A Uyghur Muslim in Qianlong's Court: The Meaning of the Fragant Concubine

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IN TOKYO'S FASHIONABLE ROPPONGI CROSSING, just down the street from the Almond Café where urbanites converge to meet their dates, a sign over a Chinese restaurant bears two Chinese characters: Kē Hī (Xiang Fei). The establishment's menu and business cards display a portrait of a beautiful East Asian woman in Manchu dress; her expression is enigmatic. The restaurant's advertising describes a Chinese emperor's consort renowned for her miraculous fragrance, and promises equally aromatic culinary delights.

The Roppongi Restaurant is but one recent expression of a long tradition that features the Fragrant Concubine in court records, paintings, novels, operas, plays, and even on a cigarette pack. Since the eighteenth century, Chinese and others have drawn upon this woman's rich associations for artistic, literary, commercial, and, in particular, political effect.

Although less well known than the preeminent Chinese beauties Xi Shi and Yang Gui Fei, Xiang Fei enjoys name recognition in East Asia at least on a par with that of another hapless Qing imperial concubine, Zhen Fei (whose devotion to the Guangxu emperor earned her an untimely demise in a palace well). In China, the legend of the Fragrant Concubine gained its greatest circulation in the 1910s, 1920s, and 1930s as a staple of unofficial histories, romances, and Beijing opera, but remains current today through associations with several architectural landmarks in Beijing, Chengde, and Kashgar. She has acquired European devotees as well. In

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his book on Rehe, the Qing imperial retreat at Chengde, Sven Hedin devotes an entire chapter to Xiang Fei (Hedin 1933:215–33). The French poet and exoticist, Victor Segalen, probably borrowed from the Xiang Fei tradition when he wrote of an unspecified emperor’s longing for a foreign consort (l’Étrangère) in the play Le Combat pour le Sūl (Segalen 1974; Hsieh 1988:225–39). Xiang Fei’s story appears as an addendum to the biography of Zhao-hui in Eminent Chinese of the Ch’ing Period (Hummel 1970:75). Most recently, Harrison Salisbury begins his revelation of goings-on in the Maoist palace with an anecdote about the Fragrant Concubine (Salisbury 1992:3, following Arlington and Lewsohn 1991:94–95). Until the student movement of 1989 brought Wuer Kaixi’s name into Western news reports and his “wanted” poster onto Chinese television, Xiang Fei was without doubt the all-time best-known Uyghur outside of Central Asia.

The Xiang Fei legend is one of the most colorful and enduring tales of the Qianlong reign. According to most versions, Xiang Fei was the consort (or daughter) of Khoja Jihān, the “younger Khoja” who with his elder brother, Būrgan ad-Dīn, resisted the Qing conquest of Altishahr (southern Xinjiang) after Amursana’s rebellion in the mid-eighteenth century. The Qianlong emperor had heard tales of Khoja Jihān’s beautiful consort, whose body was said to emit a mysterious fragrance without recourse to perfumes or powders. The Manchu monarch ordered his general, Zhao-hui, to find the famed beauty and bring her back safely to Beijing. Zhao-hui did so—arranging daily butter rubdowns and camel’s milk baths for her on the way—and the woman, Xiang Fei (Fragrant Concubine), was installed within the imperial harem. Qianlong was enraptured, but the steadfast Muslim woman was determined to remain chaste; she greeted the impertinent emperor with defiant silence, and informed her maids that she intended to seek revenge for her lost country and husband. For this purpose, she carried tiny daggers in the sleeves of her Muslim robes. Qianlong attempted to win her over slowly, with gifts of Hami melons and narrow-leaved oleasters (shazao shu) saplings—a Xinjiang tree with flowers of which Xiang Fei was fond. He built her a hall against the southwestern wall of the imperial city and established an encampment of Muslims just outside the wall at that point, on Western Chang An Avenue. From the second floor of this hall, the Bao Yue Lou (Precious Moon Hall), which was outfitted with a mirror the length and breadth of one wall, Xiang Fei could look upon her co-religionists going about their business in the new mosque and bazaar across the street and thus, Qianlong hoped, relieve her feelings of homesickness. The emperor also constructed a special bath-house, the Yu De Tang, where Xiang Fei could take her wanted steam baths.2 When at

1It is somewhat anachronistic to speak of the sedentary, Turkic-speaking population of the Tarim oases in the eighteenth century as “Uyghur,” since this group adopted the ethnonym only in the twentieth century. Nevertheless, for the sake of convenience and because it is thus employed by Chinese historians today, I use it here for “Altishahr,” “Eastern Turkestan,” “Turki,” and so forth. For romanization of modern Uyghur, I follow the system used by Reinhard Hahn in his Spoken Uyghur (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1991), essentially that in common use among Western Turcologists. However, the word “Uyghur” (technically “Uyğur”) is here spelled in a more readily readable form. (There is no consensus on the English spelling of this term; I prefer the form “Uyghur,” which best reflects the spelling in the modified Arabic script, over the older form “Uighur” and the inaccurate P.R.C. spelling “Ugur.”) Following Joseph Fletcher and Saguchi Tai, personal names of the khojas and other Turkestanis have been given in Arabic forms. For Manchu names, I follow the usage of Hummel (1970); where the original Manchu form is unavailable, the romanized Chinese characters are given, linked by hyphens.

2The Yu De Tang, near the Wu Ying Dian and the First Historical Archives of China in the western part of the Forbidden City, was not built for Xiang Fei. It was probably a
the imperial suburban retreat, the Yuan Ming Yuan, with its baroque annex inspired by Versailles, Xiang Fei resided in the Palace of the Immense Ocean (Yuan Ying Guan) north of the waterworks and, while the emperor waited for her outside, prayed in the Belvedere (Fang Wai Guan) (Yao 1985:197; illustration 1). People in Rehe say that the An Yuan Si (Temple for Settling those from Afar), modeled after a temple in Yili, was likewise built by imperial decree as a gift to Xiang Fei (Rong 1986:147–52). The Jesuit missionary Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766), moreover, supposedly painted Xiang Fei’s portrait in oils (see caption facing illustration 2).

Unmoved by these blandishments, however, Xiang Fei remained steadfast, and the Empress Dowager Niuhuru soon grew anxious for her son’s safety. One day, when the emperor had left the palace on ceremonial duties, the dowager confronted Xiang Fei and demanded that she behave as a proper concubine should. When the Muslim woman remained defiant, Niuhuru “granted her the favor of death.” The emperor got word of this turn of events and hastened back to the palace, only to find that his mother had locked him out while Xiang Fei was strangled. When the Dowager finally allowed the emperor in to embrace the lovely corpse, Xiang Fei’s breath was gone—only the mysterious scent remained, hovering over the body.

In one version of the story, Qianlong is said to have had Xiang Fei buried with full honors in the Qing Eastern Mausoleum (Qing Dong Ling), 125 kilometers east of Beijing, where the Shunzhi, Kangxi, Qianlong, Xianfeng and Tongzhi emperors and their consorts are interred (Yu 1984).³

A minor tradition entombs Xiang Fei in southern Beijing in a rough grave beneath an inscribed stone near Tao Ran Ting. This site is associated with Cao Dafu (Yang Ziwei), a famous artisan and architect who with his sons and grandsons worked on Qing construction projects, including the Yuan Ming Yuan and Yi He Yuan. Early in the twentieth century, Cao’s impoverished descendants sold materials they claimed were records of building plans, including the “Xiang Fei Ling Gong Tushuo” [Illustrated account of the construction of the Xiang Fei Tomb], blueprints of a tomb to be situated in southern Beijing, near Tao Ran Ting. The construction work had supposedly only just begun when it was suspended indefinitely by order of the Dowager Empress (Wei 1985:176). Until at least the 1930s, a small mound with a stone marked “xiang zhong” (fragrant tomb) could be found near Tao Ran Ting. On the opposite face of the stone an enigmatic verse was inscribed (Tian 1914:17b–18b; Yu and Dong 1985:235–36; cf. Hedin 1933:216). This burial site was also said to be that of a famous Ming-period courtesan, Xiang Nian (Takanaka 1988:244).

According to a third version of the Xiang Fei legend, popular in Xinjiang, Xiang Fei’s remains were transported in a special catafalque across north China and the Taklamakan desert to Kashgar, where they were enshrined in the Khoja Afaq Mazâr, the family tomb of the Makhdumzâda Khoja clan. The catafalque may be

³Yuan Dynasty construction, reflecting the influence of Central Asian Muslims in the Mongol capital. Outside the domed structure is a well-house to provide water, which, after being drawn, flowed down marble gutters into a small chamber behind the bathhouse. There the water was boiled and steam injected into the bathhouse via a small hole in the wall. Inside, drains in the corners of the tiled walls allowed condensed water to escape. But this ingenious sauna was probably not used as such during the Qing; palace records state that the Yu De Tang was used to collate materials from the massive publishing projects undertaken in the Wu Ying Dian next door (Dan Shi yuan 1983:46–47).

³The Qing Eastern Mausoleum is located about 125 kilometers east of Beijing at Malanyu in Zunhua county, Hebei. The Shunzhi, Kangxi, Qianlong, Xianfeng and Tongzhi emperors and their consorts, a total of 157 people, were buried in the Eastern Mausoleum (Yu 1984).
Illustration 1. Chang Ch'un Yuan Tu (In the Garden of Eternal Spring). The Qianlong emperor and a woman said to be the Fragrant Concubine seated in front of the Fang War Guan (Belvedere) in the Yuan Ming Yuan. (Tokyo kokuritsu hakubutsukan 1964: plate 122.)
seen at this tomb site to this day; what is said to be her grave is marked with a crude sign in Chinese and Uyghur. The Russian traveler Valikhanov visited the Khoja Afaq Mazar in 1857, and was told that the previous year the remains of a Uyghur noble had been returned to Kashgar for burial. Ji Dachun suggests that the catafalque might have been used to transport this corpse and only later came to be associated with Xiang Fei (Valikhanov 1962; Ji 1985a:29).

This article will examine the historical and literary record regarding the Uyghur woman from Altishahr who entered the Qing imperial harem in 1760 and lived as one of the Qianlong emperor’s consorts until her death in 1788. The several versions of her story impart to her a variety of meanings but share a common denominator: as a Uyghur woman whose marriage to the Manchu emperor coincided with the Qing conquest of Xinjiang, she appears as a symbol of Xinjiang; her induction into the palace serves as an allegory for the incorporation of Xinjiang within the Qing empire, and, later, the Chinese nation. Conversely, her defiance mirrors the perennial resistance of Altishahr to rule from Beijing. The different representations of Xiang Fei in various treatments of the story reflect the authors’ attitudes toward the position of the Uyghurs and Xinjiang in the Qing empire (or, later, in China). Documents produced under Manchu auspices depict a Muslim woman from Yarkand brought into the palace in a marital alliance with a branch of the Makhdumzada Khojas, religious and secular rulers of Altishahr. This woman, who came to be known as Rong Fei, was a key link in an affinal relationship designed to consolidate politically and reiterate symbolically Qing rule in Altishahr. The private historiographies and historical romances written primarily by Han at a later date (although recording an earlier oral tradition) give a very different picture: “orientalist” in nature, they describe an exotic femme fatale, the Fragrant Concubine, as uneasy in the harem as was Xinjiang in the empire. It is through these stories that Xiang Fei gained her greatest cultural currency. More recently, however, scholars in the People’s Republic of China and Uyghur nationalists have each adopted elements of the Rong Fei/Xiang Fei tradition that contest her significance just as Xinjiang’s and the Uyghurs’ membership in the PRC is itself contested.

From Khoja to Concubine

A key element in the Xiang Fei tale as told in private histories is whether or not the Muslim consort was related to Khoja Jihan and Burchan ad-Din; the legend of her defiance depends on the belief that she was brought captive to Beijing, her husband (or father) killed and her country conquered by the Qing. However, according to data in a variety of historical sources, including the archives of the Imperial Household Agency (Netun fa), Qianlong’s Uyghur concubine was not a close relation of Khoja Jihan and Burchan ad-Din.

From the sixteenth century, a Central Asian Naqshbandi Sufi brotherhood descended from Makhdum-i A'zam (whence their epithet Makhdumzada) had enjoyed great influence in Altishahr’s religious affairs and, increasingly, in secular affairs as well. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, the Ishiqiyya (also known as “Black Hat” or “Black Mountain”) branch of this lineage remained supreme; thereafter, however, a rival branch arose under the leadership of Khoja Afaq, who in 1679 enlisted the help of the Zunghar Khan Galdan against the Ishiqi khojas. This Afaqiyya
Illustration 2. Portrait of “Xiang Fei in European Armor” (Xiang Fei yongzhuang xiang; Beurdeley 1971: plate 84; Guoli gugong bowuyuan 1983: plate 64, published here with permission of the National Palace Museum, Republic of China), is one of several claimants to be the Giuseppe Castiglione portrait of Xiang Fei. This work was displayed in the Yu De Tang bathhouse in 1914. A second candidate (Chu lie tu or Qianlong di yu Xiang Fei Yuyuan xinglie tu; Yu and Dong 1985:vi) depicts a woman wearing what appears to be the same armor, riding with the emperor. This work bears colophonic poems by Grand Secretary Liu Tongxun (1700–73) and Shen Deqian (1673–1769) (Wei Zidan 1985:176). Both of these paintings are said to have been discovered in Rehe after the fall of the Qing Dynasty (Beurdeley 1971; Guoli gugong bowuyuan 1983; and Gugong bowuyuan yuankan 1988). “In the Garden of Eternal Spring” (illustration 1) could also reasonably be a Castiglione painting of the Uyghur concubine.

The other candidates are both less probably images of Qianlong’s Uyghur concubine and less likely to be the work of Castiglione. The Xiang Fei qizhuang xiang (said to be in the possession of Soong Mei-ling [Mme. Chiang Kai-shek]), although a similar work is in a Hong Kong museum (Tan Bi’an 1992) is a portrait of a young woman in Manchu banner dress, seated informally; as with most of the other portraits, to this viewer her features seem Han or Manchu, with no hint of Turkestaní. It is probably only because the painting, a realistic portrait in oils of a palace woman, is itself exotic in both genre and medium that it has been popularly associated with “Xiang Fei” (Beurdeley 1971: plate 83). The same is true of the decidedly inferior painting said to be of Xiang Fei as a European shepherdess (Xiang Fei yangzhuang xiang, Beurdeley 1971: plate 85) of which at least two versions exist. In a very different style, a mirror painting in the collection of Lennart Larsson depicts “the Turkestaní princess Xiangfei” with a small dagger and a falcon (Larsson 1989:28, plate 20); this is not attributed to Castiglione, but has been dated to the eighteenth century (Larsson 1993). In 1980, the Ricci Institute for Chinese-Western Cultural History at the University of San Francisco received as a bequest a portrait of “Princess Hsiang Fei with Escorts.”

This painting on silk of three European women riding in a forested scene with a castle in the background has chinoiserie elements, and seems to have been painted by a European hand. It bears Castiglione’s signature (as Lang Shining, in the kaishu characters he used in signing his work) and a whippet in the foreground is in the style of one of Castiglione’s paintings of dogs, but in arrangement and modeling of the figures this painting is far inferior to his known oeuvre (but cf. Tan 1985).
("White Hat" or "White Mountain") branch thereafter established itself in Kashgar and ruled Altishahr as Zunghar clients. Khoja Jiān and Būrān ad-Dīn belonged to the Āfāqī line; the Zuñghars had captured the two brothers and their father following a rebellion in Altishahr and held them prisoner in Yili. In 1755 the Qing took Yili and released them, with the expectation that they would rule Yarkand and Kashgar as Qing tributaries. But when the Qing’s former Zuñghar ally, Amursana, rebelled in the north, Khoja Jiān and Būrān ad-Dīn followed suit. This precipitated the massive Qing invasion that by 1759 drove the Khoja brothers out of Altishahr and left the oasis cities of the Tarim under full Qing control (on the Khojas, see Fletcher 1978, and Fletcher forthcoming).

The Uyghur concubine belonged to a line of the Makhduzmāda Khoja clan that traced its descent from Makhduz-i Afzam not through Khoja Āfāq but through Khoja Āfāq’s brother, ‘Ināyat Kirmār Qinā’at. Although not of the Ishaqī line, Kirmār’s descendants may have resented Āfāqī predominance in Altishahr. In any case, in 1755 they opposed Khoja Jiān’s and Būrān ad-Dīn’s resistance to the Qing. Rong Fei’s uncle, Khoja Erke Husein, refused to follow Jiān and fled Xinjiang accompanied by his own younger brother, Pārsā, and his nephews, Turdi and Mahmūd. They spent the next three years among the Qirghiz and in several Ferghana cities. In the autumn of 1758, Khoja Jiān trapped Qing General Zhao-hui and the main Qing force at Qara Usu, outside Yarkand; Būrān ad-Dīn left Kashgar to strengthen the siege. But when Erke Husein and Turdi led a force of Qirghiz to attack Kashgar and Yengi Hisar, Būrān ad-Dīn was forced to withdraw his men from Qara Usu, relieving the pressure on Zhao-hui. Intervention by the Kirmār Khojas at this critical juncture thus greatly speeded and may even have clinched the Qing victory in Altishahr (Qingyang wufan Menggu Huibu weiguogong biao xuan 117:3a–6b; Saguchin 1963:81–84, 729).

The Qianlong emperor summoned Erke Husein, Turdi, Mahmūd and others of the Kirmār line to Beijing, where they received ranks in the imperial clan. Special housing had been constructed for them, and early in 1760 Bulwark Duke (fugwong) Ḥusein and the princes (taiji) Turdi and Mahmūd were established in residences just outside the southern palace walls on West Chang An Avenue.

Documents discovered in the Number One Historical Archives in Beijing and reprinted by Chinese scholars enable us to reconstruct the outlines of Turdi’s sister’s life after the Kirmārs were established in the capital. This young woman was inducted into Qianlong’s harems in the second lunar month of 1760 under the name “He” (for He-zhuo, Khoja) and with the title guiren, fourth-ranked concubine. She received gifts of jewelry, silk, fur, 200 qa’ls of silver and 15 of gold. One month later, Turdi received a new 22-room residence in today’s Dongzai neighborhood, presents of clothing, saddlery, furnishings, and cash, as well as an increase in his annual stipend from 100 to 240 silver qa’ls. (Husein and the others remained in their previous residences at their previous emolument levels.) Around this time, too, Turdi was given a Manchu wife, Ba-lang (Yu 1985a:123–24, 162; Xiao 1985:41–42).

Within the palace, He Guiren enjoyed the opulent lifestyle common to all imperial consorts. While still only a guiren, she received extra portions of Hami melons when tribute gifts of these fruits were distributed among palace women. Moreover, because of her Islamic dietary restrictions, she ate special foods prepared by her own cook, Nurmat; these included “gulanqi” (rice pilaf) and “diriyazi”

3From a Manchu-language memorial by Fu-hong (Grand Councilor concurrently supervising the Lifan Yuan and Neiwu fu), cited in Xiao 1985:41–42.
(vegetables fried with onions). She apparently continued to wear her own Turkestan style of dress during her first five years as a concubine, for a document composed on the occasion of her promotion to the rank of fei in 1765 noted that she had no Manchu court attire and ordered that suitable garments be manufactured (Yu 1985a:127; Xiao 1985:43).

In 1762 He Guiren was promoted to pin (third-ranked concubine) and renamed Rong; she appears for the next three years in documents of the Imperial Household as Rong Pin. In that same year, Turti was raised from prince to bulwark duke (Da Qing lichao shilu [Qianlong reign]:661.5, QL27.5 jiayou; He-ning 1966: "Tu-ce-du liezhuan"). It was standard practice in the Qing imperial clan to promote consorts within the palace concurrently with their male relatives outside. This policy generally applied to Mongol or Manchu nobles and their daughters in the harem (Ransky 1991), but in this case extended to a Uyghur prince and his sister.

We may guess that Rong Pin was fond of sweets, for on her birthday the following year three extra plates of sweets graced each banquet table, along with four carriages of mutton. She accompanied the court when it debouched for Rehe and the Mulan hunting grounds and she participated in Qianlong's 1765 southern tour. Her diet (like that of her brother and other Muslim nobles in the encoragement) on the tour included wild duck, venison, chicken, and mutton, but no pork. In 1771 she joined the Eastern Tour to Taishan and Qufu; on this occasion, when other palace ladies dined on five-spice pig stomach and pork rinds, she partook of a dish called "mutton tasar" (Yu 1985a:126–32).

Her promotion to fei (second-ranked concubine) came by edict from the Dowager Empress, as was standard, in 1768. Her full name thereafter became Rong Fei Khoja (Da Qing lichao shilu [Qianlong reign] juan 812, p. 11b, QL33.6 xinyou; juan 820, p. 12, QL33.10 kengshen). After the death of his second empress in 1766, the Qianlong emperor took no more empresses, and Rong Fei was thus one of the highest-ranking palace women. Only the huang quefei and quefei were ranked higher, although there were three other fei besides Rong. At an early 1779 banquet at the Yuan Ming Yuan, Rong Fei took the head of the western (hence secondary) table. By the end of the year, she had advanced to second position at the (primary) eastern table (Yu 1985a:135; cf. Yu 1985b:110).

There is little indication in this documentary record of harem protocol that the Qianlong emperor was more than usually fond of Rong Fei. However, one Chinese scholar has argued from other sources that Qianlong's relationship with his Uyghur concubine was special. In his last historical work, written in Japanese-occupied Beijing just before his death, the historian Meng Sen analyzed several of Qianlong's poems for references to Rong Fei. The emperor wrote these poems on the subject of the Bao Yue Lou, a hall constructed in 1758 on the site now occupied by the Xin Hua Men. From this year on, the emperor often versified about this structure, and although he never referred directly to Rong Fei, it is clear that the building, one among hundreds in the palace, held special resonances for him. In particular, the poems confirm the presence of the Muslim quarter just outside the walls, southwest of the palace compound; Meng argues that because private settlement was generally prohibited so close to the Forbidden City, this Muslim neighborhood almost certainly developed in that spot by imperial decree. Moreover, the Bao Yue Lou and the "Muslim camp" came into existence at about the same time; the emperor consistently associated the two, as in the following selection from 1763:
Winter's ice looks over the pond to the north;
The Spring hall protrudes into the southern city. (Imperial note: the hall closely adjoins the imperial city's southern wall.)
A former record of the Precious Moon (my past description of the Bao Yue Lou is adhered to the wall)—
Youthful years greeting me today,
A screen inscription tells of new vigor and prosperity,
The mirror reflects great promise.
Hard-by reside the Muslim people outside the wall, on West Chang An Jie, the houses of the Muslims who have come to reside in China proper look upon each other. People call this [area] the "Muslim Camp"; the newly-built mosque is just opposite the [Bao Yue] Lou.
The pacified West linked through distant sentiments. (Meng 1960:337)

Most telling is Meng's comparison of an imperial Bao Yue Lou ode written in 1787, when Rong Fei was still alive, with one from 1791, three years after her death. The former, like all earlier poems on this subject, is optimistic, describing the happy scene on Chang An Jie below. The latter offering (Meng 1960:542) is gloomy—the emperor marked it with characters meaning "self-caution" (zijing):

On this Beijing lake's southern bank, resenting its remoteness,
I have built a storied hall abutting the thoroughfare.
Dawn and dusk alike, for thirty years, the portrait [has hung there],
My New Year's attire is the same now as it was in the past.
Gazing down at a myriad dwellings, I see they are certainly prosperous.
Looking back on my eighty years I fear they were but a series of trifles.
My dedication is now five years away, if only I may receive Heaven's favor.

Although the references are opaque, the sense of melancholy is clearly a departure from earlier Bao Yue Lou poems. Could the death of Rong Fei have transformed the building from a pleasant retreat into a reminder of Qianlong's own mortality? The emperor's allusion to a portrait is intriguing in light of the stories circulating persistently today that several oil paintings in the Palace collections are portraits of the Muslim concubine. Almost exactly thirty years had elapsed since Rong Fei entered the palace, and it is not impossible that a Jesuit had painted her likeness at that time.

With the archival materials reporting Rong Fei's last years, death, and burial, we return to solid, if more prosaic, ground. In 1786 she ordered almost 400 casks worth of textiles from the Imperial Silk Factory in Suzhou. In 1787 she was prescribed "peace pills" (ping'an wan) from the palace apothecary, but seems to have continued to participate normally in banquets and other events in the palace. In the third lunar month of 1788 she received a gift of milk cakes from the emperor; on the fourteenth of the fourth month Qianlong sent her ten spring tangerines. She died five days later (Yu 1985a:138–41).

The dispensation of her property to her family, eunuchs, maids, Muslim soldiers and their wives is recorded in a minutely detailed document. Everything from furs and jewelry to desk lamps and wash basins was carefully distributed to the various beneficiaries according to rank; there is no record of personal bequests to hint at the nature of Rong Fei's relationship with the recipients. We do learn that Rong Fei had a daughter: goods (including jewelry and clothing) were set aside for an unnamed princess's dowry. Rong Fei was buried in the Qing Eastern Mausoleum.
complex in the ninth month of 1788, the ceremony following the ritual precedents set by the deaths of Qianlong’s and other Qing emperor’s fei (Yu 1985a:141–42, 150).

Consolidating the Khoja Alliance: The Meaning of Rong Fei

The romantic stories of Xiang Fei are not completely groundless. A Uyghur Muslim concubine existed, may have lived in the Bao Yue Lou, and may even have had her portrait painted by one of the Jesuit court artists. There is some evidence that the emperor was specially charmed by her. But Rong Fei’s life also differed in several respects from the Xiang Fei stories it generated. The Muslim concubine fulfilled her expected sexual role and did produce a daughter. She was not strangled or forced to commit suicide by the Dowager Empress (whom Rong Fei outlived by eleven years) but died a natural death.

Nevertheless, although attested in archival documents (and, if we accept Meng Sen’s argument, Qianlong’s poems) and not historical romances, Rong Fei is no less a symbolic representation than Xiang Fei. We know her only through Imperial Household records of her diet, place at table, gifts received, promotions in the harem hierarchy, funeral ceremonial, the dispensation of her property after her death—all highly ritualized activities designed to record instances of imperial largess, define her position in the palace hierarchy, and thereby affirm the relationship between the Aisin Gioro and Makhdümzâda Khoja clans. In the Qing, where marital ties paralleled the conferral of rank as a technique to facilitate the formation of political alliances and ultimately control of the empire, a gift of fruit or a seating plan took on geo-political significance. Even the emperor’s odes on the Bao Yue Lou tell us nothing about Rong Fei qua woman. If we are indeed justified in seeing in these poems allusions to the Uyghur concubine, she appears only in the shadows cast by the Beijing monuments to Qianlong’s successful campaigns in Altishahr: the Bao Yue Lou, the Muslim camp, the Beijing mosque. The Qing court representation of the Uyghur concubine proclaims the conclusion of a strategic alliance and the successful conquest and incorporation of Xinjiang within the empire.

Despite her origins, then, Rong Fei was not at all unique among Qing concubines: she fits into the pattern of Qing marital alliances that Evelyn Rawski has described as “political endogamy.” Rawski has shown that the Qing, like other non-Han dynasties before it, chose consorts for emperors and princes from a pool of strategically important peoples:

The stable circle of marriage partners for the Ch’ing ruling family was confined to the conquest elite and their peers in the steppe society. The multiethnic makeup of the victorious bannermong forces and the imperative need to maintain military supremacy shaped the policy allowing Manchus to marry Manchu, Mongol, or Chinese bannermen, but not Chinese in the civilian population.

(Rawski 1991:171)

To this list we must now add one Uyghur, or, more precisely, a woman of the Makhdümzâda Khoja clan. That the Qing imperial family should consolidate its alliance with Erke Hussein, Turdi, and the other Kirámet Khojas not only through the conferral of titles but also through intermarriage should not surprise us: the
Qing took an identical approach in its relations with important Manchu, Mongol, and Hanjun (Chinese bannermen) families, groups who together with the Aśina Gioro clan composed the Qing "conquest elite." The Kirāmek Khojas, in return for their assistance in the conquest of Altishahr, were likewise brought into this elite.1

Rong Fei's marriage to the Qianlong emperor forces us to recognize an obvious but often neglected point: the guiding principles and techniques of Qing rule in Inner Asia differed fundamentally from those of its government in China proper. In this case, the Qing employed the time-honored steppes-political tradition of strategic marriage to consolidate an alliance with the Khoja clan. The dynasty used this technique and the conferral of imperial clan titles to establish kinship ties with peoples of critical importance to Qing hegemony in Inner Asia. Such a practice is reminiscent of the horizontal linkages formed between groups within nomadic confederations. It is therefore significant that Han civilians (as opposed to Han bannermen and bondservants) were excluded from the imperial bedchamber—indeed, "after 1655 Manchus were forbidden to marry Han Chinese who were not enrolled in the Eight Banners" (Rawski 1991:175, cf. 179–82). In China proper, where such institutions as the examination system, bureaucracy, and Confucian ritual served as the means to co-opt local elites into doing the work of governance for the numerically insignificant Manchus, and a cosmologically—not genealogically—based ideology legitimized imperial rule, the Qing did not need to engage in political marriage.

The Han and the "New Dominion":
Development of the Xiang Fei Legend

Given that the romanticized Xiang Fei differs in essential respects from Rong Fei as portrayed in court materials, it is instructive to survey how, and at whose hands, the Xiang Fei legend developed.

The story probably began as an oral tradition in China proper, or Xinjiang. The first written record that has been identified appears in a poem and commentary by Xiao Xiong, an adviser in the service of General Zuo Zongtang during the latter's reconquest of Xinjiang between 1877 and 1878. (On Zuo Zongtang's reconquest of Xinjiang, see Chu 1966 and Liu 1980.) During the campaign, Xiao visited Kashgar and other sites of the Tarim Basin. It was only in 1892, however,

1As far as we know, Rong Fei was the only Uyghur to become an imperial consort. Her daughter and the children of the other Khojas established in Beijing may have married among Manchu and Mongol princes and princesses, although this subject has not been thoroughly researched. The Kirāmek's ranks and stipends were reduced with each generation. Because the Khojas in Beijing carried progressively less political weight and no further imperial marriages were concluded, they presumably dropped back, eventually, to commoner status. Suguchi Tōru (1963:85, 702) has traced three Beijing-born generations of the Kirāmek Khojas: the latest record we have concerns Tzedi's cousin, Bābāk, who lived until 1842. In 1903 the Imperial Household Agency was involved in the case of six Khojas "returning to their native place" (Majū) in Kashgar and suing for control of waqf (religious endowment) lands there. In 1917 Xinjiang Governor Yang Zengxin (1921) described a case in which a man named Yusuf filed a claim for ownership of the waqf lands that supported the upkeep of the Khoja Aṣṣāq Mazar and its caretakers. The genealogy he presented to support his suit against Qāsim, the shaykh currently in charge of the tomb lands, seems to have been spurious. Qāsim's own putative lineage, in which Xiang Fei and her brother are said to be descended directly from the Aṣṣāq Khoja, is likewise irreconcilable with genealogies established by Qing sources.
while on an extended and tedious stay in a Hunan inn, that Xiao wrote his *Xijiang zazhu bì* [Miscellaneous record of the Western Territory] (Xiao 1935:313:1:2:36 and 313:2:4:1:129; cf. Yu and Dong 1985:2:21 and Ji Dachun 1985a:27–28). Xiao mentions two tombs, one five li east of Kashgar, called the Koja Tomb (He-zhuo Mu) and another five li to the north, which he names "Lady Fragrant Temple" (*Xiang Niangniang Miao*). The first shrine, judging from Xiao's description, is clearly the Koja Asaq Mazār, at Yaghdu, northeast of the old city of Kashgar. As for the second shrine, one historian has argued that it, too, must be the Koja Asaq Mazār, and that a trick of memory led Xiao to describe two sites (Ji 1985a:27–28). But Lady Macartney, in her memoir of life in late nineteenth and early twentieth-century Kashgar, describes a "very popular shrine just opposite Chini-Bagh [the British consulate, north of old Kashgar city] where we could hear the women wailing from early morning." This shrine was the tomb of the female saint Anna Bibi, and was one of many frequented by Turki women "when they want a child or a husband, or when they are in any trouble or difficulty... [Such women] knelt before the tomb, putting their hands into two holes while they cried and wailed by the hour" (Macartney 1987:131).

It seems likely that this—or another shrine dedicated to a female saint—is the tomb Xiao refers to as "Xiang Niangniang Miao." Xiao, who was in Kashgar only twelve years before George Macartney and twenty years before Catherine Macartney's arrival, writes that the "Lady Fragrant Temple" lot was the site of a bazaar for women only, and that women hoping to bear sons, or seeking aid for marital decisions or similar difficulties, would supplicate at the "temple" doors, some of them taking away a bit of dust from beside the temple to mix with water and drink as a charm. Xiao's confusion—or perhaps it is embellishment—lies in crediting the shrine's spiritual charisma to the Fragrant Concubine. He describes "Lady Fragrant" as a Kashgarí of exceptional beauty, a natural fragrance, and a pure and fervent nature who lived during Qianlong times. Because of her love for her mother, she was returned for burial to Kashgar. Xiao mentions neither her concubinage nor her manner of death (Ji 1985a:27–28).

Lady Macartney does not allude to the Xiang Fei myth anywhere in her narrative. Although she is in many ways a flawed observer, blinkered by Edwardian sensibilities and her ignorance of local languages, she lived in Kashgar seventeen years with a husband who enjoyed native fluency in Chinese and spoke Persian and Uyghur as well. Had she heard of the Xiang Fei myth (and it seems likely her husband would have brought such a story to her attention had he known of it), it is precisely the kind of story she would have related in her memoir. That she does not suggests that the story was not current in Kashgar during George Macartney's tenure there (1890–1918).

After Xiao's poem received wide circulation through reprinting in collecctances, subsequent Han travelers to the site adopted the name "Xiang Niangniang Miao" or "Xiang Fei Mu" to refer not to Anna Bibi's, but to the Koja Asaq Tomb. Identification by Kashgarí Muslims of the site with a Uyghur concubine of a Manchu emperor seems to have begun somewhat later: an akhun (imam) responsible for the tomb in 1920 could not identify Xiang Fei's grave among the many in the tomb, but by 1945 this grave was clearly marked (Xue Bin 1923:209; Yu and Dong 1985:209–10; Xu Lingfeng, *Xiangfeng xinmu*, cited in Ji 1985a:28). The tomb continues to be known as "Xiang Fei's Tomb" in popular Chinese, Japanese, and English.

The poem was widely circulated in several collecctances, including *Lingzian yu changsha*, *Guanzhong yu changsha*, and *Chengdu shichuang chubian*. The wartime Japanese government, interested in China's borderlands, produced a translation (Xiao 1944).
materials to this day, and some visitors are told that local women still pray to Xiang Fei by adhering votive strips to the wall surrounding the tomb site.

The misnaming of a famous Kashgar landmark sacred to Afaqi Sufis of Kashgar coincided with another process: the "Hanization" of Qing rule in Xinjiang. Before Zuo Zongtang, no Han officials had served in the highest positions in Xinjiang between the conquest of the territory in 1759 and its loss during the Muslim rebellions of 1862–64. Zuo himself had been forced by this policy to relinquish overall command of his northwestern pacification campaign during the planning stage of the Xinjiang reconquest. Because Jing-lian and Jin-shun, the Manchu Bargermen selected to replace Zuo, were unable to solve the logistical problems of a Xinjiang campaign, in 1875 Grand Secretary Wen-xiang restored Zuo to the position of Imperial Commissioner in Charge of Xinjiang Military Affairs, and it was in this capacity that the Han general reestablished Qing control in the New Territory.

Zuo proposed establishing Chinese-style provincial administration in Xinjiang in a letter to Liu Jintang in 1878 and in a memorial of 1880. Xinjiang received provincial status in 1884, at which time Liu Jintang (who had succeeded Zuo as Commissioner) became the first governor (xunfu) of the new province. All subsequent Qing governors of Xinjiang, except one, were likewise Han (Chu 1966:193–94; Qian 1980:IV:xunfu).

Although the origins of the name "Xiang Fei's Tomb" and the first broad dissemination of the Xiang Fei legend in a literary source were not direct results of the implementation of ethnic Han administration in Xinjiang, the coincidence of these events is suggestive. The Qing understood that the Yaghdu mausoleum bore religious and political significance as a shrine to a family of former rulers with genealogical ties to Muhammad (through Fatima, the prophet's daughter); the dynasty may also have been aware of the Afaqi affinal link to Chinggis Qan. Because of this, soon after the conquest in 1759, the Qianlong court extended its policy of support for Xinjiang's Islamic shrines to include the Afaqi tombs, allowing tax-free status to the waqf properties that supported the shrine and appointing caretakers (Fletcher 1978:75; cf. Yang 1921).

In one section of his commentary, Xiao describes the Yaghdu tombs much as earlier Qing sources had, accurately identifying the site as a mazar where the remains of Burhan ad-Din's ancestors, starting with Muhammad Yusuf (father of the Khoja Afaq), were buried. In this section, Xiao also gives a capsule description of Islam and discusses the importance of such tombs in local religious life. But it was his description elsewhere of the "Lady Fragrant Temple" that caught the imagination of literate Han in China proper; the term displaced "Khoja Tomb," and the association with Xiang Fei dominated future accounts of the site. Paralleling the political process...

See, for example, Xue Bin's account (1923) and those of Lin Zhi (1948) and Ma Ming (1950) in Yu and Dong 1985:209–17. In 1987 an NBC news team produced a series of reports from Xinjiang, including one in which correspondent John Hart told the story of "the Fragrant Concubine" while standing in front of the Khoja Afaq Mazar. Episode 12 of the Japanese television network NHK's multipart documentary, The Silk Road, relates the story of Xiang Fei, while also explaining the tomb's relationship to the Afaqi khojas.

I am indebted to Linda Benson and Stanley Toops for bringing the reports of the continuation of this manner of worship to my attention.

Chu 1966:178–91. On the Mongol/Mongol dominance of high office in Xinjiang before Zuo, see the table on pp. 179–80. Some important Han figures (for example, Ji Yun, Hong Liangji, and Lin Zexu) served in unofficial capacities during their exile in Xinjiang. For the most part, however, they were given clerical or research work, and enjoyed no significant decision-making authority. Military rule remained the prerogative of Manchu and Mongol civil and military officials (Waley-Cohen 1991:138–62).
of Hanization in Xinjiang, then, a cultural process was also underway. Han Chinese were developing paradigms by which to comprehend the New Dominion, now a full-fledged province, and to understand the foreign people and things that were now part of an increasingly Chinese—and not merely Qing—empire. The Xiang Fei legend was part of this process: fifteen years after Xiao’s poem was released, travel writings, notebook jottings, unofficial histories, historical romances, and Beijing opera began to elevate the Fragrant Consort to stardom.

From literary and historical materials we may trace the development of the Xiang Fei story from the late Qing and Republican periods through the 1980s. After Xiao Xiong’s Xijiang zhumu shi, the earliest source is a private history (yetshi) by Wang Kaiyun, published in 1907. Although factually unreliable, such works are nonetheless revealing as fiction: they provide a glimpse into literate opinion, attitudes, and images. They probably also reflect a popular oral tradition that the written works both recorded and stimulated.

Wang’s account describes a virtuous woman (limu) referred to both as a “Zunghar woman” and “Muslim concubine,” who despite receiving special imperial favor in the Qing harem is bent on avenging her parents, husband, and lost country. That she is called a Zunghar woman reveals a poor understanding of the history behind the conquest of Xinjiang (Wang 1970:5: “muyi” [motherly conduct]; cf. Yu and Dong 1985:234).

A version in the historical romance Mangiing waishi (Tian 1914:17b–18b) does not differ substantially from Wang’s account, although it does record the alternative tradition that Xiang Fei was buried near Tao Ran Ting in the “Fragrant Tomb” (Xiang Zhong), and quotes the verse riddle inscribed on the stone. A longer early version of the legend appears in Xu Ke’s voluminous notebooks, Qingbai leixue. Here separate references convey all the main elements that would characterize future versions of the Xiang Fei story, including her magical fragrance, hidden daggers, desire for vengeance, and associations with the oil paintings, Castiglione, and several Beijing architectural landmarks (Xu Ke 1920:2: hai 5 [gongyuan lei]:14–15; 25: hai 60 [yibing lei]:34; 3: hai 12 [yuwei lei]:17).

An extremely influential event in the popularization and codification of the Xiang Fei story was a 1914 exhibit of imperial antiquities from Shengjing (Muleden) and ten oil portraits of “beauties” (all purportedly the work of Giuseppe Castiglione) on loan from Behe (Chengde). Because the show was held within part of the former imperial palace itself, it proved very popular, attracting thousands of visitors. The portrait said to be of Xiang Fei in armor (illustration 2), on display in the bathhouse itself, was a particular crowd-pleaser. Concerning this exhibit, Meng Sen wrote later, “in the Yu De Dian [i.e., Yu De Tang] a portrait of Xiang Fei was put on display to allow people to imagine her appearance while bathing. How indecent! This is the image in the minds of all those who discuss Xiang Fei” (Meng 1960:543).

The text accompanying the bathhouse exhibit borrowed from earlier written accounts, and in turn was quoted in later fictional and even historical sources, including Xiao Yishan’s Qingsui tongshi (Xiao 1986:107 2.1.2.10 appendix)). The general outline of the Xiang Fei story was, therefore, fixed, if not before the bathhouse exhibit then certainly by the exhibit’s written caption itself. Subsequent versions through the 1920s vary only in detail—of which a few interesting ones are added. For example, in Cai Dongfan’s 1916 Qingsui tongshi yanyi (Cai 1925:243–44), He Shen appears as go-between and confidant in the emperor’s quest to acquire and win over Xiang Fei. (He Shen would have been no more than ten or eleven years old at the time, but such anachronism is permitted in the genre.) In two historical
romances written in the 1920s, the treatment of Xiang Fei remains as in earlier versions, but a second Muslim concubine is introduced: in these plots both of the Khojas fighting the Qing in Xinjiang had a consort, and after Xiang Fei's death the bereaved emperor has the other brother's woman brought out of prison. The second, Hui Fei, while perhaps less fragrant, turns out to be more compliant (Xu 1985; Xu 1925:3:78–104).

The Xiang Fei character must have seemed both familiar and foreign to an early Republican-period readership. She appears as an archetypical "virtuous woman" or "chaste widow," but with an aggressive, foreign twist (on the virtuous woman cult in the late Qing, see Mann 1987). Whereas suicide or lifelong abstinence would have been a normative response in Qing culture for the widow whose chastity was under siege, Xiang Fei holds out for revenge, accepting death gladly only when it is forced upon her. The bathhouse text describes her proud mien in martial get-up, hand on the hilt of her sword, concluding that "at a glance one can tell she is a fiercely chaste woman" (Meng 1960:545). Perhaps because he could find no female precedents, when searching for historical allusions one author in the Qinghao ye shi daguan made reference to a famous failed assassin (but successful martyr) from before the Qin unification of China: "Alas! Who would have said that among distant barbarian womankind of the lands beyond there would be a Jing Ke to gladly give her own life?" (Xiaoheng Xiangshi zhuren 1915:1:61–64).8

Despite Xiang Fei's unique attributes, however, the versions through the 1920s are typical in form and content of the type of palace gossip reported in unofficial histories. One way of looking at these accounts of scandals in the Imperial City is as veiled anti-Manchuism, as a later, written, record of Qing-period folkloric expressions of dissent (Kahn 1971:57). But there is also sympathy and identification with the Qing monarchs here. Significantly, no Han appear in these stories—Xiang Fei, a representative of "distant barbarian womankind," is the foreigner put among well-known Manchu characters in the relatively more familiar surroundings of the palace. The main protagonists are the Qianlong emperor, besotted and paralyzed, and his mother, duty-bound to kill the girl to protect offspring and empire. Xiang Fei serves primarily as a foil for the characters of Qianlong and the Dowager Empress, whose dilemma would have been readily appreciated according to the cultural and moral conventions of late-Qing and Republican China proper.

Nevertheless, Xiang Fei's position in the triangle could not be filled by just any concubine. The story's perennial interest relies upon Xiang Fei's exotic origins, appearance, religion, and customs, and it hinges dramatically upon her combined physical appeal and threat to the emperor. Her loyalties lie with a defeated country and scattered family (guo wang jia). Her resistance to Qianlong mirrors the continuing resistance faced by Manchu and then Han rulers to their rule in Altishahr. Xiang Fei remained an "other" in the palace, just as to Han minds, Xinjiang was in the empire but not yet of it.

In later versions, found in dramatic works of the 1930s, the focus of the story shifts from the Manchus to Xiang Fei herself. The Beijing opera Xiang Fei Hen (1933) begins in Kashgar, on the eve of battle between the forces of Xiang Fei's husband, Burhan ad-Din, and the Qing general, Zhao-hui. The audience is encouraged to sympathize with Burhan ad-Din, who fights fairly and well but, shot in the

8Jing Ke was an envoy from the state of Yan who in 227 B.C. traveled to Qin with a map of Yan as a token of submission. During his audience with the future first emperor, Jing Ke drew out a dagger he had concealed in the map and attempted to assassinate the Qin monarch.
back, is forced to flee with his brother to Badakhshan. There the ruler of Badakhshan cuts off the Khajus' heads to present to the Qing (an incident arrests in Qing historical sources). Xiang Fei's capture, then, comes about as the result of aggression and treachery on the part of the Manchus and their Badakhshani ally. As Zhao-hui's men lead her out of Kashgar en route to Beijing, Xiang Fei delivers an impassioned speech to her people, who cling to the slowly moving cart.

Formerly, while Burhān was healthy and the country intact, although there were many battles, as long as the people kept faith and loved the country like their own family, as long as civil officials had no desire for money and military officers did not fear death, as long as those inside and outside the court worked together as one, then no matter how strong the Qing army, we would still achieve victory.

She then berates her army for cowardice and her officialdom for avarice, self-interest, and factionalism. As soldiers push the weeping Muslims out of the way and lead Xiang Fei off, she looks back and cries, "Motherland, oh motherland (zuowu)! Compatriots, oh compatriots (tonghao)! After I leave today, I'll never see you again!" Later, in the Qing palace, when the Dowager Empress orders her strangled with a rope, Xiang Fei resists and must be subdued and killed by a crowd of eager maids and guards (Anon. 1985:277-310).

In Gu Qinghai's 1934 play, Xiang Fei, the Xiang Fei legend serves as a vehicle for a sentimental story with nods toward May Fourth-era feminism and clear resonances of Ibsen's A Doll's House. Xiang Fei's beauty brings ruin upon Burhān ad-Din and the "desert kingdom." In Beijing, everyone loves the gentle, sad woman; but she complains she is a caged bird and begs the lovesick emperor to set her free to return to the desert. She cannot give herself to Qianlong, who has killed her first love, but pities the rovelorn monarch and in her dying words bequeathes to him her little knife as a memento (zuow jinian). Castiglione figures prominently as a sympathetic, avuncular figure engaging Xiang Fei in a discourse on the nature of love; the Empress Dowager adopts Xiang Fei as a daughter and commiserates with her in the final act ("Ai, child, men are all the same") before having a servant hand the girl the hemlock (Gu 1985:311-43; cf. the similar plot of Dan 1934).

In these dramatic works, Xiang Fei as leading lady embodies the authors' principal messages. In Xiang Fei Hua this message is a patriotic one; with the Manchus cast as the enemy, Han audiences are to sympathize with the valiant Xiang Fei, who speaks a nationalistic language familiar to them. An exhortation for unity and selflessness in the face of foreign aggression, the opera was probably intended as a commentary on China's dilatory resistance to Japanese encroachment. Gu Qinghai's play involves star-crossed love, with Xiang Fei herself the central character. Although both scripts contain references to Xinjiang, and, in performance, costumes and sets would presumably have emphasized the exotic, Xiang Fei's identity as an "other" is subsumed here to her role as vehicle for themes unrelated to Altishahr (as also in Sang 1954). Indeed, in Gu's play, she comes from and pines for a generic desert, representing freedom, rather than from any specified place. The process of adapting Xiang Fei for the purposes of a modern love story or patriotic parable has domesticated her. At the same time, the Manchus are shifted off center stage.

This adoption of the Xiang Fei legend for other thematic purposes did not displace the earlier tradition. It is the version of the bathhouse text and earlier private histories that was enshrined in historical sources compiled in the 1940s, including the Zhongguo renwe maozhu xian jian (Zang 1984:727), Tōzō rekishi dai jiten
(1937–39:3:28), and Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period (Hummel 1970:74). The Qing shu gao, on the other hand, contains a brief item on Rong Fei but eschews the anecdotes of her more popular avatar (Zhao 1977:liezhuang 1, “houfei”).

By the 1950s, however, the shift toward identification with Xiang Fei at the expense of her Manchu captors is taken a step further. The Beijing opera Yi-pa-er-han, performed by the Fourth Beijing Opera Troupe between 1952 and 1954, is a love story about Iparhan (Xiang Fei’s Uyghur name) and Khoja Jihan, set against the backdrop of the Qing repression of the Khojas’ “rebellion.” Significantly, the “everyman” characters through which the audience is introduced to the story are Uyghur youths. Iparhan and Khoja Jihan meet while picking mushrooms in the third scene, are married in the fourth, and are separated soon afterwards during the battle with Qing forces. Qianlong, a sympathetic figure in the bathhouse text and other early versions, a pathetic one in the play and opera of the 1950s, here becomes quite nasty:

Qianlong: (With a smile) I hear Khoja Jihan married a beautiful woman, named . . .
Zhao-hui: Yi-pa-er-han.
QL: I’ve heard that this woman is clever and lovely, and is faced from birth to be empress. When the war is over, you must bring her back.
ZH: I’ll remember.
QL: I want her alive, not dead! You understand?
ZH: I understand.
QL: Do you really understand? Ha-ha-ha-ha!
ZH: (After thinking it over, unable to restrain himself) Ha-ha-ha-ha!

[Other]: Ha-ha-ha-ha!
QL: (Sensing he has lost dignity) Humph! (Startled, Zhao-hui and the others kneel)

Qianlong leads Iparhan to believe her husband is still alive. When the Dowager Empress disillusioned her, she commits suicide, calling to Khoja Jihan that she will soon join him (Beijing Fourth Beijing Opera Troupe 1985:344–87).

Xiang Fei reappeared more recently as Princess Fragrant (Xiang Xiang Gongzu) in Jin Yong’s first novel, Shu jian jiang shan (also titled Shu jian si chou la), first published in 1955, but continuously in print since then (Jin 1984). In this book, the famous popular novelist adapts and blends the Xiang Fei story with another enduring legend from the Qianlong era: the story that the Qianlong emperor was himself not Manchu but a Han changeling, born into the Chen family of Haining, Zhejiang (Xiaosheng Xiangshi zhuiren 1915:1:76–77). Chen a.k.a. Qianlong came to be emperor after he was switched at birth with a baby girl born at the same time to Yongzheng’s empress. In Jin Yong’s romance, the emperor’s real brother, Chen Jialuo, is a nationalistic rebel bent on overthrowing the Manchu dynasty. Toward this aim, he attempts to convince his older brother that his (Qianlong’s) loyalties properly lie with his natural race, the Han. Chen Jialuo and comrades travel to “the land of Wei” (Altishahr) to enlist help from the Uyghurs who were then resisting Qianlong’s armies of conquest. On the way Jialuo meets the preternaturally beautiful Princess Fragrant (she is bathing naked in a lake when he rides by and catches her scent) and the two fall in love. Jialuo promises that when he and his brother overthrow the Manchus they will make peace with the Muslims.
In the meantime, however, Qianlong conquers Wei and captures the lovely princess. Because Jialuo has reached a secret agreement with the emperor, for the sake of the rebellion he renounces his love for Fragrant and leaves her to brother Qianlong with his blessings. Fragrant learns that Qianlong plans to betray Jialuo and the Han, however, and after scratching "Don't trust the emperor!" on the floor of the Beijing mosque, risks damnation (Islam prohibits suicide) by falling on her dagger as a signal to Chen Jialuo.

Although the familiar props and motifs of the private historiographical Xiang Fei (daggers, fragrance, the Bao Yue Lou, bathing) all appear in the Jin Yong novel, the symbolic implications of the story have been turned on their head. That Qianlong should be racially Han is an attractive device: the martial glories of the high Qing, including the conquest of Xinjiang, can thus be attributed to Han genius. But Qianlong remains loyal to the Manchus; in this version of the Xiang Fei legend, racial parameters replace familial ones: the triangle of relationships is here delineated not by son, mother, and "other" woman, but by Han, Manchu, and Uyghur. Xiang Xiang gives her heart to the Han, Chen Jialuo, even compromising her Islamic faith by committing suicide for his sake, and this amorous conquest parallels Chen/ Qianlong's military conquest of Xinjiang, thus reinforcing the message of Han involvement in bringing Xinjiang and the Uyghur into the empire.

In Shu jian jiang shen, Xiang Fei is caught up in a struggle between Manchu and Han for control of the empire. This new, racial element of the Xiang Fei story is a projection of the post-1911 discourse concerning Han inheritance of the former Qing colonial territories.

Miss Minzu Tuanjie:
Xiang Fei's "Great Deed"

The Manchus based their rule in China proper and Inner Asia on a variety of models and principles: the heavenly mandate, Confucian universal culturism, the concept of Buddhist monarch or chakravartin, the bhikshu-danapati or priest-patron relationship with Tibetan and Mongol lamas (Suzuki 1968), patronage of Islamic religious institutions, and genealogical links to the Chinggisid line and other significant Inner Asian pedigrees. The Han Chinese who assumed nominal control of the former Qing empire after 1911 enjoyed none of these sources of legitimacy, and sought, instead, to justify maintenance of the former Qing borders on the basis of Western principles of nationalism, as they understood and adapted them. The transition from Qing empire to Han republic was not easy; the Nationalists faced political and military challenges in virtually all the peripheral lands where non-Han culture predominated. Central political control over these territories in most cases remained nonexistent or severely attenuated until at least 1950. Xinjiang, under Yang Zengxin and Sheng Shicai, although nominally in allegiance to the Guomingdang, was virtually autonomous under governor Yang and fell under Soviet influence during Sheng's tenure.

Although the Guomingdang government postponed tackling the military challenges to Chinese rule in the border lands, they did address the ideological problems posed

10For example, the Qing sponsored in part the maintenance of the Khoja Āṣiq tomb outside Kashgar. The Ermin Khoja Mosque, in Turfan, was built with a grant from the Qianlong emperor.
by their inheritance of the multiethnic Qing empire early in their rule. A particular problem was how a Han nationalism, defined to a great degree in racist, anti-Manchu terms, could justify retaining the former imperial holdings in non-Han areas and including the non-Han occupants of these former territories within a Han-dominated state.

Sun Yat-sen approached this contradiction in his first Sanmin zhuyi lecture, “Race and Population.” He argued that China was unique among nations in that race and nation-state were coterminous: unlike the British Empire, which was made up of “the white race as the principal people, and the black people, the brown people and others” so that “the statement . . . that the nationality is the nation-group cannot be applied to Great Britain,” China (the nation state) consisted of “one nationality” (minzu). Although he acknowledged that there were over ten million “non-Chinese” in China, including Mongols, Manchus, Tibetans, and Tatars (Turkic Muslims), Sun claimed that they were numerically insignificant. Elsewhere he elaborated on this idea: “We must facilitate the dying out [emphasis in original] of all the names of individual peoples inhabiting China, i.e., Manchus, Tibetans, etc. . . . we must satisfy the demands of all races and unite them in a single cultural and political whole” (Sun 1933:165, 168; 1953:180). Therefore, while recognizing the existence of the same five “races” as had the Manchus (Han, Man, Meng, Zang, and Hui), Sun argued for the assimilation of the four minority groups into the vast Han majority in the name of national survival. Under Comintern influence, however, he later proposed “self-determination and self-government” for “the weak and small racial groups within its national boundaries,” and never reconciled this with his earlier views (Dreyer 1976:15–17).

Chiang Kai-shek obviated the need for minority self-determination by defining away the minorities. After summarizing with a chain of examples what he claimed was the history of Chinese absorption and civilizing by peaceful means of peoples bordering on China, and the creation of “a common historical destiny,” he concluded,

That there are five peoples designated in China . . . is not due to difference in race or blood, but to religion and geographical environment. In short, the differentiation among China’s five peoples is due to regional and religious factors, and not to race or blood. This fact must be thoroughly understood by all our fellow countrymen.

(Chiang 1947:40, cf. 29–43)

Chiang explained that Tibet, Xinjiang, Inner and Outer Mongolia, the Four Northeastern Provinces, as well as Taiwan and the Pescadores Islands (all territories brought under single imperial aegis by the Qing), are integral parts of the Chinese nation due to factors of geography, economic structure, requirements of national defense, and common historical destiny “and not merely the results of political necessity.” Central to this argument is the assertion that while “the domain of the state has expanded” due to population growth, “at no time has [the Chinese nation] used military force to expand.” Xinjiang is Chinese not as the result of Qing conquest, Chiang claimed, but due to 2,000 years of “assimilation” that began with the first contacts between China and western tribes during the Qin and Han, over 2,000 years ago (1947:29).

After 1949, the Communist government in China adopted Soviet administrative methods (primarily the system of “autonomous regions,” although, unlike in Soviet
national republics, China's autonomous regions are not constitutionally granted the right of succession) and theories of nationality under socialism and communism. The cultural differences of the national minorities were to be permitted and even encouraged during what was seen as an interim stage of democratic revolution. The expectation was, however, that nationality characteristics would fade away with the erosion of class differences and a uniform proletarian culture (implicitly expected to resemble Han, not minority, culture) would emerge. Avoiding the term "assimilation" (zonghua), tainted by Guomindang use, party propaganda spoke of "fusion" (ronghe). During the Cultural Revolution, however, tolerant policies gave way in many areas to radical, even violent attacks on ethnic and religious differences, often spearheaded by Red Guards (Dreyer 1976). The somewhat more tolerant approach returned after 1971, and more active encouragement of minority culture followed in the 1980s and 1990s under the rubric of "nationality unity" (minzu tuanjie). In recent years government authorities have wielded the concept of "nationality unity" as a two-edged sword, both to criticize ethnically insensitive behavior on the part of Han and to crack down on national separatist movements ("splitism") in Tibet, Xinjiang, and Mongolia (Gladney 1991:2-7, 138-39; Amnesty International 1992; Asia Watch 1991).

In 1979 archaeologists excavated Rong Fei's tomb in the Eastern Qing Mausoleum. The tumulus had been flooded and robbed of most of its grave goods, but the coffin, with its Arabic inscription from the Qur'an confirmed what had long been asserted in local lore: that the tomb contained the remains of the Qianlong emperor's Muslim concubine. Anthropologists even undertook extensive analysis of Rong Fei's skull, concluding that it represented the skull of an "individual of minority nationality . . . over fifty years old" (Shi 1985:96-102).

Around the same time, several Chinese scholars published articles that drew upon archival and published Qing sources in the spirit of "seeking truth from facts" and "evidential scholarship" (kaizheng) to revise the popular notion of Xiang Fei. These scholars, following Meng Sen (who had in 1937 proposed the identity of the legendary Xiang Fei with the documented Rong Fei), laid out Rong Fei's genealogical ties to the Kirghiz branch of the Khojas. They described her comfortable life in the Qianlong court and refuted myths about her defiance of the emperor, murder by the Dowager Empress, and burial in Kashgar. Rong Fei's tomb was restored and opened to the public (the only such tumulus of a consort below the rank of guifei to be opened for tourists). And in 1985 Yu Shupu's and Dong Naiejiang's collection of historical materials, scholarly articles, and literary sources on Xiang Fei and Rong Fei was published in Beijing in an astounding print run of 90,500 copies. The reason for this flurry of activity concerning Xiang Fei in the early eighties can be found in the conclusions of several of the articles and in the preface to the collection:

Xiang Fei and her whole family made a definite contribution by opposing separation and protecting nationality harmony and national unity. Xiang Fei's life was without doubt a great deed (jiabua) in the history of nationality harmony.

(Yu 1985c:82)

11 History books in China are generally published in runs of no more than a few thousand, commonly only a few hundred. Peng Erkang's acclaimed and popular biography of the Yongzheng emperor reached only 40,000 copies in its first two printings (Yongzheng zhuansh [Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1985]).
And,

throughout history, no one who [like Rong Fei] has made some contribution to forwarding nationality unity [mínzu tōngyín] and opposing nationality divisions will be forgotten.

(Qiu 1985:2)

That Rong Fei did not belong to the Āfāqi line was a significant discovery. As a symbol of Muslim resistance, Xiang Fei had remained threatening long after her death. But now the popular story could be given a new moral of ethnic harmony, and Xiang Fei takes on yet another symbolic meaning—one evoking nationality unity. This is an ambitious shift from the more concrete unifying purpose to which the Manchus had put Rong Fei. No longer merely linking two families, Xiang Fei must now represent the happy marriage of non-Han minorities to the Han-dominated socialist state. 12

Iparhan: The Uyghur Perspective

So far I have examined the Xiang Fei tradition only as relayed through texts produced by Manchu and Han writers. There was a Uyghur tradition as well. Although only scant evidence has come to light regarding its origins and transmission, this tradition does hint at a Uyghur perspective on Xiang Fei.

The late nineteenth-century Tarikh-i Hamidi by Mulla Müsa Sairām contains a passage about an unnamed maiden, "a precious jewel of peerless beauty shining like the sun," whom officials took from her home in Altishahr to present to the Chinese emperor (jūfūn tīn). One day the emperor entered her apartments to find the girl weeping, and asked her why. At a loss for words, she replied only that she missed a kind of fruit tree that grew in her home town that had fruit of gold, leaves of silver, and sap like perfume. The emperor (xian) issued an edict to his ministers in the city of Ush Turfan to find this tree and ship saplings to the capital immediately for planting in the imperial garden. The Ush Turfan officials then told the Hakim Rähmitulla (Rahmat Allah) Bek that he would earn imperial favor if he achieved this feat. Unable to refuse the order, Rähmitulla impressed forced-laborers to carry saplings of narrow-leaved oleaster (Elaeagnus angustifolia; Chinese: shā zào shù; Uyghur: jīgādā13), causing the porters great hardship. The men rebelled after the fourth stage, however, and with Rähmitulla Bek’s support used the saplings as clubs to kill their Chinese (Xuéyèshān) escort. Returning to Ush Turfan, they killed the khan, amban, officers, and soldiers, and enthroned Rähmitulla as an independent hakim. He ruled for nine months (Sayrām 1986:204–6).

This story has become part of the Iparhan oral tradition among Uyghur in Xinjiang, two Xinjiang Uyghur informants related it to me when asked what they

12 It is interesting that none of the legends or even contemporary secondary sources on Xiang Fei/Rong Fei mention the prohibition in Islamic law against Muslim women marrying non-Muslim men. Xiang Fei’s defiant chastity in these stories arises from loyalty to her husband, not her faith. However, her resistance to marrying an infidel may be an implicit reason behind the Uyghur glorification of Iparhan, discussed below.

13 The jīgādā had olive green leaves, silvery underneath, and bunches of yellow bell flowers that gave out a very strong almond scent in spring. The fruit was red and edible, shaped like a small date, with a date-like stone, and very dry, sweet flesh. In the evenings of spring and early summer, the air was heavy with the perfume of the Jīgādā (Macartney 1957:119).
knew about Xiang Fei. It also intersects intriguingly with the printed Qing historical record. Accounts of the Ush Turfan Rebellion of 1765 in the *Qing ShiLu* and *Huijiang Tongshi* record that the flashpoint for this first rebellion against Qing authority in Altishahr was a covetous requisition of 240 laborers to transport wooden planters of oleaster saplings. The porters were not told their destination or the reason for carrying the trees, and their riot culminated in the death of local beggs and Manchu officials (*Da Qing shihao shilu* [Qianlong reign]:730:12a–13a, QL30 intercalary 2 yinwu; Heining 1966:12:4b–5a). Ji Dachun, who first noted this connection, has pointed out the strangeness of this one-time request for an item with no clear military or economic value. The narrow-leaved oleaster is common in Xinjiang, thus shipping it within the region seems nonsensical (Ji 1985a:23–24). (Some Chinese-language versions of the Xiang Fei tale associate her with this tree, and in one source we learn that she loved to eat oleaster blossoms—they were the source of her marvelous scent. In the Beijing opera *Xiang Fei Hen*, Xiang Fei has the character "sha" of *shayaantu*, for a surname. This may also be a reference to her desert origins [the character alone means 'sand'] or simply an exotic-sounding detail [Anon. 1985]. In a related Uyghur story, clearly allegorical, the Khoja Afaq is said to have traveled to Beijing in 1663 with a narrow-leaved oleaster, then unknown in Beijing. He exchanged the tree for brick tea, silk, china and other products to bring back to Kashgar [Ai 1982:84–85]).

Another old Uyghur story about Xiang Fei is that her remains were brought back to Kashgar in a funeral cortège of thirty-two wagons and 120 people, led by her sister-in-law, the Manchu woman Su-de-xiang. With money from Qianlong, Su-de-xiang repaired the Khoja Afaq mausoleum before interring Xiang Fei there (Ai 1982:84–85). If not to bury Xiang Fei, the story-teller asks, what else was a Manchu woman doing in Kashgar?

Many Uyghurs in Kashgar now adamantly maintain that Iparhan was indeed buried there, not in Beijing. But as noted above, the Iparhan tradition seems not to have been current among Kashgarliks even by the second decade of the twentieth century. It is not clear exactly when Uyghurs began making the association between the Khoja Afaq tomb and the Uyghur concubine of a Qing emperor; however, the name "Iparhan," probably a loan translation of "Xiang Fei" (in Uyghur, *ipar* means "mask"); "han" is a common final element in women's names), was not coined until the mid-twentieth century. It seems likely that the Uyghur stories of Iparhan are rooted both in the anonymous girl of the *Tarikb-i Hamidi* and the Han versions. The martial imagery of the bathhouse picture may have been particularly influential. In any case, over the past few decades, heightened Uyghur ethnic consciousness and resentment of Han rule in Xinjiang has made Iparhan a sort of mascot for Uyghurs seeking Eastern Turkicete independence, at least those outside of China. In 1969 the Kazakh writer Sabit Mukhanov published a poem in Alma Ar in which he thanked Uyghur friends for their hospitality by invoking an unnamed Uyghur girl:

This girl is not hearsey, arising from a dream,
not some magic fable believed in by fools.
This maiden is historical and respected,
the whole Uyghur people having seized her name as a flag.

The incident which occurred is real truth,
and certainly I too bow my head in respect.
This maiden, beloved and patriotic,
renders inspiration, causing the pen to come to me.  

The poem was published in the Uyghur newspaper *Kommunizm Tugq* [Banner of
In China, Iparhan became more politically charged in the mid-1980s as a result of a controversy over the film version of Jin Yong’s novel, directed by the Hong Kong director Xu Anhua in an expensive joint production. The film tones down the lake scene: Xiang Xiang, fully clothed, is not bathing but washing her hair by the bank when Chen comes to water his horse. But the woman makes eyes at him and sings a teasing song, and the romance soon begins. When this film first opened in central China, Uyghur students in Xi’an protested that this and other scenes contained inaccurate and insulting portrayals of Uyghur women. Particularly upsetting was Xiang Xiang’s forwardness, her and her sister’s romance with a Han, Chen Jialuo, and Xiang Xiang’s ablutionary habits—Uyghurs do not wash their hair in lakes. Chinese authorities withdrew the film from circulation; it was never shown in Xinjiang.

Another émigré representation of Iparhan may reflect the preferred Uyghur gloss on the legend. Sange Turkestan awazi (Voice of Eastern Turkestan), a separatist journal produced by the Uyghur community in Istanbul, printed an illustration of Iparhan in its October 1989 issue (illustration 3). The picture is an adaptation of the famous bannock portrait, Xiang Fei in Armor, with a subtle difference: the facial features of the woman have been altered to remove any trace of Mongoloid appearance. Whereas the original model could have been Manchu or Han, no such ambiguity is possible about the Iparhan depicted here, who looks out from large round eyes under firmly drawn brows like a Turkic Joan of Arc. The caption below the picture reinforces the image: “Ipar Han (Dilsad Hatun): the heroic Turkic woman who in the year 1760 struggled against the Manchu-Chinese invaders.”

Xiang Fei Unveiled

The texts generated in the Manchu court portray none of this defiance. Like other consorts, Rong Fei is defined by ritual. There is no hint of conflict in the record of her life, and almost nothing to betray any difference between her and other concubines. Rong Fei’s experience, as here represented, fits smoothly into the paradigm that defined the Qing relationship with allied Inner Asian peoples.

The original unofficial representations of Qianlong’s Uyghur consort, by contrast, are examples of Chinese “orientalism,” and one need not accept all the arguments of Edward Said’s work to recognize parallels between the Xiang Fei legend and nineteenth and twentieth-century European cultural representations of the Middle Eastern or Islamic woman. Xiang Fei shares characteristics with Salamé (in one story, Xiang Fei also danced for a monarch [Hedin 1933]), Flaubert’s Egyptian concubine, Kuchik Hanem (“the scent of her skin . . . dripping with sandalwood” [Said 1979:187]), Puccini’s Turandor, and, indeed, with a rich tradition of depictions of Turkish harem women, such as the odalisques of Jean Léon Gérôme, Henri Matisse, 

Communism], in Alma Ata, July 1, 1969. Erkin Alepirkin, an active proponent of Uyghur independence, provided me with the reference; he asserts that the girl referred to is Iparhan.

Long-haired women bathing outdoors have become a stereotypical image in Chinese portrayals of minority nationalities, particularly those of Dai (Thai) women in the southwest. The most famous example is Yuan Yunsheng’s mural, Water Festival, Song of Life, displayed in the Beijing Capital Airport from 1979 to 1980 (Cohen 1987:39–40).
and others (Groult 1989). Tasteful details in the Xiang Fei myth—her strange beauty, marvelous odor, and erotic bathing customs—demonstrate that the "association between the Orient and sex" is not unique to Western attitudes, but can appear in East Asian attitudes toward the "Orient"—wherever it is—as well.

In one regard, however, the Xiang Fei of the bathhouse text and other early accounts differs from most of her cousins in European literature: although "the Orient seems still to suggest to Europeans not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies" (Said 1979:188), Xiang Fei, while sexually alluring and dangerous, remains unattainable, her marriage to Qianlong unconsummated and without issue. Her threat is not that of unbridled, animal femininity to the enraptured male; rather, it is direct and violent—if the emperor comes too close, she will stab him to death. If we adopt Said's (and others') idea that Orientalism as a colonialist discourse often employs overt or latent sexual metaphors to describe the conquest of the Orient and the relationship of ruling to subject peoples, Xiang Fei as a symbol of Xinjiang thus portrays a conquest manqué: her resistance mirrors that of her compatriots who, under the leadership of her Khoja relatives, rose regularly against Qing rule after 1826. The broad currency enjoyed by the Xiang Fei myth among the primarily Han writers and readers of unofficial histories, romances, notebooks, and the like, reflects not only a willingness to depict the unfamiliar Uyghurs as exotic "others," but also an uncertainty about the place of this rebellious and culturally non-Han territory in the empire and the nation.

In later materials of the 1930s, 1940s, and 1950s, although Xiang Fei is still portrayed as an exotic, she is no longer quite so foreign. These narratives impact to her emotions of patriotism and love with which Han audiences sympathize. This more inclusive approach to the Uyghur concubine parallels ideological justifications of Guomindang and Communist regimes aimed at including Xinjiang and the Uyghur in the new Chinese state. At the same time, a cooler attitude toward the Manchu characters in the Xiang Fei tale is in keeping with the demonization of Manchus in Chinese nationalist discourse from before 1911 until very recently.

In Jin Yong's novel, the influence of nationalist ideology reshapes the Xiang Fei story still further. Jin adds racial dimensions not present in earlier depictions of Xiang Fei's life, for the first time giving the Han a role in the conquest of Xinjiang and courtship of Xiang Fei, while painting the Manchus in dark colors.

Since the late 1970s, scholars in China have revised the story of Qianlong's Uyghur concubine more radically, ironically echoing the original Manchu representation of Rong Fei as a passive recipient of imperial gifts and promotions. By eliminating her tie to the "splitist" Afaq Khoja and de-mystifying her person, scholars have turned her into a paragon of ethnic unity. Uyghurs, on the other hand, have resisted this makeover, maintaining Iparhan's association with the Khoja Afaq Mazâr and by implication her link to the Afaq line. By borrowing the Han orientalist image of Xiang Fei as warrior to reinforce the legend of her resistance to the Qing, they have even shifted the venue of that resistance from the bedchamber to the battlefield.

The implications of the Qing expansion of the physical and ethnic boundaries of China have not yet been fully resolved. Han, initially left out of the process of expansion, have since 1911 been developing new, inclusive territorial and national definitions of China and the Chinese to encompass territories and nationalities brought together by Manchus employing very different principles of rule. Yet national identities among peoples in what were until recently non-Chinese areas remain contested, as
witnessed by the sporadic ethnic and separatist protests in these regions continuing into the 1980s and 1990s. The current competition over the significance of the Uyghur concubine is a reflection of this dispute.

Glossary

| Amursana | 阿睦爾薩納 |
| An Yuan si | 安遠寺 |
| Ba-lang | 巴朗 |
| Bandi | 班第 |
| Bao Yue Lou | 寶月樓 |
| Burban ad-Din | 波羅泥都 |
| Chang Chun Yuan tu | 長春園圖 |
| Chu lie tu | 出獵圖 |
| difciyaz | 滷非雅則 |
| Fang Wai Guan | 方外觀 |
| fei | 妃 |
| fuguogong | 輔國公 |
| gui fei | 貴妃 |
| gui ren | 貴人 |
| gulunqi | 谷倫妃 |
| guowang jiapo | 國亡家破 |
| he | 和 |
| huang gui fei | 皇貴妃 |
| Hui Fei | 回妃 |
| hujij | 回籍 |
| jiahua | 佳話 |
| Jin-shun | 金順 |
| Jing-lian | 景連 |
| kaishu | 欽書 |
| kaozheng | 考正 |
| Khoja Afaq Mazār | 阿巴克和卓麻扎爾 |
| Khoja Erke Husein | 額爾克和卓 |
| Khoja Jihan | 禱集占 |
| Kramet | 額哩特 |
| Kū Hi | 香妃 |
| lienu | 烈女 |
| Liu Jintang | 劉錦棠 |
| Mahmud | 瑪木特 |
| minzu | 民族 |
| minzu tuanjie | 民族團結 |
| Nei wu | 內務府 |
| Pārsa | 帕爾薩 |
| pin | 鑲 |
| ping'an wan | 平安丸 |
| Qianlong di yu Xiang Fei Yuyuan xinglie tu | 乾隆帝與香妃御苑行獵圖 |
| Qing dong ling | 清東陵 |
| Rong Fei | 容妃 |
| ronghe | 溥合 |
| shaza shu | 沙薩樹 |
| Sheng Shicai | 盛世才 |
| Su-de-xiang | 蘇德香 |
| taiji | 臺吉 |
| Tao Ran Ting | 陶然亭 |
| tatar | 傣鞑士 |
| tong bao | 鬧胞 |
| tong hua | 同化 |
| Turdi | 圖爾都 (迪) |
| xiangzhong | 香중 |
| Xiang Fei | 香妃 |
| Xiang Fei ronghuang xiang | 香妃戎裝像 |
| Xiang Fei qizhuang xiang | 香妃旗裝像 |
| Xiang Fei yanghuang xiang | 香妃洋裝像 |
| Xiang Niaogiang Miao | 香娘娘廟 |
| Xiao Xiong | 蕭雄 |
| Xin Hua Men | 新華門 |
| xunfu | 巡撫 |
| Yang Zengxin | 楊增新 |
| yeshi | 野史 |
| Yu De Tang | 津德堂 |
| Yuan Ying Guan | 遠瀛觀 |
| Zhao bai | 晁惠 |
| zijing | 自警 |
| zunguo | 組國 |
| zuo jinian | 做記念 |
| Zuo Gong | 左宗棠 |
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