Soviet Dungan Kolkhozes in the Kirghiz SSR and the Kazakh SSR

Svetlana Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer
To my daughters

Natasha and Roxana

who accompanied me
Soviet Dungan Kolkhozes in the Kirghiz SSR and the Kazakh SSR

Svetlana Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer

Oriental Monograph Series No. 25
Faculty of Asian Studies in association with Australian National University Press, Canberra 1979
First published in Australia 1979
Set up and printed at The Australian National University

© Svetlana Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer

This book is copyright. Apart from any fair dealing for the purpose of private study, research, criticism, or review, as permitted under the Copyright Act, no part may be reproduced by any process without written permission. Inquiries should be made to the publisher.

National Library of Australia
Cataloguing-in-Publication entry

Dyer, Svetlana Rimsky-Korsakoff, 1931—
Soviet Dungan Kolkhozes in the Kirghiz S.S.R.
and the Kazakh S.S.R.

(Oriental monograph series; no. 25)
Bibliography
ISBN 0 909879 11 7

3. Chinese in Kazakhstan. I. Title. (Series: Australian National University, Canberra. Faculty of Asian Studies. Oriental monograph series; no. 25)

DC 18: 301.451'951'05843
DC 19: 305.8'951'05843

Library of Congress No. 79-55764

Cover design by ANU Graphic Design
Distributed for the ANU Faculty of Asian Studies by the Australian National University Press, Canberra ACT Australia 2600
I went to the U.S.S.R. in 1977 on a three-month exchange visit between the Australian National University and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow. I would like to thank these institutions for making this trip possible.

I worked one month in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow, one month in the Academies of Sciences in Frunze and Alma-Ata, and one month in the Institute of Oriental Studies in Leningrad. Throughout my stay in the U.S.S.R., the above institutions granted all my requests and often went out of their way to make my stay as fruitful, interesting, and pleasant as possible. For this I am truly grateful.

So many people were of assistance to me during my travels that I cannot possibly thank them all here but must, reluctantly, limit myself to mentioning only a few. My warmest thanks to Iu. Ia. Plum of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow for looking after me in Moscow and for setting up a daily schedule for my stay in the U.S.S.R.; to Abdurakhman Kalimov of the Institute of Oriental Studies in Moscow who accompanied me from Moscow to Frunze and who was so attentive to my needs throughout my stay in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R.; to Dr M. Sushanlo (the head of the Dungan section), Fatima Makeeva, M. Kh. Imazov, and other members of the Dungan section of the Academy of Sciences in Frunze for their help and friendship, and to the latter two for accompanying me through some of the Dungan kolkhozes; and to I. I. Tusupov of the Academy of Sciences in Alma-Ata for arranging a four-day sightseeing trip of his beautiful city, for the excellent schedule he provided during my stay in Alma-Ata and for my travels through
some of the Dungan kolkhozes, as well as for personally accompanying me on my travels in the Kazakh S.S.R.

I particularly wish to thank all my new friends in the Soviet Union for the books, tapes, and bouquets of flowers that were given to me, and for the dinners, especially in the Dungan kolkhozes, that were lavished on me.

I would also like to take this opportunity to thank those people at the Academies of Sciences in Frunze and Alma-Ata who made it possible for my children to attend the Pioneer Camps near these two cities.

Finally, I should like to express my thanks to Dr Jennifer Cushman, of the Research School of Pacific Studies, the Australian National University, for her patience in editing the final draft of this work, to Mr Edmund R. Skrzypczak, of the Department of Japanese in the same A.N.U., for preparing the MS for its final form, and to Mrs Margaret Tie, of the Faculty of Asian Studies, the A.N.U., for the care with which she has typed the monograph.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

## INTRODUCTION

1

## CHAPTER ONE THE ROUTE

4

## CHAPTER TWO GENERAL INFORMATION: SOME COMMENTS AND IMPRESSIONS

8

2.1 People and Language 8

2.2 The Relationship Between the Dungans, Russians, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz 14

2.3 Mixed Marriages 16

2.4 Dungan Women in the Kolkhozes 17

2.5 Religion in the Kolkhozes 21

2.6 Production 24

## CHAPTER THREE FIVE DUNGAN KOLKHOZES: STATISTICS

27

3.1 The kolkhoz 'Druzhba'

27

3.1.1 Location 27

3.1.2 Population 28

3.1.3 Production and other enterprises 28

3.1.4 Schools 28

3.1.5 Day nurseries 29

3.1.6 Hospitals 29

3.1.7 Entertainment 30

3.1.8 Shops 30

3.1.9 Cars and television sets 31

3.1.10 General impressions 31

3.2 The selo Milianfan

32

3.2.1 Location 32

3.2.2 Population 32

3.2.3 Production and other enterprises 32

3.2.4 Schools 32

3.2.5 Day nurseries 33

3.2.6 Hospitals 33
3.2.7 Entertainment 33
3.2.8 Shops 33
3.2.9 Cars and television sets 33

3.3 The kolkhoz 'Oktı̆abr'
3.3.1 Location 34
3.3.2 Population 34
3.3.3 Production and other enterprises 34
3.3.4 Schools and general education 35
3.3.5 Day nurseries 36
3.3.6 Cars and television sets 36
3.3.7 General impressions 37

3.4 The selo Masanchin
3.4.1 Location 37
3.4.2 History 37
3.4.3 Population 38
3.4.4 Production and other enterprises 39
3.4.5 Schools 39
3.4.6 Day nurseries 41
3.4.7 Hospitals 41
3.4.8 Entertainment 42
3.4.9 Shops 42
3.4.10 Cars and television sets 43
3.4.11 General impressions 43

3.5 The selo Shor-Tüne
3.5.1 Location 45
3.5.2 History 45
3.5.3 Population 45
3.5.4 Production and other enterprises 46
3.5.5 General impressions 46

CHAPTER FOUR FACILITIES IN THE KOLKHOZES
4.1 Schools 48
4.2 Day Nurseries 56
CHAPTER FIVE  LIFE IN THE DUNGAN KOLKHOZES

5.1 Dungan Food
   5.1.1 Outside influence on Dungan food
   5.1.2 'Tea and sweets'
   5.1.3 Meals for guests
   5.1.4 Banquets
   5.1.5 Simple meals
   5.1.6 Beverages

5.2 Dungan Hospitality
   5.2.1 Our first night in the kolkhoz 'Oktiabr'
   5.2.2 Three banquets for breakfast
   5.2.3 A picnic

5.3 Houses and Living Conditions
   5.3.1 Main gates
   5.3.2 Courtyards
   5.3.3 Summer kitchens
   5.3.4 Wooden platforms
   5.3.5 Vegetable gardens
   5.3.6 Houses
   5.3.7 Washing facilities and toilets
   5.3.8 The best houses
   5.3.9 Material comforts

5.4 Clothes
   5.4.1 Some general remarks
   5.4.2 Men's clothes
   5.4.3 Women's clothes
   5.4.4 Children's clothes

5.5 Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals
INTRODUCTION

The Soviet Dungans are a small ethnic minority living in the Kirghiz S.S.R., the Kazakh S.S.R., and the Uzbek S.S.R. They are descended mainly from two groups of Chinese Muslim refugees: those who fled with Po Yen-hu to the Semirech'e in 1877 after the collapse of the Muslim Amirate of Kashgaria, and those who crossed from the Ili Valley into Russia in 1881 after the signing of the Treaty of St Petersburg. They have been living in Central Asia and Kazakhstan for nearly 100 years and have flourished, both as city dwellers and as collective farmers, under Soviet rule. They are very nationalistic: they want to be regarded as an independent community, speaking an independent language, i.e. the Dungan language, which includes two 'Dungan' dialects - the Kansu dialect and the Shensi dialect. Generally speaking, the Kansu Dungans live in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Shensi Dungans live in the Kazakh S.S.R. They numbered 39,000 in 1970. The average Dungan family has eight children.

With the exception of the mullahs, most of the Dungans that arrived on Russian territory 100 years ago were poor, illiterate peasants. They brought with them to Russia their spoken dialects and their Chinese and Muslim cultures - religion, Chinese food, clothes, songs, poems, stories, and wedding and

1 Soviet Dungans, for reasons of simplification, are referred to throughout this work simply as Dungans. Strictly speaking, however, the Chinese Muslims, i.e. Hui-hui, who live in the Soviet Union at present should be designated as the Soviet Dungans, while the Dungans are Chinese Muslims who are living in Kansu, Shensi, and mainly Hsinchiang.

2 M. Sushanlo, Dungan (istoriko-etnograficheskii ocherk), p.29.
funeral customs. But, unlike the Chinese today, they have no attachment to Chinese characters. In Russia, the Arabic script, familiar to the Dungans from the Koran, was first used briefly. Next, various versions of the Latin alphabet were adopted and discarded, proving unsuitable for the Dungan language. During this period, a fair number of books were written and printed in 'Latinxua'. The present Dungan alphabet was adopted at a series of conferences in Frunze from 1953 to 1955 under the auspices of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz S.S.R. in Frunze. This final alphabet was based on the Cyrillic script, with the additional letters ɬ, Ꙃ, Ꙁ, ꙃ and Ꙅ. An extensive literature, including a newspaper, school textbooks, poetry, novels, short stories, dictionaries, and works on linguistics, history, and phonetics, is being published in this alphabet.

The Dungans can boast not only of being very successful farmers but also of producing among them famous poets, linguists, academicians, historians, and doctors of medicine. 3

I have been interested in the Soviet Dungans since 1961, when I was writing my Master of Science thesis on them, but I visited them for the first time only in the summer of 1977. I went to the U.S.S.R. on a three-month exchange visit between the Australian National University and the Institute of Oriental Studies, Academy of Sciences, Moscow. I stayed one month in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R. I worked

3 For a more detailed account of the Dungans, written in English, and for the bibliographical information see my two works: 'The Dungan Dialect: An Introduction and Morphology', and (Rimsky-Korsakoff,) 'Soviet Dungan: The Chinese Language of Central Asia. Alphabet, Phonology, Morphology'. For the present work I have compiled a short bibliography of the books written in Russian or Dungan that are either useful for their general description of Dungan life or are specifically relevant to the discussion of the Dungan kolkhozes.
with the Dungan scholars from the Academies of Sciences in Frunze and Alma-Ata. I visited a mosque in Dzhambul. The rest of the time I spent travelling and living in the Dungan kolkhozes in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R.

My main aim in going to Central Asia and Kazakhstan was to meet the Dungans, especially the scholars whose works I had read, and to study the Dungan language, literature, and culture. My travels through the Dungan kolkhozes came, therefore, as an extra bonus. Although I know little about the kolkhozes in the Soviet Union and how they are run, I decided to use the notes and the photographs that I took while I was fortunate enough to be a guest in the homes of the Dungan collective farmers to describe what I saw and what I was told and to write down my own impressions.

I do not go into the historical development of the kolkhozes, as this work deals with the Dungan kolkhozes of 1977 and life in them at present. When I sat down to undertake this task I realized that there were many things I did not see, as well as many questions I did not think, at the time, of asking; also, there were discrepancies in the information I had received. Unfortunately, very few sources are available to me to fill these gaps.  

Very little has been written in either Russian or Dungan on the Dungan kolkhozes and their growth and development. The best sources on this probably will be the local newspapers. On the selo Masanchin and its historical development see I.I. Ţusupov, Kolkhoznoe selo Masanchin. The most recent (1971) and comprehensive work on the Dungans in general, on their origin, history, economy, and material and spiritual culture, is the above-mentioned work by Sushanlo, Dungan.
CHAPTER ONE

THE ROUTE

The Institute of Oriental Studies of the Academy of Sciences in Moscow appointed Abdurakhman Kalimov, the only Dungan scholar who resides and works permanently outside Central Asia, to accompany me on my one-month trip to the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R. We arrived in Frunze by train from Moscow on 9 July 1977 and at the station were welcomed with bouquets of flowers by the Dungan scholars Fatima Makeeva and Mukhame Imazov from the Dungan Section of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz S.S.R. I was looked after by these two scholars throughout my stay in Frunze and during the visits to the nearby kolkhozes. While in Frunze we visited two kolkhozes in the Kirghiz S.S.R.: on 14 July we visited the kolkhoz 'Druzhba' (selo Aleksandrovka of Moskov raion, Kirghiz S.S.R.), and on 20 July we visited the kolkhoz 'Frunze' (selo Milfanfan of Kant raion, Kirghiz S.S.R.). We arrived in Alma-Ata on 26 July and were met with flowers by the Dungan scholar Il'ias Tüsupov from the Academy of Sciences of Kazakh S.S.R., who was in charge of my stay in Alma-Ata and Kazakhstan and who,

---

1 I use some common Russian terms in this work, i.e. kolkhoz 'collective farm'; selo 'village' (plural sela); raion 'district'; oblast 'region'. All soft signs at the end of the transliterated words have been omitted, e.g. Dzhambul, Issyk-Kul, oblast. For transliteration of the Russian words I use the Library of Congress transliteration of the Cyrillic alphabet. As the Dungans use the Cyrillic alphabet plus five additional letters, i.e. Ӕ , Ӗ , Ӂ , Ӧ and Ӱ, I use my own system to transliterate Dungan. For the grid of Dungan initials and finals and the tables of these two transliterations see Appendix I and Appendix II (reproduced from my article 'Soviet Dungan', pp. 418-21).
together with Kalimov, travelled with me through the Dungan kolkhozes in the Kazakh S.S.R. We left Alma-Ata on 29 July and flew to Dzhambul, where we were again met, with flowers, by three carloads of Dungan collective farmers from the nearby kolkhoz 'Oktyabr' (selo Dzhalpak-Tiube, also known as selo Dunganovka of Dzhambul oblast, Kazakh S.S.R.). On 1 August we travelled by car via Dzhambul, where I visited a mosque, and through Frunze to the kolkhoz 'Komintern' (selo Masanchin of Kurdaï raïon, Kazakh S.S.R.). On 2 August, on our way back to Alma-Ata by jeep, we visited the kolkhoz 'Kommunisticheskii' (selo Shor-Tiube, Shchertiube, or Shërtiube of Kurdaï raïon, Kazakh S.S.R.). See the rough sketch on the next page. The five kolkhozes visited are described in Chapter Three.

Before I proceed further I want to clarify two points:

a) A kolkhoz and a selo, i.e. village, do not have a one-to-one correlation, i.e. one kolkhoz can cover the area of several villages, or one village can contain two or more kolkhozes.

b) One place is better known, and more often referred to, because of its kolkhoz, while another place is referred to more often by the name of the selo; thus, the five places I visited were more often referred to by the following names:
A rough sketch of my travels among the kolkhozes
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Usually referred to as:</th>
<th>Additional information:</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. kolkhoz 'Druzhba' or selo Aleksandrovka</td>
<td>of Moskov raion, Kirghiz S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. selo Miliānfan</td>
<td>kolkhoz 'Frunze', of Kant raion, Kirghiz S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. kolkhoz 'Oktiabr' or selo Dunganovka</td>
<td>also known as selo Dzhalpak-Tiube, of Dzhambul oblast, Kazakh S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. selo Masanchin</td>
<td>kolkhoz 'Komintern', of Kurda raion, Kazakh S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. selo Shor-Tiube</td>
<td>also written as Shcherṭiūbe or Shērtiūbe, kolkhoz 'Komunisticheskii', of Kurda raion, Kazakh S.S.R.</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Throughout the remainder of this work, I shall refer to the five places we visited by the names that the Dungans usually give them, i.e. the names in the left-hand column. But as each of the above five places has one or more kolkhozes, when talking in general terms I shall use the term 'kolkhozes' to designate the above five places.
2.1 People and Language

Each of the kolkhozes (and selo) that I visited has a population of from 6,000 to 11,000 individuals with 750 to 1,300 households and 1,200 to 2,600 workers. They are 'Dungan' kolkhozes or selo because seventy-five to ninety per cent of the people living and working there are Dungans. The rest of the population, made up of from fourteen to twenty-four nationalities, are Russians, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Uigurs, Tartars, Byelorussians, Germans, Chinese,1 Karachai, Koreans, and Ukrainians. I had wide contact with an average cross-section of the people in each kolkhoz, from women and children to doctors, economists, teachers, and kolkhoz and selo chairmen, who were all, with the exception of a Kazakh doctor, a Kazakh forest ranger, a Kazakh housewife married to a Dungan collective farmer, and a Russian nurse in a day nursery, Dungans. My impression was that each kolkhoz was predominantly Dungan - in race, language, traditions, and food. For example, the Russian nurse, holding a Dungan baby in her arms, spoke fluent Dungan; every home I visited, including the ones run by Kazakh wives, used chopsticks and ate Dungan food; all the kolkhoz and selo chairmen were Dungans.

With regard to language, a Dungan kolkhoz appears to be a

1 Most of these Chinese (mainly from Hsinchiang) were either Muslims or have become Muslims, but they are treated by the Dungans as a separate group and are referred to as 'Chinese'.
multi-lingual melting pot. Most Dungans, with some exceptions to be mentioned below, are, at least, trilingual: they speak their own native Dungan, plus Russian, and either Kirghiz or Kazakh, depending on where they live. Many claim to know Tartar, Uzbek, or Uigur. I was told that the meetings at the kolkhozes are conducted in Russian, Dungan, and either Kirghiz or Kazakh. At social gatherings and picnics I was impressed by the ease with which the Dungans switched from one language to another, mainly between Russian and Dungan.

Dungan collective farmers speak Dungan among themselves. However, their speech is sprinkled with Russian that can be roughly divided into two categories: a) Russian exclamations, set phrases, and common expressions, and b) Russian nouns, occurring in otherwise Dungan sentences, i.e. a small number of everyday terms such as radio 'radio', klass 'class, classroom', aspirin 'aspirin', and a larger group of terms connected with politics and agriculture such as Kommunist partiia 'Communist party', 2 kolkhoz 'collective farm', gektar 'hectare', traktor 'tractor', protsent 'per cent', million 'million', fabrika 'factory', pioner 'pioneer', and kosmos 'cosmos'.

I noticed that occasionally Dungans, while speaking Dungan, without realizing it switch completely into Russian, and that some city Dungans felt more at ease speaking Russian than Dungan. On the other hand, I also noticed that in the kolkhozes some old and even middle-aged Dungans and some young and old Dungan women could speak only Dungan and very little Russian. I think this situation was summed up fairly accurately by an irate Dungan librarian of a small library attached to the selo chairman's office in the selo Masanchin. When my guides pressed her

2 Note that the Russian ending is dropped; it should be Kommunisticheskaiia partiia.
to find some Dungan books to show me and when no books in the Dungan language could be found, the flustered librarian tried to justify this by saying: 'The young Dungans only want to read [books written] in Russian and the old Dungans do not know how to read [even in Dungan].'

But the old Dungans who speak only Dungan and very little Russian will die. The city Dungans seem to be more fluent in Russian than Dungan. In the kolkhozes at present the majority of the young Dungans speak Russian and Dungan equally well: they speak their native language at home and are educated in Russian in the schools, where the Dungan language is taught two to four hours a week (two hours in most schools) from the first to the eighth or ninth grades. English, German, and the Kirghiz or Kazakh languages are also taught two hours a week; Russian literature is taught four to five hours a week. I found Dungan studies in the kolkhoz schools in a slightly disorganised state (some of this disorganisation may be attributed to the fact that I visited the schools during the summer vacation): some schools had no textbooks, but were going to order them soon; some schools had textbooks which the pupils could borrow and use in the classroom; other schools compiled their own teaching materials.

---

3 Tūsūpov writes about the libraries in Masanchin: 'The Masanchin village library has existed since 1945. It has five thousand volumes. The readers in the village and the kolkhoz libraries can borrow books written not only in the Russian language, but also in the Dungan language, especially the works of the Dungan writers such as İä. Shivaza, Kh. Makê, and A. Arbudu, scientific and political literature, and also the Dungan newspaper Ӌөҭөҭыҭн ҭг'ї, 'October Banner'. The only defect in the libraries is that the work of political education among the young people (such as readers' conferences, reports of scholars and writers, etc.) is weak. The libraries limit their work to lending out books only.' Tūsūpov, Masanchin, p. 62.
materials. I was told that the Dungan language used to be taught four hours a week but at present is taught two hours a week. In Tokmak I was told that the Dungan language was taught three hours a week in grades one to four, while no Dungan was taught in grades five to eight because there was no teacher available.

Many books and a newspaper are published in the Dungan language, but I had no way of assessing how widely these publications were read. However, in every kolkhoz I did ask when the broadcast in Dungan was aired on the radio. Everybody knew that there was a broadcast, but a large majority of the people did not know when. Some thought it was on Wednesday afternoons at quarter past three for half an hour, others (including school teachers) suggested that it might be on Tuesdays and Wednesdays. I could only come to the conclusion that very few Dungans listened to these broadcasts. 4

I do not feel that mixed marriages play any part in the growth or decline of the Dungan language. Firstly, there are comparatively few mixed marriages, as Dungan women still tend to marry their own kind, while only a few Dungan men take wives from outside - Russian women in the cities and Kazakh and Kirghiz women in the kolkhozes. Secondly, all the non-Dungan wives and the offspring of these mixed marriages whom I met spoke Dungan at home and spoke it fluently.

What will happen to the Dungan language in the future? I feel, and hope, that it will survive the neglect in the schools and the strong influence of Russian (a natural development under the circumstances) on the Dungan people. What gives me this

4 Since I saw radios in many of the homes I visited, the failure to listen to these broadcasts cannot be ascribed to the absence of radios.
hope is Dungan nationalism and conservatism and their love for traditions and old customs.

On the one hand, the Dungans have cut their ties with China; in many ways, one can say they have turned their backs on China. For example, they regard the two dialects that they speak – the Kansu and Shensi dialects brought from China to Russia a century ago – as two 'Dungan dialects' which, they insist, are quite different, phonetically and syntactically, from the Kansu and Shensi dialects in China. There are many

While all Russian and Dungan sources refer to Dungan as an independent language, the fact still remains that the two Dungan dialects (Kansu and Shensi) are fairly similar, grammatically and phonetically, to the dialects of north-west China. Although the written Dungan language would be completely unintelligible to a Chinese unless he knew Russian or, at least, the Russian alphabet, a person who knows Chinese, preferably the Kansu and Shensi dialects, and some Russian can read and understand Dungan prose and poetry. The difficulties he would experience would be mainly the same ones that anyone who reads a Chinese text written not in characters but in transcription would encounter. Dungan has three tones. If Mandarin is taken as the term of comparison, Dungan does not have the second tone. The first and second tones in Mandarin usually correspond to the first tone in Dungan. Ordinarily, the tones are neither marked nor referred to in the written form of the language. They are identified by the content and the distribution. In the textbooks, however, two ways are given for marking tones: either by Roman numerals, or by two letters taken from the Russian alphabet. These letters are placed after vowels, the hard sign indicating the second tone and the soft palatalizing sign the third tone. For further details on the presentation of tones in school textbooks, see my work 'Soviet Dungan', pp. 369-75. A comprehensive analysis of Dungan tones can be found in Tsunvazo, 'Tony dvuslozhnykh i trekhlozhnykh sushchestvel'nykh v dunganskom âzyke' [The tones of disyllabic and trisyllabic nouns in the Dungan language]. Izvestiâ AN Kazakhskoi SSR, seriâ uiguro-dunganskoï kul'tury, 1 (1950): 84-91; and O.I. Zav'îalova, 'Tony v dunganskom âzyke' [The tones in the Dungan language]. Narody Azii i Afriki, 3 (1973): 109-19, and her Dialekty Gan'su [The Kansu dialects]. Moscow, Izdatel'stvo 'Nauka', 1979.
reasons for the Dungans' rejection of China: a) their lengthy residence in the Soviet Union (100 years); b) their knowledge that the Muslims were suppressed and massacred by the Chinese during the Ch'ing dynasty (in fact, the relationship between the Chinese and the Chinese Muslims has never been harmonious, at any time in Chinese history); c) Dungan prosperity, both as city dwellers and as collective farmers, under Soviet rule; they are happy and settled and have no need to look back into the past with longing; d) as an emigrant community outside China, in their attempt to preserve their national identity the Dungans, like many overseas Chinese living in Hong Kong and Southeast Asia, are extremely conservative and nationalistic; e) as a small ethnic minority, Dungans want to be regarded as an independent community, speaking an independent language, hence their use of such terms as 'Dungan language', 'Dungan dialects', 'Dungan people', 'Dungan food', 'Dungan vinegar'. They regard themselves as neither Russian nor Chinese, but Dungan, an independent community speaking an independent language. They are proud to be Dungans.

On the other hand, the Dungans are a conservative people: they eat with chopsticks, observe the old symbolism and traditions in the weddings, births, funerals, and New Year celebrations, and listen with great pleasure to the old legends and tales brought from China a century ago. But their conservatism has even deeper roots, dividing them into separate communities. Dungans living in adjoining kolkhozes only several kilometres apart identify themselves as Kansu and

6 Quoted from my recent work: Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer, 'Soviet Dungan Nationalism'.

7 For details see my 'Soviet Dungan Weddings: Symbolism and Traditions'.

Shensi Dungans, each speaking their own dialect, preserving and practising their own traditions.\(^8\)

The Shensi Dungans are regarded as the more conservative of the two groups. For example, Stratanovich wrote that the custom of binding feet was observed by some of the Shensi Dungans as recently as 1948.\(^9\) Furthermore, they do not like their daughters to marry even the Kansu Dungans, not to mention the Kazakhs or Kirghiz.

### 2.2 The Relationship Between the Dungans, Russians, Kazakhs, and Kirghiz

I have mentioned above that the Dungans are proud to be Dungans. Throughout my visit I had the feeling that the Dungans were well established, living comfortably, relaxed,

---

\(^8\) To show that linguistic and cultural differences do exist and are real, the selo chairman of the selo Milfanfan related to me the following comparison between his selo and the nearby selo Krasnyi Milfanfan:

In the selo Krasnyi Milfanfan, Kirghiz S.S.R., which is predominantly inhabited by Shensi Dungans:

1) The term for 'uncle' is tsîndî [木蛇] 子.
2) The term for 'bucket' is kuan 石灌, 石灌.
3) There are funeral feasts.

4) Weddings last three or four days. The bride returns home to visit her parents on the second day.
5) The groom comes to the bride's home to take her to his home.

---

happy and at ease with all the nationalities that surround them. Obviously, after only one month's stay my observations were very superficial and perhaps even wrong, but none the less, they lead me to believe that the relationship between the Dungans, Russians, Kirghiz, and Kazakhs is a fairly harmonious one. In the cities they seemed to be working happily side by side in the academies, libraries, and other institutions, while in the kolkhozes there were so few non-Dungans that I tended to regard the kolkhozes as 'Dungan kolkhozes'. In every kolkhoz, for example, the two main figures - the kolkhoz chairman and the selo chairman - were always Dungans. I feel that the Dungans, like the Chinese, have the ability to 'Dunganize' people, that is, to convert them to Dungan food, custom, and even speech. This, of course, was a fairly easy task in the kolkhozes as, on the average, 85 per cent of the population was Dungan.

Naturally there were some discordant notes among the different nationalities:

a) I was told a joke in Frunze, that, according to policy, the head of any organization is always a Kirghiz (in Kazakh S.S.R. it will, naturally, be a Kazakh) and the number two is a Russian. But in actual fact the Kirghiz is so inefficient that the Russian has to do all the work. The person who told me this was, not surprisingly, a Russian.

b) As regards Islam, the Dungans, who are settled and stable farmers, regard themselves above the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs, who are nomads and, therefore, according to the Dungans, less strict and less devout in religious matters.

c) There are obviously some racial conflicts and discrimination. For instance, an irate Dungan father in a kolkhoz told me that, although a Kazakh family finally allowed their daughter to marry his son, they objected to the marriage in the
beginning. He was obviously deeply hurt by this, since he told the story on several occasions, repeating on each occasion: 'I told them that we Dungans are as good as anybody else.' What interested me most in this story was the fact, neglected by everybody else, that the son (the groom) was only half Dungan to start with, his mother being a Kazakh woman. Here the 'Dunganization' mentioned above comes into full play, as this Kazakh woman, a mother of eight children, spoke perfect Dungan and cooked Dungan food. The atmosphere in that household was completely Dungan. The son of this Kazakh woman was obviously treated as a Dungan both by the Dungans themselves and by the Kazakhs.

2.3 Mixed Marriages

The general law on mixed marriages as far as the Dungans are concerned is as follows: all Dungan girls should marry Dungan young men; Kansu Dungan girls could marry Shensi Dungan young men, but Shensi Dungan families, which are regarded as more conservative, prefer their daughters to marry only Shensi Dungans. As for marrying the other nationalities, Kazakh and Kirghiz husbands, being Muslims, are acceptable; Russians are not. Similar but less strict rules apply to the Dungan young men. All these rules are observed less often in the cities. In the kolkhozes I visited, the Dungans have Kazakh and Kirghiz wives, while in the cities a small number of

---

10 I have heard that a Dungan girl from a kolkhoz married a Russian. Her family totally severed relations with her and regarded her as 'dead'.
2.4 Dungan Women in the Kolkhozes

The Dungan women in the kolkhozes seemed to be contented wives and mothers. I will always remember them, surrounded by about eight children, cooking and serving meals. It was summer when I was there, and the 'summer kitchens' in the courtyards were used. During a meal, a Dungan woman, carrying one dish at a time, would make numerous trips from the kitchen, across the courtyard, to the house. When reaching the wooden steps which lead up into the house she would take off her shoes before entering the house. On the way out she would put her shoes on again. I hate to estimate how many times a day a Dungan woman takes off and puts on her shoes.

In the kolkhozes the Dungan women cook and serve the meals but do not usually sit down at the table with the guests. Although I am a woman, most of the meals I had were with eight

11 Il'iås Ìusupov from the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R. in Alma-Ata has a Russian wife. Xusain Bugazov, a lecturer in the Kirghiz National University and a Dungan scholar who has published many books on the Dungan language and textbooks for the schools, has a charming Russian wife who has adopted with great flair the Dungan language and Dungan cooking.

12 The 'summer kitchen' is usually located along one of the walls of the courtyard. It has a roof, a gas stove, a table for cooking, and an electric light. A tap in the ground is nearby. For more details see Section 5.3.3.

13 In Central Asia and Kazakhstan shoes are always taken off before entering a Muslim home. There is a joke that two Kazakhs started to take off their shoes before boarding a train: by the time their shoes were off the train was gone!
to ten Dungan men (my host, my guides, the chairman of the kolkhoz, the chairman of the \textit{selo}, the eldest member of the kolkhoz, a school teacher, a doctor, and often an uncle or a nephew or a cousin of those present).

While visiting \textit{selo} Masanchin, Kazakh S.S.R., I was taken by jeep high up into the mountains for a wonderful picnic. The party of two jeeps and one truck carried a sheep, bread, watermelons, honeydew melons, very hot peppers, cognac, and champagne. We stayed in the mountains for hours eating \textit{shashlyk} and, several hours later, big chunks of boiled mutton on the bone. We drank, chatted, and played cards. There were about twenty Dungan men – and myself.

There are exceptions to this 'men's world'. In the kolkhoz 'Oktiabry' I was invited to three banquets one evening and another three banquets the next morning.\textsuperscript{14} Out of these six meals I had female company twice. At one, Fatima, a guest who had come from Hsinchiang twenty years ago and therefore spoke Mandarin with me, and my Dungan hostess, the wife of the kolkhoz chairman, joined us. At another home, my hostess, a school teacher, sat down at the table and ate with the rest of us. But on another occasion similar to this last one, when I had a meal at the home of a driver and a female teacher of German in the local kolkhoz school, the hostess stayed in the kitchen while her husband fuss ed around the guests.

Talking with Dungan women either in the bedroom allocated to me or in the kitchen, I did not feel that they were worried or depressed with their lot. Those who had responsible jobs were, in our sense, more 'liberated', but \textbf{all} the women looked contented. I can think of several reasons for their contentment:

\textsuperscript{14} The overwhelming and incredible hospitality of Dungans is described in Section 5.3.
a) Being Muslims, very few of their husbands, unlike Russian men, drink.

b) Their houses are spacious; their courtyards are large, cleanlly swept, and inviting, with flower beds and trellises of grapes for shade; and their vegetable gardens are full of various kinds of fresh vegetables.15

c) Each selo or kolkhoz provides such facilities as day nurseries, schools, hospitals and separate delivery clinics, libraries, a palace of culture, and several shops. These shops have a good range of merchandise, sometimes with greater variety and easier accessibility (no queues) than in the big cities.16

d) Dungans are closely knit, having large and extended families reaching to all the kolkhozes, irrespective of the distances between them. For example, my two guides, Abdurakhman Kalimov from Moscow and Il'fás Tusupov from Alma-Ata, had cousins, sisters, brothers, uncles, and grandmothers in every kolkhoz that we visited, who welcomed them with warmth and entertained them on a lavish scale.17 In kolkhoz 'Oktýabr' we stayed at Tusupov's brother's father-in-law's house. Our host, Badyr Dzhamałow's brother, was building a new house across the street, while one of his daughters (he had eight

15 The houses and vegetable gardens are described in Section 5.3.

16 All these facilities are discussed generally in Chapter Four and individually, kolkhoz by kolkhoz, in Chapter Three.

17 The fact that I was a guest from a distant land obviously also contributed to the number of banquets the three of us were invited to. But when I complained to my guides that I could not possibly eat six to eight large meals a day, one or the other of them would often protest, 'My uncle [or cousin, or sister, or nephew] would be hurt if we do not eat at their home.'
children altogether) had returned from the city with her two children to live with her parents after the death of her husband. When we were leaving, this daughter and her parents asked Tusupov to take one of these children along with us to visit Tusupov's sister (the child's aunt) in the selo Masanchin, which was to be our next stop. The child eventually went on with us to Alma-Ata to stay with his uncle (i.e. Tusupov). The above two examples, I trust, illustrate that a Dungan woman in a kolkhoz is living not only within her own usually fairly large family circle but also within a wider community of friendly and helpful relatives.

The average Dungan woman in the kolkhoz has eight children. In the Soviet Union a mother of ten children becomes a 'Mother Hero'; this entitles her to all sorts of privileges, such as going straight to the head of a queue. While Russians in the cities tend to have one or two children, and city Dungans average two to three children, every Dungan kolkhoz has a fair number of 'Mother Heroes'.

I was told that after the birth of a child a Shensi Dungan woman does not do any housework for forty days. She looks after the child at home and does not go out to visit friends. She eats rice soup (mitoy \( \frac{3}{7} \)) and chicken, and drinks plenty of milk. She must not eat spicy or sour dishes. When the baby is ten days old, relatives and friends are invited for a feast that includes noodles - a symbol of long life. The same is done when the child is a hundred days old and one year old.

I was told that after the birth of a child a Dungan woman

---

18 The kolkhoz 'Okt\(\text{abr}'\), population 6,000, divided into 750 households (an average of eight people per household), has thirty 'Mother Heroes'.

does not work in the kolkhoz for one year, and that she gets an allowance.

2.5 Religion in the Kolkhozes

I know very little about Islam. Although I was interested in the proportion of Dungans who still observe the law of Shari'at, or are still Muslims, I did not go to Central Asia and Kazakhstan with the specific intention of studying this problem. But as religion was mentioned during various informal chats, the following is what I saw and what I was told:

a) Mullahs still give names to some of the new-born babies, but most young parents do not use the mullahs, they let mothers or grandmothers pick a name.

b) The Dungans are of the Sunni sect and Hanifi school of law. They are rather proud that they are more devout and strict than their neighbours (the Kirghiz and the Kazakhs). The explanation given is that the Kazakhs and the Kirghiz are pastoral nomads, while the Dungans are settled farmers.

c) Elderly Dungans still fast for thirty days, i.e. they abstain from all food and drink between sunrise and sunset, during the month of Ramadhan. This is not possible for the young people, as they work hard all day in the fields and need proper nourishment to maintain their strength.

d) In general, young Dungans are either actively against or indifferent to Islam, but I was told that they turn to the

---

19 Sushanlo, Dungane, p. 244.

20 The other distinction is that the Dungans' religious culture reflects certain old Chinese traditions.
religion after the age of forty. This change, as far as I could see, had nothing to do with being poor or ignorant, as I stayed with some very pious, well-to-do families where a patriarch, a father of several sons who have graduated from the universities in Frunze and Moscow, prayed in the courtyard and went to the mosque. In this type of family no liquor was kept in the house. In other houses champagne and cognac were served, but I noticed that most of the Dungans either did not drink or drank very little. The city Dungans drank more.

e) None of the Dungans eat pork, nor do they eat carnivores (sharks, crows, and eagles).

f) I noticed that the Dungans, whether young collective farmers or elder Dungans from the cities, many of whom were Party members, all seemed to show respect for the elders and religious members in a kolkhoz. For example, when a Dungan from the city, who has been a Party member for many years, visited a kolkhoz, he bought and wore a skull-cap 'in respect to the elders in the kolkhoz'.

g) During lunch with the kolkhoz chairman of the kolkhoz 'Oktiabr' at the outskirts of Dzhambul, Kazakh S.S.R., a Dungan mullah dropped in for a visit. He said that he was visiting some other family nearby. I received the impression that this kind of visit was customary. He had a thin, intelligent face and was very pleasant to talk to. As we got on so well I asked whether I could visit his mosque in Dzhambul. My guides were shocked and said that this was not possible as no woman is allowed even near the mosque. To their

21 See Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay, *Islam in the Soviet Union*, p. 182. They place the 'critical age' at fifty-five.

22 *Selō* Shor-Tūbe breeds pigs for sale.
surprise the mullah was very pleased with my request and invited me to visit him the following day, adding that it was remarkable that a person from such a distant land came all this way especially to study the Dungans.

The mosque in Dzhambul, surrounded by a wall, is a beautiful building set at the back of a courtyard. The courtyard is large and well-kept, with several well-tended flower beds that were in full bloom at the time. The mosque was also beautiful inside: spacious and large, full of light, with the wood painted blue and green. I was met at the gate by four mullahs—Dungan, Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Uzbek. After a silent inspection of the mosque I was invited to the quarters of the Dungan mullah for refreshments. At the back of the mosque there was another smaller courtyard where the living quarters were situated. All of us, including my guides, sat around a large square table covered with plates of water-melon, honeydew melon, biscuits, and sweets. We drank koumiss out of large bowls.23

My general impression is that Dungans are more religious than I had expected, and it seems to me that they manage to combine Communism and Islam rather well, in a relaxed manner. I hasten to add, however, that my impressions are very superficial and therefore may be wrong. One of my guides, Il'ias Iusupov, throws some light on this subject in his book on the selo Masanchin. He writes that 'up to now some Dungans still have strong religious and feudal survivals, which are constantly aroused by the mullahs, who often try to force the Dungans not to allow their children, especially the girls, to attend the schools and the higher educational establishments.

23 Koumiss (fermented mare's milk) is usually bitter and sour. This koumiss, however, was cool, very fresh, and absolutely delicious.
or to visit cinemas or concerts. Because of this, the Dungan girls sometimes leave school.'

Further on Yusupov writes that, 'in the past Islam did not allow the Dungans to sing or dance. However, they side-stepped this ban - they usually sang at home - and the clergy, for all practical purposes, could not keep an eye on this. Furthermore, some Muslim clergy-men themselves often performed the historical and ancient epic legends and songs. This shows the strength of the popular traditions.'

2.6 Production

Again I have to confess that I know very little about the kolkhozes in the Soviet Union, about their productions, statistics, and the lines on which they are run. I can only write down what I was told and what I saw.

In the past Dungan kolkhozes along the Chu valley produced mainly rice, but also some vegetables and cotton. At present, because of concentration, the kolkhozes that I visited produce mainly sugar beet and some vegetables, milk, and cattle. For example, I was told that the kolkhoz 'Oktiabr' supplies garlic to the 'whole country' and milk to the entire Kazakhstan area. After garlic, the next largest vegetable crops are tomatoes and onions. The kolkhoz also breeds merino sheep, horses, milch cows, and cattle for beef. Selö Shor-Tiûbe produces mainly sugar beet, followed by grain to feed the cattle. It breeds sheep mainly, but also cattle and pigs for sale. They grow enough vegetables for the use of the kolkhoz.

24 Yusupov, Masanchin, p. 60. He is quoting from the newspaper Kūrdaiskįj matąk of the Dzhambul oblast, Kazakh S.S.R., 4 June 1963.

25 Ibid. p. 65.
Most of the kolkhozes also have some of the following enterprises: forest sections, veterinary stations, dairies, creameries, calf-houses, cow-sheds and hothouses.\(^\text{26}\)

Each kolkhoz has four meetings a year; the kolkhoz board meets once a month. As mentioned before, these meetings are conducted in a mixture of at least three languages (Dungan, Russian, and Kirghiz or Kazakh).

At each place I visited, I was met, shown about, and entertained by two inseparable figures: the chairman of the kolkhoz management and the chairman of the sezo management. These were always Dungans. In fact, I met very few Russians, Kirghiz, or Kazakhs, and no one of the other nationalities.

Each family in the kolkhoz has a large piece of private land, usually about a quarter of a hectare, which is their pride and joy. The Dungans are excellent vegetable gardeners, and they grow garlic, tobacco, onions, tomatoes, corn, peppers, and beans. Their courtyards are large and clean, with several lovingly kept and well-stocked flower beds.\(^\text{27}\) Many courtyards have a grape-covered trellis and, underneath, a low table on top of a large platform. The Dungans like to sit here in the shade during the summer months - to chat, to drink tea, and often to take their meals.

When I arrived at the kolkhoz 'Oktiabr' the families had just harvested garlic from their private land, and they were going to sell it at the market. The courtyards were heaped with large mounds of garlic. The family I was staying with had

---

\(^{26}\) For the facilities and enterprises in each individual kolkhoz see Chapter Three.

\(^{27}\) The Dungans love flowers. I remember noticing that there were no flowers in the Chinese villages when we visited China in 1973.
already planted tobacco, the next crop for selling.

The average pay for a collective farmer is 150 roubles a month. The average family consists of parents and eight children. Some families had grown sons and their wives living with them. With several working hands and the income from private plots the Dungans seemed to be doing very well. From my long solitary walks in the kolkhozes my general impression is that 80 per cent of the houses and courtyards are spacious and well looked after, and about 20 per cent are dilapidated small shacks.
CHAPTER THREE

FIVE DUNGAN KOLKHOZES: STATISTICS

This section deals with a separate and to a certain degree statistical description of each of the five Dungan kolkhozes that I visited in the Kirghiz S.S.R. and the Kazakh S.S.R. It is based mainly on what I was told and, to a lesser degree, on what I saw.¹

All Dungan kolkhozes have some features in common, e.g. facilities such as schools and hospitals; certain basic essentials such as housing and food; and recreation in the form of palaces of culture, films, and music.² In addition, all the kolkhozes have electricity, running water either in the courtyard or in the street, and cylinder gas. These and other common features will be discussed in the next chapter, however; in this chapter I would like to describe each kolkhoz individually, hoping in this way to convey something of the individuality of each.

3.1 The kolkhoz 'Druzhba'

3.1.1 Location

Situated in selo Aleksandrovka of the Moskov raion, Kirghiz S.S.R., west of Frunze, along the railway and the highway to Dzhambul (and eventually Moscow), this kolkhoz

¹ For the relationship between a kolkhoz and a selo and for more details on each of the five places visited see the end of Chapter One.

² Facilities common to all the kolkhozes are also described in Chapter Four; life in the kolkhozes is described in Chapter Five.
straddles both sides of the highway. It is three kilometres by two kilometres in size.

3.1.2 Population

'Druzhba' has 11,155 people, of which 75 to 80 per cent are Dungans. The rest of the population is composed of the usual twenty-four nationalities (mentioned in section 2.1), including Chinese, of which there are two families in this kolkhoz. It has 1,300 households and 2,600 workers, formed into ten brigades.

3.1.3 Production and other enterprises

The kolkhoz produces sugar beet, wheat, corn, alfalfa, vegetables, and milk. I was informed that there were 11,000 sheep, 1,500 cows, 500 horses, 120 tractors, and 75 trucks. The products are sold to the state. Out of (for example) four million roubles received from the state, three million are used to pay the collective farmers. This pay is guaranteed even should there be a bad harvest. Pure income is used for such projects as building schools or hospitals.

Each family has approximately a one-quarter hectare of private land for vegetables and fruit trees. The crops from this private land, such as garlic, tobacco, or fresh vegetables, are sold at the markets.

'Druzhba' also has a dairy, a bakery, and an electric mill.

3.1.4 Schools

The kolkhoz has three schools: two primary schools and one
sent to the hospital in Frunze.

I had a pleasant chat with a nice Dungan female doctor. She told me that her two sisters are also doctors. She studied medicine in Frunze.

3.1.7 Entertainment

'Druzhba' has one palace of culture (dom kul'tury) and two clubs; the smaller of the two is used to show films. A library is located in one large room in the palace of culture, with about four shelves of books including half a shelf of Dungan books, a number of which are duplicates. The room also contains several reading tables with magazines and newspapers scattered on them; though two librarians were present in the room, there was only one desk.

The kolkhoz has national musical performances, dances, poetry readings, and some festivals. I was told that the kolkhoz received second place in a competition (konkurs) in 1976. In his book, Sushanlo mentions that a Dungan ensemble of this kolkhoz became a 'laureate' of the youth festival in the Kirghizstan.⁴

3.1.8 Shops

I was taken to three shops that are situated on the main highway. The first was a general store divided into two sections: one section sold pots and pans, glassware, plates, dishes, and even an electric blender priced at sixty roubles; the other section sold such simple items of furniture as folding beds and chairs (see photograph No. 2). The next shop was also divided into two parts: one part sold cloth,

buttons, and watches, while the other part sold dresses and trousers. The third shop was a small bookshop where I found two Dungan books, the rest of the books being in Kirghiz or Russian.

3.1.9 Cars and television sets

I was informed that one family in every ten owns a car. I saw a television set in one of the nurseries.

3.1.10 General impressions

Poplars enhanced the scenery. The roads on both sides of the highway were dusty and full of holes and stones. Some public buildings, especially the high school, looked shabby and paint was peeling. Many houses were made of mud bricks, which, I was told, last a very long time. It was not true in the other kolkhozes, but here some of the people, e.g. the kolkhoz chairman and a school teacher, lived in a block of flats. The shops provided more than enough merchandise, and the service was friendly and conducted in a leisurely manner. One man in 'Druzhba' told me he had received a U.S. five-cent coin as a gift from a Negro visitor. From this I concluded that, as the kolkhoz is near Frunze, quite a few foreign visitors are brought here. I might add that other Dungan kolkhozes, such as 'Oktiabr' near Dzhambul, are less accessible, but bigger and richer. I presume that the reason visitors are taken to see 'Druzhba' is not because it is a show piece, but because it is an easy car ride from Frunze and does not involve an overnight stop.
3.2 The selo Milfanfan

3.2.1 Location

The kolkhoz 'Frunze' is located in selo Milfanfan of the Kant raion, Kirghiz S.S.R. We travelled by car from Frunze, passing the town called Kant, then turned left along a beautifully shaded road. I was told that all the roads around Kant are 'kolkhoz roads'. On arrival we were met by the kolkhoz chairman in his office.

3.2.2 Population

The selo used to have 100 households, but now has 568, with a population of 3,000 altogether. The population is 90 per cent Dungan, the rest being Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Tartars, Russians, three or four Uzbek families, and one German family.

3.2.3 Production and other enterprises

From 1927 to 1956 the selo grew rice. The chairman of the kolkhoz, a Dungan who had received the Order of Lenin, told me that in the last thirty-six years four people have received the Order of Lenin for growing rice. Now, because of concentration, specialisation, and mechanisation, the whole of the Chu valley grows sugar beet. The selo has sheep, cows, and horses. A duck farm was started in 1977. Also grown are apples, pears, and apricots. On their private land the collective farmers grow vegetables.

The selo also has a machine shop.

3.2.4 Schools

The school that I visited had 982 pupils and went up to the eighth grade. Dungan and Russian language and literature
were taught, as well as English and Kirghiz languages.

3.2.5 Day nurseries

We visited a nursery where the babies and young children were having a nap after lunch.

3.2.6 Hospitals

The selo has a hospital with fifty beds.

3.2.7 Entertainment

The palace of culture is fairly new. It has a very impressive theatre for meetings and films that seats 350 people. The selo has a Dungan ensemble of eight to nine people who play the traditional instruments (described below in Chapter Six); Dungan songs are also sung. There are more musical evenings in the winter. Sometimes the ensemble plays in Tokmak or in other nearby kolkhozes such as 'Krasnyy Militant'. The wedding season begins in August.

3.2.8 Shops

I was told the selo has a new two-story shop.

3.2.9 Cars and television sets

I was told nearly every family has either a car or a motorcycle and many families have radios and television sets. I did not see television sets, however, in any of the three homes that I visited.
3.3 The kolkhoz 'Oktiabr'

3.3.1 Location

The kolkhoz is located in the selo Dzhalpak-Tiibe, and formerly was called selo Dunganovka. I noticed that the Dungans still refer to it as Dunganovka. In 1950 there were three kolkhozes here, and they have since been joined into one. It is situated on the south-eastern outskirts of Dzhambul, which belongs to the Dzhambul oblast, Kazakh S.S.R. Dzhambul has an airport and is on the Moscow-Frunze railway line. Dunganovka is a very large selo situated in the Talas River valley near the Ala-tai mountains. The main street is six kilometres long.

3.3.2 Population

There are more than 750 households in the kolkhoz (6,000 people, 1,200 workers), of which 80 per cent are Dungans. The rest of the population is composed of fourteen nationalities, the principal ones being Kazakhs, Kirghiz, Russians, Germans, Uzbeks, Uigurs, Koreans, and Ukrainians. Both the kolkhoz chairman, Makhmud Ashirov (Chinese surname, Yu), and the selo chairman, Arsa Zakirakhunov (Chinese surname, Ma), are Dungans. The average family here has eight children, and there are thirty 'Mother Heroes' in the kolkhoz.

3.3.3 Production and other enterprises

The kolkhoz chairman told me that the 'direction' of the kolkhoz is towards vegetables and milk. It supplies garlic to the whole country and milk to the Kazakhstan area. After garlic, the next largest crops are tomatoes and onions. 'Oktiabr' is a very large, rich, and active kolkhoz. It has
received three banners from the state: one for growing vegetables, one for growing grain, and one for cattle-breeding. Thirty people in the kolkhoz have medals for excellence in production. It has eighty tractors, a forestry section, large and elaborate greenhouses, a large building for calving and another large one for milking the cows, a veterinary station, a tobacco factory, a system of water canals that supply water to Dzhambul, a motor depot, a garage for repairing machines, a barber shop, and a cafeteria. As well, it is in the process of building a large dairy complex.

During the last two Five-Year Plans, the kolkhoz became a 'millionaire'. Its total net profit of three million roubles was used for building. Despite a drought during the last four years, the kolkhoz still made a profit. The average pay for the collective farmers is 120 to 150 roubles a month. The cattle breeders receive 152 roubles a month.

The kolkhoz has four general meetings a year, while the kolkhoz management board has meetings once a month. These meetings are conducted in three languages: Dungan, Russian, and Kazakh. 5

3.3.4 Schools and general education

There are three schools in 'Oktīabr': a primary school (grades one to three) and two secondary schools, one covering grades one to eight and one covering grades one to ten. The secondary school that I visited had 1,300 pupils and four Dungan teachers. The Dungan language is taught two hours a

---

5 As mentioned in Section 2.1., most of the Dungans are at least trilingual, and in a conversation they switch from one language to another with ease.
week (one hour of grammar and one of literature) from grades one to eight.

The Dungan newspaper Şiyati tği, 'October Banner', arrives twice a week. In the kolkhoz, 180 people have a basic education, 150 have a higher education, and six are 'candidates of science' (kandidat nauk). The kolkhoz has a course for car and tractor drivers, and an evening school.

3.3.5 Day nurseries

I was told the kolkhoz has two kindergartens.6

3.3.6 Cars and television sets

I was told there were 250 cars in the kolkhoz, and that each family has a radio, a television set, a gas stove, and a refrigerator. Indeed, I did see more private cars in this kolkhoz than in others. A young Dungan collective farmer, for example, drove us to the next kolkhoz in his brand-new car. Most of the families had radios, and all had gas stoves and refrigerators, but I did not notice any television sets.

6 A day nursery or creche is ıaslı in Russian, and a kindergarten is detsad. Normally, babies from three months to three years are placed in a day nursery, while the children from three to seven years old attend the kindergarten. However, the child-minding centres that I visited in the Dungan kolkhozes, though catering to very young infants and children up to the age of seven, were usually called ıaslı. I therefore use the term 'day nursery' throughout. The term detsad is used in the kolkhoz 'Octfabr', hence my translation 'kindergarten' above. I believe the centres which cater for both infants and pre-school children are called ıaslı-sad (kompleks), i.e. a complex of a day nursery and a kindergarten, but I did not hear this term used by the Dungans. For more information on day nurseries see Section 4.2.
name of the settlement was Karakunuz; this originated during the time when the Dungans lived in mud huts and the male Dungans wore black. When visited by the Kirghiz or Kazakhs, the male Dungans would appear in their national black clothes at the entrance of their mud huts looking 'just like black beetles.' In Kirghiz a black beetle is kara konguz; hence Karakunuz.\(^8\) In 1965, by the decree of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Kazakh S.S.R., in honour of the eightieth birthday of the Turkestan civil war hero, M. Masanchin, the selo Karakunuz was renamed selo Masanchin.\(^9\) The kolkhoz 'Komintern' in the Karakunuz was created out of seven small agricultural units and several farming groups in 1930.\(^10\) A second kolkhoz, by the name of 'V.V. Kuibyshev', was created in 1935.\(^11\) In 1950 the two kolkhozes were joined into one, the name 'Komintern' being retained.\(^12\)

3.4.3 Population

At present (1977) there are 5,500 people in the selo, of whom 4,000 are Dungans. The rest, representing fifteen nationalities, are Russians, Kazakhs, Germans, Karachai, and Kirghiz. Because of the study by Tusupov, this is one selo for which I am able to compare its past and present, provide additional statistics, and trace its development and growth. In 1963, for example, there were 960 households, of which 750 were

\(^8\) Stratanovich, 'Dungane,' pp. 530-1.
\(^9\) Tusupov, Masanchin, p. 3.
\(^10\) Ibid. p. 22.
\(^11\) Ibid. p. 25.
\(^12\) Ibid. p. 41.
Dungan, and a total population of 4,350 individuals of whom 2,167 were women. Iusupov mentions fourteen nationalities in 1963: Dungans, Russians, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Ukrainians, Uzbeks, and others.13

3.4.4 Production and other enterprises

The selo grows sugar beet and wheat, as well as garlic and onions. Besides 25,000 sheep, which it breeds, it has 1,400 head of cattle, 500 horses, 600 tractors, and 26 machines.14

The selo has a machine repair workshop, a petrol station, and a forestry section. There are eighteen buses going to Frunze three times a day.

Iusupov writes that from 1957 to 1965 the kolkhoz had built six cowsheds, six calf houses, twelve sheepcotes, two kindergartens, and a garage. For the period 1961 to 1965 alone, the kolkhoz spent 220,764 roubles on capital construction.15

3.4.5 Schools

There are two schools. The one that I visited, an eight-year secondary school with 1,600 pupils, was a paint-peeling four-story building where we found some teachers spending part of their summer holidays repainting the classrooms. The Dungan language was taught three to four hours a week. I gathered that there was some difficulty in obtaining the new Dungan textbook.

13 Ibid. p. 53.
14 I am not sure what kinds of machines.
15 Iusupov, Masanchin, p. 46.
The kolkhoz receives 800 copies of the Dungan newspaper 'October Banner' and has 121 secondary school graduates, 120 specialists, and two 'candidates of science'. I was told that, though young Dungans often leave the kolkhoz and go to the cities to receive higher education or special training, they do eventually return to work in their own native villages.

Иусупов briefly traces the history of the schools in the selo. The first school was established in the 1890s. It was a Russian-Dungan school. Иусупов stresses that the education only started to develop properly after the victory of Soviet power, when a Soviet school was created. In the beginning, the teaching was done in Kazakh and Russian, but from 1931 the Dungan language was introduced, with some subjects continuing to be taught in Russian. The introduction of teaching in Dungan evolved mainly from the creation of the Dungan written language in 1928. The Masanchin eight-year secondary school produced its first graduation class in 1938. In the same year this school became a ten-year secondary school and had its first graduation in 1940. In the 1963-4 academic year there were 1,210 pupils in the secondary school (cf. 1,600 in 1977), of which 798 were Dungan children (475 boys and 323 girls). When Иусупов was writing (1967), there were sixty-seven teachers in the school, of whom eight were Dungans.

Иусупов adds that in 1956 an evening secondary school was created for the young people in the selo. Twenty-two people finished this school in the 1962-3 academic year and more than 150 people attended the school in 1963-4.16

16 Ibid. pp. 58-60.
3.4.6 Day nurseries

There are two day nurseries in the selo.

3.4.7 Hospitals

The hospital in the selo has forty-five to fifty beds, three doctors, and a staff of twenty-five people, of whom ten are Dungans (five are women). We visited the hospital on a very hot summer day. The hospital was clean and cool, with four patients to a ward. A handsome Dungan doctor showed us around. He had a deep suntan as he had just returned from a holiday at Lake Issyk-Kul. He told us that the most common ailments were blood pressure, colds in the winter, and stomach upsets in the summer. The maternity clinic was in a separate place and had five male-midwives who delivered 320 to 340 babies a year.

Iusupov gives a short account of the local medical history: before the revolution there was not even a medical worker in the selo, let alone a dispensary. The inhabitants had to rely on the services of quacks and mullahs who mistreated the people and who, moreover, lived at their expense. Medical help was rendered to the people only after the establishment of the Soviet regime. In the beginning there was only a dispensary. A village hospital with twenty beds, an out-patients clinic, and a pharmacy were opened in 1936. In 1967 the selo was divided into five medical sections. Each section was looked after by one doctor's assistant and one nurse, who conducted all the disease-prevention work among the people.

In the past, most Dungans suffered from trachoma. Since the creation of a district trachoma dispensary this disease has been completely eliminated.
Even till quite recently some of the Dungans, because of their religious beliefs, shunned medical services and doctors. Nowadays such Dungans are hard to find. When Iusupov was writing (1967), men and women not only sought medical advice, but also were willing to stay in a hospital if it was necessary. Whereas formerly a Dungan woman gave birth at home, by the late 1960s the village maternity clinic was always used. 17

3.4.8 Entertainment

The auditorium of the palace of culture seats 450 people. Iusupov writes that the palace of culture in Masanchin was built in 1954. There are more than 5,000 volumes and over 500 readers in the kolkhoz library, which is located in the palace of culture. Films are shown in the auditorium. Concerts are often performed there by the artists on tour or by the local amateur youth groups. Masanchin also has a summer cinema which seats 300 people. It was built in 1956 not far from the palace of culture on the kolkhoz 'Komintern's funds. A second library in Masanchin, the village library, has been in existence since 1945. It also has 5,000 volumes. 18

3.4.9 Shops

I was taken to two shops facing each other across a street named after Po Yen-hu. One shop sold men's and women's clothes, books, bicycles, and accordions; the other sold plates and dishes, kitchen utensils, cutlery, and hardware. The service was friendly, and there were only a few customers

17 Ibid. p. 61.
18 Ibid. pp. 61-2. For further details on the village library see note 3, Chapter Two.
in the shops.

3.4.10 Cars and television sets

I was told there were 500 cars in the selo.

This is what Iusupov wrote in 1967:

More than forty collective farmers, i.e. those who are specialists in agricultural production, have cars for their private use, and scores of the inhabitants have acquired motorcycles. With every year more and more collective farmers and other people who are working in the selo Masanchin are acquiring radios, television sets, refrigerators, washing machines, and other articles of contemporary life. In 1965 the selo had more than three hundred radios and one hundred television sets of various brands.... In 1965 the collective farmers acquired goods through the consumers' co-operative societies for nearly three million roubles.\(^{19}\)

3.4.11 General impressions

While some kolkhozes, e.g. the kolkhoz 'Oktiabr', projected an atmosphere of progress and achievement, the selo Masanchin had an aura of history. People here took time to talk of the past; they were proud of the fact that the selo was originally Jinp'an - a small settlement created by the first Dungan settlers in 1878.\(^{20}\) 'Next year [1978],' they told me, 'will be exactly 100 years since Po Yen-hu and our forefathers arrived here. We are going to celebrate the centenary.' There was talk of erecting a monument for Po Yen-hu, and of perhaps building a small museum that could depict how the Dungans crossed the T'ien-shan and how they

\(^{19}\) Ibid. pp. 51-52.

\(^{20}\) See Section 3.4.2.
lived in the beginning. The old Dungans still refer to their selo as '研究院'. They sadly told me the story of how Po Yen-hu had to hide as the Ch'ing government wanted this Muslim rebel leader either dead or alive, and how on the day after his burial the Dungans found his grave dug up and his coffin opened. But the Dungans were clever: the body of Ta-hu (affectionate nickname for Po Yen-hu) was never in that coffin, because, knowing what would happen, the Dungans had buried him somewhere else! Those Dungans never revealed where Ta-hu was actually buried, and, unfortunately, their secret died with them; now no one knows where his grave is.

The Dungans took me to the old cemetery nearby where the Dungans that crossed the T'ien-shan and lived in the settlement 研究院 were buried. Unfortunately, the cemetery is a large stretch of wilderness now, unkempt and forgotten, with only parched earth and an occasional mound overgrown with grass. I wanted to go further into the cemetery to search for some kind of relic, but my guides were restless and in a hurry to take me to visit a school. The only visible evidence that this field was once a cemetery was the broken-down wall made of mud bricks and a beautiful gate (see photograph No. 3).

The collective farmers of the selo Masanchin presented me with a pair of embroidered wedding shoes and a pair of embroidered wedding socks. Although the shoes and socks were new, they were copies of the shoes and socks worn by brides 100 years ago and still worn by brides of today. The weddings, I was told, were still celebrated with all the old

---

traditions, customs, symbolism, and feasts, mainly during the months of December, January, and February. The wedding ceremonies and feasts lasted about ten days.

3.5 The selo Shor-Tiübe

3.5.1 Location

Shor-Tiübe, also written as Shortiübe, Shchertiübe, and Shchertübe, is in the Kurdaï raïon of the Dzhambul oblast, Kazakh S.S.R. The kolkhoz there is called 'Kommunisticheskiy'. Because the selo Shor-Tiübe is a very short distance from the selo Masanchin, the two are often discussed together.

3.5.2 History

The selo was started in 1908. Its name comes from shor ('saline', 'salt-marsh') and tiübe ('hill', 'knoll'). There is, in fact, a knoll with the remains of an old fortress at the eastern part of the settlement. There used to be four kolkhozes in the selo, the first created in 1929.

3.5.3 Population

There are 7,000 people in the selo, of whom 90 per cent are Dungans. The rest is a mixture of Russians, Uigurs,

---

22 Ûsúpov, Máscanin, p. 22.

23 Suganlo, Dungane, pp. 43, 304.

24 E.g. Stratanovich, 'Dungane', p. 531.

25 Ibid.

26 The name of the first kolkhoz was probably 'Kazkraïkom', mentioned by Ûsúpov, Masanchin, p. 22.
Kazakhs, Ukrainians, and Uzbeks. Like all other kolkhozes, however, outwardly it appears to be a completely Dungan kolkhoz. I neither met, nor saw, anyone from one of the above-mentioned nationalities. Most of the Dungans living in Kazakhstan are Shensi Dungans.

3.5.4 Production and other enterprises

The kolkhoz 'Kommunisticheskiy' principally produces sugar beet. It also produces grain to feed the cattle. Sheep are the main livestock, but the kolkhoz also breeds pigs. The kolkhoz chairman hastened to explain that the Dungans do not eat pork and that the pigs are bred for sale only. The kolkhoz produces enough vegetables for its own consumption.

3.5.5 General impressions

During my travels among the Dungans, the Kansu Dungans on several occasions pointed out to me that the Shensi Dungans are more conservative, that they have different wedding and funeral customs, and that they use different terms and expressions in their speech.27 I noticed that the Kansu Dungans treated the Shensi Dungans' conservatism in a slightly amused and tolerant manner. Their attitude was a mixture of pride and condescension. The Shensi Dungans' conservatism can be illustrated by an episode that occurred in the selo Shor-Tiube. On arrival at the selo I noticed a group of about twelve Shensi Dungan women, some with babies in their arms, standing in the street at the entrance of one of the courtyards. They were dressed in very colourful dresses and had on their heads

27 See note 8, Chapter Two for the comparison of some of these differences.
large kerchiefs, mainly white, which were tied in a knot at the back.28 What interested me most were the long trousers they wore under their dresses. These were loose black or red trousers tied tightly around their ankles and bound with long strips of black bands. At the lower edge the trousers were trimmed with several rows of embroidered bands of different widths; these were of the type worn in China at the beginning of this century. I asked the women whether I could photograph them. Giggling, they hastily escaped into the courtyard, some even right into the house. No, they could not possibly be photographed as this would bring them bad luck. What would they tell their husbands? And what would everybody in the village think? My two guides were not very happy to urge them, but reluctantly disappeared into the courtyard to explain to the women where I came from and why I was interested in their trousers. After about twenty minutes of urging and discussion, four women came out to be photographed (see photograph No. 4).

28 Most of the married women in the kolkhozes wear kerchiefs on their heads.
All the kolkhozes have in common the following facilities: electricity, running water from a tap which is located either in the courtyard or in the street, cylinder gas for cooking, a village council (soviet) which deals with the management of the kolkhoz, a post office, schools, day nurseries, a hospital with an out-patient clinic, a separate maternity clinic, a palace of culture (often with a large auditorium and a small library attached to it), village general stores, and a bathhouse (banñà). This last facility is needed because there are no bathing facilities in Dungan homes.

Some of the kolkhozes have the following additional facilities: machine repair shops, motor depots, petrol stations, forestry sections, greenhouses, tobacco factories, veterinary stations, dairies, creameries, calf houses, cowsheds, water towers, canals, barbers, dining halls, bookshops, and evening schools.²

4.1 Schools

This section is a general summary of the schools in the Dungan kolkhozes.³

1 The palaces of culture are discussed in Chapter Six.

2 The only information I have on the evening schools is from Ḳusupov, Masanchin, p. 60.

3 For more specific details and individual statistics on the schools in each kolkhoz see Sections 3.1.⁴, 3.2.⁴, 3.3.⁴, and especially 3.⁴.5.
Each place we visited had one to three schools. Some went only up to third grade and some up to the full ten grades. Depending on the size of the kolkhoz or selo, student numbers varied from 645 to 1,900 in these schools. Children of up to twenty-five different nationalities attended them, but about 90 per cent were Dungans.

The two school principals to whom I was introduced were both Dungans. Generally speaking, about half the teachers were Dungans, or sometimes even less than half. There were between 92 and 150 teachers per school, 80 per cent of whom had a higher education. An average of three to four teachers per school taught the Dungan language. There were more women than men teachers. Each teacher taught about eighteen hours a week, though some taught twenty-one hours a week. Some teachers devoted some of their summer vacation to painting and renovating their school.

The schools were mostly solid buildings of two to four stories with wide stairs, long corridors, and good-sized, fairly well equipped classrooms with large windows. The average size for Dungan language classes was just over sixty pupils. As our visit occurred during the summer vacation the schools were empty. Some were being redecorated, some looked in need of repainting.

All the courses are taught in Russian. Russian literature is taught four to five hours a week. The native languages, i.e. Kazakh, Kirghiz, or Dungan are taught two hours a week, depending on the location of the kolkhoz or the selo, but I was told that many children of speech groups other than Dungan speak or, for convenience sake, choose to study the Dungan language in the schools. They choose to do this mainly because most of their schoolmates are Dungans.
The foreign languages, English, French, or German, are taught from fifth to tenth grade for two hours a week. In 'Druzhba' I was told that 60 per cent of the pupils selected English as a foreign language. In the same kolkhoz I was introduced to a Dungan teacher who taught English in the kolkhoz school, and I was impressed by his pronunciation and speaking ability.

The Dungan language used to be taught four hours a week, but at present it is taught two to three hours a week (one hour of grammar and one or two hours of literature). It is normally taught from the first or second to the eighth grade. In one school (near Tokmak) Dungan grammar was taught from the first to the fourth grade and the literature was not taught at all. Dungan language was not taught there from the fourth to the eighth grade because a teacher was not available.

Considering that about 90 per cent of the children in the schools are Dungans, I felt that the teaching of Dungan in the schools is inadequate and slightly disorganised. I have already referred to this point in Section 2.1. Admittedly, since Dungan children came to school with a speaking knowledge of the language, they had to be taught only reading, writing, and literature. Another point to consider is that the children who spoke the Shensi dialect at home would have some difficulty with the Kansu dialect, which is the official Dungan language used in all publications and schools.

It seemed to me there was a shortage of or an inadequate provision for Dungan textbooks. Some schools compiled their own materials; some had a limited number of textbooks that the pupils could use either in the classroom or in the library, but could not take home. The school in the selo Masanchin was thinking of ordering a textbook that had recently come out.
Being summer vacation this seemed reasonable enough, but the point is that the school was urged to order the textbook as soon as possible because there were very few copies left in Frunze.

As it was summer vacation textbooks apparently were in storage or in locked rooms, for none were available to show me, but I was told that the textbooks most often used were Kh. Bugazov's two-volume *Fumu Iyian* (Mother Tongue) - Volume I was used in the first and second classes and Volume II was used in the third and fourth classes - and the reader on Dungan literature by Kh. Iusurov, *T'u ji pu* (The First Step). For more details and a fuller list of the Dungan textbooks in general see the Bibliography, Section V.

In Frunze, Khuseiin Bugazov gave me a copy of his newly (1977) published textbook for the first and second classes, *Xueidzi Iyian*. I consider it a good textbook: the explanations of the grammar are clear and easy to follow, the texts and the exercises are well organised, and the book is illustrated. See sample pages of this textbook and the reader, *T'u ji pu*, on the following pages.

As for assessment, one teacher who taught Dungan grammar and literature near Tokmak told me she gave dictation at the end of each month, but no examinations. She explained that she knew her pupils individually and could assess them without an examination. I copied the following grades from her grade book:

First class, 62 pupils: 10 received 5

---

4 In the Russian grading system, 5 to 1 is roughly equivalent to our system of number grades (100 to 0) or letter grades (A to F), with 2 being equivalent to a failing mark.
Дын — Кун —

Билүү: ван-вар.

Ниму ээжиг сылбанды эта щешон лён-сангэ ээ дуйхади лёнгэ жекерди сан жу хуа замусы барсы санга ээ дуйхади лёнгэ жекерди сан жу хуа. Гүнөс эч хуади ди эргэ жекерди жиршон жё лэ рэы.

Билүү: бой-бор, гуан — гуар.

Ди 40 лянчи. Бар дихади хуа тындди щешон. Ниму фо: жы ду дусы жигэ жекерди хуа замусы жигэ, элды жекер.

Еээ, хадимни, фадимни, папазы, гүтүмү, күкүмү.

Жы дусы йигэ, лёнгэ ээ дуйхади сангэ жекерди хуа.

Ди 41 лянчи. Ниму бэ дихади дуар тындди щешон. Лёнгэ жекерди, сангэ жекерди хуа лян додор гиэз.

Вооусы миңда щооңи, лян хуар йөён жөнни.

Ниму бэ йигэ жекерди хуа тынддо йигэ хооңини, бар лёнгэ жекерди хуа тынддо ди эргэ хооңини, бар сангэ жекерди хуа тынддо ди сангэ хооңини.

Кх. Бугазов, Xuejiazi yiijan: l xo te 2 xoti tьйск'үеву, pp. 20-1.
Хуади йиршоң зы жереди туун дан ю жы, нахур дака р зылы, ба й дэ зы жереге лу чүдөнин.

Ди 69 ляниц. Ниму эзги сымлэдди ще жы жу санэ жерерди хуа, йиршоң зы жерерди вифыншоң ба р зы дашоң. Зыху ба ту йигэ жереге чүдө нянди кан.

Билүн: Лилюзы — Люлюр — Люй.

Ди 70 лянни. Бя дихади хуа тындди щекэза, зы зыды вифыншоң ба р зы дашоң.

Ванванзы — ванвар  Щаншины — ...
Фонфонзы — ...  Чечнёны — ...
Банбазы — ...  Жанжина — ...
Сананзы — ...

Хуади йиршоң зы жереди туун дян ю жы, нахур дака р зылы ба н дэ зы жереге лу э чүдөнин.

Ди 71 лянни. Ниму эзги сымлэдди ще шы жу санэ жерерди хуа, хуа йиршоң зы жереге туун жэ э дэ жы. Бя жыүче хуа щедо йн хонзымы, дэ эр хонзыни ба таму щечын щыхап хуа.

Жо жыге ёзы: бобонзы — бобор,
цыйцыны — цыйцыр

Ди 72 лянни. Бя дихади хуа тындди щекэза, жо кангиди ёны зүчын щыхан хуа.

Гүйтүйз — гуйгур
Сууыз — ...
Туутуыз — ...
Зууыз — ...
Быбыйз — ...
Цыйцыз — ...
Дуйдузы — ...

Жо жыге ёзы: Хаахас — Хахар
Диднэм — ...
Шнэнэм — ...
Лилнэм — ...
Мамазы — ...
Чёнэм — ...
Нанозы — ...

Ди 73 лянни. Бя дихади хуа щекэза, зы жереди вифыншоң ба р зы дашоң.

Жо жыге ёзы: Хаахас — Хахар
Диднэм — ...
Шнэнэм — ...
Лилнэм — ...
Мамазы — ...
Чёнэм — ...
Нанозы — ...

Ди 74 лянни. Бя дихади хуа тындди щешпоң. Щекэза, жо кангиди ёны дэ та чынгуди жерерди вифыноң ба р зы дашоң.

Хаахас — Хар
Диднэм — ...
Шнэнэм — ...
Лилнэм — ...
Мамазы — ...
Чёнэм — ...
Нанозы — ...

Бя жыү чыханди дян фэнэлэ, зы жереди вифыншоң ба р зы дашоң р зы дашоң е нычын, ба зы лян та тунды жереге чүдө, ба р дашоң е нычын.

Билүн: Хаахас — Хахар — Хар.

Ди 75 лянни. Бя дихади зён хонзы хуа нянди тындди щешпоң. Ниму биди кан, ту йн хонзы хуа лытуды р зы лян дэ эр хонзы хуа лытуды р зы нянди ййён няннзы мэнэсы бу ййён нян.

Ibid. pp. 56-7.
ЙИНБИ ГИ ЩЁ ХЭРМУ НЯНДИ

ВАВАДИ/ФАЖОН

Ловужныму ын фэ, ба эр ну дан жуа-ёнди холя, вава сан- гэ йээшон фэн шиину, ляээ йээшон зууну, жэээ йээшон зу наны, до шээ-шээшон гээшон тади лийу хан даданы.

Цээ эээтэ кулэршон фэди.
Сан фэн.
Лю эээ,
Жээ пана,
Шээ эээ,
Хан дада.

ФИ ЖЕ ГЭР.

О, о ээ ва фэ жээжэ,
Нисэ мадэ жээжэбо,
Мэээхэди дээбдэд
Бу нэ аээ туу, да хуа аээ.

О, о ээ ва тэ ээнээ,
Ма тээн нэ фэ да цээ.
Би ээ жечээн ээнээн жээ,
Жээ нэ гэээн ю ээнээн.

О, о ээ ва ыа дээ,
Жээ да нээ фэ ба цээн таш,
Ю гээ шыны нэ бу нан,
Та цээн жечээн сээбэндэн.

О, о ээ ва жээ фэ цээн
Нисэ мадэ дээшон.
Ма пэнэн ни шээфу чон.
Мээнэн нээн ю вёнэн.

Кэ. Тусуро, ‘Т’и зэ рэ’ зээфэ фэ эррэтэ хэн зээн фэ гэээн ээнээн нэнэн ээнэн ээнэн, pp. 6-7.

О, о ээ ва чэн даэнэн,
Ба Комдон ни жээ мин.
Тади луйшон вончён цээн.
Ни дээн вэнэнн, дон йинээн.

ЭДИСЫ ВАВА ГУЗ

Вава гуз, мо фэлэ,
Вава лэдо, мо нёлэ,
Вава гуз, чээн цээн хэ,
Вава лэдо, чээн лахэ.

Вава чин, нээн ээнэн,
Вава лэн, мээн ган.
Вава чин, жээн цээнэн.
Вава лэн, мэ ээн гуз.

Вавади эээшур мнэн,
Бо нэ ба чээнээн.
Вавади эээшур чээ,
Жээн дээ ба та го.

ДЯЯН БЭВЭ

Дяндян вава,
Нэн хэ фэ,
Чэ эээр,
Дян вэээр.

Щэ дяндар,
Бо эээр.
Чэ эээр,
Дён эээр.

Жээн нокомор,
Чэ эээр.
Жээн нокомор,
Чэ эээр.
Пулэээр фэнэн зуу.

Kh. Тусуро, ‘Т’и зэ рэ’ зээфэ фэ эррэтэ хэн зээн фэ гэээн ээнээн нэнэн ээнэн, pp. 6-7.
Second class, 63 pupils: 7 received 5
31 received 4
25 received 3

Third class, 67 pupils: 6 received 5
37 received 4
24 received 3

Fourth class, 31 pupils: 5 received 5
10 received 4
16 received 3

This grade book was very neat and precise, and included such calculations as 'out of 223 pupils, 22 pupils received 5, 114 pupils received 4, 87 pupils received 3'. I noticed that not one of the 223 pupils had failed. I would like to add that this Dungan teacher was young, pretty, very pleasant, and quite efficient looking.

4.2 Day Nurseries

Each kolkhoz we visited had approximately two day nurseries (dâslî), each usually a group of two or three low one-story buildings. Painted white, they each had a tidy flower garden in front. On the other three sides of each building was a large overgrown paddock or just a stretch of rough ground with an occasional tree. Most of the day nurseries had a sand pit, a playground with a seesaw, swings, and simple wooden equipment for climbing, and a wooden pergola where the children could play in the shade.

---

5 See photographs Nos. 5, 6, and 7.
6 See note 6, Chapter Three.
Inside, the day nurseries resembled standard day nurseries all over the world, with the usual assortment of small tables and chairs, corridors, play areas, and dining rooms. The bedrooms were usually large, with twenty to thirty little beds arranged in rows and covered with clean sheets and very neatly folded blankets. The day nurseries that we visited were cool, clean and tidy - actually, too tidy, with the small number of toys that they had all in place and out of the way. I hope this only occurred on the days when the visitors came. The only thing I found different from day nurseries I have visited elsewhere in the world was that there were no bright children's drawings on the walls, no handiwork and craft samples decorating the rooms. In fact, the rooms had a bare look: there was no sign of any kind of organised children's activities, studies, or achievements.

I saw a television set in one of the day nurseries. In another, behind the building, I saw a row of wash-basins and towels outside, a tap near the back door, and washing hanging on a line.

In two day nurseries I was told that they had places for 120 children, but I counted about 40 children present in each. The children are picked up by a truck every morning and delivered home late every afternoon. This, I was told, is more convenient for the parents and gives them more time to work in the fields.

All the children were well dressed, the boys in black shorts and white singlets, the girls in cotton dresses. Often a whole group of girls wore dresses made of the same printed cotton (see photograph No. 5).

The staff, all female, were mostly Dungan, with a few Russian, Kirghiz, or Kazakh women. All spoke the Dungan
language. All the women wore uniforms of doctors' white coats and white or coloured kerchiefs tied at the back of their heads.

The schedule for the day was as follows: gymnastics in the morning, then breakfast followed by studies (alphabet and arithmetic), then lunch, a nap, and finally play.

In one nursery we saw children having a rest after lunch, with most of them asleep in their beds. In another nursery we arrived just when one group of the children was having lunch. About twenty children, aged one to three, were being spoonfed by three women. All were sitting cross-legged on a large wooden platform in the shade of a pergola. The children were eating some kind of thick gruel. I wanted to go nearer to ask some questions about the food, but my guides urged me not to distract the children then lest I put them off their food.

4.3 Hospitals

Each kolkhoz I visited had one hospital, a low one-story building, usually white-washed outside, clean and cool inside. Each hospital had about fifty beds, four to nine beds per one ward. Women and children were usually placed in the same ward. Each hospital had about three doctors and a staff of

---

7 For more details on the wooden platforms see Section 5.3.4.
8 For the description of individual hospitals that we visited in each kolkhoz see Sections 3.1.6, 3.2.6, and especially 3.4.7, which also gives a short historical account of medical treatment in the selo Masanchin taken from Tusupov's work Masanchin, p. 61.
9 The hospital in the selo Masanchin had fifty beds to accommodate thirty-five adults and fifteen children.
twenty-five. About 50 per cent of the staff were Dungans. Of the three doctors who received me and gave me an account of their hospital, one was a Kazakh and two were Dungans.

Each kolkhoz has a maternity home (rodkhata, roddom, or rodil'nyi dom). This seemed to be quite separate from the hospital and was located in a different place. I was told that about 320 to 340 babies are born in the maternity home in selo Masanchin each year.

If the kolkhoz hospital’s facilities are not adequate for a seriously ill patient, the patient is usually transferred to a larger hospital in the nearest city, i.e. Frunze, Dzhambul, or Kant.

4.4 Shops

Compared to the shops in the cities of European Russia, which often have long queues, provide bad service, and stock either not enough merchandise or not enough variety, the shops in the Dungan kolkhozes are more than satisfactory. This is because there are only a few shoppers at a kolkhoz shop at any given time. As most of the Dungans in a kolkhoz know each other, and as many of them are related to each other, the atmosphere in the shops is friendlier and the buying and selling is done in a more leisurely manner.

Each kolkhoz has about two or three shops. Usually there is a general store where clothes, shoes, cloth and sewing accessories, watches, bicycles, and accordions are sold. Another general store carries such items as cooking utensils, plates and dishes, glassware, cutlery, and simple furniture

---

10 I deliberately use the term 'European Russia' because I found the shops in Alma-Ata, and Frunze in particular, much better than the shops in Moscow and Leningrad.
such as chairs and folding beds. Kolkhoz 'Druzhba' had a small bookshop and selo Masanchin had a hardware store.\textsuperscript{11}

4.5 Prices

In comparing prices with the pay of a collective farmer the following factors should be taken into account: Dungans grow their own vegetables; some Dungans keep sheep to be slaughtered and eaten;\textsuperscript{12} the average pay in a kolkhoz appears to be about 150 roubles a month, but in the large Dungan families several members of the family probably receive pay.

The prices that I was able to note down in the kolkhoz shops are as follows: a coat cost 100 to 200 roubles, a bicycle cost 200 roubles, a man's shirt cost 4 to 7 roubles, an accordion cost 350 roubles, an electric blender cost 60 roubles.

In the Frunze shops I noted the following prices: a small abacus cost 1.50 roubles, a guitar cost 50 roubles, a piano cost 550 to 700 roubles, a woolen coat with or without a fur collar, cost 200 to 400 roubles, dresses started at 15 roubles, and a large doll in native costume cost 10 roubles.

\textsuperscript{11} Dr T.H. Rigby of the Australian National University has noted that I do not make mention of any village cooperative shops marketing supplementary food items such as salt, sugar, flour, and other similar goods. Upon reflection, I also am surprised that I neither was taken to, nor saw in passing, any shops that sold food. This type of shop was never mentioned. Local markets, however, where meat and vegetables were bought and sold, were mentioned on many occasions. For the description of the market in Frunze, see the following section.

\textsuperscript{12} A sheep is killed in a family when an honoured guest arrives; see Section 5.2.1.
In the very lively and busy open market in Frunze, where, it seemed to me, the sellers were a colourful gathering of Dungans, Kazakhs, Kirghiz, and Uzbeks, and the buyers were mostly Russians, a melon cost 2.50 to 5 roubles, a small, round, dark-green watermelon cost 5 roubles, and a bucket of apricots cost 10 roubles.\(^{13}\)

I was told that one could buy meat in a government store for 1.50 roubles a kilo, but this involves a long wait in a queue, or one could buy meat at the market, where there were no queues and friendly service, for 3.50 roubles a kilo.

Ice cream on the streets of Frunze was 19 copecks a cone. Bus tickets were 4 copecks.\(^{14}\)

\(^{13}\) A truck stood at the market playing records loudly. Above all these groups, often dressed in their native costumes, floated the music of ABBA.

\(^{14}\) The women selling ice cream weighed every cone of ice cream separately, thus creating long queues in the hot sun (in July the temperature was often 38°C). Bus fares, like all transportation fares in the Soviet Union, were certainly low. The only problem was that in Frunze the bus tickets were not sold on the bus, but had to be bought beforehand at certain kiosks, and I never was able to find the kiosks that sold them.
This chapter deals with the circumstances of everyday life in the Dungan kolkhozes: food, hospitality, houses, and clothes. I have limited my description to what I saw or was told during my 1977 visit. For those who may wish to go into greater detail on these topics or to trace and compare the historical development and changes in, for example, Dungan clothes or houses, the books mentioned in sections III and VI of my bibliography will be useful. In addition, for every topic that I describe I give in a footnote several books which contain some especially valuable information on the subject in question.

5.1 Dungan Food

Dungan food, despite some changes, modifications, and the influence of the surrounding peoples, is very similar to the type of Chinese cooking found in northwest China, where the Dungans originally came from. The Dungans still eat with chopsticks, and the names of their national dishes, and

---

1 For further details see Tusupov, Masanchin, pp. 57-8. For a longer and more detailed description of Dungan food, including formal, national, and traditional dishes, soups, salads, sweets, fruit, eating customs, and some recipes, see Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 150-69. For a short account of Dungan food in the past, written in 1963, see Stratanovich, 'Dungane,' pp. 549-50. For Dungan banquets, wedding feasts, and some national and traditional dishes, see Tusupov, Masanchin, p. 58; Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 164-8; and my 'Soviet Dungan Weddings'.
seasonings, and their cooking terms, are Chinese. 2

In general, Dungan food is lavishly seasoned with garlic and vinegar, and it includes plenty of fried vegetables, mainly 'Dungan chives' (tgiute'c 蔥菜, a kind of flat-leaved chives, used as a vegetable), egg-plant, and capsicum. 3

Dungans do not have soy sauce or bean curd any more. 4 Their preferences in meat are mutton or lamb, followed closely by chicken. Being Muslims, they do not eat pork. Fish is not popular, and eggs are used only occasionally.

---

2 E.g. dzasui t' on (祭祀湯, a soup made of entrails of a sheep), sangiaküer (三下鍋, fried three kinds: fried and then simmered mutton, cabbage, and carrots), mianp'iar (面片兒, dough-strips or slices; square-cut noodles), fituds (粉條子, vermicelli), su meme (蘇餃饃, flaky rolls, flaky dumplings, shortcakes), iu kuadz (油葉子, fried cakes, fried biscuits), maxuar (蘇花兒, deep-fried twist of dough), dsundz (粽子, three-cornered dumplings made by wrapping glutinous rice with a sweet bean or meat filling in broad reed leaves), dzima iu (芝麻油, sesame oil), tigoi (丁香, cloves) and xutgic (胡椒, black pepper).

3 What I have called 'Dungan chives' are very popular in China and are usually translated as 'leeks', 'scallions', 'onions' (cheremsha in Russian). I have called it 'Dungan chives' here because this vegetable is very popular among the Dungans and because, to me, it looks more like a chive than a leek. Sushanlo (Dungan, p. 154, n. 10) mentions that every Dungan family grows it and usually has four to five harvests of it during the spring. For the vegetables grown and eaten by the Dungans see Section 5.3.5. Besides garlic and vinegar, the Dungans also use onions, aniseed, black pepper, cayenne pepper, mustard, dill, sesame oil, coriander leaves, ginger, cinnamon, and cloves as seasoning.

4 That is what I was told, although Sushanlo, Dungan, p. 155, mentions a sauce called tgi (酱, which must be the bean sauce (酱).
5.1.1 Outside influence on Dungan food

One feature of Dungan food that I found different from normal Chinese cuisine was the serving of dishes of very large pieces of boiled mutton on the bone and large pieces of stewed chicken, pieces that could not possibly be picked up with chopsticks. The Dungans solve this problem by putting down their chopsticks and using their hands or slicing the meat off the bone with a knife. I assumed these dishes were influenced by the Kazakhs and Kirghiz, but I was assured both by Dr Sushanlo and by Lu Ta-wei, a Chinese Muslim of Canberra, that the people in Kansu and Shensi provinces in China (the areas where the Dungans came from) also eat large chunks of meat and chicken.

Living among the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, and Russians, the Dungans are obviously influenced by the eating habits of their neighbours. I had *pilaf* (fried rice with lamb and vegetables) and *besh barmak* (sliced meat with noodles served with a bowl of the meat broth) on many occasions in Dungan homes. While in the kolkhoz 'Oktiabr', I was served a delicious breakfast of *non*, the Central Asian flat bread, with fresh cream (the only milk product I encountered during my stay),\(^5\) jam, and tea. However, just when I thought I was finished eating, an enormous Dungan meal followed, complete with a large basin of boiled mutton on the bone.

On the train from Moscow to Frunze, and at most of the stations along the way, we were able to buy dumplings called

---

\(^5\) Sushanlo (*Dungane*, p. 151) mentions that dairy products are now widely used in the preparation of national dishes by the Dungans living in Central Asia and Kazakhstan and that the Dungans have learned from the Russians how to grow and use tomatoes, cabbage, and potatoes.
manty. At first I assumed these were like the steamed Chinese dumplings man-t'ou (馒头, y being the Russian plural ending), but on tasting them I discovered they were stuffed with minced lamb and onions and were therefore more like pao-tzu (包子). It would be interesting to trace how pao-tzu has become man-t'ou in Central Asia. Perhaps manty was originally a Central Asian dumpling and the Chinese, in adopting it from Central Asia, renamed it pao-tzu, or perhaps the Central Asian manty has no connection with either the Chinese man-t'ou (Dungan mema 饺子) or the Chinese pao-tzu (Dungan bodzi).\(^6\)

Sushanlo mentions several non-Dungan dishes that have been adopted by the Dungans: Kirghiz besh barmak, Kazakh kul'chatay, Uzbek plov (i.e. pilaf), Uigur manty, and Ukrainian boreshch. He also points out that some Dungan dishes, such as liwnian (noodles), mianpiar (dough-strips or slices; square-cut noodles) and sandzi, (?), are very popular among the neighbouring people of Kirghiz, Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan.\(^7\)

5.1.2 'Tea and sweets'

One of the most interesting and endearing features of a Dungan meal is the custom of serving tea and what I shall call

\(^6\) Tusupov defines the Dungan bodzi as manty, while Sushanlo defines the Dungan bodzi as meat manty and regards manty as an Uigur dish. See Tusupov, Maesanhin, p. 58 and Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 166-9.

\(^7\) Sushanlo, Dungane, p. 169.
sweets (kanxue 旱 withdrawal) before and after a meal. The tea is served in wide-rimmed bowls and is drunk with no milk or sugar. It is regarded as polite to pour only a little amount of tea into the guest's bowl at a time and to add a little more at frequent intervals. When tea is served at the beginning and end of a meal, the table is absolutely covered with dishes, saucers, bowls, and plates of dried fruits, raisins, nuts, honey, chocolates, candies, biscuits, and, occasionally, peaches, apples, and grapes. At the beginning of a meal these are often followed, when in season, by melon and watermelon; the actual meal or banquet follows, and then tea is again served along with sweets.

5.1.3 Meals for guests

Dungan meals are of three kinds: meals for guests, banquets, and simple meals.

The most common meal for guests, a festive and traditional meal, is called 'four dishes' (sì p'an 四盘). I was told that in the Yrdyk area it is called 'five dishes' (wu p'an 五盘). Sushanlo also mentions a meal called 'four dishes and

---

8 Kanxue is translated by the Dungans as 'dried fruits', which then should be written kankue (旱 Valentine) since 'fruit' (and 'apple') is pronounced kue in Dungan. Because of this confusion I have used the character 货 (goods, merchandise, things) as nowhere else are the sounds kue and xue used interchangeably.

9 Sushanlo mentions that now, as in the past, the sweets are served on nine saucers, while Shensi (Tokmak) Dungans usually serve on thirteen saucers. It is customary that no two saucers should contain the same kind of sweet and that the sweets in all the saucers must be different in shape. The tea and sweets are served on the arrival of the guests and also after a traditional meal. Most of the present-day sweets are bought in the shops (Dungan, pp. 156, 162).
1. A school in the kolkhoz 'Druzhba'.

2. A general store in the kolkhoz 'Druzhba'.
A gate to the old Dungan cemetery, selo Masanchin.
4. Shensi Dungan women in the *selo* Shor-Trube.
5. A day nursery in the kolkhoz 'Druzhba'.

6. Another view of the same nursery.
7. Children in a day nursery, kolkhoz 'Druzhba'.

8. A courtyard in a Dungan home, kolkhoz 'Druzhba'.
9. The palace of culture in the kolkhoz 'Druzhba'.

10. Wooden gates and the sunroom in a Dungan house.
11. Unfinished Dungan house, kolkhoz ‘Druzhba’.

12. Wooden gates, kolkhoz ‘Druzhba’.
13. A kolkhoz street scene near the water tap.

15. Dzhamalov family, kolkhoz 'Oktiabr' (with neighbours).

16. Dzhamalov family, in front of their house.
17. Collective farmer, flanked by kolkhoz chairman (l.) and English teacher (r.), kolkhoz ‘Druzhba’.

18. Collective farmers after taping some stories and songs, kolkhoz ‘Oktiabr’.
19. The collective farmers in the kolkhoz Masanchin.

20. A Dungan family in the selo Milanfan.
21. A Dungan bride with her parents, flanked by friends.

23. Fatima Makeeva with Natasha, Roxana, and our driver, Yuri.


28. A family of a collective farmer with two city friends.
27. A Dungan grandmother.
The general idea is to serve two vegetable dishes and two meat dishes, but I noticed that, no matter what this meal was called, more than five dishes were actually served. The general term for each dish is *tsʰé* (菜). This meal begins with the usual tea and sweets, often followed by melon or watermelon and then by such dishes as fried egg-plant, meat fried with capsicum, small amounts of meat fried with large amounts of 'Dungan chives', large chunks of boiled mutton, large pieces of chicken, spinach, and fried vermicelli (*fiŋtiɔdzi* 粉條子). Sushanlo mentions the following menu for the meal called 'four dishes', which he says is the most common meal for visitors: two vegetable dishes - one dish of lamb, cabbage, and carrots seasoned with Dungan spices, first fried in very hot oil and then simmered with water on low heat (*sanŋiakuer* 三下鍋兒), and one dish of meat fried with onions; and two meat dishes - one dish of lamb, and one of beef or chicken. During this meal steamed dumplings (*tsɨŋ mame* 蒸餃), cooked rice (*kan fan* 賓飯 or *kan mifan* 乾米飯), or long noodles (*liumian* 湖麵, often home cut or stretched) are served. At the conclusion of the meal the tea and sweets are served again. Sushanlo mentions that the 'four dish' meal is always served in the afternoon, at the end of the guests' visit, and it must be concluded before sunset.

---

10 Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 166.

11 For the actual recipe see Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 163.


13 Sushanlo writes that both the dumplings and the rice are usually served and that the dumplings should be served before the rice. *Ibid.*
Before this meal a noodle dish called t'ony tšjanmjan (湯蘭面) is usually served, followed by the traditional tea and sweets on nine or thirteen saucers.\textsuperscript{14}

\subsection{5.1.4 Banquets}

The Dungan banquet or feast, a festive, traditional, and national meal, is called g'i (ギ) and consists of nine, thirteen (Shensi Dungans only), eighteen, twenty-four, thirty-six or forty-eight 'dishes', which are not called p'an (盤) but wan (碗 a bowl). These dishes, which include sweet dishes, are arranged in three rows extending the length of a long rectangular table. I presume, therefore, that the number of dishes at a banquet are all divisible by three, with the exception of the thirteen dishes said to be served by the Shensi Dungans, so they can be accommodated in these three rows.

Sushanlo enumerated one set of nine dishes as: flat meat balls made of beef, beef meat balls that look like snowdrop flowers, beef meat balls that look like peonies, jellied meat with egg yolk, jellied meat with egg white, fat from sections of the sheep's tail, egg pancakes stuffed with meat, roasted (or fried) lamb, and a steamed dish made of milk, eggs, sugar, and raisins.\textsuperscript{15} These nine dishes, continues Sushanlo, are one

\textsuperscript{14} The dish t'ony tšjanmjan is cooked and served in the following way: a piece of dough is rolled out and cut into strips thirty or forty centimetres in length and then boiled in water, strained, and served in individual bowls. At the table, a hot soup made from fried meat, turnips, and eggs is ladled over the noodles. The guests garnish their noodles with finely cut carrots, celery, pickled 'Dungan chives', marinated garlic, or pickled green pepper. These garnishes are placed on the table in four or five saucers. \textit{Ibid.} p. 168.

\textsuperscript{15} For Dungan names of these dishes see Sushanlo, \textit{Dungane}, p. 166.
complete set and are served for eight guests. Steamed dumplings and rice are served with these dishes. Shensi (Tokmak) Dungans, however, serve thirteen dishes. Besides the above-mentioned nine, the following four dishes are added: roasted (or fried) chicken, three-cornered dumplings made by wrapping glutinous rice with a sweet or meat filling in broad reed leaves (dzundzi 米粽子), steamed meat-stuffed dumplings (bodzi 包子), and steamed dumplings stuffed with the fat from the sheep's tail (iu bodzi 羊包子). Sushanlo points out further differences between the Kansu and Shensi groups. At the nine-dish banquet served by the Kansu Dungans, the festive food is served on a bed of boiled potatoes or fried vegetables. In other words, the festive food fills only the top part of each bowl, whereas at the thirteen-dish banquet served by the Shensi Dungans, the bowls are filled completely with the festive food. Furthermore, a nine-dish banquet is cooked for eight guests only, i.e. a newly cooked set of dishes is prepared for the next eight guests, while the thirteen-dish banquet is cooked for several groups of guests of eight people.

These banquets are served during wedding celebrations and on other festive occasions. The Dungans are extremely hospitable people, and in every kolkhoz that I visited about two to six families a day provided these banquets for me and

---

16 At some of the nine-dish banquets that I attended the festive food was served on a bed of very delicious stewed cabbage. Appropriately enough, the banquet in which festive food fills only the top of the bowl is called a 'social face banquet' (m'kandzi 面子席) while the banquet where the bowls are filled completely with festive food is called the 'real (or solid) banquet' (gé 贵席).

17 Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 166-7.
my two guides. The banquets that we attended were mostly of
nine or eighteen dishes. They always started, of course, with
tea and sweets. I was told that eighteen saucers of sweets
are supposed to be served before the eighteen-dish banquets,
and often include such sweets as deep-fried twists of dough
(maxuar 麻花兒) or fried strips of dough (ieiedsi [葉
葉子]).

At the numerous banquets that we were invited to, we had
dishes similar to those described above and some additional
dishes such as fried egg-plant served cold, fried fish, a
jelly made from starch (lioufi 凉粉), vermicelli (fent'ior
粉條兒), and fried stuffed dumplings (tsian bodzi 煎包
子). Perhaps I can convey the full extent of Dungan
hospitality by mentioning here that occasionally we had three
nine- or eighteen-dish banquets during one morning, served in
different homes at seven, nine, and eleven o'clock.18

5.1.5 Simple meals

I had many delicious more simple meals both in the
kolkhozes and in the cities. In the kolkhozes these meals
were served to us on our arrival (followed by another more
elaborate meal in one or two hours' time), while in the
cities, the city Dungans sometimes served simple meals as
lunches or as a snack during our busy schedule. These simple
meals also all started with the tea and sweets, followed by a
single dish of besh barmak, pilaf, steamed dumplings stuffed
with minced lamb (lioufu bodzi 羊肉包子), or noodles in
soup (t'ongfan 湯飯), and tea and sweets were again served
at the end.

18 For further details see Section 5.2.
As is clear from everything described so far, the Dungans prefer noodles and various dishes made of flour, to rice. Noodles are also served when Dungan babies are ten days old, 100 days old, and one year old. While in selo Masanchin, we had lunch at İsusupov's sister's home. It was a very special lunch as, on that day, her baby was 100 days old, so we started the meal, after the usual tea and sweets, with very large bowls of noodles, followed by a normal banquet.

5.1.6 Beverages

Being Muslims, many Dungans do not drink alcoholic beverages, though I noticed that some city Dungans liked to have a few drinks. In the kolkhozes, some families did not serve guests alcohol at all, but the majority provided champagne or cognac for the visitors. Some city Dungans also served balsam. The following English description was printed on the label:

Balsam "Arashan" is a toning up curative beverage, 45 per cent of strength, black with brown hue, has a complex and delicate aroma.

"Arashan" is a composure of more than 20 medical plants of sunny Kirghizia. (Kyrgyzstan). "Arashan" is recommended for all kinds of catarrhal, cardiac-vascular, and gastric-intestinal diseases and also for neural-mental and physical exhaustion. Moderate usage of the beverage rejuvenates one's organism. By the influence on the neural and cardiac-vascular systems "Arashan" is more effective than the root "Jen-Shen". One can drink pure beverage or with hot tea, mineral water, wine, spirits.

The balsam I drank in Frunze was red in colour. City Dungans usually drank it with either lemonade or mineral water. Dungans regard this beverage as a tonic.

Dungans drink only during the meal and are not in the habit of sipping a drink; they drink only after a toast, which usually turns out to be a warm and touching short speech.
The guest, in turn, must also occasionally propose toasts - to thank the host, to wish the people around the dining table well, and to say a few auspicious words. My toasts 'to Kazakhstan and Australia!', 'to Frunze and Canberra!', and 'to our children!' were well received, but I offended some Dungans in selo Masanchin when I proposed a toast 'to the descendants of Po Yen-hu!' A heated debate followed because, although Dungans regard Po Yen-hu as their leader, have great respect for him, and honour him in their songs and poetry, some of the Dungans objected to a Chinese being called their ancestor.

5.2 Dungan Hospitality

By now it should be obvious that the Dungans are extremely hospitable people. For a visitor who has not been warned beforehand, their incredible hospitality can be rather bewildering. For me, a visitor who had been warned, the whole situation was overwhelming. I must stress here that, although I was a visitor from a distant land, I cannot take all the

---

19 Po Yen-hu was a Muslim rebel who, 100 years ago, led one group of Dungans to the spot where we were actually staying. A street in the selo is called after him. The Dungans who came with him are buried in a nearby cemetery. For more details see Section 3.4.2.

20 Anti-Chinese feeling among the Dungans is very strong. Dungan scholars talk about the 'Chinese chauvinists' and the 'Chinese Great Han elements' and, as I have mentioned earlier, they regard their language as an independent language quite separate from Chinese. But the fact still remains that in China there was considerable inter-marriage between the sinicised Muslim minorities and the Chinese who adopted Islam, and therefore the Dungans must have a fair amount of Chinese blood in them. On their nationalism see Section 2.1. For further details see Rimsky-Korsakoff Dyer, 'Soviet Dungan Nationalism'.

---
credit for the many banquets lavished on me. The credit must also go to Abdurakhman Kalimov and Il'ias Ùsúpov, the two guides who travelled with me throughout the Dungan kolkhozes in Kazakhstan. Firstly, both are famous Dungan scholars from the Academies of Sciences in Moscow and Alma-Ata, and they were proudly welcomed by the collective farmers. Secondly, both were related to many families in the kolkhozes, each of whom wanted them to visit their homes.

To describe Dungan hospitality I would like to describe three separate occasions during our stay.

5.2.1 Our first night in the kolkhoz 'Oktiábr'

We arrived at the Dzhamalovs' house in 'Oktiábr' rather late and were served a proper meal for guests. Because it was already eleven in the evening and I had eaten a great deal, I decided to sit in the courtyard for a few minutes before going to bed. While there, I noticed two Dungans carrying a live sheep across the courtyard - it is a Dungan custom to kill a sheep when honourable guests come to visit. Sure enough, by midnight, many important members of the kolkhoz, such as the eldest member of the kolkhoz, elderly relatives of the host, the kolkhoz and selo chairmen, a doctor, and a school teacher, had all arrived. As the sheep was killed only after eleven o'clock, we all sat down to play cards and wait. A meal of boiled mutton was served about two o'clock and we went to bed about four o'clock.

Early next morning, the breakfast started with tea, Central Asian flat bread, fresh cream, and jam, then was followed by various Dungan dishes and large chunks of boiled mutton on the bone served in a basin.
5.2.2 Three banquets for breakfast

There were long and anxious discussions on the day before we were to leave 'Oktiabr'. The problem was that many people who wanted to entertain us had not yet had a chance to do so. It was therefore agreed that we would be awakened at six in the morning and be ready to attend a banquet at seven o'clock at Kalimov's uncle's house, that a second banquet would begin at our host's friend's house at nine o'clock, and that a third banquet would begin at a school teacher's house at eleven o'clock. Needless to say, all banquets started with tea and sweets followed by melon and watermelon, then continued with nine or eighteen dishes, and finally concluded with more tea and sweets.

5.2.3 A picnic

One day in selo Masanchin, after visiting the cemetery and the school in the morning we proceeded to the house of a charming couple: he was a driver and she was a teacher of German language in the local kolkhoz school. We had an eighteen-dish banquet. In the afternoon about twenty Dungans (males, the wives staying home) and I went in two jeeps and a truck high up into the mountains for a picnic. We ate melon, watermelon, and shashlyk (pieces of mutton roasted on a spit). We had brought with us a whole sheep, so after our light snack we played cards while waiting for it to cook. In a couple of hours we had another meal, this time of large chunks of boiled mutton on the bone, Central Asian flat bread, and slices of raw and very hot green pepper. Some of us drank champagne. We returned to the selo about six in the evening and were told that three families were each in the process of cooking a meal of eighteen dishes for us! It seems that the
question of refusing never arises on such occasions. Two banquets were to farewell us as we were leaving the selo the next morning, and one banquet was to farewell us and also to celebrate the occasion of a Dungan female teacher being promoted to the position of school principal.\(^\text{21}\) I remember starting my seventh meal for that day just before midnight.

The problem for a guest in a Dungan home is not one of merely sitting down to several very elaborate and plentiful meals a day, but of actually eating all this food, which, literally, is 'in front of the guest'. The Dungans, like the Chinese, customarily pick the choice pieces of food and place them on the guest's plate, which is set in front of the guest, and then anxiously watch and wait for the guest to eat it.

5.3 Houses and Living Conditions\(^\text{22}\)

Because I was overfed every day during my stay in the Dungan kolkhozes, whenever I had some spare time, which was about twice a day, I used to go for long solitary walks. During these rambles through the kolkhozes I came to the conclusion that about 80 per cent of the population lived in comfortable and spacious houses while about 20 per cent lived in tumble-down, crumbling, dilapidated shacks. As I mentioned in the preceding section on Dungan hospitality, I had four to

\(^\text{21}\) Unlike most of my other hostesses, she joined us at the dining table.

\(^\text{22}\) See also Tusupov, *Masanchin*, pp. 51-2, 55-6. For a more comprehensive and detailed description with illustrations see Sushanlo, *Dungane*, pp. 120-50. For a comparison with living conditions in the past and for older types of housing see Stratanovich, *'Dungane'* , especially pp. 544-6.
six meals a day with different families throughout my stay; this meant that I visited a good cross-section of the Dungan community, from the kolkhoz chairman to school teachers and doctors, to truck drivers and all the relatives of my two guides, many of whom were simple collective farmers. All the families that entertained us lived, more or less, on the same level, in the type of houses I am about to describe. I might add that kolkhoz chairmen seemed to live particularly well. My description of the house of the chairman of kolkhoz 'Oktiabr' appears below in section 5.3.8.

Most of the Dungan kolkhozes are situated on both sides of a main highway, or a main street, with side roads branching from it. The side roads are of loose gravel and are full of holes and large stones. There are many trees in the kolkhozes. Poplars, lining many roads, seem to be the most popular variety. The houses, set along both sides of the roads at a spacious distance from each other, are all one-story and are mostly white-washed. I saw only one three-story block of flats during my stay; this was when I visited the kolkhoz chairman in the kolkhoz 'Druzhba'. I was told that some school teachers were living in the other flats.

The hospital, day nurseries, schools, palace of culture, and other official buildings are scattered here and there about the kolkhoz. Kolkhoz offices, hospitals, and day nurseries are usually low, one-story rambling buildings; schools are large, square buildings, two to three stories high; while palaces of culture are more imposing buildings, and most are fronted by white columns (see photograph No. 9).

23 See the house sketch of a Dungan home in kolkhoz 'Druzhba' on the following page.
A Dungan home in the village "Drughba"
See also photograph No. 8
Dungan houses are built on a high concrete foundation and have wooden floors and pitched roofs that are usually made of iron. The houses are made of baked or mud bricks. I was told that the mud bricks last a very long time. The popular, glassed-in sunrooms are usually built two to three feet above the floor with planks or bricks, the remainder of the walls being glass windows or panels right up to the ceiling (see photograph No. 10).\textsuperscript{24}

The houses are heated in winter by stoves placed (usually) in the living room and the bedrooms.\textsuperscript{25}

In the past the Dungans, like the Chinese, never had any windows facing the road. There were just blank walls with a main gate leading into the courtyard and from there into the house, which was located either to the left or the right of the gate, but not opposite it. In recent times the Dungans have started to put windows in the outside wall of the house facing the road (see photograph No. 11 of an unfinished Dungan house).

5.3.1 Main gates

I took a great fancy to the Dungan wooden main gates. Most of these are large, with two panels. They are painted in most instances in different shades of blue, with beautiful and often very intricate and varied decorations and carvings.

\textsuperscript{24} Dungans refer to the sunroom as \textit{sasteklennata terrasa}, 'glazed terrace'.

\textsuperscript{25} Tsusupov, \textit{Masanchin}, p. 55, mentions the \textit{"utermarkovskai\a pech" (kontramarka)'}, which is probably a type of stove built against or placed near the wall with the chimney inside the wall. I am told that it is also known as \textit{gollandskai\a pech'} (Dutch stove).
Some had patterns of flowers painted in white, red, or other colours; some had narrow wooden planks arranged in interesting patterns; and some had carved lattice work (see photographs Nos. 10 and 12).

Some Dungan houses had fruit trees and flowers growing outside the gate, by the roadside.

5.3.2 Courtyards

From the street one enters through the main gates into a courtyard that is usually quite large and cleanly swept. All of them have certain features in common: they are unpaved, the house is at one end, and there is a roofed area used as a summer kitchen (described below), usually at the opposite end. Very often there is a separate building used as extra sleeping quarters attached either to the summer kitchen or built separately along another wall of the courtyard. Usually there is a water tap somewhere in the courtyard, as (with one exception) there is no water tap in the house. Perhaps not all families have even this tap, because I noticed that some women used a tap in the street for washing vegetables (see photograph No. 13). Most of the courtyards contain a covered, raised, wooden platform (described below) and flower beds along various walls or, if a vegetable garden is adjacent to the courtyard, as a wide border between the courtyard and the vegetable garden (described below). The Dungans love flowers, and I noticed that marigolds, zinnias, roses, and morning-glories were very popular in June and July.

5.3.3 Summer kitchens

The summer kitchen is located along one of the walls of the courtyard, usually right across the courtyard from the
house. It has a roof supported by the courtyard wall and two posts. It is open on three sides. The kitchen consists of a gas stove with three or four burners (gas comes in cylinders), and a table for preparing the food. As I mentioned before, each dish is carried into the house across the courtyard. But often the dish is not carried into the house but to the wooden platform in the courtyard, since the Dungans use this cosy and convenient platform a great deal during the warm months.

5.3.4 Wooden platforms

The wooden platform is located either along a courtyard wall or in the middle of the courtyard. When it is built near the wall it usually, like the summer kitchen, has a roof supported by the wall and posts, but when it is in the middle of the courtyard it is under a wooden lattice covered by grapevines. In two courtyards, we sat and chatted on the wooden platform in the cool shade of the vine, with bunches of grapes hanging right above our heads. The platform is usually about two feet high, sometimes higher, sometimes lower, than a normal chair. A square or round low table for four to twelve people stands on top of the platform. As on entering a house, one takes off one's shoes and then climbs onto the platform and sits around the low table with one's legs crossed. This cosy, cool, and shady place is a favourite with the Dungans, and I spent many happy hours sitting on them in a circle with friends, drinking tea and eating melons.

26 At least the men sit with their legs crossed. No woman ever climbed onto the platform to join me, although some, occasionally, sat on it with their feet on the ground.
On several occasions morning and midday formal meals were served on the platforms.

5.3.5 Vegetable gardens

The vegetable gardens on the large private plots of land are often outside the courtyard walls, but some families make them a continuation of the courtyard. The Dungans are very skilled vegetable gardeners and grow most of their own vegetables. The vegetables grown are: sweet corn, tomatoes, sweet capsicums and chili peppers, celery, cucumbers, lettuce, turnips, radishes, swedes, pumpkins, spinach, 'Dungan chives', beans, onions, garlic, egg-plant, and two kinds of cabbage — the ordinary cabbage (lianjiaoap = 蕾) and the Dungan cabbage (pijts'ap = 裏菜).28

When we arrived at the kolkhoz 'Oktiábr', the Dungans had just harvested the garlic from their plots to be sold privately at the market, so many courtyards contained large heaps of garlic. Tobacco had already been planted as the next crop for the market.

5.3.6 Houses

As I have mentioned above, most of the Dungan houses are

---

27 See note 3, Chapter Five.

28 Also known as Chinese cabbage or, in America, as celery cabbage. The Dungans call it Dungan cabbage to distinguish it from the ordinary cabbage, which is eaten by the Russians and other nationalities. The word 'Dungan' is often used in this way, e.g. Dungan vinegar. Sushanlo, writing in Russian, mentions long Dungan cucumbers (qian xuanqiuai [13] 黄瓜), Dungan melon (likuadi [13] 黄瓜), and Dungan onions (lots'uj [13] 白葱). See Dungan, pp. 152, 156.
comfortable and spacious. The main house would have two or three bedrooms, but as the Dungan families are large (an average of eight children, and often grandparents), extra sleeping quarters are often built either along one of the courtyard walls or next to the summer kitchen.

One enters the house from the courtyard. There are usually about four wooden steps leading up into a glassed-in sunroom. One always takes one's shoes off before entering a Dungan home. The shoes are left either in the courtyard by the wooden steps, or in the sunroom. Some sunrooms have a raised wooden platform covered with a thin mattress or a mat, and with a low table placed on it. Here the host often entertained his visitors. One night we played cards sitting cross-legged on such a platform. Later, my two guides slept on it.

The Dungans use four kinds of beds: the raised wooden platform, the ordinary Western bed, the *k'ang* (*k’ang*) - a brick-bed which is heated in the winter, or a thin mattress

---

29 This bed exists but is becoming rare. According to Yusupov's discussion of the *k'ang* (*k’ong* in Dungan) the majority of the Dungans even nowadays are true to many of their national traditions.... The *k’ong* still exists in the older houses; it is a hollow stove-couch, one metre high, which occupies half or two-thirds of the room. The top surface of the *k’ong* is laid out in adobe tiles that are seventy-by-seventy or eighty-by-eighty centimetres wide and seven to nine centimetres thick. The corners of these tiles rest on pillars made of bricks. The *k’ong* is heated either by the Dungan stove (*kuot’u* [I think he means *kuot’u* (鍋頭)], as there is no *kuo* sound in Dungan), which is connected to it, or through a special outside opening. In the winter the Dungans cook food on the Dungan stove. The *k’ong* is usually covered with a refined and treated rush matting (*cipadzi* 席巴子) and then with a piece of felt (*shan*). A long wardrobe (*k’ongzuedzi*) he may mean *k’ongzuedzi* 火炕棒子, but this
which is brought out and rolled out on the floor at night.

I slept three nights in a very large room with pale wallpaper, four windows, and central heating, which, to my surprise, had no furniture except a sofa, a glass cabinet, and a wardrobe, yet also contained three large, very beautiful precious carpets. Thin mattresses, pillows, and Chinese-style silk eider-down quilts were folded half way to the ceiling on a table in one corner of the room. At night I slept in this palatial room on a thin mattress placed on one of the carpets. My hostess's daughter, who used to visit me in this room, told me this living room was used only for visitors, as the family and friends preferred to use the sunroom. This living room was used when the old Dungans gathered at this house. Then an oilcloth would be spread out on the carpet and they would sit on it in a circle and drink tea. This living room was the only one of its kind that I saw.

Usually, the living room in a Dungan home would be a large room with a large, long table for about twelve people set in the middle of the room. It would also contain chairs, a sofa, and a glass cabinet with dishes, glasses, and a large assortment of porcelain knick-knacks inside and vases with artificial flowers on top. Most of the families had very nice carpets, not only spread on the floors but also hanging on the walls - and in several rooms. I saw no Dungan art (scrolls or

---

29 (Continued) is a table placed on the k'ang and not a wardrobe that holds bed-clothes or a chest (piyidi 柜子) is placed along one side of the k'ony, right against the wall. In winter, the rooms containing a k'ony were especially used by the old people and the children. See Masanchin, p. 56.

30 I did not see such an empty room in any other Dungan home, nor did I see three large carpets on the floor in any one room elsewhere.
paintings) in the homes that I visited, except for some embroidered pillows. On very rare occasions there was a television set.

In the summer, because of the heat and the glare, the Dungans like to keep their rooms in semi-darkness by covering the windows with several layers of material.

5.3.7 Washing facilities and toilets

All Dungan houses have electricity. But as for water supply, as I have mentioned above, there is usually a water tap in the courtyard for general use, and occasionally, in the vegetable garden. There are no bathrooms. I was told that the Dungans went to the public bathhouse (banço) to bathe. No basins or toothmugs were provided me for washing my face or brushing my teeth. I did both tasks by squatting over a flower bed while my hostess stood beside me and poured water over my hands from a kettle. Often, when I returned from the toilet, the man of the house would call out and my hostess would hurry over with a kettle to pour water over my hands as I held them over a flower bed. I noticed that clothes, however, were washed in a basin.

The toilet is a wooden outhouse with a hole in the ground; occasionally it has a wooden floor. It is located at the far end of the vegetable garden or, in some cases, right in the middle of a distant field. I noticed that children's old exercise books were often used as toilet paper.

31 On Dungan art see Stratanovich, 'Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo dungan' and my 'Soviet Dungan Weddings'.
5.3.8 The best houses

The best house that I visited was the home of Makhmud Ashirov, the kolkhoz chairman of the flourishing kolkhoz 'Oktiabr'. This house was white-washed outside and had an attached sunroom built of wood and painted blue. It had a proper kitchen (with a sink and running water) inside the house, several large, well-furnished rooms, and a collection of good carpets. The toilet was at the back of the vegetable garden, but near one side of the house there was a shower in a tarpaulin-covered frame with a cold-water tank above. In the heat of the day the water in the tank was actually warm. The Ashirovs, who had more than ten children (Mrs Ashirov was a Mother Hero) and a grandmother living with them, had extra living quarters next to the summer kitchen. Nowhere else did I see a kitchen actually within the house, or a shower near the house. I must add that I had an enormous lunch with the Ashirovs, cooked outside in the summer kitchen and brought across the courtyard into the house. For a picture of the Ashirov family and their house see photograph No. 14.

Also, I would like to mention the Dzhamalov family in 'Oktiabr', with whom I stayed for three days and in whose house I slept on a rolled-out mattress in a large room nearly empty of furniture but full of valuable carpets. Badyr Dzhamalov, 59, a rich collective farmer, is a strict Muslim and a patriarch. His wife is a gentle Kazakh woman. They have eight children. The eldest two have graduated from the Kirghiz National University, while the third child was studying in Moscow. Their widowed daughter, after her husband was killed by a run-away truck in Frunze, moved back with her two young sons to live with them. One of the sons, who was away while I was there, was married to a Kazakh girl who was also,
for the time being, living with the family. The Dzhamalov family lived very well in the midst of their relatives, many of whom lived nearby. They observed strict Muslim law and the old traditions (such as killing a sheep when guests arrive). They had a large, very pleasant house, two separate main gates leading into a courtyard, and two adjacent toilets at the edge of the vegetable garden. Extra sleeping quarters were in a separate building located midway between the two front gates. They had their evening meals in the dining room, but for the rest of the time, at least in summer, they used the wooden platform in the sunroom or the wooden platform shaded by a vine trellis in the middle of the courtyard. Photographs Nos. 15 and 16 show the Dzhamalov family. See also the sketch of the Dzhamalovs' house on the following page.

Regrettably, I cannot mention all the families that I visited or stayed with, but I would like to take this opportunity to express my heartfelt appreciation and gratitude to all of them for their enormous hospitality and kindness.

5.3.9 Material comforts

While I saw an electric blender in a kolkhoz shop, I did not see any electric gadgets being used in the Dungan homes. I saw two television sets in private homes (both in the kolkhoz 'Druzhba') and one in a day nursery (in the same kolkhoz).
B. Dzhemalov's house in the kolchoz 'Oktyabr'.
See also photographs Nos. 15 and 16.
I was told that many Dungans in the kolkhozes I visited had cars or motorcycles, although I saw some cars on the roads, I have no way of estimating whether the figures I was given were accurate.

5.4 Clothes

The Dungans, living in the Soviet Union among the Kirghiz, Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Tartars, and Russians, have adjusted their living style to a certain extent to the local customs, climate, and products. The gradual change in their material culture is probably also a result of the availability or, perhaps more importantly, the unavailability of the right materials in the shops and factories and of the skills of local craftsmen. For example, the Dungans no longer eat soy sauce or bean curd, which are so popular in China, because it is difficult under local conditions to produce soy sauce and bean curd; the majority of Dungans do not sleep on the k'ang any more because of the absence of knowledgeable builders and the availability of Western-style beds in the shops. As for the clothes they choose, the decision revolves around what is

35 See Sections 3.1.9, 3.2.9, 3.3.6, and 3.4.10 for the figures.

36 For further information on clothes see Iusupov, Masanokin, pp. 56-7, and 70; for embroidery, see pp. 69-71. Sushanlo has a whole section on clothes, embroidery, and jewellery worn by the Dungans at present and in the past; it includes Dungan terms for individual items of clothing and some interesting illustrations (see Dungane, pp. 169-90); for a description of the clothes worn from the beginning of this century to about 1963, see Stratanovich, 'Dungane', pp. 546-9. For Dungan embroidery and decorative art, see Shinlo, Dunganskii ornament; this book deals with embroidery patterns on clothing, shoes, and pillowcases; jewellery; decorative motifs for wall hangings; and wood carvings.
available in the shops and what everybody else is wearing. Unlike Dungan food, which in many ways still approximates the food that their ancestors ate in China, and unlike their wedding and funeral ceremonies, which are still conducted in the traditional manner, their houses and clothes have undergone most change. The change is most noticeable in the cities and least noticeable among the Shensi Dungans in the country.

Certainly, one of the most interesting periods for studying Dungan dress would have been during the first fifty years after the migration to Russia (what sort of clothes did they bring from China? when did they start to adopt other types of clothes? for what reasons did they abandon or keep certain items of clothing? why have some items of clothing survived in use until now?), but in this work I have only limited myself to a description of what the Dungans wear today. This is because Sushanlo and Tolstov have already described in detail, with illustrations and special terms in Dungan for individual items of clothing, the clothes worn by the Dungans in the past, and, secondly, because I have limited this work as a whole to what I saw and was told in 1977. Unfortunately, since I was there in the summer, my information on winter clothes is based only on hearsay.

5.4.1 Some general remarks

Present-day Dungan clothes are, to a certain degree, influenced by Kirghiz, Kazakh, Uzbek, Tartar, and Russian fashions. Dungan men generally wear Western clothes bought in the shops; women are more traditional, but they seem to favour

37 For details on Sushanlo's and Stratanovich's works see the previous footnote.
loose-fitting Uzbek dresses with or without the trousers. (For details see below.) As men's clothes were less elaborate to begin with, and as men have had more contact with people of other nationalities, it was therefore easier for them to adopt the clothes of their neighbours. Shensi Dungans as a group, and the older generation in both groups, are more conservative in adopting what one could call modern clothes or Western clothes. On the other hand, the Osh group, both men and women, had stopped wearing the traditional and national Manchu-style dress even before the October revolution. Sushanlo explains this by the fact that the Dungans in Fergana and Osh lived as small and scattered groups and therefore blended more easily with the local population. It should be noted that the Dungan bridal dress, however, has retained all its splendour.

One can draw a graph of the changes in Dungan clothes: at one end are the Dungan brides, who still wear the traditional ethnic dress, and the old people of both the Kansu and Shensi groups, particularly the Shensi women; at the other end are the young Dungans in the kolkhozes and the city Dungans in general, who wear modern clothes, often bought in the shops. The Osh group of Dungans are at the very end of this scale because, according to Sushanlo (1967), even the old Dungans in the Osh raion could neither describe nor remember the terms for ethnic Dungan footwear.  

In Central Asia and Kazakhstan the winters are very severe and the summers very hot. Besides their winter, summer, and between-season clothes, the Dungans, especially the women, have

---

38 Sushanlo, Dungane, p. 173.

39 Ibid. p. 183.
formal clothes for going out, which are usually made of silk, and everyday clothes, which are usually made of cotton. Dungan women like a dash of colour, hence bright, multi-coloured silks and cottons are very popular among the groups of all ages, starting with young children and ending with very old ladies. See photographs Nos. 4 and 14.  

5.4.2 Men's clothes

Compared with women's and children's clothes, men's clothes have changed the most. Nowadays Dungan men wear Western or Central Asian clothes. There are exceptions, however, and I was told that in the winter some older men still wear wadded trousers and sleeveless jackets that have a front opening with three or five buttons and no collar. These jackets are usually black and lined. Some Dungan men still wear cloth shoes made from black, or occasionally grey, cloth. But some older men prefer the Central Asian style of clothes as they are more comfortable and more suitable for the local climate.

In winter, Dungan men wear fur hats, chapans (quilted

Sushanlo mentions an interesting fact about the green and yellow colours. He says that, according to his informants, the Dungans never made shoes out of green material and those who lived in China under the Ch'ing dynasty never made shoes out of yellow material. The reason for this is that green is considered by the Dungans as the colour of the Muslim prophet Mohammed and yellow was the colour of the Ch'ing emperors. However, after reaching Russia the Dungans started to make shoes from yellow material. As for the colour of the socks made from cloth, those were worn according to strict rules. For instance, brides and young maidens always wore socks of a bright colour such as light blue, yellow, or red, but never black or white socks. See Sushanlo, Dungane, p. 180.
robes), Kazakh and Kirghiz fur coats, Uzbek robes and *ichigi* (Central Asian soft boots)*[^41] with 'Asiatic' galoshes or Russian box-calf boots.*[^42] City Dungans often wear Western suits.

In summer, city Dungans wear Western suits, with or without ties, on more formal occasions, and Western trousers with shirts, mostly over the trousers, for everyday wear. They do not wear anything on their heads. In the kolkhozes, the men usually wear Western trousers with shirts, mostly over the trousers, but many of them, especially the Shensi Dungans, wear skull-caps or Western felt hats.*[^43] Some wear white singlets or machine-knitted shirts and some wear Western suit jackets, but I did not see any ties. See photographs Nos. 17-21.

Sushanlo mentions that the favourite colour for felt hats is green - the colour of the banner of the Muslim prophet Mohammed.*[^44] The old Dungans in the Ch'u valley also wear *ak*

---

[^41]: *Ichigi* are usually made from soft leather, have no heel, and rise as high as the knee.

[^42]: Sushanlo, *Dungane*, p. 172.

[^43]: Sushanlo mentions that the six-cornered and eight-cornered skull-caps have not been worn since about the time of the revolution and that the Dungans have been wearing Central Asian-type skull-caps. See *Dungane*, p. 186. The skull-caps that I saw were all made from black cloth and had white embroidery on them. They were machine stitched and as stiff as cardboard. Conveniently, they could be folded flat, but when unfolded they were square (had four corners) and therefore did not fit very well on the head.

[^44]: Sushanlo adds here that the Chinese regard green as the colour of shame and disgrace. Judging by his comments I have come to the conclusion that it appears to be all right for Dungans to wear green on the head, but not on the feet. See note 40 above.
Kalpak - the Kirghiz thick, white felt hats. Factory-made straw hats are also popular.\footnote{Sushanlo, Dungan, p. 186.}

5.4.3 Women's clothes

In the cities, Dungan women wear Western dress, complete with sandals and bags. Some old women wear a kerchief over their heads tied at the back, but the younger ones go bare-headed and some have permanents. See photograph No. 22.

In the kolkhozes, women also wear Western dresses in the summer. The most popular dress has a turned-down collar and a round yoke with a small front opening with two or three buttons or no buttons at all. The slightly gathered material hangs loosely from the yoke. The dress has no belt and long or three-quarter-length sleeves with no cuffs. The material used for these summer dresses is usually gaily printed cotton. See photographs Nos. 4 and 20. It is interesting to note that in Frunze and nearby kolkhozes (but not in Alma-Ata) this type of dress is often made from the very strikingly colourful Uzbek silk commonly known as Margilan silk. See photographs Nos. 21 and 23. There are also dresses of different cuts, i.e. with no yoke or with a belt, but most dresses are loose fitting.

The Shensi women wear trousers underneath the dresses. These trousers, often red, are loose fitting and are always tied tightly around the ankles with a long strip of material. The lower edge of the trousers is decorated with wide bands of black silk or satin and narrow strips of colourful braid or ribbons. The trousers are never worn unbound or over the boots. They are worn in both summer and winter. The Dungan
women have given up their Manchu-style gowns and their sleeveless jackets. The reason they still wear trousers is probably because they are warm in winter and comfortable in general. The same reasons probably would apply to the cloth shoes.

As for the traditional costumes of the past, only old women still wear short jackets and trousers and socks and shoes made from cotton. A sleeveless jacket is sometimes worn over the short jacket. The clothes of the old women are mostly made of black, dark-blue, or brown cotton, satin, or silk.

The long traditional gowns with a high collar and a side opening (buttoned under the right arm) are only sewn nowadays for brides. These gowns are made of red silk and have very wide bands of black silk and narrow strips of braid on the lower edge of the sleeve and around the collar down to the button under the right arm. The bride has a very elaborate coiffure decorated with artificial flowers made from silk, velvet, gold, or silver. She wears silver jewellery around her neck, long trousers bound at the ankles, embroidered socks, and shoes made from silk. See photograph No. 24. The bride always carries in her hand one, and occasionally two, large silk kerchiefs. Dungan brides, unlike women of such other nationalities as Uzbeks, Tajiks, and Turkmens, do not cover their faces. They leave their head completely uncovered and only hold in their hand a brocade or cashmere kerchief. This kerchief, according to Sushanlo, is always red - the colour of joy and happiness - and is indispensable during the ceremony when the bride pays her respects to the

---

46 For more details on the weddings see Section 5.5 and Section VI in the Bibliography.
elders. The fact that Dungan women are allowed to appear in public with uncovered heads has been explained by Sushanlo, who attributes it to the very elaborate coiffures decorated with artificial flowers made from silver and gold which were worn by Dungan women in the past. He adds, however, that although the Dungan women could appear in public with uncovered heads, they were forbidden to appear in front of a man with an uncovered head at home!

At present most of the married women in the kolkhozes wear a kerchief on their heads tied at the nape. The young women wear brightly coloured kerchiefs, while some older women wear kerchiefs of one colour, mainly black or white. These kerchiefs are made from silk or a woolen fabric.

Twenty or thirty years ago the Dungan women made shoes from cloth for the whole family. Now only the brides wear embroidered shoes made from silk or satin. The Shensi Dungan women and some elderly women in the Kansu group still wear such cloth shoes. Flat-heeled shoes bought in the shops, with the top made from dark-coloured fabric, are a very popular form of footwear in the kolkhozes.

Sushanlo mentions that socks made from cotton are always worn with the shoes made from cotton. These socks are divided into two kinds: those that are worn in winter are wadded and

---

47 Sushanlo, Dungane, p. 176.
49 I have described and photographed the wedding shoes and socks in my article 'Soviet Dungan Weddings'. For other works on Dungan bridal clothes see the Bibliography, Section VI. For a detailed description of Dungan shoes and socks and the symbolic meaning of the embroidery see Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 180-4 and Stratanovich, 'Izobrazitel'noe iskusstvo dungan'.
long, reaching to the calf; those that are worn in summer are shorter and made from cotton or silk. These socks have a stitched heel.\textsuperscript{50} The material used for the top of the shoes is usually silk, cotton, or black velvet.\textsuperscript{51} The soles are made from layers of material and cardboard sewn through with rope in rows of fine stitches.

I was given as a present a pair each of the embroidered wedding socks and shoes. Sushanlo writes that the formal shoes for women were sewn from red, yellow, light blue, or black silk. The red shoes were worn by brides and young maidens, the light blue were worn by young women, while the middle-aged women wore tobacco-coloured or light-blue shoes and the elderly women wore black or grey shoes. I have seen everyday shoes made only from black cotton being worn by some women. Sometimes the everyday shoes were made from multi-coloured cotton.\textsuperscript{52} Warm shoes were worn in winter: brightly coloured ones for the young and a solid colour for the old. Sushanlo also mentions that Dungan women never wore shoes without socks and that when matching socks and shoes they adhered strictly to certain colour combinations: e.g. they wore yellow and light-blue socks with red shoes, red or green socks with yellow shoes, while white socks were worn only by the old women.\textsuperscript{53}

\textsuperscript{50} The material socks that were given to me had machine-stitched soles.

\textsuperscript{51} Sushanlo, \textit{Dungane}, p. 181.

\textsuperscript{52} See also note 40 above.

\textsuperscript{53} Sushanlo, \textit{Dungane}, p. 182.
Except for the Dungan brides I saw no special jewellery or embroidery motifs among the Dungans. According to Sushanlo, Dungan jewellery can be divided into hair ornaments, bracelets, rings, earrings, and jewellery worn at the chest. While visiting Sushanlo's home I was shown an album of embroidery and decorative patterns and I should think that the Dungan embroidery and jewellery would make a very interesting study. For sources see Bibliography, Section VI.

5.4.4 Children's clothes

In the past, children's clothes, like women's clothes, were rich in symbolism and colour. For example, Sushanlo describes the trousers for babies who are learning to crawl. For the girls these trousers were made from red material, often with a green waistband. Most commonly the character for 'happiness' or the Buddhist swastika - a symbol for mercy - was embroidered on either the tongues or the heels of their shoes. According to popular belief, these embroidered symbols would protect the child from evil spirits and sickness. The boys' trousers for crawling were made from black material. Sushanlo goes on to say that nowadays only two items of the traditional clothing have survived. The first item is a Chinese-style jacket. Little girls under the age of seven still occasionally wear a jacket that has a high collar and side buttoning under the right arm and is usually made from

---

54 Except for some embroidered silk pillowcases on square pillows that adorned some beds.

55 Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 187-90.

56 The 'tongue' in this case is the flap hanging at the back of the shoe and used as a shoehorn.
red material edged with bands around the lower edge of the jacket. These jackets are still worn on top of dresses or woolen suits. The second item of clothing that is still worn is a modern version of the traditional sleeveless jacket worn by school-age children. Sushanlo writes that nowadays all parents want their children to wear Western clothes, i.e. clothes made in a factory. 57

In the day nurseries that we visited, where all the children were under seven years of age, most of the little boys wore black shorts and white singlets (see photograph No. 7), while little girls wore gay cotton dresses. In some nurseries these dresses were made from identical fabric (see photograph No. 5).

Dungan children attending the pioneer camps dressed the same as the other children: in black trousers and white shirts (boys) and very short black skirts and white tops (girls) and red pioneer ties (see photograph No. 25).

At home in summer, the girls wear pretty dresses made of gaily coloured printed cotton (see photographs Nos. 26 and 27) and the boys wear shorts made of colourfully printed cotton with no shirts on top, or a suit (jacket and shorts) made of the same printed cotton, or shorts with a shirt hanging over the shorts (see photographs Nos. 14, 15, 26, and 28). Often the children were barefoot (see photographs Nos. 15 and 28). Older boys wear long Western-style trousers and shirts, the latter sometimes tucked into the trousers (see photographs Nos. 14 and 20).

Sushanlo mentions that the children of school age wear felt hats the same as adults do. The school children wear a dark-blue beret with their uniform and a factory-made cap

57 Sushanlo, Dungan, pp. 178-80.
for every-day wear.\textsuperscript{58}

Sushanlo also writes that, to insure a good growth of hair for the future plaits, the Dungans shave the little girls' heads so as to leave only a fringe and two small bangs on the sides.\textsuperscript{59} Among the children that I met, some little girls had shaven heads or short hair, older girls had long pigtails, and the boys often had completely shaven heads or shaven heads with a fringe (see photographs Nos. 6, 7, 14, 20, 26, 27, and 28).

5.5 Traditional Ceremonies and Rituals

Although weddings, ceremonies connected with the birth of a child, feasts when a baby is 10 days old or 100 days old, and funerals are still a very important part of the Dungan life, I have decided not to write about them here. My reasons for this are as follows:

a) During my short stay among the Dungans I did not personally witness any weddings or funerals.

b) I have recently written an article on Dungan weddings.\textsuperscript{60}

c) I have already described the Dungan banquets that are also served at weddings, briefly described a special meal that we had in celebration of a baby who was 100 days old in section 5.1.4, and touched upon the bridal outfit in section 5.4.3.

\textsuperscript{58} Ibid. p. 186.

\textsuperscript{59} Ibid. p. 187.

\textsuperscript{60} See Bibliography, Section VI.
d) I have gathered in Section VI of the Bibliography all the sources known to me about these subjects.\(^{61}\)

The rituals and banquets connected with the birth of a child and the funerals described by Stratanovich ('Dungane', p. 551 and pp. 555-6) are fascinating and would make a very interesting study in themselves. I might add here that the traditional agricultural calendar, medicine, musical instruments, as well as the games played by the Dungans and the riddles described by Sushanlo (Dungane, pp. 191-211 and pp. 235-44) are also well worth further investigation. To my knowledge nothing about the above topics has been written in the English language. From my observations, moreover, some of these aspects of Dungan life are slowly disappearing.
To my regret, I have to admit that during my short stay among the Dungans I did not have an opportunity to attend any performances or concerts in the palaces of culture, nor did I see any traditional musical instruments. However, in every kolkhoz I was shown the building of the palace of culture (dom kul'tury). This is always one of the most impressive buildings in a kolkhoz - large, tall, and spacious (see photograph No. 9). It usually has a foyer and an auditorium that can seat several hundred people, and the library is often located there.¹

I was told that musical performances, dances, concerts, poetry readings, meetings, and film showings are held in the auditoriums of the palaces of culture, and that sometimes the ensembles of one kolkhoz performed in other kolkhozes. The lyrics of the songs they sing are often written by Dungan poets; for example, a play that was once performed in 'Druzhba' was written by the Dungan poet Fa. Shivaza. In selo Mili'ianfan I was told that they had an ensemble consisting of eight to nine people who played the traditional instruments, that concerts were usually performed on Saturday evenings, that there were more performances in the winter months, and that sometimes the local groups perform in Tokmak and in the kolkhoz 'Krasnyi Mili'iantan'.

Dungan story-tellers (fasudi) can still be found among the older generation. I was fortunate enough to

¹ For further details see Sections 3.1.7, 3.2.7, and 3.4.8. See also Fusupov, Masanchin, pp. 61-2.
tape some of the Dungan songs, stories, and poems. Sushanlo mentions that a three-stringed plucked instrument (sangjändzì 三絃子) was used as an accompaniment by the storytellers and that the ensembles in 'Druzhba' (selo Aleksandrovka) and 'Frunze' (selo Milianfan) use the locally made three-stringed plucked traditional instruments. Sushanlo also mentions other instruments that are still used at present:

a) several variations of a Chinese-style violin (xītǐ́n 琴), such as a two-stringed violin (érxuán 二胡), a four-stringed violin (sìxuán 四胡), and the 'small' violin (mǐ́xuán 小胡—Sushanlo's definition of mǐ́ is 'small'), and b) the butterfly harp (chī́ntǐ́n 洋琴). The Dungans also use such instruments as accordions, balalaikas, mandolins, and guitars. They have adopted some of the melodies and songs from the Tartars, Kirghiz, and Kazakhs.²

The libraries in the kolkhozes have been described above.³ I would like to repeat here that there is some truth in a remark made by the librarian in selo Masanchin that the young Dungans only want to read books written in Russian and the old Dungans do not know how to read, even in Dungan.⁴ A fair amount is published in the Dungan language every year, but it is hard to estimate whether it is read in the kolkhozes. As I mentioned before, there is a bi-weekly radio broadcast in the Dungan language, yet most of the people in the kolkhozes whom I

² Sushanlo, Dungane, pp. 238-44. He gives illustrations, traces the origin of some of the instruments, and describes others that were used by Dungans in the past.

³ See Sections 3.1.7, 3.4.8, and 2.1, especially note 3, Chapter Two.

⁴ See Section 2.1.
asked did not know what time the broadcast was scheduled. All the libraries in the kolkhozes subscribe to the Dungan newspaper *October Banner*. I was told that *selo* Masanchin (population 5,500, of whom 4,000 are Dungans) receives 800 copies of the newspaper, which would indicate that it is widely read.

As I mentioned before, I saw very few television sets in the kolkhozes. The radios, however, are more numerous. While staying with one family we heard a broadcast from the People's Republic of China. The Dungans said they could not understand a word that was said.

I would think that the weddings and the celebrations in connection with the birth of a child, mainly in the form of banquets, are an important part of the social life of the Dungans.

The Dungans receive some information about the outside world and show signs of being influenced by foreign culture. For example, a Dungan told me in great detail about the life of Jackie Onassis, and at the market in Frunze — where a

---

5 See Section 2.1

6 *Çiiyeti te'i* (十月的旗); in Russian *Znam'ya* *Oktiabria*. On 1 July 1977 the newspaper published its two thousandth edition and celebrated its twentieth anniversary. There were celebrations and decorations on that day. The editor, Ta. Khavazov, received the title of Honoured Cultural Worker of the Kirghiz S.S.R. The editor told me that the newspaper has about 5,000 readers in the Kazakh S.S.R., Kirghiz S.S.R., and Uzbek S.S.R., and that the newspaper is a party organ and the official representative of Dungan life and culture. The contributors to the newspaper include scholars, poets, writers, teachers, and students. It has sections on international news, agriculture, education, and literature (including poetry and short stories).
multi-ethnic crowd of Dungans, Kirghiz, Kazakhs, and Uzbeks dressed in their colourful native costumes were selling such diverse merchandise as melons from Tashkent and a wide range of spices - Abba's songs, coming from records played in a stationary truck, echoed over the whole area.
CONCLUSION:

SOME COMMENTS, IMPRESSIONS, AND QUESTIONS

I found the Dungans in the kolkhozes extremely hospitable (see section 5.2). To an unsuspecting visitor their hospitality is slightly bewildering. Being a very frugal person by nature, I found their hospitality (a succession of banquets or seven meals a day) overwhelming and incomprehensible at times. I do not think, however, that forewarning the reader who intends to visit the Dungans will be of any use, for I, after all, was forewarned in Moscow. The reader will only understand what I am trying to express when he or she experiences it.

I also found the older Dungans, whether those having an average income or the more well-to-do, more religious than I had expected. As I know little about the situation of Islam in the Soviet Union,¹ however, I feel that I should not elaborate on this statement.

During the fourteen years of my interest in the Dungans before my visit, I always regarded them as 'Chinese' Muslims and, therefore, assumed that they spoke Chinese, ate Chinese food, and had some emotional ties with, interest in, and sentimental feelings towards China - the land where their ancestors lived for generations. I found this not to be so. The vehemence with which some Dungan scholars rejected the idea that the Dungans speak the Chinese language hit me with full force. With surprise and bewilderment, I listened to

¹ A very comprehensive book on this subject is Bennigsen and Lemercier-Quelquejay's Islam in the Soviet Union.
them argue that they do not speak Chinese but Dungan - an independent language which is quite different from Chinese and that the two dialects that they speak (Kansu and Shensi) are two Dungan dialects. At first, since I came unprepared for this view, I disputed this point. Later, in the face of unassailable arguments put forward by Dungan scholars and the complete indifference to China in the kolkhozes, I gave up. The whole situation reached the stage where, for example, during meals, I stopped pointing at a dish and saying, 'I know this dish well and ate it in China all the time. I often cook it, in exactly the same way, at home,' because my host would either be hurt or would receive this information with wonderment, not understanding how they could know this Dungan dish in China. In short, Dungans are very nationalistic.

The main impression I had during my travels was that the Dungans in the kolkhozes live very well. The reasons for this are many:

a) Most of the Dungans drink no alcoholic beverages or very little. Their family life is therefore not disrupted by drunken brawls or any of the unpleasantness that is usually found in a family where one member of the family drinks. The family must save quite a bit of money by not buying alcohol. Also, very few Dungans smoke.

b) The Dungans are all related to one another not only in the same kolkhoz but along the width and breadth of the whole of Central Asia and Kazakhstan. What does this mean? It means that those who are related and live in the same kolkhoz help

2 My talks on this subject are recorded in my article 'Soviet Dungan Nationalism'. In this article I venture some explanations for the Dungans' dislike for or (in the case of a majority of the Dungans) indifference to China. These reasons are also given in Section 2.1.
each other at such tasks as, for example, building a new house or looking after the sick or the young. And for those who live in the city or in another part of the country it means that wherever he or she goes he or she has relatives who will welcome, feed, and house him or her. For example, Fatima Makeeva, who lived in Frunze, was planning to have a vacation with some relatives living near Lake Issyk-Kul, while Ilias Tusupov returned to Alma-Ata from the kolkhozes bringing his young nephew with him for a stay in the city.

c) The Dungans love farming. The main reason the Dungans have made a success of their life is their farming ability and their love for the land. After all, they come from a long line of farming stock. Their love for growing things can be judged by the well-tended, neat rows of vegetables on their private plots, by the abundance of flowers around their courtyards, and by their enthusiasm and pride when discussing their kolkhozes and its products.

d) The Dungans are a very hard-working people and take great pride in their achievements.

Taking all the above points into account, and given the monthly wages of a collective farmer (about 150 roubles) and the fact that in the large Dungan families several people may receive this sum, adding the extra income derived from selling vegetables at the markets from the private plots, considering also the self-sufficiency in meat and vegetables of many Dungans and that the kolkhoz provides such facilities as schools, day nurseries, and hospitals, one comes to the conclusion that the Dungans in the kolkhozes live very well. I hasten to add that this is my own limited and superficial observation as a traveller. The Dungan community, the same as any other community, must have its own frustrations, hardships, and
faults, which would only become manifest to an observer who lived among them for a longer period than I did.

Iusupov, in describing the progress in selo Masanchin, mentions that the life of the workers in the selo is approaching the level of the city folk. I, on the contrary, feel that in many respects the Dungans' life in the kolkhozes is better than the life of the general public in the cities. It is true that they do not have good theatres and modern bathrooms and toilets. On the other hand, they live in spacious and well-built houses, eat fresh fruit and vegetables, rest in the cool shade of their courtyards, shop in well-stocked shops with friendly service and no queues where they can even get shoes with high heels made in France and electric blenders. Furthermore, they live among their own people. There are Dungan teachers in the schools, Dungan doctors in the hospitals, and Dungan kolkhoz chairmen in every kolkhoz. There are, moreover, all the relatives living near and far, all the banquets to attend, and some of the old traditions to keep up, and all this makes for a very happy and satisfied community.

This is the present, but what about the future? What aspects of Dungan culture will gradually disappear? What will survive naturally and what will be lovingly preserved? The houses and the clothes have changed in the last 100 years, but the Dungan food, I have no doubt, will survive.

---

3 Iusupov, Masanchin, p. 52.

4 I have not, however, seen any families actually using these things. I did see rows of these French shoes and a choice of coats made in Hungary in a big department store near selo Miljanfan, which is near the cities Kant and Tokmak.
But what about the wedding and funeral customs, the riddles and songs, the language itself? Everything changes, nothing stands still. The changes depend on many internal and external factors. But the interesting question is: how long can an ethnic group, surrounded by different cultures and people, preserve its identity and its individual culture?
## APPENDIX I

**Grid of Dungan Initials and Finals**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>a</th>
<th>a'</th>
<th>o</th>
<th>o'</th>
<th>e</th>
<th>e'</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>a'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e'</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

- **a)** The top line and the far left vertical line show the original letters of Dungan alphabet. The second line and the inside vertical line show the transliterated form of the Dungan letters.
- **b)** \( \phi \) stands for zero initial.
- **c)** \( \times \) indicates that this combination is not found in the Russian-Dungan Dictionary, but is found in the primary school textbooks.
**APPENDIX II**

The Transliteration of Dungan

I. Reverse index of Dungan letters (Trans. = Transliterated alphabet; D = Dungan alphabet).

II. Comparison of transliterations (Cyr. = Cyrillic alphabet; LC = Library of Congress transliteration of Cyrillic; Trans. = Transliterated Dungan alphabet; Lx = Latinxua; D = additional letters of Dungan alphabet).*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>I</th>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>D</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>(see also ia, jan)</td>
<td>a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>g</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>dz</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>(see i)</td>
<td>o</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>II</th>
<th>Cyr.</th>
<th>LC</th>
<th>Trans.</th>
<th>Lx</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td>a</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>b</td>
<td>b</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>c</td>
<td>c</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>d</td>
<td>d</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td>e</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>f</td>
<td>f</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>g</td>
<td>g</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>h</td>
<td>h</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td>dz</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td>i</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td>j</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td>k</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td>l</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td>m</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td>n</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>o</td>
<td>(see i)</td>
<td>o</td>
<td>o</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td>p</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td>q</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td>r</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td>s</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td>t</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td>u</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td>v</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td>w</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td>x</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td>y</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td>z</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Note. The Russians also sometimes transliterate Dungan letters into the nearest Cyrillic equivalent. e.g. Шамшада Ча (Shamshad Chi) for Шамшада Ча (Shamshad tj).
This bibliography contains works, written primarily in Dungan and Russian, which describe the life of the Soviet Dungans with a specific emphasis on life in the kolkhozes. The items listed below, while not a comprehensive bibliography, include the major works on Dungan life in the kolkhozes. Those sources containing bibliographies which may prove useful for further research are followed by the word 'bibliography' in parentheses at the end of the citation.

Dictionaries and works on Dungan history, linguistics, literature (including poetry and folklore), proverbs, songs, riddles, etc. are not listed below. Most of these works are included in the general bibliographies under Section II.

I. General Information on the Kolkhozes in the U.S.S.R.


II. Bibliographies of Works on the Dungans

Hashimoto, Mantarō 橋本萬太郎. 'Jun'yän-go (sobieto-dougan-go) kenkyū shomoku kaidai' ジュンヤン語 (ソビエト・ドゥンガーン語 )研究書目解題 [Annotated bibliography of works to do with the Junyanese (Soviet-Dungan) language]. Gengo kenkyū 言語研究, no. 41 (March 1962), pp. 66-81.

This bibliography lists 126 items under the headings:
I. Alphabet and Phonetics. II. Dictionaries. III. Grammar. IV. Textbooks of the Dungan Language. V. Works on Dungan Literature (folklore, poetry, drama, novels, research). VI. Works on Dungan Literature Written in Other Languages (folklore, poetry, novels, research). VII. Other (works on the Dungan people, their language and history).


This bibliography lists 161 items published in the Dungan language under the following headings:

Social-political Literature.
Natural History; Medicine.
Textbooks; Other Teaching Materials.
History of Literature; Linguistics.
Fiction: Folklore.
Foreign Literature in Translation.
Children's Literature.
At the end, the bibliography has an author index.

In 1977, the Central Research Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Kirghiz S.S.R. in Frunze kindly compiled a list for me of books on the Dungans in the Dungan and Russian languages from their holdings (53 cards).

In 1977, the Central Research Library of the Academy of Sciences of the Kazakh S.S.R. in Alma-Ata kindly compiled a list for me of books and articles on the Dungans and their language in Russian language from their holdings (54 items).

III. Specific Works on Dungan Kolkhozes


IV. General Works on the Dungans: their life, historical background, and kolkhozes


Garin, Semen. 'Milianfan - dolina risa' [Milianfan - valley of rice]. Novyi mir, no. 6 (1952), pp. 139-66.


Sushanlo, M. Dunganë (istoriko-ëtnograficheskii ocherk) [The Dungans, an historical-ethnographic sketch]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo 'Ilim', 1971. (bibliography)

____. Dunganë Semirech'ë: Dooktubr'skii period (istoricheskii ocherk) [The Dungans of Semirech'e: the period before the October Revolution, an historical sketch]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo AN Kirgizskoi SSR, 1959.
V. School Textbooks on the Dungan Language

The bibliography compiled by I.S. Sergievskaia (Section II) lists 67 items under the heading Textbooks which were published in Kirghizia in the Dungan language from 1930 to 1960.

The bibliography compiled by Hashimoto (Section II) lists 5 items under the heading Textbooks of the Dungan Language.


Tanshansin, ʃu. *Tʂuŋ-iyan xua: (wɨŋfa te çiefa) t'utin qyọt'opți 3 xo te 4 xoti tɕiok'uefu* [Dungan language: (grammar and orthography) a textbook for the third and fourth classes of primary school]. Frunze: Kirgizuchpedgiz, 1956.

*___ Xueǐdzǔ iyiian (wɨŋfa, çiefa te xuatian) t'utin qyọt'opți 3 xo te 4 xoti tɕiok'uefu* [Dungan language: (grammar, orthography and glossaries) for the third and fourth classes of primary school]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo 'Mektep', 1973.

Iusurov, Kh. *'T'u ji pu' jiŋwo qio wɛmɛ lian qio ɕeŋmu nʃanti wiŋye* [First step: literature for pre-school and primary school children]. Frunze: Izdatel'stvo 'Mektep', 1968.


VI. Works on Specific Aspects of Dungan Life: Art, Embroidery, Weddings


The design of the symbolic peach on the front cover was taken from the embroidered wedding socks that were presented to the author by the collective farmers of the selo Masanchin.