CHINESE INTERCOURSE
WITH THE COUNTRIES OF
CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA
DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

BY
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CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

In a most ably written paper, published in the China Review, my respected friend Mr. W. F. Mayers, Chinese Secretary of the British Legation, reviews the Chinese accounts of the expeditions sent by the Ming Emperors in the 15th century to the ports of the Indian Ocean. I wish to treat in the present essay of a matter of kindred character in elucidating the knowledge the Chinese possessed during the same period of the countries situated west of the Middle Kingdom, and thus on the one hand my paper is intended to enlarge the picture first given by Mr Mayers of the geographical knowledge of the Chinese in the days of the Ming, whilst on the other hand it may be considered a continuation of the researches I ventured to present in some previously published articles with respect to the mediavval geography and history of Central and Western Asia. *

The information communicated in Mr. Mayers' paper has been derived from a Chinese work published in the beginning of the 16th century, treating of the countries of the Western Ocean, who used to send tribute to the Chinese Court. The details found in this Chinese work have been borrowed for the greater part from the the reports of the eunuch Cheng ho, commonly known as San pao t'ai kien, who in the year A.D. 1407 had been sent by the Emperor Yung-lo to make inquiries about the refuge of the Emperor's nephew Kien-chen, dethroned by Yung-lo and suspected to have hidden himself somewhere in the countries beyond the sea. Yung-lo felt uneasy about his disappearance. San-pao is said to have been accompanied by a vast fleet and a large force. On his expeditions, several times repeated in the space of about 30 years, * he visited a number of countries situated on the Indian Ocean up to the Arabian Gulf, and obtained the nominal allegiance of their rulers.

The Chinese work which Mr Mayers translates comprises only the accounts of the countries situated on the Indian Ocean. But the Chinese geographical works of the Ming period give also many interesting details with respect to the history and geography of other parts of Asia, from which I shall select for my researches those records referring to Eastern and Western Turkistan and Western Asia.

Soon after the Ming Dynasty had established its power over the Middle Kingdom the Chinese Emperors did not tarry to extend their reputation by land and sea to the farthest extremities of the world known to them. Hung-wu, the first Ming Emperor (A.D. 1368-1399) was particularly anxious to be on good terms with Timur or Tamerlan,

* Compare Cheng-ho's biography, Ming shi, Chap. ccciv.
whose rising power at that time began to alarm the sovereigns of Asia. It is known that Timur died at Otrar in 1405, just when he was about to move out for an expedition against the Emperor of China. The Chinese annals record several embassies sent by Hung-wu to Timur, who did not fail to send in return his envoys with presents to Hung-wu. In the same annals Timur’s son Shah Rekh‘ of Herat is stated to have repeatedly dispatched embassies to the Chinese Court in the beginning of the 15th century. The Chinese emissaries who went to Samarkand and Herat in the 14th and 15th centuries visited also a number of other places and countries on their way thither and beyond, and it seems, that from the reports of these Chinese envoys the accounts found in the Ming-shi or History of the Ming Dynasty with respect to the countries in the West have been compiled.

In the Chinese memoirs published A.D. 1606 under the name of 野獲編 Ye hu pien,* Chap. 9, we read as follows:

The work 西遊勝覽詩 Si yü sheng lan shi (poems written on the curious things seen on a travel to the West) has been written by 安 An. The author’s friend, who published it, states in the preface that An had the cognomen 志道 Chi tao,† and that he was one of the most remarkable men of northern China. In the year 1395 he was sent by Emperor Hung-wu to the 撒馬兒罕 Sa ma r han (Samarkand). He accompanied the envoy of the ruler of this country (Tamerlan), who returned home. They proceeded from 嘉峪關 K’ia yü kuan‡ 800 li, crossed 淞沙 Liu shao,§ and after having travelled 2000 li arrived 哈迷哩 Han hai (Kamul). After this they went through the 淞海 Han hai ‡ 1300 li to ancient 高昌 Kao ch‘ang.¶ Farther to the West they reached 亦剌八里 I lu ba li (Ilibilik). Hence all rivers flow to the West. Further on 3000 li 撒馬兒罕 Sa ma r han (Samarkand) was reached. The ruler (主) of this country and his ministers boasted of the great extent of their dominions and sent the Chinese envoy to visit the most remarkable places. An officer was appointed to accompany him. Travelling westward they reached 西洛思 T‘ü lo sze (Taurus or Tabris).§ After this they visited 乙思不罕 I se bo han (Isphahan), and then proceeded southward to 穀剌思 Shi li sze (Shiraz). On their way back they went through 黑魯 Hei lu (Herat) and other cities.¶ They had travelled over more than 10,000 li and when they returned to Samarkand they had been absent six years. As An Chi-kuo was not disposed to agree with the propositions of the ruler of Samarkand,

* This is the Chinese name applied since several thousand years to the sandy desert situated west and north-west of the Kia yu kuan.
† Han hai (literally “northern sea”) is an ancient term, but in use also in our days, to designate the Mongolian desert. The Chinese travellers in the 13th century (Comp. my Notes on Chin. Med. Trav.) understood by this name especially the elevated country between Kar-korum and the Altai. Here in this case the appellation Han hai is extended also over the country west of Kamul.
‡ As I have proved in my notes on Chin. Mediev. Travellers, p. 113, ancient Kao ch‘ang answers the present Karakougeo and Turphan etc.—I must observe that the figures in this Chinese itinerary show considerable (evidently clerical) errors. As we shall see further on, the history of the Ming estimates the distance between Kia yu kuan and Kamul at 1600 li, and between Kamul and Turphan more than 1000 li. In the present day the Chinese estimate the same distances at respectively 1470 and 1150 li. It is known that about 3 li go to 1 English mile.
§ According to Abulfeda Taurus is the popular name for Tabris, the capital of the Persian province of Aderbeijan. As we shall see further on, the History of the Ming mentions also Tanris, but the name is written there T‘ü lo sze.
¶ The names of the places here mentioned are met also in the Ming shi. Further on I shall give more detailed accounts of them.
he was retained by force. It was only after his (Tamerlan’s) death that An Chi-tao was allowed to return home." Subsequently An Chi-tao was again entrusted with missions to the western countries.

There are two records of European travellers of the days of Tamerlan, which corroborate the above Chinese statements. Clavigo, the well-known Castilian ambassador, who lived at the court of Tamerlan A.D. 1403-5, states (Col. Yule’s Cathay etc. cxxxv, note 2):—

"The Lord of Cathay had sent to Timur Beg an ambassador, to demand the yearly tribute which was formerly paid. When Timur saw the Spaniards seated below this Cathayan ambassador, he sent orders, that they should sit above him; those who came from the king of Spain, his son and friend, were not to sit below the envoy of a thief and scoundrel who was Timur’s enemy. The Emperor of Cathay is called Chuyescan, which means ‘Nine Empires.’ But the Zagatays (Timur’s people) call him Tungus,† which means ‘Pig Emperor.’ The best of all merchandise coming to Samarkand is from China; especially silk, satins, musk, rubies, diamonds, pearls, and rhubarb. The Chinese are the most skilful workmen in the world. They say themselves that they have two eyes, the Franks one, and the Moors (Mohamedans) none. Cambalu, the chief city of Cathay, is six months from Samarkand, two of which are over steppes. In the year of the embassy (evidently An Chi-tao’s embassy is meant) 800 laden camels came from Cambalu to Samarkand. The people with them related that the city was near the sea and twenty times as big as Tabriz. Now Tabriz is a good league in length, so Cambalu must be twenty leagues in length. (Yule adds: "Bad geometry Don Ruy!") The emperor used to be a Pagan but was converted to Christianity."

† It is known, that Tamerlan died in February 1405. According to the Ming history (see further on) the Chinese envoy returned home in 1407, after 12 years absence.

T. Schilthberger, a Bavarian who served in Timur’s army, and seems to have been at Samarkand at the same time with Clavigo, reports on the same subject (Yule Cathay cxxxvi, note 1):—

"Now at this time had the great khan, the king of Khetey, sent an envoy to Thimeralin with four hundred horses, and demanded tribute of him, seeing that he had neglected to pay it and kept it back for five years past. So Thimeralin took the envoy with him to his capital. Then sent he the envoy away and bid him tell his master he would be no tributary nor vassal of his, nay he trusted to make the emperor his tributary and vassal. And he would come to him in person. And then sent he off despatches throughout his dominions, to make ready; for he would march against Khetey. And so, when he had gathered 1,800,000 men, he marched for a whole month, etc."

The History of the Ming Dynasty, Chap. cccxxii., fol. 9, gives the following short note with respect to another Chinese envoy to the west:—

"In the year 1415 Ch’en-ch’eng returned home from the Western Si-yü (western countries). He had visited the following 17 kingdoms (or places):—

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>哈密 Ho-mi (Kamni)</td>
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<tr>
<td>柳城 Liu-ch’eng (Lukohak.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>火州 Ho-chou (Karakhodjo.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>土魯番 Tu-lu-fan (Turphian.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>別失八里 Bie-shi-ba-li (Bishbalik.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>賽蓋 Sai-lan (Sairam.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>養夷 Yang-yi (Yanki or Otrar.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>達失干 Tu-shi-kan (Tashkand.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>沙鹿海牙 Sha-lu-hai-ya (Shahrunkha.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>撒馬兒罕 Su-ma-r-han (Samarkand.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>喀石 K’u-shi (Kash.)</td>
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<tr>
<td>小花兒 Bu-hua-r (Bukhara.)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>哈烈 Ho-lie (Heri or Herat.)</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>俺滕准 An-du-huai (Andkui.)</td>
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</table>
Chinese intercourse with the countries of Asia.

T'ie-li-mi (Termed.)

八寢黑讚 Ba-ta-kei-shang (Badakhshan.)

監澤 Yen-tse (Salt lake, an ancient name for Lopnor).

Ch'ien-ch'eng had got information about the hills, rivers, products, customs etc., of these countries. He published these accounts in a book, which he entitled 西域記 Shi-yi-ki; Record of an embassy to the countries in the west."

The 皇明大政紀 Huang-ming-ta-cheng-ki, a work published A.D. 1567, and treating of important matters regarding the Ming Dynasty, records the same embassy of Ch'ien-ch'eng stating that he proceeded from 雍州 Su chau (in the province of Kansu), through Kiu yu kuan to Hanyu, and then enumerates the same places as mentioned in the above list, with the only exception, that he has 亦里八里 I li ba li instead of Bié shi ba li. Besides this 子關 Yu tien (Khotan) is mentioned there as having been visited by the envoy. Of all the above-noted places the History of the Ming gives more or less detailed accounts, and I shall speak more fully of them further on.

There were two other Chinese envoys sent to Western Asia, whose names occur frequently in the Ming history, viz., 孫逵 Su ta and 李貴 Li kui. The first was sent thither in the beginning of the 16th century, the second about 1432.

The information presented in the following pages has been derived for the greater part from the 明史 Ming shi or History of the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644). At the end of this work we find 12 chapters, ccxxx-ccxxxiv., devoted to foreign countries which had intercourse with China during that period.

Accounts of foreign countries are also found in the 大明一統志 Ta Ming yi t'ung chi, the great geography of the Ming empire. The edition to which I always refer bears the date of A.D. 1461. In the chapters lxxxix and xc some interesting details are given on the countries of Asia, known to the Chinese at that time. The compilers of the Ming shi and of the Ming yi t'ung chi had evidently different sources of information. However the statements in both works are not in contradiction but rather complete each other. I shall generally confine myself for my investigations to these last mentioned works, although there are besides this many other books published in the days of the Ming and which treat of foreign countries.

The 廣記 Kuang yu ki, an abbreviated geography of the Ming empire, published about the commencement of the 17th century, has also two sections on borderlands and foreigners. This work is rather an extract of the great Ming geography.*

I may mention also the 清稗類敘 Tsien kii lei shu, published in 1632. In the 11th and 14th chap, it treats of the bordering countries and of foreign nations.

In the "Mémoires cone. les Chinois," vol. xiv. p. 238-308, Father Amiot translates a collection of letters of credence from a number of sovereigns of Asia, who had sent their envys to the Chinese court. Amiot forwarded the Chinese text from which he translated, together with a copy of the original letters written in different Asiatic languages to Paris. Rémusat in his Mêlanges

* A new edition of this book was published in 1803. It professes to be enlarged and revised, but as to the political division of the empire and the names of the provinces and cities nothing has been changed. Thus K. Biot in his "Dictionnaire des villes et arrondissement dans l'empire chinois," which has been compiled from the Kuang yu ki, was mistaken in assuming that he translates a Chinese geography of the present century, whilst in fact he had before him a geographical work of the Ming. Thus we understand Biot's astonishment that sometimes places and countries well known to the Chinese in our days have been omitted in the Kuang yu ki, as e.g., Tien tain fu, now a departmental city; the island of Formosa is also not distinctly mentioned in that work (Biot loc. iv.) In the days of the Ming Tien tain fu was only a military station (wei) and it is enumerated among the wei of the Chili province. As to the island of Formosa the Chinese got first acquainted with it in 1450 and up to the 17th century their knowledge with respect to it was very limited.
Asiatiques, II. 249, comments upon these documents. He was mistaken with respect to their origin stating that these letters had been addressed to the Emperor Kang-hi of the present dynasty. I have been misled by Remusat’s statement in quoting it in my pamphlet on the knowledge the Chinese possessed of the Arabs, p. 22, without having examined Amiot's article. But even a superficial perusal of the latter leaves no doubt that all these letters had been written in the 15th century, and had been addressed to the Ming Emperors.

In my previously published papers treating of the history and ancient geography of Central and Western Asia it has always been my endeavour to compare if possible Chinese statements with those of western writers on the same subject. I shall try to follow the same rule with respect to the Chinese accounts dealt with in these pages. I may, however, observe that the information regarding Central Asia in the 15th century, derived from Mohammedan or other western sources is very scarce, and the fragmentary Chinese records on the history and geography of these tracts as presented in the subsequent notes will prove to be the most detailed which have been preserved on this subject. The history of Western Asia and Transoxiana during the period which comes here into consideration, is of course well known, and I shall have to refer repeatedly to Dognihes’ “Histoire des Huns,” where the history of the nations living in the western part of Asia is recorded with sufficient detail. Frequent reference will also be made to Col. H. Yule’s admirable work Cathay and the Way Thither, in which the erudite author has brought together with that critical judgment we are accustomed to meet in his writings a great amount of Asiatic documents, little known or unknown in Europe before, bearing upon the mediaeval geography of Asia. Col. Yule reviews also the reports of some Mohammedan travellers, who in the 15th and 16th centuries went to China by land.

The most important of these narratives is that written by Khwajaghaiaussudin on the mission Shah Rukh, the son of Tamerlan sent to the emperor of China (A.D. 1419-22). It has been preserved in Abdurrazak’s history of Shah Rukh and in Mirkhond’s historical work Ruzat al Ssaafa. Thevenot in his “Relations de voyage curieux, 1663,” in the 4th volume, has first published a French translation of this curious document (see Hist. gén. des voyages, Paris, 1746-74, vol. xxvii. p. 191 seq.). About 40 years ago the great French orientalist Quatremère made another translation of it (Notes et Extraits des Manuscrits etc., t. xiv). Finally Mr. Rehatsek published an original English translation from the Persian text in the Indian Antiquary, Vol. ii, 1873. There are some discrepancies in these different translations, especially with respect to the reading of the proper names, which as is well-known are generally difficult of reading in Persian manuscripts owing to copyists’ errors or the want of the diacritical marks.

Col. Yule in his Cathay, etc., p. cxcix, presents an English version of Quatremère’s translation of the narrative in question. On p. ccxvi Col. Yule gives Hajji Macloud’s accounts of Cathay and the overland route thither (about A.D. 1550), and on p. cccx the report on the same subject by a Turkish Dervish (circa 1560).

A more detailed account of Cathay, referring to the 15th century, which has not been noticed by Yule, is found in the Kanun nameh Tochin ve Khata. D’Herbelot in his Bibliothèque Orientale, edition of 1776, p. 930, states with respect to this book, which is a description of China, that it has been written about A.D. 1494 in Persian by some merchant, who carried on trade for the account of Selim Emperor of the Turks. One of them translated the book into Turkish. Mention is made therein of a certain Ali Kushqi, who went to Cathay by order of Ulug Beg (died A.D. 1449) the grandson of Tamerlan. An abstract of the Turkish version of this narrative has been given in a
German translation by a German orientalist, Mr. Zenker, in the "Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes," Bd. XV. It is to be regretted, that in the manuscript from which Mr. Zenker translated the proper names have altogether been corrupted by the Mohammedan copyist, wherefore it is generally impossible to identify them. However I may observe, that all that is said in Zenker's translation about the customs and institutes in China is in perfect accordance with what we know from Chinese sources regarding the Middle Kingdom in the days of the Ming.

I am not aware, that after Marignolli, who on his way to Khabalik (Peking) in circa A.D. 1340, crossed Central Asia, any European traveller should have arrived in China overland in the 14th and 15th centuries. The next who after Marignolli reports on these tracts is B. Gues. He went as is known in the beginning of the 17th century from India through the land of the Upper Oxus to Eastern Turkistan, arrived at the Chinese city of Su-chou where he died in 1607. Goes first established that Kathay and China are the same. His narrative has been most ably reviewed by Col. Yule.

It is not without interest to notice, that in the Ming history mention is made of an European merchant by name of Nie gu lun (Nikolaos) who was in Peking in the beginning of the Ming dynasty. I shall translate further on, what the Chinese animals say about him. In addition to the above list of Asiatic journeys overland to China during the Ming period I may finally mention the curious narrative of a Russian travel from Siberia to Peking, accomplished in 1619 by Inashka Potlin and Petunka Kusselev, two Kossaks sent by the military governor, prince Kurakin, from Tomsk to the Chinese capital. For further details see: Bergeron, Sur les Tartares, p. 106, and Fischer's History of Siberia (in Russian), p. 267.

I divide the researches presented in the subsequent pages into two parts. In the first I shall review the accounts found in the Ming shi and in the Ta Ming yi t'ung shi with respect to foreign countries. The Ming shi treats of them in a certain order, beginning with the countries situated east of China, then describes the kingdoms of the Indian Ocean up to the Arabian Gulf and the African coast, after which the nations and countries west of China, with which the Chinese used to have intercourse by the overland routes, are spoken of. It is by no means my intention to translate and to review the whole of the 12 Chapters of the Ming geography, devoted to foreigners. This would be a field too vast for the scope of this paper. I shall merely translate from these chapters the Chinese statements referring to Central and Western Asia; as to the rest I will confine myself to give the list of the names of countries occurring therein and venture only occasionally some short remarks.

In the second part of my article, I shall lay before the reader the translation of a curious ancient Chinese itinerary sketching with many details the overland route by which the Chinese in the 15th century used to pass to Western Asia and even the Mediterranean Sea.

E. Breischneider, M.D.
CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

Accounts of Foreign Countries and especially those of Central and Western Asia, drawn from the Ming-shi and the Tu Ming yi t'ung chi.

The Ming-shi begins the Section on Foreign countries (外國 Wai-kuo) with a long article on 越 Siaen occupying the whole Chap. cccxx. Chiao-sien or 高麗 Kao-li is the Chinese name for the country we call Korea, the latter name being a corruption of the Japanese Kao-ri, as the characters 高麗 are pronounced in Japan.

The next Chapter cccxxi treats of 安南 Annan or Annam, now-a-days generally termed Tongking in our geographical works.

Chap. cccxxii is devoted to 日本 Ji-ren or Japan.

Chap. cccxxiii contains more or less detailed accounts of the following countries (islands) situated east or south-east of China:—

琉球 Liu-kiu. The Loo-chew islands of our maps between Japan and Formosa. They have been known to the Chinese since the beginning of the 7th century of our era.

呂宋 Lü-sung. This is even now-a-days the Chinese name for the Philippine islands and especially Luzon. The first intercourse of the Chinese with Lü-sung dates from A.D. 1372, when first envoys arrived from there to the Chinese court. Subsequently a frequent intercourse was sustained by the Chinese with this country. The article on Lü-sung in the Ming-shi gives among others some interesting details with respect to the arrival of the Spaniards there.

By the people of 佛郎機 Fo-lang-gi (Faranghi, Franks) who are said in the Ming-shi to have made their first appearance at Lü-sung about 1574, only the Spaniards
can be meant. According to Crawfurd (Indian Archipelago) they arrived a few years earlier. The Chinese Chroniclers report a curious story about the first settlement of the Fo-lang-gi there, stating that when they arrived they made rich presents to the King of Lü-sung and begged the favor to occupy only as much land for building houses as can be covered with the hide of an ox. The king, who did not take umbrage at this demand, agreed, and then the foreigners cut the hide of an ox into narrow strips, with which they surrounded a large area of land, etc. I am not aware, whether this Chinese tradition has any foundation, but it is curious to find in ancient Chinese books the well-known story of the foundation of Carthage by Dido repeated.* The article on Lü-sung in the Ming-shi fills nine pages, and gives many other details concerning Chinese intercourse with Luzon and the conquest of the island by the Spaniards.

**合猫里** Ho-mao-li, called also **猫里務** Mao-li-wu. A mountainous island in the sea. A more exact position not given.

**美洛呂** Mei-lo-kü, called also **米六合居** Mi-liu-ho-kü.—Here without doubt the Moluccas are meant, for it is stated in the Chinese accounts that this is the only country in the eastern Ocean (Archipelago) which produces 丁香 Ting-hiang or cloves. The Fo-lang-gi are mentioned there at the end of the 16th century. (Here this name denotes the Portuguese). Subsequently the appearance of the Hung-mao-fan (red-haired Barbarians, the Dutch) in Mei-lo-kü is noticed.

**沙瑤** Sha-yao and 喀啞啞 No-pi-tian, two countries or islands situated near Lü-sung.

**雞籠山** Ki-lung-shan (mountain of Ki-lung). Under this name the island of Formosa is described in the Ming-shi. **Ki-lung** is up to this day an important port on the northern coast of the island. The Chinese now call Formosa 華南 T'ai-wan which is properly the name of the capital of the island, situated on the western coast. But T'ai-wan is mentioned also in the Ming-shi as a place of Ki-lung-shan, where about A.D. 1620 the red-haired barbarians (the Dutch) settled. I need not mention that Formosa is not an Asiatic name for the island. It is a strange fact, that Formosa, this large island, situated at a short distance from the Chinese coast, is not made mention of in the Chinese annals before about A.D. 1430.

**婆羅** Po-lo, also called **文莱** Wen-te'ai is said to be situated "at the limit of the eastern Ocean, where the western Ocean begins."

**麻葉藰** Ma-ye-weng, a country in the south-western sea. Starting from **檳榔** (Cochin China, see further on) with a fair wind, one arrives in ten days' sailing at **交欄山** Kiao-lan-shan, and west of this hill (or island) lies Ma-ye-weng.

**古麻剌朗** Ku-ma-la-lang, a small country in the south-eastern sea.

**馬加施蘭** Ma-kia-shi-lan, a small realm in the eastern Ocean. It seems that here Mangkasara or Maccassar is meant.

**文郎馬神** Wen-lang-ma-shen. Position not indicated, but judging from the products enumerated (aroca, cubbs, scented wood etc. also rhinoceroses and peacocks) it must be also a country in the Archipelago. At a place 鳥籠里懸 Wu-lang-li-tan there are men furnished with tails.

Chap. ccxxiv:—**安城** Chan-ch'eng, a country in the southern sea. It can be reached from Kiung-chou (island of Hainan) with fair wind in one day. A long article is devoted to this country, which can be identified with Cochin-China.

**賔童龍** Pin-tung-lung, a kingdom bordering on Chan-ch'eng.

**崑崙** Kun-lun (Pulu Condore island.)

**真臘** Chen-la. From Chan-ch'eng
this kingdom can be reached in three days. Chen-la, as is known, answers Cambodia.

暹羅 Sien-lo. South-west of Chanch'eng. It can be reached from the latter country with fair wind in ten days. Sien-lo is Siam.

爪哇 Chao-wa or Java. Anciently this country was termed 閩婆 Che-p'o.

蘇吉丹 Su-ki-tan a kingdom belonging to Chao-wa (or Java). Probably Sukadana on the western coast of Borneo is meant. According to Crawford it was once the seat of a Javanese state.

碟里 Tie-li, situated near Chao-wa (Java). This is probably the port of Di-li on the northern coast of Timor.

日羅夏治 Ji-lo-hia-chi, also near Java.

三佛齊 San-foo-tsi'i, anciently called 千陀利 Kan-to-li. This kingdom, which seems to have been situated near Java or on Sumatra, is treated at length in the Ming history.

Chapter cccxxxv: 滔泥 Po-ni (Borneo, Brunei).

滿刺加 Man-la-kia or Malacca. The history of Malacca, as known from native sources and as given by the ancient Portuguese, is somewhat obscure. The Chinese article on Malacca in the 15th century therefore throws some new light on the history of this state. It is not without interest to read in the Chinese records that Paramesvara, the founder of it, mentioned by De Barros and styled 拜里迷蘇剌 Pai-li-mi-su-la by the Chinese, arrived in person with his family at the court of the Chinese emperor A. D. 1411. Besides this the Chinese account gives the names of several other rulers of Malacca in the 15th century.

蘇門答剌 Su-men-ta-la or Sumatra. In this article mention is made also of 哑齊 A-tsi'i, by which name the kingdom of Aetkin in the north-western part of Sumatra is denoted.

須文達那 Sù-wen-ta-na.

蘇祿 Su-ku. This is the kingdom of Su-ku, the Sulu Archipelago, north-east of Borneo, mentioned also by the ancient Portuguese writers in the beginning of the 16th century.

西洋瑣里 Si-yang So-li or So-li of the western Ocean. Besides this the Ming-shi speaks of another country called simply So-li and situated near Si-yang So-li. So-li is mentioned by M. Polo and according to Col. Yule the same as Tanjore on the Coromandel coast.

覽邦 Lan-pang, 淡巴 Tan-po, 百花 Po-hua. These three countries are stated to lie in the south-western sea.

彭亨 Peng-heng, west of Sien-lo (Siam). Further on it is stated that this country is situated near Jou-jo or Jehor. It therefore may be identified with Pahang on the eastern coast of the Malay Peninsula.

那孤兒 Na-ku, west of Su-men-ta-la (Sumatra).

黎伐 Li-fa, to the south-west of Na-ku-r.

南渤利 Non-p'o-li (it can also be understood Southern P'o-li) situated west of Su-men-ta-la, from which it is reached with fair wind in three days. North-west of Nan-p'o-li there is in the sea a high mountain called 帽山 Mao-shan (cap's hill) which is a mark for the sailors. The sea west of it is called 那沒黎 Na-mo-li. Perhaps Nan-p'o-li may be the Gavenispolo, one of the Nicobars, of M. Polo. Na-mo-li seems to be intended for Lamori of Rashid eddin (Yule L.c. II. 283.)

阿魯 A-lu, three days' sailing from Man-la-kia. Probably the Aru islands are meant, between Malacca and Sumatra. (Yule L.c. II. 294, map.)

柔佛 Jou-fo, called also 烏丁礁林 Wu-ting-teiao-lin. Is situated near Peng-heng (Pahang, see above). When Ch'eng-ho made his voyages to the western sea (begin-
ning of the 15th century) the name Jou-fo was unknown there. Jou-fo means probably Johor on the southern end of the peninsula of Malacca. It is known that Johor was founded only in 1512 by the Malays, after their expulsion from Malacca by the Portuguese.

丁機宜 Ting-gi-yu, a realm depending on Chao-wo (Java).

巴喇西 Pa-la-si. Position not indicated, it is only said that it lies very far from China.

佛郎機 Fo-lang-gi. The Ming-shi devotes a long article to the Fo-lang-gi (Faranghi, Franks) and there can be no doubt, that the Portuguese are meant, for the Chinese records report that under the reign of Cheng-te (1606-22) the Fo-lang-gi took the kingdom of Malacca by force, expelled its king, and in the 13th year of Cheng-te (A.D. 1518) they sent a high officer加必丹末 Kia-pi-tan-mo (Capitano) and others with tribute to China. —According to De Barros the Portuguese (Andrada Perez) arrived at Canton in 1517.

The 鎮 Nguyen or 紅毛番 Hung-mao-fan (red-haired barbarians), by which name the Dutch are to be understood, are also treated at length in the Ming-shi, where their conquests in the Indian Archipelago and their intercourse with China in the 17th century are spoken of. The Chinese chronicler notices, that when Cheng-ho in the first half of the 15th century visited the countries of the Indian sea he did not hear of the Ho-lan. It is only under the reign of Wan-li (1573-1629) that the first mention of them occurs in the Chinese annals. We know from European sources, that the first appearance of the Dutch in the Archipelago dates from A.D. 1596.

It is a curious fact but easily understood, that the Chinese in the Ming period took the Fo-lang-gi as well as the Ho-lan to be a people of the Indian Archipelago.

Chapter cxxv.:— 古里 Ku-li is a great kingdom in the western Ocean, the great "rendezvous" of foreigners. It borders south upon Ko-chi (Cochin, see the following), north on 狠奴兒 Lang-nu. Five hundred li to the east is the kingdom of 坎巴 Kan-pa. From Ku-li to Ko-chi three days' sail, to Si-lan (Ceylon) ten days. Ku-li is probably Calicut on the Malabar coast.

柯枝 Ko-chi. This kingdom is situated one day's sail north-west of Siao K'o-lan (Coilam, see the next). It seems to me that Cochin, which is properly called Cochi by the natives, a seaport situated on the Malabar coast, is here meant.

小葛蘭 Siao Ko-lan (little K'o-lan). It borders on Ko-chi and is situated south-east of the latter and north-west of Si-lan (Ceylon). By ship it can be reached from this (island) in six days. East of Siao K'o-lan there are high mountains, to the west is the sea. There is also a place (port) 大葛蘭 Ta K'o-lan (great K'o-lan), but it is seldom visited by the ships, owing to the violence of the waves and the difficulty of anchoring. By K'o-lan doubtlessly Quilon is to be understood, the great mediaeval port of trade on the Malabar coast. Col. Yule states, that the name was properly Kollam.

錫蘭山 Si-lan-shan (i.e. the mountain of Si-lan or Ceylon). From Su-men-ta-la (Sumatra) it can be reached with favourable wind in ten days. Ceylon is spoken of at length in the Ming-shi. Amongst other things there the curious mark of Buddha's foot on a mountain is reported and Buddha's tooth relic is also mentioned.

榜葛剌 Bang-K'oa-la. From Su-men-ta-la this country is reached in twenty days. Bang-k'oa-la is to be identified with Bengal.

沼納樸兒 Jao-na-pu-r. This country lies west of Bang-k'oa-la (Bengal) and is also known under the name 中印度 Chung In-du (middle Hindu). In ancient times it was the kingdom of Buddha. This is, I think, the same as the Nongpur on Fra Mauro's map (16th century; see Yule's Cathay, cxxvii.)

On a historical map of India, referring to the 15th and 16th centuries, I find a king-
dom Joonpoor marked in that part of India, which in our days is called Orissa.

祖法兒 Desu-fa-r, a Mohammedan country situated to the northwest of Ku-li (Calicut); distant ten days' sail. Among the products of Desufar 俺 八兒 An-ba-r (ambergris) is mentioned. Evidently the seaport Deshffar, on the south coast of Arabia, is meant.

木骨都束 Mu-gu-du-su, a barren country twenty days' journey from Siao K'o-lan (Quilon). This is Mogaduxu, a port on the east coast of Africa.

不剌哇 Bu-la-wa, adjoins Mugu dusu. This is Brava situated south of Mogaduxu.

阿丹 A-dan, twenty-two days' sail west of Kuli (Calicut). A-dan doubtlessly denotes Aden.

刺撒 La-sa, this country is reached from Kuli with favorable winds in twenty days. It is devoid of grass, for it never rains there. I am inclined to identify La-sa with L'Ahsa on the Persian gulf. This port is mentioned by Ibn Batuta.

麻林 Ma-lin, a country the position of which is not given. It is only said that it is very far from China.

忽鲁詎斯 Hu-lu-mu-sze. Northwest of Ku-li twenty-five days' sail. In my Notices of the Medieval Geography of Asia I have translated the whole article referring to Hu-lu-mu-sze or Hormus from the Ming history.

潢山 Liu-shan (Liu hills), south of Si-lan (Ceylon) seven days' sail with favorable wind and ten days southwest of the Maoshan (see above Nan-po-li, which is near Sumatra). This position here given seems to point to the Chagos Archipelago.

比剌 Bi-la and 孫剌 Sun-la, two countries, very far from China. Position not indicated.

南巫里 Nan-ou-li (can also be read: Southern Wu-li), situated in the South-eastern ocean.

* On Desufar and the following three countries see for further details in my pamphlet on the Arabs, pp, 18, 21.

加異勒 Kia-i-le, a small kingdom in the western sea. This may be Kail in Southern India, or as it is called by N. Conti Kahila.

甘巴里 Kan-pa-li is also a small kingdom in the western sea. I would observe, that a kingdom Kampitah is mentioned among the kingdoms of India in the 14th Century (comp. Yule's M. Polo 2d ed. II. 421). Masudi speaks of an island Kanhuls distant 500 parasangs from Oman and one or two days from the Zindj coast (eastern African coast).

阿撥把丹 A-fa-ba-dan and 小阿蘭 Siao-a-lan (little Alan) are two little kingdoms adjoining Kan-pa-li.

急蘭丹 Ki-lan-dan and 沙里灣泥 Shi-li-wan-ni, position not indicated.

底里 Di-li. This country adjoins Jao-na-pur (see above). Its ruler Ma-ha-mu in A.D. 1412 sent an embassy to the Chinese Court. It seems that Di-li denotes Delhi.

千里達 T'sien-li-ta (the first character perhaps a misprint for 千 Kan). Position not given.

失剌比 Shi-la-bi, mentioned in the beginning of the 15th century (Siraf?)

古里班卒 Ku-li-pan-tsu: there are heavy rains in summer in this country.

剌泥 La-ni: a Mohammedan country. In connection with it the Ming-shi enumerates the following ten countries, which are stated to be situated beyond La-ni, viz.:

夏剌比 Hia-la-bi, 奇剌泥 K'i-la-ni, 彭加那 Peng-kia-na: 八可意 Ba-k'o-i, 窪察泥 Ku-ch'a-ni, 徐沙剌踢 Wu-sha-la-ti (Guzerat?), 坎巴 K'an-ba, 拍剌齊 She-la-tai (Shiraz?), 阿哇 A-aea, 打同 Da-hui.

白葛達 Po-k'o-ta (White K'o-ta) and 黑葛達 Hei-K'o-ta (Black K'o-ta). Position not given.

拂林 Po-in. Of this country, which has generally been identified with the Byzantine empire, I shall give a translation of the whole account found in the Ming-shi.
Fo-lin is said to be the same as 大秦 Ta-ts'Pin of the Han dynasty. The intercourse of this country with China dates from the time of emperor Huan-ti (A.D. 147-168). It was known during the Tsin and Wei dynasties (226-420 and 386-558) under the same name and used to send tribute to the court.† The T'ang (618-907) called it Fo-lin,† as did also the Sung (960-1280), and during the latter dynasty Fo-lin repeatedly sent envoys with tribute to the Chinese court. It is however doubtful whether Ta-ts'in and Fo-lin are the same (i.e. the Ming chronicler expresses this view). Towards the end of the Yuan (Mongol) dynasty (1289-1368) a man from the kingdom of Fo-lin by name 擒古倫 Nie-yu-lun (Nicolas) had come to China for the sake of trade. Owing to the troubles, which took place when the Yuan were overthrown, he was not able to return home. Tai-tsu (the first Ming emperor) heard of his embarrassment and in the 8th month of A.D. 1371 sent for him and gave him the permission to return home. At the same time Nie-gu-lun was intrusted with a letter of the emperor addressed to the king of Fo-lin in the following terms:

"Just as the Sung dynasty had not been able to sustain its power in China and had been abandoned by Heaven, the Yuan (Mongols), who originate from the 沙漠 Sha-mo (Gobi desert) and who have ruled over China for more than a hundred years also incurred the ire of Heaven and lost the empire owing to their stupidity and viciousness. Troubles broke out, which disturbed China during eighteen years. Then a number of

valiant men united (to save the fatherland). I was at that time a man of the common people* in 淮右 Huai-yü and felt the duty to save the people with the assistance of Heaven. I appointed civil and military officers, passed to the east of the 趙 Kiang (Yang-tze-kiang), organized a host, and in the space of fourteen years I succeeded in triumphing over my adversaries. After having conquered the provinces in the south in the west and in the north I restored peace in our Chinese empire and re-established its ancient frontiers. Now four years have passed since I have been elected emperor by the officers and the people. I have adopted for my dynasty the name 大明 Ta-Ming (the great Ming). Envoys have been sent to all the kingdoms of the barbarians in the north, the south, the east and the west to make known my accession to the throne. It is only your kingdom Fo-lin on the western sea to which, owing to its great distance from China, this fact has not yet been notified. Now I send you the present letter by one of your subjects by name Nie-yu-lun. Although I cannot compare myself with the sage rulers of ancient times and I have not the pretension to attract by my modest qualities the kingdoms of the world (萬 方), I nevertheless cannot forbear making known to the world that I have pacified China."

Subsequently the emperor sent an envoy by name 晉刺 P'u-la with a rescript and presents to the ruler of Fo-lin. Accordingly the latter dispatched an envoy with tribute to the Chinese Court. But this was the only instance that the kingdom of Fo-lin had sent tribute during the time of the Ming.‡

‡ Under the reign of Wan-li (1573-1620) a man from the Western Ocean arrived at the

* 布 衣 literally: cotton clothed.
† I.e. the eastern Roman empire. Comp. my pamphlet on the Arabs, p. 23, and Notes on China Medeiv. Trav. p. 86.
capital (Peking)." He stated, that 天主
耶稣 Tien-chu Ye-su (the Lord of Heaven
Ye-su) was born in 如德亞 Ju-de-yu,
which is the same as ancient
大秦 Ta-
ts'tin (evidently the view of Ricci). He
reported further that this State had existed
since the creation of the world for the last 6000
years(其國自開闢以來六千年),
that this fact is ascertained by tradition as
well as it is written in the books, explaining
the origin of all things, that the Lord of
Heaven created men, etc. But all these
reports are lies unworthy of belief.
After this account respecting Fe-lin the
Ming-shi gives a long article on 意大利
I-ta-li-ya (Italy) in which it is stated
that under the reign of Wan-li (1573-1620)
a man from this country, which is situated in
the middle of the western sea, arrived at the
capital. His name was 利瑪竇 Li Ma-
tou.† He made a map of the world, under
the title 萬國全圖 wan-kuo-tsu-t'an-t'u
(map of the ten thousand kingdoms) and
stated in this work, that there are in the
world five 大洲 ta-chou (great islands, parts
of the globe). The first is called 廢細
亞 A-si-ya. It comprises more than a hun-
dred kingdoms and China is one of them.
The second is 歐羅巴 Ou-lo-pa (Europe)
with more than 70 kingdoms. I-ta-li-ya
ranges under them. The third is 利未
亞 Li-wei-ya Lybia. (I am not aware
why Ricci prefers this name to Africa). It
numbers also more than a hundred kingdoms.
The fourth is 亞墨利加 A-mo-li-kia
(America). It is very large, and divided
into a northern and a southern part. After-
wards the fifth was discovered and called
墨瓦黎泥加 Mo-va-la-ni-kia (Magel-
lanics).‡

With respect to the first arrival of the
Jesuit missionaries at Peking and their
establishment there, we find in the Ming-shi
the following details, which are in complete
accordance with the information given by
Du Halde on the same subject, and prove
the authenticity of the reports of those mis-
sionaries:—

"In the 9th year of the reign of Wan-li
(A.D. 1581) Li Ma-tou (Ricci) had first
embarked and after a sea voyage of 90,000 li
arrived at the province of Kuang-tung at
澳 Ao (Macao, properly 澳門 Ao-men in
Chinese) situated in the district of 香山
Hiang-shan. Then his doctrine infected
China (其教遂沾染中土). In
A.D. 1601 he arrived at the capital (Peking),
and the eunuch Ma-chang introduced him
to the emperor, with the presents he had
brought as tribute. Li Ma-tou stated that
he was a man from 大西洋 Ta-si-yang
(great western Ocean). Thereupon the
ministers of the Board of Rites made a long
report to the emperor, pointing out that
Li Ma-tou seems to be a liar, for according
to the Hui-tien (collection of the statutes
of the Ming) there is indeed a country Si-yang
So-li (see above) but nobody has heard of a
country Ta-si-yang. Moreover this man has
appeared at Court 20 years after his arrival
in China. And what did he offer to the
emperor as tribute? Nothing but strange things,
which have no resemblance to those rare and
precious presents usually offered by the envoy
from distant countries. He has brought for
instance portraits of the Lord of Heaven
and of his mother, and also some bones of
immortals (神仙骨). As if an immortal,
who soars up to Heaven, should be provided
with bones! 韓愈 Han-yü (a scholar) of

† Matthias Ricci, see notes † and ‡.
‡ This is the Chinese name which Matthias
Ricci adopted in China. It can be read on his
tomb-stone with Chinese and Latin inscrip-
tions, raised by imperial order in the Portuguese
Cemetery situated near the (western) P'ing-tse-
men gate of Peking. Ricci arrived in China
A.D. 1583, but it was only in 1600 that he was
allowed to visit Peking, where he died 1610.
the T'ang has said, that such unclean things can only bring mischief and therefore ought not to enter into the palace.” After this the report blamed the behaviour of the eunuch Ma T'ang, who should have previously applied, before introducing Li Ma-t'ou into the palace, to the Board of Rites, as it is the rule, that the things presented as tribute might have been examined. “This man (Ricci) is staying privately in a Buddhist temple of the capital, and we know nothing about him and his intentions. It is the rule that in the case of foreign countries sending tribute to the court the envoys are rewarded and entertained as guests. Now we propose to bestow upon Li Ma-t'ou a cap and a girdle and to send him back. He ought not to be allowed to live secretly in either of the two capitals, nor to enter into intimacy with our people.” After this the emperor decided nothing, when in the 8th month the Board of Rites again laid before the emperor a report, complaining that they had been waiting vainly five months for His Majesty's decision in the matter of Li Ma-t'ou. They now tried to prove that it would injure his health if he were staying any longer in Peking. “Just as a bird or a deer, when put into a cage is mourning for its forests and luxuriant grass, likewise men also do not feel easy in a city.” They stated further that Li Ma-t'ou did not attach any value to presents and they pretended that he himself was desirous to live in the mountains. Accordingly the Board of Rites proposed to send him to Kiang-si, alleging that people living in the deep valleys and mountains of that province are said to attain a high age. However the emperor did not pay attention to these arguments. On the contrary he was pleased with the man who had come from so far a country and ordered him to remain in the capital, bestowing upon him rich presents, giving him a house and paying for his maintenance. Subsequently the officers as well as the people conceived an affection for him and held him in great esteem. He died in the 4th month of 1610 and was buried by imperial order in the western suburb of the capital.*

On the first of the 11th month of the same year an eclipse of the sun happened, and it turned out that the (Chinese) astronomer had made a grave mistake in his calculation, whereupon the emperor gave order to change the mode of calculation. In the next year the president of the Astronomical Board pointed out two men from the great western ocean by names of Pang Ti-wo and Hsiung San-pa, deeply versed in astronomy and who calculated according to methods unknown in China. A councillor of the Board of Rites proposed to examine again the Mohammedan system of calculating introduced by Hung-wu (the first Ming emperor), and to invite for this deliberation the afore mentioned foreigners. The emperor consented.

Since the time Li Ma-t'ou had first entered the Middle Kingdom his followers arrived in great numbers. One of them by name Wang Feng-su, who lived in Nan-king, was an ardent propagator of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven and attracted the people of all classes, officers as well as the peasants in the villages. However the Board of Rites hated the followers of this religion and was always disposed to put them to all kinds of inconveniences. In 1616 the Board of Rites laid before the emperor a report in which it was suggested that the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven is a fallacious and vicious one, exciting the people. It was tried also to prove that they (the missionaries) are Fo-lang-gi.† Wang Feng-su, 阳玛诺 Yang Ma-no and others were accused of seducing the people to assemble on the first and the fifteenth days of every month to the number of ten thousand men,

*Ricci's gravestone is found on the so-called Portuguese cemetery half an English mile west of Peking (see note †, p. 391). The greater part of the illustrious Jesuit missionaries in China of the 17th and 18th centuries repose there.
† Furangi or Franks. As we have seen, the Chinese understood by this name generally the Portuguese, who owing to their affairs in Macao of course had a bad repute in China.
under the pretense of praying, but in fact to plot secretly, in the same way as the (secret) society called 白蓮 P'o-lieu (White Lotus) does, being also in collusion with the foreigners in 門 Ao (Macao). The effect of this report was that an imperial decree went out, banishing the followers of the doctrine to the province of Kuang-tung. In the 4th month of 1618 Piang-ti-wo addressed to the emperor a petition, in which he solicited to be left with his companions, ten in number, in the capital, alluding to their merits and his having held an office in the capital for 17 years. He tried also to prove that his doctrine had nothing to do with conspiracies etc. But he was refused by the emperor and the foreigners went away discontented. Subsequently Wang Feng-su changed his name and passed into Nan-king, where he taught secretly his doctrine as before. It was impossible to get at the truth.

In his country (I understand Wang Feng-su's country) the people are very clever in making cannons (礎: They are larger than those brought from the great western ocean. After one of these cannons had been received in China attempts were made to imitate them. But it was impossible to make use of these arms. During the reigns of 天啟 (1621-23) and 乾隆 (1628-44) men from 門 Ao (Macao) came to the capital, and as they proved to be very clever in military arts they were employed in the war in the north-east (against the Manchus).

Under the reign of 乾隆 (1628-44) it happened that the calculation of the calendar had fallen into disorder, and the Board of Rites proposed to apply to the followers of the doctrine of the Lord of Heaven, namely 顧亞谷 Lo-ya-ku and 湯若望 T'ang Jo-wang and others and to appoint a committee in order to rectify the ancient methods of calculation by means of the new system of the foreigners. The emperor agreed, and in 1628 a book was published entitled 崇禎歷書 Ch'ung-cheng li-shu (or the almanac of Emperor Ch'ung-cheng) which was superior to the former almanac 大統歷 Ta-t'ung-li.

These (christian) foreigners who had come to the east had, in the Middle Kingdom, the repute of being the most intelligent, learned and honest men. They preached their doctrine and wrote many useful books on matters never before heard of by the Chinese people. They never asked for any payment. They became well known among the people and even high officers made them their friends.

After this the Ming history enumerates the following Jesuit missionaries under their Chinese names and indicates also their native countries:—

The following four are stated to be from 意大利 I-ta-li-ya (Italy), 龍華民 Lung Hua-min 畢方濟 Pi Fang-tsu 艾如曩 Ai Ju-ho 熊三拔 Hsiang San-pa. Next are mentioned:

郝玉函 Jeng-yu-han from 熱 而 瑪 尼 Je-r-ma-ni (Germany) 鄧若望 Ti-wo from 依 西 把 尼 亞 陽 瑪 諾 I-li-pa-ni-ya (Hispania) and 汤 马诺 Yang Ma-no from 波 而 都 瓦 而 Po-r-tu-wa-r (Portugal).

E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D.

* The document above translated is an honorable monument raised in Chinese history to the memory of those venerable Jesuit missionaries, who preached the gospel in China nearly 300 years ago. It proves at the same time, that their statements with respect to their influence at Court and the conversion of the highest Chinese officers have by no means been exaggerated. A very valuable pamphlet, giving a list of all the Jesuit missionaries, who since Francisco Xavier (A.D. 1552) have laboured in China, has lately been published by the learned Jesuit Fathers at Shanghai. The list shows also the names the missionaries adopted in China, and besides this, short biographical notes have been added. This useful compilation enables me to identify the names of the missionaries mentioned in the Chinese record. I may give here their European names:—

Li-Ma-tou, Matthaeus Risci, born at Makarata in Italy in 1552, arrived in China 1583, died at Peking 11 May 1610.


P'ang Ti-wo, Didacus de Pantoja, a Spaniard, born 1571, arrived in China 1609, died at Macao 1618.

F. Catalogus patrum ac fratrum in Scolae Dei Jesui qui in S. Bis. collaborabant, Shanghai, Caractac. 1873.
Hiung San-pa, Sabbathinuus de Ursis, born at Naples 1575, arrived in China 1606, died at Macao 1620.

Yang Ma-no, Emmanuel Diaz (jun.), a Portuguese, born 1574, came to China 1610, died at Hang-chow 1659.

Pé Fang-tei, Franciscus Saubinsa, born at Naples 1582, came to China 1613, died at Macao 1649.

Teng Yü-han, Joannes Terrenz, born in Switzerland 1576, came to China 1621, died at Peking 1630.

Pang Ju-wan, Johann Adam Shall von Köln, a German, born 1591, came to China 1622, died in Peking 1666.

Lo Ya-ku, Jacobus Rho, born at Milan 1590, came to China 1624, died in Peking 1638.

Ai Ju-teo, J. Ateni, born at Brixia 1582, came to China 1513, died at Fuchou 1649.

The name Wang Fen-su is not found in the list of the Jesuit missionaries, probably this Father appears there under another name. We have seen above the Chinese statement about his having changed his name.
CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

Accounts of Foreign Countries and especially those of Central and Western Asia, drawn from the Ming-shi and the Ta Ming-yi-t'ung-chi.

The Mongols and the Oirats in the 15th Century.

The whole Chapter cccxvii of the Ming-shi is devoted to the history of the Mongols after their expulsion from China, and in the next chapter a long article on the Wa-la or Western Mongols appears. The history of the Western Mongols, known also under the names of Eleuths, Oirats, Kalmuks, Dzungars, is very imperfectly known, and the origin of these appellations is also quite obscure. Ritter in his “Asien” (I. 443-47, whose information is drawn from Amiot, Rémusat, Klaproth, etc.) considers Eleuth or Oirat to be a general name for the great western branch of the Mongol nation, which in the west is known under the name of Kalmuks,* and on the authority of the Mongol historian Sanang Setsen makes them to be divided into the tribes of Khosbot, Durbot, Turgut and Dsorgar. But Father Hyacinth, who in 1834 published (in Russian) a “Historical Sketch of the Oirats or Kalmuks,” diverges from this view. According to him Eleuth and Oirat are not identical, but the Eleuths trace their origin from A-lu-t'ai, a powerful minister and general of the Mongol empire in the 15th century (an unfounded view as I shall show further on). Hyacinth records further (p. 13) that the Oirats of the Mongol chronicles (Wa-la of the Chinese), living during the Ming period in what we now call Dzungaria, were divided originally into three tribes viz: Choros, Khosbot and Torgot. When the influence of A-lu-t'ai and his party at the Mongol court in Karakorum had begun to prevail, the aforesaid tribes had made a league against him and called themselves Oirat which in Mongol means “allies.” Subsequently a fourth tribe the Durbot joined the league and these four tribes formed the Durban Oirat (four Oirats) of the Mongol chroniclers. After a long strug-
gle between the two parties the Oirats, led by Makmud, chief of the Choros, finally overcame the adversary.* It is to be regretted that Hynainth deemed it unnecessary to give the sources whence his information was drawn, and therefore it is often difficult to decide whether he produces statements found in Chinese or Mongol works or conjectures of his own.

It may be well here to say a few words on the original sources from which our knowledge of these tribes and their history is derived.

In Vol. VI. of the Journal of the Russian Archæological Society, 1858, is found a Russian translation of the Mongol annals (or rather traditions) which go under the name of Altan tobochi (epitome aurea) or properly Erdenin tobochi (which has nearly the same meaning). Sunang Setsen has based his history of the Mongols† partly on the Altan tobochi. Two manuscript copies of this rare document had been procured by the Russian missionaries at Peking and the learned Lama Gaisan Gamboyeff, Professor at the University of Kazan,—these published the Mongol text, together with a Russian version.—The Altan tobochi is a much confused record of the history of the Mongols up to the 16th century and generally difficult to understand. We meet in it with a great profusion of names of men and of dates which are recorded incoherently, and in most of the cases we are embarrassed what to make of these stories and to decide to what period they are intended to refer. However, a comparison of the Altan tobochi with the Chinese historical accounts respecting the Mongols enables us to detect in it a nucleus of authenticity. The Oirats and their intercourse with the Mongols are often spoken of there.

In 1776 the well-known Russian (German) naturalist and traveller Pallas published his "Historische Nachrichten über die Mongolischen Völkerschaften." In this work a whole chapter is devoted to the history of the Kalmucks, the information having been gathered directly from the Kalmucks at the Russian frontier. According to Pallas (I. 9) the Oelits or Kalmucks are divided into four tribes, viz: Khoshot, Derbet, Soongarr, and Torgot, but on page 31 he speaks of a fifth one Khoit and gives the pedigrees of the ruling Khans of these tribes. I may be allowed to give for comparison some Chinese accounts on the same matter.

By order of Emperor K'ien-lung a comparative list of geographical and historical names referring to Central Asia was compiled in six languages (Chinese, Manchou, Mongol, Eleuth, Turkish, Tibetian) in the original letters by a number of Chinese Savants, and published in 1763 under the name of 西域同文志 St-yü-t'ung-wen-chi. In Chap. vii-x, under the head of 溼噶爾部, the tribe of Dzungar, it is stated that it comprises the four 德拉特 Wei-la-t'e (Oirats) who in ancient times lived north of the Thien-shan. The four Oirats then are enumerated as follows:—

1. 綽羅斯 Ch'o-lo-sze (Choros.)
2. 都爾伯特 Du-r-bo-t'ei (the Derbet of Pallas.)
3. 和碩特 Hua-shi-t'e (the Khoshot of Pallas.)
4. 輝特 Hui-t'e (the Khoit of Pallas.)

The detailed genealogical tables of the Khans (or Tai-shi or Tai-ssi as they were generally called) of these tribes, as found in

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* All the above mentioned tribes still exist in Mongolia, they have only changed their original abodes. Some of them nomadize in the present day in or near Kalkunor. It is well known, that towards the end of the 17th century and in the beginning of the 18th the Turguts emigrated from Dzungaria and the Tsar Peter the Great allowed them to occupy the steppes between the Wolga and the Emba. In 1712 the Chinese Emperor sent an envoy to the Khan of the Turguts, who then lived near Takrits (on the Wolga.) This embassy, 1713-15, has been described by Tu-li-shen, in a narrative entitled 異域録 I-yü-la. An English translation of it was published in 1821 by Sir George Thomas Staunton. In Russia and Western Asia the Turguts go under the name of Kalmucks.

† Translated into German by J. J. Schmidt, St. Petersburg, 1829.
the Chinese text, when compared with Pallas’ lists, prove that both have been compiled from about the same sources. The names of the Khans agree in both in a general way. The Chinese tables are more complete. The tribe Ch'ao-lo-sze (Choros) has not been mentioned by Pallas, but the names in the pedigree given for this tribe in the Chinese text agree with the Soungaar Khans of Pallas.

Some new information on the same subject is found in the Sheng-wu-k’i, a descriptive account of the various military operations of the present dynasty. In Chap. iii, under the head of 康熙親征, the title 欣噶爾汗 (Emperor Kang-hi’s expedition against the Djungar) we read:

The 尼魯特 O-lu-t’e (Euluth) are of Mongol (Meng-gu) extraction. When the Mongol dynasty in China had been overthrown the Mongol people split into three branches, one of them lived south of the desert and continued to be called Mongols, another branch lived north of the desert and they called themselves 喀爾喀 K’o-rh’o (Khalkhas). Both (i.e. the ruling Khans of both tribes) were descendents of Chinghiz. A third branch dwelt westward. They did not descend from Chinghiz, but they trace their origin back to 脫歡太師 To-huan T’ai-shi and to 也先 Ye-sien K’o-han (Khan) of the 瓦剌 Wa-la (Oirats), and the latter are the same we (now) call O-lu-t’e (Eleuths) and the four 衛拉特 Wei-la-t’o (Oirats). After this the names of the four Oirat tribes are given as follows:

1. Ch’o-lo-sze, who had their pasture land in 伊犁 I-li.
2. Du-r-ho-t’o, who dwelt on the river 額爾齊斯 E-r-elsi-sze (Irtysch).
3. 土爾扈特 T’u-r-hu-t’o (Turkut) in T’u-r-hu-ha-t’ai.
4. Ho-shi-t’o in Wu-hu-mu-t’ai (Urum-

* Translated by Hiacyinth, I. c. p. 23 seq.
† On these Khans of the Oirats see further on To-huan 1415-40, Ye-sien 1440-54.

It seems this is the first time that the name Djungar appears in the Chinese annals. Djungar in Mongol means “the left hand” and also “east.” It is not easy to understand why the most western branch of the Mongol nation should have been designated by this name. In the great expedition sent by Emperor K’ien-lung in 1755 to I-li the people of the Djungars were nearly exterminated by the emperor’s troops.

Anyone taking the trouble to compare the statements I have brought together to elucidate the division and the appellations of the Western Mongols, will agree with me, I think, that Eleuth, Djungar and Oirat are synonyms and as well as Kaimuk general names applied to all Western Mongols.

Let me observe before examining the records found in the Ming history with respect to the 瓦剌 Wa-la or Oirats, that the history of this tribe can be traced back to the very beginning of the 13th century. In the Yuan-shi or Chinese History of the Mongols the Oirats are termed 蠶蠶 Wei-la or 幹亦剌 Wa-i-la, in the Mongol annals of the 13th century (Yuan-ch’ao-p’i-shi) Oira or Wan-Oira. In the Yuan-shi, annals sub anno 1294, the Ta-shi Wei-la are stated to have made a league with the Naiman and other tribes against Chinghiz Khan. Ibidem sub anno 1208, the submission of the Wa-i-la to Chinghiz is reported. That by Ta-shi Wei-La and Wa-i-la the same tribe is meant,

* He died in 1654 according to the Siberian annals.
† It is known that Emperor Kang-hi was obliged to undertake at the end of the 17th century several expeditions against Galdan.
namely the Oirats, is corroborated by Rashid-eddin, for the Persian historian reports, under the same years under which the Yuan-shi speak of the Wei-la etc., the league and the submission of the Oirats (D’Ohsson hist. d. Mong. i. 86, 104, Berezin’s transl. of Rashid i. 79). In another chapter, where Rashid reviews the tribes living anciently in Mongolia, he states that the Oirats are a numerous tribe dwelling at the sources of the river Kem. (Even now-a-days one of the affluents of the Yenissey bears the same name). These abodes assigned by Rashid to the Oirats, agree well with the country where the Ming history locates the Wala. I may finally say that the Horiads of M. Polo (Col. Yule’s 2nd edition I. 291) and the Voyratri of Pt. Carpini (Edition Soc. de Geogr. p. 651, 706) are evidently the same Oirats.

The Mongols are styled 蒙古 Meng-gu* in the Ming Shi. The history of the Mongols properly does not enter into the programme of my investigations, but in treating of the Wala I cannot forbear touching also upon the history of the Mongol empire, which in the 15th century for many years was ruled by princes of the Wa-la. The accounts of the latter in the Ming Shi begin as follows:

The 瓦剌 Wala are a Mongol tribe and live west of the Mongols. (In the article Ha-mi, further on, it is stated that their country lies north of Ha-mi i.e. beyond the T’ien-shan). After the expulsion of the Mongols from China (A.D. 1368) a high officer of that dynasty by name 马哈木 Ma-ha-mu (Mahmud), 太平 Tai-p’ing and 把秃孛羅 Ba-tu-P’o-lo. Soon after the Ming dynasty had established its power in China these three chiefs of the Wa-la sent embassies with tribute to the Chinese court. The emperor bestowed upon them the title of 王 Wang (prince), namely Ma-ha-mu

=順寧王 Shan-nin-wang, Tai-p’ing
=貞義王 Hien-yi-wang, and Ba-tu-P’o-lo=安樂王 An-le-wang. The Wala seem to have been on good terms with the Chinese and sent frequently embassies, in the beginning of the Ming period at least before they had gained influence at the Mongol court. Before continuing the history of the Wa-la let me give an abstract of the history of the Mongols according to the Ming Shi.

When the Yuan or Mongol dynasty had been overthrown by the Ming (A.D. 1368) the last Mongol ruler* fled to Mongolia. He went at first to K’ai-p’ing-fu (or Shang-tu the summer residence of the Mongol emperors) then to 涑州 Ying-ch’ang,† where he died in spring 1370, leaving the Mongol throne to his son 愛猷識理達臘 Ai-yu-shi-li-da-la. Soon after the host of the Ming arrived before Ying-ch’ang, Ai-yu-shi-li-da-la succeeded in escaping and went to 和林 Ho-lin. But his son 賣的里八剌 Mai-di-li-ba-la and his wives were taken prisoners. In 1372 the Ming Emperor sent a considerable army under the command of his generalissimo 徐達 Xú-ta against the Mongols. The Chinese proceeded to the 腹裡 Lu-hou river, and advanced even as far as the 土剌

* 正 chu, ruler. The Chinese historians do not concede the title of 帝 ti to the deposed Mongol Emperor (Togon tenur or Shun-ti).† This city was situated near the lake Talmor in South-eastern Mongolia, visited a few years ago by Col. Frewick. The Chinese name for this lake is 虎魚兒海 Pu-yu-r-hai. See my Notes on Chin. Mediav. Trav., p. 21.‡ Ho-lin is the Chinese name for Karakorum, the ancient Mongol capital, founded by Ogotai Khan in A.D. 1236, abandoned by Kublai Khan in 1360. After the expulsion of the Mongols from China it became again the residence of the Mongol khans.§ The Chinese name for the Kerulen river in Northern Mongolia.
to acknowledge his supremacy. As Ben-ya-
shi-li refused, a large Chinese host marched
out in 1408 against the Mongols. Just at
that time the Wa-la had got the upperhand
at the Mongol court and Ben-ya-shi-li had
retired with his troops, together with his
minister A-lu-t'ai to the Kerulen river.
However he was successful here against the
Chinese, who owing to an imprudent attack
lost their whole army. But in 1410 em-
peror Yung-lo passed in person the great
wall at the head of half a million of soldiers.
Ben-ya-shi-li and his minister could not
come to an agreement as to the plan of
defence. They separated. The khan went
westward, A-lu-t'ai eastward. The imperial
army pursued the khan and defeated him on
the river 幹難 Wa-nan (the Onou), and
then proceeded to attack his minister, whose
army was also destroyed at 靜房鎮 Tsing-lu-chien. Soon after Ma-ha-mu, the
chief of the Wa-la (see above) killed Ben-
ya-shi-li and placed on the Mongol throne
答里巴 Da-li-ba. * A-lu-t'ai ac-
nowledged the supremacy of the Chinese
emperor, who bestowed upon him the title of
和寧王 Hua-ning-wang, (prince of Ho-
ning). At the same time the title 順寧
王 Shun-ning-wang, had been bestowed by
the emperor upon A-lu-t'ai's adversary Ma-
ha-mu, chief of the Wa-la. After this A-
lu-t'ai, was for his life-time in constant war
with Ma-ha-mu and after Ma-ha-mu's death
in 1415 his son 脫懼 To-huan, † con-
tinued the war. Although A-lu-t'ai tried
to be on good terms with the Chinese, they
did not put great trust in him. The Chinese
emperor bestowed upon To-huan his father's
title Shun-ning-wang.

In 1422 the Wa-la plundered Hami.
When the emperor reprimanded them they
sent an envoy and solicited pardon. In
1424, A-lu-t'ai in a battle with To-huan
suffered a total defeat and was obliged to
retire to the river Liao in southern Man-
churia. In 1437 To-huan succeeded in

* Dolbek, Khan in the Altan tobchi, p. 158.
† To-gon Tai-shi of the Altan tobchi, p. 159.
killing his enemy and subduing his people. At that time T'o-huan had already killed the chiefs of the two other branches of the Wa-la (see above) and united the whole people of Wa-la. After Da-li-ba’s death, in 1438, he made an attempt to usurp the Mongol throne, but the people did not agree and 阿失帖木兒 A-shi-tie-mu-r, a grand son of Ye-sien, repeatedly sent tribute to the Chinese court. The Wa-la in the 15th and in the 16th centuries frequently plundered the military districts south of Hami (see further on) or made leagues with the tribes there. Finally the power of the Wa-la was completely broken by the Sultan of Turfan.

The history of the Mongols and their frequent wars with China are treated at length in the history of the Ming down to the middle of the 17th century. Under the reign of T'ien-shun, 1457–65, the Wa-la prince 阿失帖木兒 A-shi-tie-mu-r, a grand son of Ye-sien, repeatedly sent tribute to the Chinese court. The Wa-la in the 15th and in the 16th centuries frequently plundered the military districts south of Hami (see further on) or made leagues with the tribes there. Finally the power of the Wa-la was completely broken by the Sultan of Turfan.

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The Three Military Districts* of 杂顔 福餘 Fu-yü and 泰寧 Tai-nung. Ming-shi, Chap. cccccxviii.

These three military stations and districts had been established by Emperor Hung-wu, A.D., 1389 in the country called 兀良哈

* In order to protect the empire against the invasions of their troublesome neighbors, the Ming had established at the frontiers on the points most exposed to danger a number of 腕 or military posts. About 50 腕 are enumerated in the geographical section of the Ming-shi at the frontiers of China proper, namely in Liao-tung, Chuli, Shan-si, Shen-si, Kau-su, Szechuan and even in Yunnan. Besides this line of defence the Chinese tried to establish a second one in the adjacent countries not strictly subject to China but where the tribes had acknowledged Chinese supremacy. In the section of foreign nations in the Ming-shi, 15 of these 腕 or military stations, or rather districts, beyond China, are spoken of, viz. 5 in south-eastern Mongolia and Manchuria, 11 in the tract between the Tien-shan chain and Thibet (or ancient Uiguria), and 4 in the country south-east of lake Ku-ku-nor.

These districts were ruled by native chiefs, upon whom the Chinese emperor bestowed Chinese titles and ranks. The chief of Ha-mi, the largest and most important of the 腕, had the title 襄 or prince, whilst the chiefs of the smaller military districts were raised to more or less elevated Chinese military ranks. Generally they received the rank of 指揮 in different gradations, which in the days of the Ming denoted superior officers. These names of ranks occur frequently in the Chinese records I review, and as it is difficult to render them by the exact corresponding rank in our military gradation, I shall abstain from translation and give always the Chinese denomination. The follow-
**CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA.**

*Wu-liang-ha.* This country is situated south of the 黑龍江 Hsii-lung-kiang, (Amur river) and north of the defile 漁陽塞 Yu-yang-sai.* At the time of the Han dynasty this was the country of the 鮟卑 Si-en-pi, in the T'ang period the 吐谷渾 Tu-ku-hun dwelt in it, and at the time of the Sung the 契丹 Ku-tsan (Liao) occupied this land. During the Yuan period it was the northern frontier of the circuit (department) 大寧路 Ta-ning-lu.

*Tu-yeu* extends from Ta-ning† southward to Si-feng-k'ou and Siuen-hua-fu.

*Tai-ning* comprises Kin-chou, I-chou, Kuang-ning§ and extends as far as the Liao river.

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*Fu-yü* stretches from 黃泥窪 Huang-ni-ya to 豐陽 Shen-yang (Mukden), T'ieh-ling and K'ai-yüan (both north-east of Mukden.)

These military districts were ruled by the chiefs of their own people but depended on the Ming. The Mongols frequently overran this country. I omit the details.†

**西城 Si-yü, Countries of the West.**

Thus the rest of the section on foreign countries in the Ming-shi, Chapter cccxxix-cccxxxii, is headed. It comprises, besides Thibet and some countries in Hindustan, Eastern and Western Turkistan and Western Asia, etc.

**哈密衛 The Military District of Hami.**

Chap. cccxxix of the Ming-shi begins with a long article on Ha-ni or Khamul. According to these accounts the military post of Hami lies 1600 li west of Kiu-yü-kuan (see China Review, Vol. IV., p. 313, note ‡.) †

* Unknown to me, probably in Northern Manchuria.
† It appears from the above statements, that the country Wu-liang-ha comprised a part of Southern Manchuria (or Sheng-king) and a part of present Chilii, north of the great wall. I know nothing about the origin of the name Wu-liang-ha. In the Yian history the tribe of the Orianguts is generally designated by this name, but they dwelt far to the north near lake Baikal, and have nothing to do with Wu-liang-ha of the Ming-shi.

† In the Ming-yi-t'ung-chi, Chap. LXXXIX, there is an article on the 女直 Ni-chi, or Churche, who in the 12th and 13th centuries had ruled under the name of the Kin dynasty over the northern part of China. It is known that the presently reigning Man-chao dynasty traces its origin back to the Ni-chi. The Ming-yi-t'ung-chi states that the Ni-chi live east of Wu-lang-ha and border south on Korea, whilst to the east their country stretches to the sea. It is an interesting fact, that the Persian historian Rashid-eddin, who wrote only 150 years earlier than the Ming Geography was compiled, in enumerating the provinces of China (Col. Yule's Catalogue p. 267), places between the provinces of Khandis (Chili) and Kalf (Korea) the country of the Churche and the Solangka. The latter name has some resemblance to Wu-liang-ha.
‡ There is evidently a misprint in the Chinese text, for Hami is situated north-west of Kiu-yü-kuan, 1470 li distant, according to an itinerary of the present dynasty. But there are several roads leading from the Kiu-yü gate to Hami.
Ha-mi borders north on the country of the Wu-la (Oirats), west on T'ue-lu-fan (Turpan, see further on) and Hou-chou (Karakhodja, see further on), south on Shao-chou, Han-tung Chi-yin, etc. (On all these districts see further on). 1,500 li south-east of Ha-mi lies Su-chou.

At the time of the Han dynasty this was the country of I-wu-lu, where the Emperor Ming-ti (A.D. 58-76) established a military district and a military colony. During the T'ang dynasty (7th-10th cent.) it was known under the name of I-chou. In the Sung period (11th and 12th cent.) it belonged to the Hui-ho (Uigurs). At the end of the Yuan dynasty (overthrown in 1368) the prince of Wei-wu by name Na-hu-li, governed this country. He had also the title of Su-chou. When he died his brother An-ko-liemur-r succeeded to him.

Hami is a place of great importance, all the envoys (from the West) who proceed to the Chinese court being obliged to pass through Hami. It is a bulwark of the western frontier. The population of Hami belongs to three nations, viz: the I-wu-hui (Mohammedans), the Wei-wu (thus the Uigurs were termed during the Mongol period), and the Ha-la-hui (unknown to me). Besides these the tribes of Siao-le-tu' and Ekk-ku-l'i are mentioned in the mountains north-east of Hami.

Let me interpolate here some accounts which the Ming Geography (published as I have stated in about the middle of the 15th century) Chap. LXXXIX gives on the mountains, rivers and products of the district of Hami.

The Tien-shan (celestial mountain) lies north of the city of Hami. It is also known under the name of Siu-shan (snowy mountain). In the language of the Uigurs (probably the Turkis are meant) it is termed Dje-lom-an. In times past the Hui-ho (the ancient inhabitants of Mongolia) when they crossed this mountain used to descend from their horses and pray. South of it at a distance of two li is a salt lake.

The mountain Ma-tou-shan lies at the south-eastern frontier of Hami. The Wei-wu-r (Uigur) river, 130 li and more east of the city of Hami. The banks of this river are very sandy and plenty of willow trees grow there.

The Na-hu-li (lady's spring) is east of the Uigur river. The Kho-tu-lu-hu (Khatun-bulak).

The river Ho-lo-ch'uan flows at the south-eastern frontier of Hami. At the time of the T'ang an Uigur princess used to live here. The ruins of the city can still be seen. There is also a pond with a hot spring.

The river Kan-lu-ch'uan is 300 li north-west of Hami.

After this the Ming Geography enumerates the products of Hami, viz.: horses, camels, sheep with large tails, wheat, millet, cowpea, fragrant jujubes, the tree Hu-tung, has already been men-
country of the 畏兀兒 Wei-xun-r* he established military stations in An-t'ing, A-du-an, K'ü-sien, etc., and sent also an officer to An-k'o-t'ie-mu-r to make known the imperial manifestoes. An-k'ö-t'ie-mu-r was well disposed, and despatched to the Chinese emperor an envoy, who arrived in 1403 and brought 190 horses as tribute. Besides this the ruler of Hami sold to the Chinese Government 4740 horses from Hami. In 1404 he sent again tribute and the Emperor Yung-lo bestowed upon him the title 忠順王 Chung-shun-wang (faithful and obedient prince) and a golden seal. But in the next year An-k'o-t'ie-mu-r was poisoned by the (Mongol) Khan Gui-li-ch'i. By imperial order A's nephew 脫脱 To-to, who had spent his time of youth in China as a prisoner of war, succeeded him and inherited his father's title. In 1406 a (Chinese) military station (Wei) was established in Hami. To-to was ill disposed against Chinese and offended the emperor's envoys. Besides this he was given to drinking and neglected the ruling of the country. The people revolted. The emperor sent an officer to warn him, but before he had arrived at Hami To-to had died, A.D. 1410. His cousin 風力帖木兒 Tü-li-t'ie-mu-r succeeded him with the title of 忠義王 Chung-i-wang (faithful and righteous prince). He died in 1425. The emperor confirmed To-to's son 卜答失里 Bu-da-shi-li as Chung-shun-wang, but owing to his minority 脫歡帖木兒 manufactured in western countries, especially in India and in Persia (See my Notes on Chin. Mediev. Trav. p. 89) is, I have little doubt, the same as M. Polo's Ondanique. M. Polo mentions "plenty of veins of steel and Ondanique in the mountains of Kerman and of Chiptalina (identified by Col. Yule in his 2nd ed. of M. Polo, with the country situated on the upper Yenissei)," l. c. I. 91, 128, 215. Col. Yule very judiciously explains, M. Polo's Ondanique by Hundwani "Indian steel."

* As has been already stated since the time of the Mongols the country of the Uighurs was known under the name of Wei-xun-r. It comprised Bishbahl (Urumtali) and the country situated between the Tien-shan and Kun-kho-nor and even Tibet.
To-huan-tie-neu r a brother of Tu-li-tie-mu-ri was associated with him with the title Ch'ung-i-wang. The latter died in 1437. His son Te tu-tao T'o-tou-tai-mu-ri succeeded, but died a short time after. Bu-da-shi-li died also and then his son Tao-ju Diao-wa-da-shi-li took the reign of Hami as Ch'ung-shun-wang. All these princes had sent every year tribute to the Chinese court. Under Diao-wa-dashi-li's reign Ye-sien Khan of the Wu-la (Oirats) invaded Hami; D. died in 1457. His brother and successor Bu-tung-ri reigned to 1460, and as he died without leaving a son his mother Nu-ween-da-shi-li took charge of the regency. The people could not come to terms as to the election of a new ruler, nor did they wish that the country should be governed by a woman. Disturbances broke out and Nu-ween-da-shi-li was obliged to retire in 1463 to K'un-yü.* In 1472 Tu-tao T'o-tou-tai-mu-ri, a grand nephew of To-huan-tie-neu-ri, was appointed by the emperor to rule as a governor (右都督) over the district of Hami, but he died in the same year and his son Han-ch'en was appointed governor of Hami. At that time Su-tan-A-li (Sultan Ali) of Tu-li-fan (Turfan, see further on) arrived before Hami, took and plundered the city, seized also the golden seal (granted by the Chinese emperor), captured the princess Dowager† and carried her along with him. Ali's brother-in-law Ya-lan was left to govern Hami. The Chinese military station of Hami was then transferred to the newly-built city K'un-yü. In 1473 the Chinese emperor gave orders to Li-wen, commander in chief in Su-chou, to raise troops in the military districts of Chu-i-kin, Han-dung, among the Mie-k'o-li and other tribes and to direct them against A-li. In the winter of 1474 this host advanced as far as the river Ta-lo-ju Bu-tung-ri, but did not venture to attack the enemy and returned. The tribes of the Wei-wei and the Mie-k'o-li were also transferred to K'un-yü.

In 1482 Han-ch'en, who had also his residence in K'un-yü, rallied the troops of Ch'i-gin and Han-dung, numbering together with his people 10,000 men, and suddenly attacked Hami. Ya-lan fled and Han-ch'en entered into the city. In 1488 the title Ch'ung-shun-wang was bestowed upon Han-ch'en. Meanwhile Sultan Ali had died (1478). His successor A-hei-ma in 1488 appeared before Hami, and under the pretense of proposing a marriage with Han-ch'en's daughter he enticed him out and killed him. (Another passage further on intimates that A-hei-ma had married a daughter of the prince of Hami). After this A-hei-ma took possession of the city of Hami, but he was obliged in the next year to give it back. Han-ch'en's successor was Shan-ba, a descendant of T'o-tou's nephew. In 1493 he was made prisoner by A-hei-ma, who again took Hami. In 1495 the city was retaken by the troops of K'un-yü, Handung, Ch'i-kin, but Shan-ba was released only two years later. He died 1505. His son Bi-tai-dai, who succeeded him, assumed the title Su-tan (Sultan). He was an incapable ruler. In 1513 Su-tan Man-su-r of T'ilufan took possession of Hami, and since that time the Chinese lost their influence there. Hami depended on Turfan, down to the year 1696, when the chief of Hami Beg Abdullah acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor Kanghi.†

* A place K'un-yü is marked on modern Chinese maps on north lat. 39° and 100°; it from Yü-men-hien. I may observe here, that the Chinese map, to which frequent reference is made in this paper, is the great atlas Ta-t'ing-yü-tung-yü-t'u, published in 1863.
† Nu-ween-da-shi-li, who it seems had returned to Hami. She is termed 王母, which I translate by princess dowager.

* This is probably the river Bu-tungir marked also on our maps 40° north lat. between Kung-kou and Hami.
† For further details with respect to this latter statement see Mr. Uspensky's article on Hami in the Proceedings of the Russian Geogr. Soc. 19, p. 4.
I may finally notice, that in the Mémoires conc. les Chinois, xiv, 242, 245, 247, Father Amiot has translated four letters written by the princes of Hami to the Chinese emperor.

柳城 Liu-ch'eng (Willow city.)

柳城 Liu-ch'eng (willow city) or 魯陳 Lu-chen, or 柳陳 Liu-chen, is the same as the country of柳中 Liu-chung at the time of the Han dynasty, where the Chinese governor of the St-yü had established his residence.* In the T'ang period it was the district Liu-chung-hien. The distance between Liu-ch'eng and Huo-chou (see the following article) in the west is 70 li. Hami lies 1,000 li east of Liu-ch'eng.† A great river passes through the country (it seems between Hami and Liu-ch'eng). Many (human) bones are met with on this road. People say that there are evil spirits, who deceive the travellers, making them lose their companions and thus cause their death. After leaving the great river the traveller has to cross the 涓沙 Liu-sha.‡

At the foot of a fire mountain (火山) there is an isolated city two or three li wide, that is Liu-ch'eng. There are fields, gardens, shady trees, flowing water all around. The soil produces millet, wheat, beans, hemp, there grow also peaches, pears, jujubes, melons, bottle gourds, plenty of grapes of small size but very sweet and without seeds. The are called 鎮子葡萄 So-tze-p'u-tao. As to domestic animals, there are cattle, sheep, horses and camels. The climate is pleasant. The people are of good character. The men tie up their hair, the women cover themselves with black stuff. The language they speak is that of the Wei-hu-r (Uigurs).

In 1406 Emperor Yung-lo sent his minister Liu-t'ie-nu-r to Bie-shi-ba-li (Bishbulig, see further on), and ordered him to bestow on the ruler of Liu-ch'eng, when passing through his city, some pieces of silk. Then in the next year the ruler of Liu-ch'eng dispatched Wa-chi-la, one of his captains of a thousand, with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1409, when Fu-an (an envoy who had been sent to Samarkand) returned from the west, the ruler of Liu-ch'eng sent again an envoy, who accompanied Fu-an. He presented tribute and was rewarded by the Emperor. In 1413 the ruler of Liu-ch'eng sent an envoy, who accompanied Bo-ar-hin-t'ai (an envoy from Ho-chou), and in the winter of the same year the captain of thousand Quang-yin-nu was again dispatched to the Chinese court. In 1422 Liu-ch'eng, together with Hami, sent its tribute consisting of 2000 sheep. In 1430 the ruler of Liu-ch'eng sent one of his 馳封 A-hai-ba-shi to the capital. Envoy from Liu-ch'eng arrived also in 1440 and 1448.—Subsequently when T'hu-lu-fan (Turpan) had become powerful Liu-ch'eng was annexed to it.

The city of Liu-ch'eng seems still to exist. At least a city 魯克沁 Liu-k'o-te' in is marked on modern Chinese maps about 60 li south-east of Turpan. Compare also my Notices of the Mediæv. Geography of Central Asia, etc., p. 138.

火州 Huo-chou (Fire City).

Huo-chou, called also "刺 Ha-la,* is situated 70 li west of Liu-ch'eng and 30 li east of T'hu-lu-fan. It is the same as the former

* There are evidently two characters wanting in the Chinese text, for during the Mongol period this place was called 台刺火者 Hsia-ho-kuo-dja, the same as Karakabodo of the Persian historians. For further details see my Notices of Mediæv. Geography, etc., p. 137. On modern Chinese maps it is marked as 哈拉和卓 Ha-la-ho-dja, about 60 li South-east of Turfan and 50 li South-west of Lü-k'o-te'ın.
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Ch'ê-shi at the time of the Han.* The Sui (589-618) called this country Kao-ch'ang. Emperor T'ai-tsung (627-66) of the T'ang dynasty abolished the Kingdom of Kao-ch'ang, which then became a (Chinese) district under the name of 西州 Si-chou. During the Sung period (10th to 13th century) the 何斡 Hui-hu (Uigurs) lived in this country and used to pay tribute to China. The Yuan (Mongol dynasty) called this country Huo-chou; fire city (or district).

It was then comprised, together with the districts of An-t'ing, Ku-sien and others (see further on) in the country of the 長兀兒 Wei-te-r, which was governed by a da-la-hua-ch'î (daruga = Mongol governor).

A.D. 1406 in the 5th month Emperor Yang-lo sent one of his officers Liu-te-mu-r to accompany the envoy from Bie shi-ba-li, who returned home. Liu-te-mu-r received order to bestow some pieces of silkstuff on the son of the prince of Huo-chou, by name 哈散 Ha-san, when passing through his country. In the next year the prince of Huo-chou sent as tribute a piece of jade and the products of his country. In 1409 an envoy from Huo-chou arrived with tribute, together with the envoys from Ha-lie (Herat) and Su-ma-r-han, and in 1413 Bo-ar-hin-bai, a military officer of the prince of Hou-chou, came as an envoy with tribute. At the same time the envoys from An-digun (Andegan) and Shi-la-sze (Shirasu) and other countries, in the whole nine, arrived at the capital. The Emperor then ordered 陳誠 Ch'en Ch'eng (see above, p. 315) Li-sien and others to bring his manifestoes to Huo-chou and to bestow presents of silk and other stuffs on the ruler, to reward his merits. When the Chinese envoys returned they were accompanied by an envoy from Huo-chou. After this for several years no envoys from this country were seen at the court until 1448, and this was the last time that Huo-chou sent tribute to China.

The country of Huo-chou is very mountainous. The mountains are of a bluish red colour like fire, hence the name fire city (district). The climate there is hot. The cereals cultivated there and the domestic animals are the same as in Liu-ch'eng. The city of Huo-chou is 10 li and more in circumference. There are more Buddhist temples (僧寺) than dwelling houses of the people. East of Huo-chou there are the ruins of an ancient city, the remains of the capital of ancient Kao-ch'ang. The country of Huo-chou borders north-west on Bie-shi-ba-li. As it was a small realm it (i.e. Huo-chou) could not sustain its independence, and T'u-lu-fan took possession of it.

The Ming Geography mentions the following products in Huo-chou, Liu-ch'eng and T'u-lu-fan: horses, camels, 砂鼠 Sha-shu (sand rats;—they are as big as rabbits. The birds of prey catch and eat them.*

* There were in the days of the Han, before our era, two realms of Châ-shhi, one of them 車師前國 Ch'ê-shi, anterior (eastern) Kingdom, i.e. nearer to China, and 車師後國 Ch'ê-shi, posterior (western) Kingdom. Compare T'ien Han-shu, chap. 96, where it is stated, that the Ch'ê-shi Kingdoms both are situated North-east of the residence of the Chinese officer entrusted with the affairs of the Si-yü, distant from that place, the anterior 1807 li, the posterior 1907 li. They are distant from the Chinese capital (Chang-ku, the present Si-an-fu in Shensi) respectively 8150 and 8950 li. The residence of the Chinese Governor at that time was in 烏塲 Wu-lei, which place seems to have been situated somewhere near present Khara-shar. It is to be noticed that at the time of the Han 34 li were about 1 li of the present time.—Comp. also my Notices of Mediæval Geography, etc., Note 220.

† On the Hui-hu and Wei-xur, both names denote the Uigurs; see my Notices of Mediæval Geography, p. 115.

*The Chinese text can also be understood: They are eaten (by the people) after having been caught by birds of prey.—The Chinese traveller Wang-yen-te, who visited the country here spoken of in A.D. 982, noticed a kind of rat there as big as a rabbit, with red spots. They are eaten by the people, who use birds of prey for catching them (Comp. Stan. Julien, Mêl. d. Geogr. Asiat., p. 193.)—In the history of the T'ang, chap. 2586, article 沙禿 (Khotan) mention is made of the 沙窿鼠 Sha-tsi-shu, (rats of the desert,) as big as a hedgehog, occurring west of Khotan and running after the horses. It seems to me, that here jumping hares or Gerbous are meant. These beasts are
This is a plant with a solitary root and stem; the branches and leaves are umbrella formed; the smell is very unpleasant; the fresh exudation of the plant when boiled gives a paste, which is called A-wei.* As to the minerals of those countries the Ming Geography mentions white and red salt, 钢砂 Nuo-sha (Sal Ammoniac) and pinnacle, see Note.* page 21, a.

土鲁番 Tu-lu-fan (Turfan). Ming-Shi, chap. ccxxxi.

Tu-lu-fan (the city) is situated west of

* By the name a wei in the Chinese pharmacopoeia Asa Foetida is understood, the well-known drug, famed for its unpleasant odour. It is a gum-resin yielded by several unbelliferous plants of large size, found in Persia, Afghanistan and Central Asia (probably the asafoetida of commerce is furnished by Narthex Asafoetida, and Scorodoloma Feticidum).—In the well-known Chinese Materia Medica, Pen ts'ao kang mu, chap. xxxiv, fol. 68, the preparation of the stinking drug a wei, from the roots of a large plant, which resembles the 自芝 Po chi, is quite correctly described. Judging from the drawing in the Chinese botany Cir wu ming chi tzu liao, chap. xxv, fol. 8, po chi is an unbelliferous plant. The Chinese authors class the a wei plant among the trees. It seems that Asafoetida became first known to the Chinese in the 7th century of our era, at least among the authors quoted in the Pents'ao with respect to the a wei, those of the Ts'ang period are the earliest. One of them (second half of 7th cent.) gives the 西昆仑 K'un-lun mountains (west of China) as the native country of the a wei. Another author, writing a century later, states that the drug a wei is furnished by a tree from eight to nine feet in height, which grows in 帕斯 Po-sze (Persia),

伽倻國 Kie-che-na (Guzem?) and 北天竺 P'i Tien-chu (Northern India). The people of India mix it with their meat. The author of the Pen ts'ao kang mu gives different names of the drug in different languages. A wei is not a Chinese but a foreign name (the explanation given is obscure). In Persian it is called 阿虞 A-ju (now-a-days the Persian name is asyezeh), in India 形嘗 Hing-yu, (the Sanscrit name is hingoa or hing). The Mongols call it 哈昔泥 Ha-si-ni, [according to Dr. Pollak (Persien, 11, 281) Kasni is the Turkish name for Galbanum, a drug allied to asafoetida, and it seems to me that this name is intended here by ha-si-ni. Now-a-days asa-foetida is known to the Mongols under its Tibetan name Shingun.]
It is distant from Ho-mi more than 1000 li,† from Kiu-yu kwan 2,600 li.‡ It lies in the land of ancient Cha’i-shi, anterior kingdom (see above, Note*, page 24, a) or Kao-ch’ang as it was called at the time of the Sui dynasty. The T’ang abolished Kao-ch’ang and established in its place the capital Si chou with the capital Kiao-ho-hien.§ The city of T’o-lu-fan is situated where the city of An-lo-ch’eng, depending on Kiao-ho-hien, stood. During the Sung dynasty (960-1127) the name of Kao-ch’ang was again restored. The person Ho-chu (Uigurs) then occupied the country and used to send tribute to the Chinese court.|| The Yuan (Mongol dynasty) established here the head-quarters of a corps of 10,000 men (萬戶府).

The Ming Geography, Chap. LXXXIX. fol. 20, gives some particulars with respect to the hills, rivers etc. in or near the country of T’o-lu-fan, which I may insert here. The mountain Ling-shan (mysterious mountain) is situated north-west of (the city of) T’o-lu-fan. The stones there are black and bear figures like hair. There is also a heap of very hard and bright white stones like bones.¶ The people call this the place where a million of Lo-han (saints) used to shave their hair and entered into nirvan.**

* According to modern itineraries 70 li.
† According to modern itineraries 1150 li.
‡ According to modern itineraries 2600 li.
§ This is an ancient name. In the above-quoted article (Note* page 24, a) in the Ta’ien Hsin shu we find, that already before our era the capital of the anterior Kingdom of Cha’i-shi was Kiao-ho-ch’eng, or the city surrounded by the branches of a river from two sides.
∥ In A.D. 981 Wang-yen-te was sent by the Sung to the prince of Kao-ch’ang. His narrative of travel has been translated by Visdelou (Suppl. Bibl. Orient., p. 137) and by Stan. Julien (Mél. de Géogr. Asiat., 86 seq.)
¶ Evidently a sacred stone heap called “obo” by the Mongols.
** According to the author of the Si yu wen kien lu (see above, Note† page 20, b), Chap. I. fol. 6. Ling-shan is a mountain south of Urumchi belonging to the T’ien shan. This name has been given to it on account of the marvellous phenomena seen there.

The 赤石山 Chi-shi-shan (mountain of red stones) is a peak north-west of T’u-lu-fan. It bears this name owing to the red colour of its rocks.

The mountain 貪汗 Tan-han is 70 li north of the Chi-shi-shan. Great masses of snow are accumulated on it.

The 火焰山 Huo-yen-shan (fire mountain),†

The river 交河 Kiao-ho passes twenty li west of T’u-lu-fan. It takes its origin in the T’ien-shan mountains. The river divides into two branches surrounding the city of 窠兒城 Yai-r-ch’eng.§ This is the same as Kiao-ho-hien in the days of the T’ang (see above, Note§ page 26, a).

The sea (or lake) 蒲昌海 Pu-ch’ang-hai is situated south-west of T’u-lu-fan. It is also called 蛸澤 Yen-tsoe (Salt lake) or 喏悉海 Po-si-hai, and is 400 li in circumference. As has been ascertained by Chang-hien, who travelled to the countries of the west, the river which discharges itself into this lake is formed by two rivers, one comes from the T’ung-ling mountains (Bolortag) the other from Yu-tien (Khotan). They unite and then the river flows eastward and empties itself into the lake. Further on the water flows underground for a thousand li and issues out again at the foot of the 碩石山 Tsai-shi-shan mountains. This is the 河 Ho (the Yellow River).§

* The compilers of the Ming Geography have copied out the above statements on the Chi-shi-shan and the Tan-han-shan from the history of the Wei (386-558) art. Kao-ch’ang, and from Wang-yen-te’s narrative (see above, Note§ page 26, a).
† The Si yu wen kien lu, chap. ii. p. 2, states, that to the south-east of Turfan there is a chain of sandstone mountains, destitute entirely of vegetation, and as the sun’s beams heat exceedingly the rocks, the name fire mountain has been given to them.
§ The text of the Ming Geography properly writes the name of the lake 蒲剌海 Pu-lei-hai. But as the whole information it gives
The Ming history gives the following accounts regarding the history of Turfan in the 15th century:

In A.D. 1406 Emperor Yung-lo sent an envoy to Bie-shi-ba-li, who, when passing through T'u-lu-fan, made a present of different silks stuffs, to the ruler of this country, whereupon the latter despatched Sat-yin-tie-nue-r, a captain of a thousand, to the Chinese Court. The envoy carried with him jade as tribute. In the next year he reached the capital. In 1408 a Buddhist priest by name Ts'ing-lai arrived with seven disciples (from Turfan) at the capital, and presented tribute. The Emperor was desirous that they might change their foreign customs and bestowed upon the chief priest and his followers Chinese titles and rewarded them richly. Subsequently the intercourse with T'u-lu-fan was not interrupted. This country used to send as tribute to China well-bred horses and gerfalcons and products of the country. The Son of Heaven did also send his envoys to T'u-lu-fan. In 1422 the chief of T'u-lu-fan by name Jn-gi-ch'a had been expelled by Wai-sze the chief of Bie-shi-ba-li. He appeared before the Son of Heaven to complain. The Emperor bestowed upon him the rank of T'u-lu-t'sien-shi and caused Bie-shi-ba-li to surrender Jungiroiu's land. The latter was very grateful to China. In 1425 he came in person at the head of his tribe to the court and paid tribute, and in the next year he appeared again and was well re-
ceived by the Emperor. After his returning home he fell ill and died. In 1428 his son Man-k'o-tie-nue-r went in person to pay tribute. In 1430 again an embassy from T'u-lu-fan was seen at the court, but then for about ten years no tribute was offered by this country. When in 1441 the envoy from Mi-si-r (Egypt) returned home the Emperor ordered that various silk stuffs should be bestowed on the chief of T'u-lu-fan, by name Ba-sta-mu I Ba-la-mu-br. Then in the next year the latter sent tribute to the court. T'u-lu-fan borders upon Bie-shi-ba-li and Yü-tien (Khotan), both great kingdoms. It was at first of little authority, but afterwards, after having taken possession of Huo-chou and Lin-ch'eng, it became powerful, and its chief Ye-mi-li-kwo-jio accordingly assumed the title of Wang (prince or king). Envoys from T'u-lu-fan were seen again at the court in 1452 and 1459, when an embassy of 24 men arrived. In 1465 it was settled, that in future T'u-lu-fan should send tribute every three or five years, and the number of men composing the embassy should not exceed ten. In 1469 an embassy from T'u-lu-fan arrived and reported that its ruler had taken the title of Sutan (Sultan), and now asked the permission to use gerfalcons, parade-horses, and cloths with embroidered dragons (i.e. attributes of imperial authority). But the Board of Rites refused, and only presents of silkstuff were bestowed upon the envoy. In the next year the Sutan of T'u-lu-fan sent again an envoy, who asked for certain imperial ornaments, stirrups, saddles and other things, for his sovereign. But the Board of Rites again did not grant this request. At that time T'u-lu-fan had risen to considerable power. Sutan 阿力 A-li profliting by the circumstance, that in Hami there was no ruler (see above, article Hami), in spring of 1473 attacked the city, captured it and carried away with him the princess dowager (Nu-wen-da-shi-li, see above) and

* I shall treat further on of both.
the golden seal (given to the prince of Hami by the Chinese Emperor). He left a part of his troops in Hami to maintain it. The Chinese Government ordered Li-sien to rescue Hami, but he returned from his expedition without any success (see above, art. Hami). A-li then sent envoys with tribute to China as Tu-lu-fan had sent in former times, and even three envoys from Tu-lu-fan in the same year were seen in the capital. They were well received at the Chinese court, and no bitter word was said to them in allusion to the behaviour of the Su-fan. However, his envoys displayed great arrogance requesting amongst other things elephants as a present. The Board of War replied, that elephants are an attribute of the imperial cortege only. The Emperor received them as presents (from his tributaries) but would never agree to bestow them on other people. The envoy of Tu-lu-fan then made allusion to Tu-lu-fan's increasing power, in having taken possession of Hami, K'u-sien (see further on) etc., having captured more than 10,000 men of the Wa-la (Oirats), and pointed to the necessity for China to be on good terms with the Su t'an of Tu-lu-fan, through whose dominions all the envoys from and to the west have to pass. But the Emperor did not pay much attention to these arguments. Subsequently A-li's heart changed for the better. He sent again tribute, and no mention was made by his envoys of his former arrogant requests. They endeavoured to re-establish the good understanding with China, and solicited for their sovereign the favor to be officially acknowledged as Su t'an of Tu-lu-fan. The Emperor made the condition that he should release the princess dowager and hand over the seal of Hami. Some time after a new embassy with tribute arrived from Tu-lu-fan, but they did not bring the golden seal of Hami. In 1476 the governor of Kan-chou reported that he had been informed by some (foreign) envoys, who had passed through Tu-lu-fan, of the death of the princess dowager and that the Su-t'an was not disposed to hand over the seal; whereupon the Emperor refused to receive in the future the envoys of A-li. In 1478 A-li died and his son A-hei-ma (Ahmed) succeeded to him as Su-t'an of Tu-lu-fan, and after his succession sent an envoy to the Chinese Emperor. In 1482 Han-ch'en (the ruler of Hami, see above) succeeded in rallying troops and expelled the people of Tu-lu-fan from Hami. In 1488 A-hei-ma arrived before Hami enticed Han-ch'en out, killed him and captured again Hami. After this he sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor to ask various imperial attributes. But the Emperor gave orders to stop the embassy at Kan-chou and to retain its members as prisoners. In 1490 another embassy, accompanying the envoys from Su-mar-han and carrying lions as presents, was despatched by A-hei-ma to promise the seal of Hami on condition that the imprisoned embassy should be released. Some of the Chinese ministers proposed to break off entirely the intercourse with Tu-lu-fan. In 1491 A-hei-ma sent again lions to China and his envoys promised that the seal of Hami and eleven captured cities belonging to Hami would be surrendered, and indeed the restitution of the seal and the cities ensued, whereupon the Emperor ordered the embassy of Tu-lu-fan, in the whole 27 men, to be released. The latter had not yet reached the frontier when a new embassy of A-hei-ma, consisting of 39 men, reached Peking. But meanwhile A-hei-ma had again attacked Hami (in 1493), captured the city and made prisoner Shan-va the prince of Hami. As soon as this fact had become known the Emperor ordered the arrest of all the members of the embassies of A-hei-ma in China, in the whole 172 men, and their imprisonment at Kan-chou. At the same time the passage through Kia yu kuan was shut up. Besides taking these measures the Chinese Government rallied troops, who marched against A-hei-ma. The latter being apprehensive of a simultaneous attack by his other neighbours, who hated him also (the
Oirats), thought it more prudent to withdraw and to leave Hami to the Chinese, A.D. 1495. But he took Shan-ba with him as prisoner. It was only in 1497 that the latter was released, when A-hei-ma sent him to the Chinese frontier and solicited the permission of again sending tribute. The Emperor agreed. Then an embassy from T'u-lu-fan arrived in 1499 and solicited the release of the 172 men of the former embassies imprisoned in Kuang-tung (Canton). The Emperor granted this request.

In 1504 A-hei-ma died. There was a struggle between his sons about the succession. Finally the eldest, by name of 滿速兒 Man-su-r, got the upper hand, declared himself Su-t'han and sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1513 Bai-ya-ds, prince of Hami, who was an incapable ruler, abandoned Chinese protection and fled to T'u-lu-fan. Man-su-r sent to take possession of Hami. Henceforth the Chinese Government had no authority with respect to Hami and was frequently troubled by Man-su-r, who invaded Su-chou and Kan-chow. In 1528 it happened, that one of his generals Ya-lan* surrendered to the Chinese; Ya-lan was originally a man from K'ii-sien (see further on). He had been captured by Su-t'han A-li, when he was a boy and subsequently had married a sister of A-li. Man-su-r, when he heard of this treachery, got very angry. He tried at first to cause the Wu-la (Oirats) to unite with him for an invasion of Su-chou, and then entered into negotiations with the Chinese about the delivery of Ya-lan. But the Chinese Government was not willing to accede.

Man-su-r died in 1545, designating his eldest son Shu as his successor. But Shu’s brother 马黑麻 Ma-hei-ma laid claims to the throne and took possession of a part of Hami. After having married a wife from the Wa-la (Oirats) he, together with these allies, attacked his brother.

* The same who had defended Hami, see article Hami.

In 1547 envoys from T’u-lu-fan arrived with tribute to the Chinese court. It was settled, that T'u-lu-fan had to send tribute once every five years.

In 1570 Shu died and his brother Ma-hei-ma ascended the throne of T'u-lu-fan and sent an embassy to China. But his three brothers revolted, and one of them named 瑚非 Su-fei aspired to the crown, calling himself Su-t'han and sending an embassy to China. During the reign of Wan-li 1573-1620 no embassy from T'u-lu-fan has been recorded.

This is a résumé of the history of Turfan in the 15th and 16th centuries drawn from the Ming-shi. I did not wish to fatigue the reader with a literal translation of the whole article, and therefore omitted many details destitute of interest.

I may notice here, that in the Mem. conc. les Chinois (t. xiv. p. 242, 244, 247) Father Amiot has translated three letters written by the Sultans of Turfan (one of them by A-hei-ma) to the emperor of China.

As far as I can judge from the works to which I have access, nothing is known from Mohammedan and other western sources regarding the history of Turfan, which seems to have been a powerful kingdom in the 15th and 16th centuries, and conquered the smaller adjacent realms. It seems that the name Turfan became first known in Western Asia and Turkistan, towards the end of the 14th century. See Deguignes, Hist. d. Huns V, Tamerlan’s expedition to the east sub anno 1389. The Chinese annals mention Turfan for the first time in the very beginning of the 15th century. During the Mongol period a name like this was unknown in China, while Huo-chou, at a short distance from the city of Turfan, is frequently spoken of in the Yuan-shi. Turfan has been noticed by some western travellers, proceeding through Central Asia to China in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries.

The embassy of Shah-Rukh in 1420 passed through Turfan, “where the people are
mostly Buddhists and had a great temple with a figure of Sakya Muni” (Col. Yule's Cathay, cc.).

In Hadji Mohammed's account of Kathai, A.D. 1550 (Yule's Cathay ccxvii.) it is stated, that from Canul to Turfan are 13 days' journey.

Col. Yule (l. c. p. 570) quotes a passage from Haidar Razi, the historian of Turkestan, who states, that Jalish is a city near Turfan, both places being under a prince called Mansur Khan. The latter is mentioned in that work about A.H. 938 (A.D. 1531) as marching by Jalish to attack Aksu. Mansur Khan is of course the Su-t'an Mansur of the Chinese records, who captured Hami and died in 1545.

We know that Goës on his journey from India to China in 1603 halted a month in the fortified town of Turfan. But since Goës no European traveller has visited Turfan.* We know the city only from Chinese descriptions of the last century. The above-quoted Chinese work Si yü wen kien lu (see above, Note 3, p. 20, h) cap. ii. fol. 2 gives some details with respect to modern Turfan. When the author of that narrative visited Turfan (about 1770) it was the residence of the Su-li-man son of I min-huo-djo, who ruled over six cities, viz.  

土爾番 Tuo-fan, 關庭 Pi-djan 魯古沁 Lu-gu-tsin, 色魯木 Su-geng-mu† 拊克遜 Tuo-k'o-sun and 哈拉和卓 Ha-la-huo-djo. Whilst the other cities of Turkestan were administrated by officers appointed by the Chinese Government and changed according to the rules, Su-li-man had been left hereditary ruler of the country. Among these cities only Tuo-fan is well populated. The whole population of this

city may be estimated at 3,000 families at the most. For the greater part they are very poor and not able themselves to provide for their livelihood. In summer time it is very hot there and dust is whirled up by the wind. The products of the country are wheat, millet, sesame and many varieties of melons, water-melons and grapes, the best in the west. The soil is fertile. Cotton and beans are much cultivated. One li north of Tuo-fan there are sometimes heavy hurricanes, carrying away donkeys and sheep. To the south of Tuo-fan all the land is a desert, in which great herds of wild camels and wild horses are found. Further on the author of the same work explains that in the language of the Mohammedans (Turks probably) Tuo-fan means “residence.”

As the country here in question is so imperfectly known I may quote here some short notices on Turfan and the neighbouring cities found in Capt. H. Trotter's interesting “Account of the Survey operations in connection with the Mission to Yarkand and Kashgar in 1873–74.” At the end (p. 158) the author gives some routes in Turkestan derived from verbal information supplied by natives, and there he mentions on the route from Kharashar to Khamil:  

Tak-shun, a large town (evidently the Tuo-k'o-sun of the Chinese map).  
Bugun, 4 tash,† (不幹 Bugan on the Chinese map).  

Turfan, 4 tash, a large city. Climate hot, and fruits and grain produced in abundance. Snowy mountains on north, but at a considerable distance. Iron, copper and gold found in neighbourhood. Water is procured from wells and irrigation is carried on by means of underground canals.

Ka-ra Kho-ja, 4 tash, (Ha-la-huo-djo of the Chinese map, see above). Town of 5,000 houses. Mussulman families.

* With exception however of the Jesuit missionaries in the 18th century, who are said to have determined the latitude and longitude of Turfan but left no other details about this place.
† The Chinese map writes this name 音吉 Seng-gi-mu. All the six cities are marked on the Chinese map west and east of Turfan.

* Ritter (Asien I. 342) states on the authority of Timkowsky that Turfan in Mongol means “residence.” I may observe, that this word is unknown to the Mongols. The city of Ush (or Ush) is also called Ush Turfan.
† The tash=4½ English statute miles.
Yan-gi Khhin, 4 tash, 100 houses. Water from Karez or Khhin streams. At two tash is the Mazur Abul Patta, 300 houses and bazar. Musulmen, (similar names not found on the Chinese map.)

Luk-chun, 4 tash. Town of 2,000 houses. A stream from Ghochan Tagh, north of Pichan, flows through the town on to the desert. In flood seasons it reaches Lob-nor. (Lukohun is evidently the Lu-ju-ts'in of the Chinese map and the Liu-ch'eng of the Ming history, where also the aforesaid stream seems to be mentioned. See above, article Liu-ch'eng.)

Pi-chun, 4 tash. Town of 500 houses, all Musulmen. Stream from the Gho-chan Tagh flows through the town. Outside is a Chinese fort, (this is the Pi-djan of the Chinese map.)

There is an alternative road to Pi-djan passing by Sanphi and Lemtsin (Song-gi-mu and Le-mu-gin of the Chinese map.)

西番 諸藩 Si fan chu wei. The 
Military Districts of Si-fan. Ming-shi Chap. cccxxx.

By Si fan (lit. western Barbarians) the Chinese understand in a general way Thibet. The Ming history under this head gives the history, during that period, of the military districts situated to the southeast of Lake Kuknor, and inhabited, it seems, by people of Tangut race. As we shall see further on, the Ming-shi terms the dominions of the Da-lai Lama and other Lamas of Thibet Wu-sze-chuang.

There were in the territory of Si-fan four Wei or military districts (see above, Note *, page 18, b) ruled by native chiefs depending on China, namely 西寧 Si-niing, 河州 Ho-chou, 洗州 T'ao-chou and 岷州 Min-chou. All these names can be found on modern Chinese maps in the southwestern part of Kan-su.

The rest of this chapter is devoted to accounts regarding six other military districts situated partly in Kuknor and Northern Thibet, partly in Kan-su, west of K'ia-yü-kuan. I may give in the following an extract of these accounts.

The Military District of 安定 An-ting.

It is situated south-west of Kan-chou 1500 li distant from that city. At the time of the Han this country was called 勸羌 Ch'uo-k'iang, * during the T'ang period it belonged to the kingdom of Tur-fan (Thibet).† In the days of the Mongol dynasty An-ting was the appanage of a Mongol prince 卜訥帖木兒 Bu-yin-t'ie-mu-r, who had the title of 聰王 Ning-ram. This country was properly called 撒里畏兀兒 Sa-li-wi-wu-r (Suri-Uigur). § It is about 1000 li in extent, borders to the east on Han-dang (see further on), to the north on Sha-chou, to the south on Si-fan (Thibet). There are no cities in this country, the people dwell in felt tents and breed plenty of camels, horses, cattle and sheep.

In 1370 Emperor Hung-wu sent an emissary to this country to make known the imperial mandates, and in 1374 in the 6th month Bu-yin-t'ie-mu-r sent one of his chief officers by name Ma-tu-r and others with tribute to the Chinese court. They brought

* In the Tsien Han shu, chap. 96, the Kingdom of Cho-k'iang (pronounced also Ko-k'iang) is spoken of. The name of 羌 K'iang in ancient times was applied to the Tanguts.
† See my Notices of Mediev. Geography, p. 111.
‡ The title of Ning-wang was first bestowed in 1306 upon Kuhlai Khan's eighth son Kuo-k'uo-ch'u. See Yuan-shi, chap. 107; Genealogical table. Bu-yin-t'ie-mu-r, who ruled over An-ting, when the Ming took possession of China, seems to have been a descendant of that prince.
§ I have not been able to find the name An-ting mentioned in the Yuan history, but the name Su-li-wi-wu-r is met there once, chap. cxxv, biography of Su-hu-t'ai, where it is stated, that in 1226 this Mongol General received orders to cross the great stone desert (大黒 tu-tai) and to subdue the tribes of the Su-li-wi-wu-r, the 特勒 Te-le and the 赤乞 Ch'i-min. Sari-Huir is mentioned by Carpiini among the countries conquered by Chingiz Khan (see my Notices of Mediev. Geogr., p. 133.) On Te-le see further on.
The Emperor was much delighted and received the embassy kindly. Subsequently a Chinese officer was sent to An-ting, who divided it into four tribes (districts), namely 阿端 A-duan, 阿真 A-djen, 若先 Jo-sien, and 帖里 Tie-li. The prince (Bu-yin-te-mu-r) in the next year sent one of his officers to the Chinese court to offer the tablet of authority written with golden and silver letters, and granted to the prince in former times by the Yuan. He begged the Emperor to establish two Wei, or military posts, in An-ting and in A-duan, to which the Emperor assented. He bestowed on Bu-yin-te-mu-r the title of prince (子) of An-ting, and to one of B.'s officers Sha-la the rank of Chi-hui. In 1376 the Emperor sent an officer to An-ting with presents for the prince and his officers. In the next year the prince was killed by Sha-la and his son perished also. A revolution broke out in the country. A general Do-r-di-bu revolted, withdrew to the 沙漠 Sha mo (desert) and then came to plunder An-ting. He took also with him the imperial seal. In 1392 the Chinese general Lan-yu with his host marched out westward (from Kan-su it seems) and advanced as far as the river 阿真 A-djen. In 1396 the Emperor sent one of his officers to set in order the affairs of An-ting and to re-establish the military post there. In 1413 赤攀丹 I-p’an-dan, a grandson of Bo-yin-te-mu-r, who had retired to 霊藏 Ling-tsong, sent tribute to the Emperor and was invested then as prince of An-ting. It happened in 1424 that Chinese envoys who had been sent to Wu-sze-dang (Thibet, see further on) rested on their route on the rivers 畢力柯江 Bi-li-dju1 and 黃羊川 Huang-yang-chuan (Antelope river). They were attacked here by the troops of San-ka and San-dzi-sze, the first being one of the chieftains in An-ting, the other a Chi-hui of K’u-sien. They robbed the embassy, killed the envoys and died. When the Emperor heard of this violation of his authority he got very angry and sent out a great host under the command of Li-ying and K’ang-shou to pursue the rebels. Li-ying arrived at the 昆崙 K’un-lun mountains and proceeding several hundred li westward reached the country 雅令溝 Ya-ling-k’uo. Here he met the rebels of An-ting and defeated them with great slaughter. But the rebels of K’u-sien had got wind and had hidden themselves. Li-ying then returned.

In 1446 I-p’an-dan died, and his son 領占幹些兒 Ling-djan-yun-sie-r succeeded him as prince of An-ting. He died in 1490 and was succeeded by his son 千奔 Tsien-ben. At that time the prince of Hami had died without leaving a son. The Chinese Government wished that Shan-ba, a descendant of a lateral branch of the princes of Hami, from which the princes of An-ting also derived their origin, should be placed on the throne of Hami. Shen-ba then lived in K’u-sien (near An-ting, see further on). But Tsien-ben opposed claims in favor of his brother. However Shen-ba was elected prince of Hami.

Under the reign of Cheng-te (1506–22) the great headmen of the Meng-gu (Mongols) I-bu-la and A-r-t’o-sze conquered 清海 Tsing-hai2 and plundered the adjacent countries. Thus they destroyed also the principality of An-ting.

The name of An-ting seems to have vanished from the maps, but its position in former times can be approximately determined from the particulars above translated. It where it is stated that the great highway to Wu-sze-dang (Thibet) passes by this river.

* Of Aduan we shall treat in the next article. On A-djen see at the end of the present article. With respect to Tze-li, see Note §, p. 31. I suppose it to be the same as the Tze-te in the Mongol annals.

† Ling-tsong is mentioned further on in the article Wu-sze-tsang as situated in Thibet.

‡ The name of a river Bi-li-dju occurs for a second time in the article Aduan (see further on).

* Tsing-hai (blue sea) has the same meaning as Kukumor in Mongol. Both names are in use even in our days to designate the country of the Tanguts north-east of Thibet.
seems that An-ting, which according to the Ming-shi extended for 1,000 li, comprised the land west of Kukunor near the Kunlun mountain chain. An-ting was identical with Sa-li-wei-wu-r (Uigurs of Sari). A place Su-ri (or country) still exists near the northern border of Thibet. It is marked on our maps at 34° north lat. and between 86 and 87 east. lat. Greenw. The Chinese map writes the name 里 里 Su li. This position agrees quite well with the site assigned to Sa-li-wei-wu-r in the Ming-shi.

A few months ago I had the pleasure of meeting in Peking with Capt. H. Trotter, whose merits with respect to the surveys in Central Asia I need not mention. He asked me about a famous monastery A-djan situated according to some Pandits, entrusted with the survey of Thibet, north or north-west of the Tarkiri lake in the country of the Sokpo Kalmuks. I have little doubt that Adjan here is the same name as the A-djen in the Ming history. This name is known also to the Mongol Lamas in Peking. But I have not yet had opportunity of making inquiries about Adjan of the Lamas from Kukunor. As to the Sokpo Kalmuks, the first is a Thibetan word meaning "inhabitants of the steppes" (Ritter's Asien, iii. 180). There are several Kalmuk tribes nomadizing in Kukunor and the adjacent countries.

The Military District of 都 A-duan.

A-duan is comprised in the country of Sa-li-wei-wu-r.* (The Ming Geography states that A-duan borders east on Han-dung (see further on) north on Sha-chon). Emperor Hung-ou established here a military post in 1376. Subsequently A-duan was plundered by Do-r-dji-bai (see article An-ting). In 1406 the chief of A-duan 小 里 Siao-sie and others arrived at Peking with tribute and begged that the military post might be re-established. The Emperor agreed and bestowed upon Siao-sie and the others the ranks of chi-lui-te-men-shi. Under the reign of Hung-hi (1423-26) the chief of K'hi-sien by

name of San-dsi-sze (the same who had robbed in 1424 the Chinese envoys on their road to Thibet) induced one of the chi-lui of A-duan, by name 里 里 So-lu-dan, to unite with him for attacking again a Chinese embassy. The Chinese sent a great host in their pursuit, but they were not able to catch the robbers. They could only prohibit their returning to their countries. In 1431 the Emperor appointed 魄 荒 Djen-dji-han to administrate the military district of A-duan. Although his father had been implicated in the robbing of the Chinese envoys and Djen-dji-han had accordingly retired to the river Bi-li-dju (see above) where the great highway to Wu-sze-dsang (Thibet) passes, the Emperor had pardoned him and he had returned with his clan to his ancient country 帖兒谷 Tie-r-gu.

In this article on A-duan it is finally stated, that there was a realm of the same name in the country of the Hui-hui (Mohammedans) distant one month's journey from Tie-r-gu. It seems to me, that here Kho-tan is alluded to, which in the Yuan-shi is generally termed 蘇端 O-duan (see my Notices of Mediav. Geog., p. 152). However, as we shall see further on, the Ming-shi treats of Kho-tan under its ancient Chinese name Yu-tien.

But as to the country A-duan, which properly forms the subject of this article and which according to the Chinese accounts originally was comprised in An-ting or the country of Sa-li-wei-wu-r, situated 1,500 li south-west of Kan-chou, I have little doubt that it must be looked for in the country where the Yellow River takes its rise. In the Yuan-shi, chap. lxxiii, we find a dissertation on the sources of the Yellow River. It is stated there, that in 1280 Kublai Khan sent one of his high officers Tu-shi to explore the sources of this river. Tu-shi found that the river takes its rise from more than a hundred little lakes or marshes, which when looked upon from an elevated place have the appearance of a constellation, wherefore this
country is called 鄂端脑 "O-dian-no-r, which is the same as 星宿海 Sing su hai in Chinese (sea of stars). Under these names the country south-west of lake Ku-ku-nor, where the Yellow River issues, is marked also on modern maps.

The Military District of 曲先 K'ü-sien.

It lies south-west of Su-chow and borders to the east on the military district of An-ting. It is comprised in that country which anciently was called 西戎 Si-jung or the 西羌 Si-k'iang of the time of the Han or 吐蕃 Tu-fan in the days of the T'ang.† The Yuan established here head-quarters (元帅府) called 曲先答林 K'ü-sien-da-lin.

Under the reign of the first Ming Emperor the chief of K'ü-sien arrived with tribute at the Chinese court. The rank of Chi-hui was bestowed on him. A military post was established at K'ü-sien. When Do-r-dzi-ba revolted (see above, article An-ting) the people of K'ü-sien were partly destroyed, and the rest annexed to the district of An-ting. They dwelt in the country called 阿真 A-djen.

In 1406 K'ü-sien was again separated from An-ting. 三郎 San-dsi was made Chi-hui and administered the district of K'ü-sien. 散郎恩 San-dsi-sze was appointed his assistant, but at his request was allowed to move and to govern the country of 蔭王淮 Le(yo)-wang-huai. 18 years later San-dsi-sze, together with one of the chiefstains of An-ting, attacked and plundered a Chinese embassy. A Chinese host marched out to punish them (as has been related above) but was not able to seize San-dsi-sze, who with his people had hidden himself at a long distance. But subsequently he was pardoned by the Emperor, who invited him to return and to administrate 42,000 tents (families). Sand-si-sze then sent an embassy to thank the Emperor and to offer camels and horses. In 1430 a Chinese envoy, who returned from the Si-yü reported, that San-dsi-sze again had stopped and plundered envoys carrying tribute to the court and that he had entirely shut up the passage. The Emperor got very angry and ordered a great host to be sent in his pursuit. San-dsi-sze succeeded in escaping before the Chinese army arrived, but his companion Ta-i-tu-bu-hua was completely defeated and killed. However San-dsi-sze was again pardoned, sent an embassy to thank the Emperor, and was allowed to return to his country, where he died in 1432. His son 都立 Du-li succeeded to him. Under the reign of Ch'ing-hua (1465-88) the T'u-lu-fan invaded and plundered K'ü-sien. Under the reign of Hung-ch'i (1488-1506) Shan-ba, the son of the prince of An-ting, lived in K'ü-sien and was elected ruler of Ha-mi. In 1512 the great headmen of the Meng-gu (Mongols) A-r-tu-sze and I-bu-li, after having taken possession of Ts'ing-hai (Kukunor), ravaged also K'ü-sien and destroyed this military post.

The Military District 赤斤 Ch'i-gin of the Meng-gu (Mongols).

Proceeding from Kia-yü-kuan westward 20 li one arrives at a place called 大草瀨 Ta-ts'ao-тан. Further on 30 li the 黑山七 Hei-shan-r (black hill) is reached, and 70 li from this black hill is 西胡之墓 Hui-hui-mu (Mohammedan tomb), and west of Hui-hui-mu 40 li is a city called 騎馬城 Shen-ma-ch'eng (gelding's city). There is a (remarkable) 墟壘 tun t'ai in which look-out soldiers are kept. 80 li west of this place lies Ch'i-gin.† At the time of the Han here was the district of 燎煌

* See above, articles Hami and An-ting, where it is stated, that he was only a distant relative of the prince of Aning.
† The Chinese beacon-towers of the Ming are well described by Persian travellers in the 15th century. See Dr. Zenker's above-quoted translation of the Khatai Nameh.
‡ The greater part of the above-mentioned places west of Kia-yü-kuan are found on the great Chinese map (see above, Note * page 22, a), on the road between this gate and the city of Yu-men.
T‘un-huang,* at the time of the Tsin the district of 昌郡 Chang-kiên. In the T‘ang period this land belonged to Kua-chou and in the Mongol times to the circuit (路) of Sha-chou.

In 1380 the (Ming) general Pu-ying on his expedition westward arrived at 白城 Po-ch‘eng, captured the Mongol commander Hu-du-tie-nu-r, then reached the post of Ch‘i-gin and made 亦憐真 I-lien-djen prince of P‘in† and his people, consisting of 1400 men, prisoners. He seized also the golden seal (given by the Mongol Emperor) and then returned. Afterwards a Mongol tribe took again possession of Ch‘i-gin. There was a Mongol named 塔力尼 Ta-li-ni, the son of Khü-dju, an ancient (Mongol) minister. He lived at first in the country of 哈剌脱 Ha-la-t‘o, and in 1404 came with more than 500 men to subdue. He was appointed commander of a thousand with an imperial seal in Ch‘i-gin, where a little military station (所 su) was established. Ta-li-ni distinguished himself on several occasions in attacking and capturing rebels and robbers. The Emperor in return advanced him to the rank of Chi-hui-t‘ien-shi. In 1410 the military station of Ch‘i-gin was raised to a wei (see Note * page 18, b). In 1411 Ta-li-ni died, and his son 且旺 失加 Ts‘ie-wang-shi-gia succeeded him. He presented tribute and received Chinese rank. In 1436 it happened that one of his subjects, a military officer, had plundered an embassy proceeding from A-duan in the Si-yü (see above) with tribute to China, and even killed the envoy and 21 men of his suite. But he was punished at the demand of the Emperor and obliged to deliver the robbed goods. In 1440 a Chinese envoy, who went to Hami, passed through Ch‘i-gin, and Ts‘ie-wang-shi-gia supplied him with provisions, mules and horses and even gave him a convoy. In return the Emperor raised him in rank (Tu-tu-ts‘ien-shi). In the next year it was reported to the Emperor, that a man belonging to Ts‘ie-wang’s tribe, but pretending to be a man from Sha-chou, used to stop the envoys coming with tribute from the Ki-yü and to plunder them. The Emperor ordered to punish the culprits. At that time the Wa-la (Oirats) had become powerful* and frequently invaded the neighbouring countries. Ts‘ie-wang, who feared them, solicited from the Emperor permission to retire to Su-chou. But the Emperor did not assent, promising to protect him. In 1443 Ye-sien, the chief of the Wa-la, sent an envoy with presents to Ch‘i-gin and asked Ts‘ie-wang’s daughter in marriage for his son, and at the same time he asked a daughter of the chief of Sha-chou as wife for his younger brother. But both refused, notwithstanding the Emperor’s advice to accept the proposition. In 1444 Ts‘ie-wang, who had got old, retired, and his son 阿速 A-su took the administration of Ch‘i-gin and was confirmed by the Chinese Emperor. Ye-sien twice sent envoys to him to propose a marriage, but A-su refused.

In 1448 it happened that Chinese troops, escorting an envoy of the prince of Hami, when resting in the city of K‘u-yü,† were attacked by the Tu-chi-hui (commander of the troops) of Ch‘i-gin, who surrounded the city. But the Chinese made a sortie, defeated the rebels and took prisoner the leader. A-su was a true adherent of China and resisted the proposition Ye-sien made.

* The Oirats at the time here spoken of had even a prepondering influence at the Mongol court at Karakorum.
† Compare above Note * page 22, a.

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† Compare above Note * page 22, a.
him to make a league with him against the Emperor. He died in 1466. His son 瓦撒塔兒 Wa-su-ta-r succeeded him. But the latter died in 1471, and his son 賞卜塔兒 Shang-hu-ta-r then administered Chi-gin.

In 1473 the Su-t'an of T'u-lu-fan, after having captured Hami, sent envoys to Chi-gin with a letter to the commander of the troops inviting him to attack China. But the commander put the envoys to death and sent the letter to the Emperor. In 1482 Chi-gin assisted Han-ch'ien to retake Hami (see above, article Hami). In 1483 the neighboring tribe Ye-mie-k'oo-li (see Note 1 page 20, a) invaded and plundered Chi-gin. Subsequently the T'u-lu-fan often ravaged the military station of Chi-gin and finally destroyed it in 1513. The Chinese Government then removed the remains of the Mongol tribe of Chi-gin to the southern mountains of Su-chou. In 1528 they hardly numbered 1000 men.

The Ming Geography mentions the following products of the district of Chi-gin:—
Camels, 胡樅 Lu-t'ung-lu, the exudation of a tree (see above Note 1 page 20, b) which is used for soldering gold and silver, 柏蘚 Po-mo-len, 紫靑革 Ki-nia-t'uo (a plant unknown to me), 肉蒼蓉 Jou-t'ung-jung, 沙臘 Sha-tsao (sand jujubes) 麻金 Fu-kin (gold dust), 碌沙 Nao-sha (sul-ammoniac), 榭蠽 Ku-fan (a product unknown to me).

The Military District of 沙州 Shan-chou.

Proceeding from Chi-gin 200 li westward one arrives at 赤峪 K'uu-yü (see Note 1 p. 22, a). From this place the way leads at first southward, then westward, and after having travelled 190 li the traveller reaches 瓜州 Kua-chou (still found on the maps).† 440 li

* According to the Pen tsao kang fu, chap. xii, fol. 69, a medicinal plant growing also in Su-chou.
† About this plant, which is probably a kind of Orobanche, see my Notes on Chin. Mod. Trav., p. 52.
‡ However on the Chinese map Kua-chou is marked about 190 li north-west of K'uu-yü.

west of Kua-chou lies Sha-chou. At the time of the Han here was the district of T'Uen-huang (see Note * page 35, a) situated at the border of the Si-yü, opposite and not far from the two fortresses 玉門關 Yü-men-kuan and 陽關 Yang-kuan.† Sha-chou was first founded under the Wei dynasty (386-558).‡ The Tang dynasty retained the same name. Subsequently the 吐蕃 Tu-fan (Tibetans) took possession of Sha-chou. In the days of the Sung Sha-chou belonged to the Si-Hua (Tangut empire). In the Mongol period there was a circuit (department) 沙州路 Shan-chou-lu.

The history of Sha-chou during the Ming period, as related in the Ming-shi, has a great resemblance with what has been recorded with respect to the afore mentioned military districts. It seems that Sha-chou also was in the possession of a Mongol tribe, when the Ming established their power in China.

In 1404 two of the chieftains of Sha-chou 顧即來 K'un-di-lai and 買住 Mai-dju came in person to submit to the Emperor, who ordered to establish at Sha-chou a military district and put at the head of it the aforesaid chieftains, bestowing on them the ranks of Chi-hui-shih. Mai-dju died in 1410 and then K'un-di-lai alone administered Sha-chou.

In 1424 it happened that an envoy of Tai-ping, prince of the Wu-la (Oirats see above)

* There seems to be a mistake in the figures. On the Chinese map ancient Shan-chou is marked about 250 li west of K'uu-yü. It seems that Shan-chou is located there too far south-west. We know that in the days of the Ming the great road from Kiu-yü kuan to Hami led through Shan-chou. Archimandrite Palladius thinks that ancient Shan-chou was situated on the spot where the present T'Uen-huang-hien stands. The Ming Geography estimates the distance between the eastern border of Shan-chou and Chi-gin at 180 li.
† i.e. the place, where Sha-chou stands was comprised in the district of T'Uen-huang.
‡ Two important fortresses west of the Kia-yü-kuan.
¶ The Ming-shi is wrong. At least the name of Sha-chou dates from the Tang period. The district of Sha-chou was first established, A.D. 622. Compare T'ang shu, Geography Section.
on his way to the Chinese court found the passage barred by robbers, when K’un-ksi-lai gave him an escort. The latter was accordingly rewarded by the Emperor. In 1426 envos from Li-ha-ho and Kuo-mo-chen were plundered on the territory of Hami by robbers from Sha-chou. The military governor of Su-chou received orders to pursue them. In 1426 K’un-ksi-lai’s people was suffering from dearth and he sent an envoy to China to solicit a loan of corn, promising the restitution in autumn. The Emperor complying with this request said: I consider you foreigners also my subjects and therefore do not require the restitution. The Emperor sent also one of his eunuchs to Sha-chou to bestow presents on K’un-ksi-lai. In 1432 there was again dearth in Sha-chou, and the Emperor consented to relieve the people with corn supplied from Su-chou. In the same year the envos from Ha-he (Herat) who had carried tribute to the court, complained, that they had been plundered on their way in the district of Sha-chou by the Cha-hui of Chi-gin by name Go-yu. K’un-ksi-lai received orders to inquire into this matter.

In 1434 K’un-ksi-lai sent an envoy to the court complaining that the district of Sha-chou was frequently plundered by robbers from Si-fan (Thibet), who robbed men and cattle; and as he was not able to resist he solicited permission to withdraw and to settle with his people at the ancient city of Ch’a-han. But the Emperor did not agree, saying: You have been living in Sha-chou for more than 30 years, your people breed plenty of cattle and horses and have become wealthy. Your arguments have no foundation. But in the next year 1435 Shu-chou was plundered by the people of Hami, and as K’un-ksi-lai feared also the Wa-la, he decided to abandon Shu-chou, and with 200 followers presented himself at the Chinese frontier in a state of extreme penury. The Chinese governor at the frontier supplied them with corn, and proposed to the Emperor to establish K’un-ksi-lai at K’un-yü. One part of his tribe had emigrated to Hami. Subsequently the chi-hui of Han-dung (see further on) established himself in the district of Sha-chou, but he was expelled by the chi-hui of Chi-gin.

In 1440 the Emperor ordered the Chinese governor at the frontier to rebuild the city of K’un-yü with the assistance of Chinese soldiers. In winter 1441 the work was finished. K’un-ksi-lai sent an envoy with presents to thank the Emperor. In 1442 he died. His eldest son Nan-k’o, with two younger brothers, went to the Chinese court with tribute. Nan-k’o received the rank of tu-tu-t’ien-shi and returned. Subsequently a great number of Nan-k’o’s people made preparations for emigrating to the Wa-la, but the Chinese succeeded in good time in stopping the emigration, and in 1446 they transferred the whole tribe from Sha-chou, more than 200 families or more than 1230 men to China to the district of Kan-chou. The city of Sha-chou was abandoned by the Chinese, and the chief of Han-dung, by name Ban-ma-sze, took possession of it.

The brother of Nan-k’o, by name So-nan-ben, was not willing to obey the Chinese Government, and surrendered to Ye-sien, the chief of the Wa-la. But the Chinese, who had been informed, that So-nan-ben lived in Han-dung, succeeded in capturing him. It had been proposed to execute him, but the Emperor pardoned him on account of the merits of his father and his brother, and sent him to Tung-ch’ang (in the province of Shantung).

The Military District of Han-dung. It is situated south of Chi-gin and southwest of Kiu-yü-kuan. It lies also on the land which in the days of the Han constituted the district of T’an-huang. In 1392 a general of the Ming, when pursuing robbers, arrived at the country of Han-dung. A great number of the people who lived there fled and hid themselves. But subsequently they returned and in 1397 the chief of the tribe, by name 鎮南吉
刺 思 So-nan-gi-la-zze, sent an envoy with tribute to China. The Emperor then ordered the establishment of a military post at Han-dung.

As I do not wish to fatigue the reader further by records of embassies sent to the Chinese court, of predatory excursions, of plundering of embassies, I may shortly state with respect to the history of Han-dung that it resembles much the histories of the aforementioned military districts. Han-dung was also ruled by native chiefs who had Chinese rank. The troops of Han-dung, numbering 3000 men, assisted China in the war with Tu-lu-fan. In the beginning of the 16th century the people of Han-dung were oppressed by the Mongols, who at that time had taken possession of Ts'ing-hai (Ku-ku-nor), as well as by the Tu-lu-fan. Finally the Chinese Government transferred the whole tribe to Kan-chou.

罕 東 左 衛 Han-dung, the left, or the Eastern Military Station of Han-dung.

This is the same as the ancient city of Sha-chou. There had been a discord among the people of Han-dung and one part of it conducted by An-chang had settled on the territory of Sha-chou, after this district had been abandoned by K'un-tse-lai (see above). After An-chang's death his son Ban-mu-kee was put at the head of the tribe. He was suspected by the Chinese Government to collude with Ye-sien, chief of the Wa-la. He died under the reign of Ch'eng-hua 1465-88, and his grandson Dji-k'o succeeded him. In 1479 the Chinese Government established at the ancient city of Sha-chou the military station of Eastern An-dung, under the administration of Dji-k'o. Eastern An-dung finally shared the fate of the other military districts in Uiguria, being taken possession of by Tu-lu-fan.

The Country of 哈梅里 Ha-mei-li. This country is not far from the province of Kan-su. The prince Wu-na-shi-li, a relative of the Yuan (the Mongol house reigning in China) lived there, when that dynasty was overthrown by the Ming. In 1380 the Chinese general Pu-ying, who exercised his troops in Si-liang (the present Liang-chou-fu in Kan-su) solicited from the Emperor permission to move out with his host to take possession of the country of Ha-mei-li in order to open through it a trading route. The Emperor agreed, but advised Pu-ying to be cautious. When Wu-na-shi-li had heard of the general's marching out he offered his submission, and in the next year dispatched the Mohammedan 阿老丁 A-loo-ding (Alaeddin) with tribute to the Chinese court. The Emperor rewarded him and sent an emissary to the country of the Wei-ur's (Uigurs)* to make known to the foreigners his manifestoes.

In 1390 the Emperor was informed, that Wu-na-shi-li frequently disturbed the adjacent countries and used to stop the caravans of the Mohammedans in the Si-yü, when passing through his country, and even when they went by another way he plundered and killed the envoys. The Emperor grew very angry and ordered the commander of the troops in Kan-su and another general to punish Wu-na-shi-li. The Chinese host marched out from Si-liang, proceeded westward and in night time arrived at the city of Ha-mei-li, which they surrounded. One of Wu-na-shi-li's officers left the city and surrendered. The next morning Wu-na-shi-li ordered more than 300 horses to be driven out from the city, and whilst the Chinese were hunting after the horses he himself with his family succeeded in escaping. His city was captured. 別兒怯帖木兒 Bie-r-kie-tie-mu-r, prince Pin† and 1400 men were killed. The son of the prince and 1730 men were captured. The golden and silver seals (bestowed formerly

* Thus it seems that Ha-mei-li was comprised in the country of the Uigurs.
† With respect to the princes of Pin compare above, Note †, page 35, a.
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by the Mongol Emperors) fell also into the hands of the Chinese.

烏思藏 Wu-sze-dsang (Thibet).
Chap. cccxxxvi of the Ming-shi treats for the greater part on Thibet. This country, as far as it was subject to the chief Lamas, was known to the Chinese in the days of the Ming under the name of Wu-sze-dsang. This name occurs already in the Yuan history (Comp. my Notices of the Mediev. Geogr. of Central Asia etc., p. 113).* There are eight heads of the Lamait church in Thibet mentioned in the Ming-shi under their Chinese titles:

1. 大寶法王 Tu-pao-fu-wang, The successors of Bu-sze-ba, who had been invested by Kublai Khan.
2. 大乘法王 Ta-ch'eng-fu-wang.
3. 大慈法王 Ta-tze-fa-wang.
4. 閩化王 Ch'an-hua-wang.
5. 贊善王 Tsan-shan-wang.
6. 護教王 Hu-kiao-wang.
7. 剽教王 Ch'uan-kiao-wang.
8. 聿教王 Fu-kiao-wang.

After Thibet the Ming-shi treats of two kingdoms of India.

西天阿難功德國 Si-t'ien-a-nan-gung-de-kuo.

Si-t'ien (western Heaven) is a Chinese name applied to India, and thus we may read: A-nan-gung-de, a kingdom of India.

In 1374 the ruler of this country by name of 卜哈魯 Bu-ha-li sent his chief explainer (講主) by name of 必尼西 Ri-ni-si with tribute to the Chinese court. He brought amongst other things a stone, which had the property of neutralizing poison. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China.

That is all the Ming-shi records with respect to the Indian kingdom of A-nan-gung-de. I may observe, that this name has a strong resemblance to Anagumde, which was the name of the magnificent capital of the kingdom of Bisongar. The ruins of Anagumde are found on the bank of the Tungabhadra, an affluent of the Krishna.

At the end of the short account of A-nan-gung-de the Ming-shi inserts some notices of a country 和林 Ho-lin, from which an envoy had reached the Chinese capital at the same time as the embassy of A-nan-gung-de.

The great teacher * 東 REGION. Do-r-dis-k'i-'ie-shi-sze-bu-dsang-bu of Ho-lin sent his chief explainer (講主) whose name was 汝奴汪叡 Ju-nu-wang-shu to present to the Emperor a Buddha's statue of copper, sacred relics, white cloth called 哈丹 Ha dan, one seal of jade, four seals of silver, five of silver, three tablets of authority with golden letters, all these things having been bestowed in former times by the Mongol emperors. The Emperor received him kindly. In the next year the great teacher of Ho-lin once more sent presents, a Buddha's statue, relics and two horses. The Emperor bestowed on the envoy a priest's robe of silk. The Chinese historian adds that Ho-lin was the capital of T'ai-lou the first Mongol emperor (Chinghiz).†

西天尼八剌國. The Indian Kingdom of Nibata (probably Nepal.)

It is situated west of 諸藏 Chu-dsang (literally the whole Dsang or Thibet) and quite far from China. The rulers of this country are Buddhist monks. In 1384 emperor Hung-wu sent a Buddhist monk thither with an imperial rescript and presents. This envoy visited also the adjacent

*國師 Kuo-shi. The Ming-shi explains that by this term here a 番僧 fau-seng or foreign (Thibetan) lama is to be understood.
† The Ming historian is wrong. for Ho-lin or Kārekṣha was only built by Chinghiz's successor Ogotai.
kingdom of 地溝塔 Di-yung-t'a. The prince of Ni-ba-la, by name of 馬達納 Ma-da-na-lo-mo, sent an embassy to the Chinese Emperor to present a golden Buddha's statue, fine horses etc. This embassy reached Peking in 1387. Three years later another embassy from the same country arrived. Emperor Yung-lo sent also emissaries to Ni-ba-la. At that time the name of the ruler of Ni-ba-la was 沙葛新的 Sha-jo-sun-di and that of the prince of Di-yung-t'a was 可營 K'ao-ban. In 1418 Yung-lo sent one of his eunuchs to Ni-ba-la and on his way thither this envoy passed through 罕東 Han-dung, 靈藏 Ling-dung, 必力工瓦 Bi-li-gung-wa, 喀斯藏 Wu-sze-dsang and 野薩卜納 Ye-lan-bu-na.*

There is yet another kingdom situated also in the west (西方 Si-fang; it seems that by this term India is denoted) which is called 速視者 Su-du-sung-djo, whither Yung-lo sent an emissary in 1405.

* We have already met with some of these names in previous pages. I leave the identification of these countries to readers acquainted with the ancient Geography of Thibet and the adjacent countries.

But no embassy from that country was seen in China, owing to the great distance.

After this the Ming-shi treats again of some countries situated apparently in Thibet.

采甘 Do-gan.

This place (or country) is stated to be situated beyond the Chinese province of Sze-ch'uan. It is contiguous to Wu-sze-dsang (Thibet.) I omit the details on the history of Do-gan.

The Districts of 長河西 Ch'ang-ho-si, 魚通 Yu-t'ung and 寧遠 Ning-yüan.

The districts were also situated beyond Sze-ch'uan, in Thibet. I omit the details.

The Districts* (Süan-wei-sze) of 蓋卜 Dung-bu and 韓胡 Han-hu.

They are situated west of the district of 威州 Wei-chou† in Sze-ch'uan.

* I translated 宣慰司 Süan-wei-sze by district. But it is properly the name of an office, a kind of Chinese superintendency over foreign tribes.

† Wei-chou answers nearly the present 河川县 Wen-ch'uan-hien.

E. BRETSCHNEIDER, M.D.
The ccccxxiiid. and last chapter of the Ming-shi treats of Bishbalik (libalik, Jetes), Kashgar, Khotan, Sairam, Yanguikand, Tashkand, Shahruckia, Andean, Samarkand, Buchara, Khorassan (?), Kash, Termed, Andkud, Badakshan, Heral, Kerman, Isfahan, Shiraz, Tauris, Egypt, Arabia, Medina, Rum (Ottoman empire), and besides this describes a number of other places and countries of Central and Western Asia, the identification of which presents some difficulties.

别失八里 Bie-shi-ba-li (Bishbalik).*

Bie-shi-ba-li is a great empire in the Si-yü. It borders to the south on Yü-tien

* There can be no doubt, that by Bie-shi-ba-li (the name of the empire was subsequently changed into I-li-ba-li) the Chinese in the 15th and 16th centuries understood the eastern part of the so-called "Middle Empire" assigned originally to Chinghiz Khan's second son Chagatay. As can be proved by comparative investigations Bie-shi-ba-li of the Ming history is the same as the empire of the Jetes (Getes) of the Mohammedan chronicles treating of the same period. It was known in the west also under the name of Mogolistan (not to be confounded with the true Mongolia to the eastward). Timur, in his Autobiography (Stewart's Transl.), (Khotan, see further on), to the north on the Wa-la (Oirats, see above), to the west (p. 46, 73), terms this empire Deht Jitcheh (dehsht means desert, steppes) and considers the Jitcheh his countrymen. Thus they were the followers of the descendants of Chinghiz Khan. As can be concluded from the Mohammedan records, the empire of the Jetes embraced, in the days of Timur, the present Desungaria and the greater part of Turkestan. I am not prepared to give any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the names Jetes, Jitche or Getes as some orientalists write it. It is certain that it was unknown to the Persian authors before Timur's time, and therefore the view of Deguilhen, Ritter and others, who identify the Jetes with the Yuz-ti (a nation mentioned in the Chinese annals before our era) and the Getes of the classical authors, can be founded only on similarity of sounds. Professor Vambery (Geschichte Bokhara's and Transoxaniens, I. 180) states with respect to the etymology of the name Jetes, that chet in Turkish means border and that even now-a-days in Central Asia the Buruts are called Chote Mogul. However I may observe, that the Buruts are not Mongols but Kirghizes, who in the 17th century only appeared in western Turkestan. Their original abodes were on the upper Yenissi.

In order to corroborate the Chinese statements regarding Bie-shi-ba-li, I may put here together what I have been able to gather from different sources with respect to the history of the Jetes from the 14th to the 17th centuries. My information is derived from Timur's Autobiography (Stewart's Transl.), Sherif-eddin's History of Timur (Péris de la Croix's Transl., De-
on Sa-na-r-han (Samarkand, see further on), and to the east it is contiguous to Hionguines' hist. d. Huns) and from Col. Yule's able dissertation on this subject in his Cathay, etc. p. 522. Yule draws from Khondemir, Abulghazi, etc.

In the second half of the 14th century we find the Middle Empire divided into an eastern part (Turkestán, Deungaria) and a western (Transoxiana or Mavaranahar). Kazan seems to have been the last prince of the main branch of Chagatai ruling over the undivided Middle Empire, 1333-46. After he had been slain Transoxiana had its proper Khans, who however were entirely in the hands of the amirs, until the great Timur set himself upon the throne of Mavaranahar (see below, Note * page 121.) We learn from Abulghazi that it (seems under the reign of Kazan) the people of Kashgar and Yarkand, the inhabitants of the Altagh (i.e. the present ili) and the Uigurs elected as their Khan Imil Khodja (Col. Yule thinks that Imil Khodja is identical with Isanboga Khan, son of Dua. Indeed, as I shall show further on, some support for this view is found in the Chinese records.)

Imil Khodja was succeeded in 1347 by his son Taghlak Timur. Thus a new eastern branch of the Chagatai dynasty was established. In 1360 and again in 1361-62 Taghlak Timur invaded and subdued Mavaranahar, which was in a state of anarchy. On the second occasion he left his son Elias Khosa as his representative at Samarkand. But in 1363-64, about the time of the death of Taghlak Timur, the amirs Husain and Timur (see Note * page 121) revolted and expelled Elias, who escaped to his paternal dominions. Some time afterwards his life was taken by Kamar-eddin Dughylak, of a powerful family, which about this time became hereditary rulers of Kashgar. Yule states, that Kamar-eddin then usurped the Khanate of the Jetes and put to death all the other children of Taghlak Timur with the exception of Khizr Khodja, who was rescued. However it does not appear from the history of Timur, that Kamar-eddin had ever been Khan of the Jetes. Timur, in his Autobiography (i.e. 148), sub-anno 1873, calls him "the slave and commander-in-chief of the Khan of the Jetes."

Timur was engaged in war with his eastern neighbours, the Jetes, during almost the whole time of his reign. In 1371 Timur himself directed his host against these people. In 1375 again he attacked Kamar-eddin, invaded the country of Kashgar, the country situated on the river Illi, advanced as far as Uch ferman (Uch Turfan). Kamar-eddin fled. Timur captured his daughter Bikad Aga, and subsequently took her as his wife.

In 1376 Timur sent his generals against Kamar-eddin, who was defeated in the country of Karatu (perhaps Karatau, which is still the name of a mountain chain east of the Sihon). In the same year Timur in person set out for a campaign against Kamar-eddin. Timur's generals vanquished him at Bagam Asigheul, and Timur pursued him as far as Kuchkar (Kuchar). At a date, which is uncertain, but probably about chou (Karakhodja, see above).* It is distant (probably the ordo of the Khan is meant)

*I should rather think, that Bishibali was contiguous to the east with Turfan. But perhaps these Chinese accounts of the frontiers of this empire refer to a time previous to the rise of the Turfan power.

1888, the above-mentioned Khizr Khodja (or Keeser Khojda Aglen), son of Taghlak Timur, mounted the throne of Mogolistan, and he was its sovereign when Timur made his crushing campaign against the people of that country in 1389. The conquerer started from Alkushan, in the country of Kipchak, and proceeded eastward to the river Irtysch, making a great number of prisoners, then crossed the desert and arrived at the Serai urdama (serai ordha) the palace of the Khan of the Jetes, situated at Aimal Gudja, the royal residence of Mogolistan (with respect to this place, which I suppose was somewhere in the valley of the Emir river, see my Notices of Medias. Geogr., etc. page 146, and note 277). Timur sent out his corps in different directions, designating Yuldaz as rallying point. Timur's son Omar Sheikh crossed the mountain Kubshin and advanced as far as Arumut (a place mentioned in the itinerary of Goes between Turfan and Kamul. Yule, i.e. 578.) Djihat Shah and Sheikh Ali went to Kara-art and Shur-ogluk, and Ohman Allas ravaged the countries of Saghian, Sugalgin, Yama, Ghoyat. Khoziad Hassan and Mubahser advanced as far as Bikut. All these generals were victorious; Timur himself in following the bank of the river Irtysch defeated also the Jetes in several engagements. Other generals by order of Timur arrived from the country of Kipchak and after having crossed the mountain Urdaban and the river Illi, ravaged Sutghuel (Sintiki is the Kirghiz name of lake Sairam), Chi-che-kik and Balaskan. When they had passed the city of Molzada they fell in with Khizr Khodja, who was at the head of a great host. After having fought for two days the two armies made an arrangement according to which Timur's generals retired to Yuldaz. When Timur, who at that time was at Keitu (perhaps the river Kaitu, formed by the two Yuldzy rivers) had heard of this battle he passed immediately through the defile of Konghez and repaired to Yuldaz. After having selected the most valiant soldiers of his army he set out in the pursuit of Khizr Khodja, crossed the river Ulakiaran and the great desert, and proceeded to Karabulak and Tabetarsh. At Kshankink he met finally the army of the Jetes, who however did not hold out. Thus Khizr Khodja was driven out of his dominions. Timur in pursuing him passed the mountain Nairin-keult, proceeded to Karatash and advanced as far as Kulan-keult, a mountain which is said to be situated at the extremity of Mogolistan towards Katat. Timur then returned to Kuchuk-Yuldaz (little Yuldaz), passing by Julis, Kadjir and over the mountain Biligar. Here he found all his victorious troops assembled. The country
from Kiu-yü-kuan in the south-east 3,700 li. It is believed that Biü-shü-ho-lii occurred of Yulduz is rich in springs, meadows and has excellent pastures.  

[It is impossible to venture any identification of the places mentioned in the above itineraries, for the terms to which they refer are completely unknown to us. We can only ascertain the position of Yulduz. Our maps of Asia mark to the north-west of Khorassar a mountain and two rivers of this name, viz. Deun Yulduz and Ulugh Yulduz (great Yulduz), which unite to form the Kair-tu river.

Timur sent his son Omar Sheikh back to Andekan. The latter passed through Kolguna (Iron gate), where he defeated a detachment of the Jetes. Then he proceeded through Kusan, Ucheferman (Uch Tarphan) to Kashgar. Timur left Kuchuk-Yulduz and went to Ulugh-Yulduz, whence he moved out to return home. He reached Samarkand in 22 days, whilst caravans took generally two months for the same way. Subsequently Timur married a daughter of Khizr Khodja.

At that time Kamar-eddin was still alive. In 1390 Timur sent out a host against him. This army went by Tashkand, lake Issiikul, Ghokhtopa, the mountain Arjatu to Almalik. The troops swam over the river Ili and advanced as far as the river Irysh. Kamar-eddin had fled to Talus. After having crossed the Irysh on rafts Timur’s soldiers burnt with their arms made red-hot inscriptions on the pine trees commemorative of their exploits.

Sherif-eddin reports that in 1399, when Timur was in Karabagh (between the rivers Kür and Araxes) he received the news that Khizr Khodja Aglen had paid his tribute to the angel Israel and that after his death his four sons Shama Djehan, Mohammed Aglen, Shir Ali and Shah Djehan, disputed for the succession. Mirza Eskender, son of Omar Sheikh (second son of Timur) profiting by these favorable circumstances had moved out from Andekan at the head of his troops, entered into Mogolistan and defeated the Jetes. Mirza Eskender then was only 15 years old. He proceeded first to Kashgar and then plundered the city of Yarkand. Advancing further on, the victorious army captured Serek Kamish, Kelaquin, Alghoul, Yar Kurgan, Char-tak, Kyukuk Bagh. They arrived finally at the province of Anjude and proceeded to Aksu, which was a very strong place protected by three forts communicating with each other. After a siege of 40 days Aksu surrendered. They met some rich merchants from Katal in the city.

[With respect to the above-mentioned places I may observe that in Capt. Trotter’s “Mission to Yarkand and Kashgar, 1873-74,” p. 148, 144, we find in the itinerary from Yarkand to Aksu names of places as Ajaiquir, Charowak, Sai Arikk Langur, Kumash, which have some resemblance with those enumerated by Sherif-eddin.]

Mirza Eskender sent also some divisions to the cities of Bai and Kusan. Bai is a cool place fit for a summer residence, whilst in Kusan it is hot, and the place is more convenient for a stay in winter.

pies the same tracts as 马耆 Yen-k'1 and 虫兹 Kui-tee in ancient times.* In the

* Yen-k'1 and Kui tee, two ancient kingdoms in Central Asia, mentioned first in the history of the Han before our era. Modern Chinese Geographers use to identify them with present Khorassar and Kucha.

[In the Si-yü-wen-kiun-lu, a modern Chinese description of Turkestan, the city of 拜 Bai, situated between Aksu and Kuchar, is also noticed as a cool place. The name Kusan appears also in the relation of the campaign of 1589, see above.]

The two cities were plundered, and the wife of the Emir Koeser Shah by name Hadji Melok Aga and his daughter Isan Melok and other ladies fell into the hands of Mirza Eskender. Hence he went to plunder the city of Tarem (our maps mark only a river of this name in eastern Turkestan. It empties itself into the Lopnor). After this Mirza Eskender proceeded to Khoian and after having subdued the whole province he returned to Kashgar, where he succeeded the winter. In spring of 1400 he set out for Samarkand.

According to Col. Yule’s sources Khizr Khodja was succeeded by his son Mahomed Khan and he by his grandson Wais or Awis Khan. Some authors mention a Shir Mahomed between Mahomed and Wais. The latter is noticed apparently as the reigning chief, and at war with Shir Mahomed Ogilhan, in the narrative of Shah Rück’s embassy to China. Wais, who throughout his reign was engaged in constant and unsuccessful wars with the Kalmaks, his eastern neighbours (evidently the Woka of the Ming history, the Oirats are meant), at his death left two sons, Isanbuga and Yunus, each of whom was backed by a party in claiming the succession. Those who favoured Yunus took him to Mirza Ulugh Bog, the grandson of Timur, then governing at Samarkand, to seek his support; but he refused this, and sent Yunus off into Western Persia, where he remained in exile for 18 years. When Abu Said of the house of Timur (1451-68) had established himself at Samarkand Isanbuga Khan invaded Fergana. Abu Said in retaliation sent for the exiled Yunus, conferred on him the Khanate of Mogolistan and dispatched him with an army into that country, where he succeeded in establishing himself. Yule concludes that Yunus Khan did not mount the throne till 1468. During his reign a numerous army of Kalmaks entered his territory. Yunus, in attempting to resist them, was completely defeated, with the loss of most of his amirs and fled with the remains of his army to the Sihon. Here he seems to have established the relics of his authority at Tashkand and at the same place his son and successor Mahmud, called by the Mongols Jenikab (Yule), was crowned. It would appear, that Yunus left behind another son, Ahmed, in Mogolistan, where he maintained himself for a time. Eventually both these brothers fell into the hands of Mahomed Khan Shabani, the founder of the Uzbek power in Transoxiana, and Mahomed was in the end put to death by that chief. Col. Yule
days of the Mongol Emperor Shi-tsu (Kublai Khan) at Bie-shi-ba-li was a Siu-an-wai-sze (see Note * page 40, b); subsequently it became a Yuan-shuai-fu (head-quarters of a Mongol corps). *

Under the reign of Hung-wu (1368-99), when the Chinese general Lan-yü on his expedition to the Sha-mo (Mongolian

* On Bishbalk in the days of the Mongols see my Notices of Mediev. Geogr., etc., p. 138 seq.

presumes that the line of Khans of the Jetes survived no longer as such, and that the Kalmaks about this time took possession of the country north of the Tien-shan. He may be right in his supposition. The history of Hilibi (Jetes) in the Ming-shi concludes, as we shall see, in the second half of the 15th century. A son of Ahmed had succeeded in founding a dynasty in Kashgar, which maintained itself on the throne for more than a century and a half.

The Si-yi-tung-wen-chi, a work already quoted (see article Wa la) in Chap. xi, gives a curious pedigree of the house of Chagatai, drawn in the last century from Mohammedan sources in eastern Turkestan. The names of the rulers therein after Chagatai during the Mongol period do not agree with the names of the main branch of the Middle Empire as given by the Persian historians, however the names further down are easily recognised as those of the rulers of the Jetes. It is strange also that in this table we meet the name of Kaidu instead of Dua. It seems the pedigree, which shows no dates has been traced down to the 15th century, and refers finally to the Khans of Kashgar. The names are given in characters of five languages, also in Persian. I transliterate the Chinese Characters.

1. Ti'ing gi zee han (Chinghir Khan.)
2. Ch'a han t'ai Ma ma k'i (Chagatai.)
3. Ha la bai Su bi la k'o.
4. Da wa ts'i.
5. Ba r dang.
6. Bu tu r bo han.
7. Tu mo no.
8. A gu zze.
9. Hai du (Kaidu.)
10. Sa mu bu wa.
11. Ti' me r Tu' hu la k'o (Tughluk Timur.)
12. Ko'o des ro do jso (Khizr Khodja.)
13. Si la li (Shir Ali.)
14. Si la Ma ho mu de (Shir Mahomed.)
15. Ma mu de (Mahomed.)
16. Su le tran Yi' mu zee (Sultan Yunnas.)
17. Su le tran A ma de (Sultan Ahmed.)
18. Su le tran Sai ye de (Sultan Seid.)
19. A bu du li se de (Abdu Rashid.)
20. A bu du Lai i mu (Abdu Rahim.)
22. A ko' ba si.
23. Su le tran A ha mu (Sultan Ahmed.)
24. I see ke'en de r (Eskender.)
25. Man su r.
26. Ha se mu.
27. A bu du la.

desert) had reached the 拓魚兒海 Pu- 

yü-r-hai, it happened that several hundred merchants from Su-ma-r-han fell into his hands. The Emperor ordered them to be sent home to their country. A Chinese envoy accompanied them. When on his way back this envoy had passed through Bie-shi-ba-

li the king† of this country by name of 黑的兒火者 Hei-di-r-huo-djo † dispatched an embassy to the Chinese court. At the head of this embassy was 哈馬力丁 Ha-ma-li-deng, § a commander of a thousand. He arrived in the 7th month of 1391 and offered as tribute horses and gerfalcons. The Emperor received him kindly, and bestowed presents of silk stuffs and cloths upon the king and his envoy. In the 9th month of the same year the Emperor entrusted the secretary (of one of the Boards) by name of 韓微 K'wan-ch'e, the censor 韓高 Han-kiong and the counsellor 唐鋤 T'ang-cheng, with a mission to the countries of the west. They bore also an imperial letter for Hei-dir-huo-djo of the following tenor:—

"Although there are many kingdoms in the world, separated by mountains and seas, and differing one from another in their rules and customs, nevertheless, it seems to me, that good and bad feelings, passions and human nature|| are the same everywhere. Heaven assists mankind and looks benevolently on everybody. It is the same with respect to the ruler, on whom Heaven bestowed supreme power. Observing the heavenly rules he is kindly disposed towards

* Lake Tul nor in south-eastern Mongolia. The expedition here alluded to is that against the Mongols in 1388. The latter were defeated by the Chinese near lake Pu yü r hai. See Note ‡ page 16.

† I translate here }', weng by king for Bishbalk was a considerable empire. Compare also Note * page 18, b.

‡ At the time here spoken of Khizr Khodja was Khan of the Jetes.

§ Kamar-eddin. But it is unlikely, that the great captain of the Jetes, who bore this name, should be meant.

|| 血氣 literally "blood and breath."
mankind and shows mercy on everybody. Thus all the various kingdoms of the world are entitled to the merciful regards (of the Emperor) and to prosperity. When the inferior kingdoms will honor the great ones Heaven will be propitious to them. In times past, when the rulers of the Sung dynasty had become careless and the wicked officers infringed the laws, Heaven abandoned this dynasty and bestowed the power upon the Yüan (Mongols). Shi-tsu (Kublai Khan, the first Mongol emperor in China) arrived from the Mongolian desert, to take possession of China and to rule there. The people then got easy again and enjoyed peace for more than 70 years, when the successors of Shi-tsu began to neglect the ruling of their people and to appoint unworthy officers, who disregarded the laws. The strong oppressed the weak ones. The indignation of the people cried to Heaven. The heavenly order then was bestowed on me. I am holding now the sceptre of power and rule over the black-haired people. I pursue with my troops the enemies of our doctrine (Confucian doctrine). I treat kindly those who submit. In the space of 30 years I succeeded in tranquillizing all provinces of the middle empire. The foreign realms also pay their respects and acknowledge my supremacy. Only the Yuan (Mongols) disturbed the Chinese frontier, when my troops advanced to the lake Pu-yiirhai (see Note \( \dagger \) page 16) and caused a Mongol prince with his host to surrender. At the same time several hundreds of people from Samarhan, who had arrived for the purpose of trade, were made prisoners, and I sent one of my officers to carry them back to Samarhan. Since that time three years have elapsed. After my envoys returned you sent an embassy to me with tribute. I am much obliged to you, and wish that you may continue to be on good terms with us and entertain a frequent intercourse with China. I send you my envoys to greet you and lead your 'zeal.'

The envoys of the Emperor arrived at Bio-

shi-ba-li and transmitted the letter to the king, but when it was discovered that they had got no presents for him, the gracious letter made no impression upon the king. He retained K’uan-ch‘e, whilst the other Chinese envoys were allowed to return home.

In the first month of 1397 the Emperor dispatched again an officer to the king of Bio-shi-ba-li with the following letter:

"Since the time I mounted the throne my officers at the frontier have never thrown obstacles in the way of the foreign merchants who came to traffic with China, and I had also given orders that the foreigners might be kindly treated by my people. Thus the foreign merchants realize great benefits, and there is no trouble at the frontier. Our flowery land (China) is a great power and we show kindness to your country. Why then has the envoy I sent to you some years ago in order to establish friendly terms been retained? Why do you act so? Last year I ordered all the Mohammedian merchants from Bio-shi-ba-li, who had come to China, to be retained until my envoy K’uan-ch‘e would be released. However I allowed them to carry on trade in our country. Subsequently, when they complained of their having left at home their families, I commiserated them and let them return home. Now I send again an envoy to you, that you may know my benevolence. Do not shut up the way to our frontier and do not give rise to war. The Shu-king says:

"'In a case of dissatisfaction we may lay aside the question, whether it has been caused by an inferior or a superior. The principal things to be taken into consideration are whether the laws of justice have been observed or not and whether a laudable zeal has been shown or not.'

"Now I ask you have you been just and have you shown laudable zeal?"
When the king had received this letter he released K’uan-ch’i.

After Yuang-le had mounted the throne in 1403, he sent an envoy with a letter and presents to the king of Bie-shi-ba-li. But at that time Hei-di-r-ko-dja had died, and had been succeeded by his son Sha-mi-ch’a-gan.† The latter sent in the next year an embassy to the Emperor, offering a piece of rude jade and fine horses. The envoy was well treated and rewarded. At that time it had happened that An-k’o-tie-mu-r, prince of Hami, had been poisoned by Gui-li-ch’i, Khan of the Mongols (see above the resp. articles) and Sha-mi-ch’a-gan made war on the latter. The Emperor was thankful and sent an envoy with presents to him, exhorting the king to be on good terms with To-t’o, the prince of Hami. In 1406 Sha-mi-ch’a-gan sent tribute, and the Emperor accordingly despatched Lu-tie-mu-r, a high officer with presents to Bie-shi-ba-li. In the year 1407 Sha-mi-ch’a-gan presented three times tribute. His envoy solicited the assistance of Chinese troops for reconquering Sa-ma-r-han, which country, as they stated, had formerly belonged to Bie-shi-ba-li. The Emperor sent his eunuchs Pa-tai and Li-ta together with Lu-tie-mu-r to Bie-shi-ba-li to inquire cautiously into the matter. The envoys presented silk-stuffs to the king and were well received. They returned home in the next year and brought the intelligence, that Sha-mi-ch’a-gan was deceased and that his younger brother 马哈麻 Ma-ha-mu† had succeeded him. The Emperor then sent the same envoys once more to Bie-shi-ba-li to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late king and bestow presents on the new one. When in 1410 imperial envoys on their way to Sa-ma-r-han passed through Bie-shi-ba-li they were well treated by Ma-ha-ma, who in the next year sent an embassy to the Chinese court, offering fine horses and a 豹 wen pao (leopard). When this embassy returned it was accompanied by 傅安 Fu-an (see Vol. IV, p. 313), who carried gold-embroidered silk-stuffs for the king. At that time an envoy of the Wa-la (Oirats) complained that Ma-ha-ma armed for making war on the Wa-la. The Emperor sent to warn him. In 1413 Ma-ha-ma sent one of his generals with tribute to China. He reached Kan-su. Orders had been given to the civil and military authorities there to receive him honorably.

In the next year (1414) people returning from the Si-yü brought the intelligence that Ma-ha-ma’s mother and brother both had died in a short interval. The Emperor sent again Fu-an to Bie-shi-ba-li with a letter of condolence. When Ma-ha-ma died, he left no son. His nephew 纳黑失只罕 Na-hei-shi-dji-han † succeeded him, and in 1416 in spring despatched an envoy to inform the Emperor of his uncle’s death. The Emperor sent the eunuch Li-ta to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late king and to confer the title of 王 (king) on his successor. In 1417 Na-hei-shi-dji-han sent an embassy to inform the Emperor, that he was about to marry a princess from Sa-ma-r-han and solicited in exchange for horses a bride’s trousseau. Then 500 pieces of variegated and 500 of plain white silk-stuff were bestowed on the king of Bie-shi-ba-li as wedding presents.

* Mohammed Aqila, the younger brother of Shama Djihan, according to the Mohammedan authors.
† Some Mohammedan authors mention Shir Mohammed after Mohammed Khan.
In 1418 an envoy by name of 遼哥 Su-k’o arrived from Bie-shi-ba-li, reporting that his king (Na-hei-shi-dji-han) had been slain by his cousin 歪思 Wai-sze,* who then had declared himself king. At the same time Wai-sze had emigrated with his people to the west, changing the (former) name of the empire (Bishalkik) into 赤力把里 I-li-ba-li. The Emperor said, that it was not his custom to meddle with the internal affairs of foreign realms. He bestowed upon Su-k’o the rank of tu tu ts’ien shi and at the same time sent the enuneh 楊忠 Yang-chung with a mission to Wai-sze, conferring on the king as presents an arrow, a sword, a suit of armour and silks. The chieflain 忽夕達 Hu-dai-da † and more than 70 other people of I-li-ba-li all received presents. Wai-sze used to send frequently tribute to the Chinese court, ‡ as did also his mother 額鲁檀哈敦 So-bu-t’an Ha tun (Sultan Khatun).

In 1428 Wai-sze died and was succeeded by his son 也先不花 Ye-sien-bu-hua,§ who also sent frequently tribute to China. Tribute was also sent by 萨赛因 Bu-sai-in (Abu Said), the son-in-law of the late king.

Ye-sien-bu-hua died in 1445 and was succeeded by 也密力虎者 Ye-mi-li-hu-djo.,|| The latter sent camels as tribute and also a block of rude jade, weighing 3,800 kin, but not of the best quality. The Chinese Government returned for every two kin of jade one piece of white silk. In 1457 a Chinese envoy was sent to I-li-ba-li with presents for the king, and in 1465 again. It was then settled, that I-li-ba-li had to send tribute every 3 or 5 years and the number of the people accompanying the envoy should not surpass ten men. Subsequently embassies from that country were seldom seen at the Chinese court.

In the Mém. cons. les Chinois xiv., p. 278, Father Amiot has translated a letter addressed to the Chinese Emperor by a Governor General (?) of I-li-ba-li.

The article on Bie-shi-ba-li (I-li-ba-li) in the Ming history concludes with some notes on the country of I-li-ba-li, and the customs of its inhabitants. More detailed accounts on the same subject, drawn for the greater part from the Shi si yü ki (see Vol. IV, p. 315), are found in the Ming Geography, which I may translate here:

The country of I-li-ba-li is surrounded by deserts (or lies in the middle of deserts). It extends 3,000 li from East to West, 2,000 from North to South. There are no cities or palace buildings. The people are nomads, living in felt tents and changing their abodes together with their herds in accordance with the existence of water and pasture land. They are of a fierce looking appearance. They use the same food, i.e. flesh and kumiss ( Cheese), and are dressed in the same fashion as the Wa-la (Oirats). However Ch’ien-ch’eng (the author of the Shi si yü ki) reports that they use to dress themselves in the Mohammedan fashion, but that their language resembles that of the Wei-wu-r (Uigurs). The king shaves his head and wears a 翟刺帽 Chao la mao* on which he sets up the tail feathers of the 鳥 zhe lao.† He sits on variegated embroidered carpets spread on the ground.

* It seems that here a foreign word is intended, by the first two characters at least; mao means a cap. In Russia the word Chalma is used to designate the turban of the Mohammedans. I am tolerably sure that Chalma is not a Russian word, but that it may have been borrowed, like many other words in the Russian language, from the Tartars.

† I.-shi-chen, the author of the well-known Chinese materia medica Pen-ts’ao-kang-mu, who
When he gives an audience to foreign envoys, it is never required to bow the
head to the ground. They have only to kneel down.

It is very cold in that country. In the
mountains and deep valleys a fall of snow is
not rare even in the 6th month (July).
There is a sea (lake) called Je-hai
(hot sea) which is several hundred li in
circuit. In the language of the country it is
called Fish 1si-k’o-r.

和阗 Ha-shi-ha-r (Kashgar).
Ha-shi-ha-r is a little realm in the Si-
yü.† In the year 1408, Lo-t'ai and Li-ta
wrote at the end of the 16th cent. gives the fol-
lowing description of the bird ties-lao (XLVII.
fol. 6). This bird lives on the great lakes of
southern countries (India). It resembles the
hao (a general name for cranes and crane-like
birds) but is of enormous size. The wings dis-
played, it measures from 5 to 6 feet and when
opening the head it is from 6 to 7 feet high.
The colour of its plumage is bluish gray. It has
a long neck. The crown of the head is destitute
of plumage and of a red colour. The beak is
dark yellowish, more than a foot long, straight
and flattened. Beneath the crop it has a dewlap
like that of the i-hu (pelican). The
feet are black and the claws resemble those of
fowls. This bird is very voracious and quarrel-
some, and attacks even men. It feeds on fish,
snakes and young birds.

This is a very correct description of the great
Indian stock (Ciconia Marabu), the tail feathers
of which are highly prized in Asia as well as in
Europe. The Mongol annals known under the
name of Tihan-chao-pi-shi (See my Notices of
Medieval Geography etc., p. 14) mention this bird
under the name of toharaon. At least the Chi-
inese translation renders this name by tze-lao.
In modern Mongol togoriu means "crane."

* This name is intended evidently for Issikut.
This lake of western Turkestan, known also
under the names of Tazkul (salt-lake) and Temur-
tunor (ferruginous lake) is spoken of in the Chi-
inese annals as early as the 7th century (See
Tung-shu, chap. cclxvi. art. 石 Shí (Tashkand),
where it is mentioned under the name of Je-hai
(hot sea) as a lake which does not freeze in win-
ter. Issikut in Turkish means hot lake, and the
same in the language of the Kirghizes.

† The history of Kashgar from Mohammedan
sources in the period here spoken of is given in
Col. Yule's Cathay etc., p. 645 seqq. It belonged
originally to the empire of the Jetes, but it had
always been conferred on a chief officer of the
Khan's court. As the Chinese records give no
details with respect to the history of Kashgar it
is needless to follow it in further detail.

(2 Chinese envoys sent to Bishbalik, see above) visited also Ha-shi-ha-r. They
brought an imperial letter and presents (for
the ruler). In 1413 when Ho-a-r-bhun-t'ai
returned home (this Chinese envoy had been
in Samarkand, Herat, Shiraz) he visited also
Hashihar and (the ruler of it) then sent an
envoy with tribute to the court. Under the
reign of Siien-te (1426-36) Hashihar pre-
sented also tribute. In 1463 a Chinese en-
voys was sent thither, but Hashihar did not
send tribute again.

于阗 Yü-tiën (Khotan).
Yü-tiën is an ancient name under which
this country was known in China since the
time of the Han dynasty, and down to the
Sung dynasty it has always had intercourse
with the Middle Kingdom. *

In 1406 an envoy from Yü-tiën arrived
with tribute at the Chinese Court, and when
he returned home the Chi-hui Shen-chung
Mu-se accompanied him, carrying presents
and an imperial letter for the ruler of Yü-
tiën, by name 打鲁哇亦不刺金
Da-lu-wa-i-lu-la-quin, who in return des-
patched an envoy by name of 满剌哈
Ma-la-ha-sa with a piece of rude jade
for the Emperor. The Chi-hui Shang-heng
accompanied the envoy from Khotan, when
he returned home.

In 1420 an embassy from Yü-tiën arrived
at the same time as the embassies from Ha-
lie (Herat)† and Ba-da-hei-shan. It was

* The history of Khotan is very obscure, and
it seems to me that all we know about it is from
Chinese sources. Abel Rémusat, in his Histoire
de la ville de Khotan 1820, has brought together
all he has been able to gather with respect to the
history of this realm from the Chinese annals
since the second century B.C. down to the pre-
ent dynasty. Comp. also my Notices of Medieval
Geography etc., p. 161. In the beginning of the
Ming period Khotan belonged to the empire of
the Jetes. As we have seen in 1389 it was
plundered by Timur's troops. It then remained
for some time subject to the dependants of that
conqueror, who confided it to one of their chief
officers. It seems that afterwards it formed a
separate realm (Yule's Cathay, 546).

† Here the embassy of Shah Rukh, known
to us from Mohammedan sources, is alluded to.
See further on.
accompanied home by Ch'en-ch'eng and Kuo-king. In 1422 an embassy from Yü-t'ien presented fine jade, and in 1424 again an envoy arrived from that country, presenting horses. This embassy was well received by the Emperor Jen-tsung, who had then just mounted the throne.

Jen-tsung's predecessor Emperor Yong-le (1403-24) had always been desirous that all countries, even the most distant, should acknowledge his supremacy, and during his reign envoys from the countries of the Si-yü used to arrive every year. Those foreigners very fond of Chinese products, especially silk, and have their benefit in exchanging them with the goods they bring from their countries. Thus the foreign merchants were in the habit of coming to China under the false pretext of carrying tribute. They brought with them camels, horses, jade etc. When they had entered into China the government provided them with boats and carts to travel by rivers or by land, took care for their subsistence, and the necessary preparations were made at the stations to nourish and to despatch them. The soldiers as well as the people were fatigued in carrying the tribute (of the foreigners). Besides this, when these embassies returned home, there were always a great number of their people who remained behind with their goods over a way of several thousands of li, and thus became a burden to the government. Many troubles arose from this state of things, and great expenses for the government as well as for the people. The officers and the people began to murmur. The council of ministers was of opinion, that in the future the Emperor ought to abandon his solicitude with respect to the foreigners. After the prejudice the government endured by these abuses had been pointed out to the Emperor, he got very indignant and ordered to reprimand the culprits, who had admitted these inconveniences. It was then decreed, that in the future no envoys should be sent to the Si-yü. Owing to these measures em-
dynasty Yü-t’ien began to lose its splendor. It was attacked by the adjacent countries. The people fled to hide in the mountains. But after Emperor Yung-le had re-established order, the countries of the Si-yü began to send tribute, Yü-t’ien recovered its former wealth, and the merchants passed again through this country.

Yü-t’ien produces mulberry trees, hemp, wheat, and rice like that of China. To the east of the city is the abela Po-yü-ho (river of white jade) to the west the abela Liu-yü-ho (river of green jade). The river abela Hei-yü-ho (river of black jade) is also west of Yü-t’ien. The sources of these three rivers are in the K’un-lun mountains (see Note 1, page 117). The people, who gather jade, discover the fine pieces at moonlight in the river and then dive to take them out.† The people of the adjacent country

the following account regarding this subject: Khotan is a great city distant 61 days’ journey (erroneous figure) from Kambalik, the capital of Khotai, for from Khotan to Karakodjo (near Turpan) takes 35 days and from the latter place to Tektalait at the frontier of Khotai 31 days. At Tektalait (evidently Kiu-yü-kwan is meant) is the great wall, situated between two mountains. There is a great gate and several yam khanés for lodging travellers. Many soldiers protect here the frontier and the entrance. From Tektalait to Ghendjianfu, a city of Khotai, it takes 51 days, and further on to Kambaluk 40 days. (Thus from Khotan to Kambaluk 137 days, not 61). The distance between Ghendjianfu and Nenmair (Nanking?) is also estimated at 40 days. There is yet another (direct) route from Khotan to the frontier of Khotai, by which the latter can be reached in 40 days. But the traveller then has to cross a sandy desert destitute of habitations. It is not difficult to find water there by digging wells, but at many places the water is poisonous and causes the animals who drink it to die. It is a strange fact, that sometimes of two wells situated close together one is poisonous, whilst the other has good water. From Khotan to Kashgar is 15 days journey, from Kashgar to Samarkand 25 days.

This latter direct route from Kiu-yü-kuan to Khotan through the desert was taken by the embassy of Shah Rukh in 1422. (Yule’s Cathay, card.)

† Compare Note 2, page 117.

‡ These denominations of the different jade rivers are first met in the Chinese annals in the 10th century (history of the Sung, division on foreign countries), and corroborated by Sherifeddin, who states, (I. c. II. 219) that two rivers yielding jade pass through the country of Khotan viz. the Kara kash (black jade) and the Yürung tries used to steal the jade of the three rivers and then present it as tribute.

Yü-t’ien has always sent tribute to the Chinese court down to the reign of Wan-li (1573-1620), and even during this reign embassies from Yü-t’ien arrived.

賽蘭 Sai-lan (Sairam).

Sai-lan lies east of Ta-shi-gan (Tashkand.) It is distant from Säm-ar-lan in the west more than 1,000 li.† The city is 2 or 3 li in circuit and is situated in the middle of a vast well-populated and fertile plain, where the five kinds of corn and many fruits and trees are cultivated. In summer time and in autumn there is found in the grass a little black spider the sting of which is poisonous.† The sting causes insupportable pains. The people cure the poisonous effect by rubbing the poisoned part with the 薄荷 po-ho plant.‡ Sometimes they use also sheep’s-liver in the same way and recite prayers during a whole day and a night. Then the pain ceases whilst the skin sloughs. Domestic animals frequently die of the sting of this insect. To avoid it, it is advisable to select always a halting place near the water.

When Tai-ssu of the Yüan dynasty kash (white jade). Both take their rise on the Karangutuk mountain (see note 158). Capt. Trotter, who visited Khotan (Ichi) a few years ago, mentions in his report (l. c. 154) both rivers under the same names and states that these names are also applied to two districts of Khotan, and that jade is obtained near the bed of the Yürung kash. There are two principal mines, one at a distance of 15 miles, the other at 25 miles from Ichi. It is also procured from the bed of the river.

† The city of Sairam, which still exists in Russian Turkestan, lies north-east of Tashkand and the latter place north-east of Samarkand. Sairam as well as Tashkand both lie on the great highway from China to Samarkand (see my Notes on Chin. Med. Trav., p. 36, 75). It seems that the Chinese travellers of the Ming period, to whom we are indebted for this information on western countries, believed, that their way lay straight from east to west. The embassy of Shah Rukh to China went by Samarkand, Tashkand, Sairam (Yale I. c. cc).

‡ The spider here spoken of is the Lattrodectus laugubris, dreaded by the natives of Turkestan. The Kirghizos call it karakuri (See also my Notes on Chin. Med. Trav., p. 74).

‡ This name is applied in China to several species of Mentha.
(Chinghiz Khan) invaded the countries of the west, one of his generals by name of Sire-t'a-la-hai attacked Sai-lan and employed catapults (杆) to take it. *

(With respect to Sairam I beg to refer also to my Notices of Mediæv. Geography, p. 192.)

遠失干 Tσ-shi-gan (Tashkand.)
Tσ-shi-gan lies 700 li east (should be northeast) of Sa-mu-r-han. The city is situated in a plain and is 2 li in circumference. Around it the country is rich in gardens and fruits. The population is numerous. Li-ta, Ch'en-ch'eng and Li-kai (Chinese envoys, see above p. 314, 315) visited this country.

That is all the Ming-shi says about Tashkend. (Comp. also my Notices of Mediæv. Geography, p. 157.)

養夷 Yang-i (Yanguikand.)
The city of Yang-i is situated among hills (mountains) scattered about (城居乱山), at a distance of 360 li east of Sai-lan. North-east of it is a considerable rivulet (大溪), which flows westward and empties itself into a great river. In the space of a hundred li the traveller meets many ruined cities, for this land is situated just at the boundary between Bie-shi-ba-li and the dominions of the Meng gu (Mongols) and therefore has been frequently devastated and its population has been dispersed. Now-a-days several hundreds of soldiers are the only inhabitants of Yang-i, and the ruins of the ancient walls are covered with bushes and weeds.

Under the reign of Yang-lo (1403-24) Ch'en-ch'eng (a Chinese envoy, see above p. 314) visited this country. †

* See the biography of this general, Yuan-shi, Chap. cxxi.
† There are some irreconcilable contradictions in these accounts, which make the identification of the place Yang-i difficult. The boundary between Bishbalk and the territories of the Mongols cannot be 360 li east of Sairam. Perhaps we have to read Samarkand instead of Mongols. The name Yang-i seems to be intended for Yanguikand (meaning new city). But there were several cities of this name.

沙鹿海牙 Sha-lu-hai-ya (Shahruckia.)
Sha-lu-hai-ya * is situated 500 li and more east (should be north-east) of Sa-mu-r-han. The city has been built on a little hill on the river Hwo-jian,† which borders it to the north-west. The river runs rapidly. A floating bridge stretches over it. ‡ But the people cross the river also in small boats. (According to the Ming Geography there is another river called (哈卜連 Huo-hu-lien, east of the city of Sha-lu-hai-ya). Not far to the south of Sha-lu-hai-ya are mountains, the valleys of which are well populated. There are rich gardens.

Lanékin or Yanguik kand is mentioned by Carpini and Rashid-eddin. It was situated somewhere near the mouth of the Sihon. For further particulars see my Notices of Mediæv. Geography, Note 91. Sultan Babur (end of the 15th century), in his description of Fergana (Klapr. Transl. Mem. Rel. & l'Asie, t. 137), speaks also of a city of Yangihkand called also Thirzakand (la ville des brodeurs). He states however that only the ruins of this place exist. In the Mongol period there was between Bishbalk (Urunt-si) and Almalk (Kalija) a city of Yankibalk (balik and khond have about the same meaning, comp. my Notices of Mediæv. Geogr., p. 139). As the city of Yang-i according to the Ming was situated in the vicinity of a great river I am disposed to look for it somewhere near the Sihon, all the more as far as the see article Samarhan the Ming-shi states that Yang-i borders on Sa-mu-r-han and depends on this country.

* Here without any doubt Shahrukhia is meant, a city built by order of Tamerlane on the river Sihon and named in honor of the conqueror's son Shah Rukh. It was an important fortress in the 15th century built originally for the purpose of keeping in check the Jetes (Bibl. Orient. p. 557, 764.)—Sultan Babur in his description of Fergana (Klapr. Mem. Rel. & l'Asie t. 138) states: "The river Sihon, known also under the name of river of Khodjand, takes its rise in the north-east and then flowing in a western direction passes through Fergana. North of Khodjend and south of Fenakkand, which place is more generally called Shahrukhia, it turns to the north and flows towards Turkestan where it loses in the moving sand without reaching another river or a sea." The above notice permits us to fix approximately the position of Shahrukhia. I cannot find on modern Russian maps of Turkestan either Shahrukhia or Fenakkand.
‡ The river of Khodjand or Sihon, see preceding note.
‡‡ This statement is corroborated by the Bibl. Orient., p. 764, where we read that at Shahrukhia a magnificent bridge was spread over the Sihon.
To the west there is a great sandy desert (大沙漠 literally great sandy island), which extends for nearly 200 li. It is destitute of water with the exception of some undrinkable salt-water found in some places. When cattle or horses drink it they die. A stinking plant yielding the medicine a wo (Asafotida, see Note *, page 25, b.) grows in this country. There is also a little bushy plant (shrub) from 1 to 2 feet high, which exudes a kind of dew, which when hardened, in autumn, is eaten by the people like honey. By boiling, sugar can be obtained from it. The natives call it 修陀郎古賓 ta-lang-ju-bin.*

Under the reign of Yung-le Li ta and Ch‘en ch‘eng (see above, p. 314, 315) were sent to this country, whereupon the chief of it dispatched an embassy with tribute to China. In 1432 the Emperor sent the emnuch Li kui (see above p. 315) thither with a letter and presents for the chief.

俺的于 An-di-gan (Andekan)

An-di-gan is a little realm (部落) properly tribe in the Si yü. After Ta‘i tsu of the Yüan (Chinghiz Khan) had conquered the Si yü he divided it and gave the principalities as appanages to the princes of his house. The smaller ones were governed by officers like the appanages of these princes in China.† After the fall of the Yüan dynasty these principalities became independent. Emperor Yung-le (1403-24) repeatedly despatched emissaries to these countries and some of them sent tribute to China. The larger ones called themselves kingdoms (國) the smaller ones places (地). During the reign of Yung-le from 70 to 80 different tribes (realms, or places) of the Si yü had sent envoys with tribute to bow respectfully before the Emperor’s door. An-di-gan was one of these little realms. In 1413 it sent tribute together with Ha-li-e (Herat). When in 1416 the Emperor sent 鄭安 Lu-an and others to Ha-li-e (Herat) Shi-la-sze (Shiraz) and other countries, to open a route for commerce, this envoy passed also through An-di-gan and bestowed presents on the chief. But as this country was small it was not able to send tribute again. *

撤馬兒罕 Sa-ma-r-han (Samarkand).
Sa-ma-r-han is the same country as that called 如賓 Ki-pin at the time of the Han. At the time of the Sui (6th cent.) it was called the kingdom of 漢 Te‘ao. The Tang adopted again the name Ki-pin.† This country has always had intercourse

* Andigân is, it seems, the same as Andekan or Andekian, as the name in generally written on modern maps. It is situated east of Kokand on the route from this city (i.e. from Samarkand) to Kashgar and was visited in 1871 by the Russian traveller Fedchenko. Andekan was at one time the capital of Fergana. It is often mentioned in the relations of Timur’s wars. The embassy of Shah Rukh to Peking on its return Journey in 1432, proceeded from Khotan or Kashgar and from this they passed the mountains by the defile of Andejan and then separated, one party taking the route to Samarkand, the other preferring the route to Badakshan travelled to Hisar hadumian and then reached Balkh (Yule’s Cathay, cccx.)

In 1468 Omar Sheikh, son of Abu Said (great grandson of Timur) was chief of Andakan. He left it to his son Baba, who subsequently founded the Mongol empire in India (Deguignez’ Hist. d. Huns, v. 94.)
† These identifications of the Ming-shi are altogether arbitrary and wrong. At the time of the Han Samarkand was known to the Chinese under the name of 康居 Kang-chü in the days of the Tang they called it 康 Kang or 萊末囊 Sa-mo-tien (see my Notices of Mediev. Geogr., p. 163.) As to the country Ki-pin it has been generally identified with Kabul.
with China. **Tai-tsu** of the **Yuan** (Chinghiz Khan) conquered it and it was then ruled by a Mongol prince and the name was changed into the Mongol name **Sa-ma-r-kan.** *Sama-r-kan* is 9,600 li distant from **Kiu-yukuan.**

At the close of the **Yuan** (or Mongol) dynasty this country was ruled by the king (Wang) **駄馬帖木兒** fa-ma Tie-mu-er.†

† *Fa-ma* means "son-in-law of the Chinese emperor." The Ming history seems to suggest that Timur had married a daughter of the last Mongol Emperor in China, Shun-ti 1335-68. I have not been able to find in the Yuan-shhi a corroboration of this suggestion. The Yuan history gives a list of the Mongol princesses under each reign and of their respective husbands, but it must not be forgotten, that the records of the reign of the last Mongol Emperor are very defective. It seems, however, that the Mohammedan writers also allude to the fact that Timur had married a Chinese (Mongol) princess.

Müller Greiffenhagen, in his *Disquisitio Geograph.* et hist. de Chagata, 1671, p. 75, 29, translates from Arab Shah and another author as follows:—"Due Tamerlanis uxoribus ex filiibus regum Chata erant, anmae Mogolenses. Primaria regina major dicebat et altera minor. Prior Kamaruddini (see Note *p. 109) regis Mogolici qui cebat amanum 1570 in praelio occiserat at filia erat. Posterior alias cujusdam regis qui idem vel Mogolicae familiae vel Geta (Jetes) vel Chatajus fuit. Allhacen (an author unknown to me; Müller says: qui Tamerlanis historiam scripsit) unus tantum uxorix Tamerlanis meminit traditque eam Magni Khani Quinsevenses filiam suisse." Klaproth informs us (Nov. Journ. asiat. 1826 p. 258) that on all medals preserved from the time of Tamerlane he is titled **Emir Timur Gurkan.** Abulhaziz states, that this title was bestowed only upon the princes allied by marriage with the house of Chinghiz-khan. I may notice that in modern Mongol **Khurghen** means a son-in-law.

Mr. Khambiff, in his description of the Khanate of Bukhara, 1843 (in Russian), p. 103, when speaking of the *Medresch Khunym* in Samarkand represents it as a decided fact, that Timur's wife, who built this college, was a daughter of the Emperor of China. He states further, that she had brought along with her for this purpose Chinese workmen. Vambery says about the same. These authors however do not give their authorities.

It may be useful for the understanding of the Chinese records regarding the intercourse of the Middle Kingdom with Samarkand in the days of Timur, to give here a short chronological account of the doings of the great conqueror, who succeeded to unite for a short time Transoxiana,

**Huang-tu** (the first Ming emperor) was desirous of establishing a regular intercourse with the **Si-yu** and sent repeatedly envoys with the imperial manifestoes to invite the

Turkestan, Western Asia and a part of India in a great monarchy. His biography and the records of his conquests have been preserved in three different works.

One of them the *Mufuzat Timur* or autobiographical memoirs of Timur, continued in the form of annals till his death and written originally in the Chagatai Turkic language, has been partly translated (to the year 1375) from a Persian version by Major Ch. Stewart into English, 1830.

The *Ajaib al Mulkhukat* (wonders of the creation) is an Arabic history of Timur, or rather a satire on that prince, written by Arab Shah. It has been edited in the Arabic text by T. Geisler 1896, translated into German by P. Vatier 1634 and into Latin by H. Manger 1779.

The most detailed history of Timur is the *Zaffer nameh* or Book of Victory, written in Persian by Sherif-eddin Ali of Yezd. In 1722 Petis de la Croix translated it into French, and Darby turned the French edition into English. It may be noted, that Petis de la Croix's translation is little worthy of credit. Besides this, when rendering the years of the Hegira by Christian dates, he is always ten years in advance. Duguegne, in the 5th vol. of his Hist. des Huns, gives an extract of P.'s translation with correct dates.

As Timur reports in his autobiography, he was born in 1336 in the neighborhood of the city of Kash (see further on). He belonged to the Mongol tribe of Berulass (see my Notices of Mediav. Geography, note 274), the progenitor of which, Kajnu, was the brother of Kabul Khan, the great-grandfather of Chinghiz. Timur's fifth ancestor, Kerachar noyen, had been generalissimo and prime minister of Chagatai, Chinghiz Khan's second son. He first embraced the Mohammedan faith. Kash, the property of Kerachar, then became the residence of his tribe Berulass. The name of Timur's father was Taragai. As Timur was lame he was called also **Timur lenk** (lenk=lame in Persian). This is the origin of the name Tamerlane by which the conqueror was first known in Europe.

After **Kazan**, Khan of the Middle Empire, had been slain, in 1346 (see page 109, Note *) the Khans then elected to reign over Transoxiana were mere titular Khans, depending entirely on the great amirs, who set them up and overthrown them as they liked. Profiting by this state of anarchy in **Nawarlahsar**, *Tughlaq Timur*, Khan of the Jetes (eastern part of Middle Empire) arrived in 1360 and took possession of the country, entrusting Timur, who had also the title of amyr, to rule in the name of the Khan. Timur invited his brother-in-law *Amir Husain* (brother of his wife Aljai Tarkan Aga) who was in Badakhshan, to assist him in this task. Husain arrived, but he soon proved to be a rival aspiring to the supreme power for himself. Timur therefore, in 1362, wrote to Tughlaq
rulers of these distant countries to send embassies. In 1387 in the 4th month a Mohammedan by name of 賽剌哈非思 Man-la-ha-fei-ze arrived at the Chinese Timur inviting him to repair again to Mavaran-nahar. Tughlak arrived and accordingly Timur's influence increased. Tughlak left however his son Eliau Khodja as his representative at Samarkand. But in the next year the amrys Timur and Husain, who meanwhile had come to an agreement, revolted against the Khan of the Jetes and expelled Eliau. In 1386 the Jetes appeared once more before Samarqand, but were again defeated. After this the struggle between the two amrys for the supreme power in Mavaran-nahar commenced and finished with the defeat and execution of Husain in 1389. Timur then mounted the throne of Mavaran-nahar and took his residence at Samarqand. However it is a fact worthy of notice, that Timur never assumed the title of Khan. Even in the height of his conquests he called himself only amyr and maintained titular successors to the throne of Chagatai, and their names were put at the head of the State papers. The last of these, Sultan Mahomed Khan, died during Timur's Campaign in Anatolia, in 1403 (Yule's Cathay, 523).

In 1371 Timur passed the Sihon and attacked the Jetes.

1372. Expedition to Khovarizzam.

1375. Timur attacked Karameddin, commander of the Jetes (for further particulars see page 109, Note *) and returned to Samarqand in 1376. 1379. Expedition to Khovarizzam. Urgendh, the capital of that country, captured.

1380. Timur's troops move out to conquer Khwarazm and proceed to Balkh.

1381. Timur in person sets out and proceeds through Andikut to Herat (ruled by Ghiyeddin) Herat captured and also Nishapur Thuds. Timur spends the winter in Bokhara.

1382. Timur crosses the Dijhun and proceeds to the fortress of Kelat (north-east of Meshed). Terkhiz besieged.

1383. Timur sends his generals out to make war on the Jetes, whilst he is taken up himself with the conquest of Suyistan and Zabulistan. After this he spends three months in Samarqand, and then directs his host to Astrabad and Mazanderan.

1385. Timur advances as far as Sultanich and then returns to Samarqand.

1386. Timur sets out for a great expedition to Persia. He subdues Luristan, Abheredjan, spends the summer in Tauriss and passes in autumn to the Araxes. Georgia invaded and its capital Tiflis plundered. The winter spent in Karnagagh Arran (the land between Kar and Araxes).

1387. War with the Turkomans (in Asia Minor). Timur advances as far as Erzerum and Arzendjan, and then passes through Maraga to the province of Gihlan. In the same year Timur proceeds to Shiraz and Isfaham, devastat- ing these countries. Kerman and Yezdi surrender. Meanwhile Toktamish Khan of Kipchak had invaded Tramoxiana and besieged capital as envoy of T'ie-mu-r. He offered as tribute 15 horses and two camels and was well treated and rewarded. Sa-mar-lan then sent horses and camels as tribute every

Bokhara. Besides this, one of Timur's generals had revolted. Timur makes haste to return.

1388. After having sojourned for some while in his capital, Timur marches out to attack the Kipchak, who had invaded Khovarizzam. Timur destroys Urghend.

1389. Expedition to the steppes of Kipchak, but when arrived there Timur finds himself in the necessity to undertake once more a campaign against the Jetes (for details see page 109, Note *). After returning Timur spent the winter in Bokhara.

1390. Timur sends out a host against Kamar-ed-din commander of the Jetes (see page 109, Note *).

1391. Expedition against the Kipchak. Timur advances as far as the Wolga.

1392. Timur devastates Mazanderan and then proceeds to Luristan, Shiraz, Isfaham, ravaging these countries.

1393. Tekrit, Diarbek, Mosen, Edessa taken.

1394. Timur proceeds through Kurdistan to Georgia.

1395. He invades Russia and returns to the Caucasus. Astrakhan destroyed.

1396. Timur returns to Samarqand.

1398. T. departs for an expedition to India proceeding over the Hindukush to Kabul. Near this place he received the envoy of two princes of Kipchak and of Khizr Khodja Khan of the Jetes. T. continues his way to India, crosses the river Sindh. Meanwhile one of his corps, which had marched out earlier, had taken Mullan. Timur after having taken Delhi advanced as far as the Ganges, and then returned passing through Djamu (at the frontier of Kishmir) Naghaz, Kabul, Termoo etc. to Samarqand.

In the same year T. set out for Western Persia, and passed the winter in Karnagagh. Whilst in this country Timur received, as Sherif-eddin reports, three pieces of good news. Three of his enemies had departed this life, the king of Egypt, Khizr Khodja Khan of the Jetes and Tunguz Khan (see China Review, Vol. iv. p. 314). Lord of the great empire of Khatari, which he had ruled for a number of years. He had proceeded idola- try. After his death some of his subjects had revolted and disorder had taken place in that empire (Emperor Hung-teu, the first Ming Em- peror 1368-69, died in the summer of 1399).

1400. Timur plunders Tiflis and then attacks Bayazid, Sultan of the Ottomans. The city of Siwas stormed. After this Timur turns to Sc- ria, captures Aleppo, Baalbeck, Bagdad, etc. The winter spent in Karnagagh.


1403. Georgia again invaded.

1404. Timur returns to Samarqand after five years absence. He receives an envoy from the king of Castilia (Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo).

1405. Timur prepares an expedition against Khatari, but dies at Utrar on the 17th Febr
CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF ASIA.

year, and in 1392 that country offered as tribute 6 pieces of velvet (織造) of blue 梭幅 So-fu,* red and green 撒哈剌 Sa-ha-la,† 2 pieces of each, knives and swords made of fine steel (pin-lie see Note *, page 21, a) armour, etc. At the same time Mohammedans from Sa-ma-r-han had brought horses for sale to Liang-chou (in Kansu). The Emperor ordered these horses to be driven to the capital. During the Yuan dynasty the Mohammedans had spread over the whole of China, and especially in the province of Kansu they had settled in great number. Now an order was given to the governor of that province to send them back, and more than 1,200 Mohammedans set out for Sa-ma-r-han.

In 1394 in the 8th month an embassy sent by T'ie-mu-r arrived. The envoy offered to the Emperor 200 horses and transmitted a letter of his sovereign of the following tenor:—

"I respectfully address to your Majesty, Great Ming Emperor, upon whom Heaven has conferred the power to rule over China. The glory of your charity and your virtues has spread over the whole world. The people prosper by your grace and all the kingdoms lift up their eyes to you gratefully. All they know is that Heaven wishes to regulate the ruling of the people and ordered your Majesty to arise and to accept the fate of the throne and to be the Lord over myriads. The splendour of your reign is bright like the heavenly mirror and lights up the kingdoms, the adjoining as well as the far. I, T'ie-mu-r, although ten thousand 里 distant from your Majesty, have also heard of your high virtues, surpassing all that has been seen before. You have been favoured by fortune as no Emperor before. The nations, which never had submitted, now acknowledge your supremacy and even the most remote kingdoms, involved in darkness, have now become enlightened. The old men enjoy happiness, the young men grow up and follow them. All good men are happy, whilst the bad men are struck with fear. Your Majesty has gracefully allowed the merchants of distant countries to come to China and to carry on trade. Foreign envoys have had a chance of admiring the wealth of your cities and the strength of your power, like as if they suddenly went out from the dark and saw the light of Heaven. Whereby have we merited such favor? I have respectfully received the gracious letter, in which your Majesty has condescended to inquire about my welfare. Owing to your solicitude there have been established post stations to facilitate the intercourse of foreigners with China, and all the nations of distant countries are allowed to profit by this convenience. I see with deference, that the heart of your Majesty resembles that vase, which reflects what is going on in the world (欽仰聖心如 照世之杯). My heart has been opened and enlightened by your benevolence. The people in my kingdom have also heard your gracious words. They rejoice and are filled with thankfulness. I can return your Majesty's kindly-disposed feelings only by praying for your happiness and long life. May they last eternally, like Heaven and Earth."*

With respect to the vase reflecting what is going on in the world there is an ancient tradition among the people of Samarhan about the existence of a vase, which has the

* This respectful and flowery letter of Timur to the Chinese Emperor is in complete contradiction with what we know from Clavijo's reports about Timur's disposition regarding the Emperor of China, whom he called a thief and a sounder even in the presence of the Chinese envoy (see China Review, Vol. iv., p. 314). However the allusion to the vase of Djinshid (see next Note) in the letter gives it a stamp of authenticity.
had released Fu-an, and when the latter returned to China he was accompanied by 虎歹達 Hu-dai-da (Khodaidad), an envoy of Ha-li, who sent presents to the Emperor. This envoy was richly rewarded, and the Emperor dispatched the chi-hui Bor-ar-hin-t'ai to offer sacrifices in memory of the late king of Samarhan, and to bestow presents of silver and silk-stuffs on the new king and the people.

About that time 沙里奴兒丁 Sha-li-nu-r-ding,* one of the chieftains of Samarhan, sent horses and camels as tribute. When this embassy returned, Fu-an was sent for a second time to Samarhan, with presents for the king. He returned in 1409. An envoy from Samarhan came along with him. Subsequently Samarhan sent tribute every two or three years.

In 1415, when Li-ta and Ch'en-ch'eng (see China Review, Vol. iv, pp. 314, 315) returned from their mission to the Si-yiù, an envoy from Samarhan went with them, and when this envoy returned he was accompanied by Ch'en-ch'eng and Lu-an, carrying silver and silk-stuffs as presents for the chieftain 兀魯伯 U-lu-bai (see Note †, page 125, a) and others, and when Ch'en-ch'eng went back to China an envoy from Samarhan accompanied him. In 1420 Ch'en-ch'eng was again dispatched to Samarhan, and another Chinese envoy, the enunch 鄔敬 Kuo-king, was associated with him.

In 1430 in autumn or in winter envoy
with tribute arrived from Samarkhan. They had been sent by the chieftain En鲁伯
U−tu−bai Mi−r−dis (Ulug Beg
Mirza) and other chieftains. In 1432 the
eunuch Li−kui was dispatched to Samarkhan
with presents for them. In 1439 a fine
horse was offered to the Emperor by the
chief of Samarkhan. It was of black color
with a white forehead and white feet. The
Emperor ordered a picture of it to be made
and to name it "Shui−pao."* 
In 1445 in the 10th month the Emperor
wrote the following letter to the King of
Samarkhan
兀鲁伯曲烈十 U−tu−bai−ku−lie−han (Ulug Beg
Gurkhàn):† "I
am thankful to you, king, that you have
sent tribute from so far a country as yours,
and in reward I send you some pieces of
silkstuffs and garments for your wife and
your children, and as a particular mark of
my esteem I add some vessels made of gold
and jade, a spear with a dragon's head, a
fine horse with saddle, and variegated gold
embroidered silkstuffs." 

In 1459 an embassy from Samarkhan with
tribute arrived at the capital. The Board
of Rites made on this occasion a report to
the Emperor, stating that it had always been

* It seems that Uług Beg has twice made to
the Emperor of China a present of a black horse
with white feet. We read in the narrative of
Shah Rukh's embassy to the Chinese Court (Reh−
atak's travel) that the envoys saw (in 1450)
the Chinese Emperor mounted on a tall black
horse with white legs, which Mirza Uług Beg
had sent him.
† Uług Beg Mirza, the eldest son of Shah
Rukh, son of Timur. He was born in 1394.
His father appointed him governor of Trans−
oxiana and he resided in Samarkand. When
Shah Rukh died, in 1446, he was succeeded by
Uług Beg. Thus we understand, why in the
Chinese records under the years 1415 and 1430
Ulaş Beg is styled only chieftain (头目).
When the Chinese embassy, sent out in 1445,
arrived at Samarkand he had already succeeded
his father and accordingly the Chinese chroniclers
style him king (王). The narrative of
Shah Rukh's embassy to China reports, that
when this embassy had reached Samarkand, in
1419, Uoğ Beg had already before this dis−
patched his own envoys with a company of
Khata people. I have little doubt that the em−
busery here alluded to is the same as reported in
the Ming history as having accompanied the Chi−
nese envoy Ch'en Ch'ing, when he returned
from Samarkand. The dates seem to agree (see
above). Uļug Beg was killed in 1449 by his un−
natural son Abdulatif. Uļug Beg was a very
learned prince and protector of sciences, and
especially astronomy flourished in Samarkand
under his reign. By his order two celebrated
astronomers, Gaith eddin Djemshid and Kadi−
zadeh al Rami, compiled the astronomical tables
Ziq Vlug Beg. Idler, the well-known German
astronomer and chronologist, has published, in
the Nouv. Journ. Asiat. 1835, x., an interesting
article on the Chronology of Khata and Iqar, by
Vlug Beg. This treatise is found in the intro−
duction to the astronomical tables.
* I am not prepared to say what breed of
horses is meant by a lu gu. Perhaps arghamak
is intended. This is the name for Turkman
horses in Samarkand (Khanikoff, the Khatate
of Bukhara, p. 154). Compare also the nar−
rative of Shah Rukh's embassy to China (Reh−
atak's travel). The Emperor said to the envoys,
that he had a mind to send to Kara Yusuf and
to ask from him some fine race horses. At
the time here spoken of Kara Yusuf (1403-20) was
prince of the Turkomans Kara Kozlu (Deguign−
es, 1: 253).
† At the time here spoken of Abu Said reigned
in Samarkand, 1451-68. He was the son of Mo−
In 1457 the Emperor sent the tu-chi-hui 馬雲 Mu-yün and others to the Si-yü with presents for the 鐵僕 (Sultan) 母撤 Mu-se, who ordered to escort the imperial envoy, when he went home. So-lu-t'an in their language means "sovereign" and has the same meaning as 可汗 K'o-han (Khan) in Mongol.

In 1463 the chi-hui 蘇昇 Chen-sheng was sent with a mission to Samarhan.

Under the reign of Ch'eng-hua (1465-88) the so-lu-t'an 阿黑麻 A-hei-ma† sent three times tribute to the Chinese Court. In 1483 he sent an embassy to China together with the chief of I-se-su-ha-han. They carried as presents two lions.† When A-hei-ma's envoy had arrived at Su-chou he requested a high Chinese officer to be dispatched to meet him. The subject was discussed in the council of Chinese ministers, and from different sides it was objected that lions were useless beasts; they could not be employed in sacrifice, while they were also unfit to be yoked to a cart. Therefore they should be refused. But the Emperor ordered an eunuch to be sent to meet the lions. The food of these beasts consisted in two living sheep, two jars of tsu-ya (a kind of sour soup) and two jars of milk with honey, every day. The name of the envoy from Sa-ma-r-han was 忍室 P'au-liu-wan.§ He was not satisfied with the presents he had received from the Emperor. When he returned home the Emperor ordered the eunuch 韋洛 Wei-lo and the master of ceremonies 海浩 Hai-pin to accompany him. They went not by the usual way but proceeded to Kuang-tung (Canton), where the envoy of Su-ma-r-han bought a number of Chinese girls. Wei-lo made Hai-pin responsible for this contrariety to law, and the latter was accordingly degraded. The envoy then asked the permission to proceed by the sea-way to Man-la-ka (Malacca) to buy there a 獵獅 suan-i* and to present it to the Emperor. But Wei-lo made objections. (It is not stated whether or not P'au-liu-wan was finally allowed to go home).

In 1489 an envoy from Sa-ma-r-han arrived at Kuangtung. He had come by way of Man-la-ka and brought as tribute a lion and parrots. The Governor of Kuangtung reported to Peking on his arrival. The Board of Rites objected, that the sea way for Sa-ma-r-han is not the regular way for carrying tribute and that besides this a lion is a beast too dangerous to be kept for pleasure. Its transport to the court would cause great trouble and require considerable expense. The Emperor himself declared, that he disliked rare birds as well as strange beasts. But nevertheless presents were bestowed upon the envoy.

In the next year (1490) an envoy from Sa-ma-r-han arrived together with an embassy from T'u-lu-fan (Turpan) to present a lion and a beast called 哈刺虎刺.† When they had reached Kansu pictures were taken of these beasts and sent by a courier to the Emperor. The ministers proposed to refuse these presents, but the Emperor agreed to receive them.

An embassy from Samarkand to the Chinese Court is further recorded under the year 1501, and several embassies from the same country took place under the reign of Cheng-te 1506-22.

When in 1523 an embassy from Samarkand had reached the capital, the Board of

* Properly a fabulous beast.
† It seems to be a Karakal, Felis Karakal.

Comp. further on pg. 239 note XXX.
Rites laid before the Emperor a report, pointing out that the embassies from foreign countries to the Court used to be on their road a whole year and then spend a considerable time at the capital. For the whole time their subsistence was at the charge of the "光祿", *kuang-lu* (the Banqueting Office). As there were no sums for defraying these expenses, it was proposed to change these regulations. The Emperor agreed.

In 1533 Sa-ma-r-han sent tribute to the Court. The envoy arrived together with embassies from T'ien-fang (Arabia) and T'u-lu-fan (Turfan). The Chinese Government was puzzled by the circumstance, that these embassies turned out to have been sent by nearly one hundred rulers, who all called themselves kings (wang), namely 15 kings in T'u-lu-fan, 27 in T'ien-fang and 33 in Samarkand. In the year 1536 the number of kings in the western countries, who offered tribute, amounted even to more than 150. The question whether these titles had to be acknowledged by the Chinese Government was much discussed in the council of the ministers, and it was finally decided to title them in the imperial rescripts as they used to call themselves. In the new regulations it was further established, that in the future foreigners should not be employed as interpreters and that only Chinese interpreters had to be used.

Under the reign of Wan-li (1573-1620) the intercourse with Sa-ma-r-han was still animated, for those foreigners liked to carry on trade with the Chinese people. Besides this it was the custom, that when they had entered into China, the Chinese Government took charge of their subsistence. However it had been settled that tribute should be sent from Sa-ma-r-han only once every five years.*

After this historical sketch of Chinese intercourse with Samarkand in the days of the Ming, the Ming-shi adds a few details, describing the city of Samarkand, the products and customs of the country. As the information on the same subject, found in the Ming Geography, is more detailed, I may present in the following translation a fusion of these notices given in both works. The Ming Geography draws principally from the above-noticed narrative (p. 315) *Shi si-yu*, the original of which does not exist at the present time.

The kingdom of *Sa ma r han* extends for 3,000 li from east to west. It consists of vast plains. The soil is fertile. The city in which the king has his residence is 10 li (3½ Engl. miles) and more* wide and its population is densely crowded. In the southwestern part of the city numerous stores of various kinds of merchandise are found. The city is known also under the name of "city of abundance" (*富饶城*). In the northeastern part of it, there is a beautiful building set apart for praying to Heaven. The pillars of it are all of *青石* *ts'ing-shi* (Lapis Lazuli) with engraved figures. There is in this building a hall, where the sacred book is explained.+ This sacred book is century. They were succeeded by the dynasty of the *Astr khanida* (For further particulars see Prof. H. Vambery's Geschichte Bocharas oder Transoxaniens'.) It is unknown to me whether the Mamlukian annals of the 15th and 16th and 17th centuries mention any diplomatic intercourse between Samarkand and China. It seems to me, that the so-called embassies from Samarkand, as recorded in the Chinese annals, in the 16th and 17th centuries, bore a purely commercial character.

* According to Caviro the capital of Timur was a little larger than Sevilia. It seems, that modern Samarkand stands on the same place as the ancient city. Prof. Vambery (Geogr. Bokhara's oder Transoxaniens', I. 224) thinks, that in the days of Timur Samarkand had a greater area than now-a-days. On the map of modern Samarkand, appended to Khaniqoff's "Khaneate of Bukhara," the walled city is represented as an oblique somewhat irregular square, each side measuring about two English miles.

+ The Chinese reporter saw probably the great Mosque built by order of Timur in 1389 after his return from India, at great expense and in sumptuous style. Sherkir-oldin states (P. de la Croix Lc. iii. 180) that it was situated near the
written in gold characters, the cover being made of sheep's leather.

The king wears a white round cap, his wives wind about their heads white silk-stuffs. The people are handsome and skilful. The customs and the products of Sa-ma-r-han resemble those of Ha-lie (Herat, see further on). The use of wine is prohibited, and it is not allowed to be sold in the market. For their beverage and food the people like sour and sweet things. They mix their broth with rice and meat. Their vessels are of gold and silver. They do not use chopsticks (to take up food with them) nor spoons, but take their food up with their fingers. When they kill oxen or sheep they bury the blood in the ground. In trade they use silver coins minted in the country.

The following products are enumerated:

Fine horses, single-humped camels, broad-tailed sheep, lions.

The college Medresseh Khvajyn, built, as has been suggested, by one of Timur's wives, a Chinese princess (see Note 1, page 121), Khaniykh on his map of Samarqand locates it near the gate Harrei Shath Zinde (the northern gate) whilst Prof. Vambery describes from his own observation—strange to say—the same medresseh as situated near the Deruzaei Bokhara (Southwestern gate).—In his Reise in Mittel Asien, p. 186, Prof. Vambery states that the Mosque of Timur is situated "an der Südseite der Stadt." It seems he means outside the southern wall. Khaniykh does not mention Timur's Mosque, but he speaks of the Tomb of Timur, which he marks in the South-western part of the city. But Prof. Vambery (l.c. 188) saw the same Tomb of Timur South-east of Samarqand, thus outside the city. Unfortunately I have not access to a description of Samarqand posterior to the Russian occupation, and am therefore not in the position to elucidate the conflicting accounts of the two travellers.

* Sherbet, the favored drink of the Persians. They also have a kind of sour soup, named asch.
† The Chinese author speaks evidently of the vessels in use at the Court. We know from Clavius's reports, that the meals used to be presented to Timur and his family on gold vessels, whilst the princes were entitled only to silver vessels.
‡ This is still the custom of the butchers in Persia. See also: Chardin's Voyage en Perse, iii. 115.

fruit is similar to the fruit of the 銀杏 Yiu-hing (Salisburia adiantifolia), but a little smaller.*

瓦子實 Wa-shi-shi, a plant resembling the 野蒿 Ye-hao (wild Artemisia). The fruit is very fragrant and good for driving away insects.

花藥布 Hua-jui-pu (lit. cloth made of blossoms).†

水晶鹽 Shui-tsing-yen (rock crystal salt). This kind of salt is very hard and bright like rock crystal. The people work it into dishes. When moistening these dishes with water, meat can be eaten in them without using salt.†

Besides this, gold, silver, copper, iron, and jade are found in this country. East of the city of Samarhan, there is a river called 拜刺卜蘭 Hua-la-bu-lan. It is shallow but broad and flows northward.

To the east the country of Samarhan borders on Sha-lu-hai-ya (Shahrakhin, see above), Ta-shi-gan (Tashkand see above), Sai-lan (Sairam), Yang-i (see above).—Ko-shi (Kash) and Tie-li-mi (Termed) are west of it. All these countries depend on Samarhan.

I may finally notice, that in the Mém. conc. les Chinois, xiv., p. 243, 244, Father Amiot has translated four letters addressed to the Ming Emperors by envoys from Samarqand.

卜花兒 Bu-hua-r (Bokhara).

Bu-hua-r is situated more than 700 li north-west of Samarhan. The city lies in a plain and is 10 li and more in circumference. The population numbers 10,000 families and has the repute of great wealth.

* It seems that pistachios are meant.
† Perhaps cotton.
‡ Chardin, Voyage en Perse, iii. 30, reports that the stone salt of Persia is so hard, that the poor men used to build their houses of it. Red stone salt is found according to Lehmann in the mountains of Karshi (South-west of Samarqand) see Beitr. z. K. Russland's, xvii. 214.
§ This figure is probably an erroneous one. According to Khaniykh's map modern Bokhara is at least 40 li (about 13 English miles) in circuit.
The land is low and the climate warm. The country produces the five kinds of corn, mulberry trees, hemp, silk, the six kinds of domestic animals. It is a very rich country.

After this the mission of Ch'ien-ch'eng to the Si-yü is reported with some details (Comp. above, China Review, p. 314).

In 1432 Li-ta, who had been intrusted with a mission to the Si-yü, visited also Buhua-r.

黑畏 Hei-lou.

Hei-lou is not far from Sa-ma-r-han. These two countries have always been allied by marriages (of their rulers). The mountains, rivers, plants, birds and beasts of Hei-lou* all are of a black color. Even the men and women are black.

In 1432 an embassy from this country arrived with tribute to the Chinese Court. In 1437† another embassy was sent to China by the king of Hei-lou Sha-la-la So-lu-t'an.‡ At the head of this embassy was the Chi-hui Ha-dji Ma-hei-ma (Hadj Mohamud). He presented tribute and received presents for his sovereign. In 1441 again an embassy from Hei-lou arrived, and in 1453 an embassy from that country reached the capital, together with (a caravan of) 31 neighbouring tribes (cities), comprising more than 100 men and women. They presented as tribute 247 horses, 12 mules, 10 donkeys, 7 camels, besides jade, salt ammoniac, fine swords made of pint'ie (steel, see Note *, page 21, a).

In 1463 the King of Hei-lou, by name Mu-sai-yi, sent his Chi-hui-tesien-shi 马黑麻拾兒班 Ma-hei-

* Hei in Chinese means black, lou=frequent.
† The Chinese text has the second year of 正德 or A.D. 1507. But this date is evidently a mistake for second year of 正统 or 1437, for the Chinese historians report the events always in a chronological order.
‡ We shall see further on, article Herat, that the name of Shah Rukh, ruler of Khurasan (Herat) 1405-47 is rendered by the same Chinese characters Sha-ha-la.

ma She-r-han and others with tribute to the Emperor. The envoy received presents for his sovereign, and was himself rewarded and raised to the rank of Chi-hui-t'ung-chi. The seven officers who had come with him were all raised to higher ranks.

In 1483 an embassy from Hei-lou arrived, together with the envoys from Shi-la-sze (Shiraz), Sa-ma-r-han and Manda-sa.* They carried lions as presents for the Emperor. The name of the ruler of Manda-sa (at that time) was So-lu-t'an Ma-hei-ma.

Once more an embassy from Hei-lou is recorded under the year 1490. It reached the Court at the same time as an embassy from Tien-fang (Arabia) and several other embassies. They brought as tribute camels, horses and jade.

渴石 K'o-shi (Kash).

K'o-shi is situated south-west of Sa-ma-r-han and is distant 360 li from this city. The city of K'o-shi, which is 10 li in circumference, lies in the middle of great villages‡. There are fine palaces and a beauti-

* Perhaps Badakhshan is meant. However, as we shall see, this country is treated of further on and termed there Ba-da-kei-shang.
‡ Notwithstanding all these details given in the Ming-shi with respect to the embassies from Hei-lou, I am not in a position to decide what country is meant, and leave the identification to orientalists better acquainted than I am with the history of Western Asia. Perhaps Khorassan is to be understood.
‡ K'o-shi is without any doubt Kash, the name of a district and a city situated South of Samarkand in a very fertile country and surrounded by a number of rich villages, as the ancient Moham-

medan authors report. Prof. Vambery (Gesch. Dochara's older Transoxanien's, p. xxx) gives the names of some of these villages. Kash seems to have existed in the 7th century of our era, at least the Chinese traveller Huan-tsang mentions 疏霜那 Kie-shuang-na 300 li south-west of Samarkand (Samarkand) and the former place or country may be identified with Kash (See Stuhm. Julien Mein, s.l. Contrées occident, l. 22). I am not aware whether the exact position of the city of Kash, or Sieher Sobs, as the place is more commonly called, has been determined. Some maps place it south-east of Samarkand, others south-west of it, e.g. the map of the Geograph. Magazine, Novemb. 1873 at 66° 48' east long. (Samarkand = 66° 59').
ful temple (mosque). The pillars are of jade; the walls, doors and windows are adorned with gold, precious stones, and coloured glass. In former times the ruler of Sama-r-han fa-ma Tie-mu-r used to reside in this city. Outside of it there are fields irrigated by water. To the south-east in the neighbouring hills there are plenty of gardens, and more west of K'o-shi one meets many rare trees. 300 li to the west the traveller reaches a great imposing mountain, with a defile through it. One might think that it has been cut artificially. At the exit of the defile, which is 2 or 3 li long and has a direction from east to west, there is a stone gate. The color of the stones is that of iron. For this reason this gate is called by the people of the country 鐘門 (Tie-men-kuan (Iron Gate)). A military post has been established there. There is a tradition that Ts'ai-su of the Yuan (Ching-hiz Khan) met here an animal with one horn.†

† As has been stated in Note †, page 121, a the great Timur was born in one of the villages near Kash, which was the property of his family. We learn from Timur’s biographers that he had a predilection for Kash and erected many magnificent buildings there. After the capture of Urghendz, the capital of Khorazm, he ordered skilful workmen from this place to be sent to Kash, where a beautiful palace, mosques and other buildings were raised. (Deguignes, loc. v. 12; Vambray, loc. t. 219.)

‡ Owing to the beautiful gardens in the vicinity of Kash, it received the name Shaneh Sahz or green city.

This place lies southwest of Sama-r-han, from Ha-lie (Herat) it is 2,000 li and more distant. There is an old and a new city at the gate lined with iron. To both valves of the gate are attached a multitude of iron bells, and because of these circumstances and of the strength and difficulty of this pass the name which it bears. Here at the Iron Gate is the northern boundary of the kingdom of吐火羅 (Tu huo lo (Tokharistan)).

According to the Yiian or Mongol history, (annals subanno 1224) Chinghiz-khan advanced as far as eastern In du (Hindustan) and met at the Tie men kuan or Iron Gate the 角兕 (Kue tianu (upright horn)), a strange animal which advised the conqueror to go back and cease his conquests.

The Chinese traveller Ch’ang ch’un, in 1222, went twice from Samarkand to the Hindukush, passing through Kash and the Iron Gate. As I wish not to repeat here my translation of this part of the narrative, I beg the reader to refer to pages 41, 42, 43, and 46 of my Notes on Chins Mediev. Travellers, where some particulars with respect to this defile will be found and the route from Kash to the Hindukush.

The earliest Mohammedan author, who mentions the Iron Gate, and under its Persian name Dari-ghan (Iron Gate), is the Arab Geographer El Yakuhi (end of the 9th century.) With him it is the name of a town. Elb Hankaal (10th cent.) gives an itinerary from Nassaf (the same as Nakhshab or Karshi. Bibl. Orient., 659) to Turmand, in which the Iron Gate appears. Edrisi (12th cent) locates at the Iron Gate a small well-peopled town.

The Iron Gate is repeatedly mentioned in the Persian works on the history of Timur. Shirfuddin gives (P., d. i. Croix, iii., 178) the itinerary followed by Timur, when he has received homage from India to Samarkand in spring of 1386. After having crossed the Amu river he remained two days at a time and set out for Kash. On the first day he halted at the Kishlak (winter residence) of Jehan Shah, on the 2nd day he bathed in the river. On the 3rd day he passed through the Koluga (Iron Gate) and halted the night on the river Barik. On the 4th day he arrived at Chekeda-kul, on the 5th at Kuzunmudak, on the 6th at DurCBDj., where Timur was met by his son Shah Rukh. On the 7th day he halted at a brook, and the 8th day he entered Kash.

It was not till the beginning of the 16th century that an European traveller saw the Iron Gate. Rui Gonzales de Clavijo on his journey as the ambassador of Henry III. of Castile, to the court of Timur in 1404, crossed the Oxus at Turmand (he writes Termit) and then travelled via Iron Gate, Kash to Samarkand. Three days after he had left Turmand, he arrived at the foot of very lofty mountains, where there was a little palace adorned with glazed tiles. Over these mountains led a pass, called the Iron Gate.
a distance of more than 10 li between them.* The chief lives in the new one. The population of the city and its neighbourhood consists of only several hundred families, who are taken up with the breeding of cattle. The city of Tie-li-mi is situated east of the river 阿木 A-mu,† which abounds with fish. The country east of the river belongs to Sa-mar-han. To the west (of Termed, it seems) there are vast forests (jungles) of 蘆 lu (reeds);† in which lions are met with.

Ch'en-ch'eng and Li-ta (see China Review, Vol. IV., p. 314, 315) visited Tie-li-mi.

安都淮 An-du-huai (Andkhui).

This place is situated 1,300 li north-west (should be north-east) of Ha-lic (Herat) and at the same distance south-east (south-west) of Sa-mar-han. The city is surrounded by great villages and is more than 10 li in circumference. It lies in a fertile, well-watered and well-populated plain, and has the reputation of being a pleasant place.

Between 1400 and 1416 An-du-huai used to send tribute together with Ha-lie (Herat), but afterwards the intercourse with An-du-huai was not continued.*

八答黑商 Ba-da-hei-shang

Ba-da-hei-shang is situated north-east of An-du-huai. The city is ten li and more in circumference.† The country is vast. There are no obstacles on the route (notwithstanding the high mountains the traveller has to pass). The mountains and the rivers present beautiful scenery. The people are peaceable there. Many mosques are seen in the country. The merchants from the Si-yu (Western and Central Asia) and those from the Si-yang (Western Sea, i.e. Indian, Arabian ports etc.) all come to this country to traffic. For this reason the people of Ba-da-hei-shang are very wealthy.

At first (i.e. when Chinese intercourse with Badakhshan began under the Ming) the son of Sha-hu-la (Shah Kurb, see further on) was the chief of Ba-da-hei-shang. In 1408 Emperor Yang-le sent the eunuchs Pa-ťai and Li-ta (already mentioned) with

* On modern maps Andkhui or Andkid is marked west of Balkh on the way to Herat. Timur, when in 1381 marching against Herat, passed through this place.
Prof. Vamberg, in his "Gesch. Bechara's etc." I. p. xxx., suggests, that Andkid may have been founded by the Mongols, the name being of Mongol origin and meaning in Mongol "united happiness." But the learned professor has made a slip. Anda in Mongol means a friend; a sound similar to sale is not met in the Mongol language. It seems that Andkid is not a very ancient city and is first mentioned in the days of Timur.
† According to Col. Yule (M. Polo, 2d ed. i. 164) the ancient capital of Badakhshan stood in the plain of Baharak, east of Faizabad, the modern capital.
‡ I translate 浮屠 fou-tu by mosques, supposing that Badakhshan was a Mohammedan country. But these characters properly denote a pagoda, a Buddhist monastery.
§ The Chinese statement may be correct. However I have not been able to find corroboration for it either in the Bibl. Orient. or in Deguignes.
a letter and presents to the chief of Ba-da-hei-shang. These envoys were ordered at the same time to visit also the countries of Ha-shi-ha-r (Kashgar, see above) and Ko-t'ei-lang* and to recommend to their rulers the protection of the merchants passing through their dominions. And since that time the intercourse of the distant countries with China through Ba-da-hei-shang has met with no difficulties.

In 1414 Ch'en-ch'eng (see above p. 314) was sent to this country, and in 1420 an embassy with tribute arrived at Peking (together with the envoy of Ha-li (Herat), see further on article Herat.)* When this embassy returned home it was accompanied by Ch'en-ch'eng and the eunuch Kuo-king.

In 1461 the prince (王 Wang) of Bada-hei-shang, by name 马哈麻 Ma-ha-ma, sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese Court, and in the next year another envoy arrived from that country. His name was 阿卜都剌 A-bu-du-la. The rank of Chi-hui-tung-chi, bestowed in former times upon his father, was now transferred to the son.

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which used to send their tribute via Hamit. However the name is written there 哈的蘭 Ha-ti-lan. I have little doubt, that Ko-te-lang and Ha-ti-lan both are intended for Kotha, frequently mentioned in the history of Timur. It is the Kuli of Edris, where the Ouzas takes its rise.

* This embassy from Badakhshan is mentioned in the narrative of Shah Rukh's embassy.
CHINESE INTERCOURSE WITH THE COUNTRIES OF CENTRAL AND WESTERN ASIA IN THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

PART I.

Accounts of Foreign Countries and especially those of Central and Western Asia, drawn from the Ming-shi and the Ta Ming yi-t'ung-chi.

(Continued from page 132).

From Hu-li was seen in China. In 1392 the Emperor despatched to the king of Hu-li an officer with a letter and presents consisting of gold embroidered silk etc., but this officer did not arrive.

In 1395 Fu-an (see note † page 124) and Kuo-ki were sent to the countries in the west. This embassy was escorted by 1500 (Chinese) soldiers. Tʻie-mu-r retained it in Su-ma-r-han. In 1397 the Emperor dispatched another embassy thither, at the head of which he had placed Chen-te-wen, the chief inquisitor of Pei-ping (Peking). But this embassy also did not return.

When Yang-le had ascended the throne (1403) he sent an officer with a letter and presents to the king of Hu-li. But the latter did not send any embassy to China.

In 1407 the embassy of Fu-an returned and Chen-te-wen, who had visited all the countries in the west (he seems to have returned with Fu-an) reported that the chief of Hu-li had sent tribute to China, but that owing to the great distance this embassy had not reached the Court. Chen-te-wen, a man from Paoh-ch’ang-hien (Kuang-tung province), had gathered on his way some
information about the customs of the countries seen by him, and presented his notices in the form of a poem to the Emperor, who was much delighted and promoted him in rank.

In 1408 Fu-an was again entrusted with a mission to the west. He bore a letter and presents for the ruler of Ha-lee by name Sha-ha-lu Ba-du-r (Shah Rukh Bahadur); and when Fu-an returned he was accompanied by an envoy of Sha-ha-lu, carrying with him tribute. (According to the Ming Geography the name of this envoy was 摩齧 Mo-lai). They arrived at the Chinese capital in 1409, where the embassy was well received.* In 1410 another envoy from Ha-li arrived.

Sha-ha-lu was on bad terms with 哈里 Ha-li, the ruler of Su-ma-r-han, who was the son of his elder brother (Khalil), Timur's successor (see Note † page 124). They attacked each other. Therefore, when the envoy of Ha-lee returned home, the Emperor sent the tu-chi-hui Bo-a-r-hin-tai (repetedly mentioned in connection with missions to the west) to Sha-ha-lu* with a letter of the following tenor:—

"Heaven has created men and appointed rulers to govern them. They (i.e. the ruler and the people) have mutual duties. I am ruling now over China (天子) and look upon all people with benevolence. I make no difference between near and far countries. I have sent several times envoy to you and accordingly you have done your duty in sending me your tribute. Your people in the west enjoyed peace and was happy. I was also much satisfied by your zeal. But subsequently I was informed, that you are living in discord with your nephew Ha-li and make mutually war on one another. (Do not forget that) only when living in harmony relatives are able to stand up against outward enemies. When near relatives thus quarrel, how shall the distant relatives live in harmony with you? You must cease to make war, render peace to the people and maintain the kindred bonds. Then you will enjoy the happiness of peace." The Emperor wrote a letter of the same tenor to Ha-li, exhorting him to cease quarreling with his uncle.

Bo-a-r-hin-tai visited (besides Herat) Sama-r-han, Shi-la-aze (Shiraz), An-di-gan (Andekan), An-da-hui (Andkhui), Tu-lu-fan (Turfan), Huo-chou, Li-tch'eng, Hishi-har (Kashgar), and exhorted the rulers of these countries to send tribute. They were all much delighted and they all sent embassies, which arrived together with the embassy from Ha-lee. The latter carried a lion,† a leopard and western horses for the

* In the Asiatic Annual Register for 1800, p. 232, I find the following interesting note, referring to the Chinese embassies sent by the Mong Emperor Yung-le to Shah Rukh, as recorded by the Persian historians (Khondemir): "At this period (beginning of the 16th cent.) the court of China, contrary to its usual policy, appears to have cultivated, with assiduity, the friendship of the monarchs of Asia. For we find, that in the year of the Hedjriah 811 (A.D. 1408) ambassadors arrived from Dal Ming Khan (evidently 大明 Ta Ming, great Ming dynasty), emperor of China, with letters of condolence on the death of Emir Timur. A second embassy, from the same prince, reached Herat in 815 (A.D. 1412) and on their return were accompanied by an envoy from Shah Rukh. A third embassy arrived there in 830 (A.D. 1417) and like the former were accompanied to China by a Persian envoy. The fourth and last of which we have any account reached Herat in 822 (A.D. 1419), and it was on this occasion that Shah Rukh resolved to depose the ambassadors, of whose journey the particulars are now laid before the public, accompanied by envys from his sons and other relatives who then governed the several provinces of his dominions (see further on, Note ± page 167.) The whole of the correspondence between these monarchs has been published by the late Mr. Chambers, with copious and instructive notes."

I regret that I have not access to Sir William Chambers' original translation of Khondemir, which as I learn from Quatemere (i.e.) was published in the Asiatic Miscellanies, Vol. I. 1782, at Calcutta. In it the reader may probably find other statements corroborating the accounts given by the Chinese authors with respect to the embassies from and to Herat.

† In the narrative of Shah Rukh's embassy to China in 1419 (see Note † page 167) a lion is also noticed among the presents carried along for the
Emperor. These embassies arrived at the capital and were received in audience by the Emperor in his palace. The envoy of Hailie occupied the first place. When they returned li-ta, Ch‘en ch‘eng (see China Review, IV., pp. 314-15) 李暹 Li-sien, of the Board of Revenues, and the Ch‘i-kuei 金哈藍伯 Kin-ha-lan-pu accompanied them and bore letters for the respective rulers.

In 1415 the Chinese envoys returned, and Hailie and the other realms all sent again tribute, and again in 1416. In the same year Ch‘en-ch‘eng was once more dispatched to accompany the embassy back to Hailie, and orders had been given that they should be well entertained in all the (Chinese) cities they had to pass through. He came back in 1417 in the company of an envoy from Hailie. In 1418 again an embassy from this country arrived, and Li-ta was ordered to accompany it home.

In 1420 an embassy from Hailie arrived at the Chinese capital, together with the envoys of Yu‘-tien (Khotan) and Ba-da-kei-shan, and in 1422 Hailie again sent an envoy, who arrived together with the envoy of Yu‘-tien.

The Emperor Jen-tsung (1425-26) and Si‘an-tsung (1426-36) generally did not pay much attention to distant countries and were not in the habit of sending (frequently) envoys abroad, on which account embassies from these countries were seldom seen in China during their reigns. However in 1427 one of the chieftains of Hailie 打刺罕亦 不剌 Da-là-han I-hu-la presented horses as tribute, and in 1432 the Emperor dispatched the eunuch Li-kuei (see China Review, IV., p. 315) to the Si-yü and entrusted him also with a mission to Sha-ha-lu, to whom he had written the following letter:—

"In times past, after my ancestor T‘ai-tsung-wen-huang-ti (Yang-lo 1403-25) had mounted the throne, you and the rulers of other countries used to send embassies with tribute to the court. Having respectfully accepted from heaven the throne, I now rule over the 10,000 kingdoms. For my reign I have adopted the name 宣德 Si‘an-te, and, taking an example of the glorious reign of my ancestor, I look upon the people indiscriminately with benevolence. Previously I have sent you a letter and presents, but, owing to some hindrances on the way, my envoy did not reach you. Now, as the communication has been re-established I send you my adjutant with a letter, in which I express you my thoughts and invite you to sustain amicable intercourse with us, that we may form one family. May the merchants of our countries travel and traffic as they like. Will that not be an excellent thing?" (不亦美 乎).

Li-kuei had not yet reached Hailie, when an envoy from that country, by name of 法虎兒 Fa-hu-r-ding (Fakhur-ad-din) arrived at the capital, where he died in the official lodging place. He was buried by imperial order with the marks of honour due to his position. Another embassy from Hailie, carrying along camels, horses, jade etc., accompanied Li-kuei, when he returned to China, and when this embassy went home, in the next year in spring, Li-kuei accompanied it again to bestow presents on the king of Hailie and some of his chieftains. They reached Hailie in autumn of the same year.

Under the year 1438 again an envoy from Hailie to the Chinese court is recorded (the Ming Geography terms the envoy Ch‘i-kuei 哈只 Ha-dji). As Ying-tsung (1436-50) was under age,
when he was placed on the throne, and as the ministers neglected the intercourse with the foreigners, tribute bearers arrived only in small number. In 1457, when Ying-tsung had ascended the throne for the second time, he decided to re-establish the former intercourse with the Si-yü, and in 1463 sent a number of military officers with letters and presents for the foreign rulers of the various countries. The Tchou-chi-hui and the Chi-hui were despatched to Ho-lie, but this country sent no more embassies to China.

The accounts, which now follow, on the customs, products etc. of Herat, are drawn for the greater part from the frequently quoted narrative Shi-si-yü-kü (see China Review, IV., p. 315) of which the Ming Geography gives some extracts.

Ho-lie is one of the most powerful kingdoms of the Si-yü. The city in which the great king (大王) resides is 10 li in circumference. The houses there are built of stones and resemble a high level terrace.† The interior, comprising several tens of kien, is empty.§ The doors and the windows show beautifully carved work adorned with gold and precious stones. They spread over the floor carpets, which they use to sit on, cross legged.

They call their sovereign (蘇丹) Sultan, which in their language means 君長 (Küen-chang) (Supreme ruler). The men shave their heads and wrap them about with a piece of white cloth. The women cover their heads with white cloth and leave only apertures for the eyes. The white colour is considered the colour of joy, whilst black is the mourning colour. || Superiors

and inferiors when speaking one to another mutually call them simply by their names. When they meet they bow slightly the body and bow three times the knee. At their meals they do not use spoons or chopsticks. They have porcelain vessels. Wine is made of grapes. In trade they use three kinds of silver coins, large and small ones. It is not forbidden to cast coins privately, only it is required to pay to the king a certain tax, whereupon the coins are stamped with the seal of the king. Coins without this stamp are not allowed. * They do not barter. They have 12 different taxes. † Measures (of liquids and corn) are unknown there. Every thing is sold by weight. ‡ They have no (separate) government offices, but there is a (general) office called dao wan. § They have also no capital punishment. Manslaughter or murder is punished by a mulet. || According to their customs two sisters are allowed to be the wives of the same husband (not allowed in China).

The term for mourning is a hundred days. When burying the dead they do not put the body in a coffin but wrap it only up with a cloth. ¶ They offer sacrifices on the grave. They neither sacrifice to their ancestors nor

* It is not without interest to compare with these statements referring to the 15th and 16th centuries, some modern accounts of Herat furnished by A. Conolly, who in 1833 spent a considerable time in Herat. (Journey Overland to North India. I quote from the German transl. in Ritter’s Asien, vi. a., p. 255). Conolly states in Herat the taxes levied on coinage are considerable and that besides this excuse is levied on goods of every description brought to the city. Every article imported, even meat, is provided with the Shah’s stamp.

† 可能. This phrase could also be translated: The taxes are two from ten (i.e. 20 per cent.)
‡ Even now-a-days a rule adopted all over Persia.

§ 無官府但有管事者名刀 完. By dao wan evidently Diwan or Council of State is intended.

|| Even in our days a murderer in Persia is allowed to ransom himself from capital punishment, for the latter there is only an act of vengeance.

¶ This is still a rule in Persia.
to good or evil spirits. They pray frequently to Heaven.

The cycle (of Chinese chronology) is unknown there. But they have a cycle of seven days. The first day is called 阿哩 the Mo-de-r-sai in the language of the country.

In the middle of the city (of Herat) there is a great building erected of clay. This is a college called 鬧得見賽 [Moe-de-r-sai] in the language of the country. In it a large copper vessel has been placed, which is several fathoms in circumference, with letters engraved on it. It resembles in shape the ancient (Chinese) vessels called 鼎. This passage about the vessel is only found in the Ming-shi. In the Shih-si-yu-ki, from which the Ming Geography draws, we read, that in the middle of the college there is a great house in which the students (游学者) literally travelling scholars) live. It is provided with rooms on all four sides and a gallery runs all around.

The literary men use to repair to this college as the Chinese scholars to the 大学 Tu-hio (university). §

The people in Ha-lio live very luxuriously.

There are foot runners, who run 300 li in one day. The country is very fertile, the climate is hot. Rain is scarce. The following products are found there:—White salt, copper, iron, gold, silver, glass, corals, amber, pearls. The people rear plenty of silkworms and manufacture silkstuffs.

鎖伏 So-fu or 梭服 So-fu is the name of a stuff made of birds' down and resembles silk.*

花毯 Hua-tan (sprig-red carpets). They are very fine and never change their colour.

Among trees there are met mulberry trees, elms, willows, Acacias, fir, cypresses.

As to fruits they cultivate peaches, apricots, plums, pears, pomegranates, grapes, and the 巴旦杏 Bu-dan-hsing (ba-dan, apricot).†

The cereals and vegetables of Ha-lio are: millet, wheat, hemp, beans etc. Rape of enormous size, weighing 10 k'ung, is found there.

The domestic animals are: horses, cattle, sheep, dogs, fowls.

There are also panthers and lions in this country. Lions are met in the reed jungles near the river 阿木 A-mu. When they first come into the world they have their eyes closed for the first seven days. The people there take advantage of this time to catch the young lions. It is impossible to tame them, when they are more developed.

The kingdom of Ha-lio borders to the east upon An-du-huai (Andikhuai) and 八剌黑 Ba-la-hei. † Both are subject to it.

乞力馬 REQUIRE Kii-li-ma-r (Kirman?)

This country sent tribute under the reign of Yang-li (1403-23). The embassy offered * In the Yuan-shi, Chap. LXXXVII. (official dress) 遠夫 so-fu is mentioned as a fine woollen cloth manufactured in the country of the Mohammads. See also above, Note * page 129, n.

† Badan is the Persian name for almond.

‡ Instead of Ba-la-hei (Balkh), as the name is written in the Ming Geography, the Ming-shi has Ba-da-hei-shang (Badakhshan).
skins of beasts, bird’s feathers, carpets, woollen stuffs.

The people there are fond of hunting and do not till the ground. K’ǐ-li-ma borders to the south-west on the sea; to the north-east are dense forests, giving shelter to many ferocious beasts and poisonous insects. There are in the city streets but no market-places. The people use iron coins.*

亦思弗罕 I-sze-fu-han (Ispahan).

This country is situated near An-di-gan.†

In 1416 Emperor Yung-le sent an embassy to An-du-huai (Andikhu) and Sa-ma-r-han, and the envoy passed also through I-sze-fu-han, bestowing presents upon the ruler. In 1419 this country together with the adjacent realm Shi-la-sze (Shiraz see further on) sent tribute† and presented to the Emperor a lion, a leopard and western horses. The envoys were rewarded, and when they went home the Chinese envoy 魯安 Lu-an accompanied them. There was a man (of the embassy) by name of 麥哈木 Ma-ha-mu (Mahmud), who begged to be left in Peking. The Emperor agreed.

In 1483 I-sze-fu-han sent tribute together with Sa-ma-r-han, and presented among others a lion, fine horses, swords 勝羅 Tou-lo (a stuff it seems), So fu (see Note * page 123, a). The envoys were richly rewarded.

The annals report that in 1431 a country 艾思把罕 I-sze-ba-han sent an envoy by name of 速兒阿力 Mi-r-a-li with tribute to the Chinese court. This country is, as the Ming historians suggest, the same as I-sze-fu-han.

失剌思 Shi-la-sze (Shiraz).

Shi-la-sze is situated near Sa-ma-r-han.*

In 1413 an envoy from this country arrived at the capital, together with the embassies from Ha-li (Herat), An-di-gan and Ha-shi-ha-r etc., altogether eight kingdoms. These embassies followed Bo-a-r-hin-t’ai (who returned from the Si-yü, see above), presented their tribute, and when they went home they were accompanied by (the repeatedly mentioned Chinese envoys) Li-ta and Ch’en-ch’eng, who carried presents for the respective rulers.

In 1415 the chief of Shi-la-sze by name of 亦剌剌金 I-bu-la-gin (Ibrahim)† sent an embassy, which arrived at the capital together with the above-mentioned Chinese envoys. At the time they arrived in China the Emperor was in the north (at war with the Mongols). When in the next year in summer the envoy from Shi-la-sze returned home, Ch’en-ch’eng and Lu-an went along with him to bestow presents on I-bu-la-gin and to hand over an imperial letter.

In 1419 Shi-la-sze together with I-sze-fu-han sent embassies to the Chinese court (compare Note 1, p. 170). They presented to the Emperor a lion, a leopard and fine horses. When they returned, they were accompanied

* It is strange that the Ming Geographers locate Ispahan and Shiraz both near Samar- kand. The Chinese Itinerary to Western Asia, which will form the second part of my paper, mentions two places Shi-la-sze, one west of Samarkand, the other further on 5 days’ journey from Ispahan. It seems to me that the confusion in the Ming-shi arose from the fact that there is in Khurasan a city Shearakhe, which in the Yuan-shi is mentioned under the name of 昔剌思 Shi-la-sze (see my Notices of Med. Geogr., p. 198.) But the Shi-la-sze spoken of in the Ming-shi denotes doubtlessly Shiraz.

† Abu-l-fith Ibrahim, the second son of Shah Rukh, governed Persia from 1414-26. He had his residence in Shiraz. It was to him that Shirif-eddin of Yezd dedicated his history of Timur (Bibli. Orient. p. 754.)
by Lu-an, who carried rich presents for the respective rulers, namely fine silk stuffs, girdles and porcelain vessels. For at that time China waged war in the north (with the Mongols) and was therefore in want of horses. Accordingly Shi-la-sze, Sa-ma-rhan, and the other countries were induced to send horses as tribute.

In 1423 in the 8th month the envoy from Shi-la-sze had an audience with the Emperor at his travelling palace at Süan-hua-fu. He was kindly received and richly rewarded, and then proceeded to Pe-king. A number of his followers remained (or were retained) in China. It was only after Jen-tsung's accession to the throne (1425) that they went home.

In 1427 Shi-la-sze sent camels, horses and products of the country as tribute. The envoy, by name 阿力 A-li, who presented the tribute, received rich presents, and the rank of tu-chi-hui was conferred on him.

This for a long time no embassy from Shi-la-sze was seen in China, when in 1483 again an envoy from that country arrived, in the company of other embassies from Ho-liou (see above), Sa-ma-r-han and 末番 Ba-dan-sha (compare Note * page 129, b). An envoy from I-sze-fu-han was also with this party. See articles on I-sze-fu-han and Sa-ma-r-han.

In 1492, when Shan-ba, who had been elected prince of Ha-mi (see above articles Ha-mi, An-ling, K'un-sien) was about to marry a wife from the neighbouring tribe Ye-mie-k'ou-li (see Note 1 page 20, a), the ruler of Sha-la-sze, taking into consideration, that they were poor, united with his neighbour, the ruler of 亦不剌因 I-bu-la-yan, and both sent to the Chinese court envoys, namely the counsellor So-ho-bu-dai and the director Man-k'ou to solicit a wedding gift for Shan-ba. The Emperor took their inter-

cession well, made rich presents to Shan-ba and also to the mediators and their envoys.

In 1524, Shi-la-sze together with thirty-two adjacent tribes (cities) sent horses and other products of their countries as tribute to China.

After this no embassy from Shi-la-sze was seen in China.

討來思 T'ao-lai-sze (Tauris).*

This is a small country which extends hardly 100 li. The city is situated in the neighbourhood of mountains. At the foot of the mountains there is a red coloured water (river) which has the appearance of fire. The people show reverence to God.† The wives rule the houses. The country produces cattle, sheep, horses, camels. The people manufacture woollen cloths and cultivate millet and wheat. Rice is not produced there.

In 1431, T'ao-lai-sze sent tribute to the court. In the next year the Emperor dispatched the eunuch Li-kui to that country with a letter and presents (for the ruler). But as T'ao-lai-sze is a little realm it was not able to send tribute again.

天方 Tien-fan (Arabia, especially Mecca). The ancient name of this country was 銀冲 Yün-chung. It is also termed 天堂 Tien-t'ang and 默伽 Mo-ki (Mecca). From Hu-la-mu-sze (Hormus, see China Review iv., p. 389) it can be reached by sea in forty days. Navigating from Ku-li (Calicut see China Review iv., p. 388) in a south-westerly (it should be north-westerly) direction one arrives at Tien-fang in three months. The tribute from Tien-

* With respect to Tauris or Tabris, the capital of Adherbejdan, compare China Review iv., p. 313. My identification would properly not be admissible from the scanty and general accounts given here with respect to T'ao-lai-sze. But the Chinese sounds represent exactly Tauris.
† 俗伎佛 means properly: they show reverence to Buddha. But it seems to me that the Chinese author does not speak of a Buddhist country. We shall see, that this phrase appears several times in the Ming shih, referring to countries of Western Asia.
fāng was carried (in the days of the Ming) frequently by the overland route and entered through Kiu-yü-kwan.

In 1430, when Cheng-ho (see China Review IV., p. 312) had been sent to the countries of the western ocean, he despatched one of his companions to Ku-li (Calicut). Having heard that a trading vessel intended to depart from this place to Tien-fāng he ordered him to join this party and to take with him various Chinese goods as presents (for the ruler). This trading vessel took a whole year to go to Tien-fāng and to return. The Chinese envoy had bought there fine pearls, precious stones, a 金麟,* a lion, a 駝鶏 T'o-hi,† and when he returned the prince (王) of Tien-fāng sent one of his officers (by name of 沙臥 Shan : Ming Geography) to accompany him and to present tribute to the Chinese Emperor. The Emperor received him kindly and rewarded him richly. He was sent back in 1436 with presents for his sovereign on board of a ship from Chao-va (Java), which brought tribute.

In 1441 the prince of Tien-fāng sent his son 賽亦得阿力 Sai-i-de A-li in the company of the envoy 賽亦得哈三 Sai-i-de Ha-san with tribute to the Chinese court. They proceeded by the overland route and carried with them pearls and precious stones. When this embassy had reached Ha-la (Karakhodja, see above) they

* The K'ī lin is according to Chinese tradition an auspicious animal with one horn. It is a strange fact, that the tradition of the existence of the unicorn is found among most of the nations of Asia and Africa. It has been suggested, that the unicorn indeed exists in Tibet, and Hodgson is said to have sent a specimen of the real unicorn to Calcutta and Dr. Abel named it Antelope Hudgensii. (Comp. Asiatic Journ. 1826, xxii. p. 194). But the beast described under this name in Col. Przewalski's "Mongolia and the Country of the Tanguts" (Russian edition p. 323) a picture of which is given in Vol. ii., has two large black horns. It is generally believed that the monoceros of the ancient is the Oryx leucoryx of Nubia or the Oryx Beisa of Abyssinia, both remarkable for their long slender horns.
† Literally camel-fowl. This is the Ostrich. Comp. my Notes on Chin. Mediev. Trav. p. 88.

were attacked by robbers. The envoy was killed, the son of the prince of Tien-fāng wounded on his right hand, and all their goods were robbed. The Emperor ordered the authorities at the frontier to inquire into the case and to take steps accordingly.

In 1457 a Mohammedan from Tien-fāng by name of 伊里 A-li, being desirous of meeting his elder brother, who had rambled in China for more than 40 years and who now was in the province of Yün-nan, set out for the Middle Kingdom. He took along with him plenty of merchandise, and when he had reached Mui-la-kia (Malaca) he went on board of a trading vessel, carrying tribute to the Chinese capital. The party arrived at Kuang-tung (Canton), where the eunuch Wei-kia (tân, then superintendent of foreign trade at that place, tried to squeeze A-li. The latter departed indignantly and proceeded to the Chinese capital, where he preferred a charge against the eunuch. The Board of Rites proposed to estimate the goods he presented as tribute, to reward him accordingly, and to allow him also to proceed to Yünman to his brother. But meanwhile Wei-kia (tân, who was afraid of being punished, had succeeded in bribing the respective officers at court, and A-li's case took another turn. He was represented to the Emperor as a spy, who had come to China under the pretence of offering tribute. Accordingly the governor of Kuang-tung received orders to send him away, and A-li, notwithstanding his lamentations, was forced to leave China.

In 1490 the prince of Tien-fāng by name of 速檀阿黑麻 Stān A-lai ma (Sultan Ahmed) sent an envoy to China, who arrived together with the embassies of

* I have not been able to find in the works within my reach notices of the history of Arabia in the period here spoken of, and I therefore can bring forward nothing in corroboration of these embassies from Arabia recorded in the Chinese annals in the 15th and 16th centuries. I may notice here that Sherif-eddin mentions in 1398 an embassy sent from Mecca and Medina and by all the princes and Sherifs of Arabia to Timur, who received them on the bank of the Indus (P. d. l. Croix, Lc. iii. 45.)
Sa-ma-r-han and Tu-lu-fan. He presented as tribute horses, camels, and jade.

In the beginning of the reign of Ch'eng-te (1506-22) the superintendent of the imperial horses and stables proposed to commission the military governor of Kan-su to procure western mares and geldings. One of the foreign envoys having reported, that the best horses are found in T'ien-fang, the governor of Kan-su answered, that the best way would be to address the respective envoys, when they arrived with tribute at court. But upon the proposition of the president of the Board of War and others an order was given to the governor to select a number of clever men and to dispatch them with interpreters to the respective countries, in order to make known there the wishes of the Emperor.

In 1518 the prince of T'ien-fang by name of 塔亦刺剌克 T'a-ki-la-k'o sent an envoy to the Chinese court offering as tribute horses, camels, knives made of fish teeth (魚牙刀), and other things, and he received (for his sovereign) precious garments, silks, stuffs, musk etc.

In 1525 the prince of T'ien-fang by name of 亦麻都兒 I-ma-du-r and other princes dispatched an embassy to China, presenting as tribute horses, camels etc. On this occasion the Board of Rites presented to the Emperor a report in which it was pointed out that the embassies from the west on their way to the Chinese capital use to be oppressed and retained, sometimes for more than half a year, by the officials in the province of Shen-si, who in their reports accuse the foreign envoys, that the jade* presented by them as tribute is all of bad quality, whilst those envoys retain the best pieces to sell them for their own account. The Board of Rites proposed to enter an action against those officers and, in order to avoid annoyances on the road, to prohibit the importation of jade in great quantities. The Emperor agreed.

In the next year (1526) the prince of T'ien-fang 風麻都抗 E-ma du-k'ang and seven other princes of the same country sent their envoys with tribute to China. This tribute consisted of jade, but as this jade was coarse and of bad quality Ch'en-ku-chuan, a councillor of the office treating the affairs of the foreigners, refused to accept it. The envoys of T'ien-fang then got indignant, and the interpreter Hu-shi-shen, who was also vexed by the measures taken by Ch'en-ku-chuan, wrote down a complaint in the name of the envoys, in which the councillor was falsely accused of having stolen jade. The latter, on account of this charge was imprisoned and even tortured, and notwithstanding the intercession of high placed persons he was exiled to the frontier.

In 1532 an embassy from T'ien-fang arrived at the capital together with embassies from Tu-lu-fan, Ha-wei, Sa-ma-r-han. It turned out, that the embassy from T'ien-fang had been sent by 37 rulers, who all titled themselves 皇上 (princes or kings, see Note * page 18, b). The Board of Rites then made a report, in which it was pointed out, that the embassies from the countries of the Si-yü arrived too frequently and that the number of men with them was too large. It was further stated there, that these foreigners came to China under the false pretence of bringing tribute, but that their principal aim was to spy out what was going on at court. The Board of Rites thought, that strict orders should be given to the officers at the frontier, not to allow the foreigners to proceed in great numbers to the capital, but to retain a part of the people accompanying those embassies, dispatched by

*I am not prepared to say whether by "玉玉" which in Chinese means jade, here true jade is meant. As is known valuable jade is found only near Khotan, whilst the Chinese annals mention frequently the 朱 among the products presented as tribute by envoys from Western Asia. Although the Chinese state (see above article Yü-ti-tjou) that the foreigners use to steal jade from the rivers of Khotan to present it as tribute, it is however unlikely, that f.i. the Arabian embassies should have stolen jade at Khotan. But perhaps they had bought the jade somewhere on their road.
rulers, who are only nominally vassals of China. The Emperor approved of this proposition.

According to the former regulations, when foreign embassies had reached the frontier, the Chinese officers were bound to examine the goods selected for being offered as tribute, and to write down a list of all these articles. According to this list the Board of Rites afterwards had to decide with respect to the return presents bestowed on the embassies. The rest of the goods, not comprised in the list, were allowed to be sold by the embassies on their own account. In the event of this merchandise not having been sold, when the embassies departed, they had the choice either to take it along, or to sell it to the Chinese Government, which paid in paper money according to the estimation of the Board of Rites. Towards the end of the reign of Cheng-te (1306-22), when it had been proved that the compradores (who attended to the embassies) made a bad use of these rules, it had been decided, that all goods not presented as tribute had to be estimated by official brokers, whereupon the Chinese Government bought them in exchange for silk and paper-money.

Now then, when the (aforementioned) embassies from Tien-fang and Tu-lu-fan arrived (1532) the goods which had not been registered as tribute, namely jade, files, knives, and other articles, were stopped, but on the request of the envoys the Chinese Government agreed to accept them also as tribute and to reward accordingly. These embassies of the foreigners consisted for the greater part of merchants, who carried goods for the Chinese market. The Chinese covetous officers at the frontier caused them all kinds of annoyances in order to squeeze them, and often they appropriated to themselves even goods destined for tribute. But in this year, 1532, the envoys were all clever men, knowing well the circumstances, and they preferred a charge against the officers, which however, was not paid attention to by the Board of Rites. It happened at the same time, that the Chien-hao in Kun-su had sent his slave Wang-hung to extort from the envoy (from Tien-fang) a number of fine horses, jade and other things. The envoy waxed indignant, and when one day he met Wang-hung in the street he ordered him to be seized and delivered up to the authorities, explaining at the same time the case in Peking. Then the Board of Rites proposed to make an example of the culprits, because the honor of the government had been affected by these abuses. Accordingly a commission, composed of high officers was despatched to Kansu to inquire into the matter, and the culprits were sentenced.

In 1633 Tien-fang sent again tribute and the envoy solicited permission to travel in the interior of China. But the Board of Rites suspected him to be a spy, pointing out besides this that there was no instance of such a request having ever been acceded to. Thus the envoy met with a refusal.

In 1543 Tien-fang together with Sa-mar-han, Tu-lu-fan, Ha-mi, Lu-mi (Rum) and other countries presented as tribute horses and other products, and in the future Tien-fang sent tribute every 5 or 6 years. Even during the reign of Wan-li (1573-1620) Chinese intercourse with Tien-fang still continued.

Before continuing the translation from the Ming-shi, with respect to Arabia, I may premise a short description of that country as found in the Ta-i-chi-lio, an account of the countries of the Archipelago and the Indian Ocean by Wang Ta-yuan, who visited most of the countries he describes, in the first half of the 14th century. The Ming Geography quotes some passages from Wang Ta-yuan’s notices of Arabia. I prefer translating the article in extenso.

In 天堂 天堂 Tien-tang (heavenly hall, see further on, Note * page 176) there are many vast deserts. This is the country anciently known under the name of 倒冲
Yün-chung. It has a pleasant climate, the air being warm in all four seasons of the year. The soil is fertile and produces plenty of rice. There is an overland road from (the Chinese province of) Yün-nan to this country by which it can be reached in one year. Another way leads to it by the western Ocean.

They have in Tien-făng the calendar of the Mohammedans (Hui-hui). With respect to the Chinese calendar it shows a difference of 3 days. There is no error in their astronomical calculations (as in China). The climate is warm. The people are of good character. Men and women braid their hair. They are dressed in long coats made of fine (cotton or linen) cloth, and gird themselves around also with a piece of fine cloth. The country produces western horses, measuring 8 feet and more in height. The people like mare's milk and use to mix it with their food. For this reason they are fat and handsome. For commercial purposes they use silver (coins). They manufacture satin (緞経) of five different colors, etc.

The Ming-shí concludes the article on Arabia, or especially Mecca, with the following remarks on the country, the customs, products and sacred places there:

**天方 Tien-fang** is a great kingdom in the Si-yi. Its climate is warm the whole year, as in summer. Rain, hail, hoar-frost, and snow are unknown there. But the dew is very heavy and produces sufficient moisture to cause the herbs and the trees to thrive. The soil is fertile and produces millet and wheat. The people are all tall. The men shave their heads and wind a piece of cloth about them. The women cover their heads and take care not to expose their faces.

* The shou-shí-li was the calendar system invented by Kuo-shon-king, the great engineer and astronomer of Kublai Khan. It was in use throughout the Yüan dynasty. As to the statement, that the Mohammedan calendar differs three days from the Chinese calendar, see Mr. A. Wylie's learned remarks to *Chung-ch'üan's* travels in the appendix to my *Notes on Chin.* Med. Trav., p. 129.

People say, that the name of the founder of the religion of the Mohammedans is Mu-ha-ma (Mohammed). He was the principal teacher of this country, and when he died he was buried there. * On his tomb there is a light, which never goes out. The people still adhere faithfully to this religion and therefore they are all good. Oppressions and revolutions are unknown there, and they have also no capital punishment. The officers and the people always agree. Robbery and theft are likewise not to be met there.† Tien-fang is considered to be a blessed country (樂國).‡ The use of wine is forbidden there. They have temples in which they pray. At the beginning of each month the ruler, the officers and the people all assemble to pray to Heaven with loud exclamations.

The (principal) temple is of a square form, each side of it measuring 90 kien (see above Note †, page 168, a); thus the four sides are 360 kien. The columns are all made of white jade (marble), the floor is of fine yellow jade (marble). There is (in the middle of the courtyard of the temple) a hall representing a cube..§ The steps leading to the hall are composed of stones of five different colors. In the interior there are five large rafters of Aloe-wood. The door screens are all of gold. The wall in the interior of the hall has been made of clay

* As I will show further on, this description of Tien-fang refers properly to Mecca and thus the Chinese author intimates that Mohammed was buried at this place. He takes the Kaaba for the tomb of Mohammed. This error with respect to Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been frequently repeated by the Medieval Travellers of the 14th century. Comp. Friaër Odorie's narrative in Yule's Cathay, p. 66. Even Maunde ville, who had served the Saracens in Egypt, states the same.

† Burckhardt, the celebrated traveller, in his Travels in Arabia, says the same with respect to the people of Mecca, but adds, that on the other hand this place abounds in cheaters and beggars.

‡ Arabia felix?

§ 四方平隅 literally a square with a horizontal apex.
mixed with attar and ambergris. The gate is guarded by two black lions.*

To the left (east) of the hall (Kaaba) is the tomb of 司馬儀 Sze-ma-i, who was a sacred man in this country. The tomb is covered with precious stones and the wall around is made of yellow jade (marble).†

On both sides (it is not clear whether of the tomb or of the Kaaba) stand two magnificent halls built of stone, in which the doctrine (of Mohammed) is preached.

Behind (north of) the tomb of Ma-ha-na, there is a well, the water of which is limpid and sweet. People, who start for the sea voyage used to take along with them some water from this well, for it has the property of appeasing the waves in time of storm, when sprinkled over the sea.‡

* The Chinese author evidently here describes the Great Mosque of Mecca and the Kaaba in it. According to the information furnished by Chardin (Voyage en Perse, iv. 166 seq.) and Burckhardt (see Note † page 175), the Kaaba, in which the temnicated stone barakta is kept, stands in the middle of the square courtyard of the Great Mosque. This courtyard, which is 200 paces broad and 250 long, is surrounded on the four sides by vast colonnades. According to tradition the Kaaba was built by Ismael, the son of Abraham, and long before Mohammed the people used to make pilgrimages to the sacred stone. Kaaba properly means a cube, or according to the Bibl. Orient. p. 201 a square building, and as we have seen the Chinese author tries to translate this term, which would explain also the names used in China in the days of the Ming to designate Arabia, and especially Mecca, for 天方 Tien-fang means “heavenly square.”

—The Si-shi-ki, referring to the middle of the 13th century (see my Notes on Chin. Med. Trav. p. 84), states that west of Baoda (Bagdad), twenty days’ journey on horseback, is 天房 Tien-fang (literally the “heavenly house”) in which the divine envoy of Heaven, the patriarch of the western people is buried (compare Note * p. 175, b). Heavenly house is evidently intended for beitullah, house of God, as the Arabs call the great Mosque of Mecca. Another traveller of the Yuan, in the 14th century, as we have seen, terms Arabia 天堂 Tien-fang or “heavenly hall.”

† Evidently the tomb of Ismael is meant. As is known the Arabs consider Ismael to be their ancestor. Neither in Burckhardt’s nor in Chardin’s description of the sacred places in Mecca I find mention of this tomb.

‡ Here the celebrated well Zemzem is to be understood, where according to tradition water first sprung forth from the desert, when Hagar

The vegetables, fruits and domestic animals there are the same as in China. There are water-melons and melons of enormous size. Sometimes one man is not able to take them up. There are peaches weighing from 4 to 5 kin, and fowls and ducks of more than 10 kin weight. Such things are not found in other foreign countries.*

These reports with respect to the customs etc. of Tien-fang refer to the time, when Cheng-ho had been sent to the western ocean. But subsequently their customs have changed and the number of princes there reached even 20 or 30.

默德那 Mo-de-na (Medina).

This is the country of the ancestor of the Hui-hui (Mohammed). It is situated near Tien-fang (Mecca).

Under the reign of Siian-te (1426-36) the chief of Mo-de-na together with Tien-fang sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. Subsequently no embassy from this country was seen in China.

It is reported, that the first ruler of Mo-de-na was 諒罕鰲德 Mohan-me-de (Mohammed).† He was endowed with divine spirit and subdued all countries of the Si-yü. All western people venerate him as 別觔孫兒 bie-yin-pan,† which in their language means divine envoy (天使).—They have in this country a sacred book (經) which consists of thirty parts and contains in the whole three thousand and more 段 tuan.§ It is written in three different letters, the 畿 chuan, 草 te⁴, and 楷 kàe.† These letters are in use all over the

and Ismael were near perishing with thirst. This well still exists, for it has been described by Burckhardt.

* Chardin (i.e. iv. 156) also reports, that Mecca abounds with vegetables and fruits.

† Indeed Mohammed was first proclaimed ruler in Medina, where he had retired after his flight from Mecca.

‡ Peilghemner means “prophet” in Persian.

§ Some people divide the Koran into 30, others into 60 parts. It comprises 165 chapters and 6560 verses. The Chinese character tuan properly means “a fragment, a section.” Here the Chinese author probably means verses.

‖ Chuan is the name for the ancient Chinese
St-yü.—According to their religion the people consider Heaven to be the supreme ruler. They have no images (象, which means also idol) in their temples. They pray every day piously, bowing towards the west. They fast one month every year. Then they bathe and change their clothes. It is a custom among the people to change frequently the houses they dwell in. During the reign of K'ai-huang of the Sui dynasty Sa-ha-bo, Sa-a-di, Gan-go-sze, a man, who had arrived from Mo-de-na first taught the Mohammedan doctrine in the Middle kingdom,* and at the time of the Yuan the Hui-hui were met everywhere in China. They adhere faithfully to their religion and never turn apostate. They are well versed in astrology (陰陽星曆), medicine, music, etc. They weave figured stuffs, and manufacture fine vessels. They do not eat pork. Even when they travel to other countries, they do not change their customs.

鲁迷 Lu-mi (Ram).†

Lu-mi is very far from China. In 1524, an embassy from Lu-mi arrived and presented as tribute a lion and a western ox (西牛). One of the imperial councillors laid before the Emperor a report, in which characters or seal characters—ts'ao are the running hand characters—k'ie is the square elegant style of Chinese characters. I am not prepared to explain what the Chinese author intends to say when applying these three kinds of Chinese writing to the Koran.

* The reign of K'ai-huang answers to A.D. 589-601. But at this time Mohammed was still an obscure merchant. Comp. my Notices of Mediev. Geogr., etc. p. 44.

† My identification of Lu-mi with Ram is founded only upon similarity of sounds and the statement of the Chinese author that Lu-mi is at a great distance from China. According to the Bibl. Orient., p. 711, Ram was the name given by the Arabs and other Asiatic nations to the Byzantine empire, but, as is known, in the middle ages and later it was more generally applied to a part of Asia Minor, namely the dominions of the Seljuks of Iconium and subsequently of the Ottomans. Sherif-eddin in his biography of Timur (P. d. l. Croix, i.e. irr. 256) understands by Ram the provinces of Aidin, Menteasha, Kerman and Caramanzia. From the ancient Chinese itinerary of which I shall treat in Part II. it would seem, that by Lu-mi Rome is meant.

he pointed out, that Lu-mi does not range among the countries, which used to send tribute, and that a lion is not a beast proper for being kept. He proposed to refuse such presents. Another high officer communicated, that the Chinese authorities at the frontier had detected among the people belonging to the embassy from Lu-mi, some men from Tu-lu-fan (Turpan), and as Tu-lu-fan constantly made predatory excursions on the Chinese dominions, he proposed to treat the envoy from Lu-mi as a spy, and send him out of the Chinese frontier. However the Emperor accepted the present, but ordered that the authorities at the frontier should inquire into the matter.

In 1526 in winter an embassy from Lu-mi brought again specimens of the same beasts as tribute. After return presents had been conferred upon the envoy, the latter solicited also payment of the expenses of his journey, which owing to the great distance amounted to 12,000 and more pieces of gold. But upon the protest of one of the councillors the beasts were not accepted, and the envoy had to content himself with a meagre remuneration.

In 1543 Lu-mi sent an embassy, which arrived at the Chinese capital together with the embassies from Tien-fang and other countries. They presented horses and products of the country. The next year the embassy returned home. When they arrived at Kau-chou it happened that robbers from the north had crossed the Chinese frontier.

The Chinese commander of the troops selected ninety of the men from Lu-mi and sent them against the robbers; nine of the former were killed in this expedition. When the Emperor had been informed of this event he ordered the slain to be buried with all marks of honor.

In 1548 and in 1554 again embassies from Lu-mi arrived. They presented as tribute: corals, amber, diamonds, porcelain vessels, so fu (see Notes * p. 123, a; and * p. 169, b), curtains made of sa-ha-la (see Note † p. 123), ling-yang (see Note * page 25, a), skins of
western dogs (西狗皮), skins of 棘列
孫 sho-lie-sun (even now-a-days the name
for the Lynx in northern China. It is pro-
perly the Mongol designation of this beast),
鐵角皮 trie-kio-pii (lit. iron horn's skin,
—the meaning of which is unknown to me.)

米昔兒 Mi-si-r (Egypt).*

Mi-si-r or 密思兒 Mi-sze-r sent an
embassy with tribute to China under the
reign of Yang-le (1403-25). It was well
treated and the members of it were provided
with meat and drink every five days. Orders
had also been given to entertain them every-
where on their way through the Chinese
dominions.

In 1441 the king of Mi-si-r 鎮魯檀
阿失刺福 So-lu-t'han-A-shi-la-fu† sent
an envoy with tribute to the Chinese court.
The Board of Rites on this occasion made a
report, stating, that Mi-si-r is a very dis-
tant country and that the presents usually
belonged on the foreign embassies ought to
be diminished. The Emperor agreed. After
this the presents conferred on the king of
Mi-si-r, his wives and the envoy are enu-
merated.

Subsequently no embassy from Mi-si-r
arrived.
I may observe that in the Mém. conc. l.
Chinois, XIV, page 241, Father Amiot has
translated (from the Chinese version) a letter
written by Mo-li-ko (Malek) sovereign of
Mi-sze-r to the emperor of China, to whom
he had sent one of his officers by name of
Ku-li, to offer three horses of the breed
a-lu-gu (see Note § page 125, B). As this
letter bears no date it is difficult to say what
Sultan of Egypt had sent this embassy, for

* Comp. my Notices of Mediaeval Geography,
etc. p. 221.
† This is Sultan Almulek ala shraf, etc., of
the Mameluks (Circassian) dynasty of Egypt.
But according to Deyguens (Hist. d. Huns I,
269) this Sultan died in 1493. I suppose, that
Deyguens' date is erroneous.
‡ The Chinese text says properly, that the
Sultan came in person to present tribute, but
there are in the text evidently characters want-
ing, for further on it is stated, that an envoy
was at the head of this embassy.

almost all the Sultans of the Mameluk
dynasty had the title Malek.

Amiot has translated also (l. c. p. 247) a
letter, without date) of a certain Mai-mo
from Pei-se-le, depending on the kingdom
of Fu-r-sa-li-ko, who offered two leopards
to the Emperor, and on page 246 we find the
translation of another letter to the Emperor,
written by Ho-che-han-tung of Ty-mi-shi
(Di-mi-shi).

Remusat who had seen a copy of the ori-
ginal text of these letters, written in Persian,
found that Pei-se-le was intended to render
the name of Bassora, and Li-mi-shi stood
for Di-mi-shik or Damascus (Mélanges asiat.
II. p. 249).

As to the remainder of the countries and
cities of Western Asia (or perhaps also
Africa), mentioned in the last chapter of the
Ming history as having sent tribute to the
Chinese court by the overland routes, I shall
give a translation of the Chinese accounts,
without venturing however any identifica-
tion. As my knowledge of the mediaeval
geography of the western part of Asia, as
known from Mohammedan sources is very
limited, I therefore must leave it to Eu-
ropean orientalists, what to make of these
names of countries, cities and sovereigns
etc., occurring in the subjoined account.
As has been proved in the foregoing pages
by comparative investigations, the historical
as well as the geographical records of the
Ming-shi concerning the greater kingdoms
of Central and Western Asia are generally
in good accordance with what we know on the
same subjects from Mohammedan writings,
and there is therefore no reason for sup-
posing that the Chinese chronicles should
have invented names of foreign countries
and rulers. Remusat (l. c.) has suggested,
that the letters of western Asiatic sovereigns
to the Emperor of China, translated by
Amiot, had been fabricated by the Chinese
envoys sent to the western countries, but
who themselves never reached these coun-
tries. It is needless to say that this is an arbitrary and utterly unfounded view. Rémusat besides this was mistaken with respect to the time these letters had to be referred to. He believed that they had been addressed to Emperor K'anghi (1662-1723) of the present dynasty. It seems, that in the days of K'anghi indeed China had no intercourse with the countries of western Asia.


date A-su.

A-su is situated near Tien-fang (Arabia) and Sa-ma-r-han.* It is a vast country. The city (capital) leans on a mountain, and on the other side it is bordered by a river, which flows southward and empties itself into the sea. The country produces plenty of fish and salt. The people till the ground. They show reverence to God and dreadspirits.† They are charitable and disposed to peace. A-su is a rich country. The climate is cold and warm, according to the seasons. Dearth is unknown. Theft and robbery are not frequent.

In 1419 the ruler of this country by name of Ya-hu-sha sent an envoy to China to present to the Emperor as tribute horses and products of the country. The envoy was kindly received. But A-su did not send tribute again, owing to the great distance from China.

In 1463 the Emperor sent the tu-chi-hui White Po-te-wan thither, but no embassy from that country was seen again in China.

白全 Po-te-wan

Sha-ha-lu. Sha-ha-lu lies on an island in the sea west of A-su.

Under the reign of Yung-le (1403-25) an embassy (caravan), consisting of 77 men, arrived from Sha-ha-lu with tribute to the Chinese court.

This country is surrounded by mountains and rivers* and is rich. The people are good natured and disposed to peace. They show reverence to God (see Note † page 179). The ruler and the high officers live in the city, whilst the people dwell outside. Many rare sea-products are found there. The merchants from the Si-yü purchase them at low rates. The people are ignorant with respect to the value of these articles.

白松虎兒 Bo-song-hu-r.

The original name of this country was Su-ma-li. There is a white tiger, living in a pine grove. It does not kill men and does also not eat other animals. This white tiger is visible only once in ten days. The people consider it to be a sacred animal. This is the white tiger, the soul of which descended to the western countries.† For this reason the name of the country was changed into Bo-song-hu-r.† Great mountains are not met there, and there are also no forests. Poisonous insects and ferocious beasts are likewise unknown. The products are scarce. Under the reign of Yung-le tribute was sent from this country.


date Huo-la-dia.

This is a little, insignificant country surrounded by mountains from four sides. It has little grass and trees. The rivers (or the river) flow in many windings and have neither fish nor shrimps. The city (capital)


date.† To make this strange statement intelligible I may observe that the white tiger po-hu or white bird, the south; the red bird, the south; the 青龍 tsing-tung, the azure dragon, represents the east, the 赤雀 chu-kio red warrior, accompanied with a tortoise and a snake, the north.

† Po-song-hu-r means: tiger of the white pine, or also white tiger of the pines. Baizankur was the name of one of the sons of Shahrakh. Perhaps the Chinese Po-song-hu-r has a connection with the name of this prince.
is only about one li in circumference. The houses all are built of clay. The chief of that country also lives in a miserable house. The people hold the priests* in esteem.

In 1416 Huo-la-ja sent an embassy with tribute. It was well received and order was given to entertain the embassy in all cities of China they passed through. In 1492 a Mohammedan from this country by name of 法羅灣 P'a-lu-wan (Pahlevan, see Note § page 126) with his followers arrived in China by the sea route and offered as tribute glass, agate, etc. The Emperor did not accept these things (probably because Pahlevan did not arrive by the usual way). Orders were however given to pay him the expenses of his journey and to send him back.


dān-r-mi.

This country is situated in the sea (being an island) and is subject to Sa-ma-r-han. It is only 100 li in extent. The population amounts to not more than 1,000 families. There are no cities surrounded by walls. The high and the low all live in wooden houses. They know agriculture, and manufacture woollen cloth. There are horses, camels, cattle, and sheep. The people are punished with the bamboo. They have silver coins.

Under the reign of Yung-le (1403-25) an embassy from that country arrived with tribute. Return presents were made. They received the Chinese Calendar, silk stuffs, different medicines and tea.


Na-shi-dje-han.*

Na-shi-dje-han is situated several days’ journey by ship (boat) west of Shi-la-sze (altogether contradictions). East of the city the land is level, fertile and abounds in water and grass. Many kinds of cattle and several races of horses are bred there. There is a small breed of horses not more than three feet high. The people hold priests in esteem (see Note § page 179), and every body is obliged to offer them meat and drink. The people are of a quarrelsome character and like to fight. Whoever has been worsted is derided by the others.

Under the reign of Yung-le an embassy with tribute arrived from that country. The envoy, when returning home, travelled through Ho-peǐ,* and then turning (to the provinces) inside the gate (Kia-yu-kuan) he reached Kan-chou and Su-chou. Orders had been given to entertain this embassy at every place (in China) it passed through.


Min-djen-ch′eng (City of Min-djen).

Under the reign of Yung-le an embassy with tribute arrived from this kingdom, which is a vast country with many high mountains. The people there traffic in the middle of the day, at which time the goods are exhibited. They like our porcelain and lacquered ware. The country produces rare perfumes. There are also camels and horses.


Ji-lo.

This country sent tribute under the reign of Yung-le, and in 1488 its king, by name亦思罕答兒魯密帖里牙 I-sze-han-da-r Lu-mi Tze-la-ya, dispatched one of his high officers with tribute to the Chinese court and solicited silk stuffs, 夏布 hia-put† and porcelain. The Emperor granted his requests.


Kun-chieh (City of Kun).

It is situated in the Si-yü. The inhabitants are Hui-hui (Mohammedans).

* In ancient times the Chinese province of 河北 Ho-pei (north of the Yellow river) comprised southern Chili and western Shan-tung. It seems this embassy had come to Nan-king, which in the beginning of Yung-le’s reign was his capital.
† Cloth manufactured of China grass (Bohemia.)
In 1430 an envoy from K’un by name of 者馬力丁 Dja-ma-li-ding (Djamal-eddin) arrived at the court and presented as tribute camels and horses.

Finally the Ming history reports, that in addition to the aforementioned countries, which had intercourse with China, the official documents of the Ming record the names of a number of little realms in the Si-yü, which also used to send tribute to the Chinese court.

The Ming-shi enumerates first 29 little kingdoms or places (they are termed ti-mien there), the embassies of which, when proceeding to China, passed through Ha-mi and entered at K’ai-yü-kuan. They sent tribute every three or five years and their embassies generally arrived in the company of those (greater) kingdoms Ha-lie (Herat), Ha-shi-ha-r (Kashgar), Sai-lan (Sairan), I-li-ba-li (Jetics), Shi-la-sze (Shiraz), Sha-lu-hai-ya (Shahrukhia), Asu, Ba-dan (see Note * page 129, b), The number of the members of these (little) embassies was not allowed to surpass 25 men.

The following are the 29 names given in the Ming-shi without particulars. My identifications are of course only based on similarity of sounds.

哈三 Ha-san.
哈烈兒 Ha-li-r.
哈沙的蠻 She-di-man.*
哈的蘭 Ha-di-lan (Kotlan, see Note * page 132, a).

掃蘭 Sao-lan.+ 乜克力 Me-k’o-li (a tribe near Hami, see Note † page 20, a).†

* This place is mentioned in the Chinese itinerary (see farther on) west of Turfan. A place, Chialis, appears in Hadji Mohammed’s itinerary (see Yule’s Cathay, cxxvii.) It is probably the Chialis of Goes.
† This name sounds like Bokhara. But this place has already been spoken of in the Ming-shi under the name of Bu-lu-a-r (see above).
‡ This cannot be the kingdom of Cashmir in the Himalayas, for embassies from that region would not have passed through Hami, when proceeding to China. There is on modern maps a place Khazna near north-west of Kuldja. I am however not aware whether this is an ancient city.
§ Perhaps Khoto. But Khotan has already been treated of under the name of Yu’tien.
|| Perhaps Kusan mentioned in the relations of Timur’s war (see above, Note * page 103). The name of a place of Kusan appears in an ancient itinerary of the 13th century. See my Notices of Medieval Geogr., etc., p. 223.
The following eleven small countries, which also used to present tribute, did not send it through Ha-mi.*

乞兒麻 K'i-r-ma.
米兒哈蘭 Mi-r-ha-lan (Marghilan? in Ferganah.)
可闋隕蠟燭也的千刺竹

* The following 33 characters representing these 11 names are placed one after another without separation. I therefore am not sure whether I have always correctly divided.

K'o-t'o-kia-la-dju-ye-di-gan-la-dju (3 names of places of countries are rendered by these 10 characters. It is difficult to say how they should be divided.)

亦不刺因 I-bu-la-yin (Compare above, article Shi-la-sze.)
格失迷 Ko-shi-mi (Cashmir.)
乞兒吉思 K'i-r-gi-sze (Kirghizas.)
羽奴思 Yü-nu-sze.
哈辛 Ha-sin.

E. Breitschneider, M.D.
When I promised, in the introduction to my paper, to give a translation of this ancient document, I had estimated its value only after a cursory inspection; and had been struck particularly by the great amount of Geographical details it seemed to bring forward in sketching the overland route from China to Western Asia. But after I had set myself about to examine it critically I found that the Chinese text is full of inaccuracies, which render its Geographical value very problematical. However, notwithstanding these frequent errors, which have crept in particularly with respect to the distances and directions noticed, it cannot be denied, that the above-named itinerary contains a nucleus of authentic information; the greater part of names of places met in it are easily recognized as Turkish or Persian names, and evidence for the real existence of such names may probably be found in the ancient Persian Geographical dictionaries. Thus there is no room for the surmise that the whole itinerary should have been forged in China. But it may be, that it has been taken down from the accounts furnished by Chinese travellers from memory after their return to China. A great number of the inaccuracies in the Chinese text are due evidently to clerical errors, as I shall prove in comparing two copies of the text in my possession. I am far from claiming a high importance for these fragments of ancient Asiatic Geography, but I consider them sufficiently interesting to be rescued from oblivion, all the more as they bear on the great mediaeval lines of travel through Central Asia. I must confess however that I am often puzzled what to make of the places enumerated in that ancient itinerary, and our knowledge of the tracts, which come here into consideration, is still so defective, that, being apprehensive of misleading the reader, I generally abstain from venturing any conjectures.

The Chinese itinerary, of which I attempt here to give an English version, bears the title 西域土地人物略 Si-yü-t'ü-li-jen-wu-liö, i.e. sketch of the countries, the people and the products of the Si-yü, and thus professes to be a descriptive account of the regions in the west. But it will be seen that these notices bear rather the character of a road book, for the
information occasionally introduced with respect to the enumerated places is very scanty and seldom contains anything characteristic, whilst the distances between the cities and stations and the direction of the road are generally noticed.

The Si-yü-t'ui-šien-wu-liu has been preserved in the 天下風土志 T'ien-hia-k'ün-kuo li-ping-shu, which is a strategical description of China, published from 1639 to 1662. Thus the publication began at the close of the Ming period. The author of the ancient itinerary, which is found in Chap. cxvii of the afore-mentioned work, is not named there, and we are also without explanation as to its origin. But in all probability the information, dealt with in it, dates from the 15th century, when Chinese envoys visited Western Asia almost every year, and the commercial intercourse between China and the countries in the west was also very animated. It may be, that it has been compiled in China from various itineraries, and this would explain the confusion which has crept into the statements.

The Chinese text of the itinerary, as it appears in the T'ien-hia-k'ün-kuo etc., gives in large characters only the names of the cities and stages on the main roads and the respective distances, whilst the notes added are printed in small characters and present some meagre descriptive accounts with respect to these places, and frequently mention also places situated out of the great highway.*

Some of the names of places met in the Chinese itinerary are Chinese names, i.e. the Chinese characters representing these names express a meaning and may give in some cases a translation of the corresponding Turkish or Persian names. But generally the foreign names of places are simply rendered by similar Chinese sounds.

I owe to the kindness of Archimandrite Palladius another copy of the Si-yü-t'ui-šien-wu-liu, which has been copied out. I am not prepared to say, from what work of the Imperial Chinese library. When compared with the text found in the T'ien-hia-k'ün-kuo this manuscript copy shows some differences in the spelling of the names as well as with respect to the estimation of the distances. I translate the text of the T'ien-hia-k'ün-kuo etc., but shall point out the divergences of the manuscript text.*

The Chinese itinerary to the countries in the west begins at K'ia-yü-kuan, the important defile at the north-western frontier of China, (compare China Review, Vol. IV., p. 312, a, Note 1). Although the greater part of the geographical names mentioned on the route and in the vicinity of it escape critical investigations—owing to the scantiness of our knowledge with respect to these tracts from other sources ancient or modern—we are nevertheless enabled to trace in a general way the lines of the itinerary. The mentioning of such places as Sha-chou, Ha-mi, Khar-akhdija, Turphjan, Kucha, Aksu, Kashgar in the first part of it, leaves no doubt, that it follows the great highway through Eastern Turkestan along the southern slope of the T'ien-shan chain. As we have learned from the accounts translated in the first part of this paper from the Ming-shi, this was indeed the way by which the numerous embassies from the various countries of Western Asia used to proceed to China. Even the embassies from Badakshan seem to have preferred this route to the shorter way passing by Khotan and Lopnor, on account probably of the great deserts the traveller has to cross in the latter direction. This fact is confirmed also by the narratives of Shah Rukh's embassy to China (1429), and Hadji Mahommed's account of Cathay (1550). Gœs (beginning of 17th century) passed also through Aksu, Turphjan, Hami, when proceeding to China. In the days of

* The abbreviation M.S. relates to the manuscript copy of the itinerary.
Mongol supremacy however, in the 13th century down to the reign of Kublai Khan (1260), the great line of communication between eastern and western Asia lay along the northern slope of the Tien-shan (Karalorum, Urumtsi, Kuldja, Chu river, Talas, Sairam, Samarqand). Karakorum was at that time the residence of the Mongol Khans, and this way was indeed the shortest from the Mongol capital to Transoxiana. (See my Notes on Chinese Medieval Travellers."

After Kashgar we meet in our itinerary a series of names of places for which I have not been able to trace any corroboration elsewhere, and then five names appear, which are easily recognized as those of five cities of Farghana, viz: Andijan, Sharikhana, Marghilan, Usb, and Kanibudum. From Farghana we are led to Herat, but before reaching this city the itinerary notices a number of names of places situated north and south of the road or on it, amongst which we recognize the city of Kalya, coupled with the Iron Gate and the cities of Kunduz, Khulm, Balkh, Andhui. After Herat we have Mere, Bukhara, Samarqand and many other names unknown to me.

The rest of the itinerary is very dark and confused. Among the numerous geographical names appearing in it I can trace with more or less certainty only the following places: Badakhshan, Bastam, Astrabad, Shiraz, Isphahan, Sultanieh (?), Tabris (?), and four months' journey west of the latter Constantinople. Hence we are transported to Bagdad and then led to Mecca, Medina, Egypt. From Egypt the itinerary turns to Asia Minor, at least among the cities mentioned further on we can recognize Siena, Atina, Angora, Kutahieh, Brussa. After Brussa the sea (Mediterranean) is noticed with big men of war navigating in it. The last city spoken of in the itinerary is Lu-mi, 1400 li west of Brussa. It seems that Rome is meant.

The Chinese author who is responsible for the present sketch of the road to Western Asia has generally rendered with great correctness by Chinese sounds the foreign names of the places he notices in Central and Western Asia, but he was frequently mistaken with respect to the distances and the direction. He seems to have been under the impression that the whole route he traces in the itinerary follows a direction straight to the west. As I have shown in the afore-sketched summary the route line followed in it is quite irregular. The inaccuracies with respect to the estimation of distances may partly be explained by clerical errors.

After these introductory remarks let us now turn to the translation of the Si-yu- tu-tien-foo-lo, which I shall try to render as literally as possible, even with all its descriptive vaguenesses.

Proceeding west from 嘉峪關 Kia-yü-kuan* (defile of the delicious valley) 80 li one arrives at 大草灘 Ta-ts'ao-t'an (marsh of high grass)

This country is vast and rich in grass.

40 li west of the marsh is 回同墓 Hui-hui-mu (Mohammedan tombs).

There are three great sepulchral mounds. Hence the name. Out of the way, to the north, is the monastery of 錫和寺 Po-ho-sze. and 50 li west of this monastery is the town of 紫城兒 Tze-ch'eng-r (purple town).†

20 li west of the Mohammedan tombs is the city of 騎馬 Shen-ma (geldings city).

In the city there are three brooks flowing to the north.

3 li (30 li M.S.) west of Shen-ma is 三棵樹 San-k'o-shu (the three trees).

There are three (remarkable) trees. Hence the name.

* In the narrative of B. Goit's itinerary (beginning of the 17th century) it is termed Chiaicuan (Yule's Cathay, p. 579.)
† The terms ch'eng and 城兒 ch'eng-r (diminutive of ch'eng) occur frequently in the text of the itinerary. I translate the first always by "city" the second by "town." Likewise I translate 山 shan by "mountain" and 山兒 shan-r by "hill."
30 li (M.S. 50 li) west of the three trees is the city of 赤斤 Ch'i-kiin.*

A military post has been established here in the beginning of the Ming. Out of the way 20 li southward is 小赤斤 Siao Ch'i-kiin (little Ch'i-kiin).

50 li west of Ch'i-kiin is the city of K'un-yü (bitter or distressed valley).†

The Ming established here a military post. East of K'un-yü is 河城 Ho-ch'eng (river city) and in it are 3 (2 M.S.) mounds (墩). 50 li to the north is 王子莊 Wang-tee-chuang (cottage of the little prince).

20 li west of K'un-yü is 古墩子 Ku-tun-tee (old mound),‡ and west of this mound is a tower (塔).

60 li west of the old mound is the city of of 阿丹 A-dan.

To the north-west is a river and north of the river is 疏勒吾卜隆吉兒 Yü-si-jung Buh-tung-ji-r.*

30 li south-west of A-dan is the city of 哈剌兀速 Ha-la-uu-su (Khara-uu = Black water (river) in Mongol).

North-west of Ha-la-uu-su is the city of 乞班 I-ban and between the two cities is a river.

100 li south-west of Ha-la-uu-su is the city of 瓜州 Kua-chou † and 60 li further west is the city of 西阿丹 Si-A-dan (western A-dan).

50 li south-west of the afore-mentioned I-ban is the city of 卜隆吉兒 Bu-ling-ji-r and 80 li south-west of this place the roads unite in western A-dan.

On the southern road are the following places: 永力 Yuan-lee 提乾卜剌察提兒卜剌額吉七大羽大溫 Ti gan bu la oei tī r bu la e gi me da yū da wén (evidently these characters represent several names).

On the northern route are 楠赤瞻 桓力 A-o-ch'ie-jen-yung, Huang-lee (Yuan-lee M.S.) 哈剌哈剌灰 Ha-la-ha-la-hui.

West of the city of western A-dan are 卜兒禿 Wu-wu-tee 虎兒克 Yeh-kee-la-ch'een (Yeh-kee-la-ch'een M.S.), 王失卜剌 Ta-shi-bu-la, and north of western A-dan: 王子莊榭 Wang-tee-chuang-shu (the tree of the cottage of the little prince), north-west of western A-dan: 哈剌哈剌灰 Ha-la-hui


* The Ming History (see above beginning of the article Ch'i-kiin and Note 2, page 34) gives also an itinerary from Kia-yü-kuan to Ch'i-kiin. The names of the stations enumerated there are about the same as named in the present itinerary, but there are great divergencies in the two accounts with respect to the distances. According to the Si-yü-tu-ti etc., Ch'i-kiin is 173 li distant from Kia-yü-kuan, whilst the Ming-shi estimates the same distance at 240 li. In a modern Chinese register of distances, referring to the post roads in eastern Turkestan, the following figures are given:

From Kia-yü-kuan to 雙井子 Shuang-ting-tee (double well) 40 li—further to 回回堡 Hui-lui-pee (Molahunmedan fort) 50—to the lake Ch'i-kiin 70. Thus from Kia-yü-kuan to lake Ch'i-kiin 160 li. Further on 40 li is the 赤斤塢 Ch'i-kiin-hin (defile of Ch'i-kiin). These places are also marked on the great Chinese map.

† The city of K'un-yü is repeatedly mentioned in the Ming-shi (see above articles Hami and Sha-chou and Note *), page 32, a. The Ming-shi states that K'un-yü lies 200 li west of Ch'i-kiin. On the great Chinese map K'un-yü is about 100 li west of the city of 玉門 Yu-men. According to this map the route to Hami now-a-days does not pass through K'un-yü, but leads from Yü-men in a north-westly direction to the city of An-si, etc.

‡ Tun, a mound, means also a distance mark, and here in the ancient itinerary this character is probably to be taken in this sense.
200 li (100 M.S.) west of western A-dan is the city of  

The Ming established a military post at  

Shu-chou. In ancient times the country here 

was called 莫里 (see China Review, 

Vol. iv, p. 313 b, Note *). West of Shu-chou 

are the cities of  

Hu-mu-k'e, 答 

失虎都, Da-shi-ku-du, 牙卜剌, Fa- 

bu-la (Bu-yu-la M.S.), 和 

哈失卜剌 Ha- 

shi-bu-la. North-west of (Shu-chou) are  

子罕, A-de-huan, 阿赤 A-ch'i, 

同 

尹克 Sze-i-k'o (引只克 Yia-ji 

k'o M.S.), 哈密頂墩 Hami-t'ung 

tun (this could be translated: first distance mark on the territory of Hami), 翁木 

脱云 Yoo-mu-t'o-yin, 乞兒把赤 

K'i-r-ba-ch'i, 克兒鬼也思 K'o- 

r-go-ge-se (克兒鬼也思 K'or- 

me (lie) ts'o-o-se M.S.). 

300 li west (it should be north-west) of 

Shu-chou is the city of 哈密 Hami.† 

East of the city is a river with a bridge over it. There is also a water-mill. 30 li 

north of Hami is  

Su-bu-la-ha-k'uai, 30 li south is the 

Qar-k'uai Wei-wu-r-ba-li (Uigurbalik). 

10 li west of Hami is the city of 阿思 

打納 A-sze-da-na.§ 

§ Concerning Shu-chou compare Note * page 

120, b and the respective article on this place 

translated in this paper. There it is stated, that 

Shu-chou is situated 140 li (an erroneous figure) 

west of Kua-chou. The Ming Geography how- 

ever (art. Ch'i-gun) reckons 180 li only from 

Chi-gun to the frontier of Shu-chou. 

† Thus according to the Si-yü-trü-tsi etc. from 

Kiu-yü-huan to Hami 1030 li, whilst according to 

the Ming History this distance is 1690 li. 

In modern Chinese itineraries it is estimated at 

1470 li. Judging from our maps the distance 

between the afore-mentioned places, as the crow 

flies, may be about 1,000 li. 

† This is probably the same as the 素木 

哈兒灰 Su-mu-ha-r-hui mentioned in the Si- 

yu-wu-k'ien-lu (l. fol. 4) among the six cities 

subject (in the last century) to the prince of Hami. 

§ A-sze-ta-ni is mentioned in the Si-yü-wen- 

k'ien-lu (l. c) as one of the six cities subject to 

the prince of Hami. 

50 li (M.S. 10 li) north of A-sze-da-na is 

阿打納  

Ba-gi-er and 50 li west of Ba-gi-er 

is the city of A-dan-na. Further 

to the west is 阿打納 Me-tie-me-r (M.S.) 

Further westward 50 li is the city of 

La-mu. Further to the west are  

Bar-hai-tse (Bar lake),* 

雙山兒 Shuang-shan-r (double hill), the 

山兒 Shuang-shan-r (double hill), the 

山兒 襄和寺 Po-ho-sze. 50 li 

(10 li M.S.) west of this city is 

哈剌帖 

Ha-la-tie-kia and from this place north- 

west 10 li (50 M.S.) is the city of 

La-mu. West of Ha-la-tie-kia is 

察克木 Chia-k'ieh. There is also a river† 

and in it is the city of 霍家 Shuang-kia 

(duble family,—the M.S. has Shuang-tse-t'an double spring). 100 li west 

is 雙泉兒墩 Shuang-tse-t'an-r'un 

(mound of the double spring). 

West of A-sze-da-na is 

比昌 Pi-ch'ang.‡ Further west 

is the city of 魯珍 Lu-chien.‖ 

* Perhaps lake Barkui is meant, for "kul" 

means lake in Turkish.

† 川 Chuan means generally river, but some- 

times a plain is designated by this character.

‡ To-lo is probably the city of  

T'o-t'o-tsu on the great Chinese map, marked 

there north-west of Hami. In Captain Trotter's 

itinerary from Turfan to Hami (Survey Operations 

in Eastern Turkestan, 1873-74, p. 159) it is 

termed Tangbochii.

§ This is the 開展 Pi-chian of the great 

Chinese map, between Hami and Turfan. In 

the narrative of Gos' travels a city Pucian 

is mentioned, but west of Turfan, Col. Yule (Cat- 

tory etc. p. 578) supposes that Pi-chian is meant 

but that the diarist has transposed the name. See 

further on Note * page 252, b.

‖ In the Ming History (see above) this place is 

stified Liu-ch'eng or Lu-ch'ien. On the great 

Chinese map the name reads Ch'ic 

K'ic 

Lu-k'o- 

tsun. Capt. Trotter (l.c.) writes Lakechun. A-
South of the city are 剌土 La-t'u, 蘅菱辛陵 Lu-ling-yi-fan (mound of rushes, cutrops and tara). The M.S. has 蘅菱 биз穆林 Lu-nei-te'a-fan, mound of rushes and grass), the city of 懶貳 Lan-djen, the mound of 半截土 Pau-tsie-t'u (cut in two), the mountain of 巴思潤 Ba-sze-k'uo.

North of Lu-djen is the city of 羊黑刺火者 Ha-la-huo-djo (Karakhodja).† Further west 50 li is the city of Wo-da-la. Further west 100 li is 土魯番 Tu lu-fan (Turpan).‡

The 回回 Hui-hui (Mohammedans) there till the ground and cultivate many fruits and trees. To the north is the 委魯母 Wei-lu-mu. §

200 li west of Tu-lu-fan is the city of 傑石 An-shi.

South of An-shi is the town of 俺鼻 An bi, to the north is the tank (lake) of 撒剌 Sa-la.

Further west 50 li is 蘇巴失 Su-ba-shi (蘇巴赤 Su-ba-ch'i, M.S.)

To the north is the town of 免貳 Mien-djen (兌貳 T'ien-djen, M.S.)

Further west 200 li is 昆迷失 Kun-mi-shi.¶

cording to Klaproth (Mém. rel. à l’Asie, II. 342) the city is called also Lukchak by the Mohammedan writers.

* Yang-hei may be the place Yangbi-khinh in Capt. Trotter's itinerary, between Lukcham and Karakhodja.

† With respect to Karakhodja and Turphan see above the respective articles translated from the Ming-shi.

‡ Perhaps Urumtsi is meant.

§ Su-ba-shi is also found on the great Chinese map on the road from Turphan to Karasar. It appears also in Trotter's itinerary (i.e. p. 158) between the same cities.

¶ On the great Chinese map we find a place 庫木什阿哈 Kua-mu-shi A-ha-ma marked between Sa-ba-shi and Karasar. In Capt. Trotter’s itinerary the name reads Kumush.

South of it is the white hill and from this hill the city of An-bi (see above), to the east, can be reached in six days. North (of Kun-mi-shi or perhaps of the white hill) is a tank (lake) and the town of 伽他都漏 Cheung-du-la.

200 li west of Kun-mi-shi is 阿剌木 A-la-mu * and further west 100 li is the city of 又力失 Yu-li-shi (又力失 Lü-shi M.S.)

South of this city is the river 伽林 Ta-lin. †

100 li west of Yu-li-shi is the city of 哈剌哈失鐵 Ha-la-ha-shi-t'ie. ‡

(iibid. p. 158). Trotter adds, that the road passes through hills.

* I am disposed to identify this place with the Aramuth in Goets' itinerary (Yule's Cathay, p. 578) although it is located there between Turphan and Khosam. But as in the same itinerary Pichan is erroneously mentioned west of Turphan (see Note ‡, page 231), it may be that Pichan and Aramuth have been mutually transposed by the diarist. A place Aramut appears also in the relation of Timur's campaign against the Jotes, in 1379 (see Note *, page 169 above), Potis de la Croix identifies it (Hist. d. Timur-Bec, quite arbitrarily, with Karakhodja.

† Perhaps the river Turim is meant, which according to the Chinese maps empties itself into the Lopnor.

‡ It seems that by this name Karashar is intended. The character 色 may be a misprint. If my identification be right, this would be the first instance of the name of Karashar appearing in Chinese works. I have not been able to trace it in any of the Chinese works of the Mongol period. It is also not mentioned by the Ch'uanmedan writers of the 13th and 14th centuries. Even Goets in the beginning of the 17th century when passing from Kucha to Turphan does not notice a place of this name. It seems to me, that among Western Travellers Mir Izat Ulugh (1812-13) is the first who had heard of the city of Karashar, situated on the road to China, between Kucha and Turphan (Yule's Cathay, p. 576.) To the Chinese the city of 哈剌沙兒 Ha-la-sha-ch'i, as they now spell the name, became more generally known in the middle of the last century, when Emperor K'i-en-lung's armies made the conquest of Eastern Turkestan and Dzungaria. In modern Chinese geographical works Harashar is identified with ancient 色老 Fou-ki, first mentioned in the History of the former Han in the 2nd century B.C., as a realm in the Shi yi, situated in the vicinity of a lake, abounding in fish. By this lake, according to the Chinese, the bestangnor is meant. Yen-ki is spoken of in the Chinese
South of it are the town of 抜 (Goba M.S.), and the city (river M.S.) of 扒力昌 (Ch’u-li-ch’ang*); to the north are the town of 芯他巴 (K’ua-ta-ba)† and the river of 黑松林 (Hei-seng-lin) (black pines forest).

100 li further west is the spring of 濡巴 (Jiang-ba), and 100 li further west is the 黑水泉 (Hei-shui-ts’ian) (black water spring).†

North of this spring are: the city of 察力失 (Ch’ha-li-shi), § the town of 坛 (Ding), the 泉河 (T’ien-ho).

Animal down to the 10th century. In the days of the T’ang it was a Chinese military district. On the great Chinese map Karashar is placed a little north-west of Lake Bostang and north of the river K’hai-ku, whilst south of the river 古城 (Ku-ch’eng) (old city) is marked. The Chinese state (Father Runciman’s Desungra and Eastern Turkestan, p. xxxviii) that the present city of Karashar has been recently built (i.e. in the last century) but that the ruins of two ancient cities can be seen there. Karashar is placed on our maps after the astronomical determinations made in 1760 by order of Kien-lung by the Jesuit missionaries d’Arocha, Espinosa, Hallestein (Ritter’s Asien I, 324). As far as I know no European has since that time visited this city. Karashar means “black city.”

* Archimandrite Palladius has identified this place with the Charchan of Marco Polo. See Journal of N. Ch. Br. Asiatic Soc. for 1876, p. 2.

† A place 古塔巴 (Gua-ta-ba) is marked on the Chinese Medieval map upon which I commented in my Notices of Media. Geogr., see page 159. I believe it to be the same as Khutukhul on modern maps situated on the route from Urumtsi to the Kuldjin. There is also a river of this name, which takes its rise north-east of Karashar.

‡ There is on the great Chinese map the name of a place 哈剌不剌 (Ha-la-ba) (Karabulak—black spring) marked not far from 庫兒勒 (Ku’-lie) (Korra) on the road from Karashar to Kucha.

§ This is probably the city of Jalish mentioned by Sherif-eddin as a place, where Timur passed, on his way to Yuldux (which, as is known, is situated to the north-west of Karashar.) See above note, page 189. According to Hadji Mohammed’s itinerary (circa 1560) Chialis lies midway between Kucha and Turfan (10 days’ journey) to either of these places. See Yule’s (Athay, p. 576). In Gois’ itinerary (I.e. page 571) Chialis is noticed as a small place 25 days (traveling slowly evidently) east of Cucia (Kucha).

(Spring river). To the south is the city of 扒力昌 (Ch’u-li-ch’ang).*

100 li west of Hei-shui-ts’ian is the city of 雙山嗯 (Shuang-shan-r) (double hill), and further west 100 li the town of 獨樹 (Tu-shu) (solitary tree).

North of this town are the rivers 兀馬 (Wu-ma) and 撒力攔巴 (Sa-li-jang-ba), to the west is the 一畫夜川 (I-chow-yeh-ch’uan) (river, or perhaps plain, of one day and one night).

100 li west of Tu-shu is the well of 察力察 (Ch’ha-li-ch’u).

North of this well is the 火炎山 (Hu-yen-shan) (fire mountain).†

Further west 200 li is the 淤泥泉 (Yi-ni-t‘iu) (muddy spring).

South of the spring is the town of 克列牙 (K’o-le-ya). From this town eastward to the city of 扒力昌 (Ch’u-li-ch’ang) (see above) are 8 stations.

100 li west of Yi-ni-t’iu is the river of 察兀的 (Ch’u-wu-di).

Mountains adjoin this river from the south and the north.

100 li west of this river is the river of 楊子 (Tu-tze).

* This name occurs for the second time in the itinerary. I am not aware whether that same place is meant as mentioned above south of Ha-shi-tie.

† Probably some volcanoes in the T’ien-shan chain are alluded to. Chinese Geographers state, that “burning caverns” are found in the mountain range of the T’ien-shan, on the whole distance from Turfan to Kucha (Arch. Palladius, I.e. p. 2.) The Si-yü-en-kuien-lu, in describing the burning caverns north of Kucha states, that in them spontaneous fire can be seen in spring, summer and autumn. The fire becomes extinct in winter time owing to snowfalls and the great cold. Then the people of the country enter naked these caverns to gather 硫砂 (Sulphur). Capt. Trotter (I.e. p. 147) reports, on the authority of a Pundit attached to the mission and who visited Kucha, that according to the people there a sort of rat circulates freely in the flames (of the caverns) without being injured and that it goes by the name of Salamander. Compare also M. Polo’s account of the salamander.
It is also bordered by mountains from the south and the north.

100 li west of the river T'ou-tse is the city of Gu-Ku-wu.

North of it lies the city of Yang-ch'i-ba. To the south is the pond tank Lu-ch'i.

Further on 100 li is the city of Ku-si, and 100 li further west the city of West Yate river (Si-ya-ho) (river Si-yi).†

North of this city are the Shuang-shan Pass (divide between two mountains), the city of Acan, A-ssu-wa-li. To the north-west is the lake of I-ssu-lo.‡ To the west is the river of T'a-ho, to the south-west the river of the inn of Ch'i-lo-choe. To the south is the Ch'i-lo-choe, the inn of Ch'i-lo-choe.

300 li west of Si-yi-ho is the city of Akan, A-ssu-wa-li, and further on 100 li south-west is the city of Surpisy, A-li-k'a-ch'e (La-tua-kh'ue M.S.)

From this place the city of Bao $ is in the east is distant 40 li.

100 li north-west of Chu-li-k'u-choe is the city of Akan, A-ssu (A-mi M.S.)

- *Ku-si-sien* is probably the Cincu of the Ch'in (Yule, l.c. 572) and the K'ue-shih of modern Chinese maps. On our maps the name is styled Kuchu, Kuchu (Russian maps), Kuchur (Capt. Trotter, l.c. p. 147). Compare also Note * page 249 and Note || page 181 above, and my Notices of Mediæv. Geogr., etc., p. 149.

† According to the Sui-yuen-kien-lu there is 60 li south-west of Ku-chu' a Mohamedan city, Sha-yee. Capt. Trotter (l.c. p. 140) notices a river of this name near Sairam. Evidently lake Issikul, see Note * page 116, a, is meant.

§ This is the same as the city of Bao on modern Chinese maps. Now-a-days the great highway from Kucha to Aksu passes through Sairam and Bao. The Ming itinerary leads us by a more southern way from Kucha to Aksu.

- This is the city of Aksu in Eastern Turkestan. Aksu means white water or river. The statement in our itinerary about the three cities adjoining each other is corroborated by Sherif-eddin, who, in relating Mirza Ekander's expedition against the Jeta in 1399, states, that the latter captured Aksu, a very strong place, consisting of three forts communicating with each other (see Note * page 100). Aksu appears also in Hadij's Mohammed's itinerary (circa 1550, Yule l.c. cxviii.) Goss's way to Chima led also through Aksu (l.c. 571.) In the middle of the last century the Jesuit missionaries determined Aksu astronomically (Ritter's Asien, I. p. 324.) The information about Aksu and the way thither, as communicated in Capt. Trotter's report (l.c. 144), has been given by a Pandit attached to Sir Douglas Forsyth's mission. It seems that the name Aksu was unknown before the Ming period. At least I have not been able to trace it earlier in Mohammedan or in Chinese works. Therefore think, that De Gagnem's view, that Aksu is identical with the Amsah of Retemen, is nothing but a name for the identification of modern Chinese Geographers, who suggest, that Aksu is the same as the country of Yarkand, described as a city of the Suyi as early as in the second century B.C. Now-a-days the Chinese spell the name of Aksu, A-ko-an.

- Perhaps the river Hi is meant, which lies indeed north of the regions here spoken of.

- Sherif-eddin mentions a place Kelapin on the road from Yarkand to Aksu (see above Note * page 100). Capt. Trotter states (l.c. p. 26) that Klapian is situated between Ush Turfan and Marabolasi, about 15 tsh (67 Eng. miles) distant from the latter place, which is about midway between Yarkand and Aksu.

As we shall see further on, our itinerary leads to Kashgar, and as a name like Ush does not appear in it, it can be assumed that it follows a more direct way to Kashgar, passing south of Ush.

‡ The Karakash river, or river of black jade, is west of Khotan (see above Note * page 118, a). But here in the itinerary perhaps the Yarkand river is meant. The Suyi-wen-kien-lu (II. fol. 15) states, that jade is obtained also from the latter.
Further west 100 li is the 千泉 Kuan-ts'ien (dried-up spring), and again 100 li west is a great well (大井).

South of the well is the 三穠城 San-chu-ch'eng (city three times raised.)

200 li west of the great well is the inn of 比長 Pi-ch'ang.†

South of it is the town of 乾羊 G'an-yang. To the north is 石城兒 Shi-ch'eng-er (stone town.)

200 li further west is the 土壠泉 T'u-t'ien-t'uan (spring of the earthen terrace).

On this terrace there are two springs. Hence the name. South of it is the city of 桤木千 Shi-mu-kan (恰木石千 K'ia-mu-shi-kan M.S.)

200 li west of the springs is the river 桐 Tung.

South of it is the city of 依力千 Yu-li-kan (于力干 Yu-li-gh M.S.), and to the north is 石城 Shi-ch'eng (stone city.)

50 li further west is 石子泉 Shi-chze-t'ien (stone spring).

West of the spring is 把力站 Bā-li-dian (station of Ba-li). To the south is 店子井 Tien-te-ting (well of the inn), to the north is the town of 賽泥 Yang-ni. This town is distant from Shi-ch'eng, situated to the east (see above), 8 stations.

100 (200 M.S.) li west of the stone spring is the city of 河西丁 Ho-si-ding.

South of the city is the town of 長河 So-ho (river Sa), and to the south-east is a lake.

‡ Yarkand.

200 li north of Ho-si-ding is the city of 亦的哈馬 L'i-di-ha-ma. South-west of it is the city of 哈失哈力 Hu-shi-ha-li,* and 50 li west is the city of 失哈力 Shi-ha-li.

South of this city is the city of 米兒 阿都刺 Mi-r-a-du-la. To the west are: a river, and (a place) 民運 Min-ya. To the south are: 也民運力 灰 Ye-min-gün-li-hui (也民運力 Yë-min-hui M.S.), 黑沙納思 Hei-sha-nassee, 哈北民運 (哈勃 Ha-bi M.S.) To the north is the city of 黑失哈 Hei-shi-ha (黑决哈 Hei-k'ie-ha M.S.)

Further west is 鬼力 Shang-li (南力 Nan-li M.S.), and further west 300 li is 我撒剌 Wo-sa-la.

South-west of this place is 計婪巴失 Gi-dun-ba-shi (討婪巴失 T'au-dun-ba-shi M.S.) To the north-west is the city of 賽蘭 Sai-lan.

Further west 500 li is the city of 土剌 T'ua-la.

This city is of a roundish form with houses round about. A little prince is ruling there. The Mohammedans (in that country) do not wear turbans but caps made of sheep's wool. They do not till the ground. They eat fish, mutton and mare's milk.

Further west 700 li is the city of 牙思 Yu-sze.

The Mohammedans there wear turbans. Among the products of the country are mentioned: 凌羊角 liang-yang-kiao (antelope horns, see Note * page 25n) 帐角皮 t'ie-k'io-p'i; †

400 li west of Yu-sze is 也失卜 Ye-shi-bu.

† Compare above, end of the article Lu-mi. p. 178
South of this place are 巴速兒 Ba-su-er, 打卜你的速 Da-ba-ni-ne-di-su. To the north is the city of 他失干 Ta-shi-gan.

300 li west of Ye-shi-bu is 亦爾乞咱打班 I-r'-ki'-dsza-da-ban.筝

Further west 200 li is亦尔乞咱打班 I-k'-i'-dsza-da-ban, and further west is the city of 把力千 Ba-li-gan.

South of this city are 哈剌界 Ha-la-khi, 阿必打纳思乞亦咱撒剌思咱力沙乞咱力 A-bi da na sze k'i i dsza so la sze dsza li sha i k'i dsza li (Evidently several names of places. I do not know how to divide. Instead of the first two characters A-bi we read Ha-mi in the M.S.).

500 li west is the city of 俺的十 An-di-gan.筝

North of this city is 马儿黑纳 Ma-r-hei-na.筝

Further west 700 li is the city of 我失 Wo-shi.筝

South of it are 懒斡 Lai-kien (rivulet Lai), 马答剌撒 Ma-da-la-sa, 大者阿力 Da-lo-i-a-ri (火 | | |) Hwo-djo-a-li, M.S. To the east is 耶答古力 Lang-wu-gu-li.

Further west 300 li is the city of 马都 Ma-du.

Seven water branches have been conducted to this city, where they unite. To the south there is a high mountain, to the north is 沙儿黑纳 Sha-r-hei-na.

50 li south-southwest of Ma-du is 拨的把丹 K'uo-di-ba-dan筝 (炽 | | | Ch'ui-di-ba-dan M.S.).

West of this place are 咱力都 Da-lie, 窝都 Han-du, 撒力赤刺牙 So li-ch'i-ya.

300 li north of K'un-di-ba-dan is 黑写歪 Hei-sie-wai.

North-west of this place is the city of 虎帖 Hu-tie, and 400 li west of it is 阿哲 阿懒答 Ajo-tai (A-za-da M.S.).

Further west 300 li is 阿力砍打思 A-li-k'iean-da-sze (炽 | | | A-li-ch'i-ia-da-sze M.S.).

South of it are: 弋鲁两部 Wu-lu-liang-dua 阿拜郎国姐民 A-bai-lang-li-dzse-min (炽 | | | A-bai-la-li-dzse-min, M.S.), 木八如 Lang-lu-ti (炽 | | Lang-lu-tse M.S.). There is a water mill. 300 li north-west is 阿懒答 A-la-li-da, and north-west of the latter is 阿迷脱 A-mi-t'o (炽 | | A-su-po M.S.).

Further west is the city of 亦卜剌 I-bu-la.

The city is surrounded by water from four sides. (The country) produces sugar. South of I-bu-la are 答答答答 Da-hei-da-ben, 的火者 Di-huo-djo, 昆都思 K'n-du-sze筝, 刺巴的木耳咱亦卜剌 La-ba-di-ma-ra-da-i-bu-la, 哈安

筝 Sharikhana lies between Andidjan and Marghilian.
筝 Kanibadam, south-west of Kokan.
筝 Kusha, south of the Amudaria.

* Dahan means “defile.”
筝 Andidjan in Farghana.
筝 Probably Marghilian (Marghilan) in Farghana. This place is however south-west of Andidjan.
筝 Ush in Farghana.
Further west is the city of 黑樓 Hei-lou.

In this country lions are found and

剌若木 ha-la-jo-sha ( | | 苦 | ha-la-k’u-sha M.S.).** It produces also western horses, gold, silver, precious stones, silk stuffs, different kinds of cotton, fruits, etc. The people till the ground.

South of Hei-lou 400 li is the town of 赤鐵旦黑砲黑答蘭 Chi-tiee-dan-hei-dju-hei-da-lan (instead of the second character ‘tie’ the M.S. has 鬥 li). There are further, south of Hei-lou, the cities of 巴巴沙忽 Ba-ba-sha-hu and

刺巴留刺阿力阿 La-ba-li-la-a-li-a ( | | 的 | 呼 | La-ba-di-la-a-li-a)

* Khulum, west of Kunduz.
† Surkhab is another name for the Wakhš, a tributary of the Amurdarja.
‡ The Iron-gate. Compare above Note ‡ page 139.
§ Kalang is another name for the Iron-gate (see Note ‡ page 139). Perhaps the K’o-li-gan in the itinerary refers to the town, which according to the Mohammedan authors stood at the Iron-gate.
∥ The second and the third characters have evidently been transposed. Then Ba-li-hei would denote Balkh.
¶ Andkhu, west of Balkh.
** It seems, that by Hei-lou, Heri or Herat is intended. In the Ming History Herat is termed 哈烈黑魯 Hei-lu, but there is also an article devoted to the country of 黑樓 Hei-lou, the king of which by name of Shal-hu (Shah-Bukhi) had sent tribute to China. (See above my translation of these articles). It seems to me that the compilers of the Ming History have made some confusion and owing to the different spellings of the names took Hei-lou and Haile or Hei for distinct countries.
*** Karagush or Siah-gush (black-eared) is the Persian name for the hunting lynx, Felis Caracal. See also Note ‡ page 136, 5.

ko-li M.S.). North-east of Hei-lou is the city of 马力 Ma-li.*

Further to the west is the city of 阿倫 A-lun.

East of A-lun is 失黑山河 Shi-hei-shan-ho (This could be translated mountain and river of Shi-hei).

Further west is the city of 火者阿都 Pino-djo-a-du-a-la-hei-man.

South of the city is the mountain of 失 黒 Shi-hei. To the north-west is the city of 刺八的 La-bo-di.

Further west is 阿力伯 A-li-bo.


West of A-li-bo is the city of 徹民 Dsa-min.

South of this city is 阿思民 A-sce-min.

500 li (50 li M.S.) west of Dsa-min is the city of 普合 P’u-ha.†

The people of the country are Moham medans. They till the ground, cultivate sun dry fruits and breed silkworms. P’u-ha is subject to Sa-ma-r-han. South of P’u-ha is 刺巴子火馬黑麻撒力見思 La-ba Deze la hai ma hei ma la li cosa (these 11 characters represent probably several names). The north are 卜剌撒瓦剌思 Ba-la-sa-wa-la-cse and the city of 克力千 K’a-li-yu M.S."

500 li west is the city of 措馬兒罕 Sa-ma-r-han.†

* There is probably a character wanting in this name. It seems to me that Mura or Mero is intended. The historians of the Mongol period styled Mero Ma-li-wu. See Notes of Medieval Geography etc. p. 193.
† Bukhara.
‡ Samarkand.
The Mohammedans there wear turbans, and till the ground. The country produces rice, millet, and sundry fruits. South of Sin-dan are the cities of 巴答力山 Ba-da-li-shan and 阿力伯 A-li-bo.

400 里 west is the city of 学思日 Bu-sze-dan.*

The Mohammedans there till the ground, breed silkworms, etc. To the south of Bu-sze-dan are the Mohammedan cities of 阿力阿伯 A-li-a-bo and 俺的灰沙平 Hei-djao-sha-ping.

500 里 west of Bu-sze-dan is the city of 亦思他剌八 I-sze-ta-la-la-ba.†

It is a Mohammedan city. The country produces rice, millet; the people till the ground and breed silkworms. South of I-sze-ta-la-la-ba is the city of 盘的干 Hi-di-gan (盘的干 Pau-di-gan M.S.) Lions and 哈剌 ha-la are found there. There are further the cities of 巴巴沙 Ba-ba-sha-t'shag, 戶倫 Hu-lun, 阿刺巴的咱兒答 La-ba-di-dar-da, 和刺巴的打爾斤 La-ba-di-da-r-gin (La-ba-di-da-r-gin M.S.)

600 里 west of I-sze-ta-la-la-ba is the city of 失刺思 Shi-la-sze.‡

The Mohammedans there wear turbans. The country produces yi-ya-ba-li (see Note * page 228) a sundry fruits, etc. There is 長流水 Ch'ang-lin-shui (long flowing river.)

Five days' journey west is the Mohammadian city of 亦思 I-sze, which is subject to T'ie-kiau-lie-sze (see further on).

* Bostham, south-east of Astarabad.
† Astarabad.
‡ See Note ** page 237.
§ Shiraz.
|| Probably two characters are missing. In the Ming-alh Ishphahan is rendered by 孚罕 I-sze-fa-lan.
The country produces 阿魏 A-a-wei (Asa-futida, see Note * page 225, b) 阿芙蓉 A fu-jung (Opium.) The people manufacture woolen stuffs, satin, variegated carpets, 瑣幅 so-fu (see notes * 128, a, and * 163, b.) To the south are the cities of 阿巴的納都打剌木角 A-ba-di-na-nda-da-mu-ko, 聖矢卜 Maschi-bu, 刺巴的扯帖兒統都 元 La-ba-di-she-tie-i-ten-tung-da-i (instead of t'ung, the M.S. has jung) 刺巴的米納牙 La-ba-di-mi-na-ya. To the north-west is a great plain 大川, which means also great river.) It takes 10 days to cross it.

Further west 800 里 is the city of 瑣力旦 So-li-dan.*

Further west is the city of 唐 So-i-dan.*

The Mohammedans there wear turbans, and till the ground. There are 黑狐 hei-hu (black foxes) in that country. To the south is the city of 吾勞 Ju-lou (苦蘭 Kw-lou M.S.), to the north the city of 亦的 I-di.

West of 乎力山 is the city of 阿郎民 A-dsi-min.

It is ruled by a little prince subject to T'ie-kia-lie-sce, (see further on.) The country produces a-wei (Asa-futida.)

Further west is the city of 帖亂列 頤 T'ie-hua lie sce.†

It is ruled by a little prince. The people manufacture variegated carpets. To the east 6 days' journey is the city of 阿力 旦 A-li-dan. To the south-east is the town of 瑣力 旦 So-li (頗力 P'oi-li M.S.) To the north-east is the city of 紐扎 Niu-dia.‡

† The second character 頤 湖 may probably be a misprint for Po 白. Then the name would read T'ie-bo-lie-sce and might mean Tebris.
‡ Nakhidjevan?

Further to the west, 4 months' journey, is the city of 苦思旦 K'iu-sze-dan.*

It is a Mohammedan city. The people wear turbans. To the south-east is 也見的 Ye-ren-i.

Further west is the city of 沙密 Sham-i.

It is also a Mohammedan city. The country produces several kinds of fruits. There is a breed of horses called 哈剌骨 Ha-la-ge,†

One month's journey further west is the city of 把黑旦 Ba-hei-dan,‡

Seven water branches have been conducted to this city, where they unite. 2000 Mohammedan families live in it. Lions, ha-la k'iu-hu (see above note *** page 237), and leopards are found in that country. To the south the city of 久士 K'iu-t'u, to the north is the city of 陳西斤 Shun-si-juin.

Further west is the city of 也的納 Ye-di-no.§

It is a Mohammedan city. The people wear turbans.

Further west 100 里 is 飯店兒 Fan-tien-i (hostelry) and further west, six day's journey, is the kingdom of 天方 Tien-fang.‖

The (principal) city is surrounded by two walls, Mohammedans are living in it. Other Mohammedan people arrive at Tien-fang from other countries to pray there. To the south is the well of 框子 Kiu-za. To the north is the city of 阿思納 A-sze-na.

* It seems to me that Constantinople is meant. To the Arabs, Persians and Turks this city was known in the middle ages under the name of Constantinou. It is styled Ki-sze-dan-i on a Chinese Medieval Map. See my Notices of Mediev. Geogr. etc., p. 221.
† See Note * page 125, b.
‡ Bagdad.
§ The first character 阿 in this name seems to be a misprint for 也 Me, and then the name of the city of Medina would be exactly rendered by the Chinese characters. The Ming shi writes this name Mode-ua. See above.
‖ Mecen. Compare above, article Tien-fang, translated from the Ming-shi.
15 stations west of the kingdom of Tien-fang is the city of Mi-kia-le* (米的力 Mi-di-li M.S.) — It is a Mohammedan city.

Further west is the city of 牙滿 Yamen.

There are black-haired Mohammedans. The country produces agathe, amber etc.

Further west is the city of 文谷鲁 Wen-gu-lu. The Chinamen living there have all dishevelled hair and wear caps. There are coral trees found and also looking-glass stones with seven kinds of flowers and herbs on them. 东是的市区是河, which is crossed in row boats.

Further west is the city of 阿都民 A-du-miu.

It is also a Mohammedan city.

Further west is the city of 雅勒杂思 Ye-le-do-se.

This city is surrounded by water which is crossed in row boats. The Chinese there have all dishevelled hair and wear caps. The country produces rice, sundry fruits etc. The people manufacture 撒黑刺鐵刀 Pin-tie-tao (knives made of fine steel, see Note * page 21, a).

Further west is the city of 撒四赛 Sa-sze-sai† (撒黑四赛 Sa-kei-sze-sai M.S.).

It is enclosed by three walls. All the Chinamen living there have dishevelled hair and wear caps. Sundry precious woods and medicines are found there.

Further west is the city of 哈利迷 Ha-li-mi.

The people there are Mohammedans, wear turbans, breed many sheep and horses, cultivate rice, yellow grapes and other fruits.

Further west is the city of 阿的納 A-di-na.*

It is a Mohammedan city, subject to Lu-mi (see further on.)

Further west is the city of 菲郎 Pei-dai.

It is surrounded by two walls and ruled by a little prince. The Chinamen there shave their hair and wear caps. Rice is cultivated. Different silks, stuffs, carpets, etc. are manufactured there.

Further west is the city of 安谷鲁 An-gu-lu.†

It is a Mohammedan city. The same products as enumerated in the afore-mentioned places. The city is situated near a mountain. On this mountain is a superintendency (山上有巡檢司).

Further west is the city of 可台 K'o-tai.‡

The people are Mohammedans, till the ground, cultivate cotton. At the foot of the mountains 西天紅花 si-tien-hung-lua (Saffron) is cultivated. West of the city is a river and on it are two water-mills.

Further west is the city of 孖羅撒 Bu-lo-so.§

It is likewise a Mohammedan city. To the south-west (west M.S.) is the sea. In it the people navigate large ships (men of war.) They are so big, that they can load rations for 1000 men and for 3 months. These ships are also provided with weapons of war of every kind.

* There are two cities of Asia Minor to which this name could be referred, both mentioned by Sherif-eddin in connection with Timur’s expedition, viz.: Atina, located on Petis-de-la Croix’s map (i.e. III.) opposite Cyprus and Adin south-east of Smyrna.
† Angora in Asia Minor.
‡ Kutahieh in Asia Minor.
§ Brussa in Asia Minor.
Further west is the city of 鲁迷 Lu-mi. It is situated 1200 li west of Bu-lo-sa and enclosed by two walls. It has an independent ruler. The inhabitants are Mohammedans; there are also Chinamen and interpreters.

* It is difficult to say where the Chinese itinerary intends to place Lu-mi. Judging from the distance from Brusa noticed, we should refer Lu-mi to Rome. However there were hardly Mohammedans in Rome. Compare also above the article Lu-mi translated from the Ming-shi.

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