Svetlana RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER
The Australian National University

Karakunuz: An Early Settlement of the Chinese Muslims in Russia

With an English translation of
V. T͡SIBUZGIN and A. SHMAKOV'S work

Abstract

Some Chinese Muslims (who became known later as Dungans) migrated to Russia from China in 1877–1878 and 1881–1884. The third group of the first migration settled in Karakunuz (present-day Masanchin). Two Russians who visited the site in 1897 wrote a detailed description of life in the settlement. It touches upon their food, clothing, farming methods, social customs, dialect, and other things, and concludes with translations of fifteen riddles, two proverbs, and five anecdotes. Their work is translated here for the first time into English, followed by a brief overview of how the life-style of the inhabitants of the same village has changed in recent years.

Key words: Chinese Muslims — Dungans — Russia — Islamic rites

Asian Folklore Studies, Volume 51, 1992: 243-279

Introduction

THE Dungans, the descendants of Chinese Muslims who migrated to Russia over a hundred years ago, are an ethnic minority of Central Asia.[1] They arrived in Russia in two distinct migrations. The first migration was the direct outcome of the Muslim rebellions in northwest China (1862–1878). After the fall of Kashgar and the final victory of the Manchus in Xinjiang, three groups of Muslim rebels crossed the Tien Shan mountains into Russia during the exceptionally harsh winter of 1877. The first group, Turfan rebels under the leadership of Ma Da-ren 馬大人 (also known as Ma-da-lao-ye 馬大老爺), went northwest. This group of refugees, about 1,000 people in all, eventually arrived in Osh. The second group, Gansu rebels from Di-dao-zhou 狄道州, was led by *Ahung* A-ye-lao-ren 阿訇阿爺老人. In the spring of 1878, 1,130 of them were settled in Yrdyk, a small village nine miles from Przheval'sk. The third group, rebels from Shaanxi Province, was led by one of the leaders of the Muslim rebellions, Bo Yan-hu 白彦虎. The refugees in this group, 3,314 in all, were settled in a small place called Karakunuz, eight kilometers from Tokmak.

The second migration of Chinese Muslims to Russia occurred after the signing of the Treaty of St. Petersburg on 12 February 1881. The Ili region was occupied by Russian troops in 1871 and was under the jurisdiction of the Russian governor-general of Turkestan until 1881. According to one of the treaty's provisions, Chinese Muslims and Uighurs of the Ili region could either stay under the oppressive, much-hated Manchu rule or move to Russia. Most chose to move and selected Sokuluk, a small village situated thirty kilometers west of the present capital of Kirgizstan, as their final destination. Unlike the refugees in the first migration who settled in three compact groups, the settlers from the Ili region moved from 1881 to 1884 in small parties and settled all along the thousand-kilometer route.

According to the central archives of Kazakh S.S.R., the official number of Chinese Muslim settlers from Kul'ja was 4,682 people in all (Ĭusurov 1961, 34).

The rough estimate of the total number of Dungans who arrived in Russia during these two migrations is over 10,000 people. By 1979 there were 52,000 Dungans, and by 1985 there were 70,000. Eighty per-cent of these live in the Ch'u Valley of Kirgizstan and the Kurdaĭ region of Kazakhstan, the two major centers of which are Bishkek (former Frunze) and Alma-Ata, respectively. The increase in their number is due to at least three factors: they tend to have six to eight children per family; they are extremely hardworking people; and their living conditions are exceptionally good.

A small number of Dungans live in the cities. Some of these urban Dungans are school teachers, doctors, or scholars who work in the Academy of Sciences in Bishkek, for instance. But the majority of Dungans are farmers living and working in Dungan settlements.

Depending on the place of origin of their ancestors in China and the location of their early settlements in Russia, Dungans are divided into two ethnographic groups: the Gansu Dungans, who speak the Gansu Dungan dialect, and the more conservative Shaanxi Dungans, who speak the Shaanxi Dungan dialect. The two groups differ slightly in language and customs.

Dungans have retained many things that they brought from China: songs, legends, stories, wedding and funeral customs, and their speech, which is the earthy, colloquial speech of the Chinese countryside. Their clothes, and even more so their houses, have undergone a change, but they still have courtyards in their houses, they still use Chinese-type padded quilts, and they often sit and sleep on the large heated platforms known as *kang*s 炕. Their food and their cooking and eating habits have not changed at all. They still use chopsticks, and the names of their dishes and cooking terms are Chinese.

Most of the refugees and settlers who arrived in Russia were poor, illiterate peasants or small urban craftsmen. The mullahs knew the Arabic script of the Koran and a few Dungans could write Chinese characters, which they rendered badly with many mistakes. At that time they only had stories, poems, legends, songs, proverbs, and riddles in oral form. F. V. Poĭarkov was the first person to record their oral literature (1900). V. Tsibuzgin and A. Shmakov's Russian transliteration (1909) of some of the Dungan riddles, proverbs, and stories of the 1897 period (which are presented below) was the second publication of Dungan oral art in written form. The first draft of a Dungan alphabet, based on Latin letters, appeared only in 1927. After

1939, the Cyrillic alphabet gradually replaced the various Latin alphabets of all the national minority languages in the Soviet republics of Central Asia. The present Dungan alphabet, based on the Cyrillic alphabet plus five additional letters, was adopted at a series of conferences between 1953 and 1955. An extensive literature, including a newspaper, school textbooks, poetry, novels, short stories, dictionaries, and works on linguistics, history, and phonetics, has been published in both alphabets.

A Work on One of the Early Settlements

After their two migrations the Dungans settled in close-knit groups, which is how they have preserved their language and culture. Straight after their migrations they started to cultivate the mostly barren virgin land that was allocated to them, and the survival of the Dungans as a separate entity is due to the perseverance and hard work of these original settlers. Once settled, the Dungans did not move far from the original locations. Later on, the flourishing kolkhozes emerged from these early settlements. The arrival of the kolkhozes united or subdivided the original *selo*s (big villages). The original settlements, for example Yrdyk, Karakunuz (the present *selo* of Masanchin), and Sokuluk (the present *selo* of Aleksandrovka), still exist today, but as the number of Dungans increased new *selo*s and kolkhozes appeared in the same area. Most of these *selo*s and kolkhozes are discussed in general works on the Dungans, some of which are mentioned in the References. Also mentioned are several books on the Dungan migrations and their early life in Russia; one, Poi̯arkov's book, warrants special mention. Written in 1901, it describes in detail, and from the Dungan point of view, the Chinese Muslim rebellions in China. He also describes how "these pitiful, downtrodden and intimidated people"—the defeated Muslims —crossed the border and arrived in Russia. Although in the last few pages of his work he does say a few words about the Dungans' "first steps" in Russia, this book is not about the early life of Dungans just after their migrations (Poi̯arkov 1901; citations from pages 72 and 76).

We know of the Dungans' early life in Russia from the very interesting account written by two Russians, T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov. They describe life in the village of Karakunuz in 1897, nineteen years after the settlement was started. The article's value is manifold: a) published in 1909, it is one of the earliest written accounts of Dungan life after the migrations; b) it is an eyewitness report written by two men with an exceptionally good eye for detail; c) unlike the many valuable works written later by Soviet and Dungan scholars, it has no Communist overtones; d) no other work known to me describes the

everyday life of the Dungans soon after their arrival in Russia in such fine detail. M. SUSHANLO's *The Dungans of Semirech'e: The Period before the October Revolution* (1959) comes closest to doing this. But while T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov concentrate on everyday life in one specific place and time, Sushanlo presents detailed information on the economy and agriculture of the whole area throughout which the Dungans scattered after their migrations, and covers the time from their arrival until the October Revolution. Whereas T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov, for example, describe the hairstyle of Dungan girls, list the vegetables grown by the Dungans, and reveal that the Dungans smoke opium, sing well, and are avid cardplayers, Sushanlo tends to dwell on such topics as Czarist colonial policy, Leninism, exploitation of the masses by capitalists and clergy, and the great progress made under the Communist regime. Sushanlo does not cite T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov in this work, though on page 79 he does mention that T͡sibuzgin was a teacher in the Russian-Dungan school in Karakunuz. However, in his general work on the Dungans he does quote the work of these two Russians (SUSHANLO 1971, 11, 20, 150, 151, 155, 184, 188, 201, 235).

In 1965, Karakunuz was renamed Masanchin. In his book on Masanchin, I. ÎUSUPOV (1967) describes the economic and political development of Karakunuz after the October Revolution. He mentions T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov's work once, on page 63.

Two more works should be mentioned here, a book by the Dungan scholar Kh. Îusurov, published in 1961, and a long article by the Russian scholar G. Stratanovich, which appeared in 1963. The first two chapters of Îusurov's book are on the Dungan migrations. His third chapter, on Dungan life in the various new locations, includes such facts as that in 1887 the Karakunuz Dungans had 473 horses and 131 donkeys. His last chapter is on the position of the early Dungan settlers in the colonial structure of Czarist Russia. It deals with such topics as land distribution; the power of the Dungan clergy; corrupt elections in the Dungan villages; the dying out of "feudal remnants"; the emergence of rich Dungans and hence the development of capitalism; and the administrative, political, and economic relationships between Dungans and the Russian authorities, the Kirghiz, and the Kazakhs. Îusurov mentions T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov's work only once (page 58 and note 3), when he quotes them as saying that there were not enough Dungan women in Karakunuz and so Dungan men married not only Kirghiz women, but also Uighur, Kazakh, Tatar, and Russian women. In fact, T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov do not mention Uighur, Kazakh, and Russian brides at all. Still, Îusurov's work is extremely valuable in that he gives the Dungans' own

account and quotes Russian sources obtained from the local archives.

As for Stratanovich's work, he visited the Dungans on several occasions (in 1944, 1945, and 1946, for instance) and has written several reports on his field trips. His long article on the Dungans (1963) is apolitical and offers many minute and fascinating insights, as well as amusing impressions about such matters as weddings, funerals, eating habits, and clothes. A general work covering many aspects of Dungan life from the migration period up to 1963, it touches also on the period described by T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov. In fact, although Stratanovich has no footnotes and does not mention his sources, there are places in his account of the Dungans' early life in Russia that are thought to be from T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov's work.

One additional work should be mentioned here, though it is focused narrowly on the buildings and street plans of Dungan settlements. This is a recent book by a young Dungan scholar, A. A. Dzhon (1986). In it he describes early and present-day Dungan houses, courtyards, mosques, cemeteries, and marketplaces. There are sections on the furnishings of Dungan homes, on how mud bricks are made, and on the customs, popular beliefs, and superstitions connected with choosing a site or building a house. The book has valuable illustrations. Dzhon quotes Stratanovich, Sushanlo, Poi͡arkov, and T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov, although in his introduction he writes that the works of the prerevolutionary writers (of whom Poi͡arkov, T͡sibuzgin, and Shmakov are the best) give very valuable but rather general, often superficial, information on the life-style, culture, and housing of the early Dungan settlers (1986, 3–4).

From the above it is evident that, except in Dzhon's, I͡usupov's, and especially Sushanlo's work, T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov's article was either not mentioned at all, misquoted, or quoted without acknowledgement by contemporary Dungan and Russian scholars. Yet, in spite of its clumsy and sketchy section on the origin of the Chinese Muslims and their rebellions, in my opinion it is a very valuable work as far as everyday Dungan life in the early settlements is concerned. The impressions of the two Russians are translated into English in full below, and it is left to the reader to judge the value of this firsthand account.

TRANSLATION

KARAKUNUZ IN 1897 (as described by V. T͡sibuzgin and A. Shmakov)[2]
The Dungans under Russian sovereignty are noticeably different in their life-style and language from the other multiracial inhabitants of Russian-owned Central Asia. The Dungans are Chinese Muslims of the Sunni sect of the Islamic faith. This faith reached China from Arabia in 632 A.D. during the sixth year of the Zhen-guan [貞觀] reign of Emperor Tai-zong [太宗] of the Tang dynasty. This is testified by Si, a Muslim scholar from Arabia who is the son of Lan-si͡uĭ [actually Lan xu 藍煦], who has published an epistle in Chinese in which he briefly explains the rules of the true Islamic religion. Si writes that during the sixth year of the Zhen-guan reign of the Tang emperor Tai-zong, during the time of the holiest Mu-khan-mo-dè (Mohammed) in the Celestial Country (Arabia), the maternal uncle of Mohammed, the nobleman [大人] Vang-gè-shi [Wang-go-shi 挽個士 or 旺各師] (Ibn-gamza) [Ibn Wahb *or* Sahid Saad Wakkas], leading three thousand men and bringing with him the sacred book of *T͡sz*[*i*]*ng-Gu-èr* [*l*]*a-ni* [*Jing-gu-er-la-ni* 經古爾拉尼] (the Koran), entered the Middle Kingdom. The Tang emperor Tai-zong, seeing that the newly arrived nobleman from the west was well-mannered, educated, and possessed of great knowledge, ordered the ruler of his capital of Chang-an [長安] to build a *da-t͡szing chzhen-sy* [*da qing-zhen-si* 大清眞寺] (which means "a temple of great cleanliness and truth"—a mosque) and earnestly begged the nobleman to settle in Chang-an. Vang-gè-shi fulfilled the emperor's wish and settled in Chang-an with his retinue. Later, when the number of the newcomers had considerably increased, Emperor Tai-zong ordered two more mosques to be built, in T͡sziang ning [Jiang-ning 江寧] and Guang-chzhao-fu [Guang-zhou-fu 廣州府] (Nanking and Canton), so that the additional people would settle in these places.[3]

The etymological meaning of the word *dungane* [Dungans] is not known; some scholars believe that the Dungans originated from T͡surus, but so far this opinion has not been proven. As for the Dungans, they refer to themselves as *tung-ga-ni*.[4]

In the past, as Chinese subjects the Dungans were very dissatisfied with both the Chinese people and the government of the Celestial Empire and on this account there were frequent Dungan revolts for many years. During these revolts there were mutual killings of Chinese and Dungans and all sorts of other horrors that inevitably occur in such situations. About thirty years ago, dissatisfaction with the Chinese caused a portion of the Dungans to migrate to the territory of Asiatic Russia and adopt Russian citizenship. The Dungan new-

comers settled in various regions [*oblast'*] of Russian Turkestan—in the districts [*uezd*] of Pishpek, Przheval'sk, Vernyĭ, Aulièatinsk, and Osh.

We will not discuss here the reasons for the hostile relationship between the Chinese and the Dungans. This question is very complicated and awaits a special investigation in the future. Even the specially commissioned Sosnovsky expedition to China of 1874, which cost the Russian government several tens of thousands of rubles (36,071 rubles, in fact), was not able to collect any definite information on this question. As for the Karakunuz Dungans, they say that they rose against the Chinese because the Chinese mocked and insulted their religious rites. In their opinion, the Chinese taunted the Islamic religion because the Chinese wanted to guard against having all the sons of the Celestial Empire become Muslims.

In the present report we intend to touch briefly upon the life of the Dungans of Russian citizenship who have settled in one specific place in Russian Turkestan. This place is the small village [*selenie*] of Karakunuz, which is located in the Pishpek District of the Semirech'e Region [*Semirechenskaîa oblast'*]. The inhabitants of Karakunuz, who came from Shaanxi Province, are somewhat different from the Dungans who migrated to Turkestan from the Ili area in 1882 [1881–1884] when the city of Kul'ja was handed over to the Chinese. Although the information on the life of the Dungans in this report is far from complete, nevertheless we hope an account, however brief, will be of some interest, since the literature on this subject is scarce.

The name of the village is from Kirghiz. Translated, it means "black beetle" (*kara* means "black" and *kunuz* "beetle"). One can conclude that the place received such a strange name because of the abundance of black beetles that one sees there in spring and summer. In fact, one encounters a rather large number of black beetles of various sizes all along the post road between Vernyĭ and Tokmak.[5] The Dungans, however, call this village either Kha-la-gun-gun-t͡szy [Ha-la-gun-gun-zi], which is the incorrect Dungan rendering of the name Karakunuz, or Ingpan [營盤], which means "a camp, an encampment." The Dungans gave the village this name because when they first settled in Karakunuz it did in fact resemble a camp.[6]

The village of Karakunuz is situated at the foot of mountains, along a small mountain river called the Karakunuzka. In summer the water from this river is drawn into the irrigation ditches [*aryks*] to irrigate the fields. The village itself is about eight miles [*versta*; one *versta* is 3,500 feet] from the nearest large Russian village, the *selo* of Big Tokmak, where the post-and-telegraph office is located. According

to the Dungans, there are about 1,000 households in Karakunuz, over 4,000 people in all, among whom are a small number of Sarts, Taranchis, and Kirghiz-Kaisaks [Kazakhs], but absolutely no Russians.

The Karakunuz Dungans build their houses in Chinese style, although some houses in the village are of Russian type. The lattice framework in the windows of the Dungan-style houses is the same as in Chinese windows, with the lattice framework pasted over with oiled paper instead of glass, but some houses have Russian-style windows with glass panes. Nearly every household has a vegetable garden and a small orchard.[7]

As mentioned before, all the Karakunuz Dungans are Muslims. There are several prayerhouses for the performance of religious rites, and each prayerhouse has a privately hired mullah. There are neither official mosques nor officially appointed mullahs in Karakunuz.[8] What usually happens is that several Dungan families, who do not necessarily live near each other but who are drawn together because they like each other, build a prayerhouse with their own money and then invite a suitable mullah. This prayerhouse is used only by members of these families. The mullahs' livelihood is paid for by their parishioners. The mullahs perform the religious services and also teach the Dungan children the religious principles of Islam in the schools that are located in nearly every prayerhouse. The number of pupils varies: one school might have twenty-five boys and another not more than three. The boys study in the school for about eight years.[9] Some Dungans, following the example of other Muslims, go on pilgrimage to Mecca. They observe the same religious holidays and celebrate the same special feast days as other Muslims. They are fairly strict in observing the thirty-day *urazu* fast. During this fast, every day at sunset one can hear along the streets of Karakunuz the characteristic proclamation: "Kaĭ-lë t̂szèĭ-lë" [*K'ɛli dzɛli* 開了齋了] (lit., "the fast is opened," i.e., "break the fast"). The callers are usually schoolboys who are ordered by mullahs to perform this duty. Unlike such of their neighbors as Sarts, Kirghiz, and Tatars, the Karakunuz Dungans do not eat horsemeat, and, like the Chinese, neither do they drink any kind of milk. Like all other Muslims, they do not eat pork. Every week they worship on Friday. The most important and solemn days for Dungans are *Uraza aidi* and *Kurbang*, the New Year holiday *Alfa*, and the festive days of *Bèĭrat*. Besides the holy days the Dungans also observe the general Muslim feast days. In addition, they always observe the anniversaries of the deaths of their relatives and annual funeral repasts called *go-ne-di* [過袁的], which attract many people. On 12 October 1897, for example, one Karakunuz Dungan by the name of Sy-myn-la

held an annual funeral repast for his father and had 150 guests of both sexes. Generally speaking, Dungans have many celebrations.[10]

Dungan food is very distinctive and mainly consists of noodles made of wheat or pea flour served with meat cut into small pieces and spiced with such ingredients as chili, onion, garlic, vinegar, salt, radish, and cucumber.[11] Dungans eat food with the help of two wooden sticks that are called *kuaĭ-t͡szy* [*k'uɛdzɨ* 筷子]; these take the place of our forks. They also eat rice, but they never offer it to guests, as they regard this as improper. Dungan food is very tasty and of great variety. Many Russians like Dungan meals. In September 1897, Labbe, a member of the Paris Geographical Society, visited Karakunuz. He dined at the home of the district [*volost'*, a small rural district] head of Karakunuz, Sybar Li͡udai͡uan [Sibar Liutai̯yan in Dungan] and was so impressed by Dungan food that he asked that his compliments be conveyed to the host and declared that in traveling through the Russian domains in Asia, nowhere had he tasted meals as good as the Dungans'. It is possible that we are dealing here merely with French courtesy, but on the other hand it is possible that the French traveler's words truly reflected his mood. Guests are served two, four, nine, ten, or thirteen dishes; any other number is unacceptable to Dungans. Tea and a variety of sweets are served before and after meals.[12] The Dungans use many and various hot and spicy ingredients in their food; they especially like vinegar, chillies, onions, and garlic. Dungan vinegar is dark brown in color and has a sour taste and smell. It is very cheap: one bottle costs one kopeck. It is made from wheat and wheat bran and goes bad very quickly, even in cold weather. The Dungan names for the most common spices and vegetables are as follows: vinegar is *t͡su* [*ts'ŭ* 醋], chili is *lat͡szy* [*ladzɨ* 辣子], salt is *si͡an-i͡an* [*çi̯an-i̯an* 鹹鹽],[13] onion is *pi-i͡a t͡szy* [*p'iiadzɨ* 皮芽子], shallot is *t͡sung* [*ts'uŋ* 葱], garlic is *suan* [*suan* 蒜], cucumber is *khuang-gua* [*xuoŋkua* 黄瓜], watermelon is *si-gua* [*çikua* 西瓜], melon is *ti͡an-gua* [*t'i̯ankua* 甜瓜], potato is *i͡ang-i͡uĭ* [*iɔŋi̯y* 洋芋], pumpkin is *vo-gua* [*wəkua* 倭瓜], and rice is *bèĭ-mi* [*pi̯imi* 白米]. *Chzhèng-mu* [*tşiŋməmə* 蒸饃饃]—small, round, plain rolls [dumplings] that are steamed in special cylindrical wooden containers placed over pots of boiling water—are always served at every Dungan meal. Dungans are very fond of boiled young sweet corn, and this is sold, already cooked, very cheaply: one can get three or four cobs for one kopeck. The old corn is used as fodder for horses.

Dungan clothes are very distinctive. Both men and women wear Chinese-style shoes called *khaĭ* [*xɛ* 鞋]. Women, like men, wear trousers, which are always red, and Chinese-style long and short gowns.

Generally speaking, Dungan clothes are very similar to Chinese clothes, although the former are losing their national character. Many Dungans have already substituted the soft, heelless Tatar *ichigi* [Central Asian knee boots] and even Russian boots for their shoes and are also wearing [Central Asian] *beshmet*s, *kamzol*s [quilted jackets], and *khalat*s [oriental robes]. Dungan men in Karakunuz shave their heads and wear the usual Muslim skullcaps, fur hats, quilted down-filled grey-colored hats with black border, or wide-brimmed Chinese straw hats. In the summer they simply tie a piece of white cloth around their heads like the Russian *chepchik* [bonnet].[14] Dungans do not have pigtails, except when a Dungan has to go to China secretly in order to find his relatives. In such cases the pigtail gives a Dungan of Russian citizenship an opportunity to travel safely in China, as it is difficult to distinguish them from the Dungans who are Chinese citizens, who without exception have pigtails and wear Chinese clothes. Preparation for such an excursion needs time and caution. A Dungan who is planning to go to China grows a pigtail for three or four years, and at the same time must take great care to conceal his intentions from the local authorities, who do not allow Dungans to cross the border. When the pigtail is long enough, the traveller secretly crosses the border, puts on Chinese clothes and then wanders freely in the Great Qing State trying to locate the people whom he has come to find. When he achieves his goal, the Dungan then poses as a Chinese citizen and obtains an identity card from the Chinese authorities and a visa from the consulate. Pretending that he is a Chinese merchant, he travels back to Russia. In this way, he returns safely to Karakunuz. However, we have been told that the Dungans in Przheval'sk all have pigtails.

Dungan maidens plait their hair into pigtails, while the Dungan women, like Chinese women, arrange their hair in beautiful and bouffant coiffures. Both the girls and young women decorate their hair with a large amount of ornaments: a variety of bright-colored real or artificial flowers; silver combs of a special design; and artificial butterflies with small silver bells attached to them. The little girls run freely and without embarrassment on the streets of Karakunuz, but girls of marriageable age behave like recluses and carefully avoid the impudent glances of the young men of Karakunuz. Some Dungan girls play very skilfully a miniature musical instrument called a *ku-chèng-t͡sza* [*k'u-tş'i̯an-dza*].[15] Many Dungan women have Chinese-style mutilated feet. The Dungans, like Chinese, call these small [bound] feet *t͡szin-li͡a-èr* [*tşiŋliar* 金蓮兒], which means "golden lotus, golden lily." However, Dungan women who were born as Russian citizens do not have bound feet, but normal feet.[16] We heard two legends about the

disfigurement of feet. One of the legends is as follows. A long time ago, some of the fair sex, outraged by their tyrant-husbands' cruel treatment of them, revolted against them. The wives attacked the husbands and gave them a good beating. After this, in order to save future generations of males from such aggressive action, the men thought up the fashion of binding women's feet. According to the other legend, the disfigurement of women's feet was done with one aim only, and that was to force them to sit most of the time during the period of their physical development, as it was believed that the more a woman sat the better and stronger the pelvic parts of her body would be. Dungan women and girls wear earrings and bracelets. As with the Chinese, white is the color of mourning, and Dungans of both sexes wear clothes made of white material at funerals. Generally speaking, Dungans think that white looks good on old people and that red looks good on young people. During bad or rainy weather, Dungans tie small wooden planks to their feet, with spikes on the bottom. These are called *ni-difsza* (*ni* meaning "mud" and *difsza* meaning "shoe sole") [*nitidza* 泥底子]. In winter, Dungans wear earmuffs that are made of cloth and sometimes lined with fur. During the hot weather, Dungans are very fond of using fans and fly-swats, the latter looking like short horsetails. Quite a few Dungans wear large Chinese-style glasses. Another object of interest they wear is the Chinese pocket purse called *uĭdufsza* [*jytŭdza* 魚肚子, fish stomach]. Embroidered with various Chinese motifs, this pocket looks like a purse and is worn by Dungans over the stomach. The women and girls all like to dress up in brightly colored garments; the most popular colors are red, green, and yellow.

The main occupation of the Karakunuz Dungans is farming.[17] They grow wheat, barley, oats, corn, peas, lentils, flax, colza, millet, and *gao li͡ang* [*koliɔŋ* 高粱] (sorghum). From the sorghum stalks they make Chinese-style brooms for their own use and for sale. They also grow vegetables such as melons, watermelons, cucumbers, pumpkins, potatoes, radishes, beetroot, cabbages, capsicums, eggplants, onions, garlic, and kohlrabi.[18] But their main crop is rice, which, however, is sown only by rich Dungans, since rice planting is a difficult task requiring labor, skill, and a considerable financial output. Before planting rice, they first plough the field properly and then divide it into square and oblong-shaped sections. The sections are separated by raised paths made of turf. The paths are from one to one-and-a-half *arshin* high [one *arshin* equals twenty-eight inches]. The lengthwise paths (along which the water flows) are a quarter of an *arshin* in width and the paths that cross them at right angles are two- to three-quarters of an

arshin in width. The earth in each section is dug over once again and then each section is filled with water. The water is then stirred up and the rice is thrown straight into the water. The rice grains sink straight to the bottom and as the water clears a thick layer of silt settles over the rice grains. The rice sprouts and grows in the water. When the rice ears are formed, the water is drained away and the rice ripens in the beds. While the rice is growing in the water, the water is occasionally changed, cold water never being used; the water is always first warmed by sunlight in unused sections that are specially prepared for this purpose. Guarding the rice paddies is done by watchmen-laborers who also have the duty of frightening off the wild ducks that appear over the fields in very large numbers. After Dungans started to plant rice, the rice in the Semirech'e area became much cheaper.[19] When the Dungans are not occupied with agriculture, some of them take up the carrier trade, and many become merchants. One finds carpenters, blacksmiths, silversmiths, and horse doctors among the Dungans. Some of them run eating houses in Tokmak in which one can get tea and a Dungan meal very cheaply. Some run factories that produce linseed or colza oil, vermicelli made of pea flour, or sweets made of rice or millet. Some work at water mills. A few repair china, skillfully joining the broken pieces with copper clips.[20] One can say in general that Dungans are hardworking and honest people. But they are quick-tempered and revengeful; when offended, they do not forget the injury quickly, and because of this they often quarrel among themselves. During these quarrels knives are frequently used.[21] The whole of the Karakunuz population is divided into two enemy camps: ʃakshi and ʃaman. The hostile relationship between these two groups has been going on for many years and was so bitter in the beginning that the Dungans of each group went from Karakunuz to Tokmak by different roads in order not to meet each other, and relatives from these two opposing groups, although living under the same roof, did not speak to each other or eat from the same pot. One has only to look through the Semirech'e regional records of any given year to see that many bloody dramas have occurred among the Dungans. The words *ʃakshi* and *ʃaman* for the Dungan groups are Turkic, and mean "good" and "bad," respectively. According to the Dungans, the two parties were formed under the following circumstances. Some Dungans lodged a complaint against their leader Bo Yan-hu, whom they also call Khudazhèn [Xu Ta-ẓiŋ 虎大人] (the great man Khu). A district head arrived in Karakunuz to investigate the complaint. When he was making inquiries about the matter, a larger crowd gathered and divided into two groups, one accusing Bo Yan-hu, crying "Da zhèn ʃaman," i.e., "The

great man is bad," while the other group, defending him, screamed: "Da zhèn îakshi," i.e., "The great man is good."[22]

A good harvest of rice and wheat is followed by a great number of weddings. As there are considerably fewer women than men in Karakunuz, the price for a Dungan bride is high. In 1897, the Dungans told us that the *kalym* [bride-money] for a Dungan bride fluctuated between 240 and 400 rubles. Poor Dungans often try to find brides among the Kirghiz because Kirghiz brides can be obtained more cheaply. Many Dungans have married Tatar or Sart women. There are Dungan daredevils who secretly abduct Kirghiz girls as brides. Several of these fellows turned to us for advice on how to best abduct a Kirghiz bride without having to answer for the consequences. We drew their attention to Clause 1549 of the Penal Code.

Dungans do not like to stay in Karakunuz for too long without a break. They visit Big Tokmak fairly often. Nearly every morning a long string of Dungan carts heads for Tokmak, each cart drawn by two horses. The drivers, skillfully using a special whip, urge the horses on with such exclamations as "Uo-uo-uo!" "Yo!" or "Tyrch!" Dungans regard Tokmak as a kind of club: they drink tea there, eat noodles, smoke opium, play cards, set up quail fights, and chat loudly about the issues of the day. This is where they conclude their business deals, pick up news, and share their impressions, returning to Karakunuz after midday. Many Dungans travel about on horseback. Dungan saddles are considered to be comfortable, but they have one defect in that they are a bit heavy for the horses. Dungans like to keep pacers, and one can often see sportsmen in Karakunuz galloping very fast on them. One must give credit to the Dungans for their love of horses and for knowing how to look after them: they feed them diligently on corn, peas, barley, and bran, and they love to decorate them with ribbons, tassels, pendants, bells, and saddlecloths. Dungans rarely have bad horses. Incidentally, we feel that it is not superfluous to explain here the imperative words with which the Dungans address their horses: "uo-uo-uo" means "turn to the right"; "îu" means "turn to the left"; "tyrch" urges the horse to proceed; "o" orders the horse to stop; "so" means "go back"; "îuĭ" is a strong command to proceed; and "tyr-tyr-tyr" is used on the occasions when Dungans want to entice the horse to come to them.

In their free time, the Karakunuz Dungans play cards recklessly. The cards they use are Chinese and are very unusual, being long and narrow; the full pack has eighty-four cards. Among Dungans one meets singers who sing and play the balalaika very skillfully.

Large areas of the Karakunuz fields are sown with opium poppies

to cater to the habit of smoking opium brought by the Dungans from China. We have heard on several occasions that the price of opium in Karakunuz is cheaper than anywhere else in the Semirech'e area. It is said that the nearer to China, the dearer the price of opium. Many Dungans asked us whether Russians have any sort of medicine to cure the habit of opium smoking. There is one remedy that Dungans regard as effective: this medicine is in the form of small black balls the size of a pea, and is very complicated in composition, consisting of the juices of various plants. Naturally, this remedy alone is not enough to win the battle against this fatal passion: one also needs to have strong willpower, and this is just what the opium smoker lacks. There is an interesting Dungan song about opium smokers that describes the severe consequences of this ruinous habit, and it is said that users of opium get very angry when it is sung in their presence. This song was published in the *Semirech'e Regional Gazette* in 1897. There is no doubt that opium undermines the Dungans' health and shortens their lives. However, we did meet a 110-year-old opium smoker in Karakunuz.

The Dungans are exceedingly dirty people. Probably because of this, they have widespread skin and eye diseases. One feels pity when one looks at some Dungan boy who has a completely bald head due to tetter—the head is often completely encrusted with scabs.

Some Dungans practice medicine, using Chinese methods to heal people. For guidance, they use various medicinal books written in Chinese. These half-baked [the authors use "homegrown, homespun"] Aesculapiuses receive most of their medical supplies from China, although they do prepare some medication themselves, going on various excursions to gather the necessary herbs. These Dungan healers manage to acquire patients not only among their own people, but also among the Russians. With the latter in mind, they visit Russian cities and large villages, sometimes even reaching the European parts of Russia. One Karakunuz Dungan became a doctor in the following way: he accompanied a Chinese physician as a servant to the city of Astrakhan, and when the Chinese physician died there he declared without the slightest hesitation that he himself was a physician and so he continued his late master's practice. Many Chinese physicians come to Karakunuz every year. Dungans say that any long-pigtailed Chinese *sian-sèng* [*ɕiansiŋ* 先生] (doctor) becomes a near-celebrity in Karakunuz, even though his medical talents were probably not recognized in his native country.

One meets many maimed Dungans with frostbitten feet; they were crippled about thirty years ago when, fighting off the Chinese, they came over [the Tien Shan mountains] during the exceptionally severe

winter [of 1877] to become Russian subjects.

Dungans, like people of other nations, have quite a lot of prejudices and superstitions. For example, they regard Tuesday as an unlucky day: although they do not stop doing their normal tasks on that day, they would not start any important new job then and definitely would not venture on a long journey.[23] One Dungan whom we know, Chzhèbur Mafszinan, was sick with some sort of a cold. He went to various Karakunuz *sian-sèngs* but they could not help him. Then a Dungan who wished to help the sick man suggested that he catch and eat a live sparrow. The sick man followed this friendly advice, but not only did he receive no relief from his original disease, he also caught a new one. Later he informed everybody that he received the new illness from the sparrow.

Dungans, like the Chinese, are very loud-talking people. On hearing several Dungans talk, a person who is not used to their manner of speech would definitely think that they are having a fight. In actual fact these Dungans are having a very loud but absolutely peaceful chat.

As regards Dungan literacy, one can say that it is very low. Their whole life in China was a continuous struggle with the Chinese, and this did not produce favorable conditions for the development of education. When they arrived in Russia hungry and exhausted, in the beginning they were solely occupied with the problem of how to settle in their new locations and how to survive by carrying on the occupations they had had in China. However, they did pay special attention to the study of Islam, which was taught to Dungan children in a most elementary form by the mullahs. This education did not progress beyond the study of the Koran. Very few Dungans can write Chinese, and those who can, write it badly with many mistakes. A few Dungans know how to read, write, and speak Russian; but we should note here that Dungans in general do not find this language easy to learn. On the other hand, many Dungans speak Kirghiz tolerably well.[24]

Street life in Karakunuz is quite different from that of non-Dungan villages. The morning has hardly begun when the calls of various hawkers offering their products can be heard along the streets. The seller of meat calls out "zhou" [*ʂu* 肉]; the seller of melon seeds—which Dungans eat instead of our sunflower seeds—calls out "gua fszyr" [*kuadzir* 瓜子兒]; the man who sells the little fried bread rolls in the shape of oblong twists, calls out "ma-khua-èr" [*maxuar* 麻花兒]; the sellers of radishes and other vegetables call out "mèi-lo-bu laĭ, mèi fsaĭ" [*mɛ luəpu lɛ, mɛ ts'ɛ* 買蘿蔔來, 買菜, "Come and buy radishes, buy vegetables"]; the seller of watermelons calls out "fszian-gua-lèi" [*tʂian kua lɛ* 撿瓜來 "Come and select melons"]; the man who sells

apples calls out "cheng-sa-go-t͡sza" [*tʂ'iŋ sa kuədza* 稱啥果子, "What apples do you want to weigh?" *or* 稱沙果子, "Come and buy crab-apples"];[25] and the vendor of vinegar calls out "dao-t͡su-lèĭ" [*to ts'ŭ lɛ* 倒醋來, "Come and get (lit., pour) vinegar"]. Karakunuz grapes, which are a bit sour, are also offered; in a good season, they are sold for not more than three kopecks a *funt* [pound]. Peddlers selling various small manufactured goods and haberdashery such as small mirrors and cotton material, thread, needles, and buttons, appear slightly later in the day. These peddlers are called *khu-lan-t͡sza* or *chzhuan-dèr-di*.[26] Each has his own rattle, and the inhabitants of Karakunuz recognize by the rattle's sound what sort of wares the approaching peddler is selling.

Now a few words should be said about the Dungan dialect. The Dungan language is pure Chinese. Like Chinese, it is divided into many dialects, all of which differ greatly in the pronunciation of words, thus justifying the Chinese proverb: "In China one comes across a different dialect every hundred *li* (a *li* is a Chinese *versta* [mile])." The dialect spoken by the Karakunuz Dungans, the majority of whom have come from Shaanxi Province, differs from the speech of the Dungans living in Vernyĭ, Pishpek, Przheval'sk, and Dzharkent, who came from other Chinese provinces. For example, Karakunuz Dungans use *da* [*ta* 達] for "father," while the Pishpek Dungans use *da-da*; and Karakunuz Dungans use *ba-ba* [*papa* 爸爸] for "grandfather" and *va* [*wa* 娃] for "child," whereas Pishpek Dungans and Dungans from other areas use *e-e* [*ieie* 爺爺] and *va-va*. While a Karakunuz Dungan refers to maize [Indian corn] as *i͡uĭ-ti* [*iyt'i* 玉黍], Kul'ja Dungans will say *bao-gu* [*poku* 包谷] and Dungans from the city of Urumchi will say *bo-èr-mi* [*pormi* 包兒米]. Even in Karakunuz itself there are several Dungan dialects. The dialect spoken by the so-called Dummi Karakunuz Dungans who came from the city of Tang-chzhao-fu [*fu* 府 is a prefecture] in the province of Si-nan-sèng [*sèng* probably is "province," *siŋ* in Dungan, *sheng* 省 in Chinese] is quite different from the speech of the Dungans who came from Shaanxi Province. For example:

	Dummi [Karakunuz Dungans]	Shaanxi [Karakunuz Dungans]
stop!	nu-kha [挪下 (?)]	li-kha [立下]
take	khan-shang [khan 上]	na-shang [拿上]
a flour mill	uèĭ-t͡sza [uèĭ 子]	mo-t͡sza [磨子]

One should note that, generally speaking, the speech of Dungans who have adopted Russian citizenship differs from the speech of Dun-

gans who are Chinese subjects. This difference is due to the fact that the Dungans who are Russian subjects and who are in constant contact with the Kirghiz and other nations of the Semirech'e area have gradually introduced some Turkic words into their own speech. Examples of these borrowings are *Khè daĭ* "God" [Persian *Khudā*; in anecdote 2 below it is transcribed as *Khèda*]; *a-sy-ma-ni* "sky" [Arabic *al-samā'*]; *èra-fîszy* "I am satisfied," "I agree" [Arabic *raḍītu*]; and *a-khè-rè-ti* "in the next [*or* other] world" [Arabic *al-ākhiratu*, *ākhirat* in Persian].[27]

Taking into account that there might be people who wish to get better acquainted with the Dungan language, we have decided to conclude the present report with some Dungan riddles, proverbs, and anecdotes. Apart from their philosophical significance, these literary particularities define to a certain degree the Dungan world outlook and are thus undoubtedly of interest.

RIDDLES[28]

1. 十個弟兄上高山忙上工，八個上工，兩個«悍»；眉毛有皺，心喜歡，雪花兒到眼面前。(禿子)
   Ten brothers went up a high mountain to do some urgent work. Eight were working and two were idle. They wrinkled their brows in a frown, [but] had joy in their hearts. Snowflakes fell before their eyes. (A baldhead [with a scabby, itching skin disease])
2. 四四方方一座城，裡頭下雪，外頭晴。(麵綠子) [麵篩子]
   It is snowing within the square city walls [but] clear outside. (A [Dungan-type] flour sieve)
3. 一個眼窩兒黑洞洞，十八個老牛也不動。(井)
   A dark socket of an eye, even eighteen old oxen cannot move it. (A well)[29]
4. 一個娃娃白白胖，鈕鈕兒長在肚肚兒上。(壺壺子) [茶壺]
   A white and chubby child has a little knob growing on his tummy. (A teapot)
5. 一個白土疙瘩兒沒縫兒，後頭(裡頭)加的黃杏兒。(蛋)
   A clod of white clay has no seams [yet] a yellow apricot has been put inside. (An egg)
6. 牆上擱的一點兒肉，過來過去沒人動。(蠍子)
   A piece of meat is on the wall [but] no passersby touch it. (A scorpion)
7. 一個樹裡五棍兒，高頂兒落的白壺兒。(手)
   A tree has five branches: on the top of each branch a white teapot has fallen. (A hand)
8. 一個樹樹兒不不低高，高頂兒落的珍珠瑪瑙。(露水)
   Pearls and agate have fallen on top of a medium-sized tree. (Dew)[30]

9. 一個樹樹兒不低不高，高頂兒多的彎彎兒鐮刀。(豇豆)
Many curved sickles on the top of a medium-sized tree. (French beans, haricot beans, kidney beans, cowpea)
10. «岸岸»子來了個黑漢子,[31] 頭上頂的火彈子。(香)
From outside came a black fellow with a bead of fire on the top of his head. (Incense)
11. 一個盒盒兒後頭(裡頭)裝的達娃兒。(鞋)
A Mongolian child is placed in a box. (A Dungan-style shoe)[32]
12. 紅緞子，撒開滿院子，照着呢。(日頭)
Sparkling satin is scattered all over the courtyard. (The sun)
13. 一個黑燕兒紅嘴下巴 «lu» 兒洗水。(燈)
A red-beaked black swallow washing its chin in water. (A Dungan-style oil lamp)
14. 使針的不使線，使線的不使針。(蛛蛛子)
The one who uses the needle does not use the thread and the one who uses the thread does not use the needle. (A spider)
15. 十字口裡擱的鞭杆，過來過去沒人撿敢。(長蟲)
A whip is lying at the crossroads, not one of the passersby dares to pick it up.[33] (A snake)

PROVERBS

1. 心比天高，命比紙薄。
The heart (*or* soul) is higher than the sky, human life (*or* fate) is thinner than paper.
2. 年老別娶年高的妻，年高的妻不是好東西。
An old man should not marry a wife of advanced years; an old wife is not good for him.[34]

ANECDOTES

1. 一個老爺給自己的衙佚吩咐了：『你給我找兩個公雞的蛋，我要吃它，給你定三天的期，要是過三天你拿不出來，我要免死打你。』衙役憂愁下了說：『這個東西我在哪裡找的呢?』回去也不吃飯，也不喝茶，也不說話。他的婆娘問他：『你爲啥憂愁着呢?』他不言傳(不說話)。婆娘可問了。他就給婆娘說了：『哎喲！老爺叫我找給他兩個公雞的蛋呢，從這個事我憂愁着呢！』婆娘給他說：『你別害怕！三天過了我去到老爺跟前給他回話。』過了三天婆娘去到老爺跟前了。老爺問她：『你做啥來了？你的男人呢?』婆娘說：『老爺！我的男人養了娃了。』老爺就說：『咳！你沒有良[良心]的女人！誰見了男人能養娃?』婆娘也問他：『哪一個公雞下蛋呢?』老爺就沒有說的話了。
A district magistrate commanded his *yamen* runner, "Find me two rooster's eggs, I want to eat them. I'll give you a time limit of three days. If after three days you aren't able to produce them, I'll beat you to within an inch of your life." The *yamen* runner was very worried and said, "Where on earth can I find such a thing?"

Upon returning [home] he neither ate, nor drank tea, nor spoke. His old woman (i.e., wife) asked him, "Why are you worried?" He did not speak. The wife asked again and then he said to her, "Ai-yao! The district magistrate told me to find two rooster's eggs for him and that is why I am worried." The wife said to him, "Don't be frightened! After three days I'll go and face the district magistrate and answer him." After three days the wife stood in front of the district magistrate. The district magistrate asked her, "Why did you come? And where is your [old] man?" The wife said, "District magistrate! My husband has given birth to a child." The district magistrate then said, "Hai! (a sigh) You shameless [*or* conscienceless] woman! Who has ever seen a man who could give birth to a child?" The wife asked him in return, "And what rooster can lay eggs?" The district magistrate had nothing to say to this.

2. 一個城後頭(裡頭)的男人都害怕婆娘。一天過來過去人看着了——婆娘把一個驢拉着呢，那一個驢上騎的男人。他們就說了：『哎喲！咱們都害怕婆娘們，這一個人不害怕婆娘。你們看着婆娘給他拉驢着呢。走！打他去。』到了他跟前了，他就哭着說呢：『哎喲！求你們別動我，我的腿壞着呢！』人們問他怎的壞了？說是：『哎喲！我的呼達呀！(我的天呀！)婆娘打我的時候把腿壞了。』他們就說了：『哎喲！咱們回走，這一個人也害怕自己的婆娘呢！』

In one city all men were afraid of their wives. One day, the passersby saw a wife pulling a donkey that her husband was riding. They then said, "Ai-yao! We are all afraid of [our] wives [and] this man is not afraid of [his] wife. Look at [his] wife pulling the donkey for him! Come! [Let's] go and beat him up." When they arrived in front of him he wept and said, "Ai-yao! I beg you not to touch me, my leg is broken." People asked him how it was broken, and he saie, "Ai-yao! My God![35] When [my] wife was beating me up she broke my leg." They (i.e., the passersby) then said, "Ai-yao! We had better go back, this man is also afraid of his own wife!"

3. 說是一個人嫌蠅子，一夏天蠅子多得很。他拿了個撈魚的網，跑着自己的房裡迫起來，迫不着蠅子着氣把網燒了，叫婆娘織一個新網。婆娘說了：『我不會織網。』他把婆娘打個了一頓，跑到 bazaar (市場)買了一個網。那一個網也迫不着蠅子。他把這一個網也燒了。燒的時候把房子點着了，說是房子後頭(裡頭)蠅子太多得很。

It is said that there was a man who disliked flies, and one summer there were a lot of them. He took a fishing net and ran into his house and started to catch them. He could not catch them, and he got so angry that he burned the net. He asked his old woman to make a new net. The old woman said, "I don't know how to make nets." He gave her a beating, ran to the market, and bought a net. [But] he could not catch the flies with that net, either, so

he also burned it. When he was burning it he also set alight the house, saying that there were too many flies in the house.

4. 一個禿子給掌櫃的做活着呢。一天他見了個體面的女人，問她：『我黑了(天黑了)到你跟前來你要我不要?』女人没言傳(没說話)。禿子天天說這個話 sèi-bè-bu (的緣故)[86]女人着了氣了，給自己的男人告了他。男人給她說：『他再一回問這個，你就給他答應着說"好！但是你給我拿五瓶子酒來，把五個雞宰着，毛拔上，拿着來。"』婆娘聽男人的話就給禿子說了這樣的話。禿子高興了，要的東西一下都拿着來了。黑了男人藏下了。禿子都不知道，房裡進去了。婆娘見他說了：『哎喲！你來了，好嗎? 請坐，我給你打茶去。』茶開的時候，男人叫婆娘開門來。禿子忙了，害了怕了。給女人說呢：『哎喲！這個事情啥做呢?』女人給他說：『你快藏到這個桶裡。』禿子藏下了。婆娘給男人把門開了，男人進來房裡問婆娘：『你做啥呢?』婆娘說：『我給你打茶呢!』男人問：『[水]開了没有?』女人回他說：『開了。』男人叫她拿着來。婆娘把茶拿着來了。男人想了個法兒給婆娘說呢：『這個茶是——不是好茶。我要倒出它。』一下把茶倒桶裡，把禿子燙了。禿子跑了。第二天男人給婆娘說着呢：『見了禿子你再一回叫他到你跟前來。』過了幾天，婆娘見了禿子還叫他來。禿子說呢：『哎喲！你是——不是好女人。你把我哄了。我的酒也喝了，雞也吃了，那都是小事，你還叫你的男人把我的頭拿開水燙了。不！我再不去了。哄不了我!』

A baldhead worked for a shopkeeper. One day he saw a good-looking woman and asked her, "When it is dark, [if] I come to you, would you want me or not?" The woman did not speak. But because the baldhead said this every day, the woman became anxious and told her husband about him. The husband said to her, "If he asks you again answer him and say, 'All right! But you must bring me five bottles of wine. Kill five chickens, pluck them, and bring them along [too]'." The wife obeyed her husband's instructions and said this to the baldhead. The baldhead was overjoyed and straightaway brought over all the things. When it became dark the husband hid himself. The baldhead, not knowing anything about this, walked into the house. Upon seeing him the woman said, "Ai-yao! You have come. How are you? Please sit down, I'll go and make you some tea." When the water (lit., tea) was boiling, the husband called out for the wife to open the door. The baldhead got flustered and frightened and said to the woman, "Ai-yao! What [are we going] to do?" The woman said to him, "Quick, hide in this tub (*or* barrel)!" The baldhead hid himself, and the woman opened the door for her husband. The husband came and said to his wife, "What are you doing?" The wife said, "I am making tea for you." The husband asked, "Has the water boiled?" The woman answered him and said, "It has." The husband asked her to bring the tea. The husband thought of a plan and said to the wife, "This tea is not good. I want to tip it out," and immediately poured the tea into the tub, scalding the

baldhead. The baldhead ran away. On the following day, the husband said to the wife, "When you see the baldhead, invite him again." After a few days, the wife saw the baldhead and invited him again. The baldhead said, "Ai-yao! You are a bad woman. You have played a trick on me. You drank my wine and ate my chicken—that is not all that important—[but] you also made your husband scald my head with boiling water. No! I am not coming again. You can't dupe me again!"

5. 三個禿子商量了[天]黑了去到一個婆娘跟前。頭一個禿子說呢：『我頭裡去。』第二個禿子不答應，說是：『不！我要去。』第三個禿子也要頭裡去。說這個話禿子們講僵了。一個禿子說了：『立下着！(停住!)別講僵！我們都就一搭呢去(一起去)。一下都去了。婆娘給禿子們開了門了。他們進去，剛炕上坐的時候，婆娘的男人回來叫開門來。婆娘禿子藏到火爐後頭(裡頭)，給男人開了門了。男人進來，等一會兒給婆娘說呢：『房子裡稀微冷一些兒，你加一點兒火爐。』婆娘把火爐加上，給男人喊着說呢：『哎喲！火爐子後頭(裡頭)有人呢！』男人刻立麻(立刻)[37]火爐子的火滅了，把三個禿子拉出來一看，他們三個都煙死了。男人忙了，給婆娘說呢：『哎喲！這個事不是好事情。我們房子裡有了三個死人。要是這個事情上司知道了，我們兩個住不得好了。不論怎的樣，把這三個禿子[天]黑了悄悄地要撩城外頭。』第二天早起(早上)，到他們房子的門上來了一個要着吃的(要飯的)。婆娘給他說呢：『我有一點兒事情你給我幫一下。事情是這個樣的事：我是寡婦。夜來個(昨天)到我跟前來了一個有病的禿子，黑了(夜裡)他沒了(死了)。這會兒我害怕投刑 sèi-bè-bu (的緣故),[38] 把這個死人悄悄地想撩城外頭。我請你幫給我這個事情。我給你賞二十兩銀子，但是這個事情你別給人說。』要着吃的想掙二十兩銀子，答應了。[天]黑了來把禿子背着拉的城外頭撩了，回到婆娘跟前來要二十兩銀子呢。婆娘給他說：『你爲啥把禿子沒撩遠一些兒地方呢，你看他可跑回來了。你這會兒拿這個禿子背着撩遠一些兒地方。』要着吃的不知道這是第二個死人，把禿子背着第二回遠地方撩去了，回來婆娘又給他說呢：『哎喲！你這個人啊！我給你沒說嗎？把禿子撩遠地方，你沒聽我的話，他可跑回來了。這會兒言定比那一個地方還遠撩他去。』要着吃的第三回把禿子背着，遠地方又一個深谷後頭(裡頭)撩去了。撩的時候他沒看着谷裡後頭(谷裡頭)有一個人那事着呢(在解手)。那一個人看着死人呢害怕着跑了城裡頭。要着吃的看着禿子跑了，趁他去了。那一個人當是死人趁他着呢，跑得越快了。要着吃的沒趁上他，着了氣了，罵禿子呢說：『哈！鬼子的孫，你可跑回去了。不！這回兒我到婆娘跟前不去了，二十五兩[二十兩]銀子也不要了。這個銀子一輩子掙不下。』

Three baldheads were talking about visiting a woman after dark. The first baldhead said, "I'll go first." The second baldhead answered and said, "No! I want to go." The third baldhead also wanted to go first. They talked themselves into a deadlock. One baldhead [then] said, "Stop! Let's not talk ourselves into a deadlock. Let's go together." [So] they all went. The woman opened the door for them. They entered, and just when they sat down on the *kang* the woman's husband returned and called to her to open the door. The woman hid the baldheads inside the stove and [then]

opened the door for her husband. The husband came in and in a short while said to his wife, "It is a bit chilly in the house, light the stove (lit., add a bit to the stove)." The woman lit the stove and called out to the husband, "Ai-yao! There are people in the stove!" The husband immediately extinguished the fire in the stove, pulled the baldheads out, had one look at them and realized that all three of them had died from smoke inhalation. The husband got very worried and said to the wife, "Ai-yao! This is bad. We have three corpses in our house. If the authorities find out about this, both our lives won't be worth living. No matter what, when it is dark we'll have to quietly throw the baldheads out of the city." Next day, in the morning, a beggar came to their door. The wife said to him, "I have a small problem you can help me with. What happened is this: I am a widow. A sick baldhead came here yesterday and he died in the night. Now because I am afraid that I'll be punished, I am thinking of quietly throwing the body out of the city. I beg you to help me do this. I'll reward you with twenty ounces of silver, but don't tell anybody about it." The beggar, wanting to earn twenty ounces of silver, agreed. When it was dark, he came and, carrying the baldhead on his back, dragged the body and threw it out of the city. He [then] returned to the woman to ask for the twenty ounces of silver. The woman said to him, "Why didn't you throw the baldhead a bit further? Look! He has run back. Now, carry this baldhead on your back and throw him to a place that is further away." The beggar, not knowing that this was the second corpse, carried the baldhead on his back [and] for the second time went to throw him to a place further away. When he came back, the woman said to him again, "Ai-yao! You! Didn't I tell you to throw the baldhead further away? You didn't listen to me [and] he has run back again. This time you must definitely throw him to a place that is even further." The beggar, for the third time, carried the baldhead on his back and went to throw him to a faraway place, and on the top of that, into a deep ravine. When he was throwing [the corpse] he did not see that there was a man in the ravine who was doing you know what (relieving himself). Seeing the dead body, that man got frightened and ran into the city. The beggar, seeing that the baldhead was running, pursued him. The man, thinking that the dead body was pursuing him, ran even faster. The beggar, not being able to overtake the man, got very angry and cursed the baldhead, saying, "Ha! [You!] Descendant of the devil! You have run back again! No! This time I won't go back to the woman. And I don't want the twenty-five (twenty) ounces of silver

any more. In your whole lifetime you could never earn it."

EPILOGUE: MASANCHIN (THE FORMER KARAKUNUZ) IN 1991

As mentioned in the Introduction, 3,314 Dungan refugees arrived in Karakunuz in the spring of 1878 and made a camp there. The kolkhoz "Komintern" was created in Karakunuz in 1930. A second kolkhoz, "V. V. Kuĭbyshev," was created in 1935. In 1950 the two kolkhozes were joined into one, the name "Komintern" being retained. In 1965, by decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh S.S.R., the *selo* of Karakunuz was renamed the *selo* of Masanchin in honor of the eightieth birthday of the Turkestan civil war hero, M. Masanchin. Under the present administrative arrangement, the *selo* of Masanchin is in Kurdaĭ *raĭon* of the Dzhambul *oblast'*, Kazakhstan.

I visited the Dungans in 1977 and 1985. My general impression of the Dungans was that they were very hardworking, skillful, and successful farmers; that in comparison with the rest of the country they lived very well; that most of the people with responsible jobs in the kolkhozes and the scholars and literary men in the cities were Communists; and that, on the surface at least, there was no sign of religion —Islam certainly was not mentioned in their literary works, textbooks, or the newspaper, and the Islamic rites that were observed by the Dungans in, for instance, their weddings, circumcisions, and especially funerals, were preserved simply as old customs and traditions. As for Masanchin, my impression was that, while some kolkhozes had a feeling of progress and achievement, the *selo* of Masanchin had an aura of history. People here took time to talk of the past; they were proud of the fact that the *selo* was originally a camp; old Dungans still referred to it as "Ɨiŋp'an." In 1977 they told me, "Next year it will be exactly 100 years since our forefathers arrived here. We are going to celebrate the centenary." There was talk of erecting a monument to Bo Yan-hu, and perhaps building a small museum depicting how the Dungans crossed the Tien Shan and how they lived in the beginning. They sadly told me the story of how Bo Yan-hu had to hide because the Qing government wanted this Muslim rebel leader dead or alive, and how his grave had been found dug up and his coffin opened. "But the Dungans were clever," they boasted, "the body of Da-hu was never in that coffin and those who removed his body never revealed where he was actually buried; unfortunately, their secret died with them. Now no one knows where his grave is!"[39]

Some Dungans took me to the old cemetery nearby, where the Dungans who crossed the Tien Shan and lived in the early settlement were buried. Unfortunately, the graveyard was a large stretch of

wilderness, unkempt and forgotten, with only parched earth and an occasional mound overgrown with grass. The sole visible evidence that this field was once a cemetery was a broken-down wall made of mud bricks, and a beautiful gate.

In 1991 I visited the Dungans for the third time. Since we know the situation of the Dungans in Karakunuz in 1897, it might be of interest to end this article with a short account of it ninety-four years later.

T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov wrote that there were about 1,000 households in Karakunuz, over 4,000 people in all, among whom were a small number of Sarts, Taranchis, and Kazakhs, but absolutely no Russians. In 1977 there were 5,500 people in the *selo*, of whom 4,000 were Dungans. The rest, representing fifteen nationalities, were Russians, Kazakhs, Germans, Karachai, and Kirghiz. In 1991 Masanchin had 800 households with a population of 15,000 people, 0.5 percent of whom were Russians, Kazakhs, Uighurs, and Germans.

In 1991 the most striking change was the fervent revival of the religion—the Dungans openly prayed after every meal and some young people made a point of declaring that they were practicing Muslims. As the Dungans in Masanchin were still divided into I͡akshi and I͡aman groups, two mosques, which would altogether hold about 2,800 people, were being built. Several groups of children were receiving religious instruction, either in the old mosque or at the home of the *ahung*.

Another change in Masanchin was the disintegration of the kolkhoz in its old form, although the kolkhoz Komintern still existed in name. Each Dungan family hired land from the government and handed in a fixed amount of their products, using what was left over for their own needs and selling the rest at the markets. Perhaps it should be mentioned here that the flourishing markets throughout that part of Central Asia were mainly reliant upon the Dungans' produce. The Dungans in Masanchin whom I visited in 1991 lived exceptionally well. They had large complexes of bedrooms and a living room centered around a courtyard, with fields and an orchard behind the house. The rooms were large and decorated with carpets. They still ate with chopsticks and served an enormous number of Chinese dishes at every meal. And they still sat and slept on *kang*s. Most of the Masanchin Dungans had television sets, and many had cars.

Masanchin had two schools, one with 3,000 pupils and the other with 2,000. The instruction in these schools was conducted in Russian. The Dungan language was taught two hours a week.

Masanchin had one hospital. Several shops and a small market were located on the street named after Bo Yan-hu. Masanchin also

FIG. 1. Masanchin girls dressed as present-day brides.

FIG. 2. A Dungan bride.

FIG. 3. A Masanchin woman, dressed as a bride, welcoming tourists.

FIG. 4. A display of present-day bridal shoes in Masanchin.

had one palace of culture. This club had many functions: films were shown in its auditorium; concerts were often performed there by artists on tour or by local amateur youth groups; dances were held once a week in the auditorium, and conferences or meetings were occasionally held at which local problems, such as how the Dungan language should be taught in the schools, were discussed. A problem that was worrying the Dungans when I was there—and was soon to be discussed in the auditorium—was the fact that most of the Kirghiz wanted all the land in Kirgizstan to belong to the Kirghiz.

In 1991 Masanchin was used for a special occasion. A group of tourists on a silk-route tour reached Kirgizstan, and, while they were in Bishkek, the local welcoming committee decided that Masanchin was unusual and colorful enough to be shown to these tourists. Four photographs of this event are presented here, and it should be noted that the bridal outfits shown in the photographs are actually used by present-day Dungan brides.

Thinking over my journeys through the Dungan *selo*s and kolkhozes in 1977, 1985, and 1991, I cannot help but recall Poĭarkov's prediction of 1901. After he described the terrible ordeals the Dungans went through during their rebellions in China, the several harsh winters in the area of the Tien Shan, the famines in Russian Central Asia, and the horrendous suffering undergone and overcome by the Dungans when they crossed the Russian border, he wrote:

> And thus the years of the severe trials and deprivations were over . . . and the time for a new and happy life had come. . . . We firmly believe that . . . the ancient Central Asian steppes and deserts will become alive and will blossom with cities and villages, and people of different ranks and nationalities will work together where before human blood flowed for no good reason. (1901, 71–72)

NOTES

1. Most Russian and Dungan scholars refer to Muslims in both China and Russia as "Dungans." I refer to the Muslims in China as "Chinese Muslims" and to the Chinese Muslims as "Dungans" once they have crossed the border. The Dungans themselves only use the term "Dungane" when they speak or write in Russian. In the early days in Russia they referred to themselves as *tʂuŋ-ʑanʐiŋ* 中原人 and from about 1960 as *xuɛʑidzŭ* 回族 (i.e., Muslims).

2. The original account (written in the old Russian alphabet) was obtained from the Leningrad Academy of Sciences on microfilm. Nothing has been omitted in the English translation, and I have tried, as far as possible, to preserve the punctuation, paragraph divisions, and tone of the original in the translation. Chinese characters

and footnotes are added for clarification. The round brackets belong to the original, my comments or clarifications are given in square brackets. T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov give the Dungan words in Cyrillic transcription. These words and the Russian words in the text are transcribed in my translation according to the Library of Congress transliteration of Cyrillic. For my transcription of the present-day Dungan alphabet see the Appendix. When necessary, the pronunciation of a Dungan word converted into this transcription is also placed in square brackets. Note that T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov refer to both the Dungans in Russia and the Muslims in China as "Dungans."

3. The Chinese text of this account is to be found in MA Tung 1981, 77–78. See also *Hui-hui yüan-lai* and RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER 1981–83.

4. The ending *i* is most probably a Russian plural ending used by Dungans when talking to their Russian inquirers.

5. STRATANOVICH (1963, 530–31) gives a different explanation as to why this settlement was called Karakunuz. According to him, this name originated at the time the Dungans lived in mud huts and male Dungans wore black. When visited by the Kirghiz or Kazakhs, the male Dungans would appear in their national black clothes at the entrance of their mud huts looking "just like beetles." In Kirghiz a black beetle is *kara konguz*, hence Karakunuz. I͡USUROV (1961, 18, n. 4), however, alleges that Karakunuz is a distorted Kazakh word *kark-kuguz*, meaning "black beetle."

6. I͡USUROV (1961, 43) writes that the official name of this village was Nikolaevskoe, in honor of the Czar Nikolaĭ; Kazakhs and Kirghiz called it Karakunuz and Dungans named it Ɨiŋp'an. However, SUSHANLO (1959, 38) writes that the village of Karakunuz was created in 1878, the year of the Dungans' arrival there, and that it was renamed Nikolaevskoe later.

7. I͡USUROV (1961, 41) writes that the mud in Karakunuz happened to be of the best quality for making mud bricks, and that by the end of the first year of their arrival (1878) all Dungans had built houses and walls around the houses with mud bricks. However, these were temporary dwellings. Better houses were built from around 1880 to 1882. Part of Bo Yan-hu's house still stands today, and his grandson Dzhabur Baĭ Imamov is living in it.

8. In discussing how the Muslim clergy oppressed the working people, SUSHANLO (1959, 36) mentions that in 1888 thirty-seven out of 2,639 inhabitants in Karakunuz were imams or mullahs. (Note that T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov say that there were over 4,000 inhabitants in Karakunuz in 1897.)

9. I͡USUROV (1961, 43) mentions that in 1885 there were thirty-six mullahs in Karakunuz, several mosques and prayerhouses, and even one (Russian-Dungan) school for boys consisting of just one class. The aim of the latter was to teach Russian to the children of rich Dungan families. SUSHANLO (1959, 77–79) writes that before the October Revolution the education of the Dungans throughout the whole of the Semirech'e region was of very low quality. In 1890, for example, the mullahs taught 295 Dungan children in the Dungan settlements, and by 1914 this number had only increased to 460. The teaching was conducted in Arabic, a language unknown to the children, and the main method of teaching was memorization of incomprehensible words and phrases from the Islamic canons. This religious teaching was done in the mosques or prayerhouses. Karakunuz, for example, had more than fifty religious schools. On the slightest provocation, severe corporal punishment was meted out in these schools. Some of the representatives of the Dungan people, sensing that the religious schools were a hindrance to better education, started to build with their own

money schools in which the children were able to receive a secular education and, what was very important, to learn the Russian language. A school of this kind was built in Karakunuz in 1884. It was privately funded by the inhabitants of Karakunuz and cost 9,905.76 rubles. Similar schools were later established in other Semirech'e settlements. The teaching in these schools was conducted in Russian by Russian teachers. The Dungan imams and mullahs were against these Russian schools and tried to stop Dungan children from attending them. Because of this, although no more than sixty Dungan children attended the Russian schools in 1897, by 1914 this number had diminished to only forty pupils. In any case, only the children of the rich Dungans and a few Russians attended these Russian-Dungan schools. Sushanlo mentions that V. I. T͡sibuzgin was a teacher in a Russian-Dungan school in Karakunuz, and that he compiled a practical textbook for this school together with a Dungan fellow-teacher, Chzhèbur Maſszinan. Yet T͡sibuzgin writes that there are no Russians in Karakunuz and only mentions prayerhouse schools.

10. The elaborate celebration of special events such as the birthdays of infants, weddings, and funerals has been preserved among Dungans to the present day. In 1985, for example, about 100 guests and I attended a very festive celebration when a Shaanxi Dungan baby was forty days old (RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER 1991a, 37–52).

11. The author ate the same sort of dish in 1985, eighty-eight years later (RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER 1991a, 50–51).

12. A Dungan banquet today consists of nine, eighteen, twenty-four, thirty-six, or forty-eight dishes. (Shaanxi Dungans also have a thirteen-dish banquet.) These dishes are arranged in three rows extending the length of a long rectangular table. All the above numbers, except the thirteen dishes served by the Shaanxi Dungans, are divisible by three and therefore can be arranged in three rows. For a description of present-day Dungan food see RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER 1979, 62–72, and SUSHANLO 1971, 150–69. For Dungan cookbooks, see I͡USUROV and I͡USUROVA 1988 and SAVUROV 1989.

13. In China, the character 鹹 (salty, pickled) is normally pronounced *xian*, but can also be pronounced *han*. It is interesting to note that T͡sibuzgin and Shmakov say that Dungans pronounce it *xian*, yet all contemporary Dungan dictionaries give its pronunciation as *han*.

14. For a description of Dungan clothes, see SUSHANLO 1959, 169–90; STRATANOVICH 1963, 546–49; SHINLO 1965, 63–74; and RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER 1979, 88–99.

15. SUSHANLO (1971, 241) refers to this instrument as *k'uɻandzi* (probably 口鉗子). He writes that it is a reed instrument made of metal that was very popular among Dungan women, especially girls. It is not used anymore, but the old people described it to him as an instrument in the shape of a ring with an opening. A steel reed with a hook is attached to the slightly stretched ends of the opening. To play it, one places the steel reed side of the ring between one's teeth while vibrating the hook with one hand. The sound of the vibration is strengthened by the resonance of the mouth cavity. Note that the noun suffix *dza* in the text is the same as Sushanlo's *dzi*. *Dza* is the colloquial form and was used in the written language in the past. Now, though often pronounced as *dza*, the written form is always *dzi*. The Chinese equivalent is also officially written as *zi* but often pronounced as *za*.

16. According to STRATANOVICH (1963, 551), Chinese-style bound feet were still observed among the Gansu Dungan women of the *selo* of Yrdyk in 1945, and among the Shaanxi Dungan women in the *selo* of Shor-T͡iube as late as 1948. The Shaanxi Dungans were always more conservative in speech and custom.

17. ĵUSUROV (1961, 41–42), mentions that as early as 1882 district officials were ordered to allocate land to the new arrivals. Unfortunately, whereas each of the original local males (the old inhabitants who were already there when the Dungans arrived) had ten *dessiatinas* (each *dessiatina* equals 2.7 acres) of land, each Dungan male only received three *dessiatinas*. Moreover, the erstwhile leaders of Bo Yan-hu's detachment took advantage of their former position and grabbed the best land in disproportionately large amounts, and because of this some Dungans did not get any land at all.

18. SUSHANLO (1959, 44–45) writes that, before the arrival of the Dungans, the vegetables in the Semirech'e area were grown mainly by Russians, and the prices were high. After the arrival of the Dungans, vegetables became twice or even three times cheaper. In comparison with the other nationalities in the area, the Dungans (who actually had much less land) managed to grow comparatively more produce.

19. SUSHANLO (1959, 41–42) writes that Dungans and Taranchis (Uighurs) introduced rice cultivation into the Semirech'e area at the end of the 1870s and the beginning of the 1880s. From the eighties on, the Dungans who migrated from the Ili (Kul'ja) area started to produce rice in the Chu River valley. It is true that the Karakunuz Dungans had already experimented with the production of rice on the land given to them, but their harvest was lower than average and this forced some of them to lease land for rice planting. By the end of the nineties they were leasing land along the banks of the river Chu from the Kirghiz *manaps* (the administrators of nomadic communities) and companies in the Tokmak *volost'* (small rural district).

20. Chinaware was mended in this way in China in the past. SUSHANLO (1959, 38–39) mentions that, as some Dungans in Karakunuz only had three *dessiatinas* of land and some did not have any land, a great number of them were hired farm laborers who worked for rich Dungans, Russians, or Uighurs. Some were tradesmen or craftsmen.

21. POĴARKOV (1901, 74) lists some of the good and bad qualities of the Dungans. According to him, their best quality was that they carried out any errand or obligation honestly and accurately. One could rely on their word completely and no written agreement was ever necessary. But in return they demanded the same accuracy and high-quality work from others. However, unlike the first "ten to fourteen" years after their arrival, Poĵarkov heard rumors that they had now started to cheat and steal. As for their bad qualities, the Dungans were vindictive, irritable, quick-tempered, and malicious.

22. ĵUSUROV (1961, 53–55) writes that after the Dungans settled down in Russia, the Czarist government granted them self-rule. This, with other factors, gave the Dungan clergy great religious and judicial power. However, in Karakunuz, the largest of the five Dungan settlements, Bo Yan-hu was chosen to govern the Karakunuz Dungans with the help of a specially appointed village chief. But Bo Yan-hu's administrative days lasted only a short time. The *kulaks* (those Dungans who became rich after their arrival) tried to obtain more land, but the best land was already taken by former leaders in Bo Yan-hu's detachment, who were there first. Both sides lodged complaints with Bo Yan-hu, but he actually had no authority to deal with this problem. The struggle over the land led to the formation of the groups that were known by their Kirghiz names of ĵakshi, for the leaders of Bo Yan-hu's detachment, and ĵaman for the rich Dungans. Both groups tried to lure the poor Dungans to their side, and both groups were helped and supported by different sections of the clergy (the ĵakshi group was supported by clergy belonging to the New Sect [新教], while the clergy belonging to the Old Sect [舊教] supported the ĵaman group). Eventually the

ʃaman group won. Bo Yan-hu was dismissed and a *volost'* head was appointed in his place. The struggle between the two groups continued, however. This type of struggle occurred under different names in most of the other Shaanxi Dungan settlements—in the *selo* of Yrdyk, for example, and in such cities as Tokmak, Pishpek, and Vernyĭ. As for the outcome of the hostilities between the two groups, Sushanlo mentions that the "sect struggle" worsened to such a degree that the ʃakshi group petitioned the State Senate in 1898 for a new settlement location, and at the beginning of 1902 a small place called Shor-Tʃube was developed into a new Dungan settlement. The division of one Dungan settlement into two did not, however, quell the animosity between these two groups; flaring up at intervals, it continued through the October Revolution, right up to the time of the completion of the collectivization. According to SUSHANLO, the mutual animosity between these two Karakunuz groups, and their different religious practices, can be traced back to the time of the Qing dynasty before the migrations (1971, 270–72). These two groups still exist at present (see the epilogue). The Dungan historian, I. ʃusupov, told me that the ʃaman group comprises the Dungans of the Gansu group and that their religious beliefs and practices are closer to the rest of the Muslims.

23. This attitude towards Tuesday is still prevalent among Dungans. In 1985 I was told that Dungan weddings could be held on any day except a Tuesday or a Friday (the day for rest and prayer). Tuesday is *çieşanbɛ* in Dungan (the names of weekdays in Dungan are borrowed from the Persian language). The explanation of why the Dungans regard it as unlucky is that one meaning for the word *xie* is "slanting, crooked" (斜), and therefore everything done on that day will go wrong.

24. This account relates to 1897. We know that 3,314 Dungans settled in Karakunuz early in 1878. ʃUSUROV (1961, 43) writes that by 1885 the population of the settlement had increased by sixty-five people, and that there were forty-six people in Karakunuz who were literate.

25. "Apple" in Dungan is *kuədzi*. In Chinese this term is used for all fruit, while "apple" is *pingguo* (蘋果). "Fruit" in Dungan is *tş'iŋxuə* or *kot'ian* (probably 青果 and 果甜, provided that both *xuə* and *ko* are mispronunciations of *kuea*).

26. Both of these are colloquial terms and do not appear in Dungan dictionaries. *Khu-lang-ʃsza* (*xŭloŋdza* in Dungan) could be a number of things, including perhaps "a wanderer who calls out" (呼浪子), while *chzhuan-dèr-di* (*dzuan tirti* in Dungan) is probably "a maker of shoe soles" (鑽底兒的). In former days the Chinese and Dungans often made their shoes and soles from cloth. The method of making soles is as follows: layers of material are glued together, the sole is cut out and small stitches are sewn through and all over the sole with rope, hence the term *zuan*, which means "to pierce," "to bore a hole." Although present-day Dungans, except for some more conservative Shaanxi Dungan women, do not wear this type of shoe anymore, embroidered shoes with rope-sewn soles are still worn by Dungan brides. For details and photographs, see RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER 1977–78, 376–77.

27. Perhaps it should be noted here that ʧsibuzgin and Shmakov's account agrees with Poiarkov's description of the Dungans of the same period. For instance, POIARKOV (1901, 71–76) also mentions that the Dungans are hardworking, honest, and quick-tempered; that they depend a great deal on horses; that they are excellent farmers, orchardists, and market gardeners; that they make good blacksmiths, metal craftsmen, and carpenters; and that there was animosity, with hatred, fighting, and even killings between the Karakunuz ʃakshi and ʃaman groups.

28. ʧsibuzgin and Shmakov present the riddles, proverbs, and anecdotes in the

Cyrillic transcription and a Russian translation. I have converted the Cyrillic transcription into Chinese characters; the characters that I am not sure of are placed in brackets. Clarifications and explanations in the English translation are given in round brackets; square brackets are used for additional information. A few comments should be made about the text. The text presents a picture of people who speak a very simple and colloquial language; they suffer from flies; they have scabs on their heads, and they seem to like jokes about baldheads. As for the language of the text, it is pronounced in the Shaanxi dialect; for instance, 下 is pronounced as *xa*, 說 is *fə*, 水 is *fi*, and the general measure word *ge* is used for all the nouns (with the exception of 一座城 "a city" in riddle 2; however, 一個城 is used in anecdote 2). This feature of the Dungan language is discussed by KALIMOV (1958, 82–101) and DYER (1965, 122–28). The term *khu-tkhu* in the Russian transcription, which occurs fairly often, warrants a special mention. Though it is 後頭, "behind," it is used as 裡頭, "inside," throughout the text (in riddles 1, 5, and in anecdotes 2, 3, and especially 5). None of the present-day Dungan scholars who were consulted on this point in 1991 could give a satisfactory explanation for why "behind" is used for "inside." It should be noted here that the riddles and anecdotes occasionally also use 裡頭 for "inside" (in, for instance, riddle 15 and in anecdotes 3 and 5; in anecdote 5 we even have 谷裡後頭, the literal translation of which should be "[there was a man] in and behind the ravine").

29. This riddle and riddle 9 are very popular riddles that appear often in present-day school textbooks.

30. This and the following riddle start with "a tree [which is] not low [and] not tall." This beginning also occurs in several present-day Dungan riddles.

31. In the Russian transliteration the riddle begins with "ngan-ngan ŝza." It is hard to work out what *ngan* could mean, especially as no such sound is found anywhere else in the whole text. If it is *nan* it could be *an* or *nan* in Mandarin. On the other hand, it could be *gan*, which means "from outside."

32. These are Chinese-style shoes. See n. 26.

33. The Cyrillic transliteration of the second last character in this riddle is *ŝsz͡ian* which could be 見 (to meet, to see) or 撿 (to pick up). The Russian translation of the last sentence means "not one of the passersby dares to look at it."

34. The Cyrillic transliteration of the fifth and sixth characters is *n͡ian-go*, which most probably is 年高 (advanced in years, old). However, the Russian translation of this proverb means: "An old man should not marry a young wife; a young wife is a bad thing [for the old man]."

35. *Khudā* (a Persian word; 呼達 in Chinese) is used in the northwestern part of China (the area from where the Dungans originally came) for Allāh (安拉 in Chinese). The Russians transcribed it as *Khèda*.

36. This is the Dungan pronunciation of the Arabic word *sabab*, which they use with the meaning of "reason," "pretext," "cause," "because."

37. The *Concise Dungan-Russian Dictionary* (KALIMOV and SUSHANLO 1968, 80) has *k'əli-masati* 刻立麻撒地 for "instantly, quickly."

38. See n. 36.

39. There are several theories as to where Bo Yan-hu is buried. According to the Dungan historian SUSHANLO (1959, 15, 17), Bo Yan-hu died in Pishpek (the present Bishkek) on 26 July 1882; as the Qing government had offered 200,000 ounces of silver for his head, his grave was opened up. However, the Dungans had anticipated that this would happen, and had buried a wooden dummy in the grave

while Bo Yan-hu's friends and companions-in-arms buried him secretly in Tokmak. Sushanlo concludes that the whereabouts of the grave of this "outstanding champion of the Dungan people" is therefore unknown. On the other hand, the famous Dungan poet Îasyr Shivaza told me in 1985 that Bo Yan-hu had died in Karakunuz, where Dungans buried a wooden dummy in his grave; they then brought the real body to Frunze (the present Bishkek) and buried it in the yard of the house where Bo Yan-hu's son lived. I visited this site on Dzerzhinsky Avenue, one of the most beautiful boulevards of this city, and found a large government building standing on the block where Bo Yan-hu's son had lived.

REFERENCES CITED

BARANOVA, Îu.

1959 K voprosu o pereselenii musul'manskogo naseleniîa iz Iliiskogo kraîa v Semirech'e v 1881–1883 gg. [On the question of the migration of the Muslim population from the Ili region to Semirech'e in 1881–1883]. *Akademiîa nauk Kazakhskoĭ SSR* 1: 33–52.

CHU, Wen-djang

1966 *The Moslem rebellion in northwest China 1862–1878: A study of government minority policy.* The Hague/Paris: Mouton & Co.

DUMAN, L. I.

1939 Biîankhu—vozhd' dunganskogo vosstaniîa 1862–1877 gg. [Bo Yan-hu—the leader of the Dungan rebellion 1862–1877]. *Zapiski instituta vostokovedeniîa AN SSSR* 7: 27–54.

DYER, Svetlana [née Rimsky-Korsakoff].

1965 The Dungan dialect: An introduction and morphology. M. S. thesis, Georgetown University.

DZHON, A. A.

1986 *Material'naîa kul'tura dungan: Poselenie, usad'ba, zhilishche (konecs XIX-XX v.)* [The material culture of the Dungans: Settlements, family estates, and houses (late-nineteenth to twentieth century)]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo "Ilim."

Hui-hui yüan-lai 回回原来. Peking: 清真書報社, 1924.

ÎUSUPOV, I. I.

1967 *Kolkhoznoe selo Masanchin* [Kolkhoz village of Masanchin]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo "Ilim."

1991 *Istoriîa kolkhoza "Oktîabr"* (*O dunganakh sela Dzhalpal-tîube i kolkhoza "Oktîabr"*). [The history of the kolkhoz "Oktîabr" (On the Dungans of Dzhalpak-tîube and the kolkhoz "Oktîabr")]. Alma-Ata: "Kazakhstan."

ÎUSUROV, Kh., comp.

1960 *Sŭlian xuɛidzŭ miŋziŋti k'utş'uan wiŋçyəti iəŋfudzi* [Examples of Soviet Dungan traditional oral literature]. Frunze: Xirxidzst'an K'uəçyə Ak'atiemiiati Tş'ŭpanşə.

ÎUSUROV, Kh.

1948 Vosstanie dungan v Severo-Zapadnom Kitae i pereselenie ikh v Semirech'e (1860–1890 gg.) [The Dungan revolt in northwestern China and their migration to Semirech'e (1860–1890)]. Master's thesis. Frunze.

1961 *Pereselenie dungan na territoriîu Kirgizii i Kazakhstana* [The migration of the Dungans to the territory of Kirghiz and Kazakhstan]. Frunze: Kirgizgo-

sizdat.

1984 *Xuɛ̯idzŭti k'uliur, k'ukər, ts'ɛtʂ'yxa l̯ian ts'ɛxuar* [Dungan proverbs, common sayings, and riddles]. Frunze: "Xirxidzst'an."

ÎUSUROV, Kh. and Z. G. ÎUSUROVA

1988 *Dunganskaîa kukhnîa* [Dungan cooking]. Frunze: "Kyrgyzstan."

KALIMOV, A. A.

1958 Shchëtyne suffiksy v sovremennom dunganskom îazyke [Numerative suffixes in the modern Dungan language]. *Voprosy grammatiki i istorii vostochnykh îazykov*, 82–101. Moscow-Leningrad: Institut Vostokovedeniîa Akademii Nauk SSSR.

KALIMOV, A. A. and M. SUSHANLO, eds.

1968 *Kratkiĭ dungansko-russkiĭ slovar'* [Concise Dungan-Russian dictionary]. Compiled by Îu. Îanshansin. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo "Ilim."

KHASANOV, M. A.

1977 Traditsionnye poslovitsy i pogovorki v rechi dunganskikh svatov [Traditional proverbs and sayings in the speech of Dungan matchmakers]. *Fol'klor i ètnografiîa: Sviîazi fol'klora s drevnimi predstavleniîami i obriîadami*, 196–99. Leningrad: Izdatel'stvo "Nauka."

MA Tong 馬通

1981 *Zhongguo Yisilanjiao jiaopai yu menhuan zhidu shilüe* 中國伊斯蘭教教派與門宦制度史略 [A brief history of Chinese Islamic sects and the Sufi orders]. Lan-zhou: 甘肅省民族研究所.

POÎARKOV, F. V.

1900 Svatovstvo dungan [The Dungan matchmaking]. *Etnograficheskoe obozrenie* 2.

1901 *Posledniĭ èpizod dunganskago vozstaniîa (Malen'kaîa stranichka iz proshloĭ zhizni Semirech'îa)* [The last episode of the Dungan rebellion (a small page from the past life of the Semirech'e)]. Vernyĭ [Alma-Ata]: Tipografiîa Semirechenskago Oblastnogo Pravleniîa.

RIFTIN, B. L., ed.

1977 *Dunganskie narodnye skazki i predaniîa* [Dungan popular tales and legends]. Compiled, written down, and translated by B. L. Riftin, M. Khasanov, and I. Îusupov. Moscow: Glavnaîa Redaktsiîa Vostochnoĭ Literatury Izdatel'stva "Nauka."

RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF, Svetlana

1967 Soviet Dungan: The Chinese language of Central Asia. Alphabet, phonology, morphology. *Monumenta Serica* 26: 352–421.

RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF DYER, Svetlana

1977–78 Soviet Dungan weddings: Symbolism and traditions. *Monumenta Serica* 33: 363–78.

1979 *Soviet Dungan kolkhozes in the Kirghiz SSR and the Kazakh SSR.* Oriental Monograph Series 25. Canberra: Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press.

1981–83 T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream: A Soviet Dungan version of a legend on the origin of the Chinese Muslims. *Monumenta Serica* 35: 545–69.

1989 The Dungans: Some aspects of the culture of Chinese Muslims in the Soviet Union. A paper presented at "The legacy of Islam in China: An international symposium in memory of Joseph F. Fletcher," Harvard University, 14–16 April.

1991a *Soviet Dungans in 1985: Birthdays, weddings, funerals and kolkhoz life.*

Taipei: Center for Chinese Studies.

1991b The surnames, personal names and nicknames of the Dungans, the Chinese Muslims in the Soviet Union. *Chinese Studies* 9: 127–79.

SAVUROV, M.

1989 *Sekrety dunganskoĭ kukhni* [The secrets of Dungan cooking]. Tashkent: "Mekhhat."

SHINLO, L. T.

1965 *Kul'tura i byt sovetskikh dungan* [The culture and the life-style of the Soviet Dungans]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo "Ilim."

STRATANOVICH, G. G.

1963 Dungane [The Dungans]. *Narody Sredneĭ Azii i Kazakhstana* vol. 2, 527–63. Moscow: Izdatel'stvo AN SSSR.

SUSHANLO, M.

1959 *Dungane Semirech'ia͡: Dooktia͡br'skiĭ period (istoricheskiĭ ocherk)* [The Dungans of Semirech'e: The period before the October Revolution, an historical sketch]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo AN Kirgizskoĭ SSR.

1971 *Dungane (istoriko-ètnografi͡cheskiĭ ocherk)* [The Dungans, an historical-ethnographic sketch]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo "Ilim."

T͡SIBUZGIN, V. and A. SHMAKOV

1909 Zametka o zhizni dungan seleniia͡ Karakunuz, Pishpekskago uezda, Semirechenskoĭ Oblasti [A note on the life of the Dungans in the village of Karakunuz in Pishpek District, Semirech'e Province]. *Zapiski Semipalatinskago Pod"otdela Zapadno-Sibirskago otdela Imperatorskago Russkago geografi͡cheskago obshchestva* 4: 1–23.

APPENDIX[1] Grid of Dungan Initials and Finals

	а[2]	и	о	э	у	ў	ы	ү	ан	нн	он	ун	ын	үн	я	е	ё	ю	үэ	ян	ён	уан	уон	үан	э	уа	уэ	уэ	уй	ўй	ый	эй	эр
	a	i	o	ɛ	u	ŭ	i	y	an	iŋ	oŋ	uŋ	iŋ	yŋ	ia	ie	iɔ	iu	yə	ian	iɔŋ	uan	uoŋ	yan	ə, əi	ua	uə	uɛ	uį	ŭį	iį	ɛį	ɛr
д t	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√		√		√					√		√				
т t'	√	√	√	√	√	√			√	√	√	√	√			√	√			√		√					√		√				
г k	√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√									√	√		√	√	√	√	√				
к k'	√	√	√	√	√	√			√		√	√	√									√	√		√	√	√	√	√				
х x	√	√	√	√	√	√			√		√	√	√									√	√		√	√	√	√		√			
ң ŋ																									√								
б p	√	√	√	√	√				√	√	√		√		√	√	√			√	√				√					√		
п p'	√	√	√	√	√				√	√	√		√		√	√	√			√	√				√					√		
в w	√	√		√	√				√		√		√												√							
ф f	√	√		√	√	X			√		√		√												√							
л l	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√					√		√		√		
м m	√	√	√	√	√				√	√	√	X	√			√	√			√					√					√		
н n	√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√		√	√	√	√		√	√	√			√		√					
с s	√		√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√									√					√		√		√		
ц ts'	√		√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√									√					√		√		√		
з dz	√		√	√	√	√	√		√		√	√	√									√				√	√		√		√		
щ ç		√			X			√		√	X			√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√			√									
жь tş	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√				
ч tş'	√	√	√		√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√				
ш ş	X[3]		√		√		√		√		√		√												√								
ж ẓ			√		√		√		√		√		√			X									√								
й į		√						√		√				√					√			X		√									
ø ø[4]											√				√	√	√	√		√	√								√		√	√

1) Reproduced from RIMSKY-KORSAKOFF 1967, pp. 418-19.

2) The top line and the far left vertical line show the original letters of the Dungan alphabet. The second line and the inside vertical line show the transliterated form of the Dungan letters.

3) X indicates that this combination is not found in the *Russian-Dungan Dictionary* but is found in the primary-school textbooks.

4) Ø stands for zero initial.