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T'ANG T'AI-TSUNG'S DREAM: A SOVIET DUNGAN VERSION OF A LEGEND ON THE ORIGIN OF THE CHINESE MUSLIMS*

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Introduction

The question of the origin of the Chinese Muslims, the ancestors of the present-day Muslims in China and of the Soviet Dungans, is an extremely complicated one and has not yet been settled satisfactorily.[1]

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1) The Soviet Dungans are a small ethnic minority living in the Kirghiz S.S.R., the Kazakh S.S.R., and the Uzbek S.S.R. They are descended mainly from two groups of Chinese Muslim refugees: those who fled with Po Yen-hu白彦虎 to the Semirech'e in 1877 after the collapse of the Muslim Amirate of Kashgaria, and those who crossed from the Ili Valley into Russia after the signing of the Treaty of St. Petersburg in 1881. They have been living in Central Asia and Kazakhstan for nearly one hundred years and have flourished, both as city dwellers and as collective farmers, under Soviet rule. They presently number about 40,000, and as the average Dungan family has eight children, the population continues to grow. In the bibliography, section II, I have cited a few works which may prove useful as a general introduction to the Soviet Dungans.

There are many theories and hypotheses. Valuable, though often contradictory, information can be found in numerous books and articles, and the Western, Chinese and Soviet scholars are still working on this problem.

When one comes to the legends dealing with the origin of the Muslims in China, the field narrows. And the question then arises as to whether it is worth while to write about these legends which, as Drake so aptly remarks, are "contradictory and confused and contain many anachronisms"; legends which "are rejected in the main by modern scholars as of little or no historical value."[2] Other scholars voice the same opinion. Broomhall uses the terms "incredible story" and "apocryphal account" in his chapter on the Chinese Mohammedan traditions.[3] Pickens, who is less critical, writes:

> We might dismiss it all with a wave of the hand, as has been done by Martin Hartmann in his article on China in the "Encyclopaedia of Islam," when he says, "What the tradition of the Moslems of China itself tells us about the earliest intercourse is worthless and erroneous, although it is stated in numerous monuments in stone."[4]

The adverse reaction by the Soviet Dungan scholars to the legends is discussed at the end of this paper. They do, nevertheless, tend to describe these legends, sometimes at considerable length, and often try to find in them, as Sushanlo puts it, "a small grain of truth."[5] In other instances, scholars have sought to correlate the dates of the Arab lunar calendar with those of the Chinese luni-solar calendar in order to reconcile the original legends with Chinese historical accounts. By following this method, they have found, in at least one instance, that the Muslim legends and Chinese records refer to one and the same event.[6]

To return to the question of whether the legends, or the tradi-

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2) F. S. Drake, "Mohammedanism in the T'ang Dynasty," p. 3.

3) Marshall Broomhall, *Islam in China: A Neglected Problem*, pp. 69, 80.

4) Claude L. Pickens, "China and Arabia Prior to the T'ang Dynasty (618 A .D.), " p. 202.

5) M. Sushanlo, *Dungane (istoriko-ètnograficheskiĭ ocherk)*, p. 42.

6) Pickens, "China and Arabia," p. 205. For the adjustment of dates see below, footnote 25.

tions, are worthy of study, my feeling is that if the historical sources do not mention an event, it most probably did not take place. However, even if the legends have little if any historical accuracy, they are still extremely valuable: they make interesting reading at the popular level and cannot be completely ignored at the academic level either. The fact that they do exist, that they were created and are treasured still, "have a strong hold upon the Chinese Moslem mind,"[7] and were believed by many and continue to be believed by some,[8] is in itself significant. They provide us with insights about the people who have created them and about the needs they satisfy.

> The sources for our knowledge of the coming of Mohammedanism to China are of three kinds: first, references in the official Chinese histories; second, Arabic records of Mohammedan travellers and geographers; third, traditions current among Chinese Moslems to-day, whether embodied in Chinese Moslem books, or in inscriptions on stone preserved in mosques.[9]

The traditions themselves can be divided into two main types: those that relate to the introduction of Islam overland by way of the northwest route, and the other to the introduction by way of the sea to Canton.[10] The field can be narrowed down further and this paper is concerned only with one legend, that is, the legend which from now on will be referred to as "T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream." Furthermore, this paper is not so much concerned with the original versions of this legend known in China mainly through two pamphlets, the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* (回回原來) and the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (西來宗譜), as with one specific version known among the Soviet Dungans. My reasons for doing this are as follows: *a*) although the legend of T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream as known in China and among the Soviet Dungans is

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7) Drake, "Mohammedanism," p. 3.

8) Some Soviet Dungans still believe in the legend about T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream and songs had been made up by the Dungans. On this subject, see below, pp. 563 – 565.

9) Drake, "Mohammedanism," p. 2.

10) Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 61. Isaac Mason, "How Islam Entered China," pp. 249–250, also mentions these two routes and writes that both lines of tradition refer to the same individual, i.e., Sa'd Wakkas, as being the pioneer sent by Mohammed, so they may be variations of a common tradition.

similar in many aspects, it differs enough to make a comparison worth while; *b*) to my knowledge, the Soviet Dungan versions, one of which is given in full in this paper, are unknown to the English-speaking world; *c*) the Dungans, who have lived in Russia for the last one hundred years, have moreover preserved this legend in narrative and song forms; and *d*) the Soviet and Soviet Dungan scholars have written down several versions of this legend and have found them sufficiently noteworthy to discuss them in their academic work.

A few words of explanation as to how I came to write this paper. As I have been working on the Soviet Dungans for some time, I have been interested in all aspects of their life. As they are, on the one hand, a part of the Chinese Muslim world and, on the other, a nationalistic individual group of Muslims living in Russia, I thought that it would be interesting to find out how popular this legend is among them and their attitude towards it. The Soviet Dungan historian, Dr. M. Sushanlo's recent book (1971) has answered most of my questions and I have relied on it for much of the discussion which follows.[11]

1. A Rare Pamphlet and the Work Done on the Origin of the "Dungans"

Dungan scholars in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R. are interested in the question of the origin of the "Dungans" [the Chinese Muslims].[12] Sushanlo writes about the work of collecting written sources and oral legends on the origin of the Dungans done by the scholars in the Sector of Dungan Culture of the Academy of

11) Sushanlo, *Dungane*. While Sushanlo's work does not include Chinese characters, I have inserted some of them for clarification. The comments in the parentheses are part of his text, my own observations and explanations are either in the footnotes or in the square brackets in the text.

12) The Soviet and the Soviet Dungan scholars use the term "Dungans" to cover both the Chinese Muslims in China and the Soviet Dungans living in the Soviet Union. I use the term "Chinese Muslims" for the Muslims living in China and "Soviet Dungans" for the Muslims who came from China in the last century and have been living in Russia ever since.

Sciences of the Kirghiz S.S.R. In January 1958, during a visit to Kirghizia the leader of a delegation from a publishing house in the Chinese People's Republic presented the Soviet Dungan poet Ša. Shivaza with a "rare pamphlet," written in Chinese and entitled *Hui-hui yüan-lai*. It consisted of thirteen chapters with a preface written in the first year of Emperor Sheng-tsu's (聖祖) reign, i.e., 1662 by a certain Li Ch'i-lü (李期履) of Ch'ang-p'ing (昌平) district, Hopei province. Sushanlo writes that they had no way of determining when the original was compiled because they could not establish the date of the first edition. As the copy given to them was published in 1943, it was edited and its terminology was close to modern Chinese.[13]

In 1962, the Sector on Dungan Culture received from G. G. Stratanovich of the Institute of Ethnography of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. a photo-copy of a manuscript obtained by him from the Manuscript Fund of the Leningrad section of the Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R. It was entitled *Shen-yen hui-chiao li-min ch'ing Chung-yüan t'ung-shou kao-tzu shih wu-ch'ing cheng-chiao ju Chung-yüan yüan-lai* [The history of the expansion of Islam and its beneficial influence among the people of the Middle Kingdom]. When compared, they found that this manuscript was identical to the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* with the exception of the thirteenth chapter in the latter, an addition which deals with the legend of the campaign of the Muslim warriors to conquer the people in the northeastern part of the country. This coincidence, writes Sushanlo, has lead the Dungan scholars to conclude that the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* is probably the manuscript mentioned by Palladiĭ (P. I. Kafarov) in his work *Kitaĭskaîa literatura magometan* [Chinese literature of the

13) Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 42. Devéria's copy of the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* is dated 1712 (Mason, "How Islam Entered China," p. 251). A. Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 181, writes that this work "is an apocryphal narrative of the introduction of Mohammedanism into China, bearing [the] date 1754." D. D. Leslie is of the opinion that the probable preface date of the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* is 1722 (personal communication). The general that the K'ang-hsi emperor is supposed to have met is named as Ma Chin-liang 馬進良, fl. 1693–1701. See Leslie, *Islamic Literature in Chinese*, pp. 55, 82.

Muslims], printed in Russia in 1887.[14]

Both works relate the popular legend of how the Emperor of the T'ang dynasty invited foreign troops[15] to defend the Chinese empire from the nomad invasion. These troops, according to the legend, laid the foundation of a new *narodnost'* [people or nation] – the Dungans [the Chinese Muslims] – in China.[16]

2. The Soviet Dungan Versions of the Legend

Sushanlo mentions that several versions of the legends on the origin of the Dungan *narod* [people] told by the old Dungans have been written down by the Dungan scholars, Kh. Ĉusurov, Ĉu. Ĉanshan-sin, M. Khasanov and others, of the Dungan sector of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz S.S.R.

He presents one version which was written down in 1941 by the Dungan historian and the folklore specialist, Kh. Ĉusurov, who was told the tale by a seventy-year-old Dungan, Khiĉa Vuakhunov, from the village Shchërtiûbe[17] of the Kurdaĭ district, Kazakh S.S.R.[18]

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14) Palladiĭ's annotation of the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* is on pages 291–295 (Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 42, n. 4). For further details on Palladiĭ's work see Ludmilla Panskaya, *Introduction to Palladii's "Chinese Literature of the Muslims,"* pp. 39–40, 74, 98–99.

15) In the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* they are said to be Arabian, but in the manuscript *T'an-chien chieh-yo*, to have come from Samarkand (Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 42).

16) The Russian terms *narod* and *narodnost'* used by Sushanlo are difficult to render satisfactorily into English as both mean either "people" or "nation." Therefore, from now on, I shall use the Russian term followed, in square brackets, by an English translation which I think is more appropriate.

17) Also written in various Dungan works as Shortiûbe and Shchertiûbe. I usually use the variant Shor-Tiûbe.

18) According to B. L. Riftin (ed.), *Dunganskie narodnye skazki i predaniĉa*, p. 7, n. 5 and p. 527, item 34, it seems that Ĉusurov later used this legend in his work "Vosstanie dungan v Severo-Zapadnom Kitae i pereselenie ikh v Semirech'e (1860–1890 gg.)" (Master's dissertation, Frunze, 1948), pp. 33–41. Unfortunately, this dissertation was not available to me.

Before giving this version in full for purposes of comparison, I would like to mention two other versions of this legend that are also popular among the Soviet Dungans and which are discussed in an article written by Stratanovich. Stratanovich mentions that in 1943, in the *poselok* [settlement] of the kolkhoz "Rodina" near Gulïuk in the environs of Tashkent, he wrote down a legend told to him by an old collective farmer, Susupov. This legend, which is known among the Dungans of the Frunze *oblast'* [region] of the Kirghiz S.S.R., tells of Arabs, bearers of Islam, who moved East with Seid al' Vakhas [the Russian transliteration for Wakkas] and of three thousand warriors who settled in China, married Chinese women, and laid the foundation of the Dungan *rod* [stock, race]. This legend is also found in the *Tarikhi turgani* [The history of the Dungans] written by Suleĭman Sharif, which was published in 1927 in Tashkent with funds provided by the Dungans.[19] Stratanovich points out that it is possible that Sharif's work is simply a reprint of an earlier publication or a record of an oral narrative. In one of the variants of this legend which was written down by Professor Vrubel in the *selo* [village] Aleksandrovka in 1942, the Arabs came to China in answer to a call from the T'ang Emperor, T'ai-tsung, who allegedly had a dream in which a green lion (a symbol of militant Islam) defeated in a struggle a white elephant (a symbol of the southern branch of Buddhism). Whereupon, T'ai-tsung asked for three hundred warriors from the countries of the lion (Arabia or Iran) in exchange for three hundred bow-men from China.[20]

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19) This book, but spelled *Tarikhi tungani*, is discussed by Sushanlo, see below, pp. 566–568.

20) With regard to the "three hundred" warriors, most versions of the legends on the coming of Muslims into China usually cite the number "three thousand." In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, for example, T'ai-tsung said that he would send three thousand of his own soldiers to the West in exchange for three thousand Muslim soldiers. Mohammed, however, only sent eight hundred soldiers to China. Later, in the story the Muslims "over the frontier" are said to have sent three thousand soldiers from the "Western regions" to China to assist the Chinese in putting down the An Lu-shan rebellion (Isaac Mason, *The Arabian Prophet: A Life of Mohammed from Chinese and Arabic Sources*, a translation of Liu Chieh-lien劉介廉, *T'ien-fang chih-sheng shih-lu nien-p'u* 天方至聖實錄年譜, pp. 270–271). The last part is, of course, not fiction, but based on the *Hsin T'ang-shu*, chapter 221B. See also n. 39 below.

These Chinese allegedly settled in Baghdad where, even now, there exists a Chinese-Arab community.[21]

The following is the legend of T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream as found in Sushanlo's work:[22]

One day the Empress of the T'ang dynasty fell ill. The Emperor urgently sent for the famous Sage and fortuneteller Hsü Mo-kung (徐茂公)[23] to diagnose the Empress's illness. The Sage advised that fresh fish should be given to her for treatment. The Emperor sent a retainer to buy the fish. When the fish was delivered into the palace it happened to be alive and spoke in a human tongue, saying: "Because I, the son of the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas, incorrectly carried out the instructions concerning the rain, I was condemned by my father to lie for three weeks in the shallow, stinking water under the boat of the fisherman, who has caught me." The fish begged the Emperor to let it go, promising to send the genuine medicinal fish. The Emperor released the fish back into the sea and bought another fish from the same fisherman, and upon eating it the Empress recovered.

On returning, the son of the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas told his father what had happened. The King was surprised: "Could Hsü Mo-kung really be such a great Sage and fortuneteller? " The King decided to test the Sage and, assuming the appearance of an old man, he came to Hsü Mo-Kung and asked him to predict when it would rain. Hsü Mo-kung, knowing that the old man in front of him was not a human being but the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas, answered him saying: "It will rain in two days' time at twelve o'clock with snowstorms in the countryside and mild winds in the cities." The old man retorted that there would be no rain. They started to argue and the old man declared: "If in

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21) G. G. Stratanovich, "Vopros o proiskhozhdenii dungan v russkoĭ i sovetskoĭ literature," p. 54. Another Soviet Dungan version of the legend, which is quoted in full below, mentions three thousand Chinese who went to Arabia where, subsequently, they formed the people called *dzhava* (Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 45).

22) Although my translation of this legend into English is free, I have tried to keep it as close to the original as possible, observing Sushanlo's punctuation and paragraph division.

23) Hsü Mo-kung徐茂 (*or*懋) 功 (*or*公), i.e., Li Shih-chi 李世勣 was a general, an adviser and a strategist in the T'ang Court. In fiction he was known as a Taoist magician (personal communication of Professor Liu Ts'un-yan). The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (p. 5a) refers to him as Hsü Shih-chi 徐世績. The *Hui-hui yüan-lai* (p. 2b) refers to him as a military strategist (軍師), Hsü Chi 徐勣 , styled Mo-kung (茂公).

two days' time there is no rain I will cut off your head." Hsü Mo-kung agreed and answered that if it did rain, he would cut off the old man's head. The King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas was quite confident that he had won the bet because he had not received any instructions from Heaven (*T'ien*天) about any rain in the next few weeks.

However, on returning from the meeting with Hsü Mo-kung, the King of the Dragons discovered that Heaven had ordered rain. Realizing that the bet was lost, he reversed the order [stipulated by Hsü Mo-kung] so that instead of a drizzle with moderate winds in the cities and heavy rain with snowstorms in the country [the opposite occurred]. Because of this there were major floods in the cities and many people died. Thus, the King of the Dragons had committed an offence. The only one who could pardon him was the Emperor Chen-lung t'ien-tzu(眞龍天子), that is, the Son of Heaven; therefore, the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas appealed to the Emperor for mercy and for protection against the Sage Hsü Mo-kung. The Emperor, upon hearing the King of the Dragons' plea, promised to grant him his life.

The Emperor invited Hsü Mo-kung, entertained him with food and then suggested a game of Chinese chess—*ch'i* (棋). They played chess for a long time and the Sage dozed off and fell asleep. The Emperor was overjoyed that at twelve o'clock, Hsü Mo-kung would be asleep and thus the Sage would not be able to fight with the King of the Dragons. All of a sudden, the Emperor saw that sweat was pouring down from the Sage as if he were battling with someone. Hsü Mo-kung cried out and awoke. The Emperor asked the Sage how he had slept and the Sage answered: "I was not asleep, I was fighting with the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas and cut off his head." The Emperor did not believe his words and sent a retainer to find out what had happened to the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas. The retainer returned with the news that the whole sea was red and the huge head of the King of the Dragons was floating on the surface. On hearing this, the Emperor became anxious and said that Hsü Mo-kung has caused him a great deal of trouble. After hearing the Emperor's explanation Hsü Mo-kung asked why he was not told earlier that the King of the Dragons was pardoned. After presenting his apologies, the Sage Hsü Mo-kung agreed to serve in the palace.

The soul of the King of the Dragons, resenting that the Emperor had not fulfilled his promise, decided on revenge and changed into a monster to deal with the Emperor while he was asleep.[24]

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24) None of the versions of the legend of T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream known to me contain the above section. From now on I will compare the Soviet Dungan

On the 18th day of the third moon, in the year 628, the T'ang Emperor Chen-kuan 貞觀(Li Shih-min 李世民)[25] saw a monster in his dream which pursued him in the palace.[26] Just as the monster was about to overtake him, there suddenly appeared a handsome young man in a turban, wearing a green robe and carrying a

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version with the versions found in the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* and the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*. The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* version is translated by Mason into English (see Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, pp. 265–276). Broomhall, *Islam in China*, pp. 62–70, translates the beginning of the legend as given in the *Hui-hui yüan-lai*. He discusses both versions. Devéria also partially translated the *Hui-hui yüan-lai*, see "Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine," pp. 312 ff.

25) The Emperor T'ang T'ai-tsung 唐太宗, whose reign title (年號) is Chen-kuan, reigned from 627 to 650. The year 628 would be the second year of his reign. Devéria's French translation of the dream also gives the year 628 (Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 64, n. 2). The date of the dream as given by the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* (p. 1b) and the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (p. 4a) is also the second year of the Chen-kuan reign (on the eighteenth day of the third month). Broomhall, in his version of the dream, which was given to him by C. F. Hogg who translated it while in China, gives "the third year of Chenkwan of the T'ang dynasty, on the eighteenth day of the third month," i.e., 629 (Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 64). Drake, "Mohammedanism," p. 25, also gives the date of the dream as "629 (third year of the Chêng-kuan 貞觀 period)." B. A. Vasil'ev, "Ustnaía literatura dungan," p. 259, n. 2, writes that Saad Wakkas, the maternal uncle of Mohammed and, according to the legends, the first preacher of Mohammedanism, arrived in China accompanied by three thousand men, as an ambassador in 633 [four or five years after the dream?]. Archimandrite Palladius gives the date of the entrance of Islam into China as 632 (Pickens, "China and Arabia," p. 202). Pickens regards the year 628 as the date "of the traditional first entry of Islam into China. . . as given by most Moslem authorities." By adjusting the formerly incorrect calculations between the Arab lunar and Chinese luni-solar year (a difference of almost exactly eleven days a year or roughly three years in a century), Pickens comes to the conclusion that the correct reading of the year 628 should be 650 or 651 (Pickens, "China and Arabia," pp. 204–205). He quotes Isaac Mason, "Chinese-Moslem Chronology," pp. 78, 79. On the adjustment of dates see also Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 88; Drake, "Mohammedanism," p. 5; and Mason, "How Islam Entered China," pp. 253–254.

26) No description of the monster is given in this version. The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, however, describes it as having "a black face, red hair, large and prominent teeth, and was of very evil appearance generally" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 266). The *Hui-hui yüan-lai* speaks of "a monster with black head and no hair, enormous mouth and projecting teeth, most terrific and evil to behold" (Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 65).

rosary in his hand.[27] Approaching the Emperor, he started to pray and the monster began to move backwards, then changed into a red bloody ball, and disappeared.[28] The Emperor woke up, became anxious, and not waiting till morning, summoned the retainers, including the Sage Hsü Mo-kung, and told them about the dream.[29] The Sage Hsü Mo-kung consulted the eight *kua*[30] and said: "The Great Sovereign of the Middle Kingdom saw in his dream his worst enemy, the monster, and his friend, the turban-wearer, who is the Prophet from the West, the *Ma hui-hui* [Mohammed].[31]

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27) From here on, in the legend, the Muslims are often shown to the best advantage. This is natural, as the legend was created by them. In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* the turbaned man is described as "wearing a green robe; he was tall and graceful, and he came in reciting from a heavenly Classic (the Koran)" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 266). The *Hui-hui yüan-lai* gives a longer description: "To look on he was indeed of a strange countenance, totally unlike ordinary men; his face was the colour of black gold, his ear lobes reached his shoulders, his whiskers stood outward, his moustache and beard were cut off short and even; he had phoenix eyebrows, a high nose, and black eyes. His clothes were white and powdered, a jewelled girdle of jade encircled his loins, on his head was a plain hat, and around it a cloth turban like a coiled dragon. His presence was awe-inspiring and dreadful to behold, as might be that of a sage descending to the palace. When he entered he knelt toward the west, reading the book he held in his hand" (Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 65). The dream must have been vivid indeed for the frightened T'ang T'ai-tsung to have remembered so many details.

28) In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* "the monster joined in with entreaty, beseeching the true man to forgive him, and thus he fled outside the palace" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 266). In the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* (p. 2a) the monster changed into his original form, repeatedly beseeching the true man to spare his life. On further recitation of the True Classic, the monster changed into thick blood and became dust.

29) Instead of Hsü Mo-kung, an "Imperial Astronomer" (天監) is mentioned here in the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (p. 4a) and an "Interpreter of Dreams" (夢官) is mentioned in the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* (p. 2a).

30) To consult the eight trigrams (*pa-kua* 八卦), i.e., to consult the *I-ching* (易經), the *Book of Changes*.

31) The interpretation of the dream is much longer in the other two versions. I quote from the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* translated in Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*: "The next morning when the Court was assembled, the Imperial Astronomer respectfully reported to the Emperor saying: 'In the night, as I observed the appearance of the heaven, I saw a strange and evil appearance which impinged on the Tzŭ-wei [紫微] star, and I feared this might portend trouble to the Empire; I also saw in the West a felicitous light brightly manifested and encircling the Tzŭ star as a wall of protection. I opine that in the West there must be a sage who can control the threatened

After consulting with his ministers, the Emperor decided to send an ambassador with a letter to the land where the religion of the Muslims was so praised.[32] The ambassador delivered the letter from the Emperor of China to Mohammed and asked him to come to the Middle Kingdom. However, Mohammed refused to come but sent back his portrait with the ambassador.[33] The image on the portrait later vanished and that made the Emperor send another messenger to Mohammed.[34] In answer to the second invitation, Mohammed sent his three disciples–Geĭs, Veĭs and Vankhas [Wakkas] with three thousand Arab warriors.[35]

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evil; would it not be well for your Majesty to send a messenger to enquire, in obedience to the heavenly portents?' " (p. 265).

32) In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (p. 5a) there follows a short travelogue of the messenger, Shih T'ang (石堂), first to the country of Ha-mi (哈嚓國, i.e., Hami), then to the country of Pu-ho-lo (補河樂國, i.e., Bukhara), and finally to Man-k'o (滿克, i.e., Mecca).

33) In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, the Prophet explains the reasons why he cannot come himself saying, "I have received from the True Lord the appointment of Apostle, a responsibility which is not a light one; moreover there is an angel going and coming every day, receiving and bringing parts of the heavenly Classic (the Koran), morning and evening I propagate the Faith, worshipping and confessing God; how can I neglect these duties?" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 267).

34) In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (translated in Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 268), the Prophet selected three men and "bade these three men go together with the messenger to China, and he also said to the messenger: 'When you return to China take with you my portrait to give to the king of T'ang, who, when he sees it, will naturally understand (about his dream).' A sheet of paper was then suspended upon the wall of the Kaaba and the Prophet approached and stood before the paper for a short time and a perfect portrait was imprinted upon the paper." In a footnote (p. 268, n. 3), Mason adds that "Mohammed received embassies at Medina, and to say that on this occasion he 'posed' for his portrait before the Kaaba, which is at Mecca, is one of the inaccuracies of this fictitious story." Broomhall (*Islam in China*, pp. 68–69) writes that in the account of how Mohammed's image was imprinted on the paper "the writer's desire for the marvellous anticipates photography .... The portrait evidently was not 'fixed'! for as soon as the Emperor bowed before it in worship–a very improbable story in 629 A.D.–it 'disappeared, leaving only a white sheet' as an evidence of Mohammed's power."

35) I use the Russian transliteration for the names of the three disciples. In the *Hui-hui yüan-lai*, p. 3a, they are called Kai Ssŭ (該思), Wu Wai-ssŭ (吳歪思) and Ko Hsin (噶心) and are described as envoys (通使). The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, p. 5b, uses slightly different characters, i.e., Kai Ssŭ (蓋思), Wu Ai-ssŭ (吳哀思) and Wan Ko-ssŭ (萬個思). They are described as Sahābī, "companions or associates of Mohammed," as "three eminent men of perfect sincerity and excellent in both

Only Vankhas and the Arab warriors, after a number of hardships, reached the Chinese capital while Geĭs and Veĭs perished on the way.[36]

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character and learning" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, pp. 267–268). Mason, p. 268, n. 2, mentions that the name Wan Ko-ssŭ (萬個思) is also written as Wan Ko-shih (挽個士) in the same book and that Liu Chih speaks of Saad Kan Ko-shih (幹歌士), who, it would appear, is the same person. Ma Yi-yü 馬以愚, *Chung-kuo hui-chiao shih-chien* 中國回教史鑑, p. 104, writes that during the first year of Chen-kuan (貞觀), Kan Ko-ssŭ (幹葛思) built a mosque in Canton and that during the third year of Chen-kuan he died there. (Professor Liu Ts'un-yan pointed out to me that the character 幹 mentioned twice above is a misprint for the character 斡; therefore, in Mason's work, p. 268, no. 2, it should read as *Wa* Ko-shih [斡歌士] and in Ma Yi-yü's work, p. 104, it should read as *Wa* Ko-ssŭ [斡葛思] which would make it "Wakkas.") Only Vankhas, as I will continue to call him in the Soviet Dungan version of the legend, survives the trip and reaches China. There is no doubt that Vankhas is Wakkas about whom a great deal of contradictory, legendary and confusing information is written, of which the following are examples: *a*) Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 75, writes that the legend concerning Saad Wakkas was not invented by the historian Liu Chih but is evidently of very early origin. Devéria, he continues, has "traced it back to the 'Great Ming Geography,' which was commenced in 1370 A.D., and published in 1461 A.D. or nearly three centuries before Liu Chih's time. In this geography a chapter devoted to Medina states that Sahib Saad Wakkas came to China in the years of Kai Hwang of the Sui dynasty, *i.e.* between 581–600 A.D."; *b*) Pickens, "China and Arabia," p. 200, also quotes the "Great Ming Geography" (see above), and says that during most of this period, i.e., 581–600, Mohammed was a shepherd lad tending sheep outside of Mecca. *c*) Mason, "How Islam Entered China," pp. 260–262, ventures to suggest "that there is probably some more or less close connection between Ibn Wahab (Wahb) and the ancient tomb at Canton." He writes that although neither Ibn Wahb, nor Arab travellers, nor any other ancient authentic authority mentions Sa'd Wakkas and the tomb, in tracing the life of Ibn Wahb, one finds considerable agreement with the legend about Sa'd Wakkas: Ibn Wahb also claimed relationship with Mohammed; he came by ship; he went to see the Emperor at Sianfu; he returned to Irak and apparently came back again. It is also possible that the tomb of the saint at Canton is his resting place–but the time would be more than two centuries later than that claimed for Wakkas. Mason concludes that "the legend probably arose subsequent to the death of Ibn Wahb, who might very well be the historic figure about whom the fables and miracles have gathered." Leslie thinks that this is unlikely (personal communication). See also Tasaka, *Chūgoku ni okeru Kaikyō no denrai to sono gutsū*, pp. 220–222.

36) Cf. *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (p. 6a); Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 269: "By the time they arrived at Kia-yu-kwan [嘉峪關], Kai Ssŭ and Wu Ai-ssŭ, one after the other, had succumbed to the climate and died, leaving only Wan Ko-shih 挽個士 to reach the Court along with Shih T'ang [石堂]." They brought the portrait of

The Chinese Emperor invited Vankhas to the palace and assigned him a residence.

The Emperor summoned a Buddhist priest Lao-to老 [?] (i.e., an old priest) into a temple so that the priest, together with Vankhas, could perform the prayers according to their own dogmas. When this wish was fulfilled, the Emperor praised the prayer of the Muslims. Vankhas explained to him the religious rituals of Islam. The Emperor was favorably impressed with them, too, especially with the rites of the worship of the ancestors and the dead. After listening to Vankhas' explanation, the Emperor, once again, praised the religion of Mohammed and expressed his devotion to it.

Thereupon, the Emperor made the suggestion to send three thousand Chinese soldiers to Arabia and to retain the three thousand Arabs in China.[37] And this was done. Three thousand Chinese[38] went to Arabia where, subsequently, they formed the people called *dzhava* and the three thousand Arabs stayed in China.

Soon afterwards the nomads from the north attacked China.[39] The Emperor

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Mohammed with them. Note that in the Soviet Dungan version the portrait arrived with an ambassador before the second invitation.

37) In the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, Wan Ko-shih [Wakkas] stipulates that the three thousand Chinese soldiers to be sent to the West "would each have wife and family" and that he will petition his king to select "some Moslem soldiers without family attachments, and without fixing any number, let those come who wish to do so." Over eight hundred men were selected to go to China (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 270). Broomhall, *Islam in China*, p. 69, n. 1, comments that "the mere suggestion that Mohammed could have spared eight hundred fighting-men at this time is too absurd."

38) Cf. Stratanovich, "Vopros o proiskhozhdenii dungan," p. 54, where he mentions that three hundred Chinese settled in Baghdad. For more details see p. 552 of this paper.

39) At this point the Soviet Dungan version and the Chinese version found in the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* diverge. The story in the Soviet Dungan version continues with a time "soon afterwards," and tells about the nomads from the north and about the Emperor who is still apparently T'ang T'ai-tsung. The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, however, (quoted in Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, pp. 271–272) transfers the story to "about the time of the close of the reign of Yüan Tsung (cir. A.D. 755) and the accession of his son Su Tsung (756), [when] An Lu-shan headed a rebellion ...." It tells how, in answer to the T'ang emperor's letter asking for assistance in putting down the rebels, the Moslem king of the Western regions, knowing "that it was the descendants of Wan Ko-shih [Wakkas] and those who had gone to assist him in China who were asking for soldiers," sent "three thousand valiant troops"

turned to Vankhas for help, who then went to war with his three thousand Arabs. The Lama (a Tibetan-Mongolian priest) of the nomads sent hail consisting of large pieces of ice on Vankhas' people, but Vankhas, in his turn, sent a typhoon which, time and again, blew the hail back on the nomad's armies.

The T'ang Emperor thanked Vankhas for the victory over the nomads and granted the Arabs generous privileges. For example, if a Chinese killed an Arab, seven Chinese were executed for this. Because of this, no one dared to touch the Arabs.

Several years passed and Vankhas started to beg the Emperor to let them return to their native land, saying that they missed their wives and children who were left behind in Arabia. After consulting with his ministers, the Emperor declared that the Arabs must stay in China forever, and permitted them to take Chinese women as wives.[40]

An edict was issued in China according to which every Chinese who had sixteen-year-old daughters had to send them, at an appointed time, for a walk in the Emperor's garden. The garden was decorated and various dishes of food were provided for the participants. When the Chinese maidens had arrived and commenced to walk, the Arabs were invited into the garden to choose their brides. Some Arabs chose two or three wives for themselves and waited on them during the six-day promenade. The wedding lasted seven days, and while the marriage ceremony was performed according to the Muslim religion, the [other] ceremonies were carried out according to Chinese customs. The Emperor declared on that very day [i.e., the day of the wedding ceremony] that he would not receive any

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who arrived in Chang-an "just when the soldiers of T'ang were hard pressed and in peril.... The rebels were dismayed at what they saw and heard of the Moslems, and would fight no longer." In the end, the Chinese Emperor "gave rewards to the brave and said that the Moslems need not return to the West, but they and their heirs could remain in China as the body-guard of the Emperor." I have already mentioned this in n. 20, but I give more details here to emphasize that the description is so typical of all the Muslim traditions: *a*) as with the nomads from the north in the Soviet Dungan version, the An Lu-shan rebels were defeated with the help of the brave Muslims, *b*) the favorite number "three thousand," which occurs persistently in different legends and at different periods of time, occurs here, *c*) as in other versions and at other periods of history, the Muslims are asked to remain in China.

40) According to the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* (quoted in Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 272) "three thousand women and girls were selected from the province of Kiangsu and escorted to Ch'ang An and these were married to the Moslem troops."

complaints from his subjects for three days.

On the fourth day the Chinese [parents] came to the Emperor and complained that the Arab had stolen their daughters. The Emperor answered the Chinese, saying that their daughters had become the wives of the Arabs and ordered them to go and see how their daughters were faring. On returning home, the Chinese took some gifts of food and went to see their daughters. Each Chinese brought four bunches of *kua-mien* (掛麵, Chinese vermicelli), four chicken eggs, four saucers of different appetizers, two *chin* [斤 catties] of meat and one apron.

The Arabs received the Chinese as guests of honour and entertained them with food the whole day. Afterwards, the parents asked their daughters how well they were being treated. The daughters answered that they were living well and that their husbands were well-bred people, only they [i.e., the husbands] did not understand Chinese. The parents reassured the daughters, saying that their husbands would gradually learn the language.[41]

Afterwards, children were born to the Chinese women who married the Arabs. They learned Chinese from their mothers, in fact, the Arabs themselves shortly began to speak Chinese. This is how the special Dungan *narodnost'* [people] was formed.

Following the Chinese custom, the Dungans started to adopt from their Chinese mothers a *hsing* (姓)—an ancestral name, such as: Ma, Yang, Liu, Pai, Ho, Su, Fen, Wang, Ch'en and others. These surnames were passed down from generation to generation.[42]

3. A Comparison of the Three Versions of the Legend

Several general comments can be made after comparing the above Soviet Dungan version of the legend with the Chinese versions as

41) In a footnote, Sushanlo (*Dungane*, p. 45, n. 6) mentions that since the period of the legend, the Dungans have a custom, which is still observed today among the rural Dungans of Kirghizia and Kazakhstan, that on the fourth day after the wedding the parents and the relatives of the bride must visit the home of the groom.

42) Sushanlo, *Dungane*, pp. 43–46. According to Leslie the Chinese Muslims adopted the Chinese surnames P'u and Sa during the T'ang dynasty; the adoption of other Chinese surnames came much later, mostly from Ming times (personal communication).

found in the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* and the *Hui-hui yüan-lai*:[43]

a) Both Chinese versions begin with T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream. The Soviet Dungan version, however, has a fairly long, explanatory prelude to the dream, featuring the Empress of the T'ang dynasty, the Emperor, Hsü Mo-kung, a fish who is the son of the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas, a fisherman, and the King of the Dragons of the Eastern Seas. None of the Chinese and Western sources available to me mention this part of the story.

b) The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* ends with an additional section entitled "A Record of the History of the Early Sage and Sahābī" (敬錄先賢蘇哈爸遺跡).[44] The *Hui-hui yüan-lai* does not contain this additional section at the end, but otherwise, it gives much the same story as is found in the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*.

c) The *Hui-hui yüan-lai* is the only version of the three that is divided into sections (段). My edition has twelve sections, each with a section heading. It is also the only version that contains a significant amount of poetry which can be found either at the beginning, the middle, or the end of each section. It is the longest version of the three.

d) The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* is longer than the Soviet Dungan version. Both the Chinese versions have more imaginary dialogues.

e) Although all three versions praise the religion of Islam, the Chinese versions have more discussions on the excellent qualities of Islam. For example, in the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* it is written that "the Moslems are of perfect sincerity, true and respectful, and loyal from beginning to end; moreover the West belongs to the 'Chin'金 (metal) element, and their nature is inflexible, so they are certainly able to protect country and family; why not invite them to come to court and assist in preserving the peace of the State? "[45]

43) Some of the finer distinctions among these three versions have been discussed in the footnotes to the previous section.

44) Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, pp. 272–276.

45) *Ibid.*, pp. 266–267.

f) Both the Chinese versions are written in formal Chinese style (e.g., section headings, poetry) and contain a certain amount of Chinese traditional thought (e.g., mention of Confucius and Mencius). For example, the *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* writes that what Wakkas "said about government was so much in accord with the principles of Confucius and Mencius that T'ai Tsung respected him all the more."[46] The Soviet Dungan version is told in a more simple style and leaves out the traditional Chinese trimmings. For example, the fish that talks is, I feel, more typical of Russian literature.

g) The *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u* mentions two mosques: a large mosque at Ch'ang-an that T'ai Tsung commanded Yü Ch'ih Ching Te (尉遲敬德) to build in the Hsüeh Hsi lane (學習巷) and "an additional great mosque was to be built" at Ch'ang-an after the Muslims helped to defeat An Lu-shan's rebels.[47]

4. Some Reactions to the Legend

As seen from the above, the various legends about T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream appear to be apocryphal, containing vignettes of the miraculous and incorrect dates, all of which tend to contradict the Chinese historical sources.[48] What interest or value does it contain, then, for us? Should one dismiss it as a colourful legend? Or should one try to adjust the dates or, perhaps, search the historical sources for some historical fact that justifies some points in the legend? Several scholars, while pointing out the inconsistencies in this legend, have

46) *Ibid.*, p. 269.

47) *Ibid.*, pp. 270–272 and *Hsi-lai tsung-p'u*, pp. 7b–8b.

48) Of the sources I used, only Liu Chieh-lien (alias Liu Chih) maintains that "the account of the entry of the religion of the Prophet into China in the seventh year of Wen Ti of the Sui dynasty, following the sending of an envoy to the West, is given in detail in several Chinese histories, so it can be proved" (Mason, *The Arabian Prophet*, p. 94). Mason ("How Islam Entered China," p. 251) writes, however, that "Liu Chih says this story is proved by records in certain books, but it may be said here that neither the Sui nor the T'ang official histories have any mentions of Sa'd Wakkas, nor of any entry of Islam at that period."

tried at the same time to draw some conclusions and to find some truth in the confusing accounts. For example, Stratanovich wrote in 1954 that there is no doubt that this legend has a grain of truth in it because it was in fact T'ai-tsung who established in the Chinese army the guard detachments of Central Asian Turks, Uigurs and Persians. In 1971, Sushanlo made the same point.[49] Pickens, after adjusting the date 628 to "650 or 651," writes:

> In the New T'ang History, chapter 221, "the Mohammedan Arab is first met with in connection with the Persian king, Yezdergerd, whose son Firuz had previously fled to Takharstan, from whence he sent a messenger to the Chinese Court to tell of his troubles and appeal for aid ... the T'ang Emperor, Kao Tsung, made excuses that the distance was too great for him to send troops to Persia, but he sent to the Moslems to plead the cause of the fallen power." The following year (651) in response to this plea, it is recorded, "In the second year of Yung Hui the To Shih king, Amir-al-Mumenin first sent an envoy with tribute to the Court." Thus instead of discarding the early traditions as groundless, can we not believe that tradition and Chinese historical records are referring to one and the same event? [50]

But how do Soviet Dungans react to this legend? The legend about T'ang T'ai-tsung's dream is still popular among the Soviet Dungans, especially, I presume, among the older generation. According to Sushanlo, the Dungans often accept the events related in this legend as actual facts and believe, literally, that this is how the Dungans originated.[51]

Vasil'ev, in discussing the oral literature of the Dungans during the Soviet period writes that one encounters a large number of peasants who are continuously creating their own individual art and that one can name the authors of these new works. He mentions a forty-nine-year-old peasant, Liu Chin-chung (Liu to) of the village Karakunuz (see n. 53) of the Kazakh S.S.R. who has written a long untitled song which covers the period from the legendary story of the appearance of

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49) Stratanovich, "Vopros o proiskhozhdenii dungan," p. 54; Sushanlo, *Dungane*, pp. 42–43.

50) Pickens, "China and Arabia," p. 205.

51) Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 46.

the Muslims in China until the year 1929. He adds, moreover, that this song is not complete as, every year, the author adds new passages to it which supplement the original material.[52] In his article, Vasil'ev gives this song, first in Dungan and then in Russian translation. The song begins with the Dungans' escape to Russia after the defeat of the Muslim revolts [1862–1878] in China. They are well received and helped by the Russian Tzar. They settled down happily in a village and started farming.[53] After two or three years, their leader, the honourable Po Yen-hu, is accused of being a rebel and of trying to start a revolt in Russia.[54] Upon reading the denunciation, the [Russian] district head arrives at the Dungan village with an interpreter to confront Po Yen-hu. Po is very angry and says: "The one who denounced me is my enemy." In a long monologue that follows, he tells of the time when the Muslims first arrived in China during the T'ang dynasty and relates the events that caused the Muslims to revolt during the Ch'ing dynasty. The English translation which follows is of the section about the legend that concerns us:[55]

> Hu ta-jen[56] sat in the *Yamen*[57] and told with resolution:
> You listen, and I shall narrate in detail about bygone years,
> When T'ang Emperor ascended the throne, the people were not tranquil.
> The Emperor had a dream at night—really ominous.

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52) Vasil'ev, "Ustnaĵa literatura dungan," p. 246.

53) The village first settled by the Dungans on their arrival in Russia was called *Ĵiŋp'an* (營盤 "a temporary camp; an encampment") in Dungan. This name is still used, but only among the Dungans. The official name of the settlement was Karakunuz. In 1965 it was renamed Masanchin. It is on the right bank of the river Ch'u, opposite the city of Tokmak.

54) Of the three Dungan groups which migrated to Russia in 1877–1878 and 1881–1884 because of the Muslim revolts in China, the largest group, 3,314 people in all, was led by Po Yen-hu, the leader of the 1862–1878 Muslim revolt in northwest China.

55) See Vasil'ev, "Ustnaĵa literatura dungan," p. 250 for the section about the legend given in the Dungan language and transcribed by Vasil'ev using the Latin alphabet. The Russian translation of the same section is found on pp. 258–259.

56) *Xu darhen* (虎大人)–the honourable Po Yen-hu. This term and others in the song, referred to in footnotes 57 to 66, are presented according to Vasil'ev's Latin transcription.

57) *Jamn* (衙門), this is what Dungans called the Russian district office.

He saw a big snake[58] which wanted to devour him,
But a man appeared to save him, a tall and strong fellow,[59]
If not a prophet, at least, a good spirit.[60]
The T'ang Emperor sat on his dragon throne, dressed in full glory.
He summoned Hsü Mo-kung and civil and military officials [who formed] two rows.
The T'ang Emperor opened his golden mouth and narrated everything in detail.
And now the High Commander,[61] Hsü Mo-kung, began to divine the dream.
He consulted the eight *kua*[62] and calculated them out carefully, [saying]:
"The one who has the ruling power will have to go to the western lands[63] in order to bring the Muslims over."[64]
On hearing this, joy spread across the T'ang Emperor's face.[65]
He appointed a high official to go to the western lands in order to resettle the Muslims immediately.
The T'ang Emperor brought the Muslims over time and again.[66]
And Wangas [Wakkas] was appointed envoy and arrived in China just at this time.
And now more than thousand years have elapsed since the Muslims came to China and,
When the Ch'ing dynasty came to power the state and people were in peace.
But ....

While the Dungan people seem to treasure this legend, Dungan scholars reject it vehemently. Sushanlo, for example, writes that the authors of this legend, judging by its contents, were "Muslim reactionary clergy and the Dungan feudal lords" who had undertaken the task of the spiritual enslavement of the working people and the propagation

58) *Mangshe* (蟒蛇 "a snake; a python; a boa-constrictor"). Vasil'ev, "Ustnaia literatura dungan," p. 258, no. 5, notes that according to Dungan imagery, it is not a snake, but a crocodile.
59) *Gao da xan* (高大漢).
60) *Shensien* (神仙).
61) *Zynsh* (軍師).
62) See above, footnote 30.
63) *Sidi* (西地).
64) *Ba xui ban* (把回頒).
65) *Xuansi manmien* (歡喜滿面).
66) *Ban xuixui lien er lien san* (頒回回連二連三).

of Islam.[67]

This legend, continues Sushanlo, clearly shows the nationalistic tendencies [among the Chinese], and it strives to conceal the nature of the feudal exploitation within Dungan society. The "Chinese Great Han elements" also use this legend to prove the close origin of the Dungans and the Chinese and to convince people that the Chinese are the Dungans' *chiu-chiu* (舅舅), i.e., maternal uncles [Soviet Dungans tend to regard this as an insult].

The reactionary Muslim clergy, writes Sushanlo, also used this legend to advocate "the ideas of pan-Islamism, religious fanaticism and nationalism."[68] He points out that a good example of this is the publication in pre-revolutionary Russia of a pamphlet by a Dungan mullah, Suleĭman Lishonguĭ [or Lishangkuei],[69] from the village Aleksandrovka of the Pishpek district, entitled *Tarikhi tungani.*[70]

In 1916, Suleĭman Sharifakhun [or Sharifahung], with a team of assistants, translated the legend from the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* into Chagatai (ancient Uzbek) and prepared it for publication. As an epilogue to this work they added the legend about Akman and Karaman which was very popular in Central Asia, mainly among the Muslim clergy who had received their spiritual education in Bukhara. According to the tales of

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67) The opinions which follow are translated and summarized from Sushanlo, *Dungane*, pp. 46–49.

68) While travelling among the Dungans in 1977, I was called a "Chinese chauvinist" by the Dungan linguist Fu. Tsunvazo, because I argued that the Dungans speak Chinese. The Dungans are very nationalistic and insist that they speak the Dungan language which consists of two Dungan dialects, i.e., the Kansu dialect and the Shensi dialect. According to the Dungan phonetician, M. Kh. Imazov, these are quite different, phonetically and syntactically, from their Chinese equivalents. For further details see my work "Soviet Dungan Nationalism: A Few Comments on Their Origin and Language." I also discuss this problem in the *Soviet Dungan Kolkhozes in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R.*

69) I have used here the Library of Congress transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet. If the name is treated as a Chinese one, then the transcription "Lishang-kuei" is more suitable. The same applies to the name Sharifakhun, which is mentioned in the paragraph below, and which would then be transliterated Sharifa-hung.

70) Stratanovich also mentions this book, see p. 551 above.

the old Dungans, when the Dungans first arrived in Hsinchiang (during the second half of the eighteenth century) and in the Semirech'e region, there were often arguments between the Dungans and the local Muslim clergy regarding the origin of the Dungan *narodnost'* [people or nation]. The Dungan clergy adhered to the version of the legend given in the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* while the local Muslim clergy refuted it, preferring instead the legend about Akman and Karaman. To have some solid support in such arguments, the Dungan clergy, while still in Hsinchiang, decided to publish a pamphlet in the local language about the origin of the Dungans. Thus, Ling-t'o lo-jen and Sang-ssŭfu lo-jen, two important representatives of the clergy in the Pishpek district, compiled an Arabic translation of the *Hui-hui yüan-lai* while mullah Suleĭman Lishonguĭ used this legend in the publication of the *Tarikhi tungani.*

In the *Tarikhi tungani,* the legend of the origin of the Dungans was told with many additional plots, all of a distinctly religious nature, in order to prove the Arabic origin of the Dungans and to disprove the theory maintained by the local Muslim clergy that the Dungans originated from the Salars.[71] This is the reason why the pamphlet on the legend about Akman and Karaman was included in the *Tarikhi tungani.*

In the *Tarikhi tungani,* Suleĭman Lishonguĭ, for the first time, upholds the term "tungan" or "dungan." In his opinion, this term comes from the Turkic word *turmak* which means "stay behind" and is connected with the fact that the Arab soldiers remained in China. These terms were adopted from the legend of Akman and Karaman according to which some of the Salar people from Central

71) According to Sushanlo, *Dungane,* pp. 47–48, the Salars migrated from Central Asia to the provinces of Kansu and Ch'ing-hai. They migrated to Ch'ing-hai in 1370. The Salars who are living in Hsinchiang and in the provinces of Kansu and Ch'ing-hai and the Salars of Turkmen have a common origin. It is possible that the Salars who spoke a Turkish dialect and who lived in eight villages along the Yellow River between the cities of Lan-chou and Ho-chou and the Dungan-Muslims of the same area who spoke Chinese but were different from the Chinese people ethnographically and according to their mode of life formed one Turkish *narod* [people], the majority of whom later on adopted the Chinese language. In 1953, there were 31,000 Salars living in Kansu and Ch'ing-hai.

Asia had moved to the regions of western Kansu and are living there at present.

This explanation for the term "Dungan" was formulated with a specific object in mind: on the one hand to show that the ancestors of the Dungans were the warriors of the Prophet Mohammed and, on the other hand, to refute the allegation of the local clergy that the Dungans originated from Akman and Karaman.

Sushanlo concludes therefore, that the appearance of this version was not accidental. The representatives of the Dungan clergy, together with the exploiter elements, spread the legends that the ancestors of the Dungans were the warriors of the Prophet Mohammed among the Muslim inhabitants of Hsinchiang province and the Semirech'e region. The Dungans might then believe that they hold, by origin, an exclusive place in the Muslim world, and that they stand above all other Muslim people as they are the descendants of the Prophet himself.

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