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The Minorities of Northern China: A Survey

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**THE MINORITIES OF
NORTHERN CHINA**
A Survey

HENRY G. SCHWARZ

WESTERN WASHINGTON

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THE MINORITIES OF NORTHERN CHINA: A SURVEY, by Henry G. Schwarz

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Editor:

Professor Henry G. Schwarz

To

KENJI

Introduction

This book contains a survey of the twenty-one minorities of Northern China. Northern China comprises the provinces or autonomous regions of Xinjiang, Qinghai, Gansu, Inner Mongolia, Ningxia, Jilin, Heilongjiang, Liaoning, Hebei, Henan, Shandong, Shanxi, Shaanxi, Hubei, Anhui, and Jiangsu. The survey also takes into account small groups of minorities living in Southern China but whose majorities are resident in the North, such as Mongols, Manchus, and Hui. Conversely, Tibetans living in Qinghai, Gansu, and other parts of Northern China are not considered here because most Tibetans live in Tibet which, by our definition, is included in Southern China.

I have been studying the minorities of Northern China since the late 1950s when I began to write my doctoral dissertation.¹ Since then I have written and edited several books and articles on the Mongols and other Northern minorities and one book dealing with the Communist Party's policies toward all minorities in China.² Much to my regret, very few other scholars have joined me in writing about China's minorities. Knowledge about and even interest in them remains scant in this country and even in China itself.

I decided to write this survey partly in order to stimulate more research in the field, but primarily to provide the interested layman with some basic information on these minorities otherwise not available or only inconveniently available in English.

This book is written primarily for those readers who wish to get a brief summary of information on one or several minorities. Each chapter is devoted to one minority. All chapters are arranged in basically the same manner and usually contain the following subjects: size and location of population, history,

language and literature, society, religion, and recent developments. The last category includes information since 1949 on a variety of subjects, such as the economy and education, that, in my opinion, are of sufficient importance to be included here. It is my hope that this arrangement will benefit both layman and specialist, the former by a presentation of basic facts and the latter by the inclusion of the latest available information.

This survey relies heavily on Chinese sources, especially on those by persons writing about their own nationalities.³ This reliance on Chinese information is particularly noticeable in subjects where up-to-date data are important, such as language and recent developments and, to a lesser extent, social customs. All information was critically examined, and whenever there was reason for doubt, I chose not to include the material nor to speculate on what might be the true state of the matter. I freely admit that my caution is a reaction against much of what has been written about China's minorities. With some laudable exceptions, especially works by members of the Catholic Scheut mission, foreign accounts are either inaccurate or outdated, and sometimes both.

Much of the Chinese material cited in this survey is based on field notes collected in the late 1950s and printed for internal use (neibu faxing) in the early 1960s. The so-called cultural revolution delayed publication of the final versions of these field notes by more than a decade. Where appropriate, I have checked printed sources against my own observations made over a number of years reaching back to 1973. I have worked at the Central Institute for Nationalities in Beijing and traveled in several minority areas in Northern China.

The twenty-one minorities are arranged in four broad linguistic groups. The Turkic group includes the seven minorities of Uigur, Kazak, Kirgiz, Salar, Tatar, Uzbek, and Yugur.⁴ They live in the western part of Northern China, except the Salars who live in the central part. The Mongolian group comprises the Mongol, Bonan, Daur, Dongxiang, and Tu minorities who live in the central portion of Northern China, but substantial numbers of Mongols are also found in the West, especially in Xinjiang. The Manchu-Tungus group includes the Manchu, Evenk, Hezhen, Oroqen, and Sibe minorities. They live in the eastern portion of Northern China, particularly in what many foreigners still anachronistically call Manchuria. The Sibe are a partial exception because almost half of them live in Xinjiang. All three groups are part of the Altaic family of languages. The fourth group includes minorities who speak other languages. The Hui speak Chinese, the Tajiks and Russians speak Indo-European languages, and the Korean language is considered by some scholars to be part of the Altaic family, but definitely not of the Manchu-Tungus group.

Each group is clearly dominated by one nationality which in many ways has influenced the other members of this group. As Table 1 shows, the Uigurs, Mongols, and Manchus are by far the largest nationalities in the Turkic, Mongolian and Manchu-Tungus groups, respectively. While also somewhat

Table 1

THE MINORITIES OF NORTHERN CHINA

Name	Population ⁵	Percent Living in China	Percent in China
<u>Turkic Group</u>			
Uigur	5,957,112	98	84.2
Kazak	907,582	13	12.8
Kirgiz	113,999	7	1.6
Salar	69,102	100	<1
Uzbek	12,453	1	<1
Yugur	10,569	100	<1
Tatar	4,127	1	<1
Total	7,074,944		
<u>Mongolian Group</u>			
Mongol	3,411,657	61	86.3
Dongxiang	279,397	100	7.1
Tu	159,426	100	4.0
Daur	94,014	100	2.4
Bonan	9,027	100	<1
Total	3,953,507		
<u>Manchu-Tungus Group</u>			
Manchu	4,299,159	100	97.5
Sibe	83,629	100	1.9
Evenk	19,343	18	<1
Oroqen	4,132	100	<1
Hezhen	1,476	11	<1
Total	4,407,739		
<u>Others</u>			
Hui	6,200,000 ⁶	100	
Korean	1,763,870	1.9	
Tajik	26,503	<1	
Russian	2,935	<1	
Total	7,993,308		
Grand Total	23,429,498		

influenced by other members of their own groups, the Uigurs, Mongols, and Manchus have been the chief contributors to the languages, social structures, customs and habits and other aspects of the culture of each group.

In language, the strongest ties are encountered in the Turkic group, where Uigur has been the *lingua franca* not only for the other Turkic nationalities but even for non-Turkic peoples like the Tajiks, Sibe, and Oirat Mongols. Moreover, the phonetics, morphology, and lexicon of other Turkic languages spoken in Xinjiang have grown closer to Uigur; for example, the Kazak spoken in Xinjiang is much closer to Uigur than the Kazak spoken in neighboring Soviet Kazakhstan.

In the Mongolian group, as the tide of the Mongol world empire receded to its homeland in the fourteenth century linguistic ties between the Mongols in Mongolia and those who stayed behind in places like Gansu and Qinghai were severed or at least severely curtailed. The latter developed into separate nationalities who today speak languages that have retained many elements of Middle Mongolian, the language spoken at the time of separation in the fourteenth century. This is especially true of the Dongxiang, Tu, and Bonan languages which have also absorbed phonological, morphological and lexical elements from neighboring, non-Mongolian languages. As a result, unlike the situation in the Turkic group, Mongols cannot communicate in Mongolian with members of the three nationalities just mentioned. The Daurs represent a partial exception to this generalization. Some Daurs have lived close to Mongols and can speak Mongolian, but their own languages cannot be understood by the average Mongol.

Within the Manchu-Tungus group, until the turn of this century Manchus dominated the other members of the group politically, economically and socially, but their linguistic dominance began to wane soon after the Manchu conquest of China in the seventeenth century. As more and more Manchus lost the ability to speak their own language and changed to Chinese, the influence of the Manchu language on the other languages of this group correspondingly waned.

The Turkic group of languages has the most developed literary culture. The Mongolian group comes next, and the Manchu-Tungus group is the weakest. A major but not the sole reason for this is that the Uigur script is the oldest and was only later adopted by the Mongols and still later by the Manchus. Moreover, the Turkic group is also strongest in that not only the Uigurs, but the Kazaks, Kirgiz, Uzbeks and Tajiks have had their own writing systems based on Arabic, and these are virtually identical to the Uigur script. Within the Mongolian group, on the other hand, because of the early severance of ties among the languages of the group, no other nationality ever adopted the Mongol script. Within the Manchu-Tungus group, only the Sibe adopted the Manchu script, but did not produce a substantial literary culture of their own. In any case, as the chapter on the Sibe points out, their script has fallen into disuse, and today only few Sibe can still read and write it.

The survey concludes with a bibliography which has two purposes. One is to list most works used in the preparation of the text. The other is to encourage research on China's minorities by providing up-to-date lists of works on all twenty-one minorities of Northern China. However, a word of caution is in order. The sections on general works as well as those on the Uigurs, Kazaks, Mongols and Manchus are incomplete, because works on them are much more numerous than those on other minorities. A complete, up-to-date bibliography on these four minorities would fill several hundred pages which, given the purpose of this survey, would in my opinion be inappropriate. Consequently, I have limited these sections to works which I had occasion to consult in the course of my research.

Readers who wish to acquaint themselves with more works than listed here can turn to several reference aids. To mention only a few, for the Uigurs and Kazaks, the Center for East Asian Studies of Western Washington University has prepared a preliminary list of Turkic materials housed at that university. Its main value rests, I believe, with about 200 books written in Uigur, Kazak and Kirgiz and recently published in China. The list also includes other works relating to all Turkic nationalities in China as well as a few items on Turkic groups in other countries.⁷ The Center has also published a catalog of Mongolian Publications at Western Washington University with over 2,100 entries.⁸ It is my hope that it will serve as a modest foundation for a national union catalog of works on Mongolia in all languages. Such a national catalog is needed to advance Mongolian Studies in this country, and I hope that enough scholars and librarians can be persuaded to participate in this task so that today's dream can be turned into tomorrow's reality. In addition, readers can also consult the Bibliotheca Mongolica for works published in English, French, and German up to 1975.⁹

With regard to the Manchus, the relatively few works published during the past decade have all been listed here, but many of the numerous older works on the Manchus have been omitted. In the absence of a comprehensive bibliography, the reader is referred to a list compiled more than thirty years ago by Peter A. Berton, entitled Manchuria: An Annotated Bibliography (Washington: Library of Congress, 1951), xii, 187 p.

Place names are spelled according to the orthography used in the Zhonghua renmin gongheguo fensheng ditu (Hanyu pinyinban) (Beijing, 1977). Thus the capital of Inner Mongolia is spelled Hohhot instead of Huhohot'e, Khukhekhota, etc. In cases where the atlas lists two names for a given place, I have used the native name and placed the alternate name in parentheses at first occurrence in a chapter. With regard to other proper names, I have transliterated as closely as possible to the actual pronunciation whenever I could find a sufficiently informed native speaker. In other cases, I have used Chinese transliterations as found in written sources.

In the preparation of this survey, I have had the good fortune of being able to consult materials in various parts of Northern China. These were generously provided by many persons too numerous to be mentioned here individually. I wish to express my deep gratitude to all of them. My thanks go also to many persons in Beijing and in the minority areas who unstintingly shared with me their recollections, views, and interpretations. In this country, I received much valuable advice from my colleagues when I submitted, chapter by chapter, the draft of this survey in meetings of the East Asian Colloquium of Western Washington University. Finally, it is my pleasure to thank Joy Dabney and her staff for preparing the outline maps, and the Bureau for Faculty Research for meticulously typing the final version of the manuscript. Responsibility for any remaining errors of fact and interpretations rests entirely with me.

Notes

¹"Policies and administration of minority areas in Northwest China and Inner Mongolia, 1949-1959," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1962, 692 leaves.

²China's Policies Towards Minorities. Bellingham: Western Washington University, Center for East Asian Studies, 1971. 200 p. (Studies on East Asia, v. 2).

³Unless explicitly stated to include the majority Han (generally but inaccurately referred to as ethnic Chinese), the term "nationality" (minzu 民族) is interchangeable with "minority" (shaoshu minzu 少数民族).

⁴Spelling of all ethnic names follows the orthography adopted by the Third All-China Nationalities Language Conference in January 1980. See Minzu yuwen 5 (1980), 78.

⁵According to the census of June 1982. Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80-81.

⁶My estimate. The figure for the entire country is 7,219,352.

⁷The list includes sections for twenty-four Turkic groups, bibliographies, periodicals, collected works, history and archeology, and general works.

⁸The catalog is arranged by main entry. The Center can also provide, on demand, lists arranged according to any or all of sixty-nine subject categories including reference works, the humanities, social and natural sciences.

⁹Henry G. Schwarz, Bibliotheca Mongolica (Bellingham: Western Washington University, Center for East Asian Studies, 1978), ix, 355 p. (Studies on East Asia, v. 12).

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ABBREVIATIONS USED IN NOTES

Jiankuang	=	Zhongguo shaoshu minzu jiankuang.
Xinjiang	=	Xinjiang xiongdi minzu minjian gushi xuan.
Zhongguo	=	Zhongguo shaoshu minzu.
Zuopin xuan	=	Zhongguo shaoshu minzu wenxue zuopin xuan.

Turkic Group

1

Uigur

Size and Location

The Uigurs 维吾尔 are one of the largest minority nationalities in China. Almost all of the 5,957,112 Uigurs (as of 1982) lived in Xinjiang where the Uigurs constitute about three-fifths of the total population.¹ Some 80 percent are concentrated in the four districts of Hotan, Kashgar, Aksu, and Korla, ringing the Taklamakan desert. Smaller groups of Uigurs live in Qomul (Hami), Turpan (Turfan), Urumqi, and other localities of Xinjiang. During the time of the Mongol world empire some twenty-nine Uigur clans migrated to China proper where in Taoyuan and Changde counties of Hunan province some 2,000 Uigurs still live (see Map 1).²

History³

The roots of the Uigurs reach back at least as far as the mid-eighth century when they first appear in Chinese records as one of the vassal tribes of the East Turkic steppe confederation. They lived in the area between the Selenga River and modern Kobdo (Khovd). Around 744 that confederation came to an end and the Uigurs, with the possible help from the Karluks, another tribe subject to the Turks, created a new political power, with its capital at Ordubalig, meaning the court or capital city, later known as Karabalgasun. It was located on the upper reaches of the Orkhon River, rather close to the sites of the earlier

Chapter 1

Map. 1 Uigur

capitals of the Xiongnu and Turks and of the later Mongolian imperial capital of Karakorum. This Uigur state ruled for about a hundred years, until 840, an area which initially extended from the Altai mountains to Lake Baikal and later extended to the east and south.

Soon after they had established their rule in Mongolia, the Uigurs received an urgent request from the Tang government of China which in 755 suddenly found itself beset by An Lu-shan, one of its generals who rebelled and quickly conquered China's two capitals of Chang'an and Loyang. The Uigurs came to the aid of Tang and reconquered Loyang twice, in 757 and 762, from the rebels. This timely aid helped Tang to survive, and at first the Chinese emperor profusely thanked the Uigurs, but they wore out their welcome in Loyang by staying longer than militarily necessary and perhaps also, as Chinese sources allege, by looting Loyang. Whatever the truth of this may be, the greatest event for the Uigurs in Loyang was their meeting with Sogdian missionaries of the Manichean religion. The Uigur khan, Moyancho, took some of them back with him to Mongolia. Later he and many members of the Uigur aristocracy were converted to Manicheism, and eventually it became their state religion. Manicheism had a profound influence on the Uigurs who adopted the Sogdian script as their own. It was in this script, together with Chinese and Turkic, that they wrote the famous Karabalgasun inscriptions between 808 and 821. Judging by these inscriptions, the Uigurs also seemed to have changed their way of life from nomadic herding to farming, but it is not known how extensive this change was. The westernmost part of the Uigur state, the Turfan Depression, and the western part of Mongolia probably were either wholly or partially agricultural, but the inhabitants of the eastern part may well have retained their nomadic existence until the end of the Uigur state in Mongolia.

The end came in 840 when the Uigurs, debilitated by a famine caused by excessive snowfall and with part of their army in China, fell victim to a ferocious incursion from the North by the Kirgiz. The Uigurs fled for their lives. One group moved due south to the area of modern western Inner Mongolia and Gansu. Most of their descendants gradually became absorbed into other nationalities, but one small group developed into the Yugur nationality.⁴ Another group of Uigurs fled to the Kashgar area in western Xinjiang and to modern Soviet Central Asia. From the middle of the tenth century until the twelfth century these Uigurs maintained the Karakhanid state which included the major cities of Balasaghun, Kashgar and Hotan.

By far the greatest number of Uigurs fled to their westernmost possession of Turfan. By 1001 the state they established there expanded to include Kuqa in the west, Beiting (the Urumqi area) in the north, and as far east as the Gansu border. Its capital was at Karaohojo in the Turfan basin, and from all accounts we know that this Uigur state was rich and cultured.

Chapter 1

All three groups of Uigurs eventually came under foreign domination. The first to give up their independence were the Uigurs in Gansu whose lands were annexed by the Tangut state of Xixia between 1028 and 1036. About a century later, in 1128-1129, both the Karakhanid state and the Turfan state were brought under the control of the Karakitai, led by Yelu Dashi. When Chinggis Khan unified Mongolia and defeated the neighboring state of Xixia, the Uigurs, as well as other subject peoples, broke away from the Karakitai and declared their allegiance to the burgeoning Mongol empire. From 1209, when the Uigur state of Turfan formally submitted itself to the Mongols, until 1275 the *idikut*, rulers of the Uigur state, were allowed a certain measure of autonomy, including the right to remain in their capital of Karahojó. After 1275, however, the region was directly administered by the Yuan, the Chinese portion of the Mongol world empire.

When the Jagatai state broke up around 1370, it was succeeded by several smaller local states. The largest were Hotan and Beshbaliq, while Turfan and Qomul were somewhat smaller. Kashgar was still rather weak, although later it would grow in political importance. The majority of the population in all of these local states was Uigur, with Hui the second largest component. The rulers, on the other hand, were descendants of the erstwhile Mongol rulers who traced their genealogy back to Chinggis Khan. At the end of the fourteenth century Turfan, located between the larger states of Hotan and Beshbaliq, was still relatively weak, but would soon grow by annexing Qomul and probing into Gansu. It reached the apex of its political power between 1473 and 1545.

A period of reunification occurred from about 1600 to 1678 when the Yarkant khanate directly controlled Kashgar, Hotan, Aksu, Kuqa, and Karashahar. Even Turfan and Qomul were under the khanate's influence, but after 1649 both areas became independent from Yarkant.

The remainder of the Yarkant khanate broke up around 1678 when two decisive events took place. One was the outbreak of hostilities between two Muslim sects in the khanate, the White Mountain sect in Kashgar and the Black Mountain sect in Yarkant.⁵ The former, hard pressed by its rival to the east, called on the Jungars (Western Mongols) in northern Xinjiang for help. The Jungar ruler, Galdan, was only too glad to oblige and sent his armies into southern Xinjiang. Jungar intervention protracted the strife between the two contending sects which in turn resulted in destruction of such magnitude that any hope of eventual reunification vanished. The Jungars also brought Turfan and Qomul under their domination.

Until their eradication by the Qing dynasty around 1755, the Jungars remained the predominant force in all of Xinjiang except in Qomul. That area, closest to the Gansu border, was incorporated by the Qing dynasty in 1720. Soon thereafter the Qing extended their reach to Turfan where they posted some military representatives, but from the very beginning two factions arose in

Turfan, one opting for Qing control and the other sympathizing with the Jungars. Eventually the latter, with the help of Jungar armies, evicted the Qing from their territory. Meanwhile, the process of decentralization went apace in southern Xinjiang, with each oasis administering its own affairs, although still subservient to their Jungar overlords.

Unification of sorts came about by 1759 when Qing armies, after eradicating the Jungars in northern Xinjiang, invaded the South and placed garrisons in the major cities. Subsequent attempts to reestablish a unified native Uigur state, most notably the efforts of Yakub Beg in the 1860s and 1870s, all failed, partly because of Qing resistance but mostly because popular loyalty no longer extended beyond local areas. Qing China lost control over most of Xinjiang in the 1860s, but then mounted a huge military campaign which culminated in 1884 with the integration of Xinjiang as a regular province of China.

Language and Literature⁶

The Uigur language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages. It shares certain features with other Turkic languages, but in many other respects it is markedly different from them. Most of its present speakers live in Xinjiang, while a much smaller group of Uigur speakers lives in Soviet Central Asia.

Over the past three decades, Uigur has undergone tremendous changes, and therefore only tentative statements can be made regarding many of its features. It is currently believed that there are only two Uigur dialects, in the strict sense of the word, which are spoken in Hotan in Southern Xinjiang and the Lop region in the eastern part of the province. All other forms of speech are mere vernaculars of a common dialect spoken everywhere in Xinjiang except in the two places noted above. The five most important vernaculars are spoken in Kashgar, Aksu, Yarkant (all in Southern Xinjiang), in Qomul and in Ili.

The Uigur language has the following eight vowels:⁷

<u>a</u> as in <u>at</u> 'horse'	<u>o</u> as in <u>oɣul</u> 'boy'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>etε</u> 'tomorrow'	<u>u</u> as in <u>uluɣ</u> 'mighty'
<u>e</u> as in <u>etiz</u> 'field'	<u>ɔ</u> as in <u>oɟ</u> 'house, room'
<u>i</u> as in <u>iʃtam</u> 'pants'	<u>y</u> as in <u>ytʃ</u> 'there'

The twenty-four consonants are:

<u>b</u> as in <u>baʃ</u> 'head'	<u>d</u> as in <u>das</u> 'pan, basin'
<u>w</u> as in <u>wε</u> 'and'	<u>r</u> as in <u>tómyr</u> 'iron'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gyl</u> 'flower'	<u>z</u> as in <u>zaman</u> 'age, era'

Chapter 1

<u>g</u> as in <u>ta<u>g</u></u> 'mountain'	<u>ʒ</u> as in <u>ʒornal</u> 'magazine'
<u>l</u> as in <u>pul</u> 'money'	<u>ɲ</u> as in <u>jeɲi</u> 'new'
<u>n</u> as in <u>nur</u> 'light, ray'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jol</u> 'road'
<u>m</u> as in <u>mɛn</u> 'I'	<u>p</u> as in <u>put</u> 'foot'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒaj</u> 'place, locale'	<u>t</u> as in <u>taɹ</u> 'stone'
<u>s</u> as in <u>sɛn'et</u> 'art'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃiraq</u> 'lamp'
<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃɛhɛr</u> 'city'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xizmet</u> 'work'
<u>k</u> as in <u>kitap</u> 'book'	<u>h</u> as in <u>hazir</u> 'now'
<u>q</u> as in <u>qol</u> 'hand'	<u>f</u> as in <u>fapiao</u> 'receipt'

The vowels u, y, and i become unvoiced when placed between two unvoiced consonants, as in tut- 'to grab,' sypyrge - to sweep,' and pikir 'intention'.

Vocalic harmony is a feature common to all Altaic languages, but it is rather weak in Uigur, particularly within word stems. Only in suffixes is it rather uniformly observed. If, for example, the last vowel in a word stem is a front vowel, suffix vowels are also front vowels. When a word stem ends in i or e, the following rule applies: If the stem contains a g or k, suffixes will carry front vowels; if not, suffixes will have back vowels. Uigur also has consonantal harmony, but it is not as complete as vocalic harmony. It applies only to words in which a consonant forms the final phoneme of the stem. If this consonant is voiced, all suffix consonants must also be voiced.

Another feature of Uigur phonetics is the softening of vowels and consonants. Vocalic softening applies to a and ɛ in single-syllable stems where they are changed to e if the suffix starts with an i, as in el 'people' → eli 'his people'. In stems with two or more syllables, an a or ɛ in the final syllable is changed to i by any suffix that forms a new syllable. Examples are adɛt 'custom' → aditim 'my custom'; bazar 'market' → baziri 'his market'. Consonantal softening applies to q, k, p, and t under the following conditions: (1) They must occur in words of two or more syllables, (2) they must form the last phoneme of a stem, and (3) they must be followed by a personal suffix. Examples are jataq 'dormitory' → jatiɣim 'my dormitory'; otyk 'boot' → otigyn 'your boot'; mekteɹ 'school' → mektiwimiz 'our school'; maqset 'goal' → meqsidi 'their goal.' There are, however, many exceptions to this rule for both vowels and consonants.

Vocalic elision occurs when personal suffixes are attached to a bi-syllabic stem that contains in its second syllable an u, y, i, or ɛ. Examples are oɣul 'boy' → oɣlum 'my boy'; kongyl 'feeling' → konglimiz 'our feeling'; pikir 'idea' → pikrim 'my idea'; and ʃɛhɛr 'city' → ʃɛhrimiz 'our city'.

Stress is usually on the last syllable of a word and shifts to a suffix or the last of several suffixes. There are, however, many exceptions, some of which are found in borrowings from Arabic, Farsi, Russian and Chinese, as well as in certain compounds.

Uigur morphology is complex. It has six main cases, at least fifteen

verbal aspects, nineteen common ways of constructing adjectives, and six conjunctions as well as a much larger number of real words that serve as conjunctions. Verbal nouns (h_{er}ket nami) are extremely common and take many different functions, like subject, object, predicate, and adjective. Adjectival verbs (syp_{et}da) use their own suffixes to express different tenses. They can also serve as nouns. The five most common verbal voices (peil _{er}id_ziliri) are active, retroflex, passive, indirect, and mutual. The future tense of a verb is frequently used to express habitual actions in the present. Auxiliary verbs are used for modifying a verb but also for linking elements in complex sentences which are very often encountered in Uigur. Besides suffixes, Uigur also has at least eight postpositional words (s_oz arqajardet_i s_oz).

Uigur also distinguishes itself from other Turkic languages by a much larger number of homonyms. Examples include at 'horse' and 'name', t_yl 'dream' and 'noon', and k_oz 'eye' and 'fountain, spring'.

Uigur also shares with other Turkic languages a common lexicon, including some ancient words, like al- 'to take,' k_or- 'to see,' k_oz 'eye' and qol 'hand'. On the other hand, Uigur also has retained other ancient words no longer attested in other Turkic languages, as well as pure Uigur words. Examples include er_kize 'after', d_ziq 'many', and xojma 'very'. Another differentiating feature is the changed meaning of older or translated words. For example, et_il 'to open' (intr.) and sajra- 'to chirp, to sing (of birds)' are found in all Turkic languages, but in Uigur the combination et_ili_r- sajra_r is used only in the extended meaning of 'to speak one's mind'.

Quite expectedly, Uigur in its present form differs from other Turkic languages except, of course, those which are spoken in China, in its large and rapidly growing number of Chinese loan words.⁸ As recently as 1944, native Uigur words accounted for 49 percent of the total Uigur lexicon, Arabic 33.5 percent, Farsi 7.5 percent, Russian and other European languages 5.5 percent, and Chinese only 2 percent. Arabic loan words started to enter the Uigur language during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Arabic loan words were used primarily for Islamic religious terminology. More than half of the Farsi loan words represented concrete ideas and names of objects, while the remainder was Arabic loan words first absorbed by Farsi and then passed on to Uigur. Russian and European loan words are of recent vintage and mostly represent technical matter, such as radiyo and aptomobil as well as some political terms like puroletariyat.

Chinese loan words can be separated into old and new types. The old types, already in use before 1949, of which there were about 2 percent in 1944, as noted earlier, were found more in the countryside than in the cities of Xinjiang because Uigur intellectuals, living in the cities, disdained the use of Chinese. Moreover, there was no geographical uniformity in the use of Chinese loan words. Depending on the number of Chinese living in any given locality, the

number of Chinese loan words differed sharply from place to place. They also differed in their pronunciation because of the different Chinese dialects spoken by various Chinese residents of Xinjiang. Since 1949 the situation has greatly changed. First of all, the total number of Chinese loan words has increased tremendously. Although no figures are available, my guess would be around 10 percent of the total Uigur lexicon. Moreover, the former differences between cities and countryside and among various Chinese dialects have been eliminated, as the new Chinese loan words are directly transmitted through the news media which are controlled by the central government in Beijing.

The Uigur language has the distinction not only of having its own script, a rare feature among the twenty-one nationalities of Northern China, but also of having had a script earlier than the others. Already in the seventh century the Uigurs used their own script, known as the Orkhon (sometimes called Orkhon-Yenisei) script. The Uigurs later switched to the Sogdian alphabet. This Uigur script (Table 2) was adopted, with some changes, by the Mongols in the thirteenth and by the Manchus in the seventeenth century.

In the eleventh and twelfth centuries the Uigurs living under the rule of the Islamic Karakhanids in western Xinjiang began to use the Arabic script, while those living in Turfan and other locations in the eastern part continued to use the old Uigur script until the sixteenth century. The Uigurs in Gansu used the latter as late as the nineteenth century.

The Arabic script which was not well suited for expressing many Uigur sounds underwent several reforms, and the currently used Arabic script is shown in Table 3. In 1959 the central government of China introduced a new script (also shown in Table 3), but people in many walks of life continued to object to it. As a result, in 1982 it was abandoned in favor of the Arabic script.

The Uigurs have an extraordinarily rich literary heritage that reaches back to the eleventh century when in 1069 Yusup Khass Hajib completed his Kutadgu Bilig (The Wisdom That Leads to Regal Glory), a didactic poem of 6,500 couplets. During that same century another Uigur, Mahmud ibn al-Husain al-Kashghari, completed an important dictionary of Turkic languages, the Divanü lughatit türk, which has remained to this day a valuable source for scholarly research. A full account of Uigur literature still remains to be written and the scope of this survey permits us to mention only a few contemporary Uigur literary figures here. With the ravages of the so-called cultural revolution receding into the past, Uigur literature is once again flourishing. One of the most prominent novelists is Qäyyum Turdi who is writing on contemporary themes. Other leading novelists include Zunun Qadir, Ablimit Sabir, Tuhtahum Masiri, and Ähät Turdi. Among the most popular poets must be listed Äbäydulla Ibrahim and Nim Shehit. The latter fell victim to Mao's "cultural revolution" in 1972. Many poems and short stories are published in literary magazines, the most important of which are Tarim, a monthly published in Ürümqi, the bi-

Uigur

Table 2

OLD UIGUR SCRIPT

	A	B	C	D
1				a
2				e
3				i
4				o, u
5				ø, y
6				n
7				ŋ
8				q
9				G
10				b
11				s
12				ʃ
13				d, t
14				l
15				m
16				dʒ, tʃ
17				j
18				g, k
19				r
20				w

A = Initial Position

B = Medial Position

C = Final Position

D = IPA transcription

Table 3
MODERN UIGUR SCRIPTS

monthly Qāshqār ādibiyati (Kashgar Literature) in Kashgar, and the quarterly journal Yengi qashteshi (New Jade) in Hotan.¹⁰

Society¹¹

The Uigurs play a large variety of musical instruments, many of which are also found, usually in slightly altered forms, among neighboring nationalities, like the Kazaks, Kirgiz, Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Tatars. Illustration 1 shows some of the more popular instruments. The Xinjiang Song and Dance Ensemble gives frequent performances in Ürümqi and other cities, while virtually every major Uigur population center has its own resident orchestra.

Most Uigur men living in cities have adopted Western clothing, like suits and the kāpkā, a Russian-style visored cap. The more traditional-minded still wear the round doppa (Illustrations 2 and 3). Older men still cling to the custom of covering their heads in public, either with a doppa or a kāpkā. Usually the doppa is not worn in conjunction with Chinese cloth shoes but only with leather shoes. Many younger men, however, no longer abide by this custom and walk around bare-headed. Women almost everywhere, even in large cities, wear the traditional loose-fitting cotton dress, usually with large floral designs, and a kerchief or doppa on their heads.

The Uigur diet is heavily dominated by meat, specifically mutton. Like the Kazaks and Mongols, the Uigurs feel that a meal without meat is not a meal. The most common meal is polo which, as the Chinese term zhuafan (lit. grab food) vividly suggests, is eaten with the fingers. Other meat dishes include manta, meat-filled dumplings, shorpa, a meat soup, and kawap, skewered meat. These dishes are almost always eaten together with an unleavened crusty pancake called nan. Other vegetarian side dishes include gānpān (rice), suyqash (noodle soup), lāghmān (long, stringy noodles), pechinā (bisquits), qatlima (green onion pancakes), poshkal (oil cakes) and, for dessert, the ever-popular halwa, a confectionary made of flour, sugar and oil.

Recent Developments¹²

In September 1949 the Communist armies entered Xinjiang peacefully. The military command there, nominally under Guomindang control, had sent a telegram offering its surrender. This gesture was greatly appreciated by the Communists who had just completed four years of relentless civil war in China proper and who only recently had serious difficulties with Muslim forces under the command of several provincial strongmen in Qinghai and Gansu provinces.

The former Guomindang garrison was not dismissed and sent back to China proper but integrated into a greatly expanded military command for Xinjiang. It is fair to say that, except during the cultural revolution, Xinjiang

Chapter 1

Ajek

Hushtar

Dutar

Satar

Tãmbur

Rawap

Illus. 1. Uigur Musical Instruments

Uigur

Surme

Sabay

Dap

Naghra

Qalun

Illus. 1. Uigur Musical Instruments (continued)

Chapter 1

Illus. 2. An Uigur Couple

Illus. 3. Embroidering Doppas

has experienced a greater military presence than any other province. There is hardly any major area of human activity that has not been influenced, if not dominated, by the Xinjiang military command. The primary objective of this massive military presence is to firmly secure Xinjiang, a region which throughout history had eluded the grasp of Chinese governments and which as late as the 1930s and 1940s had been in the Soviet sphere of influence. Consequently, when officers and men reached their date of discharge, they were persuaded not to return to China proper but to join a paramilitary organization, called the production and construction corps, under the control of the region's military command. This corps was later joined by prisoners and volunteers from China's interior.

For the past fifteen years the corps has consisted of nine divisions, maintaining nine so-called reclamation areas. This corps, as well as the entire military command, has not only been active in land reclamation and other agricultural projects, but has also been the leading edge of industry in Xinjiang. As a result, today Xinjiang is self-sufficient in foodstuffs, even though its population has greatly increased. Traditional industries, such as jade carving and carpet weaving, have been expanded. The oil fields of Karamay are still pumping oil even though the newer offshore fields promise to yield much larger amounts. In addition, a very large variety of consumer goods is produced in Xinjiang. A railroad is now operating from the Gansu frontier to Urumqi, some 1,380 kilometers long, that is the single most important link transporting a never-ending stream of Chinese migrants to Xinjiang and of raw materials, such as oil, tungsten, uranium, coal, and jade to China proper. Aside from several branch lines connecting mines and factories with the trunk line, there is now a 470 kilometer railroad line from Turpan to Korla. The railroads are supplemented by some 23,000 kilometer of roads.

Education has greatly expanded since 1949 at which time there was only one institute of higher learning, Xinjiang College, with some 300 students. Below it were nine middle schools with 3,000 students and some 200,000 elementary students. Now there are eight schools of higher education, with some 4,700 minority students, and sixty-one intermediate technical schools with 21,000 students. Public education has grown in proportion to the increase of Chinese migrants in the region. There are now 1,800 middle schools with 800,000 students and 9,891 elementary schools with over two million students. The percentage of Chinese students at all levels increases each year, and the Chinese language has become the language of instruction in most schools.

Progress has also been made in the field of health care. Ürümqi, Kashgar and Yarkant have hospitals which practice traditional Uigur medicine. These are supplemented by Western-style medicine. In the grasslands, medical teams make their rounds among the settlements, and most major industrial and government installations in the cities have their own outpatient clinics.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80.

²Jiankuang, v. 3, 1.

³Historical information can be obtained from many sources, including René Grousset, Empire of the Steppes (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1970).

⁴For additional information about this group, see the chapter on the Yugurs.

⁵A detailed account of this important episode in Uigur history is presented in the article by Schwarz.

⁶Unless otherwise noted, linguistic information is based on my notes, taken in Xinjiang in 1983.

⁷For the presentation of the Uigur, Kazak, Kirgiz, and Uzbek scripts, I have adopted the sequence used at Xinjiang University. First the vowels are presented, then the voiced consonants and finally the unvoiced consonants. Within each group, letters of similar shape are clustered. I have found this arrangement to be pedagogically sound.

⁸The following five paragraphs are based mainly on Nadzhip, Modern Uigur, 15-63.

⁹The symbols for ǯ and ǰ have been devised by the Uigur language department of Xinjiang University. They are now being used on an experimental basis but at this time (December 1983) have not yet been officially adopted.

¹⁰Among the several scholarly publications circulated only within organizations, the best is the Shinjang dashue ilmiy zhornali ijtimai' pān qismi (Xinjiang University Research Journal, Social Science Section) which publishes articles written by graduate students.

¹¹Information in this section is based on my observations in Xinjiang.

¹²Additional information on recent developments can be obtained from Zhongguo, 184-185, 190-193.

2

Kazak

Size and Location

Numbering 907,582 in the census of 1982,¹ the Kazaks 哈萨克 of China live principally in Xinjiang, most notably in the autonomous prefecture of Ili, the autonomous counties of Möri and Barkol and in Ürümqi county. Smaller groups of Kazaks are found in the Aksay Kazak autonomous county in western Gansu province and in the Haixi Mongol, Tibetan and Kazak autonomous prefecture of Qinghai province (see Map 2).

History²

The historical roots of the Kazak nationality may reach back as far as the second century B.C., the time when the first of several Chinese envoys visited the Wusun as part of an abortive attempt by the Han dynasty to forge an alliance with the Wusun against the Xiongnu. From 161 B.C. until around 500 A.D. the Wusun led a federation which included the Saizhong 塞种 (Sakya) and Yuezhi 月氏 tribes who are considered today as the Kazaks' progenitors. They lived in the area between the Ili valley and Issyk Kul (Hot Lake).

When the Turks rose in the mid-sixth century and created their huge steppe federation, they incorporated the Wusun and many other previous groups. The Kazaks' ancestors remained in their homeland where, over the following six centuries, they would encounter and to some degree mingle with several invading forces. From the tenth to twelfth centuries it was the Uigurs

Map 2. Kazak

and Karluks who established their Karakhanid state, in the twelfth century the Kidans under the leadership of Yelü Dashi who found a refuge in the area between the Ili and Lake Balkash where they established their Karakitai state, and finally the Mongols, particularly the Kereits and Naimans, who entered that region in the early thirteenth century.

When Chinggis Khan started his western campaign in 1219, the proto-Kazaks once again came under a new leadership. They were enlisted as soldiers and moved westward with the Mongol armies and later, after the campaign, resettled over a wide area of West Asia. Their grazing areas stretched across the dividing line between the Kipchak (Golden Horde) and Jagatai khanates. In the 1460s some of the herders on the lower reaches of the Syr Darya wished to break away from the oppressive rule of Uzbek Khan. They fled eastward to their original homeland in the Chu River valley south of Lake Balkash. As a consequence of this move, they became known as Kazak which means 'the breakaways' or 'secessionists.' Over a period of time, they intermingled with the Uzbeks to the south and the Mongols of the Dughlat khanate. Prosperity caused their population to increase, and eventually they expanded their area to the vast plains northwest of Lake Balkash and south to the Talas River valley, to Tashkent, Andijan and Samarkand. During this process the Kazaks formed a new, distinct nationality, and by the end of the sixteenth century they divided into three hordes (*jüz*, or tribal federations): Ule (Big), Orta (Middle), and Qishi (Little). Qing records referred to them as Right, Left, and West, respectively. The Orta horde was the strongest and most populous, and the genealogies of its clans are the most complete.³

In the late seventeenth century the Jungars, the most powerful of the four Western Mongol (Oirat) tribes, living in the area of modern Northern Xinjiang, rose to power. In the 1670s their leader, Galdan, expanded to Southern Xinjiang and Qinghai and westward into the regions of the Kazaks and Kirgiz, forcing them to abandon their homelands. The Kazaks suffered greatly under the Jungars, particularly after 1723 when the latter devastated the Kazak area in the Talas river valley. The ensuing sufferings of the Kazaks is commemorated in their oral history as the 'era of catastrophe.' The Jungar yoke was lifted from them in 1755-57 when the Qing dynasty in a huge expedition invaded the Jungars' homeland and annihilated them.

Soon a portion of the Kazaks moved east to occupy the territory formerly belonging to the Jungars. They settled in the pastures of the Altai, Qoqek (Tacheng), and Yining districts. Each summer and fall they attended the trade fairs in Ürümqi, Qoqek, Kobdo, and Yining where they traded animals and animal products for tea, cloth, wheat and other commodities.

Starting in mid-eighteenth century, Russian control gradually extended to the region of Lake Balkash, and the bulk of the Kazak population which lived there came under Russian jurisdiction. With the eventual consolidation of the

Sino-Russian frontier in the nineteenth century, Kazaks of the Middle, Little and western part of the Big Horde became separated from the Kazaks of the eastern part of the Big Horde who had settled in modern Xinjiang. Later some of the latter Kazaks moved to the Caidam Basin and Qinghai province.

Language and Literature⁴

The Kazak language belongs to the Kipchak branch of the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages. It is related to Uigur, Salar, Western Yugur, and Uzbek but is especially close to Kirgiz and Tatar. It is a relatively uniform language, without any major dialectal differences, so that Kazaks from different places have no difficulty in conversing with one another. What dialectal differences there are, are based on tribal divisions. The southwestern dialect is spoken in the counties of Tekes, Yining (Gulja) and Huocheng as well as the Qapqal Sibe autonomous county, all of which are located in the Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture. There the Alban and Suwan tribes reside. The northeastern dialect is spoken in other parts of this prefecture as well as in Möri, Barkol, and Aksay.

The Kazak language consists of nine vowels, as follows:⁵

<u>a</u> as in <u>ana</u> 'mother'	<u>o</u> as in <u>ortaq</u> 'common'
<u>æ</u> as in <u>æl</u> 'strength'	<u>u</u> as in <u>ul</u> 'son'
<u>e</u> as in <u>el</u> 'people'	<u>ö</u> as in <u>öte</u> 'very'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>εs</u> 'smoke'	<u>y</u> as in <u>yj</u> 'house, home'
<u>i</u> as in <u>iri</u> 'big, large'	

The twenty-four consonants are:

<u>b</u> as in <u>bel</u> 'waist'	<u>ɣ</u> as in <u>ɣaser</u> 'century'
<u>w</u> as in <u>waqt</u> 'time'	<u>l</u> as in <u>laq</u> 'goat'
<u>v</u> as in <u>vokzal</u> 'train station'	<u>n</u> as in <u>nar</u> 'dromedary'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gyl</u> 'flower'	<u>m</u> as in <u>mal</u> 'cattle'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒas</u> 'youth, age'	<u>s</u> as in <u>sarε</u> 'yellow'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dala</u> 'open country'	<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃaʃ</u> 'hair'
<u>r</u> as in <u>raqmet</u> 'thank you'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kisi</u> 'person'
<u>z</u> as in <u>zil</u> 'weight'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qabɹ</u> 'grave'
<u>ɳ</u> as in <u>dʒɳ</u> 'sleeve'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃempion</u> 'champion'
<u>j</u> as in <u>dʒajlaw</u> 'summer pasture'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xaleq</u> 'people'
<u>p</u> as in <u>pajda</u> 'benefit'	<u>h</u> as in <u>qaharman</u> 'hero'
<u>t</u> as in <u>tas</u> 'stone'	<u>f</u> as in <u>feberal</u> 'February'

The consonants tʃ, v, ʃ are used only for foreign loan words.

Stress is almost always on the last syllable of simple and compound words,

Table 4
KAZAK SCRIPTS

F	E	D	C	B	A		F	E	D	C	B	A	
1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14
15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23	24	25	26	27	28
29	30	31	32	33	34	35	36	37	38	39	40	41	42
43	44	45	46	47	48	49	50	51	52	53	54	55	56
57	58	59	60	61	62	63	64	65	66	67	68	69	70
71	72	73	74	75	76	77	78	79	80	81	82	83	84
85	86	87	88	89	90	91	92	93	94	95	96	97	98
99	100	101	102	103	104	105	106	107	108	109	110	111	112
113	114	115	116	117	118	119	120	121	122	123	124	125	126
127	128	129	130	131	132	133	134	135	136	137	138	139	140
141	142	143	144	145	146	147	148	149	150	151	152	153	154
155	156	157	158	159	160	161	162	163	164	165	166	167	168
169	170	171	172	173	174	175	176	177	178	179	180	181	182
183	184	185	186	187	188	189	190	191	192	193	194	195	196
197	198	199	200	201	202	203	204	205	206	207	208	209	210
211	212	213	214	215	216	217	218	219	220	221	222	223	224
225	226	227	228	229	230	231	232	233	234	235	236	237	238
239	240	241	242	243	244	245	246	247	248	249	250	251	252
253	254	255	256	257	258	259	260	261	262	263	264	265	266
267	268	269	270	271	272	273	274	275	276	277	278	279	280
281	282	283	284	285	286	287	288	289	290	291	292	293	294
295	296	297	298	299	300	301	302	303	304	305	306	307	308
309	310	311	312	313	314	315	316	317	318	319	320	321	322
323	324	325	326	327	328	329	330	331	332	333	334	335	336
337	338	339	340	341	342	343	344	345	346	347	348	349	350
351	352	353	354	355	356	357	358	359	360	361	362	363	364
365	366	367	368	369	370	371	372	373	374	375	376	377	378
379	380	381	382	383	384	385	386	387	388	389	390	391	392
393	394	395	396	397	398	399	400	401	402	403	404	405	406
407	408	409	410	411	412	413	414	415	416	417	418	419	420
421	422	423	424	425	426	427	428	429	430	431	432	433	434
435	436	437	438	439	440	441	442	443	444	445	446	447	448
449	450	451	452	453	454	455	456	457	458	459	460	461	462
463	464	465	466	467	468	469	470	471	472	473	474	475	476
477	478	479	480	481	482	483	484	485	486	487	488	489	490
491	492	493	494	495	496	497	498	499	500	501	502	503	504
505	506	507	508	509	510	511	512	513	514	515	516	517	518
519	520	521	522	523	524	525	526	527	528	529	530	531	532
533	534	535	536	537	538	539	540	541	542	543	544	545	546
547	548	549	550	551	552	553	554	555	556	557	558	559	560
561	562	563	564	565	566	567	568	569	570	571	572	573	574
575	576	577	578	579	580	581	582	583	584	585	586	587	588
589	590	591	592	593	594	595	596	597	598	599	600	601	602
603	604	605	606	607	608	609	610	611	612	613	614	615	616
617	618	619	620	621	622	623	624	625	626	627	628	629	630
631	632	633	634	635	636	637	638	639	640	641	642	643	644
645	646	647	648	649	650	651	652	653	654	655	656	657	658
659	660	661	662	663	664	665	666	667	668	669	670	671	672
673	674	675	676	677	678	679	680	681	682	683	684	685	686
687	688	689	690	691	692	693	694	695	696	697	698	699	700
701	702	703	704	705	706	707	708	709	710	711	712	713	714
715	716	717	718	719	720	721	722	723	724	725	726	727	728
729	730	731	732	733	734	735	736	737	738	739	740	741	742
743	744	745	746	747	748	749	750	751	752	753	754	755	756
757	758	759	760	761	762	763	764	765	766	767	768	769	770
771	772	773	774	775	776	777	778	779	780	781	782	783	784
785	786	787	788	789	790	791	792	793	794	795	796	797	798
799	800	801	802	803	804	805	806	807	808	809	810	811	812
813	814	815	816	817	818	819	820	821	822	823	824	825	826
827	828	829	830	831	832	833	834	835	836	837	838	839	840
841	842	843	844	845	846	847	848	849	850	851	852	853	854
855	856	857	858	859	860	861	862	863	864	865	866	867	868
869	870	871	872	873	874	875	876	877	878	879	880	881	882
883	884	885	886	887	888	889	890	891	892	893	894	895	896
897	898	899	900	901	902	903	904	905	906	907	908	909	910
911	912	913	914	915	916	917	918	919	920	921	922	923	924
925	926	927	928	929	930	931	932	933	934	935	936	937	938
939	940	941	942	943	944	945	946	947	948	949	950	951	952
953	954	955	956	957	958	959	960	961	962	963	964	965	966
967	968	969	970	971	972	973	974	975	976	977	978	979	980
981	982	983	984	985	986	987	988	989	990	991	992	993	994
995	996	997	998	999	1000	1001	1002	1003	1004	1005	1006	1007	1008
1009	1010	1011	1012	1013	1014	1015	1016	1017	1018	1019	1020	1021	1022
1023	1024	1025	1026	1027	1028	1029	1030	1031	1032	1033	1034	1035	1036
1037	1038	1039	1040	1041	1042	1043	1044	1045	1046	1047	1048	1049	1050
1051	1052	1053	1054	1055	1056	1057	1058	1059	1060	1061	1062	1063	1064
1065	1066	1067	1068	1069	1070	1071	1072	1073	1074	1075	1076	1077	1078
1079	1080	1081	1082	1083	1084	1085	1086	1087	1088	1089	1090	1091	1092
1093	1094	1095	1096	1097	1098	1099	1100	1101	1102	1103	1104	1105	1106
1107	1108	1109	1110	1111	1112	1113	1114	1115	1116	1117	1118	1119	1120
1121	1122	1123	1124	1125	1126	1127	1128	1129	1130	1131	1132	1133	1134
1135	1136	1137	1138	1139	1140	1141	1142	1143	1144	1145	1146	1147	1148
1149	1150	1151	1152	1153	1154	1155	1156	1157	1158	1159	1160	1161	1162
1163	1164	1165	1166	1167	1168	1169	1170	1171	1172	1173	1174	1175	1176
1177	1178	1179	1180	1181	1182	1183	1184	1185	1186	1187	1188	1189	1190
1191	1192	1193	1194	1195	1196	1197	1198	1199	1200	1201	1202	1203	1204
1205	1206	1207	1208	1209	1210	1211	1212	1213	1214	1215	1216	1217	1218
1219	1220	1221	1222	1223	1224	1225	1226	1227	1228	1229	1230	1231	1232
1233	1234	1235	1236	1237	1238	1239	1240	1241	1242	1243	1244	1245	1246
1247	1248	1249	1250	1251	1252	1253	1254	1255	1256	1257	1258	1259	1260
1261	1262	1263	1264	1265	1266	1267	1268	1269	1270	1271	1272	1273	1274
1275	1276	1277	1278	1279	1280	1281	1282	1283	1284	1285	1286	1287	1288
1289	1290	1291	1292	1293	1294	1295	1296	1297	1298	1299	1300	1301	1302
1303	1304	1305	1306	1307	1308	1309	1310	1311	1312	1313	1314	1315	1316
1317	1318	1319	1320	1321	1322	1323	1324	1325	1326	1327	1328	1329	1330
1331	1332	1333	1334	1335	1336	1337	1338	1339	1340	1341	1342	1343	1344
1345	1346	1347	1348	1349	1350	1351	1352	1353	1354	1355	1356	1357	1358
1359	1360	1361	1362	1363	1364	1365	1366	1367	1368	1369	1370	1371	1372
1373	1374	1375	1376	1377	1378	1379	1380	1381	1382	1383	1384	1385	1386
1387	1388	1389	1390	1391	1392	1393	1394	1395	1396	1397	1398	1399	1400
1401	1402	1403	1404	1405	1406	1407	1408	1409	1410	1411	1412	1413	1414
1415	1416	1417	1418	1419	1420	1421	1422	1423	1424	1425	1426	1427	1428
1429	1430	1431	1432	1433	1434	1435	1436	1437	1438	1439	1440	1441	1442
1443	1444	1445</											

but not on suffixes. For example, temir 'iron,' temir'i 'blacksmith' but temirimin 'I am a blacksmith'.

A large number of loan words are from Russian or from other European languages, as transmitted through Russian. Examples include gazel 'newspaper', džornal 'magazine', radijo 'radio', and zawat 'factory.' Many other loan words come from Chinese, like /aj 'tea' and sæj 'vegetable'. There are also some words derived from Persian and Mongolian, like mædenijet 'culture' and qunadʒen (kuna-a) 'three-year old cow', respectively.

The Kazaks of Xinjiang have currently two scripts (see Table 4).⁶ The older one is based on the Arabic alphabet which was adopted during the second half of the nineteenth century. The famous Kazak poet Abai (1845-1904) and certain publications, such as Dala walayeti (Grasslands) and Ayghap (Cry Out) did much to popularize this script. Shortly after the Bolshevik revolution in 1917 the Russians reformed the Kazak Arabic script and, for a second time, in 1924. These two reforms were also adopted by the Kazaks in Xinjiang. In 1965 the central government of China introduced a Latin script for the Kazaks, and some books and journals were published in that script. Because of low popularity and other reasons, the Latin script was shelved in favor of the Arabic script in 1982.

The Kazaks of Xinjiang have a rich oral history which includes many literary genres such as fables, riddles, poems, legends, and epics. Especially popular are stories about the adventures of Hoja Nasir which are similar to stories about the effendi circulating among the Uigurs and other neighboring nationalities. Like the Mongol badarch, the Kazak agen used to be a popular figure in herding camps where he would recite stories and sing poems. His favorite instrument was the two-stringed dombra (Illus. 4). The tradition of the agen has all but died out, and his activities now seem to be confined to stage performances and radio programs.

The dean of the contemporary Kazak literary community in Xinjiang is the sixty-year old Qurban Ali whose poems have been published in Xinjiang and, in Chinese translation, in Beijing and elsewhere in China. One of the youngest writers is Akbar Mijit, born in 1954 and currently working in the Party committee for the Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture. His short stories generally deal with contemporary themes. Several local literary organs and the magazine Shughila (Dawn), published monthly in Ürümqi, serve as platforms from which many budding Kazak poets and writers hope to launch their literary careers. The only Kazak intellectual journal is Ghilmy maqalar jynaghi (Collections of Articles), published by Xinjiang University.

Society⁷

Traditional Kazak society was organized into a number of tribes, each of which contained several clans and individual families. The largest tribe was the

Kazak

Sebezghe

Dombur

Qobezshe

Illus. 4. Kazak Musical Instruments

Kereit, followed by Naiman, Kezai, Alban and Suwan. While today families are monogamous, in the past Islam allowed up to four wives. There was, of course, a direct relationship between wealth and the number of wives because the higher the bride price, the fewer wives a man could afford to marry. Marriages were entirely arranged and required a minimum of twenty to thirty animals as bride price. The richer herders would often hand over more than 100 animals. In poor families no bride price was paid. When a man died, his wife or wives were taken over by his brothers. This system was known as ämënggër.

As in most other traditional societies, the eldest male in a family was the head, while wives obeyed their husbands and children obeyed their fathers. When

Chapter 2

a man married, he received a part of his family's property, then left and established his own home. Children stayed close to their parents in the home and, during summer, they all moved out to summer pasture where they set up clusters of three to five tents, known as awel, quite similar to the Mongolian ail, which was the smallest social unit.

Kazaks live in round felt tents call üy during the summer and in adobe houses with flat roofs during winter.⁸ Felt tents have a roof with a smoke hole in the center. When building it, Kazaks first erect a framework of red willow covered with splendid achnatherum and felt on the outside. Tents of richer families sport red or multi-colored embroidery on their roofs. Furnishings are arranged according to a definite pattern. The door faces east. Sleeping accommodations are in the far left and right, with clothes trunks and saddles at the foot and a seat cushion in front of the trunk which is the seat of honor for guests. To the immediate left and right of the door are found horse utensils, hunting equipment, cooking utensils, and food. During inclement weather young animals are tethered inside the door.

On the pastures Kazaks live largely off their herds. A variety of dairy products, like yoghurt, milk skin, cheese, and butter are extremely popular. They are made from both cows and sheep. The meat most commonly eaten is mutton, usually large chunks eaten with the hands. It is a Kazak custom to slaughter animals during the late autumn festival and then to cure the meat by smoking it. Enough meat is stored in this fashion to last through the long winter. A favorite winter staple is horse meat sausage which can be preserved for long periods.

In late spring herders ladle fresh mare's milk into shaba, large flasks made of horse hide. The milk is then constantly agitated until fermented. This beverage, which is identical to the Mongolian airag, is the favorite summer drink. In addition, there are a variety of foods made of rice and cereals, like bawersaq, a dough deepfried in sheep butter. Due to the environment, Kazaks hardly eat any vegetables.

Kazak clothing is characterized by long sleeves, with considerable variations between different locations and tribes. In winter, men wear an unlined sheepskin overcoat. The more well-to-do also wear a küpi, a coat made of camel hair, which is held together by a cloth belt with gold embroidery and from which a small knife is suspended on the right side. Women wear dresses, preferably of red material. Girls like to wear embroidered leggings and silver ornaments which jingle when the girls walk. The Kazaks in the Altai region wear three-cornered hats in winter, while those in the Ili region wear round hats. Both kinds are made of lambskin. In the past girls wore colorful hats with tassels made of owl feathers. Married women wear white cloth scarves which reach down to the heels and are richly embroidered in red and yellow colors. Both men and women wear boots, and in winter also felt stockings (Illustration 5).

Kazak

Illus. 5. Kazak Costumes

Recent Developments⁹

After the Guomindang garrison command of Xinjiang surrendered to the Communists in September 1949, resistance against the new Chinese rulers continued in various parts of the province. The fiercest resistance in the early 1950s was offered by the Kazaks who under the leadership of Ozman Beg fought until their defeat in 1954. The survivors, more than 25,000, were resettled in Qinggil (Qinghe), Koktokay (Fuyun), and Burultokay (Fuhai) counties in the Altay district.

All autonomous areas for the Kazakhs were created during the year 1954, as follows: the Haixi Tibetan, Mongol and Kazak autonomous prefecture in Qinghai on January 25, the Aksay Kazak autonomous county in Gansu on April 27, and after the Kazak resistance in Xinjiang had been broken, the Möri autonomous county on July 17, Barkol autonomous county on September 30, and finally the largest area, the Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture on November 27.

One of the first goals was the settling of the Kazak nomads which was basically achieved by the end of the 1950s. Industrial development has gone apace, especially in the Ili prefecture where the two largest enterprises are the oil fields at Karamay and the iron and steel plant on the Gongnais plains. In addition, there are plants for the manufacture of leather goods, wool spinning, vegetable oil, chemical fertilizer, and coke.

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Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80. In 1978 the Kazaks in China numbered 800,000 (Zhongguo, 195) and in 1958 568,000 (Jiankuang, v. 4, 1).

²Historical information is largely based on Zhongguo, 204-205.

³Zhongguo, 199.

⁴General linguistic information is adapted from Gelajden.

⁵Transcription of words illustrating vowels and consonants is according to Li and Nurbek, 64-65.

⁶Information on the Kazak script is based on Geng 1980, 75-76.

⁷The section on society is largely taken from Zhongguo, 196-197.

⁸The best source on Kazak housing is Mukanov.

⁹Information on recent developments can be found in Zhongguo, 206.

3

Kirgiz

Size and Location

In 1982 there were 113,999 Kirgiz 柯尔克孜 in China,¹ compared to 66,000 twenty years earlier.² Eighty percent of them live in the Kizilsu 克孜勒苏 Kirgiz autonomous prefecture in southwestern Xinjiang. Others live in Uqturpan (Wushi), Aksu, Yarkant (Shache), Tashkurgan and Guma (Pishan) in southern Xinjiang and in Tekes, Monggolküre (Zhaosu), Dörböljin (Emin), Bortala (Bole), Jinghe and Tokkuztara (Gongliu) in the southern part of the province (see Map 3).³ In addition, more than 600 Kirgiz live in Fuyu 富裕 county of Heilongjiang in China's Northeast. The greatest concentration of the Northeast Kirgiz is found in Wujiazi 五家子 village of Youyi 友谊 township which in 1979 comprised 219 Kirgiz, 327 Han, eighty-four Mongols, twenty-one Daur, and two Manchus.⁴

History⁵

The earliest traces of the Kirgiz's ancestors are found on the upper Yenisei, who were recorded in the Shiji and Han Shu as Likun 鬲昆 and Jiankun 坚昆 and said to be subjects of the Xiongnu. The Jiankun were rather strong in the third century when they were neighbors of the Wusun 乌孙, Dingling 丁零, and Tangju 唐居 and were called in Chinese sources Chigu 敕骨 or Qigu 契骨. When the Turks rose to preeminence, the Chigu were part of the Tiele 铁勒 federation and might have had close relations with the Rouran 柔然.

Chapter 3

Map 3. Kirgiz

Kirgiz

In the mid-sixth century records speak of Xiajias 黠戛斯, the presumed forerunners of the Kirgiz, under the control of the Turk khanate but also as part of the Biyanto 薛延陀 khanate. When in the seventh century the Western Turkish khanate was torn by internal conflict, the Xiajias broke away, and in 648 the Tang dynasty established a dudufu 都督府 (a military post) in their area.

The Xiajias had consistently hostile relations with the Ugurs. When the latter established their state on the Mongolian plains in 744, the Xiajias fought them. They did not succeed in preventing the Ugurs from holding sway over Mongolia for about a century, but in 840 while much of the Uigur army was occupying northern China, the Xiajias attacked them again. This time they managed to drive the Ugurs off the Mongolian plateau and to establish their own khanate.

Between the seventh and tenth centuries the Xiajias traded with Tang China, Tibet, the Caliphate empire 大食, and the Karluks 葛逻禄. They still used the Yenisei script and the animal cycle. Their musical instruments were the drum, reed pipe, bili 箎 (a kind of bamboo pipe), and panling 盘铃 (a bell?).

At the end of the twelfth century when Temujin was consolidating his power in Eastern Mongolia, most Kirgiz, now referred to as Jilijis 吉利吉斯, were still in the area of the upper Yenisei and the Altai mountain range. During the Ming period the Jilijis fought with the Oirats. When the latter were defeated by the Eastern Mongols, most Jilijis tribes moved to the Tianshan range where they still live today.

A few Kirgiz remained in their homeland on the upper Yenisei. Their descendants are today called Khakass by Soviet ethnographers. Just south of there, in the Altai mountain range, other Kirgiz lived as late as the eighteenth century. When the Qing dynasty defeated the Jungars in the 1750s, they removed these Kirgiz to China's Northeast. The first group moved in 1758 from the Kobdo region and a second group followed them in 1761 from the Altai and Kang'ai mountain ranges. These two groups formed the core of today's Kirgiz in Heilongjiang.⁶

Language and Literature⁷

The term Kirgiz is what the people call themselves but they are not agreed on its meaning. Some say it means forty households while others aver its real meaning is mountain girls, or forty girls, the latter relating to a Kirgiz fable which traces the origin of the Kirgiz to forty girls. A few Kirgiz adhere to yet another theory, namely that their name means prairie people. The most likely meaning is something like powerful, magnificent, or wise.⁸

Kirgiz belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages. The Kirgiz had their own script as early as the eighth century, called the Yenisei

script, but it was later lost. After conversion to Islam, the Kirgiz adopted a script based on the Arabo-Persian alphabet. In 1954 a new script was worked out which was based on this alphabet and several publications were issued in that language. Later the central government of China adopted a script based on the Latin alphabet but, like a similar script decreed for the Uigurs, it never found much favor with the people. Consequently, in 1982 this script was abandoned in favor of the Arabic script (see Table 5), and later that year the first textbooks written in the Arabic script were distributed in schools of the Kizilsu prefecture.⁹

Kirgiz living in some districts of northern Xinjiang also use the Uigur and Kazak scripts, while those in Heilongjiang use either Chinese or Mongolian.

The Kirgiz language has eight short and six long vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>ata</u> 'father'	<u>y</u> as in <u>kyl-</u> 'to laugh'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>εjq</u> 'sacred'	<u>aa</u> as in <u>taar</u> 'pocket'
<u>e</u> as in <u>el</u> 'people'	<u>ee</u> as in <u>eer</u> 'saddle'
<u>i</u> as in <u>til</u> 'language'	<u>oo</u> as in <u>too</u> 'mountain'
<u>o</u> as in <u>qol</u> 'hand'	<u>uu</u> as in <u>tuu-</u> 'to bear, to raise'
<u>u</u> as in <u>uj</u> 'ox'	<u>oo</u> as in <u>too</u> 'camel'
<u>ó</u> as in <u>kól</u> 'lake'	<u>yy</u> as in <u>sytyy</u> 'multi-breasted'

The twenty-two consonants are:

<u>b</u> as in <u>biz</u> 'we'	<u>ɳ</u> as in <u>eɳ</u> 'most'
<u>w</u> as in <u>wagon</u> 'car'	<u>j</u> as in <u>aj</u> 'moon, month'
<u>g</u> as in <u>segiz</u> 'eight'	<u>p</u> as in <u>kóp</u> 'many'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>buεu</u> 'deer'	<u>t</u> as in <u>ter</u> 'sweat'
<u>l</u> as in <u>al</u> 'he'	<u>s</u> as in <u>sen</u> 'you'
<u>n</u> as in <u>nan</u> (a staple food)	<u>ɭ</u> as in <u>aɭ</u> 'food'
<u>m</u> as in <u>qum</u> 'sand'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kel-</u> 'to come'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒaj</u> 'summer'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qar</u> 'snow'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dooɟ</u> 'sound'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃop</u> 'grass'
<u>r</u> as in <u>kir-</u> 'to enter'	<u>x</u> as in <u>tarɛx</u> 'history'
<u>z</u> as in <u>az</u> 'few'	<u>f</u> as in <u>fabrika</u> 'factory'

Stress is generally on the last syllable, as in dʒetí, 'seven'. Vowel harmony comes in pairs, as follows: and a, ε and i, ó and u, in the sense that when any one vowel of a pair appears in the first syllable, subsequent syllables can have either the same or the other vowel of the pair. The exceptions are o which is followed by o or u, and u which is followed by a or u. The same rules apply for stem and suffix as well as for vowel prefixes for foreign loan words, like orus < rus, 'Russian' and εstantseja < stantsija, 'station'. The rules for vowel harmony do not apply to words with a double vowel in the second syllable.

Kirgiz

Table 5
KIRGIZ SCRIPT¹⁰

E	D	C	B	A		E	D	C	B	A	
ɖʒ	җ	җ	җ	җ	16	ɑ	а		а	а	1
d	д		д	д	17	ɛ	е		е	е	2
r	р		р	р	18	e	е	е	е	е	3
z	з		з	з	19	i	и	и	и	и	4
ŋ	ң	ң	ң	ң	20	o	о		о	о	5
ʒ	й	й	й	й	21	u	у		у	у	6
p	п	п	п	п	22	ø	ø		ø	ø	7
t	т	т	т	т	23	ɣ	г		г	г	8
s	с	с	с	с	24	b	б	б	б	б	9
ʃ	ш	ш	ш	ш	25	w	у		у	у	10
k	к	к	к	к	26	g	г	г	г	г	11
q	ч	ч	ч	ч	27	ɬ	ч	ч	ч	ч	12
tʃ	ч	ч	ч	ч	28	ɬ	л	л	л	л	13
ɣ	г	г	г	г	29	n	н	н	н	н	14
f	ф	ф	ф	ф	30	m	м	м	м	м	15

A = Isolated form B = Initial position C = Medial position
D = Final position E = IPA transcription

The Kirgiz language contains loan words from several other languages. Some examples are Chinese gangbi, 'pen', Arabic quran, 'Koran', Mongolian burqan, 'god', Russian zawot, 'factory', and Persian tjarba, 'livestock'.

The Kirgiz language spoken in Xinjiang is divided into a northern and southern dialect, each containing a number of local dialects. The northern dialect, spoken by more than 55,000 persons, is found in the following areas north of the Kizilsu river: Heiziwei, Ulukqiat, and Toyun in Uqia county, Kalajun and Tugaimait in Akqi county, Jiamansu in Uqturpan county, Baozitong in Wensu county, Kuoketielik in Tekes county, and Shato in Monggolküre county. The southern dialect, spoken by more than 47,000 persons living south of the Kizilsu river, is found in the following areas: Posdantielik of Uqia county, Kalakqik, Zhulukbash, Subash, Bulongkol, Kiziltao and Qiarleng of Akto county, and in Yengishar and Guma counties.

Although both dialects use the same vocabulary, there are some differences, e.g. North et and South gól, 'meat', North bidzik and South egiz, 'high'; North džumurtqa and South tuqum, 'chicken egg'. The main phonological differences are as follows:

1. Most Northern vernaculars do not have the Southern ε ($\varepsilon\varepsilon$) sound: North faar, South fεεr ~ fεher, 'city'; North muε alim, South meelim, 'instructor'.
2. Words which have long vowels in the Northern dialect have intervocalic ε (g) in the South, e.g. North taar, South taε ar, 'pocket'; North eer, South eger, 'saddle'.
3. The Northern dialect lacks h and w: North ar, South heε, 'each'; North too, South tow, 'mountain'.
4. In certain words, the Northern median dž is pronounced g in the South: North džεjεrma, South dzigirmε, 'twenty'.
5. The initial letters k and q are read g and ε in North: South kelin, North gelin, 'daughter-in-law'; South qoj, North εoj, 'sheep'.
6. The Southern dialect retains the double l of loan words, like mollo, North moldo, 'mullah'.
7. The Northern dialect adheres more strictly to vowel harmony, as in: North kiep, South kitap, 'book'; North alar, South olar, 'they'.

The language of the Kirgiz in Heilongjiang differs considerably from that spoken in Xinjiang.¹¹ In phonetics, it has the additional long vowel ii. It also has the consonant z, as in džazen - 'to store'. The initials k and q are read g and ε, as in Xinjiang kim but Northeast gem, 'who' and Xinjiang qoj but Northeast εoj 'sheep'. The initial dž is read n, as in Xinjiang džamεer but Northeast namer 'rain' and Xinjiang džaaq but Northeast naax 'cheek'. The consonant j, when starting a second syllable, is read z, as in Xinjiang ajaq, but Northeast azaq

Kirgiz

'foot'. The final z becomes s, as in Xinjiang kez but Northeast e es 'unmarried girl'. The initial t changes to d, as in Xinjiang til but Northeast del 'tongue, language' and Xinjiang ti but Northeast di 'tooth'. In addition, vowel harmony is not as strict as in Xinjiang. Among numerous differences in grammar, Northeast Kirgiz has seven instead of six cases, fewer suffixes, and quite different tense endings. Its lexicon differs markedly from Xinjiang Kirgiz but is extremely close to that of the Khakass in the Soviet Altai.

Until well into the present century Kirgiz literature was entirely oral. The most popular form is the heroic epic of which the most famous by far is "Manas." It may be said that Manas plays a more dominant role in Kirgiz literature than similar epics do in their respective literatures, such as "Geser" in Tibetan and "Janggar" in Oirat Mongolian. It is a cycle of songs and prose about the hero Manas, his son Semetei, and his grandson Seitek. A dominant theme is the struggle against the Western Mongols and the Chinese, including the Kirgiz conquest of Beijing. The manasqi, or Manas singers, accompany their renditions on the komuz (Illustration 6). As is the case with oral epics among other nationalities, over the generations many manasqi have added their own interpretations and embellishments.

According to one of the most popular manasqi, the 64-year old Jusup Mamayi of Akqi county, the entire epic has over 200,000 lines.¹² It has never been recorded in its entirety.¹³ It has several sections which can be treated independently from one another, and some of them have been recorded and translated.¹⁴

Other epics, sung by erqi, include "Kurman Bek," "Brave Toshtuk," "Kaojiao Jiash," "Brave Tarlan," "Sait Bek," and "Kartekaotek." In addition, Kirgiz literature has its share of fables, riddles, poems, and other forms.¹⁵

Society

Kirgiz society maintained its tribal form much longer than other nomadic societies in Northern China, and to this day one can distinguish the following tribes. Those located south of the Kizilsu river include the Kipchak, Naiman, Taiyit, and Kaisaik. Northern tribes, including those living in Northern Xinjiang, are Chongbash, Qielik, Kuqu, Salu, Salbash, Mengduzi, Mengguldaur, Ketay, Buwu, and Sayak.¹⁶

Nomadic Kirgiz live in tent-like structures, called bozewu, which appear quite similar to those used by the Kazaks and Mongols. Supports are made of red willow, and the sides are first covered with splendid achnatherum (see chapter on the Kazaks) and then with felt. The top of the structure has a smoke hole one meter in diameter. During the summer seasons the Kirgiz live in temporary shelters on the upper reaches of streams and rivers. Settled Kirgiz live in flat-roofed adobe houses.

Chapter 3

Komuz

Kuyak

Illus. 6. Kirgiz Musical Instruments

Kirgiz

Illus. 7. Kirgiz Working Clothes

The Kirgiz diet consists mostly of animal products; the only vegetables used are round cabbage (yuan baicai), onions, and potatoes. The main drink is goat milk, both fresh and sour. Kirgiz also like to drink a kind of herb tea (Poria cocos, Chin. fuling 茯苓)¹⁷ to which they, in the manner of the Mongols, Kazaks, and Tibetans, add milk and salt. On special occasions one can also find beef, mutton, horse and camel meat, mixed with flour and rice batter. The batter is prepared with a leather-like piece of cloth which is used as a rolling pin. Butter is stored in sheep and cow stomachs.¹⁸

Religion

Kirgiz who still profess religious membership belong to the Ismail sect of the Shi'a group of Islam. Its roots are not as deep among the Kirgiz as they are among the neighboring nationalities because the Kirgiz are relative latecomers to Xinjiang (see section on history above).¹⁹ The Kirgiz in Heilongjiang never practiced Islam at all, but in the past adhered to shamanism and Lamaism. As late as the early fifties one could still find an occasional shaman whom the Kirgiz called gam.²⁰

Recent Developments²¹

The Kizilsu Kirgiz autonomous prefecture was established on July 14, 1954 and consists of the four counties of Uqia 乌恰, Akqi 阿合奇, Akto 阿克陶, and Atush 阿图什. Its government seat is at Atush, near Kashgar. Aside from Kirgiz, the prefecture also includes Uigurs, Tajiks, Uzbeks, Kazaks, Han, Hui, and a few Manchus, Sibe, Tatars, and Russians. There are said to be more than 2,000 Kirgiz cadres at various levels of government. While herding continues to be a principal occupation with the Kirgiz, some farming has been started in the lower elevations. Industry has been expanded since the early 1950s. Previously the prefecture only had an oil field in Uqia county and the Kangsu coal mine, both of which are still in operation. In addition, there are now also plants for the manufacture of cement, food products, wood and leather goods, electricity, iron, coke, and fireproof materials. There are many schools and health stations and some 6,000 kilometers of roads.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80.

²Jiankuang, v. 4, 17.

³Hu 1982a, 59.

⁴Hu 1983, 65.

⁵Historical information is mainly derived from *Zhongguo*, 209-211.

⁶Hu 1983, 65.

⁷Unless otherwise noted, the section on the Kirgiz language is largely adopted from Hu 1982b, 59-72.

⁸See the article by Dong.

⁹Wilson Library of Western Washington University received copies of these textbooks.

¹⁰See note 7 in the Uigur chapter.

¹¹The following sentences on the Kirgiz language of the Northeast are based on Hu 1983, 66-69.

¹²Hu 1982b, 180. Another famous *manasqi* is the 83-year-old Temur of Uqia county.

¹³One can find an almost full account in the combined publications of Orozbekov Sagymbai and Karabaev Sayakbai who over a ten-year period, from about 1937 to 1947, published some twenty volumes of Manas text.

¹⁴See, *inter alia*, Hu 1982b, 180-184; the article "Kirgizzu yingxiong shishi 'Manas'"; a translation of section 4 of "Manas"; "Yingxiongde hunli"; and *Manas*:

Kirgiz

Kirgizskii narodnyi epos. For full citations, see the bibliography.

¹⁵The best collection of Kirgiz folktales at present is Kirgizzu minjian gushi. See also Hu 1961 and "Kirgizzu dongwu gushi sipian."

¹⁶Hu 1982a, 59.

¹⁷Detailed description of this herb can be found in Zhongyao da cidian (Shanghai, 1977), 1596-1599.

¹⁸Zhongguo, 214.

¹⁹Op. cit., 213.

²⁰Hu 1983, 65.

²¹Information on recent developments is based on Zhongguo, 217-219.

4

Salar

Size and Location

According to the 1982 census there were 69,102 Salars 撒拉 living in China,¹ compared to about 40,000 in the late 1960s.² Some seventy percent, or 50,000, of them are concentrated in the Xunhua 循化 Salar autonomous county in the eastern part of Qinghai province. Smaller groups of Salars live in Gandu 甘都 of neighboring Hualong 化隆 county and in Dahejia 大河家 township of the Bonan, Dongxiang and Salar autonomous county in Gansu province (see Map 4). A few Salars reside in the city of Xining 西宁 and in Gonghe 共和, Guide 贵德, and Qilian 祁连 counties in Qinghai as well as in Yining 伊宁 county of Xinjiang.³

Xunhua county extends for fifty kilometers from east to west and forty kilometers from north to south, with a total area of 2,100 square kilometers. It is located 160 kilometers from the provincial capital, Xining. The county consists of eight townships.

History

The self-appellation of Salar is believed to have been derived from the word Salor, the name of a Turkmen tribe.⁴ This tribe was already mentioned in the eleventh century by Mahmūd al-Kāshgarī, and later by Rashīdu-d'-dīn (fourteenth century) and Abū-l-gāzī (seventeenth century).⁵ The Salars' oral history supports the idea of the Salars having originated as a Turkmen tribe when

Map 4. Salar

speaking of the progenitors Haraman and Ahman, two brothers who set out from Samarkand and arrived in the Jiezi area of Xunhua on May 28, 1370.⁶ While still in Central Asia, the Salars were governed by a hereditary *darugachi*, a post established by the Mongols to supervise both military and civilian affairs in the conquered territories. After arriving in the Xunhua area during the Ming dynasty, the Salars were governed by their own hereditary *tusi*, a kind of headman, of whom there were three grades, one in charge of 100 households and two (a chief and an assistant) for each 1,000 households. They had authority over the militia, taxation, legal matters, and the provisioning of officials passing through the area.

By 1730 the Salar population had grown to the point where the area in which they lived was divided into twelve *gong* 工. Their number shrank to eight in 1781, after the Qing government had smashed a Salar uprising and inflicted heavy losses on them. Four *gong*, with forty-six villages, were located west of the present county seat of Jishi, and the other four *gong* were east of Jishi, with thirty-six villages. Soon thereafter Salars also moved north across the Yellow River into Hualong county where they established five additional *gong*. However, only relatively few Salars made their home north of the river, and to this day most of the population there is composed of Tibetans and Hui.⁷

The Xunhua and Hualong counties belonged to Gansu province until 1928 when they were transferred to the newly created Qinghai province.

Language and Literature⁸

The Salar language belongs to the Ughuz branch of the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages.⁹ It is related to the East Turkic spoken in parts of the Xinjiang Uighur autonomous region, and its lexicon contains mostly Turkic words.¹⁰ Before 1949 some Salars could read the Arabic script of the Koran and other religious material. Today literacy has greatly increased, but it is exclusively in Chinese. There is no independent script for the Salars.¹¹

The Salar language has thirty-four basic phonemes. The eight vowels are:

<u>a</u> as in <u>ana</u> 'girl'	<u>o</u> as in <u>ot</u> 'fire'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>sarε</u> 'yellow'	<u>ø</u> as in <u>døjin</u> 'slippery'
<u>e</u> as in <u>em</u> 'medicine'	<u>u</u> as in <u>su</u> 'water'
<u>i</u> as in <u>ini</u> 'younger brother'	<u>y</u> as in <u>syt</u> 'milk'

The twenty-six basic consonants are as follows:

<u>b</u> as in <u>baʃ</u> 'head'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>atʃ</u> 'to open'
<u>p</u> as in <u>poŋ</u> 'body, health'	<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>aʃ</u> 'food'
<u>m</u> as in <u>men</u> 'I'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jin</u> 'sleeve'
<u>f</u> as in <u>fur</u> 'to blow'	<u>g</u> as in <u>gun</u> 'sun'
<u>w</u> as in <u>wusi</u> 'raw material'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kes</u> 'to cut'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dil</u> 'tongue'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>eŋer</u> 'saddle'
<u>t</u> as in <u>tiʃ</u> 'tooth'	<u>x</u> as in <u>ex</u> 'kind, sort'
<u>n</u> as in <u>naŋ</u> 'what'	<u>ɣ</u> as in <u>deɣ</u> 'to touch'
<u>l</u> as in <u>liŋa</u> 'socks'	<u>ʁ</u> as in <u>ex</u> 'front cover'
<u>r</u> as in <u>riwi</u> 'very'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qesqa</u> 'short'
<u>s</u> as in <u>sen</u> 'you'	<u>x</u> as in <u>ax</u> 'white'
<u>z</u> as in <u>ziliu</u> 'intelligent'	<u>ɣ</u> as in <u>daɣ</u> 'mountain'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒadax</u> 'big'	<u>h</u> as in <u>heli</u> 'money'

In addition, the consonantal dʒ, tʃ, ʃ, and z are used exclusively for Chinese loan words.

Salar shares with other Turkic languages most phonetic and morphological features, and its vocabulary is preponderantly Turkic. Stress is generally on the last syllable, word order is subject—object—predicate, and Salar also observes the rules of vowel harmony. There are, however, some differences. Whereas in most Turkic languages (excluding Yohur), plosives and fricatives are divided into voiced and unvoiced, Salar has only unvoiced aspirates and unaspirates. Examples include the following:

bal 'honey'

pal 'bubble, blister'

daʁən 'to scatter'
gumur 'charcoal'

taʁən 'fried noodles'
kumur 'bridge'

Besides, Salar has fewer Arabic and more Chinese loan words than other Turkic languages spoken in China. For example, 'history' is tarix in Uigur but ligi in Salar and 'method' is usul in Uigur but fonfa in Salar. In 1960 Kakuk discovered about 7 percent of the Salar lexicon being Arab-Persian and another 7 percent Chinese loan words, but during the past two decades the share of Chinese loan words has greatly increased.¹²

Salar has no dialects but has two vernaculars.¹³ The Jiezi 街子 vernacular is spoken in Jiezi, Qingshui 清水 and in Baizhuang 白庄 of Xunhua county, in Gandu of Hualong county (both counties located in Qinghai), in Dahejia of Gansu, and in Yining county of Xinjiang. The Mengda 孟达 vernacular is spoken in Mengda, Muchang 木厂 and Tashapo 它抄坡 of Xunhua county.

The two vernaculars differ in only a few, relatively minor ways. The Mengda vowel a is pronounced ə in Jiezi, as in zorax—zorəx 'hat'. In some words, the Mengda vowel e is i in Jiezi, as in demur—dimur 'iron'. The initial b in Mengda is v in Jiezi, as in bol—vol 'to be'. The voiced fricatives z, ɣ, and ʒ at the end of syllables in Jiezi become unvoiced fricatives s, x, and χ in Mengda, as in guzgu—gusgu 'mirror'; dəɣ—dəx 'to touch'; jaɣmur—jaxmur 'rain'.

There are also some lexical differences between the two vernaculars, involving mostly loan words. For example, 'sour milk' is su (<Tib. སུ) in Jiezi and eran (native) in Mengda; and 'male mule' is erkix eʃex (native) in Jiezi and dʒoly (< Chin. jiao liu) in Mengda.

The Salars do not have their own script, but use Chinese.

Several different kinds of folk literature can be discerned among the Salars.¹⁴ Perhaps the richest kind is the so-called Salar song which is a long lyric poem sung with Salar words and Salar melodies. The themes of these songs are invariably love stories, such as the very popular "Baxiguliulu," the 108-line long "Salar Saisibuduo," "Ayijigumu," "Aidao," and "Huangshang Awunie" (Emperor Awunie). At least one Salar song strongly suggests that in ancient times, almost certainly before they left Central Asia, the Salars had been hunters. The traditional love story of Suleiman and Waliya features Suleiman, a young hunter who can perform wondrous feats with his bow and knife, and Waliya, the only daughter of the old hunter Yusuf.

Another genre of folk literature is the "Salar flowers" which are the most common folk songs. Some of them trace back to Tibetan folk songs and are similar to the "flowers" found in the Xining and Linxia areas.

So-called banquet songs are sung on special occasions, like weddings. Some praise the bridal gown, like "Alima," while others relate uprisings during the Qianlong period (1736-1795). A special sub-category is called shahes which is a tearful tune bemoaning the girl's leaving her parent's home. Finally, one can

find several Hui songs which the Salars adopted, such as "Fang si niang" (No. 4 Fang girl) and "Ma wu ge" (No. 5 Ma brother).

An important place in Salar literature is folk stories and ghost stories. Two examples are "Huangdi duo qi" (The emperor takes a wife) and "San qiao Anuonazihu," respectively.

There were said to be a fair number of plays in the past, but the only one extant today is "Duiweiyi," also known as "Loto wu" (Camel dance) which is sometimes still performed at weddings.¹⁵

Society¹⁶

Like in all other nationalities of Northern China, marriages among the Salars used to be arranged by parents. First, the boy's parents picked a matchmaker and submitted her name to the girl's parents for their approval. Then the girl and close relatives were also asked for their approval. The boy's parents set a date for the matchmaker's first visit to the girl's family. Sometimes several visits were required before all details could be agreed upon. Next, the boy's parents sent betrothal gifts which differed in value, depending on economic circumstances. Usually one to four horses were given, along with gifts of cloth and sugar. Finally, both sides agreed on a wedding date and asked the village ahung (Muslim priest) to officiate.

This ceremony was conducted outside the door of the girl's home; the boy knelt before the ahung and the girl listened from the inside. After the ceremony, gifts of gugumama, a kind of fried dumpling, were distributed among the guests, and then the bride was accompanied by both families to the boy's parents' home.

Divorce among the Salars was extremely simple. The husband had merely to announce "I don't want you any longer," and the woman left the home. She was free to marry again, but if she decided to leave without her husband's consent, nobody would marry her.

When a person died, his corpse was bathed and wrapped in a white shroud. Then it was taken to the cemetery and interred without a coffin. Family members attending the funeral tossed objects, such as money, tea leaves, salt, and matches into the grave. The deceased's clothing was customarily given to the officiating ahung and to close relatives. On the third day after the burial, the next-of-kin invited the village elders and others to a feast.

The Salars lived in flat-roofed adobe houses, surrounded by a courtyard which in turn is enclosed by an adobe wall. A white rock is placed on each of the four corners of the wall, a practice which the Salars probably adopted from the Tibetans. Salar courtyards almost always are full of fruit trees, a custom not found among neighboring nationalities but still in evidence in the Samarkand area of Central Asia from where the Salars' forefathers had come. In the

Chapter 4

mountainous Mengda area where timber is relatively ample, two-storey houses are constructed of wooden beams and frames and adobe walls. The upper floor contains the bedrooms while the downstairs is taken up by the kitchen, living room and, sometimes, by a shed.

Illus. 8. Salar Farmer

Salar men like to wear a white unlined garment with a red sash and their headgear is usually a white or black cap, either round or six-cornered. Older persons wear a long gown, called don and, during religious services, a white turban, called dasdar, which is identical to the Uigurs' sällä. During winters Salars wear unlined sheepskin coats and leather shoes. Young girls wear colorful dresses, and as they approach marriagable age, they prefer green. After marriage and especially after the birth of the first child, the basic dress color is black. Women over fifty years of age wear white clothes (see Illustrations 9a and b).

The Salar diet consists largely of steamed buns and a variety of noodles made of wheat, highland barley, and buckwheat. Other staples are vegetable soup, spiced with garlic and pepper, and mutton which is eaten, Mongolian-style, in large chunks. On special occasions meat dumplings and cakes are offered. The principal beverage is tea. Like all other Islamic nationalities the Salars may not drink alcoholic beverages nor eat pork.

Salar

Illus. 9a and b. Salar Costumes

Religion¹⁷

The Salars were among the most devout Muslims in China, participating in every Muslim uprising since the seventeenth century. They are Hafanis whose religion was introduced to the Salar area around 1750 by a certain Muhammad Amin. Several sects developed among the Salars as well as neighboring nationalities.¹⁸ The Xunhua area had no less than seventy-four mosques and twenty-two cemeteries. Each gong had one major mosque which controlled smaller mosques in each village. The oldest mosque, located at Jiezi, was built early during the Ming dynasty and is the second most important mosque in Qinghai province.

Before the attack against the clergy in 1958, there was a chief mullah for the entire county, and each gong had its own mullah, assistant (fu) mullah, and junior (xiao) mullah, known collectively as the "three heads" (san tou). During the so-called cultural revolution of 1966-1976 all religious practices were banned, but now they are once again permitted.

Recent Developments

Communist armies occupied the Xunhua area on September 3, 1949 and two days later they reached the provincial capital of Xining.¹⁹ Since that time both the economy and education in Xunhua county have developed.

The county grows a number of food crops, but it is best known for its many orchards which grow winter melon, grapes, apricots, jujube (Chinese dates), and apples.²⁰ Apple orchards alone take up more than 4,700 mu (about 775 acres). Xunhua is also famous for its hot spice, called Xunhua huajiao, or simply Xunjiao, and its walnuts which are sold far beyond the county. In the mountainous parts of the county are found Rheum palmatum (dahuang), Codonopsis pilosula (dangshen), Chinese ephedra, Moschus moschiferus (shexiang),²¹ and other medicinal plants. The 1978 food crop was 150 percent higher than in 1953, and the number of cattle increased 71 percent over the same period. Like in many other counties in this part of China, afforestation has been promoted for many years.

Industry is relatively underdeveloped; only electric generators and building materials are presently manufactured. There are also a few shops for repairing farm implements. Dirt roads connect all townships and most production brigades, and a bridge has been built across the Yellow River to link the two parts of the autonomous county.

Before 1949, the literacy rate is said to have been as low as 3 percent whereas official statements aver almost universal literacy today.²² Whatever one's definition of literacy may be, education has unquestionably progressed among the Salars. When the Xunhua Salar autonomous county was established in

1954, only twenty-four schools existed. By 1978 they had increased to 164 including a new teacher's college. Some graduates from these schools have been sent to Qinghai University in Xining, the Northwest Nationalities Institute in Lanzhou and the Central Nationalities Institute in Beijing. The county also has a hospital and first-aid stations at township seats, a bookstore, a culture palace, and a movie theater.

Notes

- ¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.
- ²Jiankuang, v. 5, 38.
- ³Lin and Han, 517; Salarzu jianshi, 3.
- ⁴Jiankuang, v. 5, 38; Zhongguo, 54. See also Kakuk 1962b, 162.
- ⁵Tenishev 1962, 254. For additional details of early Salar history, see Salarzu jianshi, 8-15.
- ⁶Salarzu jianshi, 13.
- ⁷Tenishev 1962, 253-254.
- ⁸Unless otherwise noted, linguistic information is taken from Lin and Han.
- ⁹Some foreign linguists do not consider Salar an independent language. For example, on the basis of a word list published by Potanin in 1893, Poppe declares that Salar "belongs, beyond doubt, to what is generally known as East Turki....It is only one of its dialects and is not an independent language" (p. 477).
- ¹⁰Jiankuang, v. 5, 38.
- ¹¹Ibid.
- ¹²Kakuk 1962a, 173. She also found a few Tibetan and Mongolian loan words.
- ¹³See also Salarzu jianshi, 2.
- ¹⁴Information on Salar literature is adapted from Salarzu jianshi, 90-98. See also Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 360-361.
- ¹⁵Salarzu jianshi, 11.
- ¹⁶Op. cit., 87-90.
- ¹⁷Op. cit., 84-87. See also Jiankuang, v. 5, 38 and Zhongguo, 155.
- ¹⁸See the chapters on the Dongxiang and Bonan nationalities for further details.
- ¹⁹Salarzu jianshi, 81.
- ²⁰Economic data are from Zhongguo, 158.
- ²¹For detailed descriptions, see Zhongyao dacidian (Shanghai, 1977), pp. 102, 1837, 2221, and 2740.
- ²²Educational data are from Zhongguo, 158-159.

5

Uzbek

Size and Location

The Uzbeks 乌孜别克 are one of China's smaller nationalities whose numbers have decreased in recent years. While most Uzbeks live in Soviet Central Asia, only about 13,500 of them lived in Xinjiang in 1957.¹ Their numbers dwindled even further, to 12,453 by 1982.² More than 85 percent of the Xinjiang Uzbeks live in cities, especially in Yining. Others are found in Qoqek (Tacheng), Kashgar, Ürümqi, Yarkant, and Kargilik (Yecheng) (see Map 5). The Uzbeks do not have any autonomous areas.

History³

The origins of the Uzbeks reach back to the fourteenth century when they were a part of the khanate of the Golden Horde, known as the White Horde. Located northeast of the Aral Sea, the White Horde khanate's many tribes were engaged in farming and herding. When in the fifteenth century the Golden Horde broke up, some tribes of the White Horde khanate moved to the drainage area of the Chu River and later were called Kazaks. Those who remained in the original area were called Uzbek and they formed the Uzbek federation. Around 1500 a portion of the nomadic herding population of this federation moved south into the Central Asian farming region and occupied the cities of Bukhara, Samarkand, Tashkent, and Urgench. There they began to intermingle with the local population who spoke a Turkic language and were engaged in agriculture.

Chapter 5

Map 5. Uzbek

However, many of the tribes belonging to the Uzbek federation retained their original place names as their tribal names.

The Uzbeks' connection with Xinjiang also reaches back to the Yuan dynasty when they first arrived in Xinjiang as traders on the so-called Silk Road. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Uzbeks arriving from Bukhara, Samarkand, and other places made Yarkant their transfer point where they traded in silk, tea, porcelain, hides and other goods. Some Uzbeks traveled even farther east to Aksu, Turpan, and Suzhou (the modern Jiuquan in Gansu province). At the same time some Uzbeks began to settle down in several cities of Southern Xinjiang. A second wave of Uzbeks arrived in Xinjiang after the 1750s when China, after having put down the Jungars, entered into diplomatic relations with Kokand. Uzbeks went to Kashgar, Yarkant, Aksu, and several other cities in the South and even to some cities in Northern Xinjiang. Uzbek migration continued until the present century. Besides merchants, there was now also an increasing number of Uzbek farmers, craftsmen, and intellectuals who came to Xinjiang to settle.

Before the middle of the nineteenth century, however, the great majority of Uzbeks in Xinjiang were still engaged in trading. Some formed trading companies which transported goods in huge caravans, consisting of hundreds of camels, horses, and mules, across the Tianshan mountains. Thereafter, with the rapidly increasing influence of Russian commerce, many Uzbeks changed to local trade, but a few continued to make a living in international trade. In fact, by teaming up with foreign companies and financed by foreign banks, they became quite prosperous through the transportation of goods between Xinjiang and Russia, India, and Afghanistan. By contrast, the poorer Uzbek merchants quit their businesses and went into handicrafts or into farming where they hired themselves out as laborers.

Language and Literature⁴

The Uzbek language belongs to the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages, and its phonology and morphology are closest to those of the Uigur language. Its lexicon has been derived from three major sources. The earliest is the Farsi language of Persia, which was already spoken in the Uzbek region at the time this nationality was being formed. For centuries thereafter Uzbek intellectuals in the cities spoke Farsi, another fact accounting for the large number of Farsi loan words in the Uzbek language. The second source was Arabic which came into the language with the eastward expansion of Islam, and Arabic loan words found primary application in representing religious terminology. Lastly, during the twentieth century Chinese—and across the frontier, Russian—loan words have been added to Uzbek, and their numbers have been rapidly increasing.

Chapter 5

The Uzbek language includes eight vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>ant/a</u> 'many'	<u>o</u> as in <u>orqa</u> 'back'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>kerεk</u> 'necessary'	<u>u</u> as in <u>qunduz</u> 'beaver'
<u>e</u> as in <u>er</u> 'earth'	<u>o</u> as in <u>kol</u> 'lake'
<u>i</u> as in <u>bi/ik</u> 'cradle'	<u>y</u> as in <u>gyzel</u> 'beautiful'

The consonants are as follows:

<u>b</u> as in <u>bart/a</u> 'all, the whole'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>miŋ</u> 'thousand'
<u>w</u> as in <u>awwal</u> 'first'	<u>j</u> as in <u>kejin</u> 'later, afterwards'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gor</u> 'grave' (noun)	<u>p</u> as in <u>qop</u> 'sack, bag'
<u>ɣ</u> as in <u>oɣar</u> 'heavy'	<u>t</u> as in <u>tot-</u> 'to taste'
<u>l</u> as in <u>millet</u> 'nation'	<u>s</u> as in <u>maxsus</u> 'special, particular'
<u>n</u> as in <u>nersε</u> 'thing'	<u>f</u> as in <u>pa/f/a</u> 'fly, gnat'
<u>m</u> as in <u>hakim</u> 'scholar, physician'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kok</u> 'blue, green'
<u>dz</u> as in <u>dzuda</u> 'very'	<u>q</u> as in <u>quruq</u> 'dry, thin, cold'
<u>d</u> as in <u>odam</u> 'man, person'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃirk</u> 'circus'
<u>r</u> as in <u>kerεk</u> 'necessary'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xona</u> 'room'
<u>z</u> as in <u>koz</u> 'eye'	<u>h</u> as in <u>mahalla</u> 'quarter (of a city)'
<u>z</u> as in <u>azdod</u> 'ancestors'	<u>f</u> as in <u>fars</u> 'Persian'

Like all other Turkic languages, Uzbek has vowel harmony and agglutination, but there are many exceptions to both rules. Stress is generally on the last syllable of a word but there, too, are many exceptions. In longer words, one also finds secondary and even tertiary stresses.

The Uzbeks of Xinjiang have been using the Uigur Arabic alphabet which all Uzbeks used until 1930 (Table 6). At that time, the Soviet government introduced a new script of thirty-four letters based on the Latin alphabet, with subsequent modifications.⁵ It was the official script for Uzbeks in Soviet Central Asia until 1940. Since then, a Cyrillic alphabet with additional symbols to represent Uzbek sounds not found in Russian has been in use there.

The most popular form of literature among the Uzbeks of Xinjiang is the humorous tale, especially the countless stories about Nasreddin afandi. Some believe that he was a contemporary of Timur (1336?-1405), but there can be no question that this man, real or fictitious, later became the comic hero and defender of the common man whose exploits have been told and retold not only among Uzbeks, but also Kazaks who call him Hoja Nasir, and the Uigurs who know him as Nasirdin äpändi.⁶

Table 6
UZBEK SCRIPT⁷

	A	B	C	D	E		A	B	C	D	E
1	ا			ا	a	16	ر	ر		ر	ر
2	ب	ب		ب	ɛ	17	ز	ز		ز	ز
3	پ	پ		پ	e	18	س	س		س	س
4	ت	ت	ت	ت	i	19	ش	ش	ش	ش	ش
5	ث	ث	ث	ث	o	20	ص	ص		ص	ص
6	ج	ج	ج	ج	u/φ/y	21	ض	ض		ض	ض
7	چ	چ	چ	چ	b	22	ط	ط	ط	ط	ط
8	ح	ح	ح	ح	w	23	ظ	ظ		ظ	ظ
9	خ	خ	خ	خ	g	24	ف	ف	ف	ف	ف
10	د	د	د	د	k	25	ق	ق	ق	ق	ق
11	ذ	ذ	ذ	ذ	l	26	ک	ک	ک	ک	ک
12	ر	ر	ر	ر	n	27	گ	گ	گ	گ	گ
13	س	س	س	س	m	28	ن	ن	ن	ن	ن
14	ش	ش	ش	ش	dʒ	29	ی	ی	ی	ی	ی
15	ص	ص	ص	ص	d	30	ی	ی	ی	ی	ی

A = Isolated form
 D = Final position
 B = Initial position
 E = IPA transcription
 C = Medial position

Society⁸

Only a handful of Uzbeks are engaged in herding in a few locations in Northern Xinjiang, such as Mori, Qitai, Tekes, Nilka, Ili and Qoqek. In all instances they live there intermingled with Kazaks. Other small groups of Uzbeks are farmers in such Southern districts as Kashgar, Yarkant (Shache), Maralweshi (Bachu) and Aksu. By far the greatest majority of Uzbeks are city dwellers. Because of historical reasons (see above), most of them live in Yarkant where at one time they dominated the silk weaving industry. Later their commercial activity shifted to various types of cottage industries, such as hats, embroidered seams, and bedspreads.

Most Uzbek houses have flat roofs and thick adobe walls, very similar to those used by Uigurs, but in a few locations one can find houses with round pointed roofs, called awa.

Because the relatively few Uzbeks are spread over a wide region they have traditionally intermarried with Uigurs and Tatars. Weddings are typically performed at the bride's parents' home during daytime, and at night the celebrations shift to the groom's parents' home. On the second day the new couple moves into its own new home. At funerals mourners wear white sashes around their waists, and women also wear a white veil suspended from their hats. The mourning period lasts one week, and on the fortieth, seventieth, and hundredth day after a person's death, a memorial service is held which in the past was conducted by the local ahung, a Muslim priest.

In dress and food the Uzbeks are virtually indistinguishable from the Uigurs. One minor difference lies in the hat. Whereas Uigurs and others usually wear a square hat, many Uzbeks wear a round hat made of black velvet. Women also often wear a kerchief fastened under the hat and suspended in back. The traditional dress for men is the ton, a long robe without buttons, tied around the waist by an embroidered belt. Women wear the køynäk, which is a dress without a belt, and a sleeveless jacket over it (see Illustration 10). Footwear consists mostly of leather dress shoes, and some women can be seen wearing aytek, embroidered cloth shoes.

As among other nationalities in Xinjiang, the Uzbek diet still shows the influence of Islam, especially in the ban on pork and alcoholic drinks and fasting during the Ramadan period. Most younger people, however, no longer feel bound by these restrictions. The Uzbek food staples consist of mutton, beef and horse meat, and the most common drink is milk tea. A favorite dish is kardak which consists of steamed meat with potatoes. On festive occasions, especially when guests are invited, narin is served which is made of flour, sliced meat, onions, buttermilk, and pepper.

Uzbek

Illus. 10. Uzbek Clothes

Illus. 11. Playing the Dutar

Chapter 5

Religion⁹

The Uzbeks belong to Islam, and their largest mosques are located in Kashgar, Shache, Yining, and Qitai. Some mosques operated medrese in which the clergy instructed Uzbek children. With the advent of public schooling, however, all medrese have been shut down.

Notes

¹Jiankuang, v. 3, 35.

²Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

³Historical information is based on Zhongguo, 241-243.

⁴Details on the Uzbek language are mostly from Sjoberg.

⁵Waterson, xvi.

⁶See the first entry in the bibliography and Laude-Cirtautas, 70-71. Other Uzbek stories are translated in Xinjiang and Zuopin xuan. See also the brief sketch of Uzbek literature by Benzing.

⁷See note 7 in the Uigur chapter.

⁸Zhongguo, 243-245.

⁹Zhongguo, 243-244.

6

Yugur

Size and Location

In the central portion of Gansu's Hexi Corridor lives one of China's smaller nationalities. Numbering a mere 10,569 persons in 1982,¹ the Yugurs 裕固 are, linguistically, extraordinarily complex. Close to 90 percent of them live in the Sunan 肃南 Yugur autonomous county while the remainder lives in the Huangnibao 黄泥堡 township of Jiuguan 酒泉 city (see Map 6).²

History³

The Yugurs' historical roots reach back to the Uigurs of the Orkhon valley. In the mid-ninth century, heavy snowfall, combined with an attack by the forest-dwelling Kirgiz from the north, forced the Uigurs to flee their Mongolian homeland. A portion of them moved to Guazhou 瓜州 (modern Dunhuang 敦煌), Ganzhou 甘州 (modern Zhangye 张掖), and Liangzhou 凉州 (modern Wuwei 武威), where they came under Tibetan (Tufan) control and became known as the Hexi Huihu 河西回鹘. In 851 a Chinese in Shazhou 沙州 by the name of Zhang Yichao 张义潮 took advantage of the succession war that had been raging among the Tibetans since 842 and led the people of various nationalities in Shazhou in a revolt which then spread to eleven prefectures, including Gua, Yin 伊, Su, and Gan. For the next twenty years the Hexi Huihu were under Zhang Yichao's control, but when Zhang died in 872, the Huihu conquered the city of Ganzhou and established their own khanate which came to

Map 6. Yugur

exert considerable power in the region. Consequently they became known as the Ganzhou Huihu.

Tibetan military power began to wane by the tenth century but the Ganzhou Huihu continued to grow in strength. They gradually gained control over Lanzhou and Hezhou and thus control over the sole link between the weakening Tang dynasty and Central Asia. Finally, the Ganzhou Huihu defeated the Chinese administrations in Shazhou and Guazhou and added them to their own territory. With these last conquests, the Ganzhou Huihu's political power extended along the entire Hexi corridor. The main Huihu population centers were around Guazhou, Shazhou, Liangzhou, Helanshan 贺兰山, Qinzhou 秦州, Heluochuan 合罗川, and Suzhou. The state was headed by a khagan who was assisted by a prime minister, secretaries and other officers, some of whom were Chinese. Below the central administration, however, the various clusters of Huihu population enjoyed considerable autonomy, each of which was led by a headman.

In the early eleventh century, the Tangut state of Xixia 西夏 started a war with the Hexi Huihu and conquered Ganzhou in 1028. When the Tanguts started to resettle some Huihu, the remainder fled westward beyond the Great Wall at Jiayuguan 嘉峪关 to take up herding. Shortly after this move, in 1073, the Huihu reportedly numbered more than 300,000 persons. Although we do not know how many Huihu had lived in the former Huihu khanate, the figure of 300,000 is quite substantial, especially for a herding society. We may, therefore, be justified in surmising that neither their exodus nor the living conditions in their new environment had any major adverse impact on them. The apparently slight control of the Tanguts over the Huihu was removed sometime between 1209 and 1226 when the Mongols destroyed the Xixia state and assumed control over the Huihu. It is thought that between 1241 and 1246 Godan was placed in charge of a province which included the present-day Sunan autonomous county.⁴

The period from the mid-eleventh century to the sixteenth century is of decisive importance in the history of this nationality. It was then that the Huihu continuously interacted with neighboring nationalities. While some Huihu were absorbed by other nationalities, most of them were gradually transformed into a new and distinct nationality which today we call Yugur. Extant historical records, like the *Yuan shi* and *Ming shi*, call the Yugur Shari Yugur, meaning Yellow Uigur.

As the Yuan court retired to Mongolia and the Ming dynasty took over China, the local rulers of Turfan and Hami, and the Oirats engaged in protracted warfare among themselves. Eventually the Ming established a precarious foothold in the border regions and *pari passu* brought the Yugurs under the control of some commanderies (卫 *wei*). Before too long, however, these commanderies came under attack by Turfan and were eventually destroyed.

Some of the people living under these commanderies, including the Yugurs, then decided to seek greater security inside the Great Wall. Consequently, the Yugurs moved eastward and settled in the areas of Sunan and Huangnibao near Jiuquan. The Yugur legends still speak of this trek from the Western Region.⁵ At the time of their move all Yugurs were still practicing herding and hunting. Later those who settled in the Huangnibao area began to farm and gave up hunting and herding entirely, while the Yugurs in the Sunan area retained their former way of life. Of the three tribes living in the latter area, the Nemans, who lived at higher elevations, kept Tibetan oxen, sheep, goats, horses, and a cross between a Tibetan and Chinese ox at least until the 1930s. The two lower tribes kept fewer Tibetan sheep and goats but more Chinese oxen and camels. One noteworthy feature, not found among the Enger (see next section), was the animal pen which was encircled by a one-meter high adobe wall.⁶

Language and Literature

Those Yugurs living in the Dahe 大河 and Minghua 明花 districts, in the western part of Sunan county, speak Yohur 尧乎尔, a language belonging to the Turkic group.⁷ Yugurs living in the same county's eastern part, specifically in Kangle 康乐, Hongshiwo 江石窝, and Qinglong 青龙 townships of Kangle district and Beitan 北滩 and Dongtan 东滩 townships of Huangcheng 皇城 district, speak Enger 恩格尔, a Mongolian language. Both languages are officially called Yugur. A third group of Yugurs, living in the Huangnibao township of Jiuchuan city and Qiantan 前滩 township in the Minghua district of Sunan county, speak Chinese.⁸ The number of speakers is about one-third in each of these three groups, with only a relative handful of Yugurs, living in the Dahe district, speaking both Yohur and Enger. A few Yugurs speak Tibetan.⁹ Virtually all Yugurs in all groups are able to use Chinese as a lingua franca.¹⁰ The Yugurs do not have their own script.

Yohur is closely related to Uigur and Salar. It still preserves many features of the language of medieval Turkic literature. Some examples are bedzin 'monkey', oyat 'willow', and men 'meat soup'.¹¹

The eight vowels of the Yohur language are:

a as in at 'name'

ə as in əley 'hand'

e as in eren 'man'

i as in inge 'sister-in-law'

o as in ot 'fire'

u as in uzuq 'false'

ó as in ót 'gallbladder'

y as in gyj 'pine tree'

There are twenty-five basic consonants, as follows:

b as in bol- 'to become'
p as in puɗɐy 'book'
m as in mal 'cattle'
d as in don 'robe'
t as in tay 'mountain'
n as in men 'I'
l as in lomaq 'story'
g as in tuge- 'to finish'
k as in kun 'day'
ŋ as in mən 'thousand'
x as in jaxsi 'good'
ɕ as in ɕol 'arm'
q as in aq 'white'

ɣ as in dzaɭɐy 'saddle'
h as in haja 'palm' (of hand)
dʒ as in dʒyt 'emaciated'
tʃ as in kɐtɕy 'small'
j as in jol 'road'
dʒ as in adza 'father'
tʃ as in tʃən 'woman'
ʃ as in baʃ 'head'
z as in uz 'ox'
s as in bes 'five'
z as in zona 'honeybee'
r as in bər 'one'

In addition, the consonants f, ʃ, and v are used for Chinese loan words. There are six guttural vowels, as follows:

ah as in aht 'horse'
əh as in p'əhk 'to open'
eh as in jeht 'meat'

oh as in oht 'grass'
uh as in tuht 'to do, to make'
øh as in øhk'p'e 'lung'

The guttural sound disappears when a word is combined with a suffix or with another word to form a compound, e.g., tuht 'to do' + ti < thutti 'did'; aht 'horse' + t'eryen 'cart' → hət t'eryen 'horse cart'.

Yohur also has relatively many words with double consonants. A few examples are rkam 'box', mərs 'cat', ajt- 'to ask', and aht 'below'.¹²

Enger is related to Bonan, Tu, Dongxiang, and, of course, Mongolian. In its phonology, it is closer to the first three languages, whereas in vocabulary and grammar it is somewhat more akin to Mongolian.¹³

Enger has the following eight short and seven long vowels:

a as in arʊa 'method'
e as in emel 'saddle'
i as in dətʃin 'forty'
y as in dyɐ 'time'
o as in og- 'to give'
ɔ as in mokor- 'to button up'
u as in hgu- 'to die'
ə as in mənʒan 'thousand'

aa as in aar 'back, behind'
ee as in degeree- 'to leap'
ii as in iidaɕ 'stingy'
yy as in yyre- 'to collapse'
oo as in mooreə 'horse'
ɔɔ as in móonde 'safe'
uu as in uula 'mountain'

The twenty-five basic consonants are as follows:

<u>b</u> as in <u>baatə</u> 'hero'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕʰala-</u> 'to ask'
<u>p</u> as in <u>piire</u> 'waist'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃewer</u> 'skilful'
<u>w</u> as in <u>wetʃan</u> 'sick'	<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃera</u> 'yellow'
<u>m</u> as in <u>mənʒan</u> 'thousand'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jose</u> 'manners'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dət/in</u> 'forty'	<u>g</u> as in <u>gəʀəsən</u> 'wild animal'
<u>t</u> as in <u>toloʒui</u> 'head'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kyyten</u> 'cold'
<u>dz</u> as in <u>dzuunaa</u> 'fly'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>ʃəŋar</u> 'straw'
<u>s</u> as in <u>sal</u> 'skin raft'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕadɕə-</u> 'to prick'
<u>n</u> as in <u>niin</u> 'cow'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qusun</u> 'water'
<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>ŋii-</u> 'to laugh'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xorən</u> 'twenty'
<u>r</u> as in <u>raaldʒə-</u> 'to exchange'	<u>ɣ</u> as in <u>ɣajarla-</u> 'to borrow'
<u>l</u> as in <u>ɕal</u> 'fire'	<u>h</u> as in <u>hon</u> 'year'
<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕaan</u> 'red'	

The consonants ɕ, ts, ʒ, and ɣ are used only for Chinese loan words. Enger also has many double consonants.

Unlike Yohur, Enger has both long and short vowels. However, the distinction between the two vowels is not as strict as in some other Mongolian languages, as some words can be pronounced either way. It has back round vowels u and o and front round vowels y and ö. Diphthongs include ia, io, ua and uai. Many words in Enger retain the initial h, a noted feature of Middle Mongolian, as represented in the *Secret History of the Mongols* (SHM) but lost in Modern Mongolian.¹⁴ Examples include hodən, 'star', hodun (SHM), but Mong. od; hon, 'year', hon (SHM), but Mong. on; harwan, 'ten', harban (SHM), Mong. arab; hgor, 'ox', huker (SHM), but Mong. üher.¹⁵

Many words have lost their initial vowel which is still retained in Mongolian, e.g., laan, 'red', Mong. ulaan; hdaa, 'smoke', Mong. utaa; and tsige, 'father', Mong. etseg.¹⁶ Other words retained their final vowel which in Mongolian tends to be omitted. Examples are xara, 'black', Mong. xar; hge, 'mother', Mong. ex; and shara, 'yellow', Mong. shar.¹⁷ There exists vowel harmony both within word stems and between word stems and suffixes, but it is observed in only relatively few words. The stress in Enger words is generally on the last syllable.¹⁸

About one-third of the entire Enger vocabulary consists of loan words of which the largest number are of Chinese origin.¹⁹ Examples include gambu < ganbu, 'cadre'; shong < shuang, 'double'; xuma < huma, 'sesame', and gungtsang < gongchang, 'factory'.²⁰ There are, as expected, more Turkic loan words in Enger than in Bonan, Tu, or Dongxiang.²¹ They include such words as mula < Uigur bala, 'child'; tash < Uigur tash, 'rock'; and angla-, Uigur angla-, 'to hear, to listen'.²² The few Tibetan loan words are largely for religious terms, such as ndorong < dgon-pa, 'temple', and mbag < bag, 'mask', referring to the kind used in tsam, a Tibetan religious dance.²³

Finally, Enger shares with Yohur certain words that do not belong to any other language. They include gair, Yohur ger, 'bowl'; lar, Yohur lar, 'language', hdai, Yohur ahdej, 'small', and ma, Yohur ma, 'also'.²⁴

The Yugur oral tradition consists of songs, sayings, folktales, and epics.²⁵ Most of the songs seem to be derived from other nationalities. For example, the well-known huar, described elsewhere,²⁶ comes from the Hui, the drinking songs from the Mongols, the layi from the Tibetans, and the banquet songs from the Tu.²⁷ In addition, the Yugur have their own indigenous folksongs which, unlike the huar, are not extemporaneous. They usually have three stanzas of six lines each, of which the first four lines contain nonsensical words and only the last two lines carry the story. Examples of such folksongs include "The Song of Wearing Headdress," sung by girls when they reach puberty, and the "Wedding Ballad."

The most famous folktales are "Mola" (Child)²⁸ and "The Magic Archer Shoots the Wild Goose" which preserves the Yugurs' legend about their presumed tenth-century progenitor. Epics are in the form of long narrative poems, like "Huangdaichen and Sanamake," the story of a girl in love with a sultan.²⁹

Society³⁰

Originally the Yugurs were organized into nine clans. Located in the Kangle area were the Datoumu 大头目, Dongbage 东八个, Luor 罗尔, Sigema 四个马, and Yangge 杨哥 clans, while the Xibage 西八个 and Wuge 五个 clans resided in the Jinqian 金泉 area. Each of these clans had their own herding areas. The Helengge 贺郎格 and Yalage 亚拉格 clans, however, lived in the Jinqian and Minghua region closely interlocked with one another.³¹

All Yugurs were governed by a datoumu (great chief) who decided on all problems affecting all tribes except the Helengge and Yalage and presided over annual conferences which clan chiefs attended. Each clan was headed by a chief and associate chief. All three officials were hereditary, and during Qing times the datoumu was given a court appointment as the qizu huangfan zongguan 七族黄番总管 (manager of the seven yellow barbarian tribes).³² Another post was the zongquantou 总圈头 who was appointed by the clan chief, in consultation with the lamas, and who invariably came from a rich herder's family. His term of office ran from one to three years. It was renewable, and some zongquantou served more than thirty years. The xiaoquantou 小圈头 was another post, also staffed by the clan chief. In some clans the poor herders who could not afford the tea horse tax took turns serving as xiaoquantou. Terms of office were also one to three years but usually ran to six to seven years. In addition to working full time as herders for the clan chief, the xiaoquantou also served him as messengers, errand boys, and collectors of the tea horse tax.

Chapter 6

A clan held several meetings each year to apportion various taxes. These meetings were convened and presided over by the clan chief, and each family sent some representatives to them. Nominally all decisions were made on a democratic basis, but in reality all important decisions were made by the clan chief and the zongquantou. During the republican period the Yugurs living in the Sunan area also had two qihu 户 and several laozhe 老者. The qihu (lit. seven households) had considerable power, as all important matters, such as the replacement of the zongquantou, had to be settled in consultation with them. The laozhe (elders) in the Minghua and Jinquan areas were appointed by clan heads and carried out some work for them. In the Kangle area, the laozhe were appointed by the retiring zongquantou and fubang 辅帮 and served as advisors to the clan chief.

Illus. 12. Yugur Man

Illus. 13. Yugur Woman

The Yugurs practiced only monogamy. Hermanns did not hear of any cases of polygamy, and he asserts that the Yugurs did not know the meaning of polyandry.³³ Marriages were usually arranged by the parents when the children were twelve or thirteen years old. Weddings took place when they were fifteen

to seventeen years of age. On both occasions the boy's family presented sizeable gifts to the girl's family. The larger wedding gift, the sooner the wedding was to be. Normally the bride moved in with the husband's family, except when she had no brothers, in which case the groom moved in with her family. It is not certain whether the groom, as was the custom among other nationalities, also adopted his bride's family name. If no groom could be found for a girl, she could be married to "heaven." Under this convention, the woman could take up with any man in order to bear his children.

In normal marriages, on the morning of the wedding day, relatives of the bride dressed her with a married woman's hairdo and then accompanied her to the groom's family where the wedding feast was held. After all guests had been provided with mutton, the bride and bridegroom were ushered in separately. Two men stepped forward and recited the wedding speech, during which one of the men held high the boiled upper thigh of a sheep, wrapped in sheep wool and decorated with streamers. After the speech, the groom received a red silk belt and his mouth was brushed with butter. This was followed by a kind of benediction, which signified that the couple was now married. One of the men then presented the groom with the sheep thigh which the latter placed at the foot of the Buddhist image which all houses had. He then kowtowed first to heaven, then to the Buddha image and finally to the assembled guests. The new couple had to eat the thigh on the wedding day but kept the bone for several years.

The dead were disposed by interment, cremation, and "sky burial," i.e., the corpse was placed on a platform which was secured to branches high on a tree. After the anti-religious purges of 1958, many Yugurs stopped interment and "sky burial" and changed to cremation.³⁴

The Yugurs live in tents. The older kind, now quite rare, is round like a Mongolian house, while the more common kind is rectangular in shape and very similar to the tents used by Tibetans. It has walls about one meter high, while the center is held up by two-meter poles. It is covered in felt made from black yak hair (See Illustration 14).³⁵

Religion

When the Yugurs first arrived in Gansu in the ninth century, they still believed in Manichaeism, but after about a century, under the influence of their Tibetan neighbors and overlords, they converted to the Yellow Hat sect of Lamaism.³⁶ Each tribe had its own temple, and temple officials participated in the tribes' important affairs.³⁷ Although not a single Yugur monk belonged to the Red Hat sect, most of them married and lived in their own houses. Only unmarried monks lived in the temples.

Lamaism remained the official religion of the Yugurs until well into the second half of this century, but of greater influence among the common Yugurs

Illus. 14. Yugur Tents

was an older religion, the cult of the emperor of heaven, Han Tengri. This god had two main assistants, the Ongol Han to his right and the Solrol Han to his left. Each of these three gods had two assistants, bringing the total to nine, and each of the nine had thirteen hans as assistants. This cult was in the hands of the altshod whose functions were similar to those of the shaman. Men became altshod either through a trance-like experience or by way of a dream. An altshod presided over the sacrifices to the emperor of heaven which a family could conduct at any time. On such occasions a sheep was sacrificed.³⁸ The altshod also served as a medicine man.³⁹ The last altshod died in 1935.

Recent Developments

The Sunan Yugur autonomous county was established on February 20, 1954, with its seat at Hongwansi 红湾寺. The county consists of twenty-three townships. The Huangnibao nationality township was created in April of the same year.⁴⁰ Some of the Yugurs still engage in hunting as a sideline, and since 1958 they have also raised deer. The deer farms are of considerable economic importance to the Yugurs as a large buck can yield as much as ten kilograms of horn each year, which is then sold to the state for use in the preparation of pharmaceutical compounds. The autonomous county operates small power stations which supply electric power to most homes. In addition, there are

factories for making rugs, farming and hunting implements, and coking coal.⁴¹ At the time of its creation, Sunan county had only four elementary schools with a total of about seventy students. By 1980 it had one complete middle school, six junior middle schools, and many elementary schools. A few middle school graduates have gone to institutions of higher learning in Gansu and elsewhere.⁴²

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

²Jiankuang, v. 5, 52; Zhongguo, 165.

³Historical information has been mostly adapted from Zhongguo, 165-167; see also Jiankuang, v. 5, 52-53. Additional information can be found in Pinks, 62, 116.

⁴Kotwicz, 438. Godan was the son of Ögödei hagan who died in 1241. Ögödei's widow served as interim caretaker of the empire until 1246, during which time she is believed to have appointed Godan to his provincial post.

⁵Mannerheim, 5.

⁶Hermanns, "Uiguren," 87.

⁷Actually, the name of this language is pronounced Yugur, the same as the general name that also includes Enger. To avoid confusion, Chinese linguists have chosen to call the Turkic language spoken in the western part of Sunan County 尧乎尔 Yaohur in putonghua but locally pronounced Yohur.

⁸Zhaonast, 1.

⁹Chen, 66.

¹⁰Jiankuang, v. 5, 52; Zhongguo, 165.

¹¹Chen, 70. See also Lin, 189.

¹²Lin, 188.

¹³Zhaonast, 1.

¹⁴Op. cit., 2.

¹⁵Op. cit., 77-78.

¹⁶Op. cit., 80.

¹⁷Op. cit., 79.

¹⁸Op. cit., 2.

¹⁹Op. cit., 3.

²⁰Op. cit., 82.

²¹Op. cit., 3.

²²Op. cit., 84.

²³Op. cit., 85.

²⁴Op. cit., 84.

²⁵Zhongguo, 171; Jiankuang, v. 5, 57.

²⁶For example, in the chapter on the Dongxiang nationality.

²⁷Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 434.

²⁸The text, in Chinese translation, is found in Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 447-451.

²⁹The first part of this epic, entitled "Love," is found, in its Chinese translation, in Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 438-444.

³⁰Information on Yugur society has been obtained from Zhongguo, 168, unless otherwise noted.

³¹Hermanns lists a total of eleven clans and one "sub-clan" (Unterstamm), of which eight belonged to the Enger group with 133 households (Zelte, 'tents') and the rest to the Yohur group with eighty-seven households ("Uiguren," pp. 80-81). Kotwicz merely remarks that there were five Enger and two Yohur clans (p. 440).

³²Jiankuang, v. 5, 53. The term Huangfan was still used at the turn of this century. Mannerheim 1.

³³Hermanns, "Uiguren," 87. Unless otherwise noted, the remainder of this section is based on Hermanns, 83-86.

³⁴Zhongguo, 171.

³⁵Hermanns, "Uiguren," 87.

³⁶Thomsen, 564.

³⁷Jiankuang, v. 5, 54.

³⁸Hermanns, "Uiguren," 89-90.

³⁹Op. cit., 96.

⁴⁰Zhongguo, 169; Jiankuang, v. 5, 55.

⁴¹Zhongguo, 172; Jiankuang, v. 5, 58.

⁴²Zhongguo, 173; Jiankuang, v. 5, 59.

7

Tatar

Size and Location

The Tatars 塔塔尔 are not only one of the smaller nationalities in China but are also one of very few who have actually declined in numbers since the 1950s. They declined from over 4,300 in 1957¹ to 4,127 in 1982.² Most of them live in a few cities in Xinjiang, such as Yining, Qoqek (Tacheng) and Ürümqi (see Map 7). In the early 1960s some other Tatars also lived scattered in farming and herding districts of Burqin, Qitai, and Ürümqi counties as well as in several major cities of Southern Xinjiang. Later sources no longer make any mention of the latter-named Tatars. This omission is directly linked to the decline of the Tatar population in China and both are related to the events of the early 1960s. The Tatars have no autonomous areas.

History³

Dadan 鞑靼 is the transcription found as early as the eighth century in Chinese records.⁴ Before that time the Tatars were part of the Turk khanate. After the demise of the khanate around 744, the Tatars gradually grew stronger. These original Tatars continued to exist until the rise of the Mongol power which smashed them. Despite this fact, when the Mongols moved west into Europe and West Asia, European and Middle Eastern sources began to refer to the Mongols as Tartars, a word close in sound but actually having no connection at all with the Tatars. Rather, the word "Tartar" was a derogatory term, meaning people coming from Hell (Tartarus) by which Europeans sought to explain away their utter defeat at the hands of the Mongol armies.

As the Mongol world empire reached its zenith in the mid-thirteenth century, its western division, the Golden Horde, stretched from the lower Danube to the Erjis river and was ruled by Kaidu, Chinggis Khan's grandson. It was within this Golden Horde that the remnants of the original Tatars may have survived and closely interacted with Boyars, Kipchak and Mongols. A new nationality gradually arose from this mixture, the beginning of the modern Tatars. They became the principal inhabitants of the fifteenth-century Kushan khanate which arose in the region of the middle reaches of the Furjia and Kama rivers. They called themselves Tatar. When in the nineteenth century Tsarist Russian influence expanded into Central Asia, the Tatars fled in different directions. While some moved north to Kazan, others migrated through Western Siberia and Kazakhstan to Northern Xinjiang. Still another group of Tatars went south across the Pamirs and entered Southern Xinjiang.

The Sino-Russian treaties of 1851 and 1881 opened new opportunities for the Tatars. As Russian commerce entered Xinjiang, some additional groups of Tatars crossed the border and began trading in the cities of Xinjiang. They were accompanied by a number of Tatar intellectuals and religious personnel. A small number of Tatars became wealthy as owners and managers of foreign banks and commercial establishments engaged in the import and export of such items as livestock, furs, wool, silver, cotton, foreign cloth, tea, and silk. While most Tatars were thus engaged in the cities, a relatively small number of them were mostly poor herders, owning a couple of animals and working on the lands owned by Tatar and Kazak landlords. Poverty even drove some of them into part-time farming to make ends meet. Finally, a third group of Tatars went into small handicraft businesses, typically run by one man or one family, making sausage casings or being engaged in tailoring and embroidery.

Language and Literature⁵

Tatar belongs to the Kipchak branch of the Turkic group of the Altaic family of languages. It has nine vowels and twenty-two basic consonants. Vowels:

<u>a</u> as in <u>julda</u> 'comrade'	<u>o</u> as in <u>toz</u> 'salt'
<u>ε</u> as in <u>her</u> 'each, every'	<u>u</u> as in <u>kul</u> 'arm'
<u>e</u> as in <u>tel</u> 'tongue, language'	<u>ø</u> as in <u>kön</u> 'day'
<u>i</u> as in <u>min</u> 'I'	<u>y</u> as in <u>kyl</u> 'lake'
<u>ī</u> as in <u>ilis</u> 'pine needle'	

Consonants:

<u>b</u> as in <u>bala</u> 'child'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>kin</u> 'wide'
<u>w</u> as in <u>wakıt</u> 'time'	<u>j</u> as in <u>aj</u> 'moon'
<u>g</u> as in <u>sigez</u> 'eight'	<u>p</u> as in <u>kitap</u> 'book'
<u>l</u> as in <u>jul</u> 'road'	<u>t</u> as in <u>taw</u> 'mountain'
<u>n</u> as in <u>kön</u> 'day'	<u>s</u> as in <u>sin</u> 'you' (sing.)
<u>m</u> as in <u>jom/ak</u> 'soft'	<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>eʃ</u> 'work'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒir</u> 'earth'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kyk</u> 'blue'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dırt</u> 'four'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>øtʃ</u> 'three'
<u>r</u> as in <u>ber</u> 'one'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xatin</u> 'woman'
<u>z</u> as in <u>zur</u> 'big'	<u>h</u> as in <u>hem</u> 'and'
<u>ʒ</u> as in <u>ıǵıǵıw</u> 'to hiss'	<u>f</u> as in <u>fajda</u> 'use, utility'

In addition, the consonants y and c are used only for Russian loan words and the consonant ʔ for Arabic loan words.

As in other Turkic languages, vowel harmony is observed in Tatar. If the

first syllable of a word contains a front vowel (i, e, ε, ó, or y), subsequent syllables must have e or ε; if the first syllable contains a back vowel (i, a, u, or o), subsequent syllables must have ı or a.

The Tatars in Xinjiang do not have their own script but use the Uigur and Kazak scripts. On the other hand, Tatar influences can be found in the dialect spoken by Uigurs and Kazaks in the Qoqek region of northwestern Xinjiang.⁶

There is practically no new Tatar literature available in Xinjiang⁷ which is surprising in view of the relatively large number of intellectuals among the Tatars around the turn of this century.⁸ In their medrese they taught not only Islamic subjects but also arithmetic, language, and other cultural subjects. The Tatar school established in Yining in 1941 was one of the earliest modern schools in the entire province.⁹

Society¹⁰

In the past, most city Tatars were monogamous. Like among other Muslim nationalities, intermarriage was fairly common, except that marriage between first or second cousins on the paternal side was forbidden. Also, marriages between children of a brother and a sister were extremely rare.

Weddings took place at the bride's parents' home. The newlyweds drank a cup of sugar water, symbolizing love and happiness until old age. The couple would usually stay there for some time, some even waiting until the first child was born before they moved into their own home. On the third day after a child was born, a name was chosen, usually a religious one. According to custom, when a child reached maturity he added another name which served as a patronymic. On the seventh day after birth the maternal grandparents would present a cradle and baby clothes, and on the fortieth day the baby is given a bath with water taken from forty different sources. The idea was to ensure good health.

When a person died, relatives would clean the body and wrap it in white cloth and place a knife or rock on it. The body then is placed on a platform and removed from the house, feet first. Once outside, the direction is reversed and the procession moves to the cemetery. While excerpts from the Koran are being recited, attendants toss handfuls of dirt onto the corpse and then the burial is completed.

Men usually wore white embroidered shirts with a black vest or robe over it. Black pants and black skullcaps with white embroidery completed their attire (see Illustration 15). Women usually wore white, yellow or purple blouses and flowery skirts. In more recent times both men and women adopted Western dress.

City Tatars live in flat-roofed adobe houses which have walls with flues for space heating. Courtyards are full of flowers and trees. In the herding areas, Tatars lived in tents.

Tatar

Illus. 15. Old and Young Tatars

The Tatar diet includes, especially on festive occasions, two kinds of cakes called gubaidiai and yitebailixi which are round, crisp on the outside and soft and creamy on the inside. The chief ingredients are eggs, flour, pumpkin, and meat. The Tatars also love to eat cheese, dried apricots, and rice. Their favorite drinks are kerxima, a beer-like beverage made of fermented honey, and kesaile, a grape wine.

The Tatars are noted for their passion for singing and dancing.¹¹ Besides several other occasions, the most festive holiday, sapan (meaning plough), is held each spring, during which dance competitions are held. There are also horse races, and so-called egg races in which competitors carry a raw egg on a spoon. The objective is to reach the goal first without spilling the egg. Much singing is indulged in which is accompanied by several instruments, including the harmonica and string instruments found among the Uigurs and other nationalities of Xinjiang.¹²

Notes

¹Jiankuang, v. 3, 39.

²Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

³Historical information has been taken from Jiankuang, v. 3, 39 and Zhongguo, 251-252.

⁴Some other transliterations are 达旦, 达达, 达鞑.

⁵Linguistic information is primarily based on Poppe.

⁶Jiankuang, v. 3, 39.

⁷Several Tatar short stories are translated in Zuopin xuan.

⁸See the collection of stories published by Katanov in 1894.

⁹Zhongguo, 253.

¹⁰Zhongguo, 254-255.

¹¹See Dmitriev and Iskhakova-Bamba for examples of Tatar songs in the Soviet Union. Some of them are also popular among the Tatars of Xinjiang.

¹²See the chapters on Uigurs, Uzbeks, and Kirgiz for illustrations.

Mongolian Group

8

Mongol

Size and Location

During the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, the Mongols 蒙古 governed all of China, and much of the rest of the world besides. As a consequence, one can find Mongols living in many parts of China. The great majority lives in a more or less contiguous area stretching from the westernmost border in Xinjiang all the way across the northern part of China to the Greater Xing'an Range in the Northeast. The majority of the 3,411,657 Mongols in 1982¹ lives in the Inner Mongolian autonomous region. Other autonomous areas are found in Qian Gorlos 前郭尔罗斯 county in Jilin, Harqin Left Wing 喀喇沁左翼 and Fuxin 阜新 county of Liaoning, Subei 肃北 county in Gansu, Haixi 海西 prefecture and Henan 河南 county in Qinghai, Bayingolin 巴音郭楞 and Bortala 博尔塔拉 prefectures and Hoboksar 和布克赛尔 county in Xinjiang (see Map 8).² In addition, sizeable numbers of Mongols live in such southern locations as in Tonghai 通海 county of Yunnan and Yanyuan 盐源 county of Sichuan. Mongols also live beyond China's frontiers, such as in the Mongolian People's Republic, in the Buryat area of Southern Siberia, the Kalmyk area of the lower Volga River and in Afghanistan.

History³

Most Chinese scholars consider the Mongols to be the descendants of the Mengwu Shiwei 蒙兀室韦 mentioned in the Tang dynastic histories, but this view

Map 8. Mongol

has lately been questioned since the available evidence suggests that the Mengwu Shiwei were the forerunners of the Manchu- Tungus groups of China's Northeast. In any case, in the early twelfth century Mongols were already living along the upper reaches of the Onon, Herlen (Kerulen), and Tuul (Tula) rivers and in the region east of the Hentei mountains. They were organized into several tribes such as the Chiyan, Jadalan, and Taichiwu. In addition, there lived on the Mongolian plains and in the Lake Baikal area such groups as Tatar, Ongjici, Merkit, Wochici, Kereit, Naiman, and Onggut. These groups differed considerably in size and economic and cultural development, some of them being forest hunters and others nomadic herders on the plains. In the early eleventh century they banded together into a federation under the leadership of the Tatars. Hence outsiders came to refer to all tribes on the Mongolian plains as Tatars or Dadan 鞑靼 . Until the rise of the Mongol world empire, reference was sometimes made to the Black Dadan living north of the Gobi and to the White Dadan living south of there.

At that time the Mongols appear to have been a medium-sized tribe living in the east-central portions of the present Mongolian People's Republic and adjacent areas of Siberia. The older portion of this nationality lived as forest hunters in the north, with a society in which an aristocracy had not yet risen to the position of great dominance that it enjoyed among the Mongolian tribes to the south (see below) but where the shamans were relatively more important. Most Mongol clans were engaged in nomadic pastoralism on the Mongolian plains, and their society was clearly demarcated into four different groups. Members of the aristocracy, whose task was to find suitable grazing lands, bore such titles as baatar (hero), noyen (prince), and segen (wise). They ruled over the warriors (free men), the commoners (ard), and slaves who consisted largely of former prisoners of war.

The Jurchen armies of the Jin state fought successive wars with these nomads to the north, between 1135 and 1139 and again in 1147 when they were beaten by the Mongols. By allying themselves with the Tatars, the Jurchens were able to avenge this defeat in 1161 when they mauled the Mongols. This setback was not, however, to last long. The very next year, 1162, marked the birth of Temujin who would eventually lead the Mongols far beyond the greatest power they had enjoyed in the past and would in fact make them a major power in world history. During his early manhood, Temujin, through an extraordinary combination of diplomatic skill, charisma, and perseverance, strengthened his own Mongol tribe, and in 1196 he was elected khan of the Mongols. After numerous plots and fights, all of which are recorded in the famous Secret History of the Mongols, Temujin finally made himself master over all the tribes between the Altai Mountains and the Greater Xing'an Range and in 1206 was proclaimed Chinggis Khan. From that time the name Mongol became a generic term referring not only to his own tribe but to all the tribes on the Mongolian plains.

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Chinggis Khan immediately began to create the foundations of a state to govern his new domain. He appointed a captured Tatar as judge and keeper of the genealogical records known as hoh debter (blue annals) and issued a number of regulations, which later became known collectively as the yasah. His descendants added various of his bilig, or pronouncements. The yasah and bilig became the core of Mongol law for centuries to come. Chinggis Khan also organized a new central army which was divided into decimal units of ten, one hundred, one thousand, and ten thousand soldiers. His personal bodyguard was placed above the army. In time it grew to the size of a tümen (ten thousand). The bodyguard had tremendous prestige in the new Mongolian state, and most generals came from the ranks of this unit.

Chinggis Khan's overriding ambition was to conquer the Jurchen state of Jin in North China, not only because he wanted to avenge its defeat of his tribe but also to acquire the riches of this wealthy state. After all, although he was the acknowledged leader of a large state in Mongolia, it was, in the manner of all previous steppe states, a federation of various tribes. As an astute leader and mindful student of history, he knew that even he had to periodically distribute material rewards in order to keep his federation together. Given the poverty of a nomadic herding society, these rewards could be obtained from the outside, either through trade or, more likely, war. The Jin state could serve him as an almost inexhaustible source of wealth, but it was also a very populous state with large fortified cities, and Chinggis Khan knew that he had to secure his flanks before he could attempt a frontal attack on Jin. Therefore, in a relatively brief campaign ending in 1209 he forced the king of the Tangut state of Xixia, located west of Jin in modern Ningxia, to submit to Mongol control. Two years later the entire Mongol army invaded Jin and after a hard struggle, the Jin capital of Beijing fell in 1215. The Jurchens, however, still did not surrender but instead moved their capital to Kaifeng. Chinggis Khan decided to return with most of his troops to Mongolia and hand over the task of conquering the rest of the Jin state to one of his generals, Muhali. The latter eventually accomplished the task with about 23,000 Mongol troops and a like number of native auxiliaries, mostly Kidan soldiers and Chinese engineers. It took him and other generals from 1217 to 1234, long after Chinggis Khan's death.

Meanwhile, the last of the Naiman chiefs and one of Chinggis' Khan's old enemies, had escaped across the Altai Mountains and conquered the Karakitai state, located in modern northern Xinjiang and eastern Kazakhstan. Unfortunately for this man, his new vassals, who included, besides the Kidans, also Uigurs, Karluks and Khwarezmians, declared their allegiance to Chinggis Khan who in 1218 ordered his general Jebe to annex their territories. With that campaign the Mongol state now extended westward to the area around Lake Balkash. It became a neighbor of the Muslim state of Khwarezm which stretched to the Caspian Sea in the west and Iran and Afghanistan in the South.

Mongol

The Mongol state was now as large as the largest steppe federation, that of the Turks, and Chinggis Khan may well have felt satisfied. He reportedly suggested to his new western neighbor, the sultan of Khwarezm, that their two states engage in friendly trade. The Otrar Incident of 1218, however, changed all that and with it world history. In that year the Khwarezmian governor in charge of the border province of Otrar ordered the execution of returning Khwarezmian merchants and the humiliation of some Mongol officers who had crossed the border by sending them home with shaven heads. Upon hearing of this incident Chinggis Khan saw no alternative to avenging this insult. Thus in the following year, his armies exploded westward, and in a lightning swift campaign they eradicated the state of Khwarezm. As part of this campaign a Mongol detachment of some 25,000 cavalry crossed the Caucasus and rode around the Caspian Sea on their way home. This brief invasion of Europe was a precursor of what was to follow less than a decade later.

Chinggis Khan returned home to Mongolia in 1225 but only to prepare for one more campaign, this one against the remnants of the Tangut state of Xixia. Back in 1209 its king had pledged loyalty to Chinggis Khan and promised to supply troops when requested to do so, but he had gone back on his word during the Mongols' western campaign. For this crime he now paid with his own life and the utter eradication of his state. In 1227, as this campaign reached its conclusion, Chinggis Khan died.

Under his sons and grandsons the Mongol world empire expanded tremendously. In 1235 his son Ögedei launched three simultaneous campaigns, one against Korea, the second against the Chinese rump state of Southern Song, and the third against Europe. At its height, around 1280, the Mongol world empire stretched from Europe to the Pacific, with only India, parts of the Southeast Asia, Western Europe, and Japan beyond its control but not beyond its influence. The resulting *pax mongolica* for the first and only time in history enabled a person to travel from, say, Europe to Canton without fear of molestation or even the inconvenience of border formalities. The empire also perfected a communications system that was swift and dependable and by far the best in the world. Another major contribution made by the Mongol world empire was its religious tolerance which exposed Asia even more explicitly to Christian ideas and so allowed the flourishing of several religions within the world empire. Though Europeans remained both ignorant of and hostile to the religions of the East, they carried valuable secular information from the Mongolian realm.

The Mongol world empire fell almost as swiftly as it rose. Dissention among Chinggis Khan's grandsons was the single most important cause, and by 1368 China, Persia, and other areas once again were independent from the Mongols. The Russians were the last to be able to shake off Mongol control. Many Mongols remained in the conquered territories, where they were either absorbed into the indigenous population or eventually changed into new

nationalities. Of these the Bonan, Dongxiang, Tu and Eastern Yugur (qq.v.) currently live in Northern China.

The 1360s marked the end of the Mongol world empire. During that single decade, three of the four major regions of the empire were either greatly reduced in size or disappeared altogether. The western portion of the Jagatai khanate in Central Asia was overthrown by Timur. The neighboring Ilkhanate in present-day Iran came to an end with the death of its khan, Abu Sayid, in 1365. The greatest loss came three years later when the Great Khan Toghon Temur withdrew from Peking to the Mongolian homeland, thereby bringing to an end Mongol rule in China. Of the forty tümen stationed in China at that time, only six returned to Mongolia with him. To be sure, many members of these six tümen were not Mongol; available records mention Uigur and other Central Asian auxiliaries as being among them.

From 1368 to 1635 the realm of the Great Khan, which had once included both China and the Mongolian homeland, was now reduced to the latter. Hence, the former appellation Yuan was changed to Northern Yuan, somewhat analogous to the change from Song to Southern Song when the Chinese had lost the northern part of their country in the eleventh and twelfth centuries.

The political and social situation in Mongolia became desperate with the sudden influx of the six tümen. A series of local struggles and wide-scale civil wars were soon accompanied by repeated invasions by Ming armies from the south. During the civil wars, the western Mongols, or Oirats, took advantage of the disorder in the eastern part of the country to invade it and, during the period from about 1400 to 1454, usurped the role of leadership over all Mongolia. The Oirat leader Esen, although not a member of the Borjigid clan, had himself acknowledged as Great Khan. After his death in 1454 relative calm returned to Mongolia, and the position of Great Khan returned to members of the Borjigid clan. Dayan Khan (d. 1530) achieved a measure of unity in Eastern Mongolia. Although he was unable to bring the Oirats under his control, at least he managed to push them westward to the northern part of modern Xinjiang and the western Mongolian People's Republic. Within Eastern Mongolia Dayan Khan reorganized the six tümen, enlarging each beyond its original size of 10,000, and converting them from armies into essentially territorial units. He appointed one of his sons to head each of these six tümen. The Oirat divided themselves into four tümen, called Dorbed, Jungar, Torgut, and Hoshod or Hoit. Remaining outside Dayan Khan's control were several eastern groups, the most important of whom were the Horqin, Abaga, and Ongniyud.

Dayan's partial reunification of the Mongols did not long survive his death. Effective control soon shifted from the tümen to subordinate units, called otog, and later hoshoon (banner). For example, the Ordos tümen became divided into nine otog, and the Halha region (roughly the present Mongolian People's Republic), which had originally been only a part of a tümen, was now divided into seven otog.

The end of the Northern Yuan came in 1635, a year after the death of the Great Khan Ligdan, when his son handed over the imperial seal to Abahai, the chief of the new Manchu state. Actually, by then Ligdan did not control much more than his own region of Qahar. Other khans, nominally his subordinates, had been ignoring his commands and making their own accommodations to the new Manchu power. The first move in that direction occurred in 1614 when the Horqin khan, whose territory lay closest to Manchuria, gave one of his daughters to Nurhachi's son Abahai. He followed this act with a formal alliance in 1624 which effectively placed Horqin under Manchu control. The Harqin, Ordos, and Tümet khans actively fought Ligdan Khan and, at various times after 1635, separately submitted to the Manchus.

During the remainder of the seventeenth century, more and more Mongol khans living north of the Gobi followed their southern brothers into the Manchu fold. This process was completed in 1691 when, at a conference at Dolonnor, all the Northern Mongolian khans formally submitted to the Qing dynasty, and their dominions were divided into thirty-four hoshoon.

They might not have quite so quickly placed themselves under Manchu rule, had it not been for the Western Mongols. The latter, living in Northern Xinjiang, had only been indirectly affected by the change of dynasties in China proper. They were neither invaded by Manchu armies nor did they voluntarily submit to the new Qing dynasty. Life in Northern Xinjiang was, however, far from tranquil. The Western Mongols, also known as the Oirat (and as the Wala to the preceding Ming dynasty) actually comprised the four groups of tribes or tümen mentioned earlier. When Galdan became the chief of the Jungars in 1670, he quickly expanded his power in all directions. Some tribes who did not wish to come under his rule emigrated, the Khoits moving to Qinghai and the Torguts to the lower Volga river. By the 1680s Jungar power was felt in Southern Xinjiang, west of the Tianshan mountains, and in Northern Mongolia. In 1688 Galdan undertook an all-out attack on the Northern Mongols, and it was this invasion that prompted the Northern Mongolian khans to seek protection through submission to the Qing.

The Manchus did manage to defeat Galdan in battle at Jao Modo in 1696, but they failed to follow up their success by invading the Jungars' homeland. At the end of the 1720s Jungar armies once again invaded Northern Mongolia, and it became clear to the Qing rulers that only a long and expensive expedition to the Jungars' homeland would bring security to Northern Mongolia. The beginning of the end for the Jungars came in 1755 when Manchu troops invaded Jungaria, but it would take another four years of bitter fighting before the last resistance was broken and Jungaria laid to waste. This homeland of the Western Mongols was garrisoned by troops consisting of Manchus and other nationalities. In order to fill the vacuum created by the annihilation of the Jungars, the Qing court dispatched Tulishen to the lower Volga river to persuade the Torguts to return to

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Xinjiang. A portion of the Torguts responded to this call in 1771, suffering horrendous losses on the long way back. The survivors were resettled in four locations in Northern Xinjiang where their descendants still live today.

Meanwhile, Inner Mongolia was rendered fully open to Chinese influence. The principal agents of sinification were Chinese traders who supplied luxury goods to the Mongolian aristocrats on credit. As more and more khans found themselves unable to settle their accumulated debts, they handed over their people's grazing lands to the Chinese merchants who, in turn, quickly resold them to Chinese farmers. This process brought about two disasters to Inner Mongolia. Chinese began to settle in large numbers in Inner Mongolia. At the same time Mongolian commoners were confronted with a stark choice: Either stay and work for their new Chinese masters or try to continue their herding tradition farther north. Some Mongols did manage to reestablish themselves north of the Gobi, but most failed because the traditional herding economy there was unable to support a greatly increased population. As a result, throughout the nineteenth and part of the twentieth century uprisings and brigandage grew in most parts of Inner Mongolia.

The exploits of many resistance groups, who attacked both Chinese immigrants and Mongolian aristocrats, came to be celebrated in the Mongols' folk literature, but these men utterly failed to halt the Chinese juggernaut. Immigration, intermarriage, and cultural cooptation sinified large parts of Inner Mongolia. When the Qing dynasty collapsed in 1911 and Northern Mongolia declared its independence, an Inner Mongolian attempt to join their northern brothers was thwarted by the Chinese. Perhaps the last attempt at gaining some measure of freedom from the Chinese was made during the second world war when the Japanese supported an autonomous government in the eastern parts of Inner Mongolia, but Japan's defeat in 1945 also doomed this government.

Language and Literature

Mongolian is a member of the Mongolian language group which, in turn, belongs to the Altaic family of languages. It is closely related to Daur, Bonan, Dongxiang, Tu, and Enger (Eastern Yugur), discussed elsewhere in this survey, as well as Oirat, the language spoken by Mongols living in Xinjiang. Besides these Mongolian languages spoken in China, there is Buryat, spoken mostly around Lake Baikal in Siberia and, to a much lesser extent, in the northern part of the Mongolian People's Republic and in the Barga region of Inner Mongolia. Farther afield are Moghul in Afghanistan and Kalmuck on the lower reaches of the Volga river in Europe.

The Mongolian language has a number of dialects, the most important of which within China are Qahar, Hargin, Horqin, Ujumuqin, Ordos, Urat, Bargu, and Darigangga. Speakers of these various dialects have no difficulty in

understanding one another nor the speakers of Halha, the main dialect in the Mongolian People's Republic.

The oldest stage of Mongolian is called Ancient Mongolian. Its beginnings are unknown, but its end has been placed in the twelfth century. It had no script. Aside from occasional Chinese transliterations and borrowings found in neighboring languages, we know nothing about Ancient Mongolian. The next stage is known as Middle Mongolian, spoken between the twelfth and seventeenth centuries. It was characterized by initial h in some words like harban 'ten' which would later disappear. On the other hand, intervocalic g, a feature of Ancient Mongolian, was no longer pronounced by that time. Finally, Modern Mongolian (sometimes called New Mongolian) has been spoken since the seventeenth century.

Modern Mongolian has seven vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>am(an)</u> 'mouth'	<u>o</u> as in <u>noxor</u> 'friend, comrade'
<u>e</u> as in <u>enə</u> 'this'	<u>ɔ</u> as in <u>tandas</u> 'precipitation, sediment'
<u>i</u> as in <u>bit/ig</u> 'letter, book'	<u>u</u> as in <u>xun</u> 'person'
<u>ɔ</u> as in <u>ort/in</u> 'present, modern'	

Spoken Modern Mongolian also has long vowels which, however are not represented in the script used by the Mongols in Inner Mongolia.⁴ One kind of long vowel is indicated in the script by intervocalic g. Examples are:

<u>bagatur</u> → <u>baatar</u> 'hero'	<u>dɔgɔlən</u> → <u>dɔpolon</u> 'swiftly'
<u>dəgər-ə</u> → <u>dəər</u> 'above'	<u>agɔla</u> → <u>aa</u> 'mountain'
<u>bərgən</u> → <u>bərgə</u> 'rain'	<u>təgud</u> → <u>tuud</u> 'doubt, indecision'

Another kind of long vowel is no longer indicated by intervocalic g, as in ɔdɔ (< əduge) → ɔdɔ 'now' and təuxə (< təguxə) → tuux 'history'.

There are thirteen consonants:

<u>n</u> as in <u>nəg(en)</u> 'one'	<u>s</u> as in <u>sain</u> 'good'
<u>b</u> as in <u>bag-a</u> 'small'	<u>f</u> as in <u>bai/ing</u> 'building'
<u>x</u> as in <u>xel</u> 'language'	<u>t</u> as in <u>tab(an)</u> 'five'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gadzar</u> 'place'	<u>d</u> as in <u>dalai</u> 'ocean, sea'
<u>l</u> as in <u>bolon</u> 'all right'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>ɣət/in</u> 'thirty'
<u>m</u> as in <u>minu</u> 'my'	<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒam</u> 'road, way'
	<u>j</u> as in <u>jab-</u> 'to go'

In addition, the consonants p, r, w, f, k, h, ts, and dz are used exclusively for foreign loan words.

Like other Altaic languages, Mongolian is characterized by both

agglutination and vowel harmony. If the first vowel is a front vowel (ə, o, or u), all subsequent vowels must also be front vowels. The same rule applies to back vowels (a, ə, and ə). The neutral vowel i may be used in combination with either front or back vowels.

The Mongols living in Inner Mongolia and the northeastern provinces of Heilongjiang and Jilin use a script that dates back at least to the early thirteenth century. The earliest extant specimen of the Mongolian script is an inscription on a stele done about 1225. Judging from the consistent manner in which the letters were written and from other internal evidence, we can assume that at least some of the Mongol tribes had been using this script for a considerable time, perhaps a hundred years or more.

Whatever the precise date of its introduction into Mongolia may be, the Mongolian script definitely was adopted from the Uigur script which, in turn, had been taken from the Sogdian script. As the Mongols developed their own written literature, they made some changes in the shape of letters and added new letters to express Tibetan and Sanskrit loan words (see Table 7).

The Western Mongols in Xinjiang, Qinghai, and the Alashan region of Inner Mongolia use a slightly different script, called Todo, or "clear" script, because it eliminates some ambiguities in the Mongolian script by using, for example, different letters for o and u (see Table 8). The Todo script is based on a reform carried out in 1648 by the Buddhist monk Zaya Pandita. Although far less material is published in Todo than in the Mongolian script, there is presently a fair amount of Todo material in print. This includes books, both original as well as translations from other languages and transcriptions from the Mongolian script. The quarterly literary journal Han Tenggeri has published many samples of folk literature, and the monthly magazine Örinin Qolmon (Venus) is devoted to contemporary affairs and modern popular literature. In addition, there are a number of local newspapers and textbooks printed in the Todo script.

As the Mongolian empire rapidly expanded in the thirteenth century Khubilai Khan ordered his aide, the Tibetan monk Phags-pa, to develop a new script capable of transcribing the many diverse languages spoken in his empire. The resulting script, known as the Phags-pa script to us and as square script to the Mongols, bears an unsurprisingly close resemblance to the Tibetan script (see Table 9). It was used in official communications but never gained popularity, and was abandoned as soon as the Mongol world empire came to an end in the late fourteenth century.

The other Mongolian scripts no longer used are Galig and Soyombo, both used for religious texts. The Uigur Mongolian script was abandoned by the Mongolian People's Republic during the second world war and by the Buryat Mongols still earlier, in 1931, in favor of the Cyrillic script.

Mongolian literature began with the Secret History of the Mongols, written in 1240.⁵ In addition to being the premier indigenous source on the early

Table 7
MONGOLIAN SCRIPT

	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
1	ᠠ	ᠡ	ᠢ	a	15	ᠰ	ᠴ	ᠱ	s
2	ᠡ	ᠢ	ᠣ	ə	16	ᠰᠡ	ᠴᠡ	ᠱᠡ	ʃ
3	ᠢ	ᠣ	ᠤ	i	17	ᠰᠢ	ᠴᠢ	ᠱᠢ	t
4	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	ɔ	18	ᠰᠣ	ᠴᠣ	ᠱᠣ	d
5	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	ω	19	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	tʃ
6	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	o	20	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	dʒ
7	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	u	21	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	j
8	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	n	22	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	r
9	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	b	23	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	w
10	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	p	24	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	f
11	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	x	25	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	k
12	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	g	26	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	h
13	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	l	27	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	ts
14	ᠣ	ᠣ	ᠤ	m	28	ᠰᠤ	ᠴᠤ	ᠱᠤ	dz

A = Initial position
B = Medial position

C = Final position
D = IPA transcription

Table 8
TODO SCRIPT

	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
1	ʃ	ʃ	ʃʌ	a	15	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s
2	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ə	16	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ
3	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	i	17	ʃ	ʃ		t
4	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	ɔ	18	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	d
5	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	o	19	ʃ	ʃ		tʃ
6	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	o	20	ʃ	ʃ		dʒ
7	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	u	21	ʃ	ʃ		j
8	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	n	22	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	r
9	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	b	23	ʃ	ʃ		w
10	ʃ	ʃ		p	24	ʃ			f
11	ʃʃ	ʃʃ		ʃ	25	ʃ			k
12	ʃʃ	ʃʃ	ʃ	g	26	ʃ	ʃ		h
13	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	l	27	(ʃ)			ts
14	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	m	28	ʃ			dʒ

A = Initial position
B = Medial position

C = Final position
D = IPA transcription

Table 9

PHAGS-PA SCRIPT

	A	B		A	B
1	ᠠ	ka	21	ᠵ	ža
2	ᠡ	k'a	22	ᠶ	za
3	ᠢ	ga	23	ᠨ	·a
4	ᠣ	᠑a	24	ᠤ	ya
5	ᠤ	ča	25	ᠬ	ra
6	ᠥ	č'a	26	ᠤ	la
7	ᠦ	ja	27	ᠰ	ša
8	ᠨ	ña	28	ᠰ	sa
9	ᠬ	ta	29	ᠬ	ha
10	ᠶ	t'a	30	ᠤ	·a
11	ᠨ	da	31	ᠵ	ya
12	ᠶ	na	32	ᠤ	ga
13	ᠤ	pa	33	ᠤ	ya
14	ᠤ	p'a	34	ᠤ	wa
15	ᠤ	ba	35	ᠤ	
16	ᠤ	ma	36	ᠤ	i
17	ᠤ	ca	37	ᠤ	u
18	ᠤ	c'a	38	ᠤ	e
19	ᠤ	ja	39	ᠤ	o
20	ᠤ	wa	40	ᠤ	è

A = Phags-pa letter

B = Pronunciation

history of the Mongols, the Secret History is also the oldest repository of Mongolian folk literature. Later works in this historico-literary genre included the Altan tobchi (Golden Chronicle) of the early seventeenth century⁶ and the Erdeni-yin tobchi, written by Sagan Sechen around 1662. Another major literary master writing before the twentieth century was the Inner Mongol Injannasi who drew heavily on the great Chinese social novels of the Qing dynasty.

Although these and other works are important events in the history of Mongolian literature, most of traditional Mongolian literature was told and retold inside the ger and around the camp fire. This extraordinarily rich oral tradition embraces virtually every genre, from the heroic epic, like "Geser" and "Janggar," to riddles, proverbs, and aphorisms.

With the rise in literacy among the Mongols in the twentieth century, the institution of the storyteller declined and it has been gradually replaced by a flourishing written literature. Since the early 1950s several hundred volumes of literature have been published in Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Beijing.⁷ Great efforts have been made to record folk literature. Modern works of prose and poetry have also been produced in great quantity. In addition, several periodicals publish smaller-scale literary works. Aside from Tenggeri and Örinin Qolmon, set in the Todo script and published in Xinjiang (see above in this section), the largest and best literary journal is the quarterly Qolmon. Others are Checherlig, the bi-monthly Monggol hele bichig, and the quarterly Monggol hele udh-a johiyal. All are published in Hohhot, except for Checherlig which is published in the Juuda League.

Society⁸

Mongolian society is based on kinship and the most important units are the nuclear family, the ail which is a group of households related to each other, and the common descent group or clan, called obog. Very large obog were divided into yasun. Judging by the Mongols' creation myth, their society appears always to have been patrilineal.

Every Mongol knew his genealogy, and even today it is not uncommon for two Mongols meeting for the first time to recite their genealogies to each other, often reaching back many generations. Sometimes such a recitation may reveal a distant relationship between the two.

Above the clan were federations formed between a main clan and other clans related to it through marriage. Exogamous marriage was strictly observed.

When a child was born, the mother lay undisturbed in her ger for three weeks while no strangers were allowed to enter. If the new child was a boy, a bow and arrows were hung outside the ger, and a shaman, later a lama, was also usually called in to bestow his blessings on the child. Many names given to children reflect various aspects of herding life. Others may indicate good or bad

Mongol

characteristics, various colors, or have some religious meaning. Because of Buddhism's great influence on the Mongols, many names were, and some still are, of Tibetan origin.

By the age of five a child was taught to ride a horse, and when they were eight years old boys were initiated into the techniques of horse racing and wrestling, while girls were taught such skills as sewing, cooking, sheepherding and milking.

Illus. 16. A Musician Wearing the Deel

The Mongols never had rites of passage or any other ceremony to mark the advent of adulthood, but the age of eighteen might be considered the age of majority because it was then in aristocratic families that a young prince was given the seal of office.

Marriages were exogamous, and sometimes accomplished by kidnapping. The more usual form was to agree on a contract between the parents when the prospective bride and groom were about fourteen years old. The boy's side presented a bride price which was reciprocated at the time of the wedding with a dowry. So many gifts were exchanged during weddings that many families gave away nearly all they owned. In the past a shaman might preside over part of the ceremonies which were conducted first at the bride's home and then at the

groom's home, after which the new couple entered their own, newly constructed ger.

In at least two respects the Mongols differed from their Han neighbors with regard to marriage. First, generational differences did not seem to be as important. Second, the position of women was much higher in Mongol society. It was quite common for widows to remarry or to return to their families. Women also participated in matters of state. Chinese and European emissaries were amazed to see women joining in discussions with them. Widows quite routinely took over the reins of government at the death of their husbands until a new leader was chosen. This relatively high social status for women was lowered during the Qing dynasty when, as a consequence of Chinese political and commercial penetration, Chinese social values also made themselves be felt in many parts of Mongolia, particularly in Inner Mongolia.

Interment seemed to have been the prevalent method of burial in ancient times, with cremation rather rare because of the scarcity of fuel on the steppes. After the reappearance of Buddhism in the late sixteenth century, however, another form of burial became popular. Given the Buddhist preference for the soul over the body which is considered a vile receptacle, a new practice grew up whereby the body of a recently deceased person was carted to a kind of open-air cemetery where it was dumped to be devoured by wild animals. This was considered by non-Buddhist visitors as barbaric and by Buddhists as a person's last act of compassion to give his body to nourish needy animals.

Whether young or old, most Mongols conduct their recreational activities within the family or the ail, a group of a few households. The reason for this, of course, is the wide dispersal of a small population across the steppe, which makes frequent visiting impracticable. The "three manly sports" of horse racing, wrestling, and archery are extremely popular, and are invariably performed during the annual festivals known as naadam. Among less strenuous forms of recreation, story telling is unquestionably the most popular, and a good badarch, a kind of wandering minstrel, is a much sought-after person. This popularity also accounts for the extraordinary richness of Mongolian oral literature.

Playing the morin huur (horsehead fiddle), chess, and a kind of marbles game employing an antelope's anklebone round out the list of recreational activities. As almost everywhere else, Mongols have resorted to the use of drugs, but opium, heroin and other hard drugs have never found wide acceptance. Instead, many Mongols indulge, often to excess, in milk-derived alcohol, such as arhi, arj, and horj. Tobacco smoking is also widespread, especially among the elderly.

In the past there were numerous Mongolian festivals, but many of them have now either been discontinued or changed. Others were local or regional activities. Of the major festivals, the most important and possibly oldest one has been New Year's. Traditionally, a family would rise before daybreak and, just as the sun rose above the horizon, everyone would step out of the ger and

bow toward the east, then to the south, west, and north. Then some airag (fermented mare's milk) would be sprinkled on the ground as an offering to tenger (heaven). Afterwards everyone would assemble in the ger of the head of the extended family, and the eldest son would present to him a bowl of airag on a hadag, a scarf used for ceremonial purposes and as a gift. Finally, everyone would exchange gifts with each other. The following day, it was customary to visit relatives, an undertaking that often took weeks to accomplish. During the Buddhist period, monasteries and temples used the latter half of the first month for a temple fair at which Chinese merchants sold their wares and plays were performed.

Two other traditional festivals, no longer observed, occurred on the twenty-first day of the third month and on the sixteenth day of the fourth month. These were dedicated to the memory of Chinggis Khan. It is not known why those two particular days were chosen. The first festival may have been connected with an event, known as the Baljuna Incident, during Chinggis Khan's youth when he was still known as Temujin. The second festival was held on what is presumed to have been his birthday.

During the fifth month, Mongols started to milk the mares to make airag. This was, and in some places still is, a festive occasion for games and other forms of entertainment. Finally, during the summer months each banner would hold its naadam, a festival when the "three manly sports" would be practiced. Originally called the oboo festival, in reference to a shamanistic practice, the naadam now quite possibly has come to rival New Year's in importance.

Mongol folk music is extraordinarily rich. There are so many variations of vocal technique, including unique types of singing, that nobody has yet recorded all of them.

Old lyrical melodies and certain ritual-like songs are performed with characteristic ornamentation, glissandos, trills, and tremolos which are strongly reminiscent of instrumental sound effects. The most surprising element is the wide vocal range of the songs. Falsetto singing is extremely widespread and performed with strong volume, thus enabling an experienced singer to greatly expand his vocal register. At a certain point the basic melody is transposed an octave higher, thus greatly extending the melodic line.

The so-called long songs (urtan duu), in particular, are sung in this manner. Another peculiarity in the performance of these songs is that the words are broken up by empty syllables which serve to heighten vocal technique and tonal color. Some long songs have no text at all and are performed throughout with such empty syllables. The long songs are sung exclusively by women and so, though they retain the high notes, lack the deepest registers.

Mongol folk music goes beyond expanding the vocal range and a unique vocal technique. It has developed a technique, called höömii (lit. throat) whereby an individual can sing in two voices at the same time. One is a single

Illus. 17. The Instruments of a Traditional Mongolian Orchestra

prolonged droning fundamental tone above which a flute-like melody is sounded in a high register. This technique is accomplished by tensing the vocal chords and pressing air through them with great force.

Other forms of singing demand a high degree of intellectual concentration. Among the different types of epics, there are vocal sagas and praise songs for which the singer accompanies himself while improvising and varying the text, melody, and accompaniment simultaneously.

The legend of the origin of the morin huur can be briefly summarized as follows: A hero has a winged horse. When he calls the animal, the performer imitates the sound of the horse's neighing and hoof beats on his instrument, either by beating or sliding the bow on the strings. The horse and his master fall asleep. An enemy cuts off the horse's wings, thus destroying it. The hero mourns for his horse, and this lament is performed as an instrumental interlude in which, after the pure pentatonic melody, chromatic intervals are suddenly heard. Finally, he makes a musical instrument out of the horse's hide, mane and head—the "very first" morin huur. That is why there is a horse's head carved at the end of the instrument's fingerboard.

The morin huur (1)⁹ is the most popular instrument among the Mongols and is usually used for vocal accompaniment. The story of its origin shows how deeply it is rooted in Mongol folklore. It is a cello-like instrument with two strings and a trapezoidal body which is held between the knees, supported on the ground, as in the case of the Western instrument. Its tone and especially its glissandos and tremolos virtually reproduce the sound of vocal ornamentation. When used as accompaniment, it all but converts a solo performance into a duet. It is also used in solo instrumental performances.

Several other instruments are in common use among the Mongols. The yatga (2) is similar to the Chinese zheng and the Japanese koto but has no equivalent in the West. One might say that it has the shape of a zither and the size and tone of a harp. Unlike the zheng and koto, which are played horizontally, the yatga is often played in a diagonal fashion, with one end resting on the ground and the other leaning against the player's leg or shoulder. The limbe (3) is a cross-flute made of bamboo which originated in Tibet. The shudrag (4) is related to the Chinese sanxian and is a three-string plucked instrument. The yoochin (5) is another zither-like instrument, similar to the Chinese yangqin, with a trapezoidal body that is placed on a table when being played. The yoochin is almost always used by women for vocal accompaniment. The ih huur (6), as its name ("big huur") indicates, is simply a larger version of the morin huur.

Religion¹⁰

The earliest religion among the Mongols was the worship of nature. All natural phenomena became the objects of veneration. These included bodies

visible in the sky, fire, forests (sometimes individual trees), mountains (sometimes individual rocks), rivers and other bodies of water, and above all tenger, 'sky' or 'heaven'. At first, individual humans may have worshiped these various natural objects, but soon after the formation of permanent social organizations, one or more members came to be regarded as intermediaries between nature and the individual human. This occurred far back in prehistoric times, so that by the time of the first extant historical records, the position of intermediary had evolved into a definite social position, held mostly by men but sometimes also women who, by virtue of putative special powers, interpreted natural phenomena, predicted the future, banished illnesses, and served as links between the living and the dead. Much later these intermediaries also presided over special events in the family or larger social bodies. Today they are generally called shamans and the worship of nature shamanism. Despite the innumerable local variations, shamanism as found among the Mongols shares many features with religions in many other parts of the world, such as the medicine man cult among the native American peoples.

The beginnings of Buddhist influence among the Mongols cannot be accurately determined, but there can be no question that by the time of the Mongol world empire, many aristocrats, most notably Hubilai Han, had become interested in Buddhism. For about two centuries after the empire's demise Buddhism fell into disfavor and shamanism once again became the predominant religion among the Mongols. In the 1570s Altan Han, the most influential of the Southern Mongolian rulers whose capital was the modern Hohhot, made a pact with the head of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Buddhism. This led to a return of Buddhism to Mongolia.

This time Buddhism penetrated every layer of Mongolian society. Hundreds of monasteries and temples were built, and between one-third and one-half of the entire male population ended up as monks. Among Buddhism's positive contributions to Mongolian society may be listed urbanization and literacy, albeit usually only in Tibetan. These gains were purchased, however, at an exorbitant price. Church officials came to collaborate closely with the secular aristocracy in preserving the status quo, thereby stifling innovation, social mobility, and reform. In addition, the high proportion of monks, who as members of the Yellow Sect were celibate, caused a drastic decline in the population.

After the Communist victory in China religious practices were curtailed, virtually all monasteries were closed, and their property confiscated. During the so-called cultural revolution all aspects of Buddhism came under harsh attack, but today the authorities once again permit some limited form of religious practice.

Recent Developments

More than two years before the establishment of the People's Republic of China, the Mongols were the first to receive an autonomous area. On May 1, 1947 the Inner Mongolia autonomous region was created, and in subsequent years other areas were added to it until it reached its present size, reaching from the border of Xinjiang in the west to the Xing'an range and the Amur river in the Northeast. During the "cultural revolution," the western and northeastern regions were detached from Inner Mongolia, but they were restored in 1979. Other autonomous areas for the Mongols are listed at the beginning of this chapter.

While the traditional herding economy has been preserved, great strides have been made in farming, thanks in large part to irrigation which now is employed on one fourth of all cultivated land in Inner Mongolia. As a result, Inner Mongolia now produces a surplus of grain, despite a huge increase in population. Even greater progress has been made in industry and urbanization. Since 1957, Baotou has been the region's leading iron and steel manufacturing center. In addition, many factories have been built for generating electricity, making cement, and processing tobacco and sugar. The main railroad line to Baotou has been extended to Lanzhou, and portions of it have recently been double-tracked. A number of branch lines extend from this trunk line to industrial sites and mines throughout Inner Mongolia. Hohhot, the capital, has a population approaching one million, and is the administrative and cultural center of the entire region.

Education has grown apace, with fifteen institutions of higher education, enrolling about 12,000 students. Of these, Mongols and other minorities account for about 3,000 students. The 5,194 middle schools have 192,679 minority students, and the 26,980 elementary schools include 388,780 minority students. As of this year, five years of universal education, with 95 percent attendance, has been achieved everywhere in Inner Mongolia. Quite a few towns and cities have gone to seven years, and some even to ten years, which is on a par with the most advanced schools in the entire country.

Health care for the Mongols, like that for all other citizens of China, has greatly improved. Hohhot and other cities have many general hospitals, while in the grasslands, mobile health teams look after the well-being of the herders. In addition, veterinary medicine has also made much progress.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80.

Chapter 8

²The Mongols in Xinjiang, variously called Oirats, Western Mongols, and Torguts, numbered 117,460 in the 1982 census. Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10.

³No comprehensive history of the Mongols, especially of those living in China, exists at present. Grousset includes an adequate account of traditional Mongolia while Charles Bawden's Modern History of Mongolia (New York, 1968) goes from the seventeenth century to about 1960. The latter book restricts itself, however, almost entirely to that part of Mongolia which lies beyond Chinese control. For an account of specifically Inner Mongolian history, see Yu Bayan in the bibliography.

⁴The Cyrillic script, used in the Mongolian People's Republic, does represent long vowels.

⁵For the most comprehensive survey of the history of Mongolian literature until the early twentieth century, see Walther Heissig.

⁶See Hada-un ündüsün huriyanggui altan tobqi in the bibliography.

⁷Most of these works are listed in Henry G. Schwarz, Mongolian Publications at Western Washington University (Bellingham, 1984).

⁸A good first-hand account of Mongolian society until 1949 has been written by Jagchid Sechin in his Mongolia's Culture and Society (Boulder, 1979).

⁹Numbers in parentheses behind instruments' names refer to Illustration 17.

¹⁰Good recent English-language treatments of Mongolian religions are Walther Heissig, The Religions of Mongolia (Berkeley, 1980) for shamanism and Guiseppe Tucci, The Religions of Tibet (Berkeley, 1980) for Lamaist Buddhism.

9

Dongxiang

Size and Location

A total of 279,397 Dongxiang 东乡 were reported in 1982, an increase of about 120,000 since the late 1960s.¹ Almost two-thirds of them live in the Dongxiang autonomous county in Gansu province.² This county, established on September 25, 1950, is located inside the Linxia Hui autonomous prefecture and borders on the Tao 洮 river in the east, the Daxia 大夏 river in the west and the Yellow River in the north. It covers an area of 1,462 square kilometers.³ Smaller groups of Dongxiang form compact communities in Hezheng 和政 county and Linxia 临夏 city, both also in Gansu province (see Map 9). Still smaller groups are scattered throughout the provincial capital, Lanzhou, and Dingxi 定西 district as well as the Ningxia Hui autonomous region.⁴

The seat of the Dongxiang autonomous county is at Sonoba 锁南坝, 2,640 meters high in a dry mountain area from which radiate nineteen mountain ranges, from fifteen to thirty kilometers in length.⁵

Before 1950, the Dongxiang were known as "Dongxiang Hui" or "Mongolian Huihui," but the Dongxiang referred to themselves simply by what is now the official designation.⁶ The word is Chinese and goes back to the time of Chinggis Khan (see below) when the present area of the Dongxiang autonomous county was part of Hezhou 河州 ([Yellow] river prefecture). Hezhou was divided into four areas (xiang)—north, south, east, and west—and today's autonomous county lay in the eastern (dong) area.⁷ It is not known when the Dongxiang began to call themselves by this Chinese administrative term. Some foreign observers have

Map 9. Dongxiang

called the Dongxiang "Santa,"⁸ but the Dongxiang use this word only when referring to a practicing Muslim. In other words, the term Santa is a religious rather than an ethnic or linguistic designation.⁹

History

The Dongxiang's origin is still a matter of debate because relevant documents shed little light on the problem. One oral tradition describes the Dongxiang as the descendants of Mongol soldiers who during Chinggis Khan's campaigns settled in the Hezhou region (now the area around the Dongxiang autonomous county) where they ultimately lost their military function and status.¹⁰ Some place names tend to support this theory; for example, Dazidi (The Place of the Dazi) refers to the Dazi 鞑子, an old Chinese epithet for the Mongols, somewhat akin to the European term Tartar. Likewise, Zhayingtan 扎营滩 (Encampment Beach) is said to be the site of an old Mongol garrison, and Mading 马丁 suggests a place where the Mongol army grazed its horses. Furthermore, historical records reveal that when in 1226 Chinggis Khan attacked the Tangut state of Xixia for the second time, the Hezhou area became an important staging area where a military farm (*tuntian*) was established. During Mönghe's reign, Hezhou was used as a major strongpoint in the campaign against the Tibetans. After Hubilai conquered the Tangzang area of northern Tibet, he established in Hezhou the three offices of *zongwang* 宗王, *tümen* (Mong. thousand) and *tufan xuanwei* 吐蕃宣慰. The incumbent of the *zongwang* office was Ananda, one of Hubilai's many grandsons. He embraced Islam during Chengzong Timur's reign (1295-1307), and most of the 150,000 troops under him followed suit.¹¹

Another theory sees the Dongxiang as part of the Jagatai khanate which flourished during the Yuan period in what is now Chinese (Xinjiang) and Soviet Central Asia. There they converted to Islam but were thereafter discriminated against by other Mongols who presumably resisted conversion.¹² To avoid further friction, the Islamized Mongols were compelled to move eastward by way of Xingxingxia. When they reached Zhenfan 镇番 (today's Minqin 民勤 county in Gansu), they split into two routes. One group crossed the Helan 贺兰 mountains and went to Hetao 河套 where their descendants are today's Muslim Mongols of the Alashan Left Banner of Inner Mongolia. The other group turned south, crossed the Yellow River and settled in the Hezhou area.¹³

A third notion, held by only a few persons, claims that the Dongxiang had originally been Hui living in the present Dongxiang area who over the centuries mingled with Han and Mongols.¹⁴ Judging by linguistic and other evidence, the last theory is probably incorrect. I am inclined to support the first theory, but at any rate there is a general consensus that the main stock of the original Dongxiang was Mongol, not Hui. Later, during the Ming and Qing dynasties,

these Mongols began to intermarry with Hui, Han, and Tibetans living in the area.¹⁵ Surnames among the present-day Dongxiang population are reminders of this intermingling. Surnames like Ma 马 and Mu 穆 are clearly of Hui origin. Dongxiang families with names like Wang 王, Kang 康, Zhang 张, Gao 高, and Huang 黄 say they descended from old Han families. Place names like Tangwangchuan 唐汪川, Wangjiaji 汪家集, Zhangjiacun 张家村, Gaojiazhuang 高家庄, and Miaoerling 庙儿岭 also reflect old Han residences.¹⁶ The least numerous surnames are those of Tibetan origin; in fact, only the Yang 杨 clan in Yangzhijia 羊脂家 claims descent from Tibetans.¹⁷

Language and Literature

Dongxiang is one of several Mongolian languages which, in turn, belong to the Altaic language family. The Dongxiang language has no dialectal variations, but one can discern some slight distinctions among the three vernaculars. Some fifty percent of all Dongxiang speakers belong to the Sonoba vernacular which is spoken in the townships of Sonan 锁南, Chuntai 春台, Pingzhuang 坪庄, Mianguchi 免古池, Dashu 大树, Yanling 沿岭, Dabankong 大板空, Dongyuan 东源, and Baihe 百和 in the Dongxiang autonomous county, as well as in Linxia and Hezheng counties. The Wangjiaji vernacular is spoken by about thirty percent of the Dongxiang population who live in Wangjiaji 汪家集, Guoyuan 果园, Nalesi 那勒寺, and Daban 大板 townships in the autonomous county, as well as the Guanghe 广河 and Kangle 康乐 counties. The remaining twenty percent of Dongxiang speakers speak the Sijiaji vernacular in Sijia 四甲, Tangwang 唐旺, and Kaole 考勒 townships in the autonomous county as well as Yongjing 永靖 county.¹⁸

The Dongxiang language has five vowels, as follows:¹⁹

a as in asa- 'to ask'
e as in eme 'woman'
i as in ijie- 'to eat'

o as in oron 'place, locale'
u as in ula 'mountain'

The twenty-two consonants are:

b as in bayan 'rich'
ch as in chigvan 'white'
d as in dosi 'friend'
f as in fugie 'big'
g as in ga 'small'
gh as in ghua 'two'
h as in hodun 'star'

l as in lauji 'man'
m as in mo 'road'
n as in naran 'sun'
p as in puzha 'bean'
q as in qiemu 'iron'
s as in sao 'seat'
t as in tosun 'oil'

Dongxiang

hh as in hhela 'they'

j as in jien 'clothing'

k as in kien 'who'

kh as in khan 'five'

w as in weine 'to be'

x as in xieni 'night'

y as in yasun 'bone'

zh as in zhailao 'youth'

Quite a few words in the Dongxiang lexicon resemble words of the same meaning in Modern Mongolian, and some are even identical to words presently used in Inner Mongolia. Many other words are close to the Middle Mongolian spoken in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. This is, of course, not surprising because it was at that time the Dongxiang were cut off from the mainstream of Mongolian life and, hence, from later changes in the Mongolian language. A remnant of Middle Mongolian in Dongxiang is the intervocalic -g- and -d-, as in nogosun 'wool' and shidun 'tooth'. Both words are still written this way in the traditional script used in Inner Mongolia, but are there now pronounced noos and shüd, respectively. Other Middle Mongolian relics found in Dongxiang are the initial consonants h- and f- which are no longer found in either the spoken or the written Mongolian of Inner Mongolia. Examples are hodun 'star,' Mo. Mong. odo; hulun 'red,' Mo. Mong. ulagan; funiegen 'fox,' Mo. Mong. ünegen; fugie 'cattle,' Mo. Mong. üher.²⁰

Certain grammatical features, such as declension, adverbial use, and the like, are also similar to Modern Mongolian and are especially close to Tu and Bonan.²¹ On the other hand, Dongxiang also contains features not found in Modern Mongolian. For example, it has neither long vowels nor vowel harmony. Also, in some words, final -r and -g are absent, e.g., kha 'hand,' Mo. Mong. gar; hie 'house,' Mo. Mong. ger; bula 'spring' Mo. Mong. bulag; cha 'time,' Mo. Mong. chag.

Because of their long association with the Hui and Han, the Dongxiang have relatively many Chinese loan words. Examples of old words include cha < cha 'tea', shu < shu 'book', and baisai < baicai 'cabbage'. Since 1949 many newer Chinese loan words have found their way into the Dongxiang language, including daibiao < idem 'representative', pipin < pipin 'criticize', and gunshe < gongshe 'commune'.²² An interesting phenomenon is the combining of a Chinese loan word with a native, i.e., Mongolian-based, word. For example, the word pingo alima 'apple' < Chin. pingguo 'apple' + Mong. alim-a 'pear'. Likewise, sunshu mutun 'pinetree' < Chin. songshu 'pinetree' + Mong. modon 'tree', and honho moron 'Yellow River' < Chin. huanghe 'Yellow River' + Mong. mören 'river'.²³

Arabic loan words are mostly religious terms, such as guran 'Koran', imamu 'imam', and alan 'universe'. There are also several Turkic loan words in the Dongxiang language which are similar or identical to words in Uigur and Salar among the Turkic languages. Some of these words are also found in other Mongolian languages, such as Tu, Bonan, and Eastern Yugur (Enger). Here are four examples:²⁴

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	'apricot'	'fog'	'frog'	'stone'
Dongxiang	<u>orou</u>	<u>tuman</u>	<u>baga</u>	<u>tash</u>
Uigur	<u>oryk</u>	<u>tuman</u>	<u>paqa</u>	<u>taʃ</u>
Salar	<u>irux</u>	(Chin.loan)	<u>bava</u>	<u>daʃ</u>
Tu	(Tib.loan)	<u>manan</u>	(Tib.loan)	<u>taʃ</u>
Bonan	<u>oreg</u>	<u>mokə</u>	<u>lamdəgi</u>	<u>taɕiə</u>
Enger	(Chin.loan)	<u>manan</u>	<u>baga</u>	<u>tʃulo</u>
Mongolian	<u>güilesü</u>	<u>manan</u>	<u>melehei</u>	<u>chilagu</u>

The Dongxiang nationality never had its own script. In the past the relative handful of literates used the Arabic script for religious purposes and Chinese for secular transactions. At present a script based on the Latin alphabet is being introduced in the Dongxiang autonomous county on an experimental basis.²⁵

Because they lacked their own script, the Dongxiang's literature is entirely oral. The most popular genre is the legend. It is a valuable source of information on ancient Dongxiang history and customs. One legend is called "Lu's Wife Beheads the Python" which is an allegory of the struggle between good (man) and evil (snake) and probably originated long ago when the Dongxiang may have still had a matriarchal society.²⁶ Another, and even more popular, legend is the romantic love story of "Milagahei and Haidiya 米拉加黑与海迪娅".²⁷ Another genre is called "life stories" (生活故事 *shenghuo gushi*), somewhat akin to folktales, which seem to have some basis in historical fact but are, like legends, heavily fictionalized.²⁸ One example of a folktale is "The White Feather Garment."²⁹

Fairy tales and stories of clever people are also found among the Dongxiang. What the stories about the effendi are for the Turkic-speaking peoples of Xinjiang, the stories of Yusiha 玉斯哈 are for the Dongxiang.³⁰

Traditional Dongxiang poetry is almost entirely dominated by the so-called *huar* 花儿 (literally, flowers), a form that the Dongxiang share with other nationalities living in eastern Qinghai and southern Gansu. They are short songs consisting of only one stanza with either four or six lines which virtually everyone can sing.³¹

Relatively little can be reported about contemporary Dongxiang literature. It is entirely written in Chinese. Currently the most prominent literary person is the poet Wang Yulang. His best work to date is the long poem "Ana" 阿娜 which has some political overtones.³² Contemporary prose is written by Wang Yuxiang, a 47-year-old worker in a clothing factory in Lanzhou. He started writing in 1965 but, owing to Mao's "cultural revolution," most of his work remained unpublished until recently.³³

Illus. 18. Dongxiang Costumes

Religion

Before the Communist takeover there were three Muslim sects among the Dongxiang. Sixty-eight percent of the total population belonged to the Old Teaching (老教 lao jiao) which was introduced in the late eighteenth century.³⁴ The New Teaching (新教 xin jiao), introduced around the turn of this century, had far fewer adherents but was politically ambitious. Numerous clashes broke out between these two sects, thanks to a large extent to the support given to the New Teaching by the Ma clan which dominated Gansu and Qinghai provinces during much of the republican period. There was also a third sect, called the Newly Awakened Teaching (新兴教 xin xing jiao), but it had very few adherents and practically nothing is known about it.³⁵

As late as the 1940s the Dongxiang area had 595 mosques, nine religious schools (medrese), twelve major religious leaders, such as ahongs and mullahs, and over 2,000 religious personnel. This averaged out to one mosque for every thirty households and one religious professional for every nine households. In addition, it is reported that the number of annual expenditures for various religious purposes came to thirty-four.³⁶

Recent Developments

Communist troops occupied the area south of Lanzhou in August, 1949. About a year later, on September 25, 1950, the new authorities created the Dongxiang autonomous area and in 1955 changed its title to autonomous county.³⁷ During 1953 and 1954 nationality townships (minzu xiang 民族乡) were also created in areas outside the autonomous county where appreciable numbers of Dongxiang resided. They included Alimatu 阿里麻土, Gangou 甘沟, and Liangjiashi 梁家寺 of Hezheng 和政 county and Anjiapo 安家坡, Fujia 付家, and Hulinjia 胡林家 of Linxia city.³⁸

In 1979 the Dongxiang autonomous county had a population of 177,000 persons, of whom 122,000 were Dongxiang.³⁹ Others belonged to the Han, Hui, Tibetan, Tu, and Salar nationalities. Some progress was made in the recruiting of cadres among the Dongxiang and other minorities, but available data are insufficient to form a clear picture. In 1973, during the "cultural revolution," it was reported that sixty-seven percent of all cadres at the county and commune levels were minorities,⁴⁰ with Dongxiang presumably in the majority. Some five years later, however, one source stated that the county had more than 600 Dongxiang cadres at all levels,⁴¹ while another source said that this figure represented more than thirty percent of all cadres.⁴²

The mainstay of the Dongxiang economy is farming, the major crops being potatoes, wheat, highland barley, barley, millet, and corn. Of these, potatoes take up most of the more than 400,000 mu (about 65,880 acres) of acreage. The Dongxiang's potato mash (dough?), grainy and sweet, is used in making various snacks, liquor, vinegar noodles, and many other food items which have found wide acceptance among members of other nationalities in parts of Gansu and Qinghai. Other cash crops are broad bean, hemp, sesame seeds, and rape seeds. Along the banks of the Tao and Daxia rivers are grown large quantities of melons and fruit, and in the mountainous areas are many kinds of wild medicinal plants.⁴³

In the past some ninety percent of the Dongxiang area suffered from severe soil erosion. This problem has been somewhat alleviated in recent years through massive afforestation. As a result, over one-third of the steep slopes are now cultivated. Food production in 1978 was seventy percent higher than the largest crop recorded before 1949.⁴⁴

In recent years a few industrial plants have been erected in the Dongxiang area. These are mostly factories for making generators, farm implements, cement, flour, and bricks. All-weather roads connect Sonoba with Lanzhou and Linxia cities and, within the county, unimproved roads connect Sonoba with every township seat.⁴⁵

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80; Zhongguo, 139. An unofficial figure of more than 220,000 Dongxiang in 1981 was published in the preface, p. 1 of Dongxiangzu minjian gushi ji.

²Since 1980 this county has been a part of the new Bonan, Dongxiang, and Salar autonomous county.

³Liu 1981, 1.

⁴Jiankuang, v. 5, 18.

⁵Zhongguo, 145-146.

⁶Jiankuang, v. 5, 18.

⁷Liu 1981, 1.

⁸E.g., Poppe, 9.

⁹The term Santa was also used in this sense among the Salars as much as sixty years ago. Louis M. J. Schram reports that at that time Tibetans and Tu in the Xining area referred to Muslim converts of Mongol origin as Santa. He cites Smedt and Mostaert, Dictionnaire monguor-français (Beijing, 1933), p. 324, as deriving the term from Mongolian sarta'ul 'Musulman'. See Schram, The Monguors of the Kansu-Tibetan Frontier: Their Origin, History, and Social Organization (Philadelphia, 1954), p. 23 and note 5 on the same page.

¹⁰Jiankuang, v. 5, 19.

¹¹Zhongguo, 140.

¹²Jiankuang, v. 5, 19.

¹³Zhongguo, 140.

¹⁴Jiankuang, v. 5, 19.

¹⁵Zhongguo, 141; Muramatsu, 83-84.

¹⁶Zhongguo, 140.

¹⁷Zhongguo, 141.

¹⁸Liu 1981, 4.

¹⁹The phonemes are transcribed according to the new experimental script described in Nasunbayer, Dongxiang urou surukuni. See also note 24 below.

²⁰Nasunbayer 1976, 317.

²¹Liu 1981, 3.

²²Liu 1981, 22.

²³Liu 1981, 24.

²⁴Liu 1981, 25.

²⁵Schwarz.

²⁶"Lu furen zhan mang 孀婦人斬蟒", Dongxiangzu minjian gushi ji. 1-6. Hereafter Gushi ji. Also known as "Lu guafu zhan mang," (Widow Lu Beheads the Python). See Zhongguo, 145.

²⁷Op. cit., 18-32. The work includes eight other legends. Another version of "Milagahei and Haidiya" can be found in Zhongguo minjian aiqing gushi 中国民间爱情故事 (1980), 1-16. See also Zhongguo, 145.

²⁸Op. cit., 75-111.

²⁹"Baiyu feiyi 白羽飞衣," Zuopin xuan, v. 2 (Shanghai, 1981), 244-249.

³⁰Eight stories of Yusiha are included in Gushi ji, 122-137.

³¹Six huar are reproduced in Zuopin xuan, 242-244.

³²Zuopin xuan, 250-275. Ana is a Dongxiang word denoting "mother" (Nasunbayar 1976, 371.) Two other poems by Wang Yulang, namely, "Laizi Yesong dabande xinxi" and "Shengmingde yinxian" (see bibliography), are more propagandistic.

³³One of his love stories, "Gabula and Dabula," is listed in the bibliography.

³⁴Jiankuang, v. 5, 24.

³⁵Zhongguo, 144.

³⁶Jiankuang, v. 5, 24-35.

³⁷Jiankuang, v. 5, 21; Zhongguo, 145.

³⁸Ibid.

³⁹Liu 1981, 1.

⁴⁰Jiankuang, v. 5, 22.

⁴¹Zhongguo, 145.

⁴²Liu 1981, 1.

⁴³Jiankuang, v. 5, 18.

⁴⁴Zhongguo, 146

⁴⁵Ibid.

10

Tu

Size and Location

The Tu 土 live on the south slopes of the Qilian mountains on both banks of the Huangshui and Datong rivers. Numbering 159,426 in 1982,¹ the Tu are mainly concentrated in the Huzhu 互助 Tu autonomous county, about 45 kilometers from Xining, the capital of Qinghai province. Other Tu live in Minhe 民和 and Datong 大通 counties of Qinghai, while relatively few Tu are scattered in Ledu 乐都 and Menyuan 门源 counties of Qinghai and in the Tianzhu 天祝 Tibetan autonomous county as well as Yongdeng 永登 and Linxia 临夏 districts of Gansu province (see Map 10).²

History³

The history of the Tu can be said to have begun in 1227 when the Mongol general Subudei occupied the area where the Tu presently live. When the Mongols arrived there, they found a few Tibetans, Uigurs and Shato groups.⁴ During the period of the Mongol world empire, the Uigurs living in the Tu area were used as minor officials. Mongol officers and men began to intermarry with the local population almost as soon as they had arrived in the Tu area, so that by the time the Ming armies conquered the area in 1371, the beginnings of a new nationality which we now call Tu had already been made. The process, however, was by no means complete, but continued for perhaps another five hundred

Map 10. Tu

years. According to Tu clan records discovered in the early twentieth century, there were sixteen clans which in the early years of the Ming dynasty (late fourteenth century) had the following backgrounds: eight Tu (White Mongol),⁵ five Shato, one Mongol (Black Mongol), one Turkish (i.e. Uigur), and one Chinese (Han). Roughly speaking, half of the present Tu population (leaving out differences in the size of clans) was already Tu at that time, while the other inhabitants still considered themselves members of their own original ethnic groups.

Language and Literature⁶

The Tu language belongs to the Mongolian group of the Altaic family of languages. Its two main dialects are Huzhu and Minhe. Some sixty percent of its vocabulary is basically the same as Mongolian. Tu also includes a sizeable number of Chinese loan words for secular use, while religious objects are expressed by Tibetan loan words.⁷ There is a very small number of Turkic loan words as well. The Tu in Datong county no longer speak Tu but speak Chinese exclusively. The Tu do not have their own script but use the Chinese script instead.

The Tu call themselves Mongol, except those living in Minhe, who form a minority, where the word is pronounced Monggor.⁸ This latter term has mistakenly been used by some Western scholars as the general name for all Tu. Because the word Monggol is the same as that for the Mongol nationality, the Tu often also call themselves Chagaan Monggol (White Mongols) and the Mongols Xara Monggol (Black Mongols).⁹

The Tu language has six short and five long vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>xana</u> 'everybody'	<u>aa</u> as in <u>xanaa</u> - 'to cough'
<u>e</u> as in <u>ken</u> 'who'	<u>ee</u> as in <u>deel</u> 'clothing'
<u>i</u> as in <u>qira</u> 'yellow'	<u>ii</u> as in <u>iiqa</u> 'too, excessive'
<u>o</u> as in <u>olə</u> - 'to get'	<u>oo</u> as in <u>ooku</u> 'fat'
<u>u</u> as in <u>unee</u> 'cow'	<u>uu</u> as in <u>uur</u> 'gas'
<u>ə</u> as in <u>kədə</u> 'several'	

The vowel ɛ is used only for Chinese loan words.

The nine diphthongs are:

<u>aii</u> as in <u>naiiman</u> 'eight'	<u>uii</u> as in <u>fuii</u> 'forest'
<u>auu</u> as in <u>dauu</u> 'song'	<u>uaa</u> as in <u>uuaa</u> 'to wash'
<u>əuu</u> as in <u>səuu</u> 'armpit'	<u>ue</u> as in <u>ɛdzuen</u> 'cause'
<u>ia</u> as in <u>tiag</u> 'walking stick'	<u>uai</u> as in <u>toləuai</u> 'head'
<u>iuu</u> as in <u>niuudur</u> 'today'	

Chapter 10

In addition, əii, iau, and ua are used only for Chinese loan words. There are twenty-three consonants:

<u>b</u> as in <u>dabdzə</u> 'salt'	<u>z</u> as in <u>zaazi</u> 'terrible'
<u>p</u> as in <u>pudee-</u> 'to envelop'	<u>ts</u> as in <u>tsənla-</u> 'to accomplish'
<u>m</u> as in <u>samla-</u> 'to comb'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qinee-</u> 'to laugh'
<u>f</u> as in <u>fungu-</u> 'to rub'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jasə</u> 'bone'
<u>v</u> as in <u>valəasə</u> 'city'	<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>tədʒin</u> 'forty'
<u>d</u> as in <u>daaldə-</u> 'to sell'	<u>tɕ</u> as in <u>tɕə</u> 'you' (sing.)
<u>t</u> as in <u>taraa</u> 'food'	<u>g</u> as in <u>gədesə</u> 'intestines'
<u>s</u> as in <u>sala</u> 'branch'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kun</u> 'person'
<u>n</u> as in <u>nəkə-</u> 'textiles'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xamdə</u> 'together'
<u>l</u> as in <u>labdzə</u> 'leaf'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>ŋuaasə</u> 'body hair'
<u>r</u> as in <u>raal</u> 'river'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕarə-</u> 'to ascend'
<u>ʂ</u> as in <u>suaida-</u> 'to fall'	

The consonants dʒ, ts, and dʒ are used only for Chinese loan words.

The Tu language is closely related to Mongolian, Enger (Eastern Yugur), Bonan, Daur, and Dongxiang in phonetics, morphology, and vocabulary. Like the Bonan and Dongxiang languages, Tu places the stress on the last syllable of words and has retained some old sounds and words from Middle Mongolian. A few examples of identical or nearly identical words in several Mongolian languages are:

Tu	Daur	Bonan	Dongxiang	Enger	Mongolian
<u>bu</u>	<u>bi</u>	<u>bə</u>	<u>bi</u>	<u>bə</u>	<u>bi</u> 'I'
<u>taavun</u>	<u>taaw</u>	<u>tavong</u>	<u>tawuan</u>	<u>taawən</u>	<u>tabun</u> 'five'
<u>ken</u>	<u>xən</u>	<u>kang</u>	<u>kien</u>	<u>ken</u>	<u>xen</u> 'who'
<u>mude-</u>	<u>mədə-</u>	<u>mədə-</u>	<u>miedzie-</u>	<u>mede-</u>	<u>mede-</u> 'to know'
<u>kəle-</u>	<u>xəl-</u>	<u>kal-</u>	<u>kielie-</u>	---	<u>xele-</u> 'to speak'

The Tu language preserves certain features of Middle Mongolian of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, like initial h or its altered form f, final n, final vowel or altered form. Examples are:

Tu	Script Mongolian	Middle Mongolian	Mod. Mong.	
<u>fulaan</u>	<u>ulagan</u>	<u>hulayan</u>	<u>ulaan</u>	'red'
<u>xalga</u>	<u>alga</u>	<u>halaga</u>	<u>alga</u>	'palm of hand'

<u>ula</u>	<u>agula</u>	<u>ayula</u>	<u>uul</u>	'mountain'
<u>najan</u>	<u>naya(n)</u>	<u>nayan</u>	<u>nayan</u>	'eighty'

It also preserves l in the final syllable, e.g.

Tu	Middle Mongolian (<u>Secret History of the Mongols</u>)	Modern Mongolian	
<u>tqaaldza</u>	<u>čayalsun</u>	<u>čaas</u>	'paper'
<u>moldza</u>	<u>mölsün</u>	<u>mös</u>	'ice'
<u>səuuldza</u>	<u>sülsü</u>	<u>sös</u>	'gall bladder'; 'courage'

Some Tu words dropped their initial vowel, which is different both from Script Mongolian and Modern Mongolian, such as

Tu	Script Mongolian	Modern Mongolian	
<u>ne</u>	<u>ene</u>	<u>ene</u>	'this'
<u>vesə</u>	<u>ebesü(n)</u>	<u>öbs</u>	'grass'
<u>sagə-</u>	<u>asagu-</u>	<u>asuu-</u>	'to ask'

Most Tu words of Mongolian origin still retain the same meaning as in Mongolian, but in several cases the meaning has changed somewhat. Some Tu words have acquired extended meanings, e.g., Mongolian aralj- and Tu raaldzə- mean 'to exchange', but the Tu word can also mean 'to lose (hair)' and 'to change (name)'. The Mongolian verb xeel- refers to the making of pig sounds, but the corresponding Tu verb xaiila- refers to the sounds of virtually all animals the Tu are familiar with. On the other hand, some Tu words have narrower meanings than their Mongolian equivalents. Tu tarə- means only 'to sow' but Mongolian tar- also means 'to disperse', 'to scatter', and 'to be separated'. In other cases, Tu and Mongolian words have somewhat related meanings, e.g. Tu raal 'river' and Mong. aral 'bay, island'; Tu gee-, 'to let go', and Mong. gee- 'to drop, to lose'; Tu gol 'ditch' and Mong. gol 'river'. The Tu language has also retained some words that are no longer found in Mongolian. Middle Mongolian (as in the Secret History of the Mongols) hayul- and Tu xauulə- 'to speed'; Middle Mongolian bayi- and Tu baii- 'to erect'.

The Tu language has two dialects, Huzhu and Minhe, with relatively large differences between them in phonology, vocabulary and grammar. The main differences are, first, presence of long vowels in Huzhu and their absence in

Minhe, as in taada and tada 'near', fuuda and xuda 'pocket'; toos and tusə 'oil'; and deel and der 'clothing'. Second Huzhu x and f are pronounced q and x, respectively, in Minhe. Examples are:

Huzhu	Minhe	
<u>xuraa</u>	<u>qura</u>	'rain'
<u>xalong</u>	<u>galung</u>	'hot'
<u>xoolo</u>	<u>qolo</u>	'throat'
<u>fulaan</u>	<u>xulang</u>	'red'
<u>fune</u>	<u>xuni</u>	'smoke'
<u>foodə</u>	<u>xotu</u>	'star'

Third, Huzhu final l is pronounced r in Minhe, as in gal and gar 'fire', and xargal and xargar 'turd'. Fourth, Huzhu has more Tibetan loan words whereas Minhe has more Chinese loan words. Fifth, the plural suffix in Huzhu is -nggula or -sge but is -sə in Minhe, e.g. diuunggula or diuusge and diausə, 'younger brothers', and gernggula or gersge and gersə, 'houses'.

The Tu have a rich heritage of oral literature. Songs relating the creation myths occupy a major place in their repertoire. One cycle of songs called honi, tells of the creation of the sheep (< Mongol honi 'sheep') and also of several other animals.¹⁰ The preeminent saga of the origin of man and the universe is the Geser epic, also popular among the Mongols, Tibetans, and several other nationalities.¹¹ The myth of the creation of plants is told in the tale šdie udurni udurde 'In the days of antiquity'.¹² It is also known as "Laremba and Qumenso," the chief hero and heroine of the story, and is often sung by a man and woman at weddings.¹³ The Tu call this kind of song ulaan duu, 'mountain song.'

Another favorite of oral literature deals with Mangus, the monster that devours humans and animals. Similar tales are also found in other parts of Asia.¹⁴ Another literary type is the riddle song which, like the mountain song, is sung alternately by two persons. Each riddle song is structured into three parts. Some involve three countries (Tibet, the Tu country, and China), three birds (parrot, peacock and cuckoo) or three stages of various economic activities, like farming, liquor making, and weaving.¹⁵

Society¹⁶

The Tu family has traditionally been patrilineal, extended, and patrilocal and was the collective owner of all assets of its members. Several families comprised a clan which, since the early Ming dynasty, was headed by a tusi 土司 who was appointed by the Chinese central government.¹⁷ Although

we do not have complete records, it is possible that the first tusi were appointed on the basis of their having already been clan leaders, and that the Ming government merely renamed an old institution. We do know that in several cases families of tusi traced their ancestry to the Mongol imperial clan of Borjigid. The tusi was the ultimate owner of his clan's territory, a custom that apparently had been preserved from the nomadic, pre-Ming period. In practice, however, each family, as already noted, enjoyed all the privileges and obligations of ownership, even though the tusi merely granted them their land in perpetuity. Another custom surviving from nomadic days was the method of taxation which was not by land, as among the Chinese, but by the number of persons in each family. Besides taxes, the tusi also received from all commoners, but not nobles, *corvée* labor and military service.

Illus. 19. Tu Costumes

Marriage was arranged and exogamous. The latter practice, while strictly observed among the nobility, was often ignored among the commoners. While the great majority of marriages followed the normal custom of the bride moving in with her husband's family, there were two special kinds of marriage which apparently were borrowed from the neighboring Tibetans. One was called the "marriage to the pole" by which a girl stayed with her family, took in lovers and

bore children. Her offspring took her family's name and were treated as equals in the matter of inheritance. The other practice was "marriage to the girdle" where the girl, staying with her family, slept with a guest who upon departure left his girdle behind. In case the girl became pregnant, she could get "married" to the girdle.

At the birth of a child the room in which it was born immediately became off limits to all men. The mother and child would stay confined to that room for a whole month, and only the closest female relatives were permitted to enter. Above the entrance a cypress bough or a ball of wool would be hung. During the first month most people except the closest family members were also barred from entering the courtyard. On the third day after birth the father went to the home of his wife's parents to announce the birth. On the seventh day he would visit a lama of the Red Hat sect and ask him to tell his child's fortune. On the twentieth day the child's head was shaved and the father would pay a second visit to his wife's parents. At the end of the month a kind of coming-out party was held for the child, which was attended by the parents of both husband and wife as well as by guests. Before the guests arrived the mother would ask the child's paternal grandfather to give the child a name. This celebration was held on the twenty-ninth day for a boy or on the thirtieth for a girl. Children were often named after Buddhist deities or given auspicious names like Courage, Tiger, and Prosperity. In families with few children or where several children had already died, a child was sometimes dedicated to a particular shamanistic spirit, obviously to protect him from evil spirits. When the child reached the age of about thirteen, another shamanistic ceremony, called the festival of release, was celebrated.

Burial customs among the Tu have undergone great changes over the past fifty years. In the past most adults were interred and only lamas received cremation. Children were given "sky burial," a practice harking back to the nomadic days, whereby the child's corpse was placed on a wooden platform high up in a tree. This custom was still practiced in some communities as late as the 1950s. The Tu of Minhe county also continued, some to this day, to bury dead adults by interment, but most other Tu now practice cremation, thereby following the prevailing custom among the Han.¹⁸

Religion¹⁹

The predominant religion among the Tu was Tibetan Buddhism, or Lamaism, but the older shamanism was also very popular as late as the twentieth century. Lamaist monasteries were found in almost every valley in the Tu region while there was not a single structure belonging to the shamans. The lamas outnumbered shamans perhaps a hundred to one and were extremely wealthy

while the handful of shamans eked out a precarious existence as farmers.

Lamaism did not reach the area where the Tu presently live until 630 to 650, and it took centuries before it began to exert a pervasive influence among the population. During the time of the Mongol world empire, Buddhism received official support from Hubilai Han. The Mongol troops who entered the area found it almost devoid of people. Some members of a Turkic group, called Shato, joined the conquerors, as did a handful of Tibetans.

Most of the Buddhist monks in the Tu region belonged to the Yellow Hat Sect, and all forty-two monasteries and branches belonged to this sect. Members of the older Red Hat sect lived with their families in villages. The monasteries were independent of Lhasa, and within a monastery each of its various major institutions had much autonomy.

A monastery derived its income from various sources. The oldest sources were domains from which it collected tax and rent. Some of these domains were quite extensive. The Tuguan Living Buddha, for example, established seven villages on his domains.²⁰ Herds of sheep, cows, and horses constituted another form of income. These animals were mostly kept in Mongolia and the region around Höhnuur (Kokonor) and every three years a monastery inspector came to check the herders' accounts and to collect the income.

Oil and grain mills provided another large source of revenue for the monasteries. The typical annual lease price for one oil mill was 300 pounds of oil, and a grain miller had to pay a pig weighing a minimum of 120 pounds. The oil that was not consumed for food or lamps was shipped to Lanzhou and sold there. Other, less important sources of income included forests and bridge tolls, and the collection of alms outside the Tu region. For example, in 1914 the Tuguan Living Buddha went to the Yugur region in Gansu and collected 124 cows, 146 horses, 90 sheep, and 2,000 taels. Although after 1723 the Chinese government forbade monasteries to collect taxes for their own use, lamas devised ways to extract a portion of taxes from their subjects before passing on the legal amount to government collectors. The most important source of monastic income was, however, money lending. The monks charged the same rate, thirty percent and sometimes higher, as Chinese money lenders, but while the latter were often compelled to write off parts of outstanding loans, the Buddhist monks had the reputation of extracting full payment at all costs.

The social position of the shamans among the Tu was the same as that of commoners. Although every village had at least one shaman, he was not necessarily exclusively consulted by his fellow villagers. It was quite common for a village to invite a shaman from another village. Unlike the Buddhist monks, no institution or guild bound the shamans together. Generally, a shaman inherited his position. In fact, the Tu felt so strongly about the need to perpetuate the tradition of shaman status in certain families that a shaman

without a son was obliged to find his successor among his brothers' sons. There were white (i.e. good) and black (evil) shamans, the latter being used for purposes of revenge. Some shamans were considered disciples of the Taoist god of the five roads, an indication of the Chinese influence among the Tu. More important, however, were the disciples of the twelve tengris (heavenly spirits), a tradition that clearly had its origins on the Mongolian steppes.

The Tu also had another, quasi-religious type of person, called the kurtain.²¹ Anyone, regardless of age or family, could become a kurtain after he became possessed by one of several Taoist spirits. Usually this happened in youth, and the spirit generally would leave a kurtain when he reached an advanced age. The position of kurtain was never passed on from father to son. Moreover, before a person could be recognized as a kurtain, he had to pass a rigorous examination in an open assembly presided over by the abbot of the local monastery. If a person failed the test, his reputation in his village was forever ruined, and he could never hope to become a kurtain for the rest of his life.

Recent Developments²²

The Huzhu district was peacefully occupied by Communist troops in September 1949. Soon thereafter land reform and agricultural reorganization commenced which at first exempted the large holdings of the numerous Buddhist monasteries. By 1958, however, all land was brought under the communes being organized among the Tu as everywhere else.

The Huzhu Tu autonomous county was established on February 17, 1954, and in the same year several Tu townships were also created in other parts of Gansu. At that time the Tu accounted only for 13.5 percent of the county's population, and although no more recent figures are available, I estimate the Tu share to be even lower today. In contrast to their low percentage in the total population, but entirely consonant with central nationalities policies, one finds disproportionately large numbers of Tu in various government (as distinct from party) posts. As early as the establishment of the Huzhu autonomous county in 1954, nineteen percent of the membership of the first People's Congress and forty-two percent of the county government were Tu. By the end of the 1970s, more than 1,200 Tu cadres were reported at various levels of government. In addition, there are some Tu in the Qinghai provincial government and in the National People's Congress.

The Huzhu autonomous county has also experienced considerable development in the fields of education and health care as well as in the economy. Roads and telephones are now found in all parts of the county. In 1951 a liquor factory was built which has produced the Huzhu baijiu, a vodka-like liquid which is well known in many parts of Qinghai. Additional plants were built

in 1957 for generating electric power and grinding flour, which were later joined by factories for cement, soap, coke, and bricks.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80. In 1973, the Tu population stood at 100,000. See Jiankuang, v. 5, 28.

²Zhaonast 1981 1.

³Adapted from Jiankuang, v. 5, 29, and Schram, Monguors, v. 1.

⁴The Uigurs had fled there from the Hexi Corridor of Gansu around 1036 in order to escape domination by the Tangut state of Xixia. The Shato had been part of the Western Turk federation. When the latter came to an end in the 630s, some Shato moved east, first to the Hexi Corridor, then, perhaps around 900, to the present Tu area in eastern Qinghai.

⁵For the distinction between Black and White Mongols, see the Language section below.

⁶Linguistic information is taken mainly from Zhaonast 1981.

⁷The most extensive treatment of this subject is by Róna-Tas 1966.

⁸Schröder makes the same point in his Volksdichtung, v. 1, 18.

⁹Jiankuang, v. 5, 28-29.

¹⁰Nineteen honi songs in transliteration and German translation are in Schröder 1959, 21-68.

¹¹Published in manuscript form in Geser Rëdzia-wu.

¹²See Schröder 1970.

¹³Zhongguo, 153.

¹⁴Schröder 1959, 69-127.

¹⁵Ibid, 146-174.

¹⁶Adapted from Schram, Monguors, v. 1, 41-103, unless otherwise noted.

¹⁷For an interesting discussion of the origins of Tu clan names and their changes to Chinese-style names, see the article by Li.

¹⁸Zhongguo, 152.

¹⁹Jiankuang, v. 5, 33, Zhongguo, 152, and Schram, Monguors, v. 2.

²⁰The Tuguan Living Buddha was the head of the largest monastery in the Tu area, called Youning 佑宁, also known as Erguolong 尔郭隆 and, in Tibetan, dGon-luñ.

²¹Schröder 1959, 10 ff., calls this person gurtum.

²²Zhongguo, 149-151.

11

Daur

Size and Location

There are presently some 94,000 Daurs 达斡尔 in China, a sizeable increase from the 55,000 reported in 1958.¹ Pre-war figures were, however, much higher. Around 1930, by their own estimate, there were at least 100,000 Daurs in the Nonni River area alone. This figure did not include sizeable populations around Hailar and along the Amur River.² Poppe, in 1928, surmised that there might be up to 300,000 Daurs in Manchuria,³ but in 1935 he said that he did not know the total size of the Daur population.⁴ Similar sharp discrepancies between the pre-Communist and Communist periods have been found with other minorities in China. There are usually several reasons accounting for these differences, including the haphazard nature of earlier estimates, different classification criteria, long periods of war and natural disasters, and emigration.

Of the present total, only 4,369 live in the Gurbansher Daur commune near the city of Qoqek in Xinjiang.⁵ The great majority of China's Daurs lives in Heilongjiang and Inner Mongolia, especially in the Morindawa (cf. mong. *mori*, 'horse', and *davaa*, 'ridge, hill') Daur autonomous banner, and around the city of Qiqihar in Heilongjiang. Other Daurs live in Fuyu, Longjiang, Nenjiang, Nehe, and Aihui (Aigun) counties and in the Hulunbuir league of Inner Mongolia, particularly in the Chen Bargu banner and the Evenk autonomous banner (see Map 11).

Map 11. Daur

The Morindawa banner, named after a mountain, covers 11,943 square kilometers. Its seat is in the town of Nirji 尼尔基 (Daur: flourishing, prosperous). To the north is the Great Xing'an range, to the south the Nonni River plain of Fuyu county. The Nonni and its tributaries Gan, Horli, Arong, and Yin water this vast territory. It has a relatively cold climate, with only about four frost-free months a year.

History

The origin of the Daur is unknown, but there are several clues. The earliest description of this nationality is contained in a report by the Russian explorer Spathary who referred to some unspecified Chinese source according to which the Daur is said to be the "remnants of the Chinese garrison" in today's Manchuria "left by the Tan tai-tszui (618-626)."⁶ According to this source, a portion of that garrison force had been detailed for fox hunting and was called dahuli, 'those who hunt foxes.' Another source maintains that after the Jurchen had defeated the Liao state in 1125, some Kitan settled on the left bank of the Amur and there became the ancestors of the present-day Daur.⁷ Lattimore relates a story which claims the Daur as the descendants of Habto Hasar, the brother of Chinggis Khan. Lattimore seems to accept this story because he concludes that it would relate the Daur to the Mongols of the Jerim League, the largest Mongol group in Manchuria. He speculates that the Daur, perhaps in the fourteenth century (because Mongolian words in the Daur language are archaic), pushed up the Nonni into the Amur valley and there came to rule over the Tungus.⁸ Another Russian explorer, Palladius, claimed that the Daur descended from a mixed Mongol-Chinese garrison during Yuan times.⁹

Finally, a Daur legend tells of an original home in the area of the Shira müren and the Hara müren in today's Liao River drainage basin. At some unspecified time, these original Daur were led by their khan, named Sajihaldi, to the upper reaches of the Amur River. There he left half of his tribe because provisions had been exhausted and their strength was down. He is said to have continued on with the remainder of his tribe in a westerly direction. Those who stayed on the Amur set up various settlements, with wooden palisade walls and buildings.¹⁰

The first of these hypotheses should be ignored. One cannot "discover" the roots of a smallish nationality some 1,300 years ago without any documentary evidence along the way. Perhaps most incriminating is the use of the term dahuli which is the modern pronunciation and not that of the Tang dynasty. Likewise, Palladius' notion should be dismissed.

The other claims have a ring of plausibility about them. Ever since Poppe's first work on the Daur language in 1930,¹¹ we have known that Daur

contains some Middle Mongolian words, i.e. Mongolian as spoken in the thirteenth to fourteenth centuries. This linguistic fact proves that the Daur nationality's roots can be traced at least as far back as the fourteenth century, but it does not prove that the Daurs began to exist as a distinct nationality at that time. This could have happened either before or after, as well as during the time when Middle Mongolian was spoken. This problem of ethnogenesis deserves further study, but we will need much more ethnographic material than we presently have before we will be able to pinpoint the beginnings of the Daurs.

Meanwhile, I would suggest that the Daurs can be traced as far back as the twelfth century. The Daur legend mentioned earlier speaks of their ancestors as living along the Shira m'üren and Hara m'üren, in other words, along the headwaters of the Liao River in the eastern foothills of the Great Xing'an Mountains. That area was the Kitan heartland, where the Liao dynasty's supreme capital was located.¹² It was then populated mostly by Kitan, with an admixture of Parhaes (Bohai), who had been resettled there after the Kitan had defeated their state, and some Chinese. Linguistic evidence rules out the Parhaes as the Daurs' ancestors, which leaves the Kitan. Shiratori and Pelliot, among others, have stated that the Kitan language was largely Mongolian with an admixture of Tungusic words.¹³ The Daur language has this same characteristic.

The Daur legend refers to an exodus to the Amur River. Like most legends, it does not offer any dates for this move, but judging by the few details it does offer, I would place this migration around the time when the Jurchens defeated the Liao dynasty in the early twelfth century. Only an actual or perceived catastrophe of major proportions would have induced an entire tribe or, at any rate, a sizeable group of people, to uproot itself and trek almost the entire length of the Manchurian Plain to its northernmost terminus on the Amur River. It is most unlikely that a natural disaster was the cause. A flood or drought in the foothills of the Great Xing'an Mountains could indeed have caused people to move, but not all the way to the Amur. After all, climatic conditions get worse, not better, the farther north one moves. Even if, for argument's sake, we assume that some natural causes did force the Daurs to move northward, the Daurs would have been much more likely to resettle in the river valley of the Nonni rather than of the Amur. It is in the Nonni River valley that the majority of Daurs have been living since the seventeenth century (see below), proving that the area is quite capable of supporting a sizeable population. Since we know of no major climatic changes that far back, we can assume that the area could have supported the fleeing Daurs in the twelfth century, had they chosen to settle there. Yet the legend suggests that the Daurs did not even stop in the Nonni valley or anywhere else long enough to restock their diminishing supplies, so that by the time they reached the Amur, their chief was forced to leave about half of his group there before continuing his flight in a westerly direction.

I believe we are justified in deducing that the Daurs did not flee from any natural disaster but from a man-made, political disaster. There were only two major political catastrophies between the twelfth and fourteenth centuries. The first occurred in the early twelfth century when the Jurchens destroyed the Kitan state, and the second one took place in the early to mid-thirteenth century when the Jurchens, in turn, were defeated by the Mongols. All historical sources tell us that the Mongols, so far from persecuting the Kitans, were friendly toward them.

I would conclude, therefore, that the Daurs were either Kitans, or a tribe closely associated with the Kitans, who, living near the Kitan supreme capital, came under immediate attack by the Jurchens and then fled as far north as the Amur. They did not settle down along the Nonni because the northern border of both the Kitan and then the Jurchen state of Jin ran through the Nonni River plain. Quite clearly, the Daurs wished to put as much distance between themselves and the Jurchens as possible. In fact, as the legend suggests, had it not been for a lack of supplies, the entire tribe would have fled still farther in a westerly direction. One is tempted to speculate that their ultimate destination was Central Asia where another group of Kitan refugees under Yelü Dashi, resettled and established the Karakitai state.

If the Daurs in the twelfth century had fled to the Amur River valley to escape an encroaching enemy, they were destined to do so again in the seventeenth century. Then, however, escape was not possible for long as Qing China and Tsarist Russia were simultaneously expanding their control into the Amur valley.

During Nurhaqi's rule over the Manchu state (1616-1627), the Daurs were still in the Amur valley.¹⁴ In 1639 and for several years thereafter, Russian pioneers reported meeting Daurs on the upper Shilka River and in the valleys of the Argun and Zeya Rivers.¹⁵ Almost from the first sighting of a Russian, however, some Daurs packed their gear and moved south and east in a vain attempt to avoid all contact with alien, sedentary groups. As early as 1634, some Daurs paid tribute to the encroaching Qing state.¹⁶ Caught in an ever tightening vise, it was perhaps inevitable that the Daur nationality was split, with some clans opting to come under Russian control while the others submitted themselves to the Qing. This split is illustrated in the careers of two Daur chiefs, Gantimur and Bardaqi.

According to Russian sources, before 1654 Gantimur lived along the banks of the Ingoda River. When the Russians requested *yasak* (tax) from him in 1654, he took his clan and fled across the Argun River where Qing officials received them and settled them on the Nonni River Plain. Gantimur, however, disliked life there so much that in 1666 he and a group of more than 300 persons returned to their homeland, now under Russian domination.¹⁷ Until well into the

twentieth century, Gantimur's homeland was known to the Russians as Dauria. In 1882, Gantimur's descendants numbered 10,489 persons, most of whom had converted to Russian Orthodox Christianity.¹⁸

Bardaqui was another Daur chief whose clan lived on the Zeya (Jingqili) River north of the Amur. Between 1634 and 1643, Bardaqui led twelve tribute missions to the Qing.¹⁹ After the Manchus invaded China, they invited Bardaqui to Beijing in 1649 where they bestowed on him the title of ashan i hafan.²⁰ Bardaqui never returned to his clan; he remained in Beijing where in 1654 he died. No explanation is given for Bardaqui's failure to return to his clan. It is most improbable that the Qing forcibly detained him since they tried hard to win the support of all the tribes in Northern Manchuria. Bardaqui could have lost standing with his own clan, possibly for being too friendly to the sedentary Qing, prompting the Qing to give him an honorable retirement. In that case, Bardaqui's tribe may have decided to throw in its lot with the Russians.

We may never find out, but we do know that around the time of Bardaqui's death in far-away Beijing the Qing began to resettle some Daurs who did not wish to come under Russian domination in their homelands. It was at that time that Gantimur and his clan were resettled in the Nonni River plain. In 1652 some 478 Daur families, comprising 2,051 persons, were resettled in the Butha (Manchu butha, 'hunting and fishing') fudutun,²¹ the present-day city of Nehe. In 1689 the treaty of Nerchinsk, inter alia, fixed the border between the Russian and Chinese empires along the Argun river, and this is said to have caused another stream of Daur refugees to flow into Manchuria.²²

In 1698 the Qing brought all Daurs into the eight-banner system and called the Daurs, Evenks, and Oroqens "New Manchus."²³ With the Daurs now firmly under their control, the Qing began to levy tax obligations on them. Every man over 1.67 meters (5 chi) in height had to pay an annual tax of one good marten (some sources say sable) pelt and perform military service. The Daurs proved to be loyal and trustworthy subjects.²⁴ During the remainder of the Qing dynasty, they were called up a total of sixty times.²⁵ Their assignments would take them into China proper but also, in the 1750s, into faraway Xinjiang where some of their descendants still live.

The treaty of Nerchinsk did not bring the Qing dynasty the security along the northern frontier it had hoped for, especially in the area between the Argun River and the Great Xing'an Mountains, sometimes called Barga. The Qing court's demand for the return of Gantimur, made in 1670, remained unanswered, and it was feared that Russians, now sighted in increasing numbers along the Argun River, might conduct raids into Barga or entice the native population to follow Gantimur into Russian territory. The Qing government finally decided to strengthen its guard along the frontier, and in 1732, it dispatched some 730 Daurs, along with Barguts, Evenks, and Oroqens to Barga. Two years later these

migrants found a settlement which later became the city of Hailar.²⁶

Language and Literature

The Daur language belongs to the Mongolian group of the Altaic language family. Over ninety percent of all Daur still use their own language, the only exception being the Daur living in Aihui and Hulan counties who switched to Chinese in the 1930s and 1940s. Moreover, many members of other nationalities living in the Morindawa Daur autonomous banner use Daur when conversing with Daur. The four main dialects are Qiqihar, Butha, Ili, and Hailar. The Qiqihar dialect is spoken in and around Qiqihar city, in Fuyu and Longjiang counties, and in Arong and Butha banners. It numbers about 35,000 speakers, and it has been less influenced by Manchu-Tungus languages than the Butha dialect. Its vernaculars include Jiangdong, spoken in Fuyu county east of the Nonni river, Jiangxi in the area north of Meilisi, west of the Nonni river, and Fularji. Another 35,000 Daur speak the Butha dialect, principally in the Morindawa autonomous banner, as well as in Nenjiang, Nehe, and Gannan counties. Its vernaculars are Nawen, in the western part of the Butha area, Nemor, Aihui, and Mergen. The Nemor vernacular was originally spoken in Nehe, east of the Nonni river, but during the past several decades its speakers have moved to western Butha where it is gradually fusing with the Nawen vernacular. The Aihui vernacular is also called Darbin, after a locality north of Aihui. The Mergen vernacular is spoken in settlements near the Nenjiang county seat. Differences between the Qiqihar and Butha dialects are sufficiently minor so that Daur from these two groups can easily converse with one another.²⁷

The Hailar dialect has about 15,500 speakers, who are divided into the Nantun and Mokertu vernaculars. The former is spoken in the city of Hailar and in Nantun, the seat of the Evenk autonomous banner, and the latter in Bayintala and Mokertu villages, also in the autonomous banner. This dialect is characterized by many Mongolian loan words. The Ili dialect is spoken by about 4,500 Daur in Xinjiang. It is strongly influenced by Kazak, and its vernaculars have not yet been determined.

The Daur language has twelve vowels and twenty-one consonants. The vowels are divided into six short and six long vowels.

a as in ariljigu 'to exchange'
e as in emel 'front, south'
i as in ire 'ninety'
o as in onugu 'to ride'
u as in hundur 'high'
ü as in mürgaan 'painting'

aa as in baatur 'hero'
ee as in meemee 'Mom'
ii as in miniig 'my'
oo as in boolk 'throat'
uu as in duurku 'full'
üü as in düüdun 'fire match'

Like other Mongolian languages, Daur has near-homophonous words which differ only in their vowel length but have different meanings. For example, tos 'oil', but toos 'strength, power; dust', hag 'split, crack' but haag 'sugar'.

The consonants are:

<u>b</u> as in <u>balge</u> 'earth'	<u>z</u> as in <u>ziliao</u> 'material'
<u>p</u> as in <u>pabun</u> 'discipline'	<u>c</u> as in <u>cidian</u> 'dictionary'
<u>m</u> as in <u>madgen</u> 'interest' (money)	<u>s</u> as in <u>som</u> 'arrow'
<u>f</u> as in <u>forgun</u> 'current situation'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jawus</u> 'fish'
<u>w</u> as in <u>warkel</u> 'clothing'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qaaq</u> 'day after tomorrow'
<u>d</u> as in <u>aldar</u> 'news'	<u>š</u> as in <u>šolbor</u> 'rope'
<u>t</u> as in <u>tergul</u> 'road, way'	<u>y</u> as in <u>yawdel</u> 'thing; conduct'
<u>n</u> as in <u>namer</u> 'autumn'	<u>g</u> as in <u>garge</u> 'earring'
<u>l</u> as in <u>lonk</u> 'bottle'	<u>k</u> as in <u>keqig</u> 'day before yesterday'
<u>r</u> as in <u>huar</u> 'rain'	<u>h</u> as in <u>hamer</u> 'nose'
	<u>ṅ</u> as in <u>sangluu</u> 'incense burner'

The consonants z, c, and ṅ are used only in Chinese loan words.

Daur is phonologically close to Middle Mongolian, as attested by many old words, like āgū or āγū, cf. Mong. agu, 'to be'.²⁸ It also contains many words which are either identical to or close to words in modern Mongolian and other Mongolian languages.²⁹ Some examples include Daur nar, Mong. nara, Tu nara, Eastern Yugur nan, 'sun'; Daur galj, Mong. yal, Tu gal, Eastern Yugur gal, 'fire'; and Daur morj, Mong. mori, Tu more, Eastern Yugur moorə, 'horse'. Its lexicon also contains a sizeable number of Manchu and Tungusic words. Examples are gurun < Man. gurun, 'country'; ḍak < Man. ḍaka, 'thing'; kumun < Man. kumun, 'music'; ilgaa < Man. ilha, 'flower'. Tungusic, specifically Evenk, loan words in Daur include ergel 'bullock', bireṅkw 'rolling pin', xweəs 'pus', and waalgeṅ 'echo'.

As expected, Daur also contains many loan words from the Chinese. Older loan words include dəṅ dʒen < Chin. deng 'lamp', gjaə < Chin. jie 'street', and waas < Chin. wazi 'sock'. Words borrowed after 1949 are mostly political in nature, such as danʒan < Chin. dangyuan 'party member', tugai < Chin. tugai 'land reform', and ganbul < Chin. ganbu 'cadre'.

In most phonological and morphological respects, Daur is close to Mongolian. Its vowel harmony, however, is more complicated than that in modern Mongolian. There are six categories of vowels, as follows: (1) aa, au, ai, a are masculine in any syllable. When they are in the first syllable of a word, they must be followed by either other masculine vowels or by neuter vowels of the fourth or sixth category (see below), e.g. kaalaa 'to change', dauree 'to imitate', sai/ee 'to praise', akaa 'elder brother'. (2) oo, oi, o are also masculine

in any syllable, and they must be followed either by another masculine vowel or a neuter vowel of the fourth or sixth category, e.g., oiloo- 'to dig', and olees 'white poplar'. (3) ee and eu are feminine in any syllable and must be followed by another feminine vowel or a neuter vowel of the fifth or sixth category, e.g. eerel 'spinning wheel', saudax 'shadow', daelbur 'horse's mane'. (4) ee and e are masculine in the first syllable and neuter in subsequent syllables. They must be followed by masculine vowels or neuter vowels of the fifth or sixth category, e.g. feeruu 'rainbow', geegin 'copper', dæblaa- 'to sit cross-legged'. (5) ei, e, uu, ui are feminine in the first syllable and neuter in subsequent syllables. They must be followed by feminine vowels or neuter vowels of the fifth or sixth category, e.g. aidæe 'hither', emæel 'saddle', xuulu- 'to blow', and kuitur 'cold'. (6) u, ii, i are neuter in any syllable and may be followed by masculine or feminine vowels, e.g. dulaan 'warm', tiidaa 'thither', ritaa- 'to ignite', guræes 'wild animal', fiikæe 'to whistle', kixæe 'saw'.

The Daurs do not have their own writing system at present, but there were two attempts earlier in the twentieth century to introduce one. In 1920 Merse (Guo Daofu) created a script based on the Latin alphabet, but it failed to win acceptance.³⁰ On December 20, 1956 a conference convened in Hohhot and passed a draft plan for a Daur script. It was based on the Nawen vernacular of the Butha dialect, spoken in the Nonni River Plain. The new alphabet was Cyrillic in form and consisted of thirty-two letters.³¹ Except for the omission of shch (щ), the Daur alphabet was identical to the Russian alphabet. A few pamphlets were published in the new script and schools introduced it, but in 1960 this script, like a similar script for Mongolian, was abandoned for political reasons. During the Qing period, the handful of Daurs who were literate used the Manchu script, but after 1911 Chinese quickly replaced Manchu.³² In recent times Daurs everywhere have used Chinese, but quite a few Daurs living in the Hailar area and other parts of Inner Mongolia are also proficient in the Mongolian script. At present most Daurs can converse in Chinese. With the ever increasing number of Han people settling in their midst, the Daurs have found it both a practical and, at times such as the "cultural revolution", a political necessity to speak Chinese. Besides, it is quite common to find Daurs also being able to converse in Mongolian, Evenk, Uigur, and Kazak, depending on where they live.

The Daurs have a rich heritage of oral literature, some of which has been published. Poppe was the first to transcribe and translate into Russian some stories, poems (songs), and shamanist incantations.³³ In 1957 two booklets presented in the then newly created Daur Cyrillic script contained eighteen folk tales³⁴ and eighteen songs.³⁵ Both uqun and jaandal are said to be extremely popular and practically everyone can sing them.³⁶ Another collection of folk tales was published in 1960 in Mongolian.³⁷ In the last few years translations in

Chinese have also been published. The popular Hohhot journal Caoyuan has published several modern short stories and one discussion of Daur folk tales by the Daur writer Sanaa.³⁸ Another, rather well-known, Daur writer is the forty-seven year old Uyunbat, who presently works at the cultural palace of the Evenk autonomous banner in Hulunbuir league. After publishing several short stories in Mongolian, he has recently switched to Chinese.³⁹ Finally, the largest collection to date of Daur folk tales, albeit in Chinese, is the Daurzu minjian gushi xuan, which forms part of a huge project currently in progress and which will eventually have published at least one volume of folk tales for each of China's fifty-five minorities. The Daur volume's stories were mostly recorded in the Morindawa banner.⁴⁰

Society

Daur society is divided into hala and mokon. A hala is a surname group whose members are distributed over several villages (ail).⁴¹ Each hala is divided into several mokon, clans or localized kin groups, whose members have a common surname based on common patrilineal descent and live in one village.⁴² Since virtually all inhabitants of a village belong to the same mokon, the terms mokon and ail are usually used interchangeably. But a few exceptions exist. An occasional Han merchant will be found in a village or there will occur some matrilineal arrangement whereby a Daur family will take in a strong but poor man as son-in-law. In these relatively rare cases, a distinction is made between ail and mokon.

In the Morindawa banner the size of villages runs between ten and fifty households with populations of about seventy-five to 350 persons.

Daur society is governed by exogamy. Brides are acquired from outside one's own hala, but in virtually all cases, they are still Daurs. Only in the twentieth century have a few Daur intellectuals married Han or Mongol women, and hardly any marriages take place with the neighboring Evenks and Orogens.⁴³

Inheritance rules have been rather lax, with neither the oldest nor youngest son necessarily obtaining the parents' house.

Economy

Except for the Daurs in the Hailar area of Hulunbuir league, who are principally engaged in herding, farming is the main Daur occupation. Their main crops are millet, buckwheat, oats, and barley. In recent decades, Daurs have also sown large fields to soybeans, gaoliang (Chinese sorghum), and corn. In the past, rotation cropping and extensive cultivation were practiced but no fertilizer was applied and no tilling was done. This resulted in low yields.⁴⁴ In addition to

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these field crops, most Daur also raise a wide variety of vegetables in gardens next to their houses which at least since the time of Spathary's mission in 1676, have been of "Chinese" adobe type.⁴⁵

Illus. 20. A Daur Woman

Hunting used to be a primary economic activity, but during the last two centuries, virtually all Daur have restricted hunting to a subsidiary status. So-called lordly animals, like the bear and tiger, are generally not hunted. Economically the most important game is the elk whose antlers are highly prized by the Han for medicinal purposes. Roedeer are hunted for their skins which are made into a variety of bags, leggings, and reins. Leg bones are used for pipe stems. While these animals are hunted by parties on expeditions sometimes lasting several weeks, other animals are hunted close to home. These include squirrels, wolves, foxes, and rabbits.

Fishing in the Nonni river and its tributaries is a year-long pastime but occasionally is done on a commercial scale. One noteworthy form of ice fishing is by use of a long-handled mallet. As the mallet strikes the ice, the resulting concussion stuns the fish whose upturned white bellies are readily visible through the ice.

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Other sideline activities include gathering of firewood and mushrooms, making charcoal, and the construction of the so-called Daur cart (see Illustration 21),⁴⁶ which is widely used throughout the Nonni river valley not only by Daur but also by Han, Mongols, Oroqens, Evenks, and Manchus. Except for very heavy objects for which a Chinese cart is used, this Daur cart has been used for a wide variety of purposes. They include bringing in the harvest, hauling farm implements and furniture, bringing home new brides, carting away manure, taking corpses to burial grounds and, in the past, transporting criminals to the execution grounds. The cart is also used for personal travel which sometimes takes several weeks. At night the detachable top part is placed on the ground and serves as shelter. During lumbering (see below), the cart is used for hauling logs to the river and, after rafts have been built, the entire cart is placed on a raft, with the top part serving as a temporary home for the rafting crew.

Illus. 21. A Daur Cart (1935)

Toward the end of the Qing dynasty, the Daur started lumber production. In good times, close to one-third of the families have relied on this activity for their livelihood.⁴⁷ Lumbering requires careful planning and execution and usually takes two months or more. Toward the end of each winter groups of young men travel to the upper reaches of the Nonni river and its tributaries. At that time of year the ground is still frozen, thus enabling the lumberjacks to drag

the heavy logs from the forests to the riverbanks. If properly timed, the logs usually arrive at the river just as the ice is breaking up. Then a number of rafts are constructed, tied together in convoys and floated down the river. As these convoys pass cities, logs are sold, most of them in Qiqihar. Rafting requires great skill and close coordination because of the swift currents, whirlpools, and sandbars, and sometimes takes as much as three weeks.⁴⁸

Religion

Lamaism never quite reached most Daur communities, so that only relatively few Daurs were ever converted to Lamaism. The great majority continued to adhere to shamanism. The Daurs' cosmology is dominated by two central concepts: tenger, heaven or sky, and gajir, earth. All humans and animals are believed to have a sumus, spirit, which at the time of death, leaves the body and is presented to Irmu Khan, the lord of the underworld. He decides how each spirit will be reincarnated. Those whose owners behaved best might become barkans (gods) while those with the worst record are condemned to perpetual hell. In between these two extremes are reincarnations as humans or animals.⁴⁹

There are five main types of gods.⁵⁰ The most important type comprises the tenger gods, to wit, Aqaa tenger, father sky, Ege tenger, mother sky, Daliee Hatun tenger, princess sky, and Noter Noyen tenger, official sky. This type of god is not represented by any idols and in normal times receives an annual sacrifice of a two-year old ox or pig. During a major drought the entire clan would offer nine oxen. The Boguol 博果勒 god category includes twenty-four spirits (shen) and has two assistants, Keyideng 克依登 and Maluo 麻罗. He is represented by a colored painting, his assistants by human figures made of gold foil and by dragon paintings. Occasionally they are also represented by wooden images which can reach a height of 11.6 meters (three zhang, five chi). Pigs are normally sacrificed to gods in this category. According to old folk tales, when the Daurs still lived on the Amur they had only this type of god.

The Huolieri 霍列日 god category includes seventeen spirits which are believed to reside in fifty-eight kinds of animals and objects. Fifteen of these spirits are represented by wooden images, the other two by colored paintings. Sacrificial animals are a red ox, a chestnut-colored cow, and a yellow cock. During the ceremony, nine men offer wine and tobacco while another nine men and nine women perform dances. Huozhuori 霍卓日, the ancestral god, is worshipped by each hala and mokon. This god is believed to be not only the god of any given hala or mokon but also to be the spirit of a particular ancestor. Among the presently available case studies, most are females who died under unusual circumstances, such as being killed by lightning or who died uncleared of

false charges brought against them. This god's idol is a human figure made of cloth. During the sacrifice, nine cups of wine are offered as well as the meat of a small pig or roedeer, and buckwheat and porridge. Jiyaqi 吉亚其barkan, the god of cattle, sometimes called Jiyaqi dailal 带拉勒, is represented by a man and woman facing each other, made of white cloth or gold foil, affixed on a piece of cloth. If a family should own a snow-white colt, called a wengu 温古 horse, he is considered this god's personal steed and only men of that family may ride it.

Hunters and loggers worship Bonacha 白那查, the mountain god, whom they believe lives on a precipice deep in the mountains, bringing joy to men and creating all the trees and wild animals. Bonacha decides whether game will be plentiful and logging will be safe. Therefore, during meals in camp, hunters and loggers always offer some food and drink to Bonacha. Rafters and fishermen venerate Birge,⁵¹ the river god, as the guarantor of safety and plentiful fish.

In addition to these "native" gods there are four "imported" gods brought home by Daurs military personnel from China proper during the Qing dynasty. They are Aolei 敖雷, also known as the Husan taiye 胡三太爷; Niangniang 娘娘, the empress goddess; Kuotong 阔通, the city god; Kuareng 夸仍, the army camp god; and Woxi 巫西, the god of widows. These four are represented by colored paintings and are offered pork, chicken, wine, and fruit.

Two other gods are worth noting. Najil is the ancestral god of married women who, upon marriage, take with them a small human figure made of leather and called a halai, which is believed to represent this god.⁵² Huami, whose function I do not know, receives offerings in the shape of the sun, moon, worm, and snake made of birch bark or some other wooden material. These objects are placed inside small wooden boxes which in turn are placed inside small caves. Unlike the others mentioned earlier, these two gods are not found in every hala.⁵³

Every mokon has its own shaman called the yadagan. When sickness strikes, a home has domestic problems, pregnant women have difficult labor, or a person dies without saying his last words, Daurs ask a shaman to communicate with the spirits. Both men and women serve as shamans, with women in the majority in ancient times. During their performance shamans wear a special dress and hat. They sing and dance and beat a drum while in touch with the spirits.

Besides the yadagan, there is the bageqi whose functions are limited to praying, seeking rain, and offering sacrifices to oboos. The customary price for a yadagan's services was the hide of a slaughtered animal.

When a person dies, the body is usually placed in a coffin and then buried in the cemetery of the deceased person's own mokon. The graves are arranged from north to south, with the oldest grave being the northernmost. Burial gifts are items the deceased used during his lifetime, such as a tobacco pouch, a snuff box, or a spoon. Sometimes a horse would be buried alive.⁵⁴

Illus. 22. A Daur Shamaness (1931)

Recent Developments⁵⁵

Like other people living in the Northeast, the Daurs came under Communist rule much earlier than inhabitants of the rest of China. Some Daur communities began land reform as early as 1947. Several years passed, however, before the first autonomous areas for Daurs were established. Between 1952 and 1957 seven autonomous townships were created, and the largest area, the Morindawa autonomous banner, was officially established on August 15, 1958.

The banner is said to have about 1,000 Daur Party members and over 740 Daur cadres. Some industrial development has taken place, principally repair shops and soap factories. Industrial production increased more than five times between 1952 and 1982, while food production increased 2.8 times during the same period. There are now fifty-eight middle schools in the autonomous banner, with a reported ninety-four percent school enrollment. About 170 Daur graduates from schools in the various Daur autonomous areas have gone on to higher education at Inner Mongolia University and the Central Nationalities Institute in Beijing. More than 100 health stations look after the Daurs' medical needs.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

²Lattimore, 182.

³Poppe 1930, 5.

⁴Poppe 1934-35, 2.

⁵Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10. According to Jiankuang, v. 1, 27, in the Daur language gurban means 'three' (identical to Mongolian) and sher means 'spring,' hence Gurbansher, 'Three Springs.'

⁶Quoted in Baddeley, v. 2, 446. Actually, it was Gaozu, not Taizong, who ruled during those years!

⁷Zhao and Wu, 48.

⁸Lattimore, 183.

⁹Baddeley, v. 2, 446.

¹⁰Mergendi 1980a, 69.

¹¹Dagurskoe narechie.

¹²See folding map in Feng and Wittfogel.

¹³Shiratori Kurakichi, "Tōko minzoku kō," Shigaku zasshi 24 (1913), 884; Paul Pelliot, "À propos des Comans," Journal Asiatique, sér. 11, v. 15 (1920), 146ff. and 174.

¹⁴Lattimore, 183-4.

¹⁵Jernakov, 407.

¹⁶Qing shilu, juan 17, 5a, entry for January 31, 1634. Chinese records of the time made no distinction between Daur and neighboring Evenks and called both of them Solons.

¹⁷Baddeley, v. 2, 428.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Zhao and Wu, 49. Given their great frequency, these missions probably went no farther than the nearest Qing military outpost. All information about Bardaqi presented here is taken from an inscription on his tombstone which in 1976 was accidentally discovered in the course of a construction project in Beijing.

²⁰Zhao and Wu, 47. The title means baron, according to Norman, 20.

²¹Jernakov, 408. "The Daur," 73, mentions 1654 as the time of resettlement.

²²Lattimore, 183-4. Lattimore also claims that the word Daur was adopted, presumably by the Qing, at that time. Judging by the Qing shilu, the Qing at that time designated various nationalities rather inconsistently. They had previously lumped together Daur and Evenks under the name Solon (see note 16) and would soon call both groups New Manchus (see below), but the first reference to Daur did not appear until 1758 (see Qing shilu, juan 571, 11b, entry

for October 25). The first clear distinction between Daur and Evenk, the latter still called Solon, appears in the entry for February 16, 1759 in Qing shilu, juan 579, 6b-7a.

²³Qing shilu, juan 188, 1b-2a, entry for May 14, 1698.

²⁴Lattimore, 184, claims that the word Daur "is traced to the Mongol verb dagomoi, vernacular dagama, 'to follow'." The closest word in Mongolian is dagamai, which is not a verb but an adjective and means 'trustworthy'. See Monggol-hitad toli, 1124-1125; Tsevel, 174; Lessing, 217.

²⁵Jiankuang, v. 1, 28.

²⁶Lindgren, 521; Jernakov, 409.

²⁷Zhong 1982, 1. "The Daur," 72 also lists Hailar as a separate dialect.

²⁸Poppe 1934-35, 1-2.

²⁹The following linguistic information is adopted from Ujuur 1981, currently the most comprehensive study of the Daur language.

³⁰"The Daur," 73.

³¹Ujuur 1981, 2.

³²Poppe 1964, 137, is mistaken in stating that the Daur still used the Manchu script in the 1950s.

³³Poppe 1930, 15-64.

³⁴Daur urgil.

³⁵Daur uqun boloor jaandal. Uqun < Manchu ucun, 'song, ballad.' The etymology of jaandal is unknown to me.

³⁶Jiankuang, v. 1, 27.

³⁷Dagur arad-un üliger-üd.

³⁸See bibliography. Sanaa's article reviews the collection Daurzu minjian gushi xuan, cited in the text. See also note 40.

³⁹See two entries in the bibliography.

⁴⁰Of a total of forty-nine tales, thirty-five came from Morindawa, three from Qiqihar, two from Hailar, one each from Tarbagatai and Fuyu county, and seven from unspecified locations.

⁴¹Hala is a Manchu word meaning 'clan, family name.' Norman, 123. Urgunge Onon's hala was spread over seven villages. See his account in Vreeland, 237-238.

⁴²Cf. Ma. mukūn, 'clan, extended family; fleet, herd.' Norman, 206.

⁴³"The Daur," 79.

⁴⁴Jiankuang, v. 1, 28-29.

⁴⁵Baddeley, v. 2, 316.

⁴⁶Information on the "Daur cart" is largely based on Stötzner.

⁴⁷Jiankuang, v. 1, 29.

⁴⁸Zhongguo, 91.

⁴⁹Urgunge Onon, in Vreeland, 268.

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⁵⁰Information about gods is taken from Mergendi 1980b, 193, unless otherwise noted.

⁵¹Cf. Ma. birgan, 'creek.' Norman, 30.

⁵²As reported by Urgunge Onon, in Vreeland, 268-269.

⁵³Zhongguo, 91.

⁵⁴Ibid.

⁵⁵Zhongguo, 95-96.

12

Bonan

Size and Location

The Bonan 保安 are among China's smallest minority nationalities. In 1982 they numbered 9,027,¹ an increase of about 3,400 since 1959.² About 7,000 to 8,000 Bonans live in the villages of Dadun 大墩, Ganhetan 甘河滩, and Meipo 梅坡 of Dahejia 大河家 township and in Gaoli 高李 village of Liuji 刘集 township. All four villages are located in the foothills of the Jishi 积石 mountains of Gansu.³ Dahejia is situated on the Yellow River, just inside Gansu and only a short distance downstream from Xunhua, the home of the Salars (q.v.). The relatively few Bonans who reside in this nationality's original homeland (see below) live in three or four villages on both banks of the Longwu 隆务 river in Tongren 同仁 county of Qinghai (see Map 12).⁴ Since 1980 the Gansu Bonans have been included in the Bonan, Dongxiang, and Salar autonomous county. The Bonans in Qinghai still do not have their own autonomous area.

History

Nothing definite is known about the Bonans' origin, but it is believed to be rather similar to that of the Dongxiang (q.v.). The relatively few samples of Bonan oral literature recorded so far strongly suggest that the Bonans had originally been Mongol soldiers who either during Chinggis Khan's time or the

subsequent Mongol world empire were sent to the area around modern Tongren county. After the fall of the Mongol Yuan state in China in 1368, most Mongols retreated to Mongolia, but a few, including the later Bonans, stayed behind. After many generations of mingling with neighboring Tibetans, Hui, Han, and Tu, a distinct nationality emerged whose members began calling themselves Bonan.⁵

It is not known exactly when the Bonans began to be called by that name, but records of the Wanli reign (1573-1620) report the existence of a Bonan camp in what is now Tongren county. Later this camp became a town which still exists on the banks of the Longwu river under the Chinese transliteration name Baoan. Sometime in the early nineteenth century, a portion of the Bonan nationality converted to Islam, a fact which caused friction to develop with the surrounding Buddhist Tibetans and Tu. Finally, in 1862 this conflict reached a point where the Islamized Bonans decided to move. First they lived for several years in Xunhua 循化, the home of their fellow Muslims, the Salars, and then they followed the Yellow River downstream to the Dahejia area where they still live. Those Bonans who retained their Buddhist faith remained in Tongren but became strongly acculturated to their neighbors, especially to the Tibetans. As a result, only a small but unknown number of persons remain in Tongren who from an ethno-linguistic point of view can still be considered Bonan.

Language⁶

Bonan belongs to the Mongolian group of the Altaic family of languages. It is closer to Tu and Dongxiang than to Mongolian, Daur, and Eastern Yugur. The Bonans do not have their own script but use Chinese in their written communications.⁷ There are two major dialects, one spoken in the Dahejia and Liuji townships of Gansu⁸ and the other around Tongren in Qinghai. A language rather similar to the latter dialect is spoken by some Han and Hui who until the 1950s had sometimes been referred to as the Tongren turen 土人 (natives). They live in the four villages of Niantong, Gomar, Gaser, and Xiazhuang near Baoan city in Qinghai. While the Bonans can communicate in their own language with the Tu in Tongren, they cannot do so with the main body of Tu who reside in Huzhu, Minhe, and Datong counties of Qinghai.⁹

The Bonan language has five short and three long vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>amar</u> 'mouth'	<u>ā</u> as in <u>bār</u> 'mud'
<u>e</u> as in <u>ere</u> 'man'	<u>ī</u> as in <u>iajī</u> 'child'
<u>i</u> as in <u>ita</u> 'narrow'	<u>ū</u> as in <u>sū</u> 'water'
<u>o</u> as in <u>olu</u> 'many'	
<u>u</u> as in <u>uder</u> 'day'	

The twenty-one consonants are:

<u>b</u> as in <u>bata</u> 'firm, solid'	<u>c</u> as in <u>can</u> ku 'storehouse'
<u>p</u> as in <u>puqi</u> - 'to write'	<u>s</u> as in <u>sara</u> 'moon, month'
<u>m</u> as in <u>more</u> 'horse'	<u>j</u> as in <u>juan</u> 'tile'
<u>f</u> as in <u>fulan</u> 'red'	<u>q</u> as in <u>quan</u> 'boat, ship'
<u>w</u> as in <u>dawu</u> 'cloth'	<u>š</u> as in <u>šuji</u> 'secretary'
<u>d</u> as in <u>deran</u> 'four'	<u>y</u> as in <u>bayan</u> 'rich'
<u>t</u> as in <u>nata</u> - 'to play'	<u>g</u> as in <u>gar</u> 'house'
<u>n</u> as in <u>under</u> 'high'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kur</u> 'person'
<u>l</u> as in <u>labqun</u> 'leaf'	<u>h</u> as in <u>hor</u> 'nose'
<u>r</u> as in <u>taran</u> 'food'	<u>n</u> as in <u>san</u> 'good'
<u>z</u> as in <u>zulan</u> 'gadfly'	

The consonants c, j, q are used exclusively and š mostly for Chinese loan words.

The Bonan language observes no strict vowel harmony. Like Mongolian, it maintains a qualitative difference between short and long vowels, except that long vowels appear only in monosyllabic words and in the initial syllable of polysyllabic words. Examples are ū- 'to drink'; ābe, 'father'; ōle 'mountain'.

Like Tu, Dongxiang, Daur, and Moghul, the Bonan language has preserved the initial consonants f- and h- of Middle Mongolian which are no longer found in Modern Mongolian.¹⁰ For example, fulan, 'red', cf. Dongxiang hulan, Tu fulān, and Daur hulān, but Mongolian ulagan; harvan, 'ten', Dongxiang haruan, Tu harvan, and Daur harban, but Mongolian arban; hodon, 'star', cf. Dongxiang hodun and Daur hod, but Mongolian odon.¹¹

In addition, Bonan has kept other initial consonants which no other Mongolian language retains. Examples are nā-, 'to fall', but Mongolian una-, Dongxiang una-, and Tu una-; se, 'water', but Mongolian usun, Dongxiang usu, and Daur os; da, 'now', but Mongolian edüge, Dongxiang ede, and Daur ede; lā-, 'to cry', but Mongolian uyila-, and Dongxiang uila-.

Another characteristic of the Bonan language is the use of initial n- in place of the e, u, ū, i and eu found in other Mongolian languages. For example, ndan, 'door', but Mongolian egüden, Dongxiang uijien, and Daur eud; ndegi, 'egg', but Mongolian öndege, and Tu ndige; ndže- 'to see', but Mongolian üje-, Dongxiang uzhe-, and Daur üdže-; nde-, 'to eat', but Mongolian ide- and Dongxiang ijie-.

Still another feature of Bonan is the presence of two initial consonants as a result of the gradual elimination of the vowel between the two. Examples are šdon, 'tooth', but Mongolian šidün, Daur šide, and Dongxiang šidun; hgo, 'big', but Mongolian yehe, Daur hig, and Dongxiang fugie; fdu, 'long', but Mongolian urtu, and Dongxiang fudu.

Although many Bonan words are the same as or similar to Middle Mongolian words, their meanings are not always entirely identical. Some Bonan words have more restricted meanings, e.g. Bonan səmu, 'arrow', but Mong. sumu, 'arrow', 'bullet'; Bonan mutun, 'timber', but Mong. modun, 'tree', 'timber'. In other instances, Bonan words have wider connotations, e.g. batə, 'sturdy', 'tight'; Mong. batu, 'firm'; and Bonan xaləar, 'excrement', 'fertilizer', Mong. aryal 'dry excrement'.

Loan words are very common in Bonan. By 1960 investigations yielded a sample of 3,000 commonly used words, of which fully one-half were loan words. Three out of every four loan words are Chinese. These can be divided into two classes: old, i.e. pre-1949, and new, i.e. post-1949, words. The older words are mostly for everyday use, such as bəisəi < Chin. baicai, 'cabbage'; kuedzi < Chin. kuaizi, 'chopsticks'; and tsədzi < Chin. chezi, 'vehicle'. The newer Chinese loan words tend to be political and economic terms, such as giəmin < Chin. geming, 'revolution'; guŋšə < Chin. gongshe, 'commune'; mindzu < Chin. minzhu, 'democratic'.

Some compound words have been formed with words from two different languages, e.g. pu (< Chin. pu, 'gun') + man (< Tib. sman, 'medicine') = puman, 'gun powder'.

Other loan words are of Tibetan origin adopted when the Bonans still lived in Tongren county in Qinghai where they had Tibetans as close neighbors. Like the older Chinese loan words, Tibetan loan words tend to be for everyday use. Examples are Bonan gamo < Tib. k'ag-po, 'difficult'; Bonan gatə iə < Tib. skad, 'language'; and Bonan man < Tib. sman, 'medicine'.

The Bonan language has only very few Turkish loan words, two examples of which are Bonan təitəixan, 'mouse' (cf. Kazak texqan), and Bonan dam, 'wall' (cf. Uigur tam).

Religion

The Bonans living in Gansu belong to either the Old Teaching or New Teaching sect. During the republican period, the warlord Ma Bufang sent the head of the New Teaching sect from Qinghai to strengthen his sect's control over the Bonans living around Dahejia.¹² In 1958, say the official historians, in concert with the Hui, Salar, and Dongxiang living nearby, the Bonans "abolished the feudal powers and system of oppression in Islam." They accused the mullahs of "trying to smash social reforms, poisoning the relations among nationalities, and arbitrarily interfering with the freedom of marriage."¹³

The relatively few Bonans living in Tongren, having extensively acculturated themselves to their neighbors, are Buddhists.¹⁴

Illus. 23. Bonan Farmers

Recent Developments

The Bonans' main economic activity is farming, with wheat and rye being the two most important staple crops.¹⁵ By 1978 food production had increased some 160 percent over that of the early 1950s.¹⁶ Major sideline activities are logging, silversmithing, and charcoal making. Perhaps the best known product of the Bonans is the so-called Bonan knife which enjoys considerable popularity in much of Gansu and Qinghai provinces. It is made of either brass or copper, with artistically carved bone handles. In 1949 there were 110 persons in the three Bonan villages making this kind of knife. By 1973 their numbers had increased to more than 500, and they were producing some thirty different varieties of this knife.¹⁷

Starting in the 1950s, the Bonans have cooperated with the Salars of Xunhua in planting trees on the slopes of Jishi mountain which stands athwart the line separating these two nationalities. Industry is relatively little developed in the Bonan villages, the most notable evidence for its presence being repair shops for farm implements. There are a number of irrigation ditches in the area, an 102-kilometer all-weather highway connecting Dahejia with Linxia, and a post and telegraph office.¹⁸

Before 1949 there was only one grammar school with about thirty students.¹⁹ Now the three Bonan villages have four grammar schools, and one production brigade has a junior high school, with a total enrollment of 400 students. Several graduates have gone on to the Northwest Nationalities Institute in Lanzhou and to the Central Nationalities Institute in Beijing. In addition, the Bonans have winter schools, evening schools, and literacy classes.

The Bonans' medical needs are looked after by a diagnostic center and a health care station, as well as several paramedics, the so-called barefoot doctors. Patients requiring more professional care are taken either to Linxia or to Lanzhou.

Notes

¹ Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

² Jiankuang, v. 5, 46.

³ Buh and Liu, 1.

⁴ Jiankuang, v. 5, 46.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Unless otherwise noted, most information on the Bonan language is taken from Buh and Liu.

⁷ Jiankuang, v. 5, 46.

⁸ The Bonan of Meipo village no longer speak their own language but only Chinese. Buh and Liu, 1.

⁹ Todaeva 1963, 176.

¹⁰ Op. cit., 177.

¹¹ Op. cit., 180.

¹² Jiankuang, v. 5, 47.

¹³ Zhongguo, 162.

¹⁴ Todaeva 1963, 176.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Zhongguo, 164.

¹⁷ Op. cit., 162.

¹⁸ Op. cit., 163.

¹⁹ Op. cit., 164.

Manchu-Tungus Group

EUROPE 1935-1945

Germany

The German people were the first to be affected by the economic crisis of the 1930s. In 1932, unemployment reached 30% of the population. The Nazis, led by Adolf Hitler, came to power in 1933 and implemented a policy of economic recovery. They introduced a series of measures to stimulate the economy, including the construction of large infrastructure projects, such as the Autobahn, and the implementation of a four-year plan. By 1936, unemployment had fallen to 10%. The Nazis also implemented a policy of rearmament, which led to the outbreak of World War II in 1939. During the war, the German economy was mobilized for war production, and the country became a major industrial power. However, the war also led to the destruction of much of the country's infrastructure and the loss of millions of lives.

13

Manchu

Size and Location

At 4,299,159 in 1982,¹ the Manchus 满 are one of China's largest nationalities and, like the Hui, they are found in almost all parts of the country. Some 2,320,000, or about fifty-four percent of the total, live in Liaoning, the former homeland of the Manchus. Large groups of Manchus are also found in the provinces of Jilin, Heilongjiang, Hebei, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang,² Gansu, Ningxia, and Shandong as well as in the cities of Beijing, Chengdu, Xi'an, and Guangzhou (see Map 13). Despite their considerable numbers, however, the Manchus do not have their own autonomous areas.

History

The Manchus appeared in historical records under their present name at the beginning of the seventeenth century, but their antecedents reach back 3,000 years to the Suzhen 肃慎.³ Chinese records report that the Suzhen sent tribute to the kings of the Western Zhou in the eleventh century B.C. The tribute consisted of arrow shafts made of gu wood from the Changbaishan 长白山 (Long White Mountain) and arrows fashioned from the hard bluish rock found along the Sungari River. By the sixth century B.C. the Suzhen, together with the Yan 燕 and Hao 亳 tribes, occupied the territory of modern Manchuria, with their center in the Changbaishan area. There the Suzhen practiced farming and raised pigs and other domesticated animals. Other

Map 13. Manchu

Suzhen, living north and east of the Changbaishan, were still hunting and fishing.

During the time of the Han dynasty one of the Suzhen tribes, the Yilou 挹婁, was known to grow the "five grains" which were rice, two kinds of millet, wheat and beans, and to raise pigs as well as making hemp cloth and pottery li, a kind of cooking tripod with hollow legs. They traded red jade and marten pelts for Chinese copper, iron, cotton and silk. They used the copper and iron for making arrow heads and armor. They also built small boats in which they undertook fishing trips on the many rivers in the region. The Yilou lived next to the Fuyu 夫余, a strong, slave-owning group on the middle reaches of the Sungari River who seemed to have the upper hand over the Yilou.

The Wuji 勿吉 were the descendants of the Suzhen and Yilou who in 493 overwhelmed the Fuyu and moved into the latter's territory on the Sungari. Soon thereafter, having acquired considerable power and a wide territory, the Wuji group came to be articulated into seven tribes: Sumuo 粟末, Boduo 伯咄, Anchegu 安车骨, Funie 拂捏, Haoshi 号室, Heishui 黑水, and Baishan 白山.

The Sumuo lived farthest to the south, near the modern city of Jilin, and abutted China of the Sui and Tang dynasty as well as Koguryō, the Korean state which then extended across the Yalu River into modern Manchuria. The Heishui were the northernmost Wuji tribe living north of the Amur River, and also economically the most primitive.

In the early seventh century Koguryō expanded and subjugated the Sumuo and Baishan tribes. After the defeat of Koguryō at the hands of Tang China and the South Korean state of Silla in 665, a portion of the Sumuo settled in the Yingzhou 营州 (modern Chaoyang in Liaoning province) area where it mingled with another tribe, called Mohe 靺鞨 in Chinese sources. Chinese historians consider Mohe as another name for Wuji. In 696 the Kidan attacked Yingzhou and forced the Mohe to move eastward to the area between the upper reaches of the Sungari River and the Changbaishan. There they formed a state called Zhengguo in Chinese records. The rulers of this state appear to have been survivors of the rulers of the now defunct Koguryō state as well as the Mohe tribes of Sumuo, Baishan, Buduo, and Anchegu. In other words, the new state was a Korean-Tungus state.

In 714 the Zhen state was renamed Bohai 渤海 which for more than 200 years ruled an area of Eastern Manchuria and Northern Korea. Sometime around the end of the eighth century it expanded into Central Manchuria and absorbed the Funie and Haoshi tribes as well as a small portion of the Heishui tribe. Thus, of the original seven Wuji (later Mohe) tribes, only the Heishui remained outside the control of the Bohai state. Of its five capitals, the Bohai supreme capital was located on the site of modern Dongjing 东京 of Ning'an 宁安 county, Heilongjiang. The Bohai state practiced agriculture and weaving, mined minerals and manufactured a variety of metal implements.

Bohai's end came in 926 when the Kidan annihilated it and renamed it Dongdan 东丹. The Kidan also resettled some of its inhabitants in the Chinese portions of the new Kidan state of Liao where they gradually merged with the Chinese population.⁴ Other Bohai inhabitants migrated to Central Korea where they formed one of the elements in the new Koryŏ state. Meanwhile the Heishui Mohe had been prospering during the time when the Bohai state was in existence. Its sixteen clans lived on both sides of the Amur river east of modern Aihui county. When Bohai was defeated and its population scattered, the Heishui moved south to occupy the northern part of the now defunct Bohai state.⁵ There they came to the attention of the Kidan who called them Jurchen (Nuchen 女真), a name which gradually replaced the older Mohe.

At the end of the tenth century a tribe of the Heishui Mohe, now called by the Kidan "wild Jurchen," by the name of Wanyan 完颜, settled on the plains of the modern Ashi 阿什 River where they began to farm. Over the next century they also developed metallurgy which, among other things, allowed them to manufacture their own arms. This, in turn, enabled the Wanyan tribe to expand its control which by the early twelfth century included an area between the Sungari and Ussuri Rivers and as far south as the present Yanbian Korean autonomous prefecture. Then in 1115, under the leadership of Aguda, these Jurchens invaded Northern China where they defeated the Kidan state of Liao and replaced it with their own Jin (Golden) dynasty, with its capital at Yanjing (modern Beijing). Before long, however, most Jurchens who had moved into China became acculturated by their Chinese subjects and eventually lost their own national identity.

After the Mongols had conquered both the Jin state (1234) of Northern China and the Chinese rump state of Song (1273) in the South, they used those Jurchen still living in Manchuria for various military campaigns, including the two abortive invasions of Japan in 1274 and 1281. Throughout the Mongol period and well into the Ming dynasty (1368-1644), large numbers of Chinese migrated into southern Manchuria, roughly corresponding to the modern province of Liaoning. The Jurchens living there were quickly absorbed by Chinese culture.

Other Jurchens, however, remained beyond the reach of this wave of Chinese migration. They lived far to the north, with the center located in today's Yilan 依兰 county of Heilongjiang. It was these Jurchens who eventually united all non-Chinese people living in the region into a strong sedentary nationality which became known as Manchu.

The rise of the Manchus was led by Nurhachi (1559-1626) who in 1583 began to unite all Jurchens. In 1601 he created the first four banners which, with the addition of another four banners in 1615, resulted in the famous eight-banner system which other nationalities, like the Oroqens, Hezhens, Evenks, as well as some Mongols and Chinese were forced to join. With his power consolidated in the entire Northeast, Nurhachi in 1616 declared the founding of

the Latter Jin state, an obvious allusion to the former Jin state of the Jurchens.

The Manchus now concentrated on their ultimate goal of conquering their giant neighbor to the South, China. They studied the history of the Mongol conquest of China in the thirteenth century and concluded that one major reason why the Mongols' rule over China did not last longer than about one hundred years was their unwillingness to work through Chinese institutions. Consequently, the Manchus set to work to create in their own homeland a Chinese-style government. They also studied the classics of Chinese philosophy. When this task was completed, the Manchus declared the creation of a Chinese-style empire, called Qing, in 1636.

Only eight years later, in 1644, the Manchus breached the Great Wall and began their conquest of China. Although it would take them several decades to consolidate their power over the vast empire, they triumphed in the end. They retained control over China much longer than the Mongols had; in fact, they ruled China for more than 250 years under one of the longest dynasties in that country's history. The Manchus' political and military successes, however, were purchased at the expense of losing their ethnic identity. Long before the Qing dynasty collapsed in 1911, most Manchus had ceased to be Manchus ethnically, linguistically, and culturally.

Language and Literature

Manchu was once the largest language in the Manchu-Tungus group of the Altaic family of languages. Today, however, few people outside Sanjiazhi in Fuyu county and Dawujia of Aihui county, both in Heilongjiang, actually still speak the language, and even in those two villages, only some old people still speak some form of Manchu.⁶

Manchu has eight vowels as follows:⁷

a as in am 'father'
ə as in gəne 'to go'
ɛ as in ɛm 'one'
i as in filən 'chapter'

o as in om 'pond'
u as in ut/un 'song'
y as in ujyn 'nine'
ɔ as in ɔrin 'twenty'

The twenty-seven consonants are:

n as in naden 'seven'
k as in kumun 'music'
g as in gurun 'country, people'
χ as in χawən 'official'
b as in bitxe 'book, letter'
p as in puxeli 'store'

j as in jilan 'three'
r as in erin 'time, season'
f as in fax 'worker'
w as in wese 'stone, rock'
ɳ as in etiɳ 'when'
q as in qorsu 'to grieve'

s as in se- 'to say'
ʃ as in ʃan 'ear'
t as in tulʃ 'outwards'
d as in dafsun 'salt'
l as in lef 'bear'
m as in maf 'ancestor'
tʃ as in tʃimar 'tomorrow'
dʒ as in dʒuan 'ten'

ɕ as in ɕasəɕə 'bird'
x as in xɛʃən 'brink, brim'
ts as in tsa 'tea'
tɕ as in tɕoɕo 'chicken'
dʒ as in dʒibən 'capital' (money)
ɕ as in ɕus 'purple'
dʒ as in dʒu 'two'

Like all Altaic languages, Manchu is characterized by agglutination and vowel harmony. The latter is not strictly observed within stems but more so in the formation of suffixes. For example, a suffix must have a back vowel (a, o, or u) if the stem has a back vowel and, likewise, have a front vowel (e, i, or u) if the stem has a front vowel. If the stem has more than one vowel, the final vowel determines the choice of suffix vowel.⁸

Stress is on the final syllable. Only personal nouns have plural forms, with rare exceptions, like *morisa* 'horses'.⁹ All other nouns express their plurality by a variety of means, including prefixed numbers.

Alone among the Tungus languages, Manchu has its own script and literature. In 1599 Nurhachi, as part of his efforts to build a modern state, adopted Mongolian as the chancellery script. Two years later, one of his most valued officials, Dahai, added diacritical marks to distinguish between certain phonemes and a few letters for translating Chinese sounds (see Table 10).¹⁰

If one uses the term literature in the broadest sense, Manchu literature can be said to be rather extensive. Virtually all of its works, however, are either histories and other official communications or translations from the Chinese. Unlike Mongolian, Manchu did not develop its own belles-lettres literature. Dahai himself began in 1630 to translate Mengzi (Mencius),¹¹ while others produced Manchu versions of most of the great Chinese classics in philosophy, history and literature. Also worthy of note are the early Manchu chronicles, *Tongki fuka sindaha hergen i dangse*, of the period from 1607 to 1637, the epic shamanistic tale *Nišan saman i bithe*,¹² and the record of Tulishen's travel to the Volga Kalmucks in 1712 to 1715.

There have been a few Manchu writers in this century whose writings, however, have been entirely in Chinese. By far the best known among them was Shu Qingchun 舒庆春 who became world-famous under his pen name Lao She 老舍. He fell victim to Mao Zedong's so-called cultural revolution.¹³ Contemporary Manchu writers are little known even inside China. Li Huiwen 李惠文¹⁴ was born in 1931 in Suizhong county of Liaoning where he grew up and has lived almost his entire life. His parents were poor peasants belonging to the Regular Red banner who could not afford to send him to higher education after he had graduated from primary school. In the early 1950s he

Table 10
MANCHU SCRIPT

	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
1	ᡤ	ᡤ	ᡤᡠ	a	18	ᡤ	ᡤ	ᡤ	m
2	ᡤ	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ	əɛ	19	ᡤ			tʃ
3	ᡤ	ᡤ	ᡤ	i	20	ᡤ			dʒ
4	ᡤ	ᡤ	ᡤ	o	21	ᡤ			j
5	ᡤᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ	uɣ	22		ᡤ	ᡤ	r
6	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	ɔ	23	ᡤ	ᡤ		f
7	ᡤ	ᡤ	ᡤᡠ	n	24	ᡤ	ᡤ		w
8	ᡤᡠᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ	K	25		ᡤ	ᡤ	ŋ
9	ᡤᡠᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ		g	26	ᡤᡠ			q
10	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ		ʎ	27	ᡤ			ɕ
11	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	b	28	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ		x
12	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ		p	29	ᡤᡠᡠ			ts
13	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	s	30	ᡤᡠ			tʂ
14	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ		ʃ	31	ᡤᡠ			dʒ
15	ᡤᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ	t	32	ᡤᡠᡠ			ʂ
16	ᡤᡠᡠ	ᡤᡠᡠ		d	33	ᡤᡠᡠ			dʒ
17	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	ᡤᡠ	l					

A = Initial position
B = Medial position

C = Final position
D = IPA transcription

worked as a cadre in a variety of county jobs and, after 1958, was a commune chief for several years. He began his writing career as a local reporter, then wrote short stories and essays for several regional and national magazines.

Other Manchu writers include Tong Xiren 佟希仁, born in 1935,¹⁵ who has written more than one hundred children's poems and presently works as a lecturer of foreign literature in the normal college of Fushun city. The female writer Shao Changqing 邵长青, born in 1931, has published short stories in a number of magazines in the Northeast since 1951, and the youngest known Manchu writer is Wang Jianan 王家男, born in 1962.

Society¹⁶

Marriages used to be arranged by parents when their children were as young as six or seven years of age but more usually in their early teens. Engagements occurred around sixteen years of age. The boy's family would engage a matchmaker who contacted the girl's family three times, each time offering bowls of spirits. When the marriage contract was completed, a bride price was paid which usually included pork, wine, money, clothing, and headgear. At the wedding the bride sat on the south kang (a raised platform made of bricks or adobe and heated by flues) for one whole day. In the evening, she placed a table on the floor with two wine flasks and two cups. The bride and groom circled the table three times and then drank the wine. A pair of candles were placed on the kang where they burned all night, while outside one or several persons sang the lakongjia, a kind of wedding song, for about two hours. On the third day the new couple visited the bride's old home.

When a son was born, a bow and arrow was hung in front of the door in the hope that he may become a brave hunter. By the age of six or seven he would start practicing to shoot targets.

When a person died his body was not allowed to rest on the east or north kang because the east kang was too close to the door which was to be used only by the living and the north kang was reserved as a seat of honor. The body was removed from the premises through a window. On the west side of the courtyard a five-meter tall pole was erected from which flew a three-meter long red and black cloth streamer. After interment friends and relatives took the cloth and made clothes for their children to ward off evil spirits and to prevent them from doing evil.

The typical Manchu home consisted of two rooms, often as part of a compound of several, sometimes connected, houses forming a horseshoe pattern around a courtyard. The outer room was away from the courtyard and contained the kitchen and stove which heated the kangs in the inner room where the family lived, ate, and slept. The west side was reserved for guests, the north for adults, and the south for children. The door was on the east side, if the building was detached.

Illus. 24. Manchu Costumes

The traditional Manchu diet was primarily based on cooked millet, glutinous millet, and bobo, a kind of steamed bun made of glutinous millet. On special occasions, like New Year's, each family prepared aijigebo, meat-filled dumplings similar to the Chinese jiaozi. On New Year's only, Manchus also ate large chunks of boiled meat with their hands, a custom they had perhaps adopted from the Mongols. Other festival foods included boiled and roast pork and saqima, a kind of fried cake made of flour and sesame seeds.

Religion¹⁷

The predominant religion among the Manchus was shamanism. At the time the Manchu state was established, but before the Manchu conquest of China, there were two kinds of shamans. Palace shamans were in charge of certain court ceremonies. During the Qing dynasty they were drawn mostly from the Aisin Gioro clan which also furnished several emperors, including the last one in 1908. Common shamans, in turn, were of two kinds. Each village had one shaman whose sole duty was to be in touch with the spirits. The other kind of common shaman was in charge of managing rites within each clan. This task was part-time, with the shaman spending most of his time in the field or some other profession. Both kinds of common shamans could still be found as late as the 1940s in some villages of Ningan and Aihui counties.

Illus. 25. Manchu Musical Instruments

Ancestor worship was also practiced, with virtually every home having an ancestor tablet, about sixty centimeters wide and fifty centimeters long, hanging on the west wall of the main room. Heaven worship was performed on the day after ancestor worship.

Recent Developments¹⁸

While Manchus living in other parts of China are located almost exclusively in cities, about eighty percent of those living in the Northeast are found in small towns and villages. Manchu farmers are principally engaged in growing gaoliang, soybean, baomi 苞米, sumi 粟米, tobacco, apples, and zuocan 柞蚕 tussah, a kind of silkworm. Manchus living in the foothills of the Great Xing'an mountain range grow ginseng and mushrooms. Many of the urban Manchus are now working in factories, but one can also find large numbers of Manchus in various professions and in clerical jobs.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80.

²The number of Manchus in Xinjiang in 1982 is reported to be 9,137. Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10.

³Jiankuang, v. 2, 1; Zhao 1983, 1.

⁴Zhao, 1983, 6.

⁵Op. cit., 7.

⁶Jiankuang, v. 2, 1; Zhongguo, 27-28.

⁷Examples are selected from Yamamoto.

⁸Peeters, 353.

⁹Norman 1965, 4.

¹⁰Fuchs 1968, 1. Dahai undertook a final reform of the Manchu script in 1632 (Manzu jianshi, 222).

¹¹Op. cit., 2.

¹²English translations have been provided by Seong and Nowak.

¹³Another famous Manchu intellectual is the linguist Luo Changpei 罗常培.

¹⁴See his biography by Wang Ke.

¹⁵For literary samples by this and the two subsequent writers, see their respective entries in the bibliography. See also the entries for Ge Fei, Guan Shouzhong, He Chengzhi, Hu Zhao, Tong Mingguang, and Wang Jianan.

¹⁶Information on Manchu society is adapted from Zhongguo, 28 and Zhao 1983, 51-59.

¹⁷Information on Manchu religion can be obtained from Zhongguo, 29-30.

¹⁸Information on recent developments is in Zhongguo, 27, 39-42.

14

Sibe

Size and Location

In 1982 there were 83,629 Sibes 锡伯 living in China, an increase of 57,000 since 1959.¹ Most Sibes still live in their Northeastern homeland, but 27,364 of them live in Xinjiang.² Of those living in Xinjiang, about 14,700 reside in the Qapqal 察布查尔 Sibe autonomous county as well as in Huocheng 霍城, Tokkuztara (Gongliu) and Qoqek (Tacheng) counties of the Ili Kazak autonomous prefecture (see Map 14). The Northeastern Sibes are scattered in places such as Shenyang 沈阳, Kaiyuan 开原, Yixian 义县, Beizhen 北镇, Xinmin 新民, Fengcheng 凤城, Fuyu 扶余, and the Gorlos banner.³

The Qapqal⁴ autonomous county is located near the Demulik mountains, a spur of the Tianshan, and was created on March 25, 1954 on the territory of the former Ningxi 宁西 county.⁵ Less than half of the county's population is Sibe, the rest belonging to the Han, Uigur, Kazak, and other nationalities.

History

There are two major hypotheses about the Sibes' origin. One claims that the word Sibe is a phonetic change from the old Xianbei whom most Sibes regard as their ancestors.⁶ The other claims that both the Sibes and Manchus are descendants from the Jurchens (Nuzhen).⁷ Neither hypothesis seems to be entirely correct. According to a stele, the "Taiping shi bei ji 太平寺碑记," preserved at the Liaoning provincial museum in Shenyang, the Sibes originated in

Map 14. Sibe

the area of the Jalatolo 扎賚托羅 river southeast of Hailar.⁸ The Manchu historian Zhao Zhan has identified the Jalatolo as the present-day Chuor 绰尔 river. From about 400 to 600 that area was also inhabited by one of the five Shiwei 室韦 groups. The Sibes' ancestors formed one of the sub-groups, called the Yellow Head Shiwei, who later became the Yellow Head Jurchen.⁹

By the time of the Mongol world empire the Sibes lived in an area called Boduna 伯都讷, the modern Fuyu 扶余 county. It was bordered by Jilin in the east, Hulunbuir in the west, the Nonni river in the north and the Liao river in the south.¹⁰ Their principal economic activities were still hunting and fishing. At the end of the sixteenth century the Manchu leader Nurhachi (1559-1626) was forging a new state in the Northeast. In 1593 the Sibes, together with the Yehe 叶赫, Ula 乌拉, Huifa 辉发, Hada 哈达 Neyin 讷殷, and Zhusheli 珠舍里 tribes, resisted him but they were defeated and integrated into the Manchu eight-banner system.¹¹ At the same time, the Sibes gave up their nomadic existence and settled down in garrisons.¹²

At the end of the seventeenth century, the first of two major moves by the Sibes occurred.¹³ Between 1690 and 1701 the Qing government moved large numbers of Sibe soldiers and civilians to Beijing, Shengjing 盛京, Kaiyuan, Jinzhou 锦州 and some twenty other cities in modern Liaoning province. Different tracts of land were allotted to the soldiers and their families according to their *hala* and *mokon* (see below). The Sibes' agricultural techniques and cultural level quickly improved. The rice grown by the Sibes gained a good reputation and was shipped to Heilongjiang to supply the border garrisons.

In the spring of 1764 over 5,000 Sibe banner troops and dependents were dispatched to Xinjiang to garrison the territory of the recently defeated Jungars.¹⁴ After a long trek which led them across Mongolia, the Sibes arrived in Ili in September 1765 where they were assigned to the area south of the Ili river.¹⁵ In 1767 they were organized into eight *niru*, the basic unit in the banner system.¹⁶ The Qing government gave each *niru* seeds and draft animals and ordered them to raise their own food, at the same time discontinuing rations.

The area in which the Sibes settled is good for both herding and farming. Annual rainfall is about thirty-five centimeters and the frost-free period lasts about 160 days, thus enabling the cultivation of wheat, paddy rice, cotton, sesame seeds, melons and fruits. The soil is rich and can be worked with irrigation. The area also contains sizeable coal and iron deposits and in the eighteenth century still had dense forests with precious medicinal plants. Within a few decades the Sibe soldiers and civilians converted this piece of wilderness into a granary. Of key importance to this success story was the construction of the 100-kilometer long Qapqal irrigation canal which was built between 1802 and 1808 under the direction of the commander of the Sibe camp, i.e., all eight *niru*, named Tubot 图伯特.¹⁷ The canal carried the snow run-off from the Tianshan. The eight *niru*, placed on both sides of the canal, soon opened up more

than 80,000 mu (about 5,333 hectares) of farm land. The Sibes still sing a folk song with these lines: "The Qapqal canal is our mother, for a hundred years it has nourished us." The Sibes also took part in the construction of other irrigation canals, such as the Imperial canal north of the Ili river, the Abdela west of Qoqek and the Haborhu in the Bortala region.¹⁸

Language and Literature

The Sibe language belongs to the Manchu branch of the Manchu-Tungus group of the Altaic family of languages. Despite two centuries of separation from their homeland, the Sibes of Xinjiang speak a language that still contains many words similar to those spoken by various nationalities in the Northeast and especially close to Manchu, as demonstrated in the following table.¹⁹

Sibe	Manchu	Hezhen	Evenk	Oroqen	
<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	<u>bira</u>	'river'
<u>səl</u>	<u>sele</u>	<u>ʃələ</u>	<u>ʃələ</u>	<u>ʃələ</u>	'iron'
<u>sujan</u>	<u>suwayan</u>	<u>sojan</u>	<u>marin</u>	<u>marin</u>	'yellow'
<u>elin</u>	<u>alin</u>	<u>urkən</u>	<u>urə</u>	<u>urə</u>	'mountain'
<u>jəli</u>	<u>yali</u>	<u>ulsə</u>	<u>ultə</u>	<u>ultə</u>	'meat'
<u>dən</u>	<u>den</u>	<u>gagda</u>	<u>gugda</u>	<u>gugda</u>	'high'
<u>dzi-</u>	<u>zhi-</u>	<u>əmə-</u>	<u>əmə-</u>	<u>əmə-</u>	'to come'

On the other hand, separation has brought about certain changes in the Sibe language that have resulted in a fair number of words not found in Middle Manchu, the language spoken by the Manchu when all Sibe still lived in the Northeast. A few examples are eralingge 'this kind', teralingge 'that kind', butumzhi 'sinister', beilen 'dance', as well as obvious neologisms like kurtun 'car tire', and banzhibusi 'author, editor'.

Another group of new words comes from the languages of nationalities with which the Sibes in Xinjiang have had long and close associations, as well as from Chinese. From the latter come, e.g., banzhurren < 主任 banzhuren 'office manager', siyangshui < 香水 xiangshui 'perfume', and benchiyan < 本錢 benqian 'financial capital'. Uigur loan words include bazar < id. 'market' and tonor 'a kind of crisp pancake'. From Kazak come kemes < kemez 'fermented mare's milk', baige < bəygə 'horse race' and salivar < xalbar 'leather pants'. Examples of Mongolian loan words are archi < ariha 'fermented milk liquor', gobi < gobi 'dry steppe', and kukur < hūhūr 'snuff box'.²⁰

Another lexical change in Sibe is the replacement of old words. In the past, the Sibes used the Manchu word yoksana for rubber but then gradually

replaced it with the Chinese loan word siyanpi. The Sibe word for revolution used to be composed of the Manchu words hesebun 'destiny' and be halambi 'reform', but it was later changed to dasan 'political' and be halambi, which was ultimately shortened to das'halan. Today it, too, has been replaced by a Chinese loan word, geming. Finally, Sibe used the Manchu words dasan 'political' and be ezhelembi 'to seize' to express 'dictatorship'. After the Russian-inspired rebellion in the Ili region broke out in 1946, the Sibes adopted the Russian loan word dektatora, but have now switched, as in many other cases, to a Chinese loan word, zhuwanzheng.²¹

The Sibe language has eight vowels, as follows:

<u>a</u> as in <u>ax</u> 'slave'	<u>o</u> as in <u>orin</u> 'twenty'
<u>ə</u> as in <u>əwən</u> 'cake'	<u>u</u> as in <u>udun</u> 'wind'
<u>ɛ</u> as in <u>ex</u> 'bead'	<u>y</u> as in <u>yx</u> 'wolf'
<u>i</u> as in <u>ixə</u> 'duck'	<u>ɔ</u> as in <u>omi-</u> 'to drink'

The twenty-seven consonants are:

<u>n</u> as in <u>nirū</u> 'six'	<u>j</u> as in <u>jas</u> 'eye'
<u>k</u> as in <u>kəskə</u> 'cat'	<u>r</u> as in <u>bira</u> 'river'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gurun</u> 'country'	<u>f</u> as in <u>fix</u> 'brain'
<u>χ</u> as in <u>xotun</u> 'city'	<u>w</u> as in <u>wix</u> 'tooth, horn'
<u>b</u> as in <u>bor</u> 'calf' (animal)	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>niman</u> 'snow'
<u>p</u> as in <u>pus</u> 'store'	<u>q</u> as in <u>qor</u> 'harm'
<u>s</u> as in <u>suwan</u> 'image'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕor</u> 'far'
<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃuwən</u> 'culture'	<u>x</u> as in <u>xəl</u> 'mute'
<u>t</u> as in <u>tasən</u> 'mistake'	<u>ts</u> as in <u>tsixai</u> 'dictionary'
<u>d</u> as in <u>dasən</u> 'government'	<u>tɕ</u> as in <u>toimar</u> 'tomorrow'
<u>l</u> as in <u>lək-</u> 'to rub, grind'	<u>dz</u> as in <u>dzibən</u> 'capital' (money)
<u>m</u> as in <u>ma</u> 'coarse'	<u>ɕ</u> as in <u>ɕita-</u> 'to come late'
<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃal</u> 'storehouse'	<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒal</u> 'matchmaker'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒi</u> 'child'	

The consonants dz and ts are used only for Chinese loan words.

The language also has the following twelve diphthongs.

<u>ai</u> as in <u>aiçin</u> 'gold'	<u>ia</u> as in <u>niamən</u> 'heart'
<u>əi</u> as in <u>wəiləm</u> 'labor'	<u>iə</u> as in <u>diəm-</u> 'to carve'
<u>oi</u> as in <u>boixun</u> 'family'	<u>io</u> as in <u>niorun</u> 'rainbow'
<u>ui</u> as in <u>suilam</u> 'laborious'	<u>iu</u> as in <u>liulə-</u> 'to walk a horse'
<u>au</u> as in <u>dauci</u> 'corrupt person'	<u>ua</u> as in <u>tua</u> 'fire'
<u>əu</u> as in <u>səulə-</u> 'to contemplate'	<u>iau</u> as in <u>miau</u> 'temple'

The diphthong iau is used only for Chinese loan words.

There have also been some changes in the meaning of words. The simplest examples are the words for east and west. In Manchu it is dergi 'east' and wargi 'west' but in Sibe the meanings have been reversed. Another example of such a change is Manchu sibkari 'short and thin hair', but in Sibe it means 'the youngest child' in a group of brothers and sisters.²²

According to their folklore, the Sibes had their own script many centuries ago, but no evidence of it has been found. What is certain is that some time after their absorption into the Manchu eight-banner system, the Sibes adopted the Manchu script and used it unchanged until 1947. In that year an organization was formed in Yining, called the Sibe and Solon Cultural Organization, which, among other activities, helped promote the reform of the Manchu script so as to better serve the Sibes' need (see Table 11). The changes undertaken can be divided into those pertaining to letter form, spelling, and vocabulary. As to letter changes, the Manchu alphabet had two k which in their median forms were written { and :{. The new Sibe script adopted only :{ for this consonant. However, in their final form the two k are still represented by the same two letters as in Manchu, namely: 𐩺 and 𐩻. Another change concerns the syllable an. In Manchu a dot is placed at the tail, like 𐩺, when it is part of a loan word, but the Sibe script uses the dot for both native and loan words. Another structural change concerns the elimination of useless syllables. Of the 131 syllables in the Manchu script, thirteen are never used by Sibe speakers. They are the vowel uu (long u) and the syllables it forms with the consonants n, b, p, s, sh, l, m, ch, zh, y, r, and f. They are pronounced exactly the same as those with short u. The new Sibe script also added the syllables wi, wo, wu and used the forms for Manchu fi, fo, and fu, i.e., 𐩺, 𐩻, 𐩼, to represent them.

As to spelling, we can observe three changes made in the Sibe script. One is the change of letters. For example, 'backward' is Manchu amargimbi but Sibe amarchambi. Another change involves the adding and dropping of letters, like 'hope' is Manchu akdachun but Sibe akchun, and 'to lead' is Manchu ahuuchilambi but Sibe akchulambi. The third change is the combination of two words into one. The Manchu word for 'honeybee' is hibsu ezhen but Sibe hibsuzhen; 'to produce' is Manchu arametuchibumbi but Sibe aramtuchibumbi; and 'about to go' is Manchu geneme zhaka but Sibe genemsaka.²³

There are also certain differences in the use of expressions and grammatical use between Middle Manchu and Sibe.

Until the so-called cultural revolution, the use of Sibe was actively promoted in the Qapqal Sibe autonomous county. Children in the first three grades were taught Sibe and arithmetic, to which was added Chinese and other subjects beginning in the fourth grade. In all, Sibe students in elementary schools had instructions in Sibe throughout their entire six-year stay.

In addition to instructional materials, various kinds of books were printed

Table 11
SIBE SCRIPT

	A	B	C	D		A	B	C	D
1	ʃ	ʃ	ʃʌ	a	18	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	m
2	ʃ	ʃʃ	ʃʌʌ	æɛ	19	ʃ			tʃ
3	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	i	20	ʃ			dʒ
4	d	d	d	o	21	ʃ			j
5	dʃ	dʃ	dʃ	uɣ	22		ʃ	ʃ	r
6	dʃ	dʃ	dʃ	ɔ	23	d	d		f
7	ʃ	ʃ	ʃʌ	n	24	d	d		w
8	ʃʃʃ	ʃʃ	ʃʃ	k	25		ʃ	ʃ	ŋ
9	ʃʃʃ	ʃʃ		g	26	ʃ			q
10	ʃ	ʃ		χ	27	ʃ			ɕ
11	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	b	28	ʃ	ʃ		x
12	ʃ	ʃ		p	29	ʃʃ			tʂ
13	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	s	30	ʃ			tʂ
14	ʃ	ʃ		ʃ	31	ʃ			dʂ
15	ʃʃ	dʃ	ʃ	t	32	ʃ			ɕ
16	ʃʃ	dʃ		d	33	ʃ			dʂ
17	ʃ	ʃ	ʃ	l					

A = Initial position
B = Medial position

C = Final position
D = IPA transcription

in the Sibe language by the People's Publishing House in Ürümqi.²⁴ As can be expected, these included major political works translated from Chinese. Moreover, some thirty Chinese classics, like The Romance of the Three Kingdoms and more than 100 contemporary works like The True Story of Ah Q were published.²⁵

Contemporary Sibe writers produce their works either in Chinese or in their native language. The well-known poet Guo Jinan 郭基南 has written in Chinese since the 1930s.²⁶ Examples of Sibe-language literature are novels like Huuwaliyangga zhai mergenzhy [a personal name], short stories like Guusin yamzhi (New Year's Eve), and collections of traditional literature like Sibe uksura irgen siden i zhube (Sibe folk stories). All told, some 200 titles in Sibe were published until the outbreak of the so-called cultural revolution. This, of course, put an end to all cultural activities and by 1983 only a handful of Sibe-language books have been published.²⁷ One exception, which was a newspaper, not a book, continued to be published after 1966. It was the Iche banzhin (New Life) which had first been published in 1946 in Yining. When in 1954 the Qapqal autonomous county was established, the paper was transferred there and became the organ of the local Party committee. Its name was changed in 1972 to Chapchal serkin (Qapqal Newspaper).²⁸

The Sibes' oral literature consists of songs, long poems, and folktales. Some of them hark back to the time before the sixteenth century when the Sibes still practiced hunting and fishing, while others, like "Shaman Uchun" (Shaman's Song), recall the old religion.²⁹ Other forms of folk literature reflect the time of the westward migration and the Sibes' new life in Xinjiang. Examples are the long poem "Song of Migration," the very popular "Ushin Uchun" (Wilderness Song) and the "Song of Kashgar" relating events in the 1820s when Sibe soldiers were dispatched to Kashgar to help suppress an Uigur uprising.³⁰ Folktales show strong Chinese influence³¹ and deal largely with social relations, like "The niru Chief and his Son-in-law,"³² "The Poor Girl and the Rich Girl," and "The Bald Eagle."³³

Society

Sibe society is patrilineal and used to be arranged by hala and mokon, organizations common to all nationalities in the Northeast. A hala is a clan whose members all have the same surname. A hala consisted of several mokon, localized kin groups, with members of each mokon claiming common descent from a progenitor. However, Sibe society gradually changed from a consanguinal to a territorial structure. Starting even before the westward migration in the eighteenth century, this process accelerated after the Sibes' arrival in the Ili valley. Despite the Qing government's efforts to settle the Sibes according to their original hala and mokon (see history section above), Sibe society continued

to rearrange itself into new units called gashan. Identical to the Manchu gaxin and quite similar to the Mongol and Daur ail, these gashan comprised persons from many different hala and mokun who had come together for common economic pursuits. These included hunting in the Northeast and farming and irrigation work in Xinjiang.³⁴

As was the case with all other traditional societies in Northern China, Sibe marriages were arranged and women had no inheritance rights. The eldest surviving male in a family inherited the entire patrimony.

Because of their long separation in widely different parts of the country, the Sibes in Xinjiang and those in the Northeast have developed certain cultural differences. One outstanding difference is that the Sibes in Xinjiang live together with other minority nationalities but they have preserved their own speech, clothing, and housing much better than the Sibes in the Northeast.³⁵ One factor accounting for this apparent contradiction is that the Xinjiang Sibes have lived in large, more densely populated communities of their own people whereas those in the Northeast tend to live in smaller villages often rather distant from each other. Another possible factor is that the propinquity to the Han, as is the case in the Northeast, leads to faster assimilation than propinquity to other minorities.

Sibe villages in Xinjiang have between 100 and 200 households and are surrounded by walls up to four kilometers in circumference. Individual homes have a courtyard with vegetable plots and fruit trees. With the main door facing south, the average house has three rooms, some houses as many as five. The kitchen range is built in the central room which is flanked to the east and west by two rooms with kangs heated from the range. Windows and furniture have carved designs of which the most common are the peony and the lotus.³⁶

During the Qing period the Sibes adopted Manchu dress. Men liked to wear green, blue, and brown long gowns that opened on the left or right side, short jackets and peaked hats. Women preferred the qipao 旗袍,³⁷ white socks and embroidered shoes. Unmarried women kept their long pigtailed until marriage when they coiled them around the head in the form of a dish. They also like to wear earrings, silver bracelets and rings. During the republican period, the Sibes in the Northeast adopted Chinese dress, but the Sibe women in Xinjiang continued to wear the qipao although adopting also certain Uigur and Kazak forms of dress (see Illustration 26).³⁸

Among the Sibes' recreational activities riding and archery are extremely popular and date back to the time when the Sibes' ancestors were still engaged in hunting and herding. Another reminder of the past is found in certain dances in which performers are dressed as shamans and perform pantomime versions of the ancient shamanist ritual (see Illustration 27). Sibes are fond of singing, either as soloists or in groups, and they are accompanied by several instruments of which the most important are the dombur, an instrument borrowed from the

Chapter 14

neighboring Kazaks, the three-string hitkuna and a double flute (Illus. 28 a,b, and c). One popular art form is scissor-cutting, done by women who apply the finished figures to windows.

Illus. 26. Sibe Woman in Qapqal

The usual disposal of the dead is by burial. However, male and female shamans, women who die in labor, and those who commit suicide by hanging themselves are cremated and their ashes are preserved in urns. One of the traditional rules is that husband and wife must either be buried or cremated together. Thus when a shaman's wife dies first, she is buried, but when her husband dies, her body is exhumed and both of them are cremated. Underage males are buried but need not be placed in a coffin, while girls are cremated and their ashes are scattered.³⁹

Religion⁴⁰

Before 1949 the Sibes in Xinjiang were polytheistic, worshipping the Insect King, Dragon King, Earth Spirit and Erqin, the emissary of the Smallpox Spirit. Two other important Sibe deities were Xilimama, the protector of domestic tranquility, and Hairkan, the protector of livestock.

Illus. 27. Sibe Shamanist Dance

Dombur

Sibe

Hitkuna

Double Flute

Illus. 28. Sibe Musical Instruments

The Xilimama festival is the biggest and most important. In a given village the oldest members, most prestigious individuals and parents with the most children are asked to make toy arrows, quivers, boots, and cradles. They take these, along with copper money, red and green cloth strips, and pig or sheep bones, and place them in a paper sack and put in the northwest corner of the main room. At the time of the spring festival, they string a silk cord from the northwestern to the southeastern corner of the room and place the items mentioned above on it. During the first days of the following month, all the items get picked up and placed back in the corner. In the past, when a boy was born, an arrow was added to the collection. When a girl was born, a strip of cloth was added. A bone was added when a new generation was started. Hence the Xilimama festival provided a kind of genealogical record and affirmation.

The altar for Hairkan was located in the upper left-hand corner on the outside of the south wall. On New Year's Day and on other festival days, incense is burned in front of the altar, and an offering is made in the shape of a horse of red cloth or bird feathers.

The Sibes spruce up their ancestors' graves twice a year at which times they make two different offerings. As a result, the March festival is known as Fish Memorial Day and the July festival as Melon Memorial Day.

Recent Developments⁴¹

Since the establishment of the Qapqal autonomous county in 1954, food production has tripled and livestock has doubled. There are a number of shops engaged in tanning as well as in making and repairing farm implements. The county has four middle schools and more than fifty primary schools, with over eighty percent of all school-age children attending classes. Finally, more than 2,000 Sibes are employed as cadres at various levels of party and government.

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81; Jiankuang, v. 4, 30. Muromski reported about 25,000 Sibe in the Ili valley in 1906. Kałužiński 1977, 7.

²Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10.

³Zhongguo, 220. See also Li 1979, 221.

⁴Qapqal is a Sibe word denoting granary.

⁵Zhongguo, 227-228.

⁶Many Sibe legends and folksongs call the Xianbei the Sibes' ancestors. Zhongguo, 222. See also Jiankuang, v. 4, 30.

⁷See, e.g., Manzhou yuanliu kao, as quoted in Sibe zu wenxue lishi lunwen ji, 99.

⁸The Manchu text reads: "Sibe aiman daci hailari dergi julergi jalatolo sere birai šurdeme tehe..." Zhao 1980a, 113. Also note that in the Qing gazetteer the area near Shiwei Mountain south of Hailar was called Sibe. Zhongguo, 220.

⁹The members of this tribe were said to have had "yellow," i.e., blond, hair as well as bluish-green eyes. One can still find some Sibes with these features in both Qapqal in Xinjiang and Fuyu county in the Northeast. Zhao 1980a, 118.

¹⁰Zongguo, 222.

¹¹Op. cit., 223.

¹²Jiankuang, v. 4, 31; Zhongguo, 224.

¹³Wu and Zhao, 22.

¹⁴Op. cit., 24; Xia, 93. Zhongguo, 223, lists 1,016 soldiers and more than 2,000 dependents.

¹⁵Zhongguo, 224.

¹⁶A Manchu term meaning arrow. Chinese 牛录 niulu. These same eight niru still existed in 1906. Kałužiński 1977, 7. According to Wu and Chao, 27, the Sibe niru were later called banners, but these eight banners should not be confused with the eight-banner system. Qing documents also sometimes referred to all eight niru as the "Sibe camp."

¹⁷Zhongguo, 224 mistakenly calls this commander Turgen 图尔根 which is actually a place name.

¹⁸Jiankuang, v. 4, 31-32; Zhongguo, 224.

¹⁹Li 1979, 223.

²⁰Shulan, 77; Li 1979, 223.

²¹Shulan, 77.

²²Ibid.

²³Shulan, 76.

²⁴Op. cit., 78-79.

²⁵Jiankuang, v. 4, 37.

²⁶Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 392-393.

²⁷See bibliography. These books as well as a few textbooks are available at Wilson Library of Western Washington University.

²⁸Shulan, 78-79. The Center for East Asian Studies of Western Washington University has a few samples of this semi-weekly newspaper.

²⁹Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 376. The words of a "Hunter's Song" are recorded, in Chinese translation, on pp. 379-380.

³⁰Op. cit., 376-377.

³¹Kałužiński 1977, 9.

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- ³² Xinjiang xiongdi minzu minjian gushi xuan, 128-135. Hereafter Xinjiang. A somewhat longer version is found in Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 382-391.
- ³³ Xinjiang, 136-146.
- ³⁴ Zhongguo, 224.
- ³⁵ They are best preserved in Jinquan 金泉 commune. Xia, 93.
- ³⁶ Zhongguo, 222.
- ³⁷ A close-fitting woman's dress with high neck and slit skirt.
- ³⁸ Jiankuang, v. 4, 36-37.
- ³⁹ Xia, 93.
- ⁴⁰ Information on religion is adapted from Zhongguo, 221.
- ⁴¹ Zhongguo, 227-229.

15

Evenk

Size and Location

The Evenks 鄂温克 of China, are a rapidly growing nationality which increased from 7,200 persons in 1957¹ to 19,343 in 1982.² They live in seven banners of northeastern Inner Mongolia and in Nehe 讷河 county of Heilongjiang province. A few Evenks live in the Mongolian Peoples' Republic, but most live in the Soviet Union.³ The Evenks have an autonomous banner, with its seat at Nantun 南屯, just south of Hailar (see Map 15). Its 19,110 square kilometers include the foothills of Qiuling 丘陵 mountain, a spur of the Greater Xing'an range, and about 9,200 square kilometers of grasslands.⁴ Besides Nantun, the autonomous banner includes nine townships, two towns, and forty-five villages and settlements.

History

During their long history the Evenks have been called by various names such as Solon, Tungus, and Yakut, but in 1957 they were officially given the name Evenk which in their language means the mountain forest people. It is a fitting name for a nationality which, according to the oldest findings, originally lived in the forested mountains northeast of Lake Baikal and the adjacent area of the Shilka river's upper reaches where the Evenks were engaged in hunting and fishing.⁵ Since during Bei Wei times (420-533) this area was the home of two Shiwei 室韦 groups, namely the northern and the Bo 钵, it is generally believed that the Evenks descended from these Shiwei.⁶

Map 15. Evenk

During the first half of the seventeenth century, the original Evenks moved east and spread along several tributaries of the upper and middle Amur river. Qing documents referred to them as Solonbu 索伦部 and Kamnikan 喀穆尼堪. At that time the Evenks already were in frequent contact with Manchus with whom they exchanged furs for cloth, silk, and iron goods. Some Evenks who already lived a settled life and practiced small-scale herding began to wear Manchu dress.

In 1633-34 the Manchus adopted the Ming name Solonbu for the Evenks, and in 1639-40 they forced the Evenks into the eight-banner system. Soon thereafter the Qing government prodded the Evenks to settle down in the Nonni river region, specifically along the banks of the Gan 甘, Nuomin 诺敏, Arun 阿伦, Jiqin 济沁, Yalu 雅鲁, and Nemor 讷莫尔 rivers, where some of the Evenks took up herding and farming. In 1732 more than 1,000 Evenk officers and soldiers in the Butha 布特哈 region and their relatives were dispatched to Hulunbuir to guard the frontier where they gradually

developed into the present-day population of the Evenk autonomous banner. The Evenks evidently acquitted themselves rather well as border guards there so that, along with Daur and Oroqen, more Evenk banner troops were sent to many other border assignments, especially in the Northeast and the far-away Northwest.

Language and Literature

The Evenk language belongs to the Tungus branch of the Manchu-Tungus group of the Altaic family of languages. Compared to the other four Manchu-Tungus languages spoken in China, namely Manchu, Sibe, Oroqen, and Hezhen, the Evenk language has largely been ignored by modern scholars. Not a single outline has been written since 1949 (nor before), compared to the many book-length works and dictionaries on the Evenk language in the Soviet Union.⁷ This remarkable difference is partly explained by the relative size of the Evenk populations in the two countries, as already mentioned in the introductory paragraph. The dearth of linguistic information may also be explained by the fact that due to the Evenks' long historical association with the Oroqens, their languages are extremely close.⁸ Scholars in China have evidently felt little pressing need to study the Evenk language, and anyone seeking information on it may get at least a general idea by perusing the existing literature on the Oroqen language.

There are seven vowels in the Evenk language:⁹

a as in apma 'mouth'
ə as in əreeʃi 'polite'
i as in iəŋi 'tongue'
o as in ogo 'thigh'

u as in umahan 'finger'
o as in ohotʃiəŋ 'cowherd'
u as in ushəŋ 'knife'

The nineteen consonants are:

n as in naal 'hand'
l as in ligkir 'cork, plug'
m as in mugliəŋ 'bullet'
g as in gutin 'thirty'
h as in hond 'few'
b as in bol 'autumn'
p as in pəidse 'injured'
s as in saasun 'paper'
ʃ as in ʃinarin 'yellow'
t as in tog 'fire'

d as in dil 'head'
tʃ as in togtʃ 'cloud'
dʒ as in dʒur 'two'
j as in jəgin 'nine'
r as in oroogt 'grass'
w as in waar 'tile'
f as in feodalism 'feudalism'
k as in kinu 'movie'
ŋ as in ingə 'sand'

Chapter 15

The list just cited also contains examples of the four long vowels in the Evenk language, aa, əə, oo, uu. The consonants w, f, k are used only for loan words.

There are said to be three dialects spoken among the Evenks of China, but no further details are available.¹⁰ While the Evenks in the Soviet Union have had their own script since 1930, most Evenks in China use the Chinese script while some living in Inner Mongolia also use the Mongolian script.

Traditional Evenk literature is very close to that of the Daur and Oroqen.¹¹ Among contemporary Evenk writers, the most prominent is Urertu, born in 1952.¹²

Society¹³

Most Evenks are herders and live in basic units called nimor which are groups of three to ten families related by blood. In size and composition, the Evenk nimor is thus quite close to the Mongolian ail and the Kazak awel. Evenk herders also share with herders of these other nationalities their type of housing which is like the Mongolian ger. Moreover, children of Evenk herders are raised like Mongol children: boys begin to ride when they are about seven years old and girls start milking when they are ten.

Illus. 29. Evenk Woman

One of the more important holidays among Evenk herders is the Mikol festival which takes place at the end of May. It marks the opening of the

summer pasturing season and is attended by members of a clan. Married women visit their paternal clans on this occasion. Young girls wear straight skirts made of lambskin, the small fry ride around on hobby horses, and the older folks let the young men break in horses, quite in the same manner as this is being done in the American West. In addition, they brand and castrate some of the animals.

Evenk hunters who live in the mountains used to be grouped in ulileng which is about as large as the herders' nimor but is not always based on kinship. The head of an ulileng is called xinmamaleng and is elected by the general membership. He assigns members into groups, called angenajia (meaning fellow hunters) of four to five men each for the purpose of going on hunts. Until the end of the nineteenth century, members of each angenajia shared their tools and booty among themselves, but then rifles became private property and soon each hunter would keep his own booty. As a consequence, the larger ulileng lost some of its former importance as some individual families became entirely independent.

Besides hunting, the mountain Evenks also engage in charcoal making and as lumberjacks. Some also maintain small farms. Earlier this century, many Evenks worked for Daur and Chinese who received two-thirds of the hunt. A group of mountain Evenks live in primeval forests of Argun left banner who hunt and raise deer and, unlike other mountain Evenks, have no fixed abode. They live in a kind of pup tent, about 3.3 meters in height and 4 meters in diameter. About twenty-five pine branches are used for building an umbrella-shaped structure. During summers, the sides of this structure are covered with birch bark and in winters with the skins of David's deer. These Evenks move quite frequently; during summers and falls they stay no more than ten days in any one place, while in winter, when they hunt squirrels, they move every two to three days. Each time a group moves, the men first erect the house and then the women follow with the reindeer which carry the group's belongings. The Evenks have a long history of raising reindeer which they call oron.¹⁴ These animals are especially useful in winter when they can travel as much as 25 kilometers through the snow. The Evenks use them for transportation, riding, and hunting.

Evenk society has been monogamous, even in traditional times. Like in other herding societies, the rules of exogamy are strictly observed, and in the past marriages were arranged by the parents.

One notable exception, however, was in Chen Barga banner where Evenks had the custom of choosing their own partners. After the wedding day was agreed upon, the man informed his parents. They then built in back of the woman's family camping ground a small pup tent and selected an old woman to sit in it. The night before the wedding, the bride-to-be slipped out of her parents' home and rode off with her fiancé. When they arrived at the pup tent, the old woman replaited the girl's eight small pigtailed into two big ones. Before dawn the couple entered her parents' home and paid their respects to the fire and ancestral spirits. At the same time, two men from the groom's family visited

Illus. 30. Evenk Hunting Equipment (1930) Illus. 31. Evenk Cradle for Strapping on Reindeer (1930)

Illus. 32. Reindeer Loaded with Flour and Rolls of Birch Bark (1930)

Evenk

the bride's camping ground and presented to the ancestral spirit a hadag (a ceremonial scarf) and prostrated themselves.

When the girl's parents noticed her absence and saw the two men, they would realize what had happened. They would pretend to be angry whereupon the two men gave them liquor which they refused. After a second offer, the parents would consent to drink, thereby signaling their agreement to the marriage.

All members of the groom's family and neighbors then assembled at the bride's parents' home and celebrated. In the ger for the new couple, located near the groom's parents' home, a clan elder was seated on the west side, with a hadag on his head or shoulders, while the bride and groom paid their respects to the ancestors, then to the fire spirit, and finally to their parents. The wedding festivities ended with a banquet accompanied by much singing and dancing.

Like other herding and hunting societies, Evenks are known for their great hospitality. In the herding areas, guests are routinely treated to tobacco, milk tea, and shoubarou.¹⁵ In the hunting areas, they are given milk tea, deer and elk stomach, and the elk's large intestines, backbone meat, and nose. Reflecting the harsh living conditions during winters in the mountains, Evenk hunters place caches of food, clothing, and equipment in various locations in the forests. Anyone in need may freely help himself to the supplies and compensate the owner later.

Recent Developments¹⁶

The Evenk autonomous banner was established on August 1, 1958. By that time, there were also five Evenk autonomous townships and one autonomous somon,¹⁷ a Mongolian-style township-level unit, elsewhere in the Northeast.

At present, about half of the Evenk population lives in the autonomous banner and in Chen Barga banner, also located in Hulunbuir league, where it is principally engaged in herding. The Imin and Hun rivers, originating in the Greater Xing'an range, feed the rich Hulunbuir plain and make herding quite profitable. Between 1949 and 1978, herds owned by Evenks increased from 66,000 to 455,000 head. Virtually all herders have been settled, seventy percent of them between 1954 and 1968.

Evenks living in Butha and Arun banners as well as those in the Morindawa Daur autonomous banner divide their activities between farming and hunting. Exclusive farming is practiced by the Evenks living in the vicinity of Nehe city, while some Evenks in Argun left banner are engaged in hunting.

Hunting has been the oldest economic activity and is still quite popular. Almost one-half of the Evenk autonomous banner is covered by forests, and the most sought-after animals are roe deer, bears, wild boars, deer, elks, Mongolian gazelles, swans, and crows. Hunters, and occasionally farmers living near

forests, gather white mushrooms. In 1981 Evenks harvested over 2,000 kilograms of these mushrooms which they sold in nearby cities. They also sold sheep skins, ox hides, horse hides, and the skins of wild animals. Another economic resource in the Evenk autonomous banner is a 50,000 hectare (about 124,000 acre) area of reed marshes which each year yields 350,000,000 tons for the paper industry.

At the time the Evenk autonomous banner was created, it had only 501 Party members. Twenty years later, this figure increased to 1,450 of whom 240, or about twenty-two percent, were Evenks. Evenks also hold about the same share of all cadre positions in the banner.

Universal education of five years has been reached in all areas where Evenks live, and some townships now offer seven years of instruction. The number of elementary schools in the autonomous banner increased from nine in 1958 to thirty-six in 1977, with 5,020 students attending. There were also eighteen middle schools with 3,900 students.

Health care has also progressed in the recent past, with health stations dotting the grazing areas of Hulunbuir league. There is also a hospital in Nantun which practices traditional Mongolian medicine and, indicative of two persisting health problems, a tuberculosis sanitarium and several stations for treating venereal diseases.

Notes

¹Jiankuang, v. 1, 36.

²Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

³According to the *Atlas narodov mira* (Moscow, 1964), 150, of a total of 33,000 Evenks in 1961, 26,000 lived in the Soviet Union, 6,000 in China and 1,000 in the Mongolian People's Republic.

⁴Zhongguo, 97.

⁵Jiankuang, v. 1, 37; Zhongguo, 99.

⁶Another hypothesis, no longer favored, holds that the Evenks descended from the Mohe.

⁷See entries in the bibliography. Only a few months ago a trilingual glossary, *Ewenggi helen-ü üges-ün tegübüri*, was published in Beijing.

⁸See Qui Pu 1978, 133. Full citation is found in the bibliographical chapter on the Oroqens.

⁹Examples selected from *Ewenggi*.

¹⁰Zhongguo, 97.

¹¹See Daur, Evenk, Oroqen minge; also the collection on Evenk folksongs in the popular magazine *Caoyuan*, listed in the bibliography.

¹²See his entries in the bibliography. No fewer than four different articles, by Bai Gui, Narangowa, Hua Guozhang, and Zhou Tingfang, have been published about Urertu. See also samples of contemporary Evenk literature by Du Mei and the twenty-eight-year old woman writer Anna.

¹³Information on Evenk society in China can be obtained from Zhongguo, 101-105. See also the article by Ma Wei on Evenk folk dances.

¹⁴Oron is the same word used by the Oroqens to describe themselves as the "reindeer people." See the chapter on the Oroqens.

¹⁵This Chinese term, written 手把肉, lacks a precise equivalent in the English, Evenk, and Mongolian languages, and refers to a large chunk of boiled mutton eaten with the hands.

¹⁶Information on recent developments is found in Zhongguo, 97-108 and in Jiankuang, v. 1, 36.

¹⁷Called sum in Mongolian.

16

Oroqen

Size and Location

The earliest population estimate made, during 1915-17, showed 4,111 Oroqens 鄂伦春 living in China. In 1933 the Japanese reported only 3,700 and in the following year, 2,876 Oroqens.¹ The low point was reached in 1953 when the population had declined to 2,262.² Since then, it has steadily increased, to 2,400 in 1957³ and 4,132 in 1982.⁴ Most Oroqens live in Hulunbuir league of Inner Mongolia, especially in the Oroqen autonomous banner (see Map 16), and in Butha banner, Morindawa Daur autonomous banner, and in Huma 呼玛, Qike (Xunke 逊克), Aihui 爱辉 'Aigun), and Jiayin 嘉荫 counties of Heilongjiang.

The Oroqen autonomous banner covers more than 59,800 square kilometers, slightly smaller than West Virginia (which has similar terrain) or Belgium and Holland combined. It is located between longitude 121°55' and 126°10' East and latitude 48°50' and 51°25' North. The northern portion is mountainous with an average altitude of 750 meters while the small lowland area in the southeast has an average altitude of 230 meters. The seven main rivers in the banner are the Gan 甘, Nomin 诺敏, Naduli 那都里, Dobkur 多布库尔, Kandu 罕诺, Gulik 古里, Ouken 欧肯. Only 9.1 percent of the autonomous banner is arable, the rest is covered by forests.⁵

Map 16. Oroqen

History

It is believed that the Oroqens emerged as a distinct nationality from the Bei Shiwei sometime during the period from 420 to 589.⁶ At that time they, together with some Daur, Evenk, Hezhen, and a few Manchus, lived north of the Amur, in an area bordered on the north by the Outer Xing'an range, on the west by the Shilka river and to the east by the Kuyedao river. By 1642 the new Manchu state included this area. Soon thereafter pressure from Russians caused most Oroqens to leave their ancestral lands and move across the Amur to the Greater and Lesser Xing'an region (approximately 122°-131° East and 48°-53° North). In 1691 the Oroqens were enlisted into the eight-banner system while their area came to be administered by a combination of civilian and military officials.⁷

Language and Literature

The Oroqen language belongs to the Tungus branch of the Manchu-Tungus group of the Altaic family of languages. It has several distinct dialects of which Gankui may be tentatively considered the standard.⁸

The Oroqen language has seven vowels, as follows:⁹

<u>a</u> as in <u>alga</u> n 'foot'	<u>o</u> as in <u>o</u> l <u>o</u> 'fish'
<u>ə</u> as in <u>ə</u> ri 'this'	<u>u</u> as in <u>u</u> l <u>ə</u> <u>ə</u> 'meat'
<u>e</u> as in <u>d</u> o <u>l</u> e <u>n</u> 'middle'	<u>y</u> as in <u>d</u> ɔ <u>y</u> d <u>ə</u> 'sweet'
<u>i</u> as in <u>i</u> ma <u>n</u> na 'snow'	

The nineteen consonants are:

<u>n</u> as in <u>n</u> a <u>d</u> a <u>n</u> 'seven'	<u>l</u> as in <u>l</u> u <u>k</u> i 'arrow'
<u>k</u> as in <u>k</u> o <u>m</u> u <u>k</u> 'pharynx'	<u>m</u> as in <u>m</u> ə <u>w</u> u <u>n</u> 'silver'
<u>g</u> as in <u>g</u> u <u>d</u> ə <u>ə</u> 'belly'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃ</u> a <u>a</u> /u <u>n</u> 'paper'
<u>x</u> as in <u>x</u> ə <u>ə</u> 'elder sister'	<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>d</u> ʒu <u>g</u> a 'summer'
<u>b</u> as in <u>b</u> ə <u>j</u> 'person, body'	<u>j</u> as in <u>j</u> a <u>l</u> a <u>n</u> 'three'
<u>p</u> as in <u>s</u> a <u>r</u> p <u>u</u> 'chopsticks'	<u>r</u> as in <u>ə</u> r <u>d</u> ə 'early morning'
<u>s</u> as in <u>s</u> a <u>k</u> ə <u>n</u> 'duty'	<u>f</u> as in <u>d</u> ʒa <u>f</u> k <u>u</u> n 'eight'
<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃ</u> o <u>d</u> ə <u>l</u> 'vein, artery'	<u>w</u> as in <u>w</u> a <u>a</u> 'taste'
<u>t</u> as in <u>t</u> ə <u>h</u> a <u>r</u> 'earth, dirt'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>a</u> ŋ <u>k</u> a <u>n</u> i 'year'
<u>d</u> as in <u>d</u> i <u>l</u> a <u>t</u> ə <u>a</u> 'sun'	

There are also five long vowels, as follows:

<u>aa</u> as in <u>a</u> a <u>w</u> a <u>n</u> 'right-hand'	<u>oo</u> as in <u>m</u> o <u>o</u> 'tree'
---	--

əə as in əəku 'hot'
ii as in iigen 'elbow'

uu as in ənuunən 'pain'

Occasionally certain vowels may be substituted, e.g., the word for horse is pronounced both morin and moren, the word for middle can be dolin or dolen. Vowel harmony, as in many other Altaic languages, means that the first vowel in a word determines all subsequent vowels, thus nadán 'seven,' eterxén 'bear', gurún 'country, nation', Vowel harmony extends to all suffixes, e.g., the suffix for past tense is tʃa in náutʃa 'hit the bull's eye' but tʃe in génetʃe 'went'.

Considerable substitution of consonants is caused by dialectal differences. A few examples are sāréń ~ ʃāréń 'to know', ʃodel ~ sotel 'blood vessel'; ʃi ~ tʃi 'you', atʃikon ~ aʃikan ~ adʒikon 'small, few'; tukʃu ~ dukʃu 'cloud', tejʃ ~ dekʃ 'bird', orokuto ~ olokuto 'grass', dʒebti ~ dʒækti 'food', xomxan ~ xomkan ~ komkan 'stag', and baktʃa ~ baxtʃa 'attained'.

Sometimes the final n of a word is nasalized, as in inín 'sun', nín 'who', biʃín 'there is'. The consonant r in the suffix for the infinitive -ren is changed to l or t if the stem ends in either l or t, as in déillén 'to fly', tettén 'to wear'.

As is the case with all other minorities in China, the number of Chinese loan words in the Oroqen language has been steadily increasing since the early 1950s. Examples are ʃintʃtʃi 'week', meigüe 'America', and fén 'a minute'. There were hardly any Chinese loan words before the Communist takeover, but a handful of European (via Russian) loan words, some of which are still being heard. An interesting case involves two closely related words, 'mechanism' and 'machine', where the former is expressed by the Chinese loan word dʒiguan and the latter by the European loan word maʃin.

The Oroqens of China do not have their own script but use Chinese.

Although the Oroqens constitute one of the smallest nationalities in China, their oral tradition is extraordinarily rich. Only a small portion has so far been recorded. Fairy tales and myths, including at least two versions of the Oroqens' origin, are the oldest forms of Oroqen literature. One fairy tale, named after the girl Ayijilun and the boy Lunjishan, relates their battle with the demon king whom they defeat with the help of natural forces.¹⁰ In the story about the white-robed sorceress, a hunter and his family are poisoned by the demon king and die but the sorceress revives them. Two creation myths are the story of the deluge and the legend of Gaxian Cave and Kulong Mountain which revolves around Maokaodai Khan, the presumed progenitor of the Oroqens.¹¹ Among the presently available major collections of Oroqen traditional literature, the most important are the Oroqen minjian gushi ji and the compendium of Oroqen folk literature by Zhang Fengzhu and Cai Bowen.¹²

By contrast, modern literature is still relatively little developed. Only a few writers and poets have made their debut in the pages of literary journals.¹³

Society¹⁴

The oldest and largest social unit among the Oroqens is the mokun, meaning clan or surname group. At the time the Oroqens moved south across the Amur in the seventeenth century, they were organized into seven mokun. Today there are at least nine. Three mokun are native to the area of the Oroqen autonomous banner: they are Kerteyir, Baiyir, and Aqigechayir. Other mokun, some of whose members migrated into the banner, are Maniyayir, Wukarkang, Gewoyir, Gulayir, Weilayir, and Mowayir.

Each mokun had its own ancestral god, called an ajiaorufurukan, and its common cemetery. A mokun had its own unwritten laws such as customary laws, taboos, moral guides, and marriage regulations. It also had a definite structure. The mokun assembly was the highest decision-making body. In normal times it would meet once every ten years. It had four powers. First, it elected or dismissed the mokunda, its leader, who was usually an elder with much experience in hunting and a reputation for fairness in handling affairs. Second, it added to the clan genealogy. This was a very important, special meeting, held once every three years. Because clan members were not allowed to call out their ancestors' names, an outsider was brought in for the occasion and asked to recite the clan genealogy while all adult clan members sat on the ground and listened. Such an assembly was presided over by the clan's shaman. After the genealogy had been read, the mokunda would explain some points in the genealogy, and at the end circle the names of persons who had died during the preceding three years and add the names of the newly born. Third, the assembly formally accepted new adult clan members and approved the adoption of foster sons by clan members. Fourth, it punished members who had violated customary law. Clan assemblies were always followed by banquets and entertainment.

The mokunda's responsibilities were (1) the safekeeping of the clan genealogy and the recording of births and deaths; (2) presiding over wedding and funeral rites; (3) the managing of daily clan affairs; (4) representing the clan at external functions; and (5) in emergencies, he had the power to convene a special clan meeting. The mokunda received no compensation nor special privileges. Moreover, if he seriously violated customary law, mokun members could call a meeting at any time and decide on his case.

While these social functions were carried out by the mokun, economic activities were decided upon and carried out by the smaller ulileng (family commune). An ulileng (an Oroqen word meaning descendants) included members of three to four generations, and its members lived in five to a dozen tent-like houses, each housing one nuclear family. Its head was the tadanda.

Soon after the Qing dynasty came to power, the ulileng gradually began to change whereby tools and animals came under the control of individual families. The ulileng was further weakened by the appearance of guns and horses

Illus. 33. Oroqen Costumes

Illus. 34. Oroqen Housing

Oroqen

during mid-Qing. Hunting expeditions were no longer conducted by the ulileng but a new, temporary unit, called the anage, which included three to eight hunters. A further change involved the requirements for membership in the ulileng. Whereas in the past membership had been strictly along consanguinal lines, by the turn of the nineteenth century membership was determined by residence. Thus an Oroqen family could move to another locality and there join a new ulileng. Finally, Qing local administrations also contributed to the ulileng's decline, as the local military official, the zuoling, took on some of the tadanda's powers. By republican times the change from consanguinal to territorial criteria was complete, and some localities no longer called themselves ulileng but gaxin (Manchu for village), ail (Daur for community), or gaolu (Oroqen for river). But while membership criteria changed drastically, some of the ancient ownership practices survived as late as the 1950s. While all other property had long since come into private hands, the hunting grounds were still communally owned, and meat and coarse hides gained from a hunt were still evenly divided.

Recent Developments¹⁵

The Oroqen autonomous banner was established on October 1, 1951. At that time only 778 persons lived there of whom 774 were Oroqen, three Daur, and one Evenk. The establishment of a lumber industry in the Greater Xing'an range and the building of two railroads, totaling 160 kilometers, in the banner led to massive migration, especially in 1958 and 1964. In 1980 the population stood at 410,000 of whom only 1,315 were Oroqen, the rest being Han, Manchu, Hui, Mongol, Korean, Evenk, and Daur. Three hunting communes are located in Gankui, Nomin, and Tozhamin. Seven towns and cities have been built since the late 1950s, namely, Alihe 阿里河, Jagdaqi 加格达奇, Ganhe, Dayangshu 大杨树, Keyihe 可一河, Jiwen 吉文, and Xiaoyangqi (Songling 松岭). Alihe is the administrative seat, with a population of more than 53,000. Before 1951 its location was deep inside one of the forests of the Greater Xing'an range, and its first settlers still had to maintain camp fires at night to ward off wild animals. Now it is a city with electric lights, a theater, hotel, a general store, a party school, and several schools, of which one middle school and one elementary school are reserved for non-Han nationalities. The largest city in the banner is Jagdaqi, located at the junction of the two railroads, with over 100,000 inhabitants.

Notes

¹Qiu Pu 1978, 62.

²Qiu Pu 1981, 2. A majority (1,303) lived in Heilongjiang and the other 959 in Inner Mongolia. More exact locations are found in the text below.

³Jiankuang, v. 1, 47.

⁴Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

⁵Oroqen zizhiqi gaikuang, 2.

⁶Op. cit., 12. See also Zhao 1981, 103. An older notion that the Oroqens descended from the Nuzhens is no longer favored.

⁷Qiu Pu 1978, 19-20.

⁸Saxirong, 1.

⁹Examples have been taken from Saxirong.

¹⁰Described in Qiu Pu 1978, 134-136 and, in greater detail, in Qiu Pu 1981, 9-14. See also the recent English translation The Oroqens (Beijing, 1983).

¹¹Qiu Pu 1978, 134.

¹²See their entries in the bibliography. See also the entry on Xiletegen.

¹³See entries in the bibliography for the writer Ao Changfu and the poets He Daixiu and Yuan Lin.

¹⁴The best contemporary source on Oroqen society is Oroqen zizhiqi gaikuang, 27-30. See also Zhongguo, 115.

¹⁵Most information on recent developments can be found in Oroqen zizhiqi gaikuang, 1-11. See also Zhongguo, 110.

17

Hezhen

Size and Location

One of China's smallest nationalities is the Hezhen 赫哲. Most Hezhens live in the Three Rivers area (Amur, Sungari, and Ussuri) in north-eastern Heilongjiang province (see Map 17). They have increased from about 300 in 1949 to 700 in 1970 and 1,476 in 1982.¹ A much larger group of Hezhens, estimated at 8,000 to 9,000 lives across the border in the Soviet Union. Most Hezhens in China live along rivers in Bacha 八岔 and Jiejinkou 街津口 townships of Tongjiang county and near Sipai 四排 village, located in Xilinzi 西林子 township of Raohe 饶河 county. Others are scattered in several villages in Huachuan 桦川 and Fujin 富锦 counties and in the city of Jiamusi 佳木斯.²

History

Few specific facts are known about the Hezhens' history. It is generally believed that they can be traced as far back as the Dong Yi 东夷, about two millenia ago, who are seen as the progenitors not only of the Hezhens but of all Tungusic people.³ During China's Jin and Tang dynasties (sixth to ninth centuries), the Hezhens were part of the Heishui Mohe 黑水靺鞨 federation, living along the Amur river.⁴ Later, perhaps from the twelfth to seventeenth centuries, they belonged to the Jurchens. According to the Hezhens' oral tradition, many centuries ago their ancestors lived near modern Harbin, at a

place called Baicheng (White City) where they were farming. The Chinese destroyed the city, forcing its inhabitants to flee into the Greater Xing'an mountain range.⁵ This move necessitated a switch from farming to hunting and fishing. The Hezhens learned to build boats in which they eventually journeyed down to the Amur river where they settled in several spots along its banks. After an unspecified length of time, the Gilyaks drove many Hezhens southward where they settled on the Sungari between the town of Sanxing and the Amur river.⁶

Map. 17. Hezhen

The Hezhens did not come under Chinese control until well into the Qing dynasty which called them initially the New Manzhou. In 1716 the Qing established their first outpost in Sanxing (now called Yilan) county on the lower reaches of the Sungari, which was enlarged to a fudutong 副都统, a military

command, in 1733. Much later than other nationalities in the Northeast, the Hezhens were not included in the eight-banner system until 1882 when the Qing established a military banner headquarters in Gardang which organized the Hezhens into military units.⁷

Language and Literature⁸

The Hezhen language belongs to the Manchu branch of the Machu-Tungus group of the Altaic family of languages. It contains the following ten vowels.

<u>a</u> as in <u>nala</u> 'hand'	<u>ɜ</u> as in <u>ɜmɛk</u> 'one'
<u>ã</u> as in <u>ihã</u> 'ox'	<u>i</u> as in <u>imaha</u> 'fish'
<u>ə</u> as in <u>məmə</u> 'milk'	<u>ɔ</u> as in <u>honi</u> 'sheep'
<u>ɛ</u> as in <u>nɛnɛ</u> 'grandmother'	<u>õ</u> as in <u>afõ</u> 'hat'
<u>ẽ</u> as in <u>ɟẽ</u> 'ear'	<u>u</u> as in <u>sabu</u> 'shoe'

The twenty-seven consonants in Hezhen are as follows:

<u>b</u> as in <u>bi</u> 'I'	<u>ɳ</u> as in <u>natɳen</u> 'master'
<u>d</u> as in <u>puda</u> 'food'	<u>p</u> as in <u>pa</u> 'sky, heaven'
<u>dʒ</u> as in <u>dʒɛkt'ə</u> 'rice'	<u>p'</u> as in <u>halap'ti</u> 'long ago'
<u>f</u> as in <u>fa</u> 'window'	<u>r</u> as in <u>mɔrin</u> 'horse'
<u>g</u> as in <u>gak'i</u> 'duck'	<u>s</u> as in <u>sabu</u> 'shoe'
<u>h</u> as in <u>nahã</u> 'kang'	<u>ʃ</u> as in <u>ʃi</u> 'you' (sing.)
<u>j</u> as in <u>ajẽ</u> 'mouse'	<u>t</u> as in <u>tili</u> 'head'
<u>k</u> as in <u>kubmahõ</u> 'rabbit'	<u>t'</u> as in <u>t'iɔkɔ</u> 'chicken'
<u>k'</u> as in <u>fɔk'ɔt'u</u> 'road'	<u>ts</u> as in <u>tsuã</u> 'ten'
<u>l</u> as in <u>lɔsõ</u> 'donkey'	<u>ts'</u> as in <u>k'uts'en</u> 'knife'
<u>m</u> as in <u>ama</u> 'father'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃɔ</u> 'room'
<u>n</u> as in <u>nai</u> 'person'	<u>tʃ'</u> as in <u>tʃ'amtʃ'ə</u> 'robe'
<u>ɳ</u> as in <u>ɳiã</u> 'mother'	<u>w</u> as in <u>wa</u> 'to kill'
	<u>ʒ</u> as in <u>ʒikt'ə</u> 'thread'

The Hezhen language also has no less than twelve diphthongs and even some triphthongs.⁹ Stress is on the last syllable.

The Hezhens living in China speak one dialect which, however, differs from that spoken by the Hezhens living along the lower reaches of the Amur river in the Soviet Union.¹⁰

The Hezhens do not have their own script. Consequently, their entire, rather well-developed literary heritage has until recently been transmitted orally. In recent decades efforts have been made to record, in Chinese, a few samples of Hezhen folk literature. The largest collection is still that by Ling

Chongsheng, published in 1934.¹¹ One form is the epic, or imakan, which is very long, some taking several days to recite. It is mostly spoken, with occasional songs interspersed. There is no musical accompaniment.¹² The imakans' themes include heroes, ghosts, animals, love, and the rise and fall of tribes. Perhaps the best known epic is about Mojulin, the god of children.¹³ Another imakan is about the hero Manganmu Mergen.¹⁴

A second form of Hezhen folk literature is the shuohuli, a kind of folktale that traditionally the old people told children.¹⁵ It is short and lively and includes fables and myths. An example is Sulak mafak (The fox and the bear).¹⁶

The Hezhens also have two kinds of folk songs. The jialiankuo genre resembles Chinese folk songs. It has a fixed melody while the words are delivered impromptu. Another form of song is called henina, because this word is repeated over and over again. It is sung mostly by women during work.¹⁷

The principal musical instruments are the unte, a shaman's drum, and the mukangji, a kind of harmonica.¹⁸

The only known contemporary Hezhen writer is Xiao Han. He was born in 1942 and currently is working in the water transport office in Jiamusi. Since 1963 he has been writing short stories as well as translating and annotating traditional stories.¹⁹

Society

Traditional Hezhen society was organized along similar lines to that of the Manchus. There were seven hala (clans): Birdaki, Luir, Udinke, Futeha, Geike, Sunmun and Yuken. Some were named after rivers, while others bore the names of animals.²⁰ Usually, each hala consisted of several mokun (families), and the heads of both kinds of organizations were elected by all adult members. Beyond the hala was the common name group which, however, was not formally organized.²¹ Hezhen villages average about 300 households, with some having as many as 2,000 households.²² The village head, called gashanda, was generally elected for terms of two to three years in office, but it was not uncommon to find some gashanda serving for life. The only qualifications for office were minimal literacy and good marksmanship. Before Chinese influence reached the Hezhens in the mid-Qing period, a gashanda had the power to order any form of punishment, including death by strangulation.²³

The usual form of marriage was monogamous, but a few rich men in most villages were known to have two wives.²⁴ Marriage within one's own hala was strictly prohibited, but it was permitted within the same name group. Unlike in some other nationalities, a widow who remarried was not stigmatized but she could not return to her former husband's home.

The most common form of burial was interment.²⁵ Before the arrival of Chinese influence the Hezhens had no fixed cemeteries but rather buried their

dead in any place of their choice, after the shaman had determined that the location was auspicious. The use of coffins was also due to Chinese influence. Before that time, a hole was dug and the corpse was laid into a trough made of wood and stones. Then a lid was placed on the corpse and the remainder of the hole was filled with soil. When coffins came into use, they were made of cedar planks and were placed into the grave to face west. Childrens' corpses were not interred but wrapped in birch bark and placed in trees.²⁶ This practice was based on the belief that a child's soul was too small to escape from the ground and thus would be prevented to have other children. On the evening of the third and ninth day after a child's death, its mother left her home and spent the night at someone else's home. If she failed to do so, it was believed that the child's soul could not leave the mother.

The Hezhens used to wear many articles of clothing and shoes made of fishskin, so that outsiders often called them "Fishskin Tatars." In addition, many articles, such as tobacco pouches, were also made of fishskin.

Most Hezhens living in the Three Rivers region practice fishing.²⁷ Before the Qing dynasty, most fishing grounds were commonly owned and the catch was evenly divided. During the Qing and republican periods the fishing grounds became privately owned, and the distribution of the catch became extremely uneven. In Gardang village in 1910, for example, six of the eighty families were rich enough to own forty-three pull nets, six boats, nine seines, and 150 sturgeon hooks. Two other families owned one boat and three seines. The remaining seventy-two families owned nothing and subsisted by working for the few rich families and by engaging in hunting.

The Hezhens in the area above Datun and Gardang in Fuyuan county were mostly hunters. At first, they used bow and arrow and the gida, a front-loading gun, but later they changed to rifle and shotgun. Hunting was seasonal. Fine furred animals were hunted in the fall and winter, while deer was hunted in the spring and early summer. During hunting expeditions, groups of hunters were organized in temporary organizations headed by a mafa who was elected by them on the strength of his reputed marksmanship and experience.

The Hezhen diet was determined by the kind of economic activity. In the hunting areas, it consisted mostly of venison and in the other areas it was fish. One noteworthy practice was the eating of raw fish, quite similar to the Japanese sashimi, which is unique in China.

Religion²⁸

Like other Manchu-Tungus nationalities, the Hezhens believed in shamanism. The Hezhens worshiped the sky, the earth, sun, moon, stars, mountains, rivers, and trees as the abodes of various spirits. They also believed that all humans and animals possessed immortal souls. This belief formed the

Chapter 17

Illus. 35. Hezhen woman

Illus. 36. Repairing a Fish Net

basis of ancestor worship. There were different sects of shamans, as indicated by the number of branches on their ceremonial hats. Members of the bira taken (river god) sect had one pair of horns, those of the yurong taken (unicorn dragon) sect two sets, and those of the mamogu taken (river god) sect three horns. Moreover, rank was signified by the number of antlers. Of the six ranks, the lowest had no antlers, while others had three, five, seven, twelve, and fifteen antlers. It usually took two to three years for a novice to attain the three-antler rank and at least forty years to reach the highest rank. Ranks were also signified by the number of bells on the hat and belt as well as other insignia, but each tribe had its own regulations governing them.

Judging from several folktales popular among the Hezhens, in the remote past all shamans had been female but today all but a handful are male. The female shamans do not wear horns on their caps but are treated like novice shamans.²⁹

Although we do not have sufficient materials to make a definitive statement, it appears that the Hezhens have had more shamans than other nationalities and that they have been active longer than elsewhere. As late as 1957, of the 135 adults in Bacha township, eight were shamans, and in 1958 the 133 Hezhens living in Jiejinkou township still had four shamans.

The Hezhens recognize four different kinds of shamans, depending on their specialties. The dakesuteyi accompanies the souls of departed Hezhens to their final destinations. The bachilan is the professional fortune teller. The feililan beseeches the gods and hence is often asked by families to lead prayer services before the images of various burhans. The aha, whose respectful term is ahamafa (meaning goddess' assistant) cures other shamans who may be afflicted by mental disorders and have fallen victim to some epidemic disease. The aha is clearly the most important kind of shaman. He is believed to possess des'hu, i.e. the purest spirit, and women and children may not approach him, especially menstruating women for fear that they may cause the aha to fall ill or perhaps even die.³⁰

Recent Developments³¹

The Hezhens came under Communist control soon after the end of World War II in 1945, much earlier than most nationalities in China. By the time of the Communist assumption of power over mainland China in 1949, most Hezhen communities had already completed the first stages of social reorganization. For example, Sipai village on the Ussuri completed its reforms in spring 1948 and established its first mutual-aid team which was changed into a permanent team in 1951. The following year the village opened its first cooperative. Given the fact that the Hezhens had traditionally concentrated on fishing, many of the new economic organizations were fishing cooperatives, but the first steps toward

farming were also undertaken. In 1956 Bacha village on the Amur operated a modest farm of about 30 hectares (75 acres), but fishing remained the main occupation. There were three fishing brigades and one farming brigade in 1957.

Education progressed. The Hezhens received their first elementary school in 1949 which was located in Jiejinkou village. Others were added in 1952 in Bacha and Sipai. Health stations, another innovation, reduced infant mortality from seventy-five percent in 1948 to zero by 1958. In most communities the traditional fish oil lamps have been replaced by electricity.

Notes

¹Zhongguo, 57; Jiankuang, v. 2, 36; Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

²Liu 1981, 1.

³Ling, 17-44.

⁴Jiankuang, v. 2, 36; Zhongguo, 63; Liu 1981, 2.

⁵Lattimore, 343 says that Yue Fei destroyed the city, but this famous general of the Song dynasty is not known to have traveled farther north than Kaifeng.

⁶Jettmar, 249.

⁷Jiankuang, v. 2, 38; Ling, 57.

⁸Linguistic information can be found in Ling, 231-280. See also Jiankuang, v. 2, 37.

⁹Menges, 175.

¹⁰Menges, 173-174.

¹¹Ling, 281-694.

¹²Liu 1981, 39; Jiankuang, v. 2, 37.

¹³Ling, 294-328. A German translation of this text was done by Hefter.

¹⁴Liu 1981, 40-42.

¹⁵Jiankuang, v. 2, 37.

¹⁶Liu 1981, 42-44.

¹⁷Liu 1981, 45; Jiankuang, v. 2, 37.

¹⁸Liu 1981, 46.

¹⁹See his entry in the bibliography.

²⁰Ling, 224-225; Lattimore, 375.

²¹Jiankuang, v. 2, 37.

²²Ling, 226.

²³Jettmar, 254-255.

²⁴Information on marriage is based on Liu 1981, 48-50.

²⁵The most detailed description of Hezhen burial customs is in Lopatin, 70-96.

²⁶Liu 1981, 52.

²⁷Description of economic activities are in *Jiankuang*, v. 2, 38-39. Economic tools are shown in Illustrations 99-132 in Ling.

²⁸Unless otherwise noted, information on religion is taken from Ling, 102-142.

²⁹Liu 1981, 54. Detailed information on the shaman's dress is in Liu 1981, 54-63, *passim*. See also Illustrations 178-270 in Ling.

³⁰Liu 1981, 58-59.

³¹Liu 1981, 63-66.

Others

18

Hui

Size and Location

Like the Manchus, the Hui 回 can be found in virtually all parts of China. Most counties and cities have at least some Hui among them. Their numbers have increased from about four million in 1959¹ to 7,219,352 in 1982.² Larger concentrations of Hui are located in Ningxia, Gansu, Qinghai, Henan, Hebei, Shandong, Yunnan, and Xinjiang.³ The largest of the various Hui autonomous areas is the Ningxia autonomous region. Others are Linxia 临夏 prefecture and Zhangjiachuan 张家川 county in Gansu, Hualong 化隆 and Menyuan 门源 counties in Qinghai, Dachang 大厂 and Mengcun 孟村 counties in Hebei, Xundian 寻甸 and Weishan 巍山 (jointly with Yi) counties in Yunnan, Weining 威宁 (jointly with Yi and Miao) county in Guizhou, and Changji 昌吉 prefecture and Yanqi 焉耆 county in Xinjiang (see Map 18).

History⁴

The history of the Hui in China can be said to begin in the mid-seventh century when Arab and Persian merchants went to China and settled down in cities like Guangzhou (Canton), Quanzhou 泉州, Hangzhou, and Yangzhou 扬州. There they traded in ivory, jade and other precious commodities. Their prosperity resulted in sizeable communities which, however, did not intermarry with the native Chinese population. Until the mid-thirteenth century, when these merchants, called fanke 蕃客 by the Chinese, were

Map 18. Hui

believed to number as many as 100,000, they essentially formed foreign enclaves in several port cities in Southern China.

A far more numerous and important group of Central Asians arrived in China in the early thirteenth century. From 1219, when Chinggis Khan launched his western campaign, until the capture of Bagdad in 1258 the Mongols conquered vast regions of West Asia which were largely inhabited by Muslims. Tens of thousands of them were sent eastward to China, mostly as soldiers and civil servants. The Central Asians participated as cavalry units, called tanma chijun 探马赤军 in Chinese records, in the final assault and conquest of the Chinese rump state of Southern Song. After the latter's defeat in 1273 most Central Asian soldiers were released from military service and took up farming. Most of these demobilized soldiers probably intermarried with Chinese and were gradually absorbed into Chinese culture.

A smaller group of Central Asians, however, continued to serve the Mongols in China as residents of military colonies (duntian 屯田) whose task was to reclaim wasteland. There were four regions in which important reclamation centers were established. In the Northwest Central Asian military colonists, called Huihui in official records, opened up several areas around Liupan-shan 六盘山 in Ningxia and Hexi and Wutiaohe 五条河 in Kansu while others were active in Shaanxi and modern Xinjiang, especially in Foukang 阜康 county. During the Yuan dynasty the son of the Huihui administrator Saidianchi Shansidin (1211-1279), named Nasradin, divided his numerous sons and grandsons into four families with the names Na, Su, La, and Ding (after the Chinese transliteration of his name). These later developed into separate clans. The Na family established itself in Ningxia, while the La family concentrated in the Chang'an area.

A second important settlement area of Muslim reclamation troops were in the Kunming and Dali areas of Yunnan where, in cooperation with the indigenous population, they created six major irrigation works. Other Muslim reclamation centers were in Henan and Shandong; for example, in 1281 Hubilai ordered a Huihui camp established in the Kaifeng region. Finally, Southern China also had its share of Muslim reclamationists.

Although far fewer than the soldiers, Muslim artisans also were sent to China. As early as 1220, right after the fall of Samarkand, Chinggis Khan is said to have selected as many as 30,000 Muslim artisans to be sent eastward. Muslim intellectuals going to China included astronomers, mathematicians, physicians, pharmacologists, and civil servants. Quite a few of them achieved positions of influence during the time of the Yuan dynasty.

The period of the Mongol occupation, after 1260 called the Yuan dynasty, may be considered the formative stage of the Hui nationality. Its members were not yet a distinct nationality, but some of the features of the present Hui can already be discerned at that time. These people, who either themselves or whose

ancestors had come from various parts of West and Central Asia, began to marry Chinese women. They also began to speak Chinese, first as a supplement to their native languages, then after several generations, exclusively. At the same time they retained their religion and, at least some of them, resided in compact separate districts within cities or in their own villages.

These trends continued during the Ming dynasty (1368-1644) when more Huihui communities arose in Ningxia, Gansu, Shaanxi, Yunnan, Zhejiang and elsewhere. Their inhabitants were Huihui who had served the Mongols as soldiers and officials and who, after the Mongols' retreat from China in 1368, turned to farming or occupations in the cities. In the countryside Huihui remained within their own villages, taking in Chinese wives who in time would be converted to Islam while, at the same time, accelerate the sinification of their families' secular customs and habits. In the cities Huihui concentrated in specific occupations such as butchering and tile making while they practiced in well-defined compact districts. Another factor, new in the Ming dynasty, that aided in the process of creating a nationality was the mingling of Huihui from various origins in these rural and urban communities. During the Mongol period, each community was often entirely composed of people sharing a common descent from the same home region in Central Asia and sometimes even the same lineage. Beginning in the Ming period, however, Huihui communities took in or were formed by people of widely different backgrounds but who shared their foreign origin and their religion.

Most importantly, the meaning of Huihui changed. During the Yuan dynasty, it was a term used by the Mongols to designate all non-Chinese who had originally come from West and Central Asia. During the Ming dynasty these people began to refer to themselves in their private writings as Huihui. It was a clear sign that the Huihui had begun to identify themselves as members of a group, something one might call a proto-nationality, which transcended their various geographical and family backgrounds while collectively distinguishing itself from the Han majority.

During the Ming and Qing dynasties (1368-1911), Hui communities staged several major uprisings, the most notable ones taking place in the 1860s and 1870s in Yunnan and Shaanxi provinces. This tradition of resistance against Chinese central governments continued into the twentieth century when for about forty years the clan of Mao Bufang 马步芳 maintained a largely autonomous government in Qinghai province, complete with its own military forces.⁵ Other Hui leaders in Gansu, Ningxia, and Xinjiang provinces also maintained a degree of local independence for various lengths of time.

Language and Literature

At the time of their eastward migration (see preceding section), the Hui

still spoke Arabic and Persian,⁶ but soon after settling in China, they completely adopted the Chinese language. No Hui community anywhere in China currently speaks its own separate language, although one can, of course, distinguish a number of local Chinese dialects among them.

Literary production among the Hui of Northern China has been slim during this century. At present only a few Hui writers have come to the attention of the general reading public. Perhaps the most notable representative of Hui literature is Gao Shan, born in 1935 and resident in Ningxia, who writes poems and short stories.⁷ Others include the fifty-four year old Bai Chongyi, an editor and reporter in Xinjiang, who writes short stories, Ma Zhiyao of Ningxia, Mali of Jilin, and Zhang Chengzhi of Beijing. They are all essayists.

Society

Among the Hui in Ningxia as well as those in some parts of Inner Mongolia and Xinjiang, there are quite a few farmers. Most Hui, however, have been city dwellers for generations. They are mostly shopkeepers and artisans and, increasingly since the 1950s, factory workers and civil servants. Before the advent of higher hygienic standards, Hui butchers in the cities had earned the reputation of selling the best and cleanest meat.

Hui clothing is virtually identical to that of the Han, except for their white (and occasionally black) round visorless caps (see Illustration 37). The Hui diet consists of rice and flour as staples, admixed with beef and mutton. There is a religious taboo on pork as well as on the meat of horses, donkeys, mules and all wild animals. The Hui are also prohibited from consuming animal blood and the meat of animals dead of natural causes.

Their traditional method of interment is to wrap the corpse in a shroud and to bury it without the use of a coffin.⁸

Religion

The Hui, who are frequently called Chinese Muslims by foreigners, are believers in Islam. For generations the center of all public social life in a Hui community has been the mosque. While some Hui belong to other sects, the great majority of them have been members of the Sunni sect.⁹

Recent Developments

Since many Hui live in relatively compact communities, a sizeable number of autonomous areas have been created for them. There are no less than twelve at the county level and above. Most of them were established in the early 1950s, as follows: Zhangjiachuan (seat at Zhangchuan) on July 6, 1953,¹⁰ Menyuan (seat

Illus. 37. Hui Man and Woman

at Haomen) on December 19, 1953, Hualong (seat at Bayan) on March 1, 1954, Yanqi on March 15, 1954, Changji on July 15, 1954, Weining (seat at Chengguan) on November 11, 1954, Mengeun on November 30, 1955, Dachang on December 7, 1955, Weishan (seat at Weicheng) on November 9, 1956, Linxia on November 19, 1956, and Ningxia (seat at Yinchuan) on October 25, 1958. Since the end of the so-called cultural revolution, one more autonomous area has been added in Xundian (seat at Rende) on December 20, 1979.

The largest of these Hui autonomous areas, the province of Ningxia, officially called an autonomous region, has undergone considerable development during the past three decades. One can find in the capital, Yinchuan, and several other cities many factories producing coking coal, electricity, iron and steel, consumer items, petroleum products, and electronic machinery. These industries currently employ about 44,200 workers.

Education, too, has made great strides, with schools now operating everywhere in Ningxia. School enrollment, however, has reached eighty percent in only one county and is considerably lower elsewhere. In addition to particular local causes, this relatively low enrollment record is mainly due to the Hui's traditional reluctance, now weakening, to send girls to school. Ningxia has a university, a medical school, and an agricultural college.¹¹

Notes

¹Jiankuang, v. 5, 1.

²Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80.

³There were 570,788 Hui residing in Xinjiang. See Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10.

⁴The most comprehensive description of the Hui nationality's history is Huizu jianshi, 5-33. See also Jiankuang, v. 5, 1-2 and Zhongguo, 23-125.

⁵A detailed description of this clan's activities can be found in Ma Bufang jiazuo tongzhi Qinghai sishinian. See the general section of the bibliography.

⁶Zhongguo, 125.

⁷See the article about him by Tong Mingguang in the bibliography.

⁸Huizu jianshi, 3.

⁹Zhongguo, 125.

¹⁰Unless otherwise noted, the name of the government seat is the same as that of the autonomous area.

¹¹For more details on recent developments, see Zhongguo, 135-138.

19

Korean

Size and Location

China's Korean 朝鲜 nationality is concentrated in the Northeast. Of its total population of 1,763,870 in 1982, sixty-three percent lived in Jilin, twenty-seven percent in Heilongjiang, and ten percent in Liaoning provinces.¹ The greatest concentration of Koreans is found in Yanbian 延边 Korean autonomous prefecture where about 750,000 or 42.5 percent Koreans live. The prefecture, established on September 3, 1952, has two cities, Yanji 延吉 and Tumen 图门, and the six counties of Yanji, Helong 和龙, Antu 安图, Hunchun 珲春, Wangqing 汪清, and Dunhua 敦化 (see Map 19). It covers an area of 41,500 square kilometers. The Changbai 长白 Korean autonomous county, on the southeastern border of Jilin opposite the Korean city of Hyesan, was established on September 15, 1958.² In addition, there are forty-two Korean nationality townships in various parts of China's Northeast.³

History

The Koreans are relative latecomers to Northeastern China. The first migrants arrived toward the end of the seventeenth century, but sizeable numbers of Koreans did not come until the middle of the nineteenth century, especially after 1869 when a major famine occurred in northern Korea. Still later other Koreans crossed the border when the Japanese began to consolidate their grip on Korea in the early years of this century.⁴

Korean

The brief history of the Koreans in China is inextricably linked to the development of rice cultivation in the swampy environment of the Yalu and Tumen plains of Jilin province. Typically, the Koreans first converted wasteland into paddy rice fields. Later, as areas suitable for paddy cultivation became scarce, the Koreans switched to dry rice fields.⁵ There are only 110 to 160 frost-free days in a year in eastern Jilin, but the Koreans gradually managed to develop a major commitment to paddy rice cultivation. They began to grow paddy rice in Dalizi, now part of Tonghua city, and then extended it to Linjiang, Xingjing, Huaian, Liuhe, and Hailong. In 1877 they began rice cultivation in Yanbian. The key to greatly expanded rice growing was the building of many irrigation canals, the first of which was a 1.3 kilometer long canal, opened in 1906 in Helong county.⁶

When Koreans first arrived in the Northeast, they worked for Chinese landlords who furnished them with seeds and all supplies. As this tended to throw the Koreans into debt, many of them frequently moved. A survey in 1931 found that eighty percent of the families interviewed had moved from three to seven times since their arrival.⁷

Language and Literature

The Koreans have their own language and script. Most linguists now consider Korean an Altaic language, but its relationship to other Altaic languages is rather weak. There are some six dialects which, however, do not differ greatly from one another.

There are ten vowels, as follows:⁸

<u>a</u> as in <u>atw</u> r 'son	<u>i</u> as in <u>i</u> 'tooth'
<u>ə</u> as in <u>ə</u> ti 'there'	<u>æ</u> as in <u>kæ</u> 'dog'
<u>o</u> as in <u>ori</u> 'duck'	<u>e</u> as in <u>pe</u> 'burlap'
<u>u</u> as in <u>um</u> 'cellar'	<u>o</u> as in <u>só</u> 'iron'
<u>u</u> as in <u>k'wta</u> 'big'	<u>y</u> as in <u>ky</u> 'ear'

The last four vowels are written ai, ei, oi, and ui.

The eleven diphthongs are:

<u>ja</u> as in <u>ppjam</u> 'cheek'	<u>wa</u> as in <u>kiwa</u> 'tile'
<u>je</u> as in <u>kje</u> 'sugar'	<u>wə</u> as in <u>kkwəŋ</u> 'pheasant'
<u>jo</u> as in <u>kjosir</u> 'classroom'	<u>wə</u> as in <u>turət/i</u> 'pig'
<u>ju</u> as in <u>sunŋjun</u> 'rice crust soup'	<u>wə</u> as in <u>kwe</u> 'cupboard'
<u>jæ</u> as in <u>jæki</u> 'story'	<u>ui</u> as in <u>munui</u> 'figure'
<u>je</u> as in <u>kjesita</u> 'at'	

Nineteen consonants are as follows:

<u>p</u> as in <u>pori</u> 'barley'	<u>t</u> as in <u>t/ae</u> 'ashes'
<u>pp</u> as in <u>oppa</u> 'elder brother'	<u>tʃ</u> as in <u>tʃokok</u> 'piece, slice'
<u>p'</u> as in <u>p'ur</u> 'grass'	<u>tʃ'</u> as in <u>tʃ'ima</u> 'skirt'
<u>m</u> as in <u>mir</u> 'wheat'	<u>n</u> as in <u>nar</u> 'day'
<u>t</u> as in <u>pata</u> 'sea'	<u>r</u> as in <u>nara</u> 'nation'
<u>tt</u> as in <u>ttar</u> 'girl'	<u>k</u> as in <u>kam</u> 'persimmon'
<u>t'</u> as in <u>t'op</u> 'saw'	<u>kk</u> as in <u>kkur</u> 'honey'
<u>s</u> as in <u>so</u> 'ox'	<u>k'</u> as in <u>k'o</u> 'nose'
<u>ss</u> as in <u>ssar</u> 'rice'	<u>ŋ</u> as in <u>kannæŋi</u> 'corn'
	<u>h</u> as in <u>him</u> 'strength'

Korean does not have tones like Chinese, but certain words have different meanings depending on whether they are pronounced high and short or low and long.⁹ Examples are: mar ↘ 'horse' but mar ↗ 'speech'; nun ↘ 'eye' but nun ↗ 'snow'; par ↘ 'foot' but par ↗ 'curtain'; pam ↘ 'night' but pam ↗ 'chestnut'. Vowel harmony has become very weak but traces can still be found in some dialects.

The Korean vocabulary consists of three groups of words: native, Chinese, and loan words. Examples of native words are saram, 'person', son, 'hand', and pur, 'fire'. Words of Chinese origin include kan (< Ch. jiang) 'river', and san (< Ch. shan) 'mountain'. Loan words have been derived from several languages, such as English (njusw, 'news' and ppesw, 'bus'), Japanese (kuruma, 'car' and kutu 'leather shoes'), Russian (ttwrakttorw, 'tractor'), and French (parre, 'ballet'). Many concepts and objects can be expressed by native and Chinese-derived words, e.g. 'nine' as ahop (native) or ku (Chinese) and 'nation' as nara (native) or kukka (Chinese). There is a complete dual system for numbers; for example, the first five cardinals are:

	Native	Chinese			
one	<u>hana</u>	<u>ir</u>	three	<u>ses</u>	<u>sam</u>
two	<u>tur</u>	<u>i</u>	four	<u>nes</u>	<u>sa</u>
			five	<u>tasēs</u>	<u>o</u>

The Koreans have their own script, called hangŭl, which was promulgated in 1446 by King Sejong of the Yi dynasty (Table 12). It is widely regarded as the world's most scientific alphabet. Nevertheless, until the present century the literate elite of Korea eschewed this script in favor of Chinese, which enjoyed tremendous prestige.

Table 12

KOREAN SCRIPT¹⁰

	A	B	C		A	B	C		A	B	C
1	ㄱ	기웁	k	15	ㅍ	핀 기웁	k'	29	ㅣ	이	i
2	ㄴ	니온	n	16	ㅊ	핀 디웁	t'	30	ㅑ	애	æ
3	ㄷ	디웁	t	17	ㅋ	핀 비웁	p'	31	ㅓ	애	iae
4	ㄹ	리웁	l	18	ㅌ	핀 시웁	s'	32	ㅕ	에	e
5	ㅁ	미웁	m	19	ㅍ	핀 지웁	ts'	33	ㅖ	에	ie
6	ㅂ	비웁	p	20	ㅏ	아	a	34	ㅗ	외	ø
7	ㅅ	시웁	s	21	ㅑ	야	ia	35	ㅓ	위	y
8	ㅇ	이웁	ŋ	22	ㅕ	어	ə	36	ㅕ	의	ui
9	ㅈ	지웁	ts	23	ㅖ	여	ia	37	ㅓ	와	wa
10	ㅊ	치웁	ts'	24	ㅏ	오	o	38	ㅓ	위	ua
11	ㅋ	키웁	k'	25	ㅑ	요	io	39	ㅓ	왜	waæ
12	ㅌ	티웁	t'	26	ㅓ	우	u	40	ㅕ	웨	ue
13	ㅍ	피웁	p'	27	ㅕ	유	iu				
14	ㅎ	히웁	h	28	ㅡ	으	u				

A = letter

B = name

C = IPA transcription

Hangŭl finally came into its own by the 1920s as a reaction against the Japanese occupation, and the Korean minority in China also began to use it at that time. Today much literature is written in hangŭl. In addition, many Korean writers in Yanbian and other Korean minority areas in China's Northeast write originally in Chinese or translate themselves their work into Chinese.

The principal literary figure among the Koreans in China is the poet Kim Ch'ŏl (Jin Zhe).¹¹ Other poets of note are Kim Song-hwi (Jin Chenghui), who is an editor in the Yanbian publishing house, Yi In-ok (Li Renyu), and Pak Kang-p'yŏng (Piao Kangping).¹² In the field of prose Kim Sun-ki (Jin Chunji), born in 1925, has written several major works, like the novel The Waters of the Liao River, short stories, and stage plays. He presently serves as the deputy director of the Yanbian publishing house. Younger writers include the middle school teacher Han Won-kuk (Han Yuanguo), Chŏng Se-bong (Zheng Shifeng), Nam Yong-jŏn (Nan Yongqian), and Lim Won-ch'un (Lin Yuanchun).

Society¹³

Korean marriage is monogamous. In traditional times marriages were arranged by the parents. Early marriages were quite common, as were the taking on of sons-in-law by families who did not have sons of their own. The man in such cases adopted his wife's family name. Poor families gave away child brides in hopes that their children would be adequately fed by their new families. Women could neither divorce their husbands nor return home. Families had between three and a dozen members. Men did most of the heavy farm work, while women worked in the homes. According to the rules of primogeniture, the eldest son inherited his father's estate, while younger sons moved out when they married. Girls had no inheritance rights.

In the Yanbian prefecture and neighboring minority areas Korean villages are usually situated at the foot of a hill, with houses lining a single street. Stretched out over a distance of about one and one-half kilometers, these villages house thirty to forty families on the average. Houses are single-storey, with tiled or thatched roofs consisting of four inclined planes. There is no courtyard, and the door usually faces south, occasionally southeast or southwest. The center of activity inside the home is the Chinese-style kang, a raised platform built of adobe bricks and heated by flues. As in Japan, it is the custom to remove one's shoes when entering a home.

The principal festivals are New Year's, All Souls Day, and the Mid-Autumn festival. In addition, important family occasions are a baby's first birthday, as well as a member's sixtieth birthday and sixtieth wedding anniversary.

The traditional wear for women is the chŏgori, an upper garment, buttonless and tied above the waist, and the chima, a long skirt reaching down to the ankles (Illustration 38). In the past old men used to wear a kat which is a tall hat made of horse hair.

The typical meal of a Korean family consists of rice, admixed with fish or chicken and kimchi. The latter is made of spicy pickled cabbage which is prepared in the fall and placed in large earthenware jars which are then buried in the ground to ferment.

Perhaps the best known game is the jumping seesaw. Played by girls and young women, it uses a narrow board centered on a pile of rice straw. The two participants alternately jump up into the air. Another game played by girls is swinging. Kite flying is also quite popular among the Koreans of China's Northeast.

Korean dances are extraordinarily colorful. The farm dance, performed especially at harvest time, is performed by men who swirl about while holding small drums in their hands and accompanied on the sidelines by larger drums and various brass instruments. A very colorful feature of this dance is the long

Korean

illus. 38a and b. Korean Costumes

Chapter 19

arching movements of tapes attached to the top of the men's hats as they swing their necks during the dance. Another dance is the sword dance. Originally performed by men, it is now exclusively the domain of women. The most acrobatic dance is the drum dance which features the hour-glass shaped changgo (Illus. 39).

Religion¹⁴

In the past Koreans in Northeastern China believed in shamanism and Christianity. About one in every five Koreans was at least a nominal Christian, but the great majority, even some of the Christians, believed in shamanism. When an elder member of the family died his relatives were not allowed to wash, comb their hair, nor cook rice for three days. They also had to wear mourning clothes. They dressed the deceased in new clothes and burned his old ones. On the third day the burial took place. The village shaman selected an auspicious site, usually on the eastern slope of a hill. After the funeral members of the deceased's family conducted memorial rites for three days and thereafter also on each anniversary of his birth and death as well as on Memorial Day, the Dragon Boat festival, and the Mid-Autumn Festival.

Recent Developments¹⁵

The Yanbian autonomous prefecture and surrounding areas are rich in mineral resources, especially coal and gold. Appreciable amounts of copper, lead, and zinc are also present. These materials are extracted on a large scale, and some of them are processed locally. The forest industry has also been greatly expanded. Changbai autonomous county alone delivers 60,000 cubic meters of red pine annually. All counties in the Yanbian prefecture except Hunchun are presently served by railroads. Narrow-gauge forest railroad lines total 1,100 kilometers. Yanbian prefecture also has nineteen highways and fifty-one secondary roads.

Yanbian is noted for its so-called apple pears which are exported. Another important agricultural product, aside from rice, is tobacco which yields an annual crop of more than fifteen million kilograms.

In the fields of culture and education, the Yanbian prefecture has several Korean-language newspapers and magazines as well as two publishing houses. Great strides have been made in universal education. Elementary education was made universal by 1952 as was junior middle school by 1958, and now every child goes through the full ten years of education which is the national norm in China. At the higher levels of education, there are an agricultural college, a teachers' college, one school each for medicine, trade, art, and hygiene, as well as four technical schools. Yanbian University, established in 1949, was the first of its kind in any minority area of China.

Korean

Changgo

Drum

Tangjo

Kayakūm

Illus. 39. Korean Musical Instruments

Notes

¹Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 80. In 1959 there were 1,218,000 Koreans in China. See Jiankuang, v. 2, 17.

²Zhongguo, 43-44.

³Op. cit., 51.

⁴According to a survey in 1931, all but seven out of 201 Korean families cited economic reasons for their move into the Northeast. Lee, 202-203.

⁵Lee, 202.

⁶Jiankuang, v. 2, 19.

⁷Lee, 203.

⁸Zhao, 63-64.

⁹Most linguistic information is based on Zhao, 65-71.

¹⁰Table 12 is reprinted from Minzu yuwen 3 (1979), 237.

¹¹See the biographical sketch by Kal Nak (Ge Luo).

¹²See also entries for Cai Chunhua (Ch'ae Ch'un-hwa), Cui Yongtie (Ch'oe Yong-chol), Jin Taijia (Kim T'ae-kap), Li Chehua (Yu O-hwa), and Wen Changnan (Mun Ch'ang-nam) in the bibliography.

¹³Additional information on Korean society in China can be found in Zhongguo, 47-49.

¹⁴Zhongguo, 49.

¹⁵Additional information on the economy and education is available in Zhongguo, 44, 53-54. See also Jiankuang, v. 2, 18.

20

Tajik

Size and Location

China's Tajiks 塔吉克 live in the southwestern corner of Xinjiang. Sixty percent are concentrated in the Tashkurgan (Stone Town) Tajik autonomous county on the Pamir plateau. In 1958 88.4 percent of its population was Tajik, the rest being Uigur, Kirgiz, Han, and Sibe.¹ Recent migration of other nationalities, especially of the Han, reduced the Tajiks' share to slightly over eighty percent by 1982, although the total Tajik population increased from 15,000 to 26,503.² Smaller groups of Tajiks live in the neighboring districts of Yarkant, Poskam, Kargilik, and Guma (see Map 20.).³ Other Tajiks live in Afghanistan and the Soviet Union, particularly in the Tajikistan SSR.

History

In the second and third centuries the area of the Pamirs where the Tajiks presently live began to be ruled by a state called Hepant 竭盘陀 (East Iranian: Mountain Road). Hepant seems to have had a history of about 500 years and reached the peak of its power during the Nanbeichao period (420-589). Historical records mention a capital with a circumference of five kilometers and twelve other towns. A place in the southern part of Tashkurgan, called Kezikurgan (Princess Town)⁴ could be the site of the former Hepant capital. That state had more than ten Buddhist temples with a total of about 500 priests, making it an important center of Theravada Buddhism.

Map 20. Tajik

Tajik

The word Tajik first appeared in the eleventh century and was used to refer to all Iranian-speaking Islamic nomadic tribes in that part of Central Asia.⁵ In later times the term became more restricted to its present use in the eastern Pamirs.⁶ The ancestors of most Tajiks presently living in Tashkurgan are believed to have migrated from Wakhan at some undetermined time.⁷

Language and Literature⁸

The Tajik language belongs to the eastern branch of the Iranian group of the Indo-European family of languages. Most Tajik in China speak the Sarikol language,⁹ while a much smaller group speaks the Wakhan language, a closely related Pamir language mostly spoken in the western part of the Pamirs, a region nominally controlled by Afghanistan.

The Tajik language has seven vowels, as follows:

i as in iʃ 'cold'
e as in pet 'round'
a as in maʃ 'we'
u as in dud 'uncle'

ʊ as in ʊtʃ 'very'
o as in nodz 'nose'
ə as in xəʃ 'goodbye'

The nine diphthongs are:

iu as in iu 'one'
eu as in neu 'nine'
ʊu as in kʊtʊu 'mountain cave'
əu as in təu 'you' (sing.)
ɛi as in tɛi 'wedding'

ai as in nai 'not'
ui as in dʒui 'place'
ʊi as in xʊi 'temperament'
oi as in boi 'rich'

There are thirty consonants:

b as in xeb 'yesterday'
p as in pond 'road'
m as in mom 'grandmother'
w as in mewo 'fruit'
v as in vurdʒ 'horse'
f as in taklif 'to invite'
ʒ as in ʒes 'ten'
θ as in θwm 'hot'
dz as in pindz 'five'
ts as in tsavur 'four'
z as in puz 'chest'
s as in seʒ 'today'

l as in mul 'livestock'
r as in tor 'black'
dʒ as in dʒald 'quick'
tʃ as in tʃog 'knife'
ʒ as in kaʒ 'stubborn'
ʃ as in ʃer 'donkey'
j as in jax 'sisters'
g as in puʒgan 'tomorrow'
k as in kol 'head'
ɣ as in joʷdz 'flour'
x as in xats 'water'
q as in qand 'sugar'

d as in tred 'room'

t as in tamar 'you' (pl.)

n as in mon 'apple'

g as in suḡg 'even, level'

χ as in maχ 'nail'

h as in inhum 'prize'

Stress usually is on the last syllable, but there are some exceptions, such as flu 'together' and χuḡbaθ 'self'. Suffixes do not carry stress.

Many Tajiks are also able to converse in Uigur and Kirgiz, especially since better roads have improved transportation between the Pamirs and the major cities of Southern Xinjiang. As one would expect, the use of Chinese has also been increasing among the Tajiks. The Tajiks do not have their own script but use the Uigur script. The younger people also write in Chinese.

The most important form of literature is the folksong, ranging from two to more than ten lines per stanza, with the majority having four lines. One of the most popular traditional songs is "Mukamu."¹⁰

Religion

Islam came to the Tajik area and the rest of western Xinjiang in the late tenth century. In the beginning the Tajiks were members of the Sunni sect, but in the early eighteenth century they switched to the Ismail sect of Shiite Islam.¹¹ As Ismailites, the Tajiks have no mosques. Instead, they meet about once a week for prayer, conversation, and music. These meetings are presided over by the pir who is assisted by several khalifs.¹² The Tajiks also preserve some older forms of animism. They use amulets to ward off evil spirits which they believe live in various natural objects. Amulets consist of small bits of paper, with some writing by the pir, wrapped up in cloth or placed in a small box which is worn around the neck.¹³ Another vestige of pre-Islamic belief is the ostun, piles of rocks found along the paths in the Pamirs. These are quite similar to the Mongolian oboo. Believers place a rock on the pile, sometimes also a branch, and pour oil and flour on it.¹⁴

Society

The average household includes members of three generations. The eldest male presides over the family. In the past women had no inheritance rights and were strictly controlled by their husbands and fathers-in-law. They rarely married non-Tajiks, except occasionally Kirgiz and Uigurs.

Marriages were arranged. Once a marriage had been agreed to, the boy's family sent to the girl's family gold, silver, animals, and clothing as gifts. It was not uncommon to see seven-year old grooms and ten-year old brides.¹⁵ Weddings took place at the bride's home and were presided over by a pir. First those in attendance sprinkled some flour on the couple who then exchanged rings to which

Tajik

were attached white and red cloth strips. Next the couple was asked to eat some meat and crusty pancake and drink some water. On the second day of the wedding to the strains of musical accompaniment, the couple mounted a horse and rode off to the groom's family. There the celebrations continued, usually until the third day. Finally, the bride took off her veil and the wedding ceremony was over.¹⁶

When a boy was born, three rounds were fired off or the men would shout three times, hoping that the boy would turn into a brave and strong man. When a girl was born, a toy broom was placed below her head to insure that she would become a good housekeeper. As during weddings, babies were sprinkled with flour.

Aside from family festivities, the two most important festivals are New Year's and the spring festival. On New Year's Day Tajiks eat hard-boiled eggs, brightly colored in red, blue, and yellow. At the time of the spring festival, families bake two different kinds of bread and prepare wheat porridge. Then they take it out to the fields to eat it and afterwards plow two or three rows. Small figures made of dough are fed to the draft animals, and dabs of porridge are smeared on their foreheads as well as on the four posts in the kitchen.¹⁷

Musical instruments are quite similar to those used in neighboring Kashgar and Afghanistan.¹⁸ A favorite instrument is the balazkum (see Illustration 40),

Illus. 40. Balazkum

played with a wooden plectrum. Another, now rather rarely seen, instrument is the seven-string tambur. Other Tajik instruments are derived from similar instruments used by the Uigurs and include the satar, with six brass strings, the tambourine-like dap, and the surme, a kind of recorder.¹⁹

The Tajiks have several extremely popular dances. In the sword dance one person holds a sword in his hand and rotates rapidly. The stick dance involves two dancers, each holding a stick in his hand, which he brings into contact with his partner's stick during certain intervals. The spoon dance involves one performer who holds a pair of wooden spoons in each hand and works them like castagnets. At the same time he plays charades with his audience, mimicking daily activities like hunting and herding. In the horse dance a dancer "rides" a "horse" made of a broomstick, which he feeds and beats until it dies (see Illustration 41). There are also the cock dance, the camel dance, the bird dance and the devil's dance (Illustration 42).

Illus. 41. Horse Dance (1914)

Illus. 42. Devil's Dance (1914)

The Tajiks live in houses built of wood and stone, with square flat roofs. Walls are built of stone and sod, and doors are found on the east side of buildings, close to one corner. There is a hole in the roof for ventilation. Most families also have an animal pen and kitchen building, all of them enclosed by a stone wall (Illustration 43). Some of the larger families also have a guest house and a

Illus. 43. Typical Tajik House (1914)

cart shed. Because of strong winds and snow drifts in the Pamirs, houses are roomy inside but rather low so that in winter the houses get completely covered by snow which reduces the amount of fuel needed to heat the houses adequately. Inside the residence all four sides are taken up by kangs, raised platforms made of adobe and heated by flues. Adults, guests, and the younger generation sit and sleep separately. The kangs are covered with rugs on which people sit. A stove is located opposite the entrance, and behind it is a small storage room for butter, meat, dried fruit, and other foods.

In early summer the herders lead their animals to their summer pastures higher up in the mountains and stay there until the first sign of the approaching winter. During that time they live in felt tents or adobe shelters.²⁰

Men wear a collarless, long-sleeved outer garment which reaches down to the knees and is tied with a belt (see Illustration 44). In cold weather a sheepskin overcoat is added. The principal headgear is a round lambskin hat lined with black velvet. Its top is embroidered and has ear flaps. Women wear dresses and embroidered hats with a veil hanging down in back. When going out women place a piece of cloth on top of their hat. This cloth is usually white, except for newly married women who prefer red. Ornaments worn by women include brooches, earrings, necklaces, hairpins and rings made of silver (see Illustration 45).²¹ Both men and women wear felt or woolen stockings (see Illustration 46) and

Illus. 44. Traditional Tajik Costumes

Illus. 45. Tajik Jewelry

Tajik

Illus. 46. Tajik Socks

Illus. 47. Tajik Clogs

sheepskin kneeboots.²² When working around the house Tajiks often wear a kind of wooden clog with about 10-cm high stilts, somewhat reminiscent of Japanese geta (see Illustration 47).²³

Tajiks are fond of lapsha, a kind of pea or bean soup, and dairy products, especially butter, yoghurt, and cottage cheese. Their favorite drink is milk tea but kumiss, greatly favored by the neighboring Kirgiz, is not very popular among the Tajiks. They also eat a wide variety of meats, especially mutton and mountain goat,²⁴ but they do not touch pork, dog meat, and meat of animals that were not slaughtered.²⁵

Recent Developments²⁶

The Tashkurgan area was taken over by the Communist army in December 1949. After much preparatory work Puli 蒲犁 county was converted into the Tashkurgan Tajik autonomous county on September 17, 1954. Since then the county has registered material progress in several fields. In early 1950 food production was slightly over one million jin (585,000 kilograms) or about 55 kilograms per capita. By 1960 the area had become, we are told, self-sufficient in food and fodder, but no absolute figures are available. The main crops are highland barley, peas, and wheat. After spring planting farmers become herders, taking their animals to highland pastures. In the fall they lead the animals down again and harvest their crops.²⁷ As a sideline, Tajiks also engage in hunting mountain goats and trapping marten.²⁸

A modest degree of industrialization has also taken place. While the county had no manufacturing at all in 1950, it now boasts ten small shops which make farming and herding implements. There is also a tanning shop and a hydroelectric generating station. Most townships have veterinary stations, and about half of them use tractors. A new strain of sheep, the so-called Dunbash sheep, has been introduced. It is a fat-tailed sheep which grows fast and can reach a weight over 100 kilograms.

Transportation has been greatly improved. Before 1950 a trip from Tashkurgan to Kashgar would take half a month by camel and six to seven days by horse. After the army completed an all-weather road in 1958 travel greatly speeded up, but no actual times have been published. A trip by jeep probably takes about two days. The county seat has stores, a school, a bank, a post office, a hospital, a book store, and a meteorological station. Some townships also have elementary schools.

Notes

¹Jiankuang, v. 3, 26. In 1909 the Tajik population of Tashkurgan was estimated at 570 households with about 3,000 persons. Schultz, 87.

²The latter figure is based on the 1982 census. See Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

³Zhongguo, 230.

⁴This site was already commented on some eighty years ago by foreign travelers. See, e.g., Schultz, 64.

⁵According to Tajik folklore, the name Tajik means "royal crown." Jiankuang, v. 3, 27.

⁶Zhongguo, 232-233.

⁷Schultz, 21.

⁸Linguistic information is based on Gao.

⁹The most complete treatment of the Sarikol dialect is by Pakhalina.

¹⁰Zuopin xuan, v. 2, 394.

¹¹Zhongguo, 235.

¹²Schultz, 65.

¹³Op. cit., 66-67.

¹⁴Op. cit., 68.

¹⁵Op. cit., 71.

¹⁶Zhongguo, 231. For more details of Tajik weddings, see Schultz, 72-75.

¹⁷Schultz, 76-77.

¹⁸Additional information on musical instruments and dances can be found in Schultz, 71-84.

¹⁹See Illustration 1 in the chapter on the Uigurs.

²⁰Zhongguo, 231.

²¹Schultz, 47.

²²Zhongguo, 231.

²³Schultz, 35.

²⁴Op. cit., 32.

²⁵Zhongguo, 231.

²⁶Unless otherwise noted, information for this section has been taken from Zhongguo, 236.

²⁷Zhongguo, 231.

²⁸Schultz, 43.

21

Russian

The Russian 俄罗斯 nationality in China is one of the few that have lost in population in recent years. In 1957 there were still 9,000 Russians in China, excluding diplomatic personnel, advisors, and other visiting Soviet citizens.¹ By 1978 this figure had shrunk to a little over 600.² The most recent census, held in June 1982, shows a figure of 2,935 Russians in China³ which is interesting because there had not been any known influx of Russians after 1978. Until firm evidence convinces me otherwise, I am inclined to assume that many Russians were not counted in 1978.⁴

Most of the remaining Russians live in Xinjiang,⁵ especially in Ili but also in Qoqek (Tacheng) and Altay districts (see Map 21). The largest number of Russians in Xinjiang used to live in Ürümqi, in a district just north of the university, but they have all gone. In addition to Xinjiang, there is still a handful of Russians in the Hulunbuir league of Inner Mongolia and in Xunke and Huma counties of Heilongjiang province.

Compared to other nationalities surveyed in this book, the Russians have had a very short history in China. Virtually all of them arrived there during and after the Russian civil war of 1918-22 as so-called White Russians. They tended to cluster in certain cities such as Harbin where they turned certain neighborhoods into tiny bits of Russia, complete with Russian apartment houses, stores, police and street signs. Only a few Russians who fled across the border into Xinjiang took up farming and herding. After only a few years in China, many Russians moved again. Between the end of the second world war in 1945 and the Communist victory in China in 1949 large numbers of Russians moved to

Map 21. Russian

Russian

Hong Kong as well as the United States and other countries. Others took out Soviet citizenship and migrated back to the Soviet Union. A second exodus from China took place after 1960 when relations between that country and the Soviet Union became much less friendly. Given the rate of decline in the number of Russians in China over the past twenty years, it is entirely possible that no Russians will remain in the not too distant future.

Because there are hardly any Russians left in China, there is nothing to report on their language, literature, society, and religion.

Illus. 48. A Russian Veterinarian

Notes

¹Jiankuang, v. 4, 39.

²Zhongguo, 247.

³Minzu yanjiu 23 (1983), 81.

⁴Inquiries in Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia, and Beijing leave me with the impression that my doubts about the accuracy of the 1978 estimate are justified.

⁵Drawing on the same census mentioned earlier, a Beijing periodical recently reported 2,662 Russians living in Xinjiang. See Minzu tuanjie 150 (1983), 10.

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