A Reformist Mongol Governor in China: Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar Bukhari
(607-678 / 1211-1279)¹

 Çağda Reformist Bir Moğol Valisi: Seyyid Ecel Şemseddin Ömer
Buharî (607-678 / 1211-1279)

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Abstract
Throughout history, there have been many politicians whose names are remembered and often recognized for their achievements in battles. We have come to know some of them closely due to their administrative initiatives. However, politicians who have made a name in every field are rare. One of these rare figures is Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar Bukhari, who gained fame for his reforms and the spread of Islam in China. Indeed, we are familiar with many politicians mainly for their war successes. However, those who have left their mark on the dusty pages of history in various fields are indeed rare. One such figure is Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar Bukhari, who made a name for himself with his reforms and the spread of Islam in China in the 12th century. This significant personality, who succeeded in bringing Islam to China in the mid-12th century, began to serve the Mongols after the capture of Bukhara by Genghis Khan in the year 616/1220. Due to his administrative abilities and knowledge of languages, Shams al-Din Omar attracted the attention of the Mongol Khans and was appointed as the governor of Yunnan. The reforms he implemented there quickly gained the love and acceptance of the people. The sympathy he gained facilitated the rapid spread of Islam in these lands. In this context, the article will focus on the identity, reforms, and contributions of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar Bukhari, who is claimed to be from the lineage of the Prophet to the process of the spread of Islam in China.

Keywords: China, Islam, Yuan Dynasty, Kublai Khan, Bukhara.

Öz

Anahtar Kelimeler: Çin, İslamiyet, Yuan, Kubilay, Buhara.
Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar al-Bukhari, born into a family from Bukhara, drew the constant attention of the Mongol Khans due to his unique circumstances, such as coming from a bureaucratic family and being proficient in multiple languages. Bestowed with the title of Seyyid based on the claim of being descended from Prophet Muhammad, Shams al-Din Omar was honored with the title of Excellency for his services in China, garnering praise for his accomplishments. It is evident that Shams al-Din Omar’s sons also served the Mongols. Having declared his allegiance to Genghis Khan and his family and being appointed as the governor of Yunnan, Shams al-Din Omar became a significant turning point in Chinese history. His compassionate and generous behavior towards the local people, especially in Yunnan, earned him the love and admiration of the populace, regardless of the city he served. The crucial question here is how Shams al-Din Omar’s earned affection among the people endured even after his death, as the prolonged remembrance of statesmen in the regions they governed is a rare occurrence. However, this was a common phenomenon for Shams al-Din Omar. His humane qualities, such as not harming life and property, following a tolerant policy by respecting beliefs, likely played a crucial role in earning unconditional love from the people. This humane aspect, associated with Islam, prompted sincere interest and even facilitated the significant spread of Islam in China. Shams al-Din Omar, by implementing various reforms for the prosperity of the people, opened up safe areas for farmers and traders by digging water channels, reducing taxes to manageable levels, and constructing mosques for those who embraced Islam. He supported farmers by promoting their produce, decreasing taxes to ensure the viability of agriculture, and establishing a network of stations to protect trade routes and caravans. Shams al-Din Omar took measures to bridge the gap by connecting trade routes with other provinces, applying tax reductions for foreign traders, and supporting the domestic trade sector. He engaged in serious reforms in various fields and supported agriculture by introducing new crops and advanced farming methods. Pioneering the establishment of regional markets and the regulation of a new currency, Shams al-Din Omar significantly contributed to the region’s economy by supporting the exploitation of mines in Yunnan. Introducing Islam to the Chinese people, he supported philosophy and facilitated the establishment of Confucian schools and the distribution of Confucian classics in Yunnan. In summary, Shams al-Din Omar emerged as a bureaucrat who enjoyed benefiting the people he governed, earning the populace's love. Therefore, even after his death, he continued to be remembered and honored for his kindness and achievements. Due to his reforms and innovative approach, Shams al-Din Omar, who left lasting effects on the people of Yunnan and its surroundings, has become a significant figure in forming Islamic infrastructure in China. Therefore, he has been memorialized for centuries and continues to be remembered. The reason for his unforgotten status undoubtedly stems from being loved by nearly every segment of the population. Under his governance, he succeeded in maintaining a tolerant administrative system that brought together people from diverse linguistic, religious, and racial backgrounds. His embodiment of tolerance, crowned by the Islamic faith, accelerated the process of people in Yunnan and surrounding cities embracing Islam. When we look through the dusty pages of history, there are few statesmen who are so deeply loved by the people of the regions they governed. However, it is well known that one of these statesmen is Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar, who, by serving as a bridge in Mongol-Chinese relations, emerged as a significant figure in the interaction between faiths and cultural values.
Introduction

The founder of the Mongols, Genghis Khan, captured Bukhara on 4 Zilhicce 616/10 February 1220 as part of his policy to expand his territories, and subsequently, he burned and destroyed the city (Buell, 1979, p. 104-107; Liu, 2011, p. 80). Genghis Khan, who took many people as captives from Bukhara, preferred individuals with administrative and artisan identities to benefit from their skills. One of these captives who would become a key figure in future Mongol-Chinese relation is Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar (Zhijiu, 1993, p. 18-31). This individual, who entered Mongol service very young, achieved significant successes, perhaps influenced by his father’s administrative identity. In addition to being a successful administrator in battles, Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar al-Bukhari also had a reformist and economist identity, leading the spread of Islam in China. His qualities endeared him to the Chinese people, earning him appreciation and respect.

Despite numerous research and theses on the spread of Islam in China, there is a notable absence of specific studies on Sayyid Shams al-Din Omar. While vast literature exists on China and Islam, studies focusing on Shams al-Din Omar could be more extensive and complete. Sources discussing him have been particularly sparing in providing details about his biography, family, and the narration of his accomplishments. The available information on the subject is often in Persian and English. To fill this gap in the literature concerning Shams al-Din Omar, this research has concentrated on his family, the process of his appointment as the governor of Yunnan, the reforms he implemented for the people of Yunnan and his passing (Zhijiu, 1985, p. 179-186; Wang, 2014, p. 519). Primary sources, as well as a variety of local and foreign research works, have been utilized in shaping this article based on the findings obtained.

1. About the Identity of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar

Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar, as understood from his name Buhari, is a child of a family from Bukhara. At the time of his birth, the rule of the Khwarazmshahs prevailed in Bukhara. Based on this information, claims suggest that Shams al-Din Omar could be Turkish gain strength (Wang-vd., 2014, p. 3). Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar, is presumed to be considered the ancestor of individuals living in Yunnan with the name "Na" due to his position as the governor of Yunnan. The fact that these individuals trace their ancestry back to Nasr al-Din, the eldest son of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar, explains this situation. However, a known fact is that the lineage and origin of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar, remain unclear. There are various theories suggesting that he could be Turkish, Persian, or Arab. Despite these theories, the most accurate information about him is that he was born in Bukhara (Dillon, 1999, p. 22). The claim that his ancestors moved as far as Western Asia, North Africa, Europe, and Persia further complicates the confusion surrounding his origins (Li, 2004, p. 25-29; Na, 2004, p. 19-24).

Shams al-Din Omar’s grandfather, Kan Mading, and his father, Mahamu (马哈木), were his ancestors. Mahamu served as a high-ranking administrative officer during the Song Dynasty. During the dynasty’s decline, the Yuan Dynasty’s influence in the region became apparent. Mahamu, attracting attention due to his experience in state affairs, was entrusted with military responsibilities and state affairs. While contributing to territorial gains on the one hand, he also endeavored to address and find solutions to the people's hardships (Ceylan, 2016, p. 43).
While information about Shams al-Din Omar’s grandfather and father is limited to these details, no records are found about his mother and wife. This may be because they did not hold any administrative positions. Sayyid Ajall Omar claimed descent from Prophet Muhammad, earning him Sayyid (Maerjiang, 2018, p. 68). Throughout his political life, he also used different titles. Initially, due to his administrative services in China, he was honored with the title Xiong Yang, meaning “Excellency” in Chinese, by the Emperor of China (Rossabi, 2015, p. 271-272; Broomhall, 2015, p. 127; Kamal, 2015, p. 307; Li Qingsheng 李清升, 1998, p. 2). Later, he was named Saidianchi Shansiding 賽典赤·贍思丁 (Xu, 2008, p. 3564). Although the term Saidianchi was intended to signify the Prophet’s lineage in Arabic, this narrative did not go beyond the claim. Considering that the Chinese equivalent of Sayyid is the word guizu 贵 meaning noble (Ceylan, 2016, p. 41), it can quickly be concluded that the above claim is unfounded. Saidianchi was also a title given to noble families in Bukhara. The fact that Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar’s family had an administrative identity makes it more meaningful that this title was given to him not because of his status as Sayyid but because of his family’s status. The word “Ajall” means greatness or greatness and is another nickname used by Shams al-Din Omar (Qiy, 2012, p. 123).

It is known that Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar had five sons (Miразбадал, 2021, p. 544). His eldest son Nasr al-Din (納速刺丁), second son Shasan (啥散), third son Huxin (忽辛), fourth son Shansuding Wumoli (苫速丁兀默里), and the youngest fifth son is Masuh (马速忽). While Nasr al-Din, Huxin, and Masuh served as high-ranking officials in Yunnan province, there is no information about the duties of the others. However, it is known that they, like their elder brothers, continued their lives in Yunnan. Masuh’s son Zheng He (Li, 2004, p. 159; Tsai, 2002, p. 38; Leslie, 1986, p. XI) and his son Mir T ekin are examples of this information (Ceylan, 2016, p. 42).

When the Mongols attacked Burma in 676/1277, Nasr al-Din (納速刺丁), the eldest son of Shams al-Din Omar, who gained fame as one of the commanders of the Mongol army, was rewarded for his victory in this war. First, he became the governor of Shaanxi, and later the governor of Yunnan (Song Lian 宋濂, 1995, p. 3063-3070; Vissière, 1908, p. 330-346; Dunnel, 2014, p. 198; Buell, 1993, p. 466-479; Köichi, 1995, p. 157-192; Chang-Kuan, 2003, p. 269; Wang, 1996, p. 70-73; Leslie, 1986, p. 80; Al-Taai, 2023, p. 323).

Nasr al-Din (納速刺丁), who served the Mongols until 692/1292, left 12 sons in the service of the Mongols after his death. Among them, Hasan became the chief commander of the Guangdong armies, Hüseyin became the general governor of Liengkapang County in Yunnan province, and Shams al-Din became the governor of Yunnan province and the chief commander of the army (Marco Polo, III, 2006, p. 164; Hwaidy, 1981, p. 53; Rossabi, 2015, p. 272; Grewille, 2006, p. 226; Al-Taai, 2023, p. 323).

2. The Political Influence of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar on the Mongols

Following the Mongol domination in Bukhara, Shams al-Din Omar and his family, along with approximately 1,000 people, declared their allegiance to Genghis Khan. They presented Genghis Khan with a leopard and a falcon as gifts during this allegiance. Genghis Khan accepted the gifts and assigned them military and administrative duties. Genghis Khan’s decision to act in this manner was influenced by Shams al-Din Omar’s family, who belonged to an administrative class, and Shams al-Din Omar’s proficiency in many languages, including Arabic and Chinese. Therefore, Genghis Khan took Shams al-Din Omar on his organized expeditions (Saunders, 1359, p. 242). Throughout his time serving the Mongols, Shams al-Din Omar was referred to as Saidianchi and could no longer use his own name (Xu, 2008, p. 3564). While being with the
Mongols, Shams al-Din Omar had the opportunity to visit many countries and even traveled to China (Lane, 2011, p. 2).

Like other khans he served, Shams al-Din Omar also served under Kublai Khan, participating in battles alongside him and overseeing administrative affairs in China. (Reşidüddin Fazlullâh, II, 1999, p. 443; Gaoji, 2013, p. 66-99; Chang, 1984, p. 269-293; Brose, 2011, p. 64; Al-Taai, 2023, p. 325). Throughout his administrative career in the Mongol Khanates, Shams al-Din Omar, governed the regions of Feng, Jing, and Yun. Later, he took control of the administration of Taiyuan city and held various positions until becoming the administrative, military, and civil administrator of the Shanxi and Sichuan Principalities in China (Kamal, 2015, p. 307; Rossabi, 2015, p. 271-272; Buell, 1993, p. 466-479; Chi Da, 2005, p. 70; Stoddard, 1868, p. 231).

Diversity is evident when examining Shams al-Din Omar’s political life. At times, he appeared as a soldier in the army, and at other times, he emerged as a governor. He successively served as the governor of Yuan, Benyang, Ying (Beijing), and Sichuan (Beyâni, 1370, p. 155; Stoddard, 1868, p. 231; Chi Da, 2005, p. 70; Huaizhong, 1991, p. 32; Shouyi (白寿彝), 1985, p. 100-103; Weixin, 1996, p. 79-81).

3. Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar’s Reforms and Innovative Aspect

Shams al-Din Omar’s appointment as the governor of Yunnan led to chaos in the region. During this time, the Mongols, having ended the Jin Dynasty’s rule in North China, strengthened their regional presence. In its struggle, the Mongol army caused significant damage to the area, leaving the local population in dire straits. Troubled by the reckless actions of the army, Shams al-Din Omar prepared a report on the situation to discipline the undisciplined Mongol military force and presented it to Kublai Khan. In the report, he suggested that the army should be subject to provincial governors rather than directly under the ruler’s command. His proposal was successful, and garrison commanders came under the authority of governors. Thus, Shams al-Din Omar became the first person to separate military authority from civilian control.

Related to the administrative system, Shams al-Din Omar proposed the separate administration of counties to Han. By establishing a hierarchical independent administration system in terms of provinces and counties, he minimized the shortcomings in governance. His initial position was Daruga2 (Rachewiltz, 1993, p. 467-470), overseeing three small regions. During his tenure managing Yanjing, he became a critical friend of Mahmud Yalavach. Participating in many expeditions during Kublai Khan’s reign (Chang, 1984, p. 269-293), in 1264, he was appointed as a political officer responsible for political affairs due to his administrative achievements and competence. Shams al-Din Omar and Liu Su became two of the most competent financial administrators of the Kublai era (Yuan Shi, 1996, p. 19, 83). Shams al-Din Ajall played a significant role in shaping China’s future administrative institutions and was the key figure in the spread of Islam in China (Arnold, 1913, p. 297).

He decided to establish an integrated irrigation canal to manage and use water resources in Qing Lake. This project is considered his first accepted civil reform in China. He constructed irrigation and storage facilities along six lakes, building more than seventy dams (Song Lian 宋濂, 1995, p. 3063-3070; Qanaouy, n.d., p. 150; Li Qingsheng, 1998, p. 22). Shams al-Din Omar aimed to make taxes compliant with Islamic rules,

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2 The term daruga (daruha, darugachi, darugachin), which appears in Persian texts, is derived from the Mongolian word *daru*ḫu, meaning to press, squeeze, narrow, and metaphorically to seal. In Turkish, it is used as *yargan* or *baskak*, while in Arabic and Persian, it has the same meaning *shahna*. See (Yuvalı, 1993, p. 505-506) for more information; Chinese historian Xiu Ting described daruga as a title given to individuals dealing with civil affairs. For detailed information, see (Ting, 2012, p. 114); Also, refer to (Vásáry, 1976, p. 187-197) for its usage in the Golden Horde State.
supported the promotion of farmers’ produce, and decided to reduce taxes to sustain agriculture. He established a series of stations to protect trade routes and caravans, attempting to connect trade routes with other provinces. He also provided tax reductions to individuals engaged in domestic trade besides those coming to trade from abroad (Needham, IV, 1971, p. 297).

Shams al-Din Omar conducted serious reforms in various fields, supporting agriculture significantly. He introduced new crops to the people, supported them in adopting advanced agricultural methods, and pioneered the establishment of regional markets. He regulated the new currency to provide flexibility in tax collection. By supporting the exploitation of mines in Yunnan, he opened a significant source of income for the regional economy. Shams al-Din Omar introduced Islam to the Chinese people and also supported philosophy.

These reformist developments by Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din not only increased the quality of agricultural production but also revitalized trade significantly within the country. The currency used was seashells, aiming to facilitate the transport of money. The currency underwent changes over time, transforming into the preferred currency due to the convenience of carrying paper money. Moreover, mass production of money took place (Yuan Shi, 1996, p. 83), contributing to increased prosperity in the region.

Shams al-Din Omar, serving as an Islamic patron in the region, converted some Buddhist temples into mosques as the number of Muslims increased. This move is considered the first step of Islam in the region. Ibn Battuta, in his travelogue mentioned, “On one side of the city (Canton) was a quarter belonging to Muslims, with large mosques, monasteries, and markets.” In all Chinese cities, there was a Sheikh-ul-Islam responsible for Muslim affairs and a judge to settle disputes among them (Ibn Battuta, 2013, p. 619). From the last quarter of the 13th century onwards, Muslim migrations to China for approximately a century significantly increased the Muslim population there. The migrating individuals served important roles among the Mongols in China, including governors, judges, tax collectors, scholars, and physicians.

Later, in Zhongqing (modern Kunming), he built twelve mosques (Ta Sen, 2000, p. 170). To cover the expenses of these mosques, he developed a system of collecting donations and leasing owned lands to generate income for their needs. Regardless of their beliefs, culture, or nationality, he treated teachers’ expenses reasonably, emphasizing giving the job to the capable (Shusen 邱树森, 1996, p. 238-242). Sayyid Ajall al-Din modernized the Yuan people, making them more open to the outside world. He regulated dress codes for marriage and funeral ceremonies. He distributed food and clothing to people in need, orphans, widows, and disabled individuals. He distributed provisions to needy people, taking preventive measures against natural disasters (Sajid Abid, 2021, p. 121).

Shams al-Din Omar, governing Yunnan with justice for six years, became a beloved ruler among the people. When he had to send an army to suppress the rebellious Luban town governor, he expressed concern that the innocent people would suffer and even die. Despite not ordering an attack during the suppression of the

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3 For detailed information on paper money, see; (Isfahânîyân, 1357hş., p. 101-102; Âkâcerî-Rezevî, 1382hş., p. 214-215; Yumei, 1994, p. 114; Al-Taai, 2023, p. 325).
4 These mosques are Nancheng Mosque, Jinniujie Mosque, Shuncheng Mosque, Yongning Mosque, and Taoyuan Mosque. Of course, not all mosques were preserved, and most, including those near Wuhua Mountain, Yukesí Street, Yunjin Market, and Daximen, have been demolished.
5 For further information on the subject, see: (Armijo, 1997; For literature in Chinese language: Zhijiu, 1993, p. 18-31).
rebellion, the reckless attacks on the town by some commanders led to the punishment of these soldiers. Upon hearing about his benevolent treatment, the rebels decided to surrender. Thus, as a success of goodwill and mercy, Luban town came under the rule of the Yuan dynasty (Yang, 2008, p. 112-116; Sajid Abid, 2021, p. 121-122). Shams al-Din Omar ensured social order in regions governed by governors, ended thefts and bandit raids, sent refugees back to their homes instead of forcing them to work, and established free markets for the people of Yunnan (Mirzabadal, 2021, p. 543).

4. The Passing of Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar

Shams al-Din Omar passed away in the year 678/1279 at 69. The exact cause of his death is not known (Reşidüddin Fazlullâh, 1999, p. 443; Al-Taai, 2023, p. 326), but it is widely recognized that his demise brought great devastation to the people of Yunnan. People from neighboring provinces also expressed profound sorrow upon hearing of his death. The extent of their grief was evident as they sacrificed animals in his name as a gesture of mourning. Kublai Khan, acknowledged his achievements, remarked, “If we see his success, we will remember him with kindness, and we will not forget him.” He praised Shams al-Din Omar’s reforms. In order to commemorate him, the people of Yunnan erected a shrine in his honor. His body was buried north of Shanchan city’s gate. The King of Jiaozhi sent a delegation of twelve people to the ceremony, donning mourning attire and conducting a commemorative ritual. The lamentation during the ritual included expressions such as “Our compassionate parents who gave us life and education.” People uttering these words were wailing loudly as he was as precious to them as their parents. Following the funeral prayer, Shams al-Din Omar was laid to rest. Every year, he was remembered with kindness for his humanity, conscience, reforms, and tolerant nature. Not only Muslims but everyone, by their beliefs, continued to read and disseminate his teachings. Shams al-Din Omar’s greatest achievement was expediting the spread of Islam among the people of Yunnan by internalizing Islamic teachings into their way of life. His compassionate policies during his tenure ensured he would be an unforgettable figure for centuries (Sajid Abid, 2021, p. 122-123; Al-Taai, 2023, p. 326).

In the 14th century, towards the end of the Yuan Dynasty, Muslims numbered more than four million (Raphael, 2002, p. 255). One of the notable features of the Yuan Dynasty was the introduction of the term “Huihui” for Muslims in China (Yang, 2012, p. 2). With this term, Muslims arriving in Chinese territories were collectively called Huihu, irrespective of being Arab, Persian, or Turkish. During the Tang Dynasty, the term for Muslims as “the religion or law of the Arabs” changed to Hui hui jiao or Hui hui du during this period (Raphael, 2002, p. 253).

Conclusion

Sayyid Ajall Shams al-Din Omar Bukhari emerged as a governor who left lasting impacts on China's administrative, political, and religious life. Although he fulfilled his duties as a governor, his reforms and achievements are the most precise indicators that he was more than just a governor. Shams al-Din Omar’s extraordinary character, knowledge of languages, and generous nature quickly caught the attention of the Mongol Khans, and his significant positions while serving the Mongols were not a coincidence. Shams al-Din Omar was recognized not only as the governor of Yunnan under his rule but also as the father of all Muslims in China. What makes Shams al-Din Omar important is his signature on significant reforms in administrative, social, and economic life. These reforms and the structures he introduced are still in use and continue in present-day China. Shams al-Din Omar, by preventing the damage caused by the Mongol army and benefiting from the acquired territories, put an end to the arbitrary practices of the soldiers and freed the army from civilian monopoly. Giving importance and support to education, he made significant strides in employment by opening
Confucian schools and appointing teachers to these schools. Considering his achievements in almost every field, it is meaningful that he was greatly loved in the region where he served as governor. He succeeded in winning the people's affection in Yunnan and the entire Chinese geography, including Islam.

Shams al-Din Omar brought innovations to the state's administrative mechanisms and offered a different perspective on social life, extending beyond military, political, and economic realms. To the extent that he modernized the Yunnan population, from their attire in marriage and funeral ceremonies to consistently caring for the poor and orphaned. Consequently, the people regarded him not just as a governor but embraced him as a father figure, transcending the role of a mere official. It is rare for a politician to govern a city for only about six years and yet garner such profound love from the populace. The foundation of this affection is rooted in generosity, compassion, and justice.

As a result of the interaction between China and the Islamic world, significant advancements and progress were made in scientific fields such as astronomy, geography, and anatomy in China. During the Yuan Dynasty, the number of Muslims who came to China through trade routes was fewer than those who came as soldiers and craftsmen. This was certainly due to the value the Mongols placed on craftsmen and artisans. It is estimated that by the end of the 14th century, the number of Muslims had exceeded four million during the Yuan Dynasty.
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