

Introduction

The varied role of Islam and its impact on local communities has attracted considerable scholarly attention over the past decade. Clifford Geertz, over twenty five years ago, introduced this theme in *Islam Observed* where he sought to delineate Islam's divergent impact on Morocco and Indonesia. This basic paradigm was one of the first to begin to challenge the core-periphery model, which Geertz captured in his typically simple prose, "they both incline toward Mecca, but, the antipodes of the Muslim world, they bow in opposite directions". [1] In this study, I propose to examine another 'extremity' of the Muslim world, China and the manner in which the Muslims in the southwestern province of Yunnan express elements of their identity during the nineteenth century.

The Muslim Yunnanese community in the nineteenth century was positioned on the 'periphery' of many cultural and political spheres not the least being the Chinese empire and the expanding Islamic world. In the mid-nineteenth century Yunnan there occurred a Muslim-led rebellion. This rebellion, the so-called Panthay Rebellion, reflects many facets of the Muslim Yunnanese heterogeneous contacts with Southeast Asia, Tibet and Imperial China, as well as reveals the integral role that the Muslim Yunnanese had in maintaining and facilitating Yunnan's connections with bordering peoples. More importantly, upon closer examination the Panthay Rebellion facilitates a better understanding of the critical role Muslim identity played in a region distant from traditional centers of Islamic thought and culture. In particular, I want to accent the efforts of the Muslim Yunnanese not as peripheral but as working across the predominant Islamic and Chinese spheres to create a Yunnan-based Muslim identity.

In the past ten years, there has been a marked increase in research examining Muslim Chinese, however, only a small portion of this work has focused on Muslim Chinese who live outside the so-called "Qur'an Belt" of Northwestern China where the Muslim Chinese make up the majority.² While considerable attention has been focused on the history of Muslim groups in China's northwest which often focus on 'ethnic' identity (e.g. Uighur, Kazaks), the nature of Muslim identity in China's interior eighteen provinces challenges the traditionally defined basis for ethnicity and challenged our conceptions of Muslims as a minority group.³ Muslim identity, or more correctly Hui identity, in the Chinese core tends to be defined less strictly on ethnicity or religious identity but rather on a regionally defined hybrid of the two resulting in considerable confusion on how to constructively define Hui identity.

Recent studies by several Western scholars of Muslim Chinese, have propitiously turned away from striving to construct an overarching framework for all Muslim Chinese and focused instead the regional and local definitions of the Hui.⁴ As well numerous Chinese scholars have begun to examine the role of Muslim Chinese in Chinese history? By examining the intricate nature of Muslim regional identity, these more recent works provide a historically contextualized as well as geographically specific account of Muslim Chinese. However, while these studies have concentrated on urban areas, or areas that border on predominantly Muslim regions, few scholars have sought to understand the diversity of the substantial Muslim communities in Yunnan province, and one of the largest outside of China's largest Muslim population centers in Xinjiang, Ningxia, Gansu, and Qinghai.

Yunnan's geographic position on China's southwestern frontier situates the province physically and ideologically distant from the idealized Chinese core. In much the same

[*q.v.*], the Barlās Turk, defeated Ibrāhīm Lōdī [*q.v.*]; in 1556, when Akbar [*q.v.*] crushed the forces of Hēmū; and lastly, in 1761, when the Marāthās [*q.v.*] were defeated by Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī [*q.v.*]. The geographical factor combined with internal decay and a weak system of frontier defence has been chiefly responsible for this. From the strategic background of Afghānistān the path for invaders lay along the lines of least resistance, the Khyber, Kurram, Tochi, and Gomal passes, on to the Panjāb plains, for the Indus has never proved an obstacle to an enterprising general. Checked on the south by the deserts of Rājputāna, invading armies were forced to enter the Ganges and Djamnā valleys through the narrow bottleneck between the north-eastern extremity of the desert and the foot of the Himālayas.

Hence because of this strategic position, Pānīpat has always been important, and is mentioned in the *Mahābhārata* and in the historical sources on the Dihlī Sultanate [*q.v.*]. In the first battle of Pānīpat, Bābur defeated and killed Ibrāhīm b. Sikandar Lōdī on 8 Rādjāb 932/20 April 1526. His success was attributed by earlier scholars to an extensive use of cannon, 700 'arabas [*q.v.*] being mentioned in the *Bābur-nāma*, tr. Beveridge, 463 ff., see esp. 468-9 n. 3; but these must have been for the conveyance of baggage, not gun carriages. Bābur certainly had an unspecified number of cannon, and his Master Gunner Ustād 'Alī-Ḳulī had *farangī*, *darbzān* and *dāgh* cannon which were lashed together for action [see further BĀRŪD. vi. India]. The battle sealed the fate of the Lōdī dynasty [*q.v.*], but much tougher resistance to Bābur was offered to him in the following year at the battle of Khānu'ā, when he routed the Rājput Rānā Sāngā of Mēwāf [*q.v.*] and brought about the extinction of Mēwāf as a separate kingdom (see *Bābur-nāma*, tr. 558-75).

The second battle of Pānīpat took place on 2 Muharram 964/5 November 1556, when Akbar, soon after his accession, defeated the usurping Hindu minister Hēmū, who had assumed the title of Rājā Vikramaditya, this victory being the first major step in Akbar's constituting the Mughal empire.

The third battle of Pānīpat took place on 7 Djumādā II 1174/14 January 1761, when the Marāthās, having managed to occupy Dihlī, were nevertheless put to flight by the Afghān *amir* of Kandahār, Aḥmad Shāh Durrānī. Although Aḥmad Shāh returned to Afghānistān shortly afterwards and Marāthā power revived, the battle had long-term effects in preserving the Muslim state of the Nizām in Ḥaydarābād [*q.v.*] and in allowing the British to consolidate their position in Bengal.

The modern town of Pānīpat still retains its fort and a wall with 15 gates, and amongst its monuments are the ruins of a mosque in the Kābulī Bāgh built to commemorate the first battle of Pānīpat. In 1971 Pānīpat had a population of 87,981.

*Bibliography: Imperial gazetteer of India*², xix, 397-8; A.S. Beveridge (tr.), *Bābur-nāma*, ii, London 1921; Abu 'l-Faḍl 'Allāmī, *Akbar-nāma*, tr. H. Beveridge, Calcutta 1897-1921, ii, 58 ff.; 'Alī Muḥammad Khān, *Mir'āt-i Aḥmadī* (Ethé, no. 3598, fols. 583-4); *Nigār-nāma-yi Hind*, Orme 1896 (see also *Asiatic Researches*, iii, and Elliot and Dowson, *History of India*, viii, 396-402); *Selections from the Peshwa's Daftar, Letters and Dispatches relating to the Battle of Panipat, 1747-1761*, 1930; Hari Ram Gupta, *The Marathas and Panipat*, Delhi 1961; *Haryana District gazetteers. Karnal, Chandigarh* 1976, 513-16. (C.C. DAVIES-[C.E. BOSWORTH])

PANTELLERIA [see KAWSARA].

PANTHAY, a term applied to the Chinese Muslims of Yunnan and their rebellion in the 19th century.

In the second half of the 19th century, Chinese Muslims in Yunnan province (in south-west China, bordered by Burma, Thailand and Vietnam) were known to the Europeans as *Panthay*, a term which had never been used anywhere in China. The Yunnanese Muslims were known as *Huei-Huei* up to 1949, when the incoming communist government referred to them as *Huei-Min* or *Huei-Tsu*.

Views differ as to the etymology of the term *Panthay*. If it derives from Chinese, it may have meant indigenous (*Pen-ti*) or rebellious brigand (*Pan-Tset*), although there is no reliable evidence. If, alternatively, it derives from Persian or Burmese, it might have been a corruption of *Pan-see*, a Burmese term, referring to Indo-Burmese of northern Arakan, who had converted to Islam in the early 13th century, and originating from Persian *Parsi* of which the *r* sound was dropped by Burmese, who called Muslims *Pathi* or *Passi*. The most likely etymology is that the term was a British coinage, corrupted by colonial officers in British India from the Burmese term *Pan-see* to designate the Yunnanese Muslims during their 1855-73 rebellion against the Manchu authorities. For today's Yunnanese Muslims in Burma, *Panthay* carries a pejorative meaning.

Sources concerning the first entry of Muslims and Islam to Yunnan vary in accuracy and credibility. Tang (618-906 A.D.) and Sung (960-1279 A.D.) records have left no adequate summary of the religious status and activities of Central Asian migrants in Yunnan, although archaeological evidence from the Tang period suggests that they were enslaved in the Buddhist Tali Kingdom of the native Yunnanese at that time. This accords with the fact that, when Tibet invaded the Tali Kingdom in 801, many of those taken prisoner were found to be conscripts from Samarkand. An unofficial history of the Tali Kingdom dating from the Sung period maintains that the first Muslims were Persian merchants and Southeast Asians on a tribute mission. According to Chinese Muslim legend, however, the first settlers were Arab merchants in the middle years of the Tang dynasty, and there is no evidence of Islam taking root in Yunnan prior to the Mongol conquest of the whole of China (1279), after which mass Muslim immigration into Yunnan was carried out by the central government through their own Muslim generals.

After the conquest, Muslims migrated to Yunnan in three waves, in 1253, 1256 and 1267. Various Muslim ethnic groups (Tanguts, Tatars, Uyghurs, Persians, etc.) were introduced, following their overlords there as the province was settled. The Muslim immigrants were allocated lands and scattered all over the province, so that camps or villages, known as *Huei-Huei Yin* or *Huei-Huei Chun*, gradually developed. Furthermore, Central Asian Muslim soldiers were continually sent thither from other parts of China as part of a political and military strategy aimed at pacifying Burmese or local insurgents. This also served to promote social integration in that the Muslims began to intermarry with native or Han women or to adopt non-Muslim orphans and bring them up as Muslims to become natural suitors for their daughters.

In order to maintain control of the Muslim population, the Mongol-Yüen court appointed Muslim generals as provincial governors, amongst whom the most eminent was the Bukhārī general, Sayyid Adjall Shams al-Dīn 'Umar, who was entrusted by Kubilay

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