِّينِ الْمَلْعَى
- ١ تَعَدَّهُ اللَّهُ بِالرَّحْمَةِ ---ان و أَسْكَنَهُ (---) الْجَنَّاتِ وَ كَانَ ذَلِكَ فِي التَّارِيحِ أَوَائِلِ
- ١ فِي جُمَادَى الْآخِرَةِ سَنَةِ [ الرَّبِيعَةِ الْعِشْرِينَ وَ سَبْعِمِائَةٍ ]
- ١ (---) الرَّحْمَةِ غَرِيبٍ وَ طَيِّبٍ (---) وَ صَلَّى اللَّهُ عَلَى مُحَمَّدٍ وَ آلِهِ
- ٢ الطَّيِّبِينَ وَ الطَّاهِرِينَ

Translation:

1. Every soul must taste of death.<sup>28</sup>
2. (Thereupon?) it is said in the tradition on *snnah* of the most excellent person and the apostle of the supreme and omnipotent God, Muhammad, pre-informed Prophet<sup>29</sup>

<sup>28</sup> See note 23 above.

<sup>29</sup> The word 'المخبار' is used to qualify the word 'النبي' 'Prophet.' Chen Dasheng translated it as 'pre-informed.' See Nu'er, "Yangzhou," 106.

3. — May the Almighty God bless him — said, ‘He who dies an exile dies a martyr.’ And said — May
4. Blessings and protection be on him — ‘The death of the exile is martyrdom.’
5. He has passed from this world to eternity.<sup>30</sup> He selected the next rather than this world. He inclined to the latter portion rather than the former.<sup>31</sup>
6. As everyone knows, to select<sup>32</sup> the latter is without exception to get under the mercy of supreme God. Do him a favour and forgive him
7. until he acquires the merit and beneficence (*iḥsān*) of God to enter the protection of companion<sup>33</sup> eternally, and the favour of God to ask for forgiveness for his sin regretfully,<sup>34</sup>
8. due to escaping from this world. He is the most splendid, mighty, noble, glorious, eminent, and exclusive person, (who tells?) the word of truth and the Lord
9. and we commanded knowledge and poverty (?). The deceased person is the late Shams al-Dīn b. Sharaf al-Dīn Almalighī.<sup>35</sup>

<sup>30</sup> This is a very common Islamic phrase among Arabic tombstones from Quanzhou. For example, see in Chen et Kalus, *Corpus*, Pl. LXXIX-b; Chen, *Quanzhou*, Fig. 35. See also note 24 above.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. ‘والآخرة خير لك من الأولى’ ‘surely the hereafter is better for thee than the former’ in *Qur’ān*, XCIII, 4 (for English translation, see E.H. Palmer, *The Qur’ān (Sacred Books of the East*, vol. VI), edited by Motilal Banarsidass (Clarendon Press, 1880, reprinted by Motilal Banarsidass, 1965), vol. 2, 334.

<sup>32</sup> Here, the author adopted the reading ‘أثار’ ‘select’ according to the context, though this part of the inscription seems more likely ‘إنشار’.

<sup>33</sup> I adopted the interpretation ‘مُسْتَدْرًا بِأَلَيْفٍ’ ‘to the protection of companion’ here, though it seems also possible to read ‘مُسْتَدْرًا تَأَلَيْفٍ’ ‘the protection of union.’

<sup>34</sup> Another possible interpretation of the part of ‘نَامَ نَادِمًا’ is ‘he has died.’ The same expression appears in the 5<sup>th</sup> line of Side-a of tombstone 3, that of ‘Alā al-Dīn (702 A.H.) from Yangzhou.

<sup>35</sup> This word can either be read as ‘الملغى’ or ‘الملغ’ (‘Almalighī’ or ‘Almaligh’), but the former seems more appropriate here. Chen Dasheng’s interpretation of the word is ‘البلغى’ (al-)Bālagh(i) and suggests that the entombed person was from Bālagh, a district in Northern Iran. See Nu’er, “Yangzhou,” 106, 109, note. 7. However, the author reads it as ‘الملغى’ and interprets it as ‘Almalighī’ (from ‘Almaliq’). The similar example ‘الملغى’ or ‘الملقى’ on the tombstone of Ḥājī b. Aghfar(?) Beg b. Ḥājī dated 689 A.H. (1290) was excavated in Quanzhou, and this can either be interpreted as Almaliqī (from Almaliq) or al-Malaghī (from Malaga, in Spain). See Chen et Kalus, *Corpus*, 117, no. 29, Pl. XXV-c,d and Chen, *Quanzhou*, no. 32. Almaliq (‘Almalīy’ in medieval Turkish and ‘Armalec’ in Latin) is normally spelled الملق in Arabic and Persian languages. An example of ‘الملغى’ (Almalighī) is seen in Rashīd al-Dīn’s *Jāmi’ al-Tawārīkh*. See Emil Bretschneider, *Medieval researches*

10. God extended forgiveness ... and allotted paradises. The date was in the early
11. *Jumādā al-ākhira* (June) of the year 724 A.H. (1324).<sup>36</sup>
12. May (God?) have mercy on this exile and fill ... with flavour and May the blessings of God be on Muhammad and his virtuous and modest family!

### Side-b: Arabic inscription



from *eastern Asiatic sources*, (London: K. Paul, Trench, Trübner, 1910), vol.2, 33-39, and Rashid ed-Din, *Djami el-tévarikh :Histoire générale du monde Histoire des Mongols, Tarikh-i moubarek-i Ghazani, Histoire des Mongols*, tome 2, Éditée par E. Blochet, (Leiden: E.J. Brill/London: Luzac, 1911), 486, note b. The site of medieval Almaliq is about 13 km east of Huocheng District in Xinjiang's Ili Kazakh Autonomous Prefecture. The identification was confirmed by Chinese Archaeologist Huang Wenbi, who had conducted field research in 1958 and discovered a number of coins, Chinese ceramics, and Christian tombstones of the Mongol period there. See Niu Ruji, *Shizi lianhua: Zhongguo yuandai xuliya wen jingjiao beiming wenxian yanjiu*, (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2008), 2-3.

<sup>36</sup> The date of the death is hard to read because of the crack of the stone tablet. However, we can, to some extent, estimate what was written from fragmented features of the letters. The year 'seven hundred' is invisible. In particular, 'seven' is invisible but it should be 'seven hundred' as long as this stone inscription belongs to the Yuan period.

Text:

|  |   |
|--|---|
| بِسْمِ اللَّهِ الرَّحْمَنِ الرَّحِيمِ          | ١ |
| قُلْ هُوَ اللَّهُ أَحَدٌ اللَّهُ الصَّمَدُ     | ٢ |
| لَمْ يَلِدْ وَلَمْ يُولَدْ وَ لَمْ يَكُنْ لَهُ | ٣ |
| كُفُوًا أَحَدٌ                                 | ٤ |

Translation:

1. In the name of merciful and compassionate God.
2. Say, 'He is God alone! God the Eternal!
3. He begets not and is not begotten!
4. Nor is there like unto Him any one!<sup>37</sup>

The descriptions of the other two tombstones (images omitted here) are as follows.

### 3. The Tombstone of 'Alā al-Dīn (702 A.H.)

Description:

A pointed arch-shaped headstone; a recovered complete piece of 97 x 64 cm<sup>38</sup> that comprises three pieces, having petal-shaped, doubled (nesting) bandeaus which are decorated with foliage patterned hollow relief; the centre is a hollow-carved Arabic inscription in Ta'liq style: 18 lines on Side-a together with a Persian poem of 19 lines on Side-b, all in lateral.

### 4. The Tombstone of 'Āysha Khātūn (724 A.H.)

Description:

<sup>37</sup> The Arabic text on Side-b is, on the whole, a copy of *Qur'ān*, CXII, 1-5 (for English translation, see Palmer, *Qur'ān*, vol. 2, 344).

<sup>38</sup> This information is based on Nu'er, "Yangzhou," 106-107.

A pointed arch-shaped headstone; a recovered complete piece of 97 x 64 cm<sup>39</sup>, comprising three pieces, with petal-shaped, doubled (nesting) bandeaus; the outer bandeau has foliage patterned on the hollow relief; the inner bandeau has a foliage-patterned hollow relief richly decorated with leaves, flowers, and fruits (which appear to resemble melons and grapes); the centre contains a hollow-carved Arabic inscription: 10 lines on Side-a, and 6 lines on Side-b, both in lateral Thuluth style.

## Notes

It is noteworthy for the comparative analysis that the phrase 'He who dies an exile dies a martyr' in the text of second tombstone (3<sup>rd</sup> line, Side-a) frequently appeared on Arabic tombstones in Quanzhou and is believed to be the words of the Prophet.<sup>40</sup> This form, referred to as type (I) by the author, also appears on the tombstone of 'Alā al-Dīn (702 A.H.): 3<sup>rd</sup> line, Side-a.

The phrase 'the death of the exile is martyrdom' in the text of the first tombstone (3<sup>rd</sup> line, Side-b) may be a shortened form of the former phrase. This shortened form, referred to as type (II) by the author, also appears on the tombstone of 'Alā al-Dīn (702 A.H.) – 2<sup>nd</sup> line, Side-a – and the tombstone of 'Āysha Khātūn (724 A.H.): 3<sup>rd</sup> line, Side-a.

## BIOGRAPHIC DATA ON ISLAMIC INSCRIPTIONS FROM CHINA'S COASTAL REGION

First, what detailed data regarding the influx of a foreign Islamic population into the region can be derived from the Arabic tombstones excavated along the southeast coast of China? Table 1 depicts the place names of buried persons' *nisbas* that indicate the

<sup>39</sup> Ibid., 107.

<sup>40</sup> For example, see Chen et Kalus, *Corpus*, Pls. XXV-c, XXVI-a, XLI-b, XXXIV-b, XXII-a; Chen *Quanzhou*, Figs. 32-2, 33, 37-2, 39, 41.

bearers' city of birth or family seat,<sup>41</sup> obtained from the Arabic tombstones, which are primarily dated to the Yuan period.

The locations of the *nisbas* in the Arabic inscriptions are widely dispersed, covering Xinjiang, Transoxiana, Iran, Khorasan, Khwarazm, Armenia, Syria, Palestine, and Arabia.<sup>42</sup> Unexpectedly, we did not find a single named location from India or Southeast Asia. However we must ask, does the absence of this data correspond to a lack of migrants from these two areas?

Second, we must research the concentration of *nisba* place names in the Turkistan area (including Xinjiang and Transoxiana) and the northern and eastern parts of Iran and the implications of this: to discover if it simply indicates that during the Yuan period the influx of Islamic people occurred overland, rather than by sea (Map 1). Although both questions are difficult to answer, we could discover clues by focusing on the types of Islamic formulas in these inscriptions.

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<sup>41</sup> *Nisba*, or 'noun of relation,' is one of the components of the mediaeval Arabic propername; it expresses the relation of the individual to a group, such as tribe, tribal subdivision, dynasty, family, eponymous ancestor, etc.; to a place, such as a country, region, city, village, quarter, street, etc.; or a nickname or a professional designation handed down by ancestors. See *EI (The Encyclopaedia of Islam, New Edition)*, edited by B. Lewis, V. L. Ménage, Ch. Pellat, J. Schacht, Leiden: Brill, London: Luzac, 1971), VIII, 54, "NISBA."

<sup>42</sup> See also Chen Dasheng et Denys Lombard, "Le rôle des étrangers dans le commerce maritime de Quanzhou («Zaitun») aux 13e et 14e siècles," in *Marchand et homes d'affaires asiatiques dans l'Indien et la Mer de Chine: 13e-20e siècles*, edited by Denys Lombard and Jean Aubin, (Paris: Éditions de l'EHESS, 1988), 21-29.

Table 1. List of Arabic Inscriptions either with *Nisba* or Formula (A), (I), (II)<sup>43</sup> (Arranged by the Site of excavation and the Date of death)

| Site of Excavation | <i>Nisba</i>                  | Formu-<br>la | Date of<br>death | Reference   |
|--------------------|-------------------------------|--------------|------------------|---|
| Beijing            | Qazwīn (Iran)                 |              | 1280             | Zhao and Bai, 'Beiping niu-jie'                               |
|                    | Bukhara (Transoxiana)         |              | 1283             | Ibid.   |
| Yangzhou           |                               | I&II         | 1302             | This article, 3   |
|                    | al-Quds/Jerusalem (Palestine) | II           | 1310             | This article, 1   |
|                    | Almaliq (Xinjiang)            | I&II         | 1324             | This article, 2   |
|                    |                               | II           | 1324             | This article, 4   |
| Hangzhou           |                               | I&II         | 1307             | Mo'erdun (Morton, A. H.), <i>Hangzhou Fenghuangsi</i> , no. 1 |
|                    | Iṣfahān (Iran)                | I            | 1317             | Ibid., no. 2  |
|                    | Khānbaliq(Beijing) (China)    | I&II         | 1318             | Ibid., no. 3  |
|                    | Iṣfahān (Iran)                |              | 1323             | Ibid., no. 4  |
|                    | Bukhara (Transoxiana)         |              | 1326             | Ibid., no. 5  |
|                    | Khorasan (Iran)               |              | 1353             | Ibid., no. 6  |
|                    | Semnān (Iran)                 |              | 13XX             | Ibid., no. 7  |
|                    | Ḥalab (Aleppo)                |              | un-<br>known     | Ibid., no. 10   |
| Fuzhou             | Khwarazm                      | I            | 1365             | Chen et Kalus, <i>Corpus</i> , no. 185                        |
| Quanzhou           | Akhlat (Armenia)              |              | 1173?            | Ibid., no. 100  |

<sup>43</sup> See subsequent sections.

|                                 |   |              |                |
|---------------------------------|---|--------------|----------------|
| Khwarazm                        | A | 1272,        | Ibid., no. 75  |
| Jājarm (Iran)                   |   | 1277         | Ibid., no. 28, |
| Balāsāghūn (Xinjiang)           |   | 1301         | Ibid., no. 165 |
| Bukhara (Transoxiana)           | I | 1302         | Ibid., no. 72  |
| Khānbaliq (Beijing)<br>(China)? | I | 1303         | Ibid., no. 52  |
| Qazwīn (Iran)                   | I | 1304,        | Ibid., no. 20  |
| Jājarm (Iran)                   |   | 1310         | Ibid., no. 32  |
| Khwarazm                        |   | 1322         | Ibid., no. 21  |
| Shahristān (Khorasan,<br>Iran)  | I | 1325         | Ibid., no. 34  |
| Gurgān /Jurjān (Iran)           |   | 1329         | Ibid., no. 160 |
| Tihāmah (Ḥejaz/Ḥijāz)           |   | 1336         | Ibid., no. 103 |
| Gīlān (Iran)                    |   | 1357         | Ibid., no. 55  |
| Iṣfahān (Iran)                  |   | 1358-9       | Ibid., no. 169 |
| Tabrīz (Iran)                   |   | 1362-3       | Ibid., no. 105 |
| Fārs (Shīrāz)                   |   | 1362-3       | Ibid., no. 79  |
| Yalak (ī)? / Sālgham<br>(ī)?    |   | 1363         | Ibid., no. 22  |
| Qazwīn (Iran)                   |   | 1371         | Ibid., no. 27  |
| Tabrīz (Iran)                   |   | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 106 |
| Ardabīl                         |   | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 38  |
|                                 | I | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 98  |
|                                 | I | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 70  |
|                                 | I | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 113 |
|                                 | I | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 161 |

|           |  |   |              |   |
|-----------|--|---|--------------|---|
|           | Hamdānī (Yemen)<br>/Hamadān (Iran)     |   | un-<br>known | Ibid., no. 80                             |
| Guangzhou | Korea and Daidu (Bei-<br>jing) (China) | I | 1352         | Zhong et al.,<br><i>Guangzhou</i> ,<br>91 |

Map 1. Place names seen on Islamic Tombstones from the southeast coast of China (underlined) and other important place names



In the Islamic inscriptions excavated in China’s coastal region, one repeatedly finds a typical formula (I) ‘ He who dies an exile dies a martyr *من مات غريبا فقد مات شهيدا*’ as well as its shortened form, (II) ‘ *موت الغريب شهيد*.’ This phrase is believed to be part of a tradition attributed to the Prophet Muhammad, as stated upon those tombstones, although they have only been found in the Islamic inscriptions from China’s coastal region, in particular in Yangzhou, Hangzhou, Fuzhou, Quanzhou, and Guangzhou.<sup>44</sup> The earliest example of type (I) was found on a tombstone in Quanzhou dated 1290 CE, while type (II) was first found on in Yangzhou dated 1302 CE.

<sup>44</sup> See Lu, “14 shiji zhongguo.”

According to A. H. Morton, these words were very common among Muslims in Yuan China; accordingly, it is natural that they could appear on tombstones in Hangzhou and its neighbouring province, Fujian.<sup>45</sup> As Morton observed, these formulas cannot be seen exactly as they are in Arent Jan Wensinck's *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*. However, sentences of the same meaning can be found in Wensinck's *Concordance*, as a tradition in the *Kitāb al-Sunan* by Ibn Māja Abū 'Abdullāh Muḥammad, b. Yazīd al-Rabī'ī al-Qazwīnī (d. 887). Although traditions only seen in Ibn Māja's *Sunan* were said to be 'weak' or unreliable, they were seemingly accepted by at least some scholars in Iran especially in his hometown Qazwīn, in the north-west of Tehran.<sup>46</sup> Conversely, as Morton noted, the concept of 'the death of the exile is martyrdom' should have been very common among Muslim societies everywhere.<sup>47</sup>

It is noteworthy that another formula exists and seems related: type (A) 'exile martyr الشهيد الغريب'. A single example of this formula can be viewed in the Arabic inscription on a tombstone found at Quanzhou. Dated 1272 CE. It is older than any other examples of types (I) and (II).

The year 1272 CE precedes the Song-Yuan transition by four years: this took place at Quanzhou in 1276 CE. Surprisingly, according to the inscription, the buried person is 'Muḥammad

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<sup>45</sup> See Mo'erdun (Morton, A.H.). *Hangzhou Fenghuangsi zang alabo wen, bosiwen beiming shidu yizhu* [Interpretations, Translations and Notes on Arabic and Persian Inscriptions of the Phoenix Mosque in Hangzhou] (Hangzhou lishi wenhua yanjiu congshu [Monograph series on History and Culture of Hangzhou]), noted and translated into Chinese by Zhou Sicheng, proofread by Wusuji (Vosougi), Wang Yidan, Zhang Fan, Wu Zhijian, Dang Baohai, (Beijing: Zhonghua shuji, 2015), 12, note 4.

<sup>46</sup> See A. J. Wensinck and J. P. Mensing, *Concordance et indices de la tradition musulmane*, (Reprint edition, Leiden: Brill, 1992), tome VIII, 472. According to *Kitāb al-Sunan*, 'موت غربة شهادة' ('To die an exile is martyrdom') are the words of the Prophet. See Ibn Māja, *Kitāb al-Sunan*, 'Kitāb al-Janā'iz' (The Book of Funerals), 61-1613. *Kitāb al-Sunan* contains many 'weak' traditions and 'it was even said that all traditions in it which do not occur in the five earlier collections are not authentic.' However, some scholars 'especially from Qazwīn considered him an authority of highest rank.' His *Sunan* were included in the 'Six Books' by al-Qaysarānī (d. 507/1113) though they were not recognized in Maghrib. See *EI*, III, 856, "IBN MĀDJA."

<sup>47</sup> The category of martyrs in Islamic tradition extended to include various types, including 'martyrs who died far from home' (*shuhadā' al-ghurba*) other than those murdered while in the service of God, those killed for their beliefs, those who die through disease or accident, and even included certain types of those who dies a natural death and living martyrs. See *EI*, IX, 205-206, "SHAHĪD."

Shāh b. Khwārazm Shāh' or the son of the Khwarazm king, Muhammad Shah.<sup>48</sup> This tombstone was found in the cemetery of Islamic saints, known as Lingshan, and located in the eastern suburb of Quanzhou City. This may indicate that this tombstone was the object of special worship.

Among the Islamic inscriptions excavated in China's coastal region, two examples have *nisba* directly referring to Khwarazm origin ('Khwārazmī'). One example is the aforementioned inscription of Muḥammad Shāh b. Khwārazm Shāh, while the other is from Fuzhou.<sup>49</sup> Both of these inscriptions contain formula type (I). The buried person of the former bore the title of *shāh* (king) from generation to generation. The individual in the latter bore the title *'amīr* of Arabic origin and *takīn* (prince) of Turkish origin, which suggests that those buried were from noble families in the Turkish Muslim society.

As depicted in Table 1, buried persons from the former Khwarazm Empire, which once covered Iran and Western Turkistan, were among more than half of the examples (17/32) of the Islamic tombstones with *nisba*, primarily from the Yuan period. This may demonstrate that the 'survivors' of the former Khwarazm Empire constituted a significant portion of the Muslim elite cluster in China's coastal region.

It is well known that many 'Khwārazmians' served in the Yuan court and in central and local administrations. They were probably also active as merchants in China under Mongol rule.<sup>50</sup> However, the reputation of the Khwarazm Empire was never favourable; it was an 'oppressive' and 'predatory' empire for the people in Iran; its collapse brought dreadful disorder, and the

<sup>48</sup> Chen et Kalus, *Corpus*, 158-159, no. 75, Pl. XLII b.

<sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, 268-270, no. 185, Pl. XC e,f.

<sup>50</sup> See Rossabi, "Legacy," 425-433; Michal Biran, *The Empire of the QaraKhitai in Eurasian History: Between China and the Islamic World*, (Cambridge University Press, 2005), 122; George Lane, "Persian Notables and the Families Who Underpinned the Ilkhanate," in *Nomads as Agents of Cultural Change: The Mongols and Their Eurasian Predecessors*, edited by Reuven Amitai, Michal Biran, (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 2015), 187-188. Regarding their trade activity, it is worth noting that the province of Khwarazm was 'a peninsula of advanced cultural and economic life' and 'Khwārazmians (in a narrow sense) were always great travellers and their merchants continued to journey across the Eurasian steppes as far as southern Russia and even the Danube basin.' See J. A. Boyle ed., *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge History of Iran, 5), (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 141-142.

Khwarazmian army had a reputation for savagery and banditry.<sup>51</sup> Accordingly, the majority of immigrant Muslims in China, including the ‘survivors’ of the Khwarazm Empire, may have shown little loyalty to the family of Khwarazm Shāh. Moreover, Khwarazm Shāh ‘Alā al-Dīn challenged and threatened the legitimacy of the Abbasid Caliphate.<sup>52</sup> It is more likely, therefore, that the tombstone of Khwarazm Shāh’s son in Quanzhou would have been respected (if at all) not because of his royal blood, but because of his death as martyr of exile.

## CONCLUSION

A considerable number of Islamic officials from the ‘Western Region’ immigrated to China’s coastal region under Mongol rule. Many of these officials belonged to local elites and wealthy families. It is well known that notable descendants of distinguished families traditionally produced officials, intellectuals, and wealthy merchants, and surrendered to (and cooperated with) the Mongols during the war against the Qara Khitai khanate and the Khwarazm Empire. Some of these families were incorporated into the Mongol ruling class through the Empire’s recruiting system and continued to produce officials and merchants in Yuan China. These facts can be confirmed by Chinese and Persian historical sources and by the list of names of Yuan officials in the Local Gazetteers of the Jianghuai and Fujian regions introduced in my previous research.<sup>53</sup> Further study may testify that they were also among the buried persons whose tombstones contained Arabic inscriptions.

Conversely, not only people from Transoxiana and Iran under the realm of the former Khwarazm Empire, but also Muslims from various regions of Central Asia and the Middle East shared the tradition of associating the death of the exile with martyr-

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<sup>51</sup> George Lane, *Early Mongol Rule in Thirteenth-Century Iran: A Persian Renaissance*, (New York: Routledge, 2003), 184, 209.

<sup>52</sup> See W. Barthold, W., *Turkestan: Down to the Mongol Invasion* (The E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust), (First Published in Russian, 1900, Fourth Edition, 1977. Reprint, 2012), 374-375; J. A. Boyle ed., *The Saljuq and Mongol Periods* (Cambridge History of Iran, 5), (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 293; Lane, *Early Mongol Rule*, 184, 195.

<sup>53</sup> See Mukai, “Mongoru chika,” 82-85 and “Interests,” 440-441.

dom. This reflects a widely accepted tradition among the Muslims of the period. The choice of exactly the same formulae among Muslims in different port cities of China's coastal region indicates that they eventually established an interregional or diasporic identity of Muslim foreigners who immigrated into the region. It is important to further investigate why that specific tradition – which seemingly originated from Ibn Māja's *Sunan* and had been relatively unpopular – was chosen and became so common in China's coastal region during the Yuan era.

Following the 1360s and at the end of the Yuan period, the numbers of Arabic tombstones radically decreased in China's coastal region. The most reasonable explanation for this change is that Quanzhou was originally home to a large number of foreign merchants, visitors and migrants, and was occupied by Muslim vigilantes called 'yisibaxi' (Pers. Ispāh, 'cavalry'). However, several thousand Muslims were killed when this occupation was repelled<sup>54</sup> and the surviving Muslim population fled to rural areas or went overseas. In addition, the founder of the Ming Dynasty, Emperor Hongwu (Zhu Yuanzhang) issued an edict ordering Pu Shougeng's offspring not to engage in maritime trade.<sup>55</sup> Therefore, the city was no longer the centre for foreign merchants including Muslims. Consequently, merchants inevitably moved from Chinese ports to those of Southeast Asia.<sup>56</sup>

The author's ongoing research project attempts to discover the relevance between the rise and decline of each muslim community dispersed over the South China Sea and the Southeast Asian archipelago around the thirteenth-fourteenth centuries, covering the later Song, the Yuan, and portions of early Ming Dynasties in Chinese history. As this field of historical

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<sup>54</sup> Regarding 'yisibaxi,' see Maejima Shinji, "Genmatsu no senshū to kaikyōto," *Shigaku* 27, no.1 (1974): 16-69; and Nu'er (Chen Dasheng), "Yisibaxi," in *Quanzhou yisilan yanjiu lunwenxuan*, edited by Quanzhou haiwai jiaotongshi bowuguan and Quanzhoushi quanzhou lishi yanjiuhui (Fuzhou: Fujian renmin chubanshe, 1983), 48-52.

<sup>55</sup> See Kawagoe, "Iwayuru 'teiwa kōkōhi' ni tsuite: Minsho no fukken hoshi ni kanren shite," in *Nakayama Hachirō kyōju shōju kinen minshin shi ronsō*, edited by Sakuma Shigeo and Yamane yukio (Nagoya: Ryōgen shoten, 1977), 69-70; and Quanzhou haijiaoshi bowuguan diaochazu, "Chendai dingxing yanjiu," *Haijiaoshi yanjiu*, 1 (1978): 19.

<sup>56</sup> This conclusion is only tentative and arguable. For related argument, see Anthony Reid, "Flows and Seepages in the Long-term Chinese Interaction with Southeast Asia," in *Sojourners and Settlers: Histories of Southeast Asia and the Chinese*, edited by Anthony Reid (Honolulu: University of Hawai'i Press, 1996), 21.

study lacks efficient textual sources, this study will seek to use epigraphic source data to examine the tendency of their trans-regional migrations through research on the periodic and geographic data obtained from Islamic inscriptions.