

CENTRAL ASIAN COLLECTANEA

No. 3

ISLAM IN CHINA

by

VASILIJ PAVLOVICH VASIL'EV

Translated from the Russian

by

RUDOLF LOEWENTHAL

Dedicated to Professor **WILLIAM HUNG**

洪煨蓮 (業)

WASHINGTON, D.C., 1960

EDITORIAL BOARD

KARL H. MENGES (Columbia University)

Rev. ANTOINE MOSTAERT, C.I.C.M. (Arlington, Va.)

NICHOLAS N. POPPE (University of Washington)

* * * * *

© Central Asian Collectanea — 1960

Printed in Japan

Central Asian Collectanea, an informal series of monographs and translations, appears at irregular intervals.

Please address all communications to:

Rudolf Loewenthal, Editor

~~1417 N Street, N.W.~~

~~Washington 5, D.C.~~

CENTRAL ASIAN COLLECTANEA
P. O. Box 1921
Washington 13, D. C., U. S. A.

CONTENTS

	Page
Introduction by the translator	1- 4
"Muhammedanism in China," by Vasil'ev	4-22
Preface to the Chinese proclamation, by Vasil'ev	22-29
Translation of the proclamation of a Chinese Muslim, published in Chinese, by Vasil'ev	29-35
List of identified Chinese characters for names, titles, or terms	35-37

INTRODUCTION

American and West European scholars have become increasingly aware of Russian literature on the history of the Far East and Central Asia during the nineteenth century. The present article is the earliest Russian contribution on Chinese Muslims and as such of special interest.

The author, Vasiliĭ Pavlovich Vasil'ev, the leading Russian Sinologue and Buddhist scholar of his time, was born into the family of a company grade officer in Nizhnij-Novgorod (now Gorkij) on 20 February 1818, and died in St. Petersburg on 27 April 1900.¹ Vasil'ev was unusually gifted and in 1834, when he was only sixteen years old, he entered the Oriental Section of the Philological Faculty at the University of Kazan. There he

1) Z. I. Gorbacheva, N. A. Petrov, G. F. Smykalov, B. I. Pankratov, "Ruskij kitaeved Vasiliĭ Pavlovich Vasil'ev (1818-1900)" (The Russian Sinologue, the Academician Vasiliĭ Pavlovich Vasil'ev; 1818-1900). In: *Očerki po istorii ruskogo vostokovedenija* (Essays on the history of Russian oriental studies). Moscow, AN SSSR, Institut Vostokovedenija, sbornik 2, 1956, p. 232-340, port., facs.; bibl., p. 329-340.

D. Pozdneev, "Vasil'ev, Vasiliĭ Pavlovich," *Éntsiklopedičeskij slovar'*, St. Petersburg, t. 5a (10; 1892), p. 607-609.

studied Mongol, Tatar, Sanskrit, Tibetan, Manchu, and Chinese. In 1840 he was sent to China where he was attached to the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking for further studies. Upon his return to Russia in 1850 he was appointed Professor of Oriental Languages at the University of Kazan (1851). In 1855 he was invited to join the Oriental Faculty of the University of St. Petersburg, where he served as Dean from 1878 to 1893. Vasil'ev was a prolific writer whose wide knowledge of China and the Far East made his research important beyond his generation.

At the time when Vasil'ev wrote this article the Manchu dynasty had been almost dislodged by internal upheavals: the T'ai-p'ing rebellion (1850-64), the Nien-fei revolt (1853-68), and the Muslim uprisings of the Panthays in Yünnan province (1855-73) and of Yakub Beg, who made himself ruler of Kashgaria (1865-77), as well as of the Chinese-speaking Tunganis (1861-78). The Muslim disturbances spread from Shensi to Sinkiang, covering a territory of some 1,230,000 square miles, and directly affected the life of more than ten million people.²

This period of decline in China coincided with the Russian conquest of Central Asia. The Russian expansion brought about a bitter rivalry with England which lasted throughout the remainder of the nineteenth century. The British at that time felt that their rule in India was jeopardized from the frontier of Russian Turkestan and through the Russian influence in the Chinese border regions. This friction culminated in the British invasion of Tibet and brief occupation of Lhasa in 1903-04 under Sir Francis Younghusband, while the Russians were immobilized by preparations for the war with Japan in 1904-05.

In view of the present alliance between the Soviet Union and Communist China with large Muslim populations in their

2) CHU Wen-djang. "The immediate cause of the Moslem rebellion in North-West China," *Central Asiatic Journal*, Wiesbaden-The Hague, 3:4 (1958), p. 309-316. Cf. also his review of *Hui-min ch'i-i* (The Moslem rebellions), ed. by PAI Shou-i (Peking, 1953), in the *Journal of Asian Studies*, 17:1 (Nov. 1957), p. 80-86.

adjacent border areas and intensive political activities among Muslim nations abroad, the contents of this article are timely again. When Vasil'ev wrote it, it represented the most reliable information then available. Meantime, this writer has traced 142 additional Russian items on Islam in China.³

Prior to publication as a pamphlet, the article was delivered as an address during the convocation at the University of St. Petersburg on 2 December 1867.⁴ It was republished in a volume of selected writings by Vasil'ev in 1900,⁵ and a German translation of it appeared in 1909.⁶

A Chinese proclamation prepared by a Muslim forms an integral part of the article. The Archimandrite Palladius,⁷ then

3) R. Loewenthal, "Russian materials on Islam in China: a preliminary bibliography," *Monumenta Serica*, Nagoya, 16:1-2 (1957), p. 449-479.

4) "O dvizhenii magometanstva v Kitae. Godichnyj torzhestvennyj akt v S.-Peterburgskom universitete 2 dekabria 1867 g." (On the Muslim movement in China. Annual convocation at St. Petersburg University on 2 December 1867). St. Petersburg, pechatnia A. Golovina, 1867. 30 p.; Chinese text 13 p. Russian translation of a Chinese proclamation by a Mohammedan with the assistance of the orientalist Aleksandr Kasimovich Kazembek.

This item is listed by Pëtr Emilianovich Skachkov, *Bibliografija Kitaiia...* (Bibliography of China...), Moscow-Leningrad, Gos. sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoe izd., 1932, p. 434, no. 6467, and in Z. I. Gorbacheva and others, "Russkij kitaeved ak. V. P. Vasil'ev," *op. cit.* (cf. note 1), p. 331.

5) Reprinted under the title: "Magometanstvo v Kitae" (Muhammedanism in China), without the Chinese text of the proclamation in: *Otkrytie Kitaiia i drugie stat'i akademika V. P. Vasil'eva* (The opening of China and other articles of the Academician V. P. Vasil'ev). St. Petersburg, Stolichnaia tip., 1900, p. 106-138. (Issued by the journal *Vestnik Vsemirnoj Istorii*.) Russian translation of the Chinese proclamation on p. 133-138.—The pagination in the text refers to this edition.

6) W. P. Wassiljew, *Die Erschliessung Chinas*. Deutsche Bearbeitung von Dr. Rudolf Stübe, mit Beiträgen von Prof. Dr. A. Conrady... Leipzig, Dietrich'sche Verlagsbuchhandlung Theodor Weicher, 1909. Ch. IV. "Der Mohammedanismus in China," p. 80-110; German translation of the Chinese proclamation on p. 104-110; notes and commentaries by A. Conrady, p. 220-236.—The present translator has checked his translation against the German translation by Stübe and has found it very helpful. In a few instances he disagrees with minor details.

7) Archimandrite Palladius (Russian church name: Palladij; family name: Pëtr Ivanovich Kafarov (1817-78), published three items on Chinese Muslim concerns:

head of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking, sent it to Vasil'ev. It was printed in large characters on a single sheet of paper in the typical form of Chinese government proclamations which were pasted on public buildings or walls. The text was reproduced in the original edition, but omitted in the reprinted version, as well as in the German translation. Chinese and Muslim names, titles, or terms have been identified from the proclamation and other sources; they are listed together with their Chinese characters in the appendix.

R. L.

MUHAMMEDANISM IN CHINA

(p. 106) In this article I am going to discuss whether China is ever to become a Muslim state.

It is obvious that the confirmation of the question which I have raised would be of world-wide importance. The Chinese population forms more than one-third of mankind. Thus, if the Chinese became Muslims, it would alter all the political relations of the countries of the old world. The Muslim world, which

- (a) "O magometanakh v Kitae" (On the Muhammedans in China). In: *Trudy CHlenov Rossijskoj Dukhovnoj Missii* (Works of the Members of the Russian Orthodox Mission), izd. Pekinskoj Dukhovnoj Missii, Peking, t. 4 (1886), p. 436-460; 2nd ed. (1910), p. 202-211.—English trans. by R. Loewenthal, "The Mohammedans in China," *Collectanea Commissionis Synodalis in Sinis*, Peking, 16:3-4 (March-April 1943), 17 p., incl. plan of a mosque. Miss C. Figourovsky published a partial English translation of the article in the *Chinese Recorder*, Shanghai, v. 49 (1918), p. 436-442.
- (b) "Kitajskaia literatura magometan; izlozhenie soderzhaniia na kitajskom iazyke, pod zaglaviiem IU lan'chzhi shen shi lu, sostavlennoe Liu-tsze-lian' (Chinese Muslim literature: a survey of Islamic works in Chinese, entitled *Yu-lin-shih san-shih-liu* 御林史三十六, compiled by LIU Tzu-liang 劉子良). St. Petersburg, 1874. 40 p. (*Trudy Vostochnago otd. Russkago Arkheologicheskago obshchestva*, vyp. 17 (1877), p. 149-188.)
- (c) *Kitajskaia literatura magometan: pokojnago o. arkhimandrita Palladiia* . . . izdal ieromonakh Nikolaj (Chinese Muslim literature; by the late Father Archimandrite Palladius; ed. posthumously by the monk Nikolaj Adoratskij). St. Petersburg, 1887. 334 p. (*Trudy imperatorskago Russkago arkheologicheskago obshchestva*, vyp. 18.)

would thus extend from Gibraltar to the Pacific Ocean, could rise again and once more threaten Christianity. The peaceful activities of the Chinese nation, which are needed by the rest of the world, could be transformed into a heavy yoke for other nations under the influence of an energetic and fanatical policy.

If this came to pass, there would be more than one political change. On the one hand, any thinking person cannot but be ever more convinced of the viability of the ideas originated in the Occident,¹ ideas which have triumphed over the spiritless speculations of the Orient; on the other hand, such a person has to consider the obstacles impeding mankind in its aspirations for progress based on science and genuine enlightenment.

Thus, until recently it could be claimed that the largest and most powerful oriental state was close to complete agreement with European ideas. (p. 107) The Chinese had begun to value and respect European science. Missionaries were freely admitted into the country. Who could predict that the protagonists of the Christian faith would meet there, not pagans, always more readily susceptible to the voice of truth, but fanatical followers of Muhammed.

I understand the surprise caused by a preface of this kind. Such a possibility has occurred neither to Europeans who have acquainted themselves with China through travelogues, nor to the most outstanding sinologues. In all of Chinese literature we find only a few lines regarding the Muslims in China, and it can be stated with certainty that until the present time the Chinese themselves and their government have been very little concerned with the existence of this faith which had entered from the Occident. This is, however, the destiny of all great cataclysms, not only in the Orient. At the beginning no notice is taken of them. In Chinese literature every student or official is carefully listed, no natural phenomenon is omitted, the height and width

The pagination after the footnote numbers refers to the second Russian edition, *Otkrytie Kitaiia*; the page numbers have also been inserted in the text of the English translation.

1) (p. 106) I include the Asian powers of Persia and Turkey in the Occident.

of each city wall and the size of each building are described. The names of all foreigners residing in China are listed in Chinese geographical writings, but the conversion of millions of Chinese to Islam went unnoticed.

The Muslim question in China has developed into a problem which has repeatedly occupied the European press during the past three or four years. In the course of the past fifteen years China has been shaken by the T'ai-p'ing Rebellion, by the plundering of the Nien-fei, by the incursions of the mountain people, and even more by the ruinous brigandage everywhere, because the hostile parties were bent on revenge. When the situation began to become more peaceful again, a strange new movement started and the Muslims of these regions appeared on the scene. During their initial successes the Muslims of Shensi province almost captured the provincial capital, Sian-fu, and almost penetrated to the Huang-ho (Yellow River). After they were dislodged from there, they were able to hold out (p. 108) until now in Kansu, another western province.

Although a Chinese province would be equal in size and population to any European state, the loss of a single province would not seriously jeopardize the existence of the present (Manchu) dynasty, if west of it the adjacent regions of Turkestan and Dzungaria had not likewise fallen into the hands of the Chinese Muslims. Even if the Peking court were to take away a Chinese province from them, the (Muslim) movement further west extending over several thousand *verst* (0.663 mile) would nevertheless form a serious threat even to a better army than the Chinese. We may conclude from the following fact how difficult it must be for the present (Manchu) government, weakened by constant uprisings, to recapture its domination over all the areas formerly under its control. Independently of the struggle against the Muslims in the interior of China, the Bogdo-khan, with habitual oriental conceit, announced during the past year that he had sent forth an army of 100,000 men in order to oust the (Muslim) insurgents from Turkestan and Dzungaria. True to his boastfulness he even appointed Liang-tse as his commander-in-chief of this army. He pursued him with continuous orders

because of his sluggishness and upbraided him because he did not move forward. When Liang-tse died, his subordinates reported to the Bogdo-khan that Liang-tse's whole army consisted of not more than 228 infantry and 61 cavalry men.

The Muslims who have remained completely independent in Turkestan and Dzungaria will of course be a menace to China proper, in which their co-religionists are living dispersed. But even if these regions reverted to Chinese domination, it is doubtful whether that would necessarily weaken Islam.

The question raised by me would be postponed for a few years only, perhaps for some decades, or even for a century; *i.e.*, understanding its comparative weakness it would simply again wait (p. 109) for a favorable moment to realize the aspirations which it has displayed at present.

I am not discussing the Turkic-speaking Muslims who live in the vast regions of Eastern Turkestan, from Hami (Qumul) to Kashgar, Yarkand, and further west through Kokand, Bukhara, Persia, and Turkish territory. Islam extends to the strait of Gibraltar. The Muslim Turks who are Chinese subjects cannot have any influence on the upheaval which is in the making. Fate has condemned them to suffering, a role to which they have steadfastly submitted throughout the millennia of history, always remaining in vassalage to their surrounding neighbors, and fighting each other whenever this dependence weakened. It is true that the Chinese government until now has attached great importance to all the insignificant upflarings of their restless Turkish subjects. Whole volumes have been written about their conquest and pacification. Thus, often European sinologues were induced to treat petty changes and uprisings as important facts. However interesting this region may be in many respects, for a long time to come it is going to remain largely without political significance for the rest of the world. In passing I would like to mention an insignificant splinter group of the Turkic-speaking people, who belong, however, to Mongolia, not to Turkestan. They have lived in China up to now and, in addition to their Muslim faith, they have maintained their own language. I am

speaking of the Salars in Kansu province at the Tibetan border. Even the Salars, however, in spite of their volatile and wild character, cannot wield any influence on the destiny of the Chinese nation, although our agents in the Kirgiz steppes have ascribed to them great power. If it were a question of simple conquest we would naturally not dispute the importance of any "foreigners" in China. Indeed, why could not the Turks of Qumul (Hami) and Kashgar, or, for that matter, the above-mentioned Salars, become conquerors (p. 110) of China, as we have seen that the Mongols and even the Manchus, peoples much weaker and less cultured, did in their time?

All the conquerors of China, however, were overcome by the culture of their vanquished subjects. Here, on the contrary, the point under discussion is that the victors might force China to change, to discard its age-old tradition, in one word, to alter the spirit of the country.

Only the Chinese themselves can, of course, be such victors and reformers, while the Muslims, who appeared there as if they had come out of the ground, established themselves so firmly that they might become "protagonists" of the Chinese future.

It is a question whether to take their forbears for pure Arabs as the Muslims themselves want us to believe, or for Uigurs, based on the indigenous Chinese appellation of Muslims, who used to be of minor importance in Central Asia but who, after merging with the Tanguts, became more influential. Whatever their origin, we have to do with Chinese who adopted Islam only in language and personal appearance. They do not ask anything from their compatriots, except that they partake in the blessings of the religion which they confess and which they want to make the dominant religion of all China.

These Chinese Muslims do not limit themselves to the region of the actual rebellion. On the contrary, they appear scattered all over China. In spite of the scanty Chinese sources, I have a very clear idea about the distribution of Muslims in China, as I obtained rather reliable information during my sojourn in Peking

from Abd-el Karim, a Chinese Muslim lecturer at Peking, and from newspaper clippings.

Kansu province, which is at present occupied by the Muslim rebels, (p. 111) must rightly be considered the center of Chinese Muhammedanism. There exist in the district of Hou-chou more than 1,300 mosques, while in the provincial capital of Lan-chou fu and environs the mosques likewise number almost 1,000. From these figures we can judge the progress of Muhammedanism in other sections of the province. We know that one of the largest commercial centers on the Huang-ho, Ning-hsia, the ancient capital of the Tanguts, is mainly inhabited by Muslims. Recent newspaper reports confirm this information. The predominance of Muslims is even more pronounced in the district of Liang-chou fu, in the far northwestern corner of China, especially in the area between Hami and the Great Wall. According to our maps we usually consider the region northwest of the Great Wall as a desert. Actually, that is not so; rather it forms the principal trade route of Central Asia, which is lined by villages, inns, and mosques because, according to the reports of all travellers, the people there are Muslims without exception.

It is obvious that the Muslims of this province preponderate, as Kansu province is so important for Muhammedanism. This (Chinese province) is situated closest to the Islamic world. The Muslims of Arabia, Persia, Bukhara, and even those of our Kazan at the time of their independence, used to communicate with China via Hami and further east on the above-mentioned routes. Thus, the first missionaries necessarily appeared here; but this is not the only peculiarity of Kansu Province. During the period of antiquity it was not a purely Chinese region. When it was taken from the Tibetans and the inhabitants of Mongolia, it was not only deprived of its former settlers but also exposed to the continual influx of neighboring tribes. This pressure lasted until the sixteenth century.

We find, however, that Muslims are also dispersed in other parts of the country. The present rebellion started in Shensi province (p. 112) and from this fact alone it is obvious that its

Muslim population must be very considerable. Actually, when the Chinese government suppressed the insurrection, I encountered in a Peking newspaper the mention of a continuous string of Muslim settlements along the north bank of the Wei-ho (river) to which the Chinese army penetrated. It was also mentioned in that newspaper that thousands and tens of thousands of Muslim natives of Shensi province had fled in fear of the Chinese army in Kansu province. The Chinese emperor has promised to pardon them if they return to their former homes.

Further east is situated Shansi province. There Muslims are known to exist only in the environs of Ta-t'ung fu near the Mongolian border. Because of the Mongol inclination to Lamaistic Buddhism one would least suppose that Muslims live there. Islam has spread, nevertheless, throughout all the major cities of Mongolia. Toward the south Mongolia is not so desolate and does not have any nomads as our maps indicate. In Kuke-khoto, the main commercial center of Mongolia, the famous travellers Huc and Gabet had already encountered Muslims. Further east, in the vicinity of the summer residence of the Bogdo-khan Kheze, which has become famous through the travelogue of Macartney, the *Peking Gazette* reported during the last years, still before the uprising of the Kansu Muslims, the brigandage of MA Tehsin. Whence can Muslims have arrived there? We know, however, definitely that all the Chinese mutton merchants (butchers?) are Muslims. China does not possess any meadows and thus no animal husbandry. Mongolia provides China with meat. Herds of sheep pass Peking on their way southward; they even swim across the Yangtze-chiang. The existence of a mosque in the city of Tsitsihar, the capital of the Manchurian Amur province, *i.e.*, close to the Russian border, at the beginning of the eighteenth century is even more remarkable. That is presumably the northeasternmost extension of Muhammedanism, (p. 113) although I believe that our Russians could easily find Muslims and their mosques even along the Aigun.

We know that there are thirteen mosques in Peking and that some 20,000 Muslim families live there. In addition, I was shown whole villages near Peking which are entirely Muslim.

The following fact deserves even more attention. The followers of the Prophet in Peking are quite numerous, as was mentioned above; meantime, I know that all the mullahs of the Peking mosques receive their training in the trade center of Lin-tsing chou which is located on the famous Imperial Canal much further southeast. If we were told that the Peking mullahs come from the western provinces of Shensi and Kansu, it would be understandable because those provinces form the Muslim center. Realizing, however, that its entire center, to which Peking likewise belongs, lies in Northwest China, we can imagine how strong Muhammedanism must be in Lin-tsing chou.

I cannot state with certainty whether the Muslims are numerous in the other southern maritime provinces of China. However, judging by the fact that a Muslim minaret rises in Chekiang province and that Li-chih (in Palladius: LIU Tzu-liang), a Muslim author who is recognized among the Chinese (*literati*), was born in Nanking, I should think that the number of Muslims there is not small. I am convinced of this because of what I shall say below about the expansion of Islam from across the sea. However that may be, Muhammedanism extends along the sea (coast) to Canton, where we encounter in Chinese geographical writings the Muslim mosque of Huai-shen-ssu with a 165-foot minaret, probably mentioned here for the first time.

We can conclude from a recent proclamation, discussed below, that the Muslims are not less numerous in Southeast than in Northwest China. (p. 114) In this proclamation Nanking and Canton are considered Muslim settlements, as well as Sian fu.

Most remarkable, however, is the existence of Muslims in Yünnan, the southwesternmost province of China, adjacent to India but separated from it by the most barbarous savages; thus Islam could not possibly enter (China) from India. I learned of the existence of Islam in Yünnan from the *Peking Gazette* as early as the late 1840's on the occasion of a revolt of the local Muslims. When we speak of an uprising in a large monarchy which at that time was still enjoying complete peace, it could not have been started by chance by a small number of isolated

Muslims. We can draw the conclusion that Islam dates far back in Yünnan from the fact that Machi-Yusuf, one of the principal Muslim writers, who lived at the end of the seventeenth century, was born there.

Between Yünnan and Kansu lies Szechwan, one of the most remarkable provinces of China. I have heard quite frequently from other Muslims that Muslims are living there.

We can assume the existence of Islam in Hu-Kuang (Hunan and Kwangsi provinces) because a Muslim who wrote the preface to the Muslim work *Ch'ing-chen-shih* was born in that province.

Even if I cannot say anything positive about the distribution of Muslims in the central provinces of China, I am fully justified in assuming that they likewise live there scattered, although in small communities, taking into account what I am going to say about their convenient method of propagandizing.

Thus, there are sufficient regions for which I have pointed out with certainty the spreading of Islam. From this summary it is apparent that Muhammedanism has established its advance posts all over China. Sooner or later it will probably encompass the whole Chinese empire.

(p. 115) Recently a controversy almost arose regarding the Muslim population, whether they numbered from 20 to 30 million or only four million people. Nothing could be more ridiculous than to make (population) estimates without any (factual) data. It will suffice to define the regions in which Muhammedanism has been established, although it is only an approximation. Historical facts about the expansion of Muhammedanism in China may be scarce but, in spite of its failure to attain political influence in China, it has not vanished. (As a matter of fact), it is expanding, even if slowly, and will continue to do so in the future.

This expansion, like the spreading of Buddhism, occurred from two sides: by sea and through Turkestan; *i.e.*, on the same roads over which in earlier times China was able to communicate with the rest of the world. (Mongolia and Manchuria in the

west at that time did not as yet serve as passage routes.)

The first acquaintance of China with Muhammedanism was hostile on both sides. Until the Arabs appeared on the historical scene, Chinese influence extended without doubt as far as Persia. The Arabs not only destroyed this friendly vassal state of the T'ang dynasty but also inflicted a blow on their allies in Maweranhara and Transoxania. Subsequently the Tibetans were the first ones to check the successes of Arab might at the foot of the Tsung-ling (mountain range).

The arrival of Arabs by sea is reported for the first time in 758 when they attacked Canton. In that year "they burned the state granaries and buildings and returned to the sea." From all further reports, however, we must conclude that the Chinese established friendly relations with the Muhammedans for the first time across the sea. Both (the Chinese and the Arabs) linked themselves because of mutual commercial advantages. The Chinese government may never have shown interest in trade, but the local authorities took good care of their own interests.

In the Chinese sources we find a distinct reference that as early as (p. 116) in 1192 the governor of Canton did not pay any attention when a representative of a Muslim business establishment indulged in illegal activities, (for instance), the construction of buildings, not permitted according to Chinese law. This attitude can be explained because it was necessary to attract foreign visitors in order to increase the state income. How advantageous this was for the foreigners is apparent from the mention of the same writer regarding the owner of the business establishment who, he said, was the richest man on earth and cast money away like mud.

The maritime provinces found themselves in a much more favorable position as far as foreign trade was concerned by the end of the eighth century. After that the power of the Chinese emperors began to weaken. The governors showed him only outward respect and ruled their provinces arbitrarily. Thus, they were able to look after local interests and to protect foreign trade.

In fact, the first information about China which was preserved by Arab writers originated from persons who went to China by sea. The same sources confirm the large number of Muslims who used to reside in the maritime cities and the hospitality with which they were received. The Arab merchant Sulaiman, who visited China in the middle of the ninth century, already mentioned that the Muslims of the city of Khanfu (Canton) had their own *qadi* for (the administration of their internal affairs) and that during the prayer they pronounced the *khutba* for the Muslim sultan. Masudi, who lived in the first half of the tenth century, tells an anecdote about how the Chinese emperor himself took part in the case of a merchant who was oppressed by a customs official, how a (member of the) Quraysh (tribe) had the honor to be presented to the Son of Heaven (Fagfuru). We can judge the large number of Muslims who resided in China at that time by the fact that 200,000 Muslims, Christians, and Jews perished in the city of Khanku (or Khanfu, the present Canton) when the rebel Huang Ch'ao took it (in 879 A.D.). In that city situated seven days travel from the sea (coast) up the Tsian (river), ships arrived at that time from Basra, Siraf, the (Pacific) Ocean, India, the islands of Zabezh(?), Sind, and other (places).

(p. 117) Ibn Battuta saw much later, at the beginning of the fourteenth century under the Yüan dynasty, an immense throng of Muslims during his whole journey from the southernmost port. In Hang-chou (Khansa) he found a whole city quarter which was inhabited by Muslims. The shops were constructed according to Muslim custom. There were mosques, muezzins, and even a monastery with Sufi monks. The presence of *qadis* and Islamic sheiks (Shaikh-al-Islam?) was also mentioned in other cities.

Without, however, even suspecting that the stories of these Arab travellers are exaggerated—Marco Polo's travelogue gives good cause for that, as he makes almost no mention of Muslims in China—we can establish only two facts from them. First, that the Muslims under the Yüan dynasty did not have free access to China by land; secondly, that, however large the

number of Muslim visitors to China by the sea route may have been, they were nevertheless temporary guests and had no intention at all of spreading their faith among the indigenous Chinese. The Muslims who visited China at that time and stayed on for a number of years could leave the hospitable country again, as do the Europeans now. The arrival of foreign visitors in the port cities might possibly have been interrupted by domestic disturbances in China, such as the destruction of Khanku (Canton) at the time of Huang Ch'ao, or the fighting of the Sung dynasty in South China against the Mongols. That may be the reason that Marco Polo did not see any Muslims. The words of the above-mentioned Sung writer, a contemporary of Chinggis Khan, have led me to this surmise. In his narrative about the Canton business establishment this author described the Muslim creed as entirely unknown in China, as only ignorant Chinese irony could refer to an alien faith. For instance, he took a Muslim minaret for a toilet and he rendered the word Allah (by the characters) Ao-ya. The same author speaks of the settling of the owner of a "factory" in Canton as an exceptional case. He arrived by sea before a storm; (p. 118) as he feared to return home, he requested to stay in Canton. Likewise, Ibn Battuta speaks of a certain Othman who settled in Hang-chou as an especially remarkable personality. Hence, the settling of Muslims in China was still rare at that time. Thus, if Marco Polo followed the rule in writing only about the permanently settled Muslims there, he felt justified in not mentioning visitors. There is still another observation: Ibn Battuta called all the Muslims whom he met by Arab names and does not mention anywhere that they were sinicized or that the Chinese themselves had become Muslims. Moreover, from the fact that the appellation of the Muslims corresponds to the name of a people originating in Mongolia, it follows that it appeared only with the expansion of Muhammedanism in North China. We can likewise conclude that the sea ports were not centers of Muhammedanism and the native Muslims of the Southeast became transformed into Chinese only when Muhammedanism got permanently established in the north. This event could, however, not have taken place before the middle of the fourteenth century. As a matter of fact, the oldest

Muhammedan inscription in one of the Chinese mosques dates from this time.

It is apparent that Muhammedanism was still able to penetrate by land to the Chinese capital under the T'ang dynasty, of course, with foreign embassies and merchants whom the writers of that period called terrible villains. According to the words of the scholar Shih-hu they were hiding arms in their private temples and came into conflict with the imperial armies, but the Manicheans soon dislodged them from the capital. Since then nothing is heard of their existence. Ibn Battuta stated positively that at his time there were no Muslims in North China. Marco Polo corroborated that. He found that Muslims predominated in Eastern Turkestan. According to him, Muslims were already rare further east from the Lob-nor. (p. 119) He made quite clear the prevalence of Nestorianism among the Muslims there. According to Marco Polo the predominant religion in the proper Tangut possessions which began at Hami was idolatry, *i.e.*, Buddhism. In all the other regions of China Marco Polo encountered only idol worship (Buddhism), with the single exception of the city of Jacin (Yün-nan fu) on the Tibetan border, (where) he mentioned (the presence) of Saracens. Presumably they arrived there with Mongol troops who ravaged these regions under Möngke Khan. The above-mentioned Tangut state was to play an important role in the destiny of the Orient. Much that appears obscure to us in the centuries before (the rule of) Chinggis Khan, we simply do not understand because, until now, the history of the Tangut empire has not received the attention which it deserves.

The Tangut empire was established in the center of present Muhammedanism in Northwest China, although the imperial house originated from the Tibetan T'ang-hsiang tribe, *i.e.*, Tanguts. The mainstay of this empire, however, were the Uigurs who lived inside China, as well as beyond its frontiers westwards to Qumul (Hami) and Urumchi. This is the (key to the) solution of the famous controversy which was formerly aroused by a passage of the Mongol historian Sanang Secen who asserted that the Uigurs at the time of Chinggis Khan were called Tanguts. We

find an explanation of this confusion even at the present time. The Chinese themselves call the Chinese Muslims Uigurs, but the Turkish Muslims they name Tunganis. Obviously, this designation is corrupted through the transposition of the two vowels frequently occurring in the word Tangun (Tangut is the plural form of Tangun).

These Uigur Tanguts are interesting not only for their political tenacity through which they preserved their independence for almost three centuries (to the time of Chinggis Khan). (They did this) first by holding out against all China (their spirit still survives in their descendants) which was at that time under the Sung dynasty and then checked the expansion (p. 120) of the Kitans and Jurchens. We have every reason to believe that their political influence before the appearance of Chinggis Khan also extended to his opponent Wang Khan, identified by Marco Polo as Prester John. It spread likewise to the Uigurs and Turks who lived further west of Hami which bordered on the proper territory of the Hsia empire. The Uigur Tanguts apparently had an even greater influence on the intellectual development of the Orient, as they combined within themselves Chinese civilization with western ideas and Tibetan religion. Until recently we believed that the Uigurs brought the alphabet in Central Asia first only to the descendants of Chinggis Khan, a script from which also the present-day Manchus derived their system of writing. From recently discovered documents it is, however, apparent that the Tanguts and Jurchens adopted this script and probably the Kitans too. Uigur learning of which Arabshah made so much was merely an adaptation of Chinese scholarship. The religious influence of the Uigurs, however, which was most important, has not been investigated until now.

I mentioned above that the courage of the Tibetans halted the eastward expansion of Arab political power. As the enemies of their religion we find again the Uigurs. The Chinese and Muslim writers (Masudi) alike agree that the Uigurs under the T'ang dynasty adopted Manicheism with which the Chinese likewise sympathized, especially out of gratitude for the help which the Uigurs rendered during the rebellion of AN Lu-shan. Due

to this conversion the Uigurs did not permit Muhammedanism to spread further east. At the time of the Yüan dynasty the Uigurs were not only Buddhists but representatives of Buddhist learning. When the imperial court at Peking intended to correct or supplement Chinese translations of Buddhist books, they invited Uigur scholars. Ch'ang-ch'un found in the Uigur capital a collection of Buddhist books. I believe that Uigur learning had a great influence on the development of recent Lamaism. The European (p. 121) missionaries were always surprised by the resemblance of the external appearance and rites of these lamas with those of the Roman Catholic (priests); but they did not take into consideration that Tsongkapa, the founder of modern Lamaism, came from Tangutia which kept up relations with all the Christian (communities). Thus, the well-meaning missionaries did not have to resort to explaining this similarity as an artifice of the devil!

The Uigurs, as evident, kept to Buddhism even after the fall of the Yüan dynasty. We find mentioned in Chinese sources that as late as during the second half of the sixteenth century (c. 1570) Buddhist monasteries existed in Hami but that their countrymen further west in Turfan were already Muslims. Ali, the sultan of Turfan, often invaded Hami. Obviously, religious zeal was a contributing cause. The inhabitants of Hami and the regions further east sometimes sought protection with the Chinese, at other times they returned to their country. Nevertheless, we find in the Chinese histories that in China proper foreigners, *Hui-ho*, were living in the provinces of Kansu and Shensi. According to my opinion Muhammedanism became the prevailing religion in China during this period. We must, however, admit that the Chinese may have transferred the appellation *Hui-ho* from the Uigurs, Turks who lived nearest and last to the Chinese borders, to all the other Turkish peoples further west. Similarly, the Chinese traveller Ch'ang-ch'un called all the peoples of Western Turkestan by this name as early as at the beginning of the thirteenth century. Thus, it is possible that Muhammedanism was known among the Chinese as the Uigur religion, even before the Uigurs actually became Muslims. This does not mean, however, that Muhammedanism was established earlier in China.

The merchants from the west could also enter China by land, but as in the case of the maritime regions, only sporadically.

The Ming history positively states that the Muslims spread all over China only under the Yüan dynasty. That is very natural, (p. 122) after the conquest of the East and West the Mongols certainly knew how to utilize their heterogenous subjects who enlisted in their army through intermingling from one region to another. Among the officials surrounding the Mongol emperors we encounter also persons with Muslim names, but that does not prove that the Mongols especially favored the Muslim religion. Perhaps this was the result of the past centuries of hostile feelings of the rival nations confronting each other in Central Asia, the Mongols and the Turks. In the old privileges, written in ancient Mongol script, which have come down to us, only Buddhist monks, Taoist and Christian priests (*Erkegün*) are mentioned, but nowhere is this favor shown to the Muslim mullahs. In Persia itself and in the Qipchaq region the Mongol khans became converted to Muhammedanism only after several generations, after the ties with their native land were already broken off. In Eastern Turkestan, where the people likewise professed Muhammedanism long since, the princes of Mongol origin turned to Islam after the Mongols were already expelled from China.

The non-Muslim Chinese themselves do not speak of the spreading of Islam among the Chinese before the Ming dynasty (1368-1644). The following is contained in their books: "After the flight of the last Mongol emperor, when Peking was taken (1368), Muslim books, which nobody could decipher, were found in the imperial library. The first Ming emperor ordered the scholars Ma-sha-i-hei and Ma-ha-ma to translate them. As a consequence of that Muhammedanism in China began to spread so that it could no longer be destroyed." Elsewhere the scholar HAN Shih-chun, who was already living under the present dynasty, said that of the three religions: Christianity, Manicheism, and Islam, which penetrated into China, Muhammedanism alone spread wide and that even scholars and officials began to join it.

Of course, a simple translation which was made for (p. 123)

the emperor, a translation which was not published in print, could not arouse reverence for a religion if there did not exist commentaries. There exist also other important reasons for this change.

The Ming dynasty confined itself in China proper. It did not extend its power beyond the borders and took a hostile attitude to all its neighbors because it wanted to isolate itself from the rest of the world. Before the foundation of the (Ming) dynasty, however, there lived in various parts of the country different foreign groups who had settled there even before the Mongols through the political influence of the Kitans, Jurcens, and Tanguts. In the same way the Muslims, who went to China for trading purposes, became Chinese subjects. The founder of the Ming dynasty averted the customary hatred of the Chinese, who had suffered so long from these foreigners and who were prepared to extirpate them, by commanding the Chinese to leave them in peace. Anyhow, sooner or later these settlers had to become Chinese. Adopting, however, the language and outward appearance of the Chinese, these new Chinese (Muslims) nevertheless could not forget their foreign origin. They expressed the remembrance of this origin most strongly by retaining their religion which was alien to the Chinese. In spite of their superior education the Chinese were never able to arouse sympathy among foreigners. It is obvious that the same feeling which inspired all necessarily led to a religion. It is likewise understandable why this religion was Muhammedanism. If the Chinese maritime trade was predominantly in Muslim hands, the Muslims were also closer to China by land. Whatever the facts, we see, however, that Muhammedanism gained especially in those regions in which history shows us that foreigners settled in China under the earlier dynasties (prior to the Ming dynasty). All the garrisons, colonies, and factories which were established for trading purposes have long ago adopted Chinese characteristics and the Chinese language. That explains also why Muhammedanism drifted into Yünnan province. History shows us that this province (p. 124) under Mongol leadership put up the longest resistance to the (first) Ming emperor.

It is, however, quite unnecessary to assume that all the Chinese Muslims were Uigurs who lived everywhere (in China) or, as the Chinese Muslims want us to believe, that they were descendants of Arabs, who were sent to China as far back as at the time of Muhammed.

There are three variants of that fact. According to one source of the Ming history, compiled during the eighteenth century under emperor Ch'ien-lung, the Muslim religion first penetrated China through one or several Arabs, the *Sahaba* (fighting companions of Muhammed): Sa'id (Sa-a-di) Gan-ge-sy (or Sahaba Sa-a-di-kan vo-sy-ge) under the Sui dynasty (581-619); *i.e.*, still before the beginning of the *hejira*.

According to a poem in my possession about the origin of Islam (*Hui-hui yüan-lai*), composed under the present (Manchu) dynasty which was established in 1644, a T'ang emperor dreamed of a man wearing a turban, who drove devils from his court. After consulting his ministers he therefore sent the noble Shitan with a letter to the Hui (Muslim) emperor. The Hui emperor rejoiced and sent him three envoys in return: Kai Ssu, Wu Aissu, and Ge-sin, with a reply. Two of them, however, died on their way and only Ge-sin reached the Bogdo-Khan with whom he conversed and whom he convinced of the superiority of the Muslim doctrine.

Recently I received the proclamation of a district magistrate in which he set forth the Muslim dogma. He also gives the following details:

In 632 WAN Ko-ssu,² the uncle of the greatest High Priest Mu-han-mo-te came to China from Arabia (*T'ien-fang*) attended by 3,000 horsemen and carrying with him the book *Ku-erh-wa-i* (koran). When the Chinese emperor saw the wisdom, tact, and deep learning of the newly arrived dignitary (*ta-jen*), he ordered the authorities of the capital (Ch'ang-an; now Sian) (p. 125) to

2) (p. 124) The names Gangesy or Vogyge in the Ming history, Ge-sing in the poem, and WAN Ko-ssu in the proclamation are sufficiently close for comparison.

build a mosque (*ssu*) of great purity and truth (*ch'ing-chen*—Chinese term for Muhammedanism) and through entreaties prevailed upon the dignitary to settle with his retinue in the capital of Ch'ang-an. Because they performed the *namaz* (*le-ma-tzu*) five times every day and worshiped (*li-pai*) turning to the West, the mosque was also called prayer-house (*li-pai-ssu*—the Chinese term for mosque). Later, when the number of Arabs kept increasing all the time, emperor T'ai-tsung (627-649) ordered the construction of an additional mosque each in Chiang-ning (Nanking) and Kuang-chou (Canton) and settled them (the Arabs) there.

All these documents do not contain a grain of historical truth and do not show that the Chinese Muslims have forgotten their origin and want to explain it with pretentious tales. We see only the bare fact that the Muslims wrote about themselves in Chinese for the first time since the beginning of the Manchu dynasty. Actually, even before it was almost impossible for them to do that because under the Ming dynasty they had to establish themselves more firmly in China, to obliterate their real origin, to adjust themselves to the new situation, and to enter into relations among themselves.

It is also necessary to remark that the Chinese Muslims do not want to have any relations with the Uigurs. In their name *Hui-hui* (proper meaning "to return") they see a literal translation of the word Mussulman.

I mentioned above that the Tangut empire, which was also called Uigur, bestowed its twofold name on the Chinese Muslims. That empire was called Ta-Hsia in Chinese, the same name by which the Arabs in China were known. The Muslims utilized this accidental similarity in order to derive their origin from the Arabs, instead of from the Uigurs.

**PREFACE TO THE CHINESE PROCLAMATION,
BY VASIL'EV**

(p. 126) The Muslim aspiration of proselytizing and the fanaticism which does not tolerate other faiths are well known.

This is not the first attempt to put into effect this aspiration. When the Ming dynasty fell, the Muslims wanted likewise to utilize the confusion reigning in China. Their resistance at that time was by far more serious than during the rebellion which took place a century later in Lan-chou. Another century passed and they advanced again. This patience of the Muslims who are usually so fanatic shows that they follow the right path and at some time will reach their goal.

If the Chinese Muslims actually consisted only of descendants of early immigrants, the question might be justified whether all China might not turn to Islam at some time. This question presupposes that Islam is continuously gaining converts among the natives. Thus, the problem is only whether this expansion can ever be halted.

I mentioned earlier the observation of a Chinese author that Islam is arousing sympathy among Chinese scholars and officials. I am of the opinion that the author should rather have said that the Muslims are holding various kinds of positions; they are to be found in the academies, in the civil and military services, but they are most widely spread among the common people with whose beliefs neither the government nor Chinese literature are concerned. The Muslims are spreading even more propaganda among the lower and middle than among the higher classes. Their new faith, however, does not keep anybody from pursuing his usual civic occupation, like agriculture, trade, learning, and, provided he has sufficient means and ability, a Muslim, like every other Chinese, can become a mandarin. There is no better support that a missionary of any faith might have!

Will it actually be an advantage that Muhammedanism renounces proselytizing nowhere but in China? (p. 127) The fact alone that all Muhammedans show the Chinese type proves that the immigrants mixed with the natives by marrying Chinese women. This still continues at the present time, while we read terrible curses against Muslim women who marry non-Muslims and (threats of) persecution against those who arrange these marriages in the above-mentioned proclamation.

We know that Christians succeeded in making new converts even during persecutions. If this was so, what then prevented the (Chinese) Muslims, who were left undisturbed in their faith, from persuading others to accept their religion. We are right in assuming that no missionary society organized its propaganda so well as the Chinese Muslims. They did it without any turbulence and without any encouragement on the part of foreign nations. In contrast to Christianity, because of this, they did not attract attention even in China itself. First, the Chinese Muslim missionary is at the same time a Chinese (subject). Thus, he is not conspicuous and knows better than any other religious propagandist where and when to act. He knows the spirit of his compatriots, he has the same education as they, he speaks their language and does not in the least provoke their derision because of poor pronunciation, as is inevitably the case with Catholic missionaries.

The Muslims never appealed to the Chinese government with requests for privileges. On the contrary, apparently they made efforts from time to time to be forgotten. Everywhere else Muslim minarets tower above other buildings, but in China the mosques are hidden among adjacent one-story houses. Everywhere else the Muslims shave their heads, wear turbans and dressing-gowns, but the Chinese Muslims have cues, don Chinese caps with buttons, everything identical with the other Chinese. They can only be recognized by their somewhat trimmed mustaches, but the other Chinese are not prohibited by law from doing this.

(p. 128) Relying on the word of Muslims, as they express themselves in their Chinese literature, Islam in no way differs from the principal ideas inherent in all Chinese, which are based on the study of the Confucian classics. Although the Chinese Muslims are imbued with the same ideas which in the west neither the Jews nor the Christians tolerate and although they recognize (Jesus) Christ and Moses as prophets, they are most lenient toward pagan Confucianism. They bend all their efforts to proving to their Chinese compatriots that their dogma does not differ by a hair's breadth from the teaching of Confucius.

The only difference, according to the Chinese Muslims who justify themselves by a Confucian idea, is that one must not change one's customs. These consist in keeping the traditions of the forefathers regarding weddings and funerals, in refraining from eating pork, drinking wine, or smoking tobacco, in prohibiting vice and hazard games, and in making ablutions before prayers. These are admittedly not bad qualities. The Chinese Muslims endeavor, however, to pass over in silence their main dogmas.

Because of this the Muslims were able to present the Muslim religion to the Chinese scholars, who were trying to be impartial, in such a way that they preferred it to Christianity. A contemporary Chinese scholar has this to say about Islam: "The Arab religion serving Supreme Heaven corresponds to the Confucian serving the Supreme Lord of Heaven. With that it has only combined the borrowed precepts of Buddhism concerning prayers, fasting, divine worship, charity, and the doctrine of retribution. In its main foundations it does not impair the moral (*i.e.*, natural) religion by allowing the three kinds of sacrifices: the highest (to Heaven, Earth, Sun, and Moon); the middle ones (to mountains, rivers, water, and soil); and the lowest (in ancestral temples and at graves). It rates higher than Christianity which is one-sided and partial." Due to the fact that in Islam sacrifices are permitted, Muslims may become officials without difficulty. A Chinese mandarin, irrespective of his religion (Taoist or Buddhist), is at the same time a Confucian priest because Confucianism does not (p. 129) recognize other priests, except state officials. He sacrifices in the Confucian temples and is present during the national festivals. The Muslims participate in all these ceremonies considering them as ordinary customs. Knee bending (the kotow) does not mean anything to them, while it is impossible for Christians to perform this duty.

Beside its influence of power, wealth, commercial and industrial relations, Muhammedanism has other features which could be especially attractive to the uneducated and poor classes. For instance, the *zakat* (poor tax), according to which everyone whose income exceeds a certain amount (in China 14 *liang* or 30

rubles—approximately \$14.30, though the domestic purchasing power was much higher at that time), contributes every fortieth part to the poor.

To the poor Chinese who are numerous such a religion must appear as a pure blessing. They have nothing to lose and can receive help. Even the Christian missions attracted the poor people only through their gifts.

There is, however, another factor which keeps Islam alive and which prevents its downfall; namely, the structure of the Muslim community.

In the above-mentioned proclamation we read as follows:

"The lord (WAN Ko-ssu, still at the time of Muhammed) has written down the regulations and laws and appointed three persons to be in charge of religious affairs: the *imam*, the *khatib*, and the *muezzin*, so that they would support religious affairs in their completeness, without breaking them or omitting anything in them, explaining them to the faithful, demanding that everybody comply with the laws and take them into consideration (in his actions). In case unlawful deeds are committed, the three administrators of religion must impose punishment without lenience and without delay. If those three administrators should fail to do so, the elders of the community should dismiss them and appoint in their place more deserving persons who are distinguished by their learning as *ahungs*." Elsewhere we find the statement that those who are insubordinate to the decree of a *mullah* can be handed over for punishment to the civil authorities.

Thus, as we know the religious fanaticism of Islam, as we see that in China (p. 130) it can even count on help from government authorities, and as we know that even in the government itself there are many high Muslim officials, we do not have any reason to doubt that the Muslims will overlook any opportunity for expansion.

I do not intend to report in great detail about that. I wanted only to say that the seeming indifference on the part of Islam is

only a veiled pretense. During the past years there transpired a fact which revealed all these secrets behind the scenes.

I have already mentioned above that the successes of the Muslim rebellion were especially favored by the circumstance that the whole western region joined it. That territory, consisting of Turkestan and Dzungaria, was conquered at the beginning of the second half of the eighteenth century. Garrisons were established in Turkestan, but their strength was not sufficient for them to have contained the pressure of the Turks if they had not been supported by the Dzungars. The Chinese government slaughtered all the Dzungars and established military colonies consisting of Manchus, Chahars, and others. Not satisfied with that, the Chinese government kept in various parts of the whole western territory an independent army of more than 20,000 men who were brought there from China proper, especially from the northwestern provinces. The Muslims there always willingly entered the Chinese military service because in China it offers many advantages. The Chinese government gladly accepted the Muslims out of preference for their energy. Thus, a great part of the garrisons in the western region has consisted of Muslims in recent times. When these Muslims learned of the rebellion at home, in which the local troops probably participated, it was easy for them to arouse the western territory. The officers were likewise Muslims. I do not believe the cruelties which have been reported to our agents in the Kirgiz steppe. The Muslims certainly encountered friends and sympathizers among the merchants, the peasants, the common people, and the deportees because (p. 131) these were all kinsmen, emigrants from China, even if they were not Muslims. The Manchus alone were natural enemies of the insurrection, but they were not numerous and they were actually exterminated. Other settlers of Dzungaria, Solon and Sibo tribesmen, realized the strength of the Muslims and started negotiating with them. The Muslims then announced that they would have to adopt Islam if they wanted to remain safe. To this the Solon and Sibo tribesmen acquiesced.

Thus, if at some time the Muslims should gain the upper hand in China politically, they would certainly approach the other

Chinese with the same request; and who could offer them resistance? It appears to me that for the Chinese it is much easier to change their religion than their mode of dress which occurred after the establishment of the Manchu dynasty (in 1644).

The orientals do not have the concept of attachment to religion which is prevalent in the occident. Orientals do not live with their hearts but with their daily needs. Confucianism, Buddhism, and Taoism do not arouse any affection of the heart among their worshipers. As I stated earlier, Buddhism and Taoism are essentially religions of priests. Every western religion can utilize this coldness; but in my opinion all the present changes are in favor of Islam.

At least this coldness may serve as a guarantee that Islam, in spite of possible political failures, cannot be destroyed in China. It is not given to oriental religions to suppress the ardor which has been implanted by western ideas. Once the Chinese have become Muslims, however, they will of course also lose their former (religious) indifference.

.....

Until now I have paid more attention to the influence of the orient on the occident than vice versa. We all know from childhood about the movement of the barbarians who destroyed the Roman empire, but we have lost sight of the fact that this same movement was provoked by the campaigns of Alexander the Great. His founding of (p. 132) the Bactrian kingdom produced a revolution in the destiny of the Central Asian peoples. The great monarchy of the Huns was formed only after that period. The descendants of the Diadochi of Alexander appeared before the walls of China. As early as during the eighth century of our era the Greek Alexander, renamed by the Chinese AN Lu-shan, shook the throne of the Chinese emperor and occupied it for a short period. The names of Greeks and Macedonians were preserved in Central Asia among the appellations of nations as Ch'i-chih-chien and Kitan. The latter designation was applied later on to China itself. That is why we also encounter in the countries of the Far East words of Greek and Roman origin.

The research of Professor Chwolson (Orest Danilovich KHvol'son) shows that the Turks did not come from under the Chinese walls, but appeared from Europe under the walls of China. According to Turkish literary documents in the Crimea this dates from the Christian era.

I am firmly convinced that the enlightenment of India started only during the time of Alexander the Great. At least I hope to prove that the Buddha did not appear before that warrior.

Even if we suppose that Buddhism was of purely Indian origin, we must say that its earliest and highest development took place in the northwestern regions. We know that Buddhism turned from the northwest straight to the east and was able to expand solely eastwards. Thus, anyhow, western ideas prevailed and exercised influence on oriental ideas. Why then did not Islam, which is more pure and energetic than Buddhism, replace Buddhism in the orient?

Indeed, we see that Islam in India itself expanded more in those parts of the country where the Buddhist doctrine predominated before. In Tokhara, Turkestan, and elsewhere Islam dislodged Buddhism. Islam penetrated China by the same route by which Buddhism had entered (earlier), from the sea and from Turkestan. (p. 133) Chinese Muslim literature itself confirms that the Chinese Muslims recognize their vocation as successors of the Buddhists.

TRANSLATION OF THE PROCLAMATION OF A CHINESE MUSLIM, PUBLISHED IN CHINESE³

The laws of the true Muslim religion

In the sixth year of the *Chen-kuan* period of the T'ang emperor T'ai-tsung (632 A.D.) at the time of the most saintly

3) (p. 133) I received this proclamation last year (1866) from the archimandrite Palladius (Pëtr Ivanovich Kafarov, 1817-78), the superior of the Russian Orthodox Mission in Peking, who is well known for his scholarly works. The proclamation is printed on a large sheet in large characters

Muhammed (Mu-han-mo-te) in Arabia (T'ien-fang—Heavenly Region), his maternal uncle, the noble WAN Ko-ssu (Ibn Hamza),⁴ at the head of 3,000 men, carrying with him the sacred book (*ching*), the Koran (*Ku-erh-wa-i*), entered this (our) Middle Kingdom. The T'ang (emperor) T'ai-tsung, seeing that this noble who arrived from the west was tactful, well educated, and deeply learned, ordered the commander (of his capital) Ch'ang-an to construct a mosque (*ta-ch'ing-chen-ssu*—great Muslim temple or "temple of great purity and truth") and persuaded the nobleman to settle in Ch'ang-an. Consequently he stayed there with (all) his followers. (Because) in this temple they performed every day five times the *namaz* (*le-ma-tzu*) turning westward to worship the true God, (the temple also) became known as the temple of worship (*li-pai-ssu*).⁵ Later on when the population increased, T'ai-tsung commanded a mosque each to be constructed in Chiang-ning (p. 134) (Nanking) and Kuang-chou fu (Canton),⁶ and to settle the Muslims in those cities.

Therefore(?) the dignitary, after having interpreted the sacred books and laws, and established religious rules, appointed three administrators of the faith: an *imam* (*i-ma-mu*), a *khatib* (*he-tui-pu*), and a *muezzin* (*mo-erh-ching*). These three persons were supposed to manage the religion so that the religious laws were rigidly observed, without blemish or omission, and so that the articles or traditions (of the religion) were explained every day. They were to instruct the members of the community (*qaum*; *kao-mu*) and to require all of them to observe the explained laws and to live according to them. In the case of unlawful actions

and has the format of ordinary government proclamations which are pasted on public buildings and walls. The original Chinese text which is attached is so difficult for somebody unfamiliar with the Arabic language, rendered here in Chinese transliteration, that I could not have undertaken this translation without the assistance of our distinguished orientalist, Aleksandr Kasimovich Kazembek.

- 4) (p. 133) According to tradition, still at the time of Muhammed, his uncle Hamsa and Abbas of the Quraysh tribe went out to spread the Koran outside of the territory of the conqueror.
- 5) (p. 133) That is also the Chinese designation for mosques at the present time.
- 6) (p. 134) Present designations.

the three administrators, after general deliberation, must impartially decide (i.e., pronounce the penalty or sentence). They may not be indulgent or lazy. In case of negligence by the three administrators of the faith who permitted (these) shortcomings, provided they concern general affairs, they must be removed by the elders of the whole community and virtuous and capable men, aspiring to the learning of distinguished *ahungs*,⁷ must be elected.

The laws are as follows:

1. When a member of the community marries, the three administrators of the faith send beforehand the religious name⁸ (of the bride) to the house of the bridegroom. From the house of the bridegroom the three administrators of the faith send to the house of the bride engagement presents: hair pins, common pins, rings, head ornaments, and dresses. From that time on they are considered united for ever. When on the appointed day (the bridegroom) himself leads the bride into the house, the three administrators of the faith read wedding prayers. After the *kabin* (*k'o-ping*) has blessed the four golden coins, the husband hands them to the maiden as a symbol of marriage. (p. 135) After the bridegroom and the bride have exchanged salutations, the three administrators of the faith distribute joyous (i.e., wedding, congratulatory) fruits. After the assembled (guests) have received the joyous fruits, they wish (the newly weds) many children and they all congratulate them.

2. When somebody dies, they wash and bury his body within three days. The three ecclesiastics⁹ read the book (*ching*) of the removal of the bones. While they read the *djenaze* (*che-natse*)¹⁰ they light incense and swinging the censers they take away (the coffin) under prayers. The gathered (mourners) all hold in their hands censers with burning incense. They accompany the

7) (p. 134) New Persian *akhond* (theologian).

8) (p. 134) The Chinese Muslims, according to Chinese custom, have family and personal names by which they are also known among themselves, but the proper Arabic names are not used.

9) (p. 135) I designate them thus for brevity's sake; throughout the text they are called the three administrators of the faith.

10) (p. 135) Prayer for the dead when carrying him out.

coffin to the mountain.¹¹ When they lower (the coffin), they read prayers and distribute the property (money, clothes), salt, tea, jujubes, and chestnuts. The grave of the dead is called the ground of the peaceful lowering (of the coffin). After the funeral the three ecclesiastics return to the house (of the deceased) and read prayers. After the expiration of the first week they (again) read prayers (or perform divine services). After the second and third weeks, after a month, and 40 and 100 days (each time) they read prayers.

3. When they wash the deceased, a male corpse is washed and dressed by four men, but a female corpse by four women. They use clean water for the washing. They cover the naked body with linen of natural color (not dyed) (which is called *kefan* (a shroud). They spread a white cloth under (the corpse) and cover (it) with another (it must not be hemmed anywhere). They write his religious name on his cap. They place musk into the openings of the body (mouth, nostrils, ears, and eyes) and camphor between the dress and the body. When they put (the corpse) into the grave (they turn) its head to the north, its legs to the south, and its face to the west (towards Mecca).

4. While accompanying the coffin, although incense is burned, it is nevertheless necessary to walk in orderly fashion and to observe silence on the way. Music and fireworks (which are customary during common Chinese funerals) are forbidden. (p. 136) If somebody does not obey these religious laws, the three ecclesiastics shall jointly impose upon him a penalty. If he does not submit to this penalty, the community will punish him. If he does not accept this punishment, the three ecclesiastics will send him with a document to the local mandarin leaving him to the justice of the state.

5. While reading or listening to the sacred scripture it is necessary without fail to wash one's body perfectly clean. Only the purity of a candid prayer can penetrate to the grace of God

11) (p. 135) In the greater part of China the mountains serve as cemeteries, but the Chinese also bury their dead in the plains.

and can decrease the sins of the departed. During the distribution of salt, tea, and the property, during relief of the poor, the exhausted, the orphans and widows with sesame oil, flour, and scents, during the burning of incense in honor of the sacred scripture and of former people (dead saints?), (everywhere ablutions are necessary), the three ecclesiastics are required to exhort the members of the Muslim community to approach all these actions with a candid heart and a clean body, without defiling themselves with impurity. If a member of the Muslim community falls into sin unknowingly because of ignorance of the three ecclesiastics, then it is their fault.

6. If a maiden has been given in marriage to an infidel (*i.e.*, after the marriage abandons her religion), then that sin (Pers.: *gunâh*) is so grievous as high treason (literally: as a two-hearted official who deserves capital punishment from both states). That is a sin which passes from generation to generation and cannot be expiated even by execution. The sin of the main partner in this deed is even heavier, but most grievous is that of the match-maker. On the future judgment day (*kao-sun-ch'ang*) all of them will be interrogated.

7. Beware of evil and do good. The day of judgment (*kao-sun-ch'ang*) in Heaven (*a-ssu-ma*—Pers.: *asman*) and the prison (*duzakh*; *to-tzu-hei*—Pers.: *duzakh*) on earth are not far from each other. Everyone must keep away (from evil) with a pure heart and pursue only good actions. Only then will he be delivered from prison (or: *ada to-tzu-hei*) and rise to paradise. For great deeds on the way (of life) one receives the high rank of *amal* (of a great saint; *i.e.*, of somebody not in need of paradise).

8. Wine and tobacco are prohibited. Wine spoils (p. 137) the natural condition; tobacco ruins the breathing organs. These are all narcotic poisons for people. It is not permitted to drink or to smoke; under all circumstances they must be strictly forbidden. How else can a member of the Muslim community nourish his soul or beautify his body? If the three ecclesiastics do not forbid (drinking and smoking) that is their fault.

9. Harlots and games are forbidden. A harlot is a contemptible and shameless woman. Games are corrupting virtue (morality). They ruin a person for his whole life. If the three ecclesiastics learn that somebody abandons himself to them, they must forbid them strictly. Otherwise the youth will certainly be subjected to these vices for lack of severity and the fault will lie with the three ecclesiastics.

10. It is forbidden to charge double interest: profit (interest) constitutes the desire of people; this tendency brings harm to a person. It is prohibited to do (what) yields profit (to oneself) but damages (somebody else). It constitutes a duty to lend assistance to others. It is necessary to desire justice, but not advantages. Without fail the three ecclesiastics must consider it their duty to instruct and admonish on the basis of their sacred injunctions.

11. To pay *zakat* (*tse-k'o-te*—a religious obligation imposed by Heaven) is the foremost duty commanded by Heaven. Everybody who owns more than 14 *liang*¹² possesses full capital (from which he begins paying) and must pay 3 *chien* and 5 *fen*¹³ for the support of poor orphans and widows. With a capital of 1,000, 10,000, 100,000 *liang* an accurate percentage (of these amounts) must be paid. As this is based on a command of God, it is also called a heavenly tax. Whoever does not possess full capital, is not obliged to bear the heavenly levy; but if he nevertheless aids the poor, then that is called *zadaqa* (*so-te-ko*—the quick blessing of God) which delivers from misfortune. If the necessity occurs that he has to ask (Heaven for something), he quickly receives satisfaction. (p. 138) The *zadaqa* can rescue from misfortune and tribulation. The three ecclesiastics must admonish the others from this viewpoint. Gifts can also consist of words: everybody who is rich gives wealth; those who are not rich offer words (*i.e.*, they can also create good deeds through instruction). In obtaining the favor of God and in merit both are equal.

12) (p. 137) Approximately 30 silver rubles; a *liang* corresponds to a silver drachme, about rubles 2.15.

13) (p. 137) *I.e.*, as prescribed 4%; a *chien* corresponds to 1/10 of a *liang* and a *fen* to 1/10 of a *chien*.

12. Invite the *ahungs* to the schools to explain the secret ideas in the scripture. If the *alim* (*erh-ling*) and numerous good people will instruct the members of the Muslim community to fulfill the *amal* (*erh-mo-li*),¹⁴ then Islam (*I-ssu-liao-mu*) will be exalted.

13. Practicing *siboh* (*shuai-pu*) one must deeply understand and according to the sacrificial rites observe the seven actions.¹⁵ At the same time one must pronounce in a clear voice all the articles. After that one may kill the animal. It is indispensable that the *ahung* and *imam* guarantee for the ability (of the one who kills), otherwise many mistakes will be made and there is no greater sin than that.

14. The three religious administrators must live according to the three principles: *shari'a* (*she-le-erh-t'i*), *tariqa* (*to-le-k'o-t'i*), and *haqiqa* (*ha-ko-ko-t'i*). They must be prepared to donate the salary which they receive for the embellishment or repair of the mosques. In our religion that is their foremost duty and they must carry it out willingly.

These few articles form a brief exposition to inform the son of LAN Hsü-tzu, with the family name of Hsi, a scholar of the heavenly country (Arabia).¹⁶

LIST OF CHINESE CHARACTERS FOR NAMES,
TITLES, OR TERMS

a-heng (modern) 阿衡	ahung or mullah
a-hung (proclamation) 阿轟	ahung or mullah
a-ssu-ma 阿斯瑪	Heaven (Pers.: <i>asman</i>)
AN Lu-shan 安祿山	rebel leader
Chang-chiao 掌教	Administrator of Faith
Ch'ang-an 長安	city

14) (p. 138) Arabic: *'amal*—deeds pleasing to God.

15) (p. 138) Prescribed in the sacrifices of animals.

16) (p. 138) According to a communication of Father Palladius this SI Lan-sui was a district mandarin a short time ago; it is unknown where.

Ch'ang-ch'un 長春	monk
che-na-tse 者納則	djenaze
Chiang-ning 江甯	now Nanking
Ch'i-tan 契丹	Kitan people or empire
ch'ien 錢	currency, 1/10 of a <i>liang</i>
ching 經	sacred book, scripture
Ch'ing-chen cheng-chiao t'iao 清真正教條	The laws of the true Muslim religion (title of proclamation)
Ch'ing-chen-shih 清真史	Pure and True (Muslim) History
ch'ing-chen-ssu 清真寺	pure and true (Muslim) temple, mosque
erh-ling 爾領	alim
erh-mo-li 爾默禮	amal
fen 分	currency, 1/10 of a <i>ch'ien</i>
ha-ko-ko-t'i 哈格格體	haqiqa
he-t'ui-pu 郝推布	khatib
Hsi 羲	surname, see also LAN <i>Hsü-tzu</i>
Hsia, see <i>Ta-Hsia</i> (dynasty or empire)	
Huang Ch'ao 黃巢	rebel leader
Hui 回 or Hui-hui 回回	Muslim(s)
<i>Hui-hui yüan-lai</i> 回回遠來	"The Muslims come from afar" (poem)
i-ma-mu 以禱牧	imam
I-ssu-liao-mu 以斯略穆	Islam
Ibn Hamza, see WAN <i>Ko-ssu</i> and WANG <i>Ko-shih</i>	
kao-mu 高穆	member of community (qaum)
k'ao-suan-ch'ang 考算場	judgment day
k'o-fang 克方	shroud (kefan)
k'o-ping 咯並	kabin
ku-erh-a-i 古爾阿儀	Koran
ku-na 姑納	sin (Pers.: <i>gunâh</i>)
Kuang-chou fu 廣州府	Canton, city and district
LAN Hsü-tsu 藍煦子(羲)	author of proclamation, see also <i>Hsi</i>

le-ma-tzu 勒瑪子
li-pai 禮拜
li-pai-ssu 禮拜寺

liang 兩

Liang-chou 涼州
LIU Tzu-liang 劉子良
MA Te-hsin 馬德新

man-la 滿刺

mo-erh-ching 默爾經
Mu-han-mo-te 穆罕默德
mu-la 穆喇

Nien-fei 捻匪
she-le-erh-t'i 舍勒爾體
shuai-pu 率補
so-te-ko 所德格

ssu 寺
ta-ch'ing-chen-ssu 大清真寺

Ta-Hsia 大夏
ta-jen 大人
T'ai-p'ing 太平
T'ai-tsung 太宗
T'ien-fang 天方
to-le-ko-t'i 妥勒格體
to-tzu-hei 獐子黑
tse-k'o-te 則可德
WAN Ko-ssu 萬個思

WANG Ko-shih 旺各師

namaz
to worship
temple of worship,
mosque
currency, 10 *ch'ien* or
100 *fen*

city and province
Chin. Muslim scholar
Chin. Muslim general,
d. 1874

mullah (old form), see
also *mu-la*.

muezzin
Muhammed (prophet)
mullah (modern form),
see also *man-la*

rebels
shari'a
siboh
zadaqa (quick blessing
of God)

temple, mosque
great pure and true
(Muslim) temple,
mosque

Hsia dynasty and empire
great man, noble
rebels

emperor
Arabia
tariqa
prison (*duzakh*)
zakat (alms-tax).
Ibn Hamza, uncle of
Muhammed

Ibn Hamza, Romaniza-
tion in proclamation