

In the Ming period, under the reign of Yung lo, in 1409, after these tribes had acknowledged Chinese supremacy, a Chinese governorship was established there at *Nu-rh-gan* with 184 *wei* (military districts) and 20 *t'sien hu su* (military posts of 1000) subordinate to it. All these places are enumerated there, and besides this the names of about sixty other districts, cities, and rivers of the same country are given.

After this the Ming Geography enumerates the principal mountains and rivers of the country of the Nü-chi, and gives more or less detailed accounts of them, as also of the productions of the country. We find here the first description of the celebrated mountain *Ch'ang po shan* (Long White Mountain), the cradle-land of the now reigning Manchu dynasty. This mountain is said there to be situated in the district of *Hui ning fu* (see note 934). It is 200 *li* high, 60 broad, and 1000 *li* long. On its summit there is a lake 80 *li* in circumference. Three rivers flow from this mountain, the *Ya-lu* to the south, the *Hun t'ung* (Sungari) to the north, and the *A-ye-ku* (probably the Tumen river is meant) to the east. The *Ch'ang po shan* was already famed in the Kin period. The name occurs repeatedly in the history of the Kin dynasty. I omit the other details of this interesting ancient account of Manchuria, which does not come within the province of my investigations.

#### SI YÜ, COUNTRIES OF THE WEST.

Thus the rest of the section on foreign countries in the Ming shi, chap. cccxxix.-cccxxxii., is headed. It comprises, besides Tibet and some countries of Hindustan, Eastern and Western Turkestan, Western Asia, &c.

#### HA MI.

Ch. 329 The chap. cccxxix. of the Ming shi begins with a long article on the military district of *Ha mi* or *Khamul*. p 3712

According to these accounts, Hami lies 1600 *li* west (misprint for north-west) of *Kia yü kuan*.<sup>937</sup>

Hami borders north<sup>938</sup> on the country of the *Wa-la* (Oirats), west on *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) and *Huo chou* (Karakhodjo), south on *Sha chou*, *Han-dung*, *Ch'i-ghin*, &c.<sup>939</sup> Fifteen hundred *li* south-east of Hami is the city of *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 (618-907) it was known under the name of *I chou*. In the Sung period (eleventh and twelfth centuries) it belonged to the *Hui-ho* (Uigurs). At the end of the Yüan dynasty (overthrown in 1368) a prince of the *Wei-wu* (Uigurs), by name *Na-hu-li*, ruled over this country. He had also the title of *Su wang* (prince of Su). When he died, his brother *An-ko t'ie-mu-rh* succeeded him.

Hami is a place of great importance, all the envoys (from the West) who proceed to the Chinese court being

<sup>937</sup> As has been noticed in note 883, *Kia yü kuan* from early centuries was the starting-point for Chinese military expeditions and travellers proceeding to Central and Western Asia and even India. It was generally believed that this fortress lies in a defile; but this supposition is a mistake, as my friend Colonel Matusowsky, who visited the place in 1875, explained to me. The small fortress of *Kia yü kuan* is situated about seventeen miles north-west of *Su chou fu*, on a river which comes out from the southern mountains, and running in a north-easterly direction, discharges itself into the *Tao lai* river, an affluent of the *Etsina* river. Whilst this elevated mountain chain, at the foot of which the fortress has been laid out, represents south of the latter an insurmountable barrier, the land north of *Kia yü kuan* is an inhospitable desert, destitute of water. This geographical disposition explains the importance of the place, situated upon the only practicable way leading from China to Eastern Turkestan. As has been stated above, the Great Chinese Wall terminates near *Kia yü kuan*, according to Lieutenant Kreitner, who accompanied Count B. Szechenyi on his expedition to Tibet, and visited *Kia yü kuan* in 1879, about fifty *li* south of this fortress, in the *Nan shan* mountains (Kreitner's "Im Fernen Osten," pp. 641, 642).

<sup>938</sup> There are several mistakes in the Ming shi regarding the frontiers of Hami, which I correct from the Ming Geography.

<sup>939</sup> On all these districts see farther on.

obliged to pass through Hami. It is a bulwark of the western frontier.<sup>940</sup>

The population of Hami belongs to three nations, viz., *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans), *Wei-wu-rh* (thus the Uigurs were termed by the Chinese authors of the Mongol period), and *Ha-la-hui* (unknown to me). Besides these, the tribes of *Siao-le-t'u* and *Me-k'o-li*<sup>941</sup> are mentioned in the mountains north-east of Hami.

I insert here some accounts which the Ming Geography (1461), chap. lxxxix., gives on the mountains, rivers, and productions of the district of Hami.

The *T'ien shan* (Celestial Mountain) lies north of the city of Hami. It is also known under the name of *Süe shan* (Snowy Mountain). In the language of the *Fan* (foreigners) it is termed *Dje-lo-man*. In times past the *Hiung-nu* (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 tsung shan* (horse's mane's mountain) lies at the south-eastern frontier of Hami. In the vicinity is the defile *Wang hiang ling*. On the summit, in a niche in the rock, is an inscription referring to *Li Ling*.<sup>942</sup>

The river *Wei-wu-rh* is 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 *Niang tz' ts'ian* (Lady's spring) is east of the *Wei-wu-rh* river. The *hu* people (Turks) call it *K'o-t'un bu-la*

<sup>940</sup> In the History of the Posterior Han (first century of our era) it is stated that *I-wu-lu* (Hami) is the key to the *Si yü* (Western countries). It belonged originally to the *Hiung nu*, but in A.D. 73 the Chinese troops conquered it.

<sup>941</sup> This name occurs several times in the Ming shi. In the article *Han-dung* (see farther on) this tribe is called *Ye-me-k'o-li*, which may also be read Wild Me-Ko-li. It is stated there that they live two days' journey north-east of Hami.

<sup>942</sup> The mountain *Ma tsung shan* and the inscription of *Li ling* are mentioned in Wang Yen te's narrative, A.D. 982. *Li ling* was a Chinese general, who, in B.C. 99, was defeated and made prisoner by the *Hiung nu*.

(Khatun bulak). In the T'ang period 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 *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. (This account is taken from a Chinese itinerary of the Sung period, quoted by De Guignes, Huns i. 37.)

The river *Kan lu ch'uan* (see note 1055) 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, *wan tou* (common peas), *hiang tsao* (fragrant jujube),<sup>943</sup> *ts'iu-tsz'* (fruit of cratægus), *hu t'ung lü*,<sup>944</sup> *yin ya*

<sup>943</sup> I think we have to read *sha tsao* (sand jujube), which is the Chinese name for the fruit of several species of *Elaeagnus*, a very common fruit in Central Asia.

<sup>944</sup> This product, an exudation from the tree *hu t'ung*, has already been noticed in Wang Yen te's narrative, A.D. 982. It was known in China much earlier. The *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, chap. xxxiv., which writes more correctly *hu t'ung lei* (tears of the *hu t'ung* tree), quotes an author of the T'ang period, who states that the exudation is caused by an insect, and that the tree resembles the tree *t'ung* (*Paulownia imperialis*). Another author of the seventh century reports that the leaves of the *hu t'ung* tree (literally foreign t'ung tree) resemble the leaves of the poplar tree. The author of the *Si yü wen kien lu*, who visited Turkestan in the second half of the last century, in giving an account of the products of Central Asia (chap. vii. fol. 9), writes that the characters *hu-t'ung* here are intended to render a foreign word which means "fuel." The tree grows abundantly everywhere on sandy places, and sometimes forms forests extending for several tens of *li*. Generally it grows crookedly, and is not fit for wood-work, and even when the stem rises straight, the wood is not durable. The Mohammedans call this tree *hu-t'ung*, owing to its being fit only for firing stoves. In the hot season the sap of the tree flows down into the sand, and after hardening resembles amber. It is called then *hu-t'ung li* (*hu-t'ung* tears). The stem is covered with a white powder like flour, which is called *hu-t'ung kien* (*kien*=soda). The *Si yü t'u chi* gives *t'u-hu-la-k'o* (*tugurak*) as the local name of the *hu-t'ung* tree.

In Dr. A. Regel's account of his journey to Turfan (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1881, p. 382) I find the following short notice referring to the tree in question:—The desert poplar *Populus euphratica*, called *durangun* or *tugurak* by the natives, is a very useful tree in the waterless deserts, where it

*küe*,<sup>945</sup> jade; *pin t'ie*, a kind of iron (or rather steel) yielded by the *ch'i t'ie shi* (stone which eats iron), magnetic iron ore.<sup>946</sup>

We may now return to the records of the Ming shi, relating the history of Hami.

After the Ming emperor Hung wu had obtained the allegiance of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs),<sup>947</sup> he established military stations in *An-ting*, *A-du-an*, *K'ü-sien*, &c., and sent also an officer to *An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh* to make known the imperial manifestos. An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh 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 4710 horses from Hami. In 1410 he sent again tribute, and the emperor Yung lo bestowed upon him the title *Chung shun wang* (faithful and obedient prince), and gave him a golden seal. But in the next year An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh was poisoned by the (Mongol) Khan *Gwi-li-ch'i*. By imperial order An-k'o t'ie-mu-rh's nephew *T'o-t'o*, 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. *T'o-t'o* was ill-disposed against China and offended the emperor's envoys. Besides this, he was given to drinking and neglected the ruling of his country. The people revolted. The emperor sent an officer to warn him, but before the latter had reached

sometimes covers great areas. It seldom grows more than thirty feet in height. Its wood, like that of the saxaul (*Holoxylon*), is unfit for any other use than for fuel. In Balfour's "Cyclopædia of India" I find that *Populus euphratica* is known by the name of *ho tung*.

<sup>945</sup> Hartshorn.

<sup>946</sup> Already mentioned in Wang Yen te's narrative. See also note 395.

<sup>947</sup> As has been already noticed in a previous chapter, since the time of the Mongols the Uigurs were known to the Chinese historians under the name of *Wei-wu-rh*. The country of the Uigurs then comprised Bishbalig (Urumsai), and the tract situated between the T'ien shan and Kukuener, and even a part of Tibet.

Hami, *T'o-t'o* had died, A.D. 1410. His cousin *T'u-li t'ie-mu-rh* succeeded him with the Chinese title of *Chung i wang* (faithful and righteous prince). He died in 1425. The emperor confirmed *T'o-t'o's* son *Bu-da-shi-li* as *Chung shun wang*, but owing to his minority, *T'o-huan t'ie-mu-rh*, a brother of *T'u-li t'ie-mu-rh*, was associated with him with the title *Chung i wang*. The latter died in 1437. His son *T'o-t'o t'a-mu-rh* succeeded, but died a short time after. *Bu-da-shi-li* died also, and then his son *Dao-wa-da-shi-li* took the reign of Hami with the title *Chung shun wang*. All these princes had sent every year tribute to the Chinese court. Under *Dao-wa-da-shi-li's* reign, *Yc-sien*, Khan of the *Wa-la* (Oirats), twice took Hami and made *Dao-wa-da-shi-li's* mother and his wives prisoners, A.D. 1440 and 1445. *Dao-wa-da-shi-li* died in 1457. His brother and successor, *Bu-lie-go*, reigned until 1460, and as he died without leaving a son, his mother, *Nu-wen-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 in 1463 the princess-dowager was obliged to retire to *K'u yü*.<sup>948</sup> In 1472, *Ba-t'a-mu-rh*, a grand-nephew of *T'o-huan t'ie-mu-rh*, was appointed by the emperor to rule as a governor 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-t'an A-li* (Sultan Ali) of *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) arrived before Hami, captured and plundered the city, and seized the golden seal (granted by the Chinese emperor). He took also prisoner 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 was then transferred to the newly built city *K'u yü*. In 1473 the Chinese emperor gave orders to *Li Wen*, commander-in-chief in *Su chou*, to raise troops in the

<sup>948</sup> The city of *K'u yü* is marked on modern Chinese maps about 100 li west of *Yü men hien*, north lat. 39°.

military districts of *Ch'i-ghin*, Han-dung, among the *Me k'o li*, and other tribes, and direct them against Ali. In winter this host advanced as far as the river *Bu-lung-gi-rh*,<sup>949</sup> but did not venture to attack the enemy, and returned. The tribes of the *Wei-wu-rh* and the *Me-k'o-li* were also transferréd to K'u yü.

In 1482, Han-ch'ien, who had also his residence in K'u yü, rallied the troops of Ch'i-ghin and Han-dung, numbering together with his own people ten thousand men, and suddenly attacked Hami. Ya-lan fled, and Han ch'ien entered the city. In 1488 the title of *Chung shun wang* was bestowed upon him. Meanwhile Sultan Ali had died (1478). His successor, *A-hei-ma*, in 1488 appeared before Hami, and, under the pretence of proposing a marriage with Han-ch'ien's daughter, enticed him out and killed him. After this, *A-hei-ma* took possession of Hami, but in the next year he was obliged to give it back. Han-ch'ien's successor was *Shan-ba*, a descendant of T'o-t'o's nephew. In 1493 he was made prisoner by *A-hei-ma*, who once more captured Hami. In 1495 the city was retaken by the troops of Ku yü, Ch'i-ghin, Han-dung, but *Shan-ba* was released only two years later. He died in 1505. His son *Bai-ya-dsi*, who succeeded him, assumed the title *Su-t'an* (Sultan). He was an incapable ruler. In 1513 *Su-t'an Man-su-rh* of Turfan took possession of Hami, and since that time the Chinese lost their influence there.

Hami depended on Turfan down to the year 1696, when, according to the Chinese annals of the present dynasty, the chief of Hami, *Beg Abdullah*, acknowledged the supremacy of emperor Kang hi. See Rémusat's "Extension de l'Empire Chinois," &c.

I may finally notice that, in the "Mémoires conc. les Chinois" (xiv. 242, 245, 247), Amiot has translated four

<sup>949</sup> The river Bulungir is marked on modern Chinese maps 40° north lat., between Kia yü kuan and Hami.

letters written by the princes of Hami or their envoys to the Chinese emperors.

As regards Western sources of information in the Ming period referring to Hami, we may mention the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to the emperor of China, which in 1420 passed through *Kumul* (Yule's "Cathay," cc.).

B. Goes was the first European traveller who, after Marignolli, visited this place in 1605 (*l. c.* 578). More than a century later, between 1710 and 1716, the Jesuit missionaries, by order of emperor Kang hi, determined by direct astronomical observations the position of Hami and some places in its neighbourhood (De Mailla's "Hist. de la Chine," xii. at the end).

After this, more than a century and a half elapsed before these tracts became again accessible to European investigation. In 1875, the Russian expedition headed by Sosnovsky, when returning from China, passed through Hami. Dr. Piasetsky and Colonel Matusovsky, who belonged to this expedition, have published some interesting notes on this place. Two years later, in 1877, Potanin visited the oasis of Hami; and in 1879 Przevalsky, on his way to Tibet, spent five days there (Potanin's "Mongolia," i. 162; Przevalsky's "Tibet," 68). According to Potanin, *Hami* (which is the Chinese name) is called *Khamil* by the Mongols and *Kumul* by the Sarts. He derives the latter name from *kum*, "sand."

I finally notice a very valuable article on Hami by V. Uspensky (Russian Consul at Kuldja), which in 1873 appeared in the "Proceedings of the Russian Geogr. Soc.," vol. ix.; see Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1873, 319). It is a historical and geographical account of the district of Hami, compiled from Chinese sources for the greater part hitherto unknown in Europe.

*Liu ch'eng*, or, as the name is also written, *Lu-chen* or *Liu-chen*, is the same as the country of *Liu chung* (in the middle of willows) at the time of the Han dynasty, where the Chinese governor of the *Si yü* had established his residence.<sup>950</sup> In the T'ang period it was the district *Liu chung hien*. The distance between Liu ch'eng and *Huo chou* (see the next) in the west is 70 *li*. Hami lies 1000 *li* east of Liu ch'eng.<sup>951</sup> A great river passes through the country (it seems between Hami and Liu ch'eng). Many bones (of men and beasts of burden) 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 *Liu sha*.<sup>952</sup> At the foot of a *Fire mountain* (v. p. 190) there is an isolated city two or three *li* wide; that is Liu ch'eng. There are fields, gardens, shady trees, flowing waters all around. The soil produces millet, wheat, beans, hemp; there grow also peaches, pears, jujubes, melons, bottle-gourds. There are also plenty of grapes, of small size, but very sweet and without seeds. They are called *so tsz' p'u t'ao* (small grapes).<sup>953</sup> As to domestic animals, there are cattle, sheep, horses, and camels. The climate there is pleasant. The people are of good character. The men tie up their hair; the women cover themselves with black stuffs. The language they speak is that of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs).

In 1406 emperor Yung lo sent his minister *Liu t'ie-mu-rh* to *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bishbaligh; see farther on), and

<sup>950</sup> We read in the *Hou Han shu*, chap. cxviii., article *Si yü* (Western countries), that A.D. 123 *Pan Yung* was entrusted with the affairs concerning western countries and established his residence at Liu chung.

<sup>951</sup> According to modern Chinese itineraries, these distances are respectively 50 and 1030 *li*.

<sup>952</sup> The desert *Liu sha*, literally, "moving sand." See note 884.

<sup>953</sup> This is still the Chinese name for the small sun-dried grapes (currants) imported to Peking from Hami.

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 despatched *Wa-ch'i-la*, one of his captains of a thousand, with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1409, when *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 An. He presented tribute, and was rewarded by the emperor. In 1413 the ruler of Liu ch'eng sent an envoy, who accompanied *Bo-a-rh-hin-t'ai* (an envoy from *Huo chou*), and in the winter of the same year the captain of a thousand *Kuang-yin-nu* was again despatched to the Chinese court. In 1422 Liu ch'eng together with Hami sent an envoy and presented its tribute, consisting of 2000 sheep. In 1430 the ruler of Liu ch'eng sent one of his chieftains, *A-hei ba-shi*, to the Chinese court. Envoys from Liu ch'eng arrived also in 1440 and 1448. Subsequently, when *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) had become powerful, Liu ch'eng was annexed to it.

Liu ch'eng is mentioned in Wang Yen te's itinerary, A.D. 982. Proceeding from *I chou* (Hami) westward, he came to the country of *P'ao-ch'uang* (probably the *Pi chan* of our days), and then reached *Lu chung*. He notices also the desert of the demons. On the Chinese mediæval map of the fourteenth century (see Part III.) the same place is called *Lu-gu-ch'en* (see p. 31). It is no doubt the same as the city of *Lu-ko-ts'in*, marked on modern Chinese maps about sixty *li* south-east of Turfan. The Jesuit Father d'Espinha in 1756, by order of the emperor K'ien lung, determined astronomically some cities of Eastern Turkestan and Dsungaria, and among these also *Lukotsin*, east of Turfan. He terms it *Lukikin* (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 467).

*Huo chou* (Fire city), called also *Ha-la*,<sup>954</sup> is situated seventy *li* west of Liu ch'eng and thirty *li* east of T'u-lu-fan. It is the same as the *Anterior Ch'e-shi* at the time of the Han.<sup>955</sup> The *Sui* (589-618) called this country *Kao ch'ang*. Emperor T'ai tsung of the *T'ang* dynasty abolished the kingdom of Kao ch'ang, which then became a (Chinese) district with the name of *Si chou*. During the *Sung* period (tenth to thirteenth century) the *Hui-hu* (Uigurs) lived in this country, and used to pay tribute to China. The *Yüan* (Mongol dynasty) called this country *Huo chou* (fire city or district). It was then comprised, together with the districts of *An-ting*, *Kü-sien*, and others (see farther on), in the country of the *Wei-wu-rh*,<sup>956</sup> which was governed by a *da-la-hua-ch'i* (daroga = Mongol governor).

In 1406, in the fifth month, emperor Yung lo sent one of his high officers, *Liu t'ie-mu-rh*, to accompany the envoy from *Bie-shi-ba-li*, who returned home. *Liu t'ie-mu-rh* received order to bestow some pieces of silk stuff on the son of the prince of *Huo chou*, by name *Ha-san*, when passing through his country. In the next year the

<sup>954</sup> There are evidently two characters wanting in the Chinese text, for in the Mongol period this place was called *Ha-la-huo-djo*, the same as *Karakhodjo* of the Persian historians. See Part III. On modern Chinese maps it is marked as *Ha-la-huo-djo*, about sixty *li* south-east of Turfan and fifty *li* south-west of Lu-k'o-tsin.

<sup>955</sup> There were in the days of the Han, before our era, two realms of *Ch'e-shi*, one of them designated by the name of *Anterior* (eastern) *Ch'e-shi* i. e., nearer to China, the other called *Posterior* (western) *Ch'e-shi*. Comp. *Tsien Han shu*, chap. xcvi., where it is stated that the *Ch'e-shi* kingdoms both are situated north-east of the residence of the Chinese officer entrusted with the affairs of the *Si yü* (Western countries), distant from that place, the anterior 1807 *li*, the posterior 1207 *li*. They are distant from the Chinese capital (*Chang an*, near present *Si an fu* in *Shen si*) respectively 8150 and 8950 *li*. The residence of that Chinese governor at that time was in *Wu-wei*, which place seems to have been situated somewhere near present *Kharashar*.

<sup>956</sup> On the *Hui-hu* and *Wei-wu-rh*, both these names denoting the Uigurs, see Part II.

prince of *Huo chou* sent as tribute a piece of jade and some products of his country. In 1409 an envoy from *Huo chou* arrived with tribute, together with the envoys from *Ha-lie* (Herat) and *Sa-ma-rh-han*, and in 1413 *Bo-arh-hin-t'ai*, a military officer of the prince of *Huo chou*, came as an envoy with tribute. At the same time the envoys from *An-di-gan* (Andegan) and *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz) and other countries, in the whole nine, arrived at the Chinese capital. The emperor then ordered *Ch'en Ch'eng* (see above), *Li Sien*, and others to bring his manifestos to *Huo chou*, and 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 Chinese court until 1448, and this was the last time that *Huo chou* sent tribute. (It belonged to Turfan in the second half of the fifteenth century.)

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 by the people and their domestic animals are the same as in Liu ch'eng. The city of *Huo chou* is ten *li* and more in circumference. There are more Buddhist temples than dwelling-houses of the people.<sup>957</sup> 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 *Huo chou* was a small realm, it could not sustain its independency, and Turfan took possession of it.

Regarding the mountains, rivers, productions, &c., of *Huo chou*, see T'u-lu-fan, *infra*.

<sup>957</sup> This statement is corroborated by the diarist of the embassy of Shah Rok to the emperor of China, which passed through this country in 1420. He mentions *Turfan* and *Karakhodjo*, and says that the people of Turfan were mostly Buddhists, and had a great temple with a figure of Sakya Muni (Yule's "Cathay," cc.).

Amiot, in the "Mém. conc. les Chinois," xiv. 272, notices several embassies sent by the ruler of Huo chou to the Chinese emperor, and translates the respective letters of credence. *Sa-ha-la*, prince of Huo chou, sent jade and horses as tribute. *Han wan*, sent with tribute by the prince of Huo chou, supplicated for silk stuffs. The dates of these letters are not given.

Huo chou or Karakhodjo (see note 954) is mentioned in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to the emperor of China (see note 957).

The Mesalek alabsar (first half of the fourteenth century), p. 224, gives an itinerary from Samarkand to Khanbalik (Peking), in which it is stated that from *Almalik* to *Kamtchou* (Kan chou), the first city of Khata on the way, they reckon forty days' journey, and the way passes through *Karakhodjo*.

Dr. A. Regel seems to be the first European who visited Karakhodjo in 1879. The Jesuit missionaries may have been there in the last century, but this name does not appear in their accounts. Regel (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, 206) writes the name *Karagudja*, and states that it is a considerable place, situated on an oasis in the desert, forty versts east of Turfan. He saw near Karagudja the vast ruins of an ancient city, with the remains of a beautiful sepulchral mosque, 400 years old. Regel reports that, according to tradition, this city, which he terms *Old Turfan*, was founded by the heathen emperor *Takianus*, and destroyed 400 years ago. It seems to me that these ruins must rather be referred to ancient *Karakhodjo*. With respect to *Takianus*, Yule in his "M. Polo," i. 116, observes, that all over Mohammedan Asia there are old sites to which legend attaches the name of *Dakianus*, or the emperor *Decius*.

## T'U-LU-FAN (TURFAN).

Ming shi, chap. cccxxix.

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*T'u-lu-fan* (the city) is situated west of Huo chou 100 *li*. It is distant from Hami more than 1000 *li*, from Kia yü kuan 2600 *li*. It lies in the land of ancient *Ch'e-shi*, anterior kingdom (see note 955), or *Kao ch'ang*, as it was called during the *Sui* dynasty. The T'ang abolished *Kao ch'ang* and established in its place the district of *Si chou*, with the capital *Kiao ho hien*.<sup>958</sup> The city of T'u-lu-fan is situated where the city of *An lo ch'eng*, depending on *Kiao ho hien*, stood. The *Sung* (960-1127) restored the name of *Kao ch'ang*. The *Hui-hu* (Uigurs) then occupied this country, and used to send tribute to the Chinese court.<sup>959</sup> The Yüan (Mongol dynasty) established here the head-quarters of a corps of a 10,000.

The Ming Geography, chap. lxxxix., gives some particulars with respect to the mountains, rivers, productions, &c., of Turfan, Huo chou, and Liu ch'eng, a translation of which I proceed to insert here.

The mountain *Ling shan* (mysterious mountain) is situated north-west of the city of T'u-lu-fan. The stones (rocks) there show fine veins like hair. There is also a heap of very hard and bright white stones like bones.<sup>960</sup> The people call this the place where a million of *lo-han* (saints, *arhat*) used to shave their hair and entered into nirvan.<sup>961</sup>

<sup>958</sup> This is an ancient name. In the above-quoted article of the T'ien Han shu (see note 955) we read that already before our era the capital of the anterior kingdom of Ch'e-shi was *Kiao ho ch'eng*, or the city surrounded by a river.

<sup>959</sup> In A. D. 981 Wang Yen te was sent by the Chinese emperor to the prince of *Kao ch'ang* (see i. 244).

<sup>960</sup> Evidently a sacred stone heap called "obo" by the Mongols.

<sup>961</sup> According to the author of the *Si yü wen kien lu* (last century), chap. i. fol. 6, the *Ling shan* is a mountain south of *Urumsai*, belonging to the T'ien shan. This name has been given to it on account of the marvellous phenomena seen there. It seems to me that *Ling shan* is probably the celebrated *Bogdo ula*. See note 161.

The *Ch'i shi shan* (mountain of red rocks) is a picturesque peak north-west of T'u-lu-fan. It bears this name owing to the red colour of its rocks.<sup>962</sup>

The mountain *T'an han* is seventy *li* north of the red mountain. Even in summer great masses of snow are accumulated on it. North of this mountain is the boundary of the *T'ie-le* tribe.<sup>963</sup>

The *Huo yen shan* (fire mountain) lies east of the city of Liu ch'eng. The Sung History gives the following account of this mountain:—"North of *Pei t'ing* (believed to answer the present Urumtsi) is a mountain, the interior of which contains *nao sha* (sal ammoniac). Inside there is a perpetual fire, and the smoke sent out from it never ceases. Clouds or fog are never seen around this mountain. In the evening the flames issuing from it resemble torch-light. The bats, from this phenomenon, appear also in a red colour."<sup>964</sup>

The mountain *Ting ku shan* is north of the city of Liu ch'eng. There is on it an ancient temple, dating from the time of the T'ang, with a monument bearing an inscription. The Sung shi, article Kao ch'ang, states that there are more than fifty Buddhist monasteries, all established in the T'ang period. They then possessed the great collection of Buddhist works and several Chinese dictionaries.<sup>965</sup>

The *T'ien shan* (Celestial mountains) is north of the city of *Kiao ho ch'eng*. It is also known by the name of

<sup>962</sup> This passage regarding the red mountain has been borrowed from the History of the Wei (fifth century), article Kao ch'ang.

<sup>963</sup> Likewise copied out from the Wei History. See note 962. The *T'ie-le*, a Turkish tribe near the T'ien shan.

<sup>964</sup> The above account of the fire mountain is borrowed from Wang Yen te's narrative (see note 959), according to which this mountain lies north of *Pei t'ing*. But then the Ming Geography is wrong in referring this account to a mountain situated east of Liu ch'eng. The *Si yu wen kien lu* (last century) states that to the south-east of Turfan there is a chain of sandstone mountains entirely destitute of vegetation, and as the sun's beams heat exceedingly the rocks, the name "fire mountain" has been applied to them.

<sup>965</sup> Taken from Wang Yen te's narrative.

*K'i lien shan*. Here was in the days of the T'ang the city *T'ien shan hien*.

The sea (or rather lake) *P'u ch'ang hai*<sup>966</sup> is situated south-west of T'u-lu-fan. It is also called *Yen tse* (Salt lake) or *Po si hai*, and is 400 *li* in circumference. As has been ascertained by *Chang K'ien*, who travelled to the countries of the west, the river which discharges itself into this lake is formed by two rivers; one of them comes from the *Ts'ung ling* mountains (west of Kashgar and Yarkand), the other from *Yu t'ien* (Khotan). They unite, and then the river flows eastward and empties itself into the lake. Farther on the water flows underground for a thousand *li*, and issues out again at the foot of the *Tsi shi shan* mountain. This is the *Ho* (Yellow River).<sup>967</sup>

The river *Kiao ho* passes twenty *li* west of Turfan. It takes its rise in the T'ien shan mountains. Farther on it divides into two branches, surrounding the city of *Yai-rh-ch'eng*.<sup>968</sup> This is the same as *Kiao ho hien* in the days of the T'ang. See note 958.

*Han hai* (the characters mean northern sea) is the name applied to the land (desert) stretching from the city of *Liu ch'en* eastward. There is nothing but sand and stones. There are furious winds in this desert. When encountering them, travellers and horses perish. *Han hai* is a

<sup>966</sup> The Ming Geography properly writes the name *P'u lei hai*. But as the whole information it gives about this lake is borrowed from the T'ien Han shu, chap. xvi., introduction, I did not hesitate in writing the name as it is found in the original. The compilers of the Ming evidently mean Lake Lopnor, but confound it with the lake of *P'u lei*. The latter is also an ancient name, identified by the Chinese with *Barkul* of our days, situated north-east of Turfan, beyond the T'ien shan.

<sup>967</sup> The famous Chinese general *Chang K'ien*, who about 120 B.C. returned from his long journey to the western countries, had made some investigations about the sources of the Yellow River, and suggested that the water of the Lopnor, after running underground for a great distance, communicates with the visible sources of the Yellow River near the aforementioned mountain *Tsi shi shan* (on the Chinese map south of Lake Kukenor, about 34° N. lat.).

<sup>968</sup> A river *Ya-rh* is marked on modern Chinese maps west of Turfan. It appears also on the map appended to Regel's account of Turfan.

foreign name used by the barbarian tribes to designate this desert.<sup>969</sup>

The Ming Geography mentions the following products in T'u-lu-fan, Huo chou, and Liu ch'eng:—

Horses,—camels,—*sha shu* (sand rats). They are as big as rabbits. The birds of prey catch and eat them.<sup>970</sup> *Yin ya kue*, *Su-ho kue*.<sup>971</sup>—Silkworms.—*Po tie pu* (cloth woven from the white *tie*), which is made of the cocoons of the wild silkworm living on the plant *k'u san*. This stuff is used as a barter in trade.<sup>972</sup> *Hu-tung li* (see note 944).—*T's'e' mi* (thorn honey), a kind of honey (*mi*) of very fine taste produced upon a plant called *yang ts'e'*.<sup>973</sup>—*A-wei*.

<sup>969</sup> Compare also note 9.

<sup>970</sup> The Chinese text can also be understood: they are eaten (by the people) after being caught by birds of prey. The Chinese traveller Wang Yen te (see i. 244) notices in the country here spoken of a kind of rat as big as a rabbit, with red spots. They are eaten by the people, who use birds of prey for catching them. In the Tang History, chap. cviii. b., article *Yü-t'ien* (Khotan), mention is made of *sha ts'i shu* (desert rats) as big as hedgehogs occurring west of Khotan and running after the horses. It seems to me that here jumping hares or *Jerboas* are meant. These beasts are frequently met in the deserts of Mongolia and Central Asia, especially the *Scirtetes jaculus*, termed *Alakdaga* (spotted colt) by the Mongols, *Morin yalma* (horse jumper) by the Kalmuks. Marco Polo's Pharaoh rats eaten by the Mongols (i. 244) are, as Colonel Yule has already pointed out, the same.

<sup>971</sup> It seems that by *yin ya kue* and *su-ho kue* horns of antelopes and stags are meant (*kue* = horn in Chinese). The young soft horns (antlers) of *Cervus elaphus* and *Cervus axis*, in Chinese *lu jung*, are prepared by the Chinese for medical purposes. I have seen also in Peking druggists' shops the full-grown horns of Antelope Saiga and of the elk. All these horns come either from Manchuria or from Southern Siberia. According to Potanin ("Mongolia," i. 83) there is a great trade with deer's horns in Uliassutai. *Ibidem*, ii. 142, the male of *Cervus elaphus* is called *soge* by the Mongols. This may explain the term *su-ho kue*.

<sup>972</sup> The information here given about the *po tie* and the plant *k'u san* is originally found in the Tang shu, article Kao ch'ang. It appears also in Wang Yen te's narrative. It seems to me that we have here an incorrect description of the *cotton plant*, first introduced into China from Central Asia in the ninth or tenth century, and thus little known in the period here spoken of. The Chinese text in the Tang shu does not mention the *k'u san* plant, but states simply that the *po tie* is woven of the blossoms of a plant.

<sup>973</sup> This statement on the honey-bearing plant has been copied out from

This is a plant with a solitary root and stem; the branches and leaves are umbrella-shaped. The plant has a very unpleasant smell. Its fresh exudation when boiled gives a paste which is called *a-wei*.<sup>974</sup>

As to the minerals of those countries, the Ming Geography mentions white and red salt, *nao-sha*,<sup>975</sup> and *pin t'ie* (steel; see note 395).

The Ming history gives the following accounts regarding the history of Turfan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries:—

The name of *T'u-lu-fan* appears for the first time in the Chinese annals *s. a.* 1377 (it was unknown, it seems, during the Mongol period). The Ming shi records that the ruler of T'u-lu-fan, having repeatedly plundered foreign embassies proceeding through his dominions to China, the emperor in 1377 despatched an army to punish him, and the country was ravaged by the imperial troops.

In 1406 the emperor Yung lo sent an envoy to Bie-shi-ba-li (Moghulistan), who, when passing through T'u-lu-fan, made a present of silk stuffs to the ruler of this country; whereupon the latter despatched *Sai-yin T'ie*

the History of the Wei (386–558), article Kao ch'ang. Several shrubs exuding a sugar-like product have been noticed by our botanists in Persia, Afghanistan, Turkestan, viz., *Alhagi camelorum*, *Atraphaxis spinosa*, *Tamarix manifera*. My late friend D. Hanbury, in his excellent "Pharmacographia," p. 371, states: *Turanjabin* or *Alhagi Manna* is afforded by *Alhagi camelorum*, Fish., a small spiny plant of the order Leguminosae, found in Persia, Afghanistan, and Beludjistan. It is a substance in little roundish, hard, dry globules, of agreeable saccharine taste and senna-like smell. *Alhagi Manna* is collected near Kandahar and Herat, where it is found on the plants at the time of flowering. The well-known traveller, Professor Vambery, states from his own observation ("Skizzen aus Mittelasien," 190) that in Turkestan the *turanjabin* appears in autumn suddenly in one night and is collected early in the morning while it is still cool. This product is eaten by the people in its rough state, or they manufacture syrup of it. Compare also note 1055.

<sup>974</sup> *A-wei* is the Chinese name for *Asa fatida*, yielded by several umbelliferous plants, *Narthex Asa-fatida*, Falc., *Scorodoma fatidum*, Bge., *Ferula alliacea*, Boiss.

<sup>975</sup> *Nao sha* is the Chinese name for sal ammoniac. It is called *naw shadur* in Persian, *nau sadar* in Sanscrit, *nashatyr* in Russian.

*mu-rh*, a commander 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 should 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 realm used to send as tribute to China highly-bred horses and gerfalcons, and products of the country. The Son of Heaven also sent his envoys to T'u-lu-fan. In 1422 the chief of T'u-lu-fan, by name *In-ghi-rh-ch'a*, had been expelled by *Wai-sa*, the chief of Bie-shi-ba-li. He then appeared before the emperor to complain. The emperor bestowed upon him a military rank, and caused the ruler of Bie-shi-ba-li to surrender *In-ghi-rh-ch'a's* land. The latter was very grateful. In 1425 he came in person, at the head of his tribe, to the Chinese court and presented tribute; and in the next year he appeared again, and was well received by the emperor. After his returning home he fell ill and died. In 1428 his son, *Man-k'o T'ie-mu-rh*, 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 kingdom. When, in 1441, the envoy from *Mi-si-rh* (Egypt) returned home, the emperor ordered that various silk stuffs should be bestowed upon the chief of T'u-lu-fan, by name *Ba-la-ma-rh*; whereupon the latter in the next year sent tribute to the court.

T'u-lu-fan borders upon *Bie-shi-ba-li* and *Yü t'ien*,<sup>876</sup> which are both great kingdoms. It was at first of little authority, but afterwards, after taking possession of *Huo chou* and *Liu ch'eng* (Karakhodjo and Lukotsin, *v. supra*), in the middle of the fifteenth century, T'u-lu-fan became powerful, and its chief, *Ye-mi-li huo-djo*, accordingly

<sup>876</sup> Moghulistan and Khotan. See farther on.

assumed the title of *wang* (king or prince). Envoys from this country were seen again at the Chinese court in 1452 and 1459, when an embassy of twenty-four 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 their ruler had taken the title of *Su-t'an* (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 silk stuff were bestowed upon the envoy. In the next year the Sultan 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 refused to grant this request. At that time T'u-lu-fan had risen to considerable power. *Su-t'an A-li* (Sultan Ali) of T'u-lu-fan, profiting by the circumstance that in Hami there was no ruler (see above), in the spring of 1473 attacked the city, captured it, and carried away with him the princess-dowager and the golden seal (given to the prince of Hami by the Chinese emperor). He left his brother-in-law, *Ya-lan*, with a part of his troops in Hami to maintain the place. The Chinese emperor then ordered *Li Wen* to rescue Hami, but the latter returned from this expedition without any success. Subsequently A-li sent envoys with tribute to China, as T'u-lu-fan had used to send in former times, and even three envoys arrived at the capital in the same year. They were well received by the emperor, and no bitter word was said to them in allusion to the behaviour of the *Su-t'an*. However, his envoys displayed great arrogance, requesting, among other things, elephants as a present. The Board of War replied that elephants were an attribute of the imperial cortège only. The emperor received them as presents (from his tribu-

tarries in the south), but would never agree to bestow them upon other people. The envoy then made allusion to T'u-lu-fan's increasing power, in having taken possession of Hami, K'ü-sien (see farther on), &c., 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 T'u-lu-fan, through whose dominions all the envoys to and from the west had 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 favour to be officially acknowledged as Su-t'an of T'u-lu-fan. The emperor made the condition to release the princess-dowager and hand over the seal of Hami. Some time after a new embassy with tribute arrived from T'u-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 T'u-lu-fan of the death of the princess-dowager of Hami, 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 Ali. In 1478 Ali died, and his son *A-hei-ma* (Ahmed) succeeded him as Su-t'an of T'u-lu-fan, and after his accession sent an envoy to the Chinese emperor. In 1482 *Han-ch'en* (the ruler of Hami, *v. supra*) succeeded in rallying troops and expelling the people of T'u-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 for various imperial attributes; but the emperor gave orders to stop the embassy at Kan chou, and retain its members as prisoners. In 1490 another embassy, accompanying the envoys from *Sa-ma-rh-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 T'u-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, should be surrendered; and indeed the restitution of the seal and the cities ensued, whereupon the emperor ordered the embassy of T'u-lu-fan, in the whole twenty-seven men, to be released. The latter had not yet reached the frontier, when a new embassy despatched by *A-hei-ma*, consisting of thirty-nine men, reached Peking. But meanwhile *A-hei-ma* had again attacked Hami (in 1493), captured the city, and made prisoner *Shan-ba*, 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 yü kuan* was shut up. Besides taking these measures, the Chinese government rallied troops, who marched to attack *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 abandon Hami to the Chinese. But he took *Shan-ba* with him as prisoner. This happened in 1495. It was only in 1497 that *Shan-ba* was released, when *A-hei-ma* sent him to the Chinese frontier, and solicited the permission of again sending tribute. The emperor agreed. Then, in 1499, an embassy arrived from T'u-lu-fan, and solicited the release of the 172 men of the former embassies imprisoned in Kuang tung (Canton).<sup>977</sup> 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 *Man-su-rh*, got the upper hand, declared himself Su-t'an, and sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1513 *Bai-ya-dsi*, prince of Hami, who was an incap-

<sup>977</sup> Probably a mistake for Kan chou. *Vide supra*.

able ruler, abandoned Chinese protection and fled to T'u-lu-fan. Man-su-rh sent to take possession of Hami. Henceforth the Chinese government had no authority with respect to Hami, and was frequently troubled by Man-su-rh, who invaded Su chou and Kan chou. In 1528 it happened that one of his generals, *Ya-lan*, surrendered to the Chinese. *Ya-lan* was originally a man from K'ü-sien (see farther on). He had been made prisoner by Su-t'an A-li when he was a boy, and subsequently he had married a sister of Ali. Man-su-rh, when he heard of this treason, got very angry. He tried at first to cause the *Wa-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 were not willing to accede.

Man-su-rh died in 1545, designating his eldest son, *Sha*, as his successor. But *Sha*'s brother, *Ma-hei-ma*, laid claims to the throne, and took possession of a part of Hami. After marrying a wife from the *Wa-la* people (Oirats), he, together with these allies, attacked his brother.

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

In 1570 *Sha* died, and his brother *Ma-hei-ma* ascended the throne of T'u-lu-fan, and despatched an embassy to China. But his three brothers revolted, and one of them, named *So-fei*, aspired to the crown, calling himself *Su-t'an*, and sending an embassy to China.

During the reign of emperor Wan li, 1573-1620, no embassy from T'u-lu-fan has been recorded in the Chinese annals.

This is a *résumé* of the history of Turfan in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, drawn from the Ming history. Not wishing to fatigue the reader with a literal translation of the whole article, I have omitted many details destitute of interest.

I may notice here that in the "Mém. conc. les Chinois," t. xiv. p. 242, 245, 247, Father Amiot has translated three petitions addressed to the emperor of China by *A-hei-ma* and *Shan-si-ting*, envoys from T'u-lu-fan.

*Turfan* seems to have been a powerful kingdom in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. As has already been noticed, the name *Turfan* does not appear in the records of the authors, either Chinese or Mohammedan, referring to Eastern Turkestan in the Mongol period, whilst they frequently mention the city of *Huo chou* or *Karakhodjo* in the country of the Uigurs, situated about twenty-seven English miles east of modern *Turfan*. The Chinese notice *Turfan* for the first time *s. a.* 1377. This leads us to suppose that this city was built only a few years earlier, and then became the residence of the rulers of those tracts. According to the *Si yü wen kien lu*, a Chinese description of Turkestan of the last century, "turfan," in the language of the people of Turkestan, means "residence." The names of the rulers of *Turfan* in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, as given in the Chinese account, are for the greater part found in the *Tarikhi Rashidi*, a history of Eastern Turkestan or Moghulistan, written in the middle of the sixteenth century, and other Mohammedan historical records referring to the same country.<sup>978</sup>

According to the Mohammedan authors, it was Khizr Khodja Khan of Kashgar and Moghulistan, end of the fourteenth century, who, next Kashgar, made *Turfan* the second capital of the Moghul empire. The *In-ghi-rh-ch'a*, ruler of *Turfan*, who, according to the Chinese annals, had been expelled by *Wai-sz'*, is not mentioned by the Mohammedan authors, but *Wai-sz'* is without doubt the *Weis Khan* of Moghulistan whom the *Tarikhi Rashidi* states to have been killed in 1428. After his death a

<sup>978</sup> Compare Erskine's "History of India under Baber and Humayun," 1854, i. p. 35-68, 537-540; Bellew's "History of Kashgar," 1875; Yule's "Cathay," 576.

division among the Moghuls took place. *Yunis Khan* reigned in Transoxiana, whilst *Isan Buka*, + 1462, and after him his son, *Dost Mohammed*, + 1468, ruled over Eastern Moghulistan. The son of the latter, *Kepek Sultan*, expressly stated by the Mohammedan authors to have ruled in Turfan. This may be the sovereign of Turfan who, in 1469, sent an envoy to inform the Chinese emperor that he had taken the title of *Su-t'an*. Sultan Ali of Turfan, who, according to the Chinese annals, in 1473 captured Hami and died in 1478, is not noticed by the Mohammedan historians. But his son, *Su-t'an A-her-ma*, whose death the Chinese record *s. a.* 1504, is without doubt the *Sultan Ahmed Khan* of the Tarikhi Rashidi, where it is stated that already in the lifetime of his father, Yunis, he governed the Eastern Moghuls, with *Aksu, Turfan, &c.* He was defeated by Sheibani Khan in 1503, and died of grief in 1504. He left seventeen sons, of whom *Mansur*, the eldest, succeeded. All the sons quarrelled. Mansur exercised authority at *Aksu* and in the whole territory to the east as far as *Chalis* and *Turfan*. He died in 1544. This is the *Su-t'an Man-su-rh* of the Chinese authors, according to whom he died in 1545, and was succeeded by his son *Sha*, evidently the *Shah Khan* of the Mohammedan historians. Compare also note 1013.

Yule, "Cathay," 576, quotes a passage from Haidar Razi, who in the last century wrote a history of Turkestan, and states that *Jalish* (Kharashar) is a city near *Turfan*, both places being under a prince called *Mansur Khan*, who is mentioned about 1531 as marching by *Jalish* to attack *Aksu*.

Turfan since the fifteenth century has been repeatedly visited by Western Mohammedan and Christian travellers.

The embassy of *Shah Rok* (see note 957) passed through Turfan. In *Hadji Mohammed's* account of Kathai, A.D. 1550, it is stated that from *Camul* to *Turfan* are thirteen days' journey ("Cathay," ccvii.).

We know that Benedict Goës, on his journey from India

to China in 1605, halted a month in the fortified town of *Turphan* (*l. c.* 578). About a century and a half later the Jesuit missionaries, by order of the emperor K'ien lung, visited these tracts, and Father *d'Espinha* even determined astronomically the position of Turfan in 1756 (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 467). But after this, Eastern Turkestan remained again inaccessible to European exploration for more than a century. Dr. *A. Rezel* was the first modern European traveller who visited Turfan, in 1879, and published an account of the city and a sketch map of it (Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1880, p. 205, 1881, map 18). These regions, however, are still very imperfectly known, and what we know about them is almost exclusively derived from Chinese sources of information.

We have seen that no trace of commercial or diplomatic intercourse between China and Turfan is found in the Ming shi posterior to A.D. 1570. After a long suspension of intercourse, an embassy from T'u-lu-fan to the Chinese court is again recorded in the annals of the present dynasty under the year 1646. We read in the *Sin kiang chi li* a description of Turkestan, 1820, that in this year *A-bu-le A-ha-me-t'e* (Abul Ahmed), prince of T'u-lu-fan, despatched an embassy with tribute to Shun chi, the second emperor of the Manchu dynasty. *Sub anno 1731* it is recorded that *A-min ho-dja*, chief of the Mohammedans in T'u-lu-fan, acknowledged the supremacy of the Chinese emperor, and in consideration of his merits he was invested with the military rank of commander of a division, and accordingly transferred his residence to *Kua chou* (nearer to China).

When the author of the *Si yü wen kien lu* visited Eastern Turkestan, about 1760, *T'u-rh-fan* was the residence of *Su-li-man*, son of *A-min huo-djo*, who ruled over six cities, viz., *T'u-rh-fan, Pi-djan, Lu-yu-t'sin, Se-geng-mu, T'o-k'o-sun, Ha-la-huo-djo*.<sup>979</sup> Whilst the other cities of

<sup>979</sup> All these six cities are marked on the Chinese map west and east of