

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 his country. Among these cities, the Chinese author says, only *T'u-rh-fan* is well populated. The whole population of all these cities may be estimated at 3000 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. To the south-east of *T'u-rh-fan* is a mountain ridge entirely destitute of vegetation. Here the sun-blaze is insupportable, wherefore these mountains have been named *Huo yen shan*, or "fire mountains" (*vide* note 964). It is not very cold there in winter-time, and snow is also scarce. The products of the country are wheat, millet, sesam, and many varieties of water-melons, melons, and grapes, the best in the west. The soil is fertile. Cotton and beans are much cultivated. One *li* north of *T'u-rh-fan* there are sometimes heavy hurricanes, carrying away donkeys and sheep. To the south of *T'u-rh-fan* all the land is a desert, in which great herds of wild camels and wild horses are found.

The *Sin kiang chi lio* enumerates in the whole twenty-nine cities and smaller places depending on Turfan. After the conquest of Eastern Turkestan by the Chinese in the last century, the more important cities there received Chinese names. Thus Turfan was named *Kuang an chi eng*.

Turfan. Their position is more correctly indicated on Regel's map. Regel, however, visited only Turfan, Toksun, and Karakhodjo. In the name *Pi djan* we can trace the *Pao chuang* in Wang Yen te's itinerary (A.D. 982). This Chinese traveller on his way from Hami to Kao ch'ang (Karakhodjo), after crossing a desert, came to *Pao chuang*, then passed by *Liu chung* (*Liu ch'eng*, Lu-gu-ts'in, *v. supra*), and reached Kao ch'ang. *T'o-ko-sun* is also an old name.

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THE MILITARY DISTRICTS OF SI FAN.

Under this head the *Ming shi*, in chap. cccxxx., gives a historical account of the country south and south-east of Lake Kukenor during the *Ming* period. It is stated there that the name *Si fan* is applied to the territory situated beyond the frontiers of the Chinese provinces of Shen si (then including the eastern part of present Kan su) and Sz' ch'uan, and inhabited by various tribes of Tangut race, anciently known in Chinese history under the name of *Si Kiang*.

The military districts established there by the first *Ming* emperor, Hung wu, were ruled by native chiefs, who had acknowledged Chinese supremacy, and who were placed under the direct control of four military administrations, which had their seats in *Si ning*, *Ho chou*, *T'ao chou*, and *Min chou* (south-east of Lake Kukenor, in Kan su). In 1512 the country of the *Si fan* was ravaged by the Mongol chief *I-bu-la T'ai shi*, who took possession of the province of *Ts'ing hai* or *Kukenor*.

The *Kuang yü ki*, chap. xxiv. fol. 24, notices that *Si fan* comprises the territory to the south-west of Shen si, west of Sz' ch'uan and north-west of Yün nan. There were two *wei* or more important military districts in *Si fan*, viz., *Do-gan* and *Lung ta*, and thirty smaller dependencies, all enumerated in the *Ming Geography* as well as in the *Kuang yü ki*. The tribute presented by the *Si fan* tribes to the emperor used to be carried to the court at Peking by way of *Ya chou* in Sz' ch'uan.

The same Chinese works give also a short account of the mountains, rivers, and products of the *Si fan* country.

The *K'un lun* chain, a high mountain to the north-east of the district of *Do-gan*, is covered with eternal snow. Its local name is *I-rh-ma-bu-la*.⁹⁸⁰ The Yellow River runs 500 *li* south of this mountain.

⁹⁸⁰ The *K'un-lun* mountain, celebrated in Chinese legends, dividing Tibet from Mongolia and the Tarim basin.

On the border of Si fan there is the lake *K'o-bo*. It is more than seventy *li* in circumference. It discharges its water towards Yün nan. This river unites with the river *Si-rh*, and then takes the name *Yang-pi*. The *Hui* river (the Chinese character, not distinctly printed, is perhaps to be read *Dseng*) comes out from the south-east (south-eastern border of Sifan?) and is called *Lu* river.⁹⁸¹

The *Huang ho*, or Yellow River, takes its rise on the western border of the district of *Do-gan*, west of the tribe *Ma-hu-man*. Farther on, the river in its course is for some distance hidden underground and reappears again on the surface, forming more than a hundred springs or lakelets like stars. The native name of these lakes is *Huo-tun nao-rh*. The river then takes for more than 100 *li* a north-easterly direction and forms a great lake. Farther eastward, the river takes the name *Chi pao ho*. It is joined by the *Hulan* and other affluents, and finally takes the name *Huang ho*.⁹⁸² The Ming Geography mentions several tributaries of the Upper Huang ho; but these names are not found on modern maps.

Si fan in Chinese means "Western Barbarians." The Chinese generally apply this name to the tribes who have their seats in the alpine country south of Lake Kuke-nor, the land of the sources of the Yellow River, and in the north-western mountainous part of Sz' ch'uan; but sometimes the Chinese historians use it as a synonymous term for Tibet. For further particulars see the article on

⁹⁸¹ *K'o-bo* is perhaps intended for *Gokpo*, one of the sources of the Bramaputra, and *Yang pi* for *Tsanpa*, an affluent of the latter river. The *Lu* river or *Salween* is marked in the same regions on our maps. Compare Colonel Yule's interesting investigations regarding these rivers in his article "The River of Golden Sand," 1880.

⁹⁸² According to modern Chinese maps, the plain in which the above-mentioned lakelets are found is called *Oron tala* (starry plain) by the Mongols, and *Sing su hai* (starry lakes) by the Chinese. The large lake noticed in the Ming Geography is the *Oring nor* of our maps. After leaving this lake the river takes the Mongol name *Khatun gol*.

Tibet in Part III. The Ming shi terms Tibet *Wu sz' dsang* (see farther on).

The Chinese identify *Si fan* with *Tangut* (Hyacinth's "History of Tibet and Kuke-nor," pref. viii.). Indeed, the Tangutans of Przewalsky, north-east of Tibet, in the Kuke-nor country,⁹⁸³ correspond to the Si fan.

The rest of chap. cccxxx. in the Ming shi is devoted to six other military districts, situated partly in Kuke-nor and Northern Tibet, partly in Kan su, west of Kia yü kuan. I shall give an abstract of these accounts presently.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF AN-TING.

An-ting is situated south-west of *Kan chou*, 1500 *li* distant from that city. At the time of the Han dynasty here the country was called *Rh K'iang*.⁹⁸⁴ In the T'ang period it belonged to the kingdom of *T'u-fan* (Tibet, v. p. 23). In the days of the Mongol dynasty *An-ting* was the appanage of a Mongol prince, *Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh*, who had the title *Ning wang*.⁹⁸⁵ This country was properly called *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* (Sari-Uigur).⁹⁸⁶ It is about 1000 *li*

⁹⁸³ Now-a-days the basin of the Kuke-nor lake and the mountainous regions in which the greatest rivers of China, the Huang ho and the Yang tsz', take their rise, are comprised by the Chinese in the general name *T'ing hai* or Azure Sea, which has the same meaning as *Kuke-nor* in Mongol.

⁹⁸⁴ Comp. History of the Anterior Han, chap. xvi. The name *Kiang* in ancient times was applied to the tribes who lived in the Kuke-nor country and North-Eastern Tibet.

⁹⁸⁵ The title *Ning wang* was first bestowed, in 1306, upon Kubilai Khan's eighth son, *K'uo-k'uo-ch'u*. See Yüan shi, chap. cvii., genealog. table. *Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh*, who ruled over *An-ting* when the Ming expelled the Mongols from China, seems to have been a descendant of that prince.

⁹⁸⁶ I have not been able to find the name *An-ting* mentioned in the Yüan history, but the name *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* occurs there once. Plano Carpini also mentions the *Sari-Huiur*. For further particulars see i. 263. I am not prepared to say whether the place *Sari* marked on our maps of Tibet, between 34° and 35° N. lat. and about 86° E. long., *Sa-li* of the Chinese maps, has anything to do with the Sari Uigurs.

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in extent, borders to the east on *Han-dung* (see farther on), to the north on *Sha chou*, to the south on *Si fan* (Kukenor). There are no cities in this country. The people dwell in felt tents and breed plenty of camels, horses, cattle, and sheep.

In 1370 the emperor Hung wu sent an envoy to this country to make known the imperial manifestos, and in 1374, in the sixth month, Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh sent one of his chief officers, by name *Ma-t'a-rh*, and others to offer tribute to the Chinese court. They brought armour, swords, and products of their country. The emperor was much delighted, and received the embassy kindly. Subsequently a Chinese officer was despatched to An-ting, who divided the country into four tribes (districts), namely, *A-duan*, *A-djen*, *Jo-sien*, and *T'ie-li*.⁹⁸⁷ The prince (Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh) 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 which formerly had been granted to the prince by the Yüan. He begged the emperor to establish in his country two *wei* or military districts in *An-ting* and in *A-duan*; to which the emperor assented. He bestowed on Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh the title *wang* (prince), and to one of his officers, *Sha-la*, the military rank of *chi hui*. In 1376 the emperor despatched 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 likewise. A revolution broke out in the country. *Do-rh-dji-ba*, a general, revolted, withdrew to the *Sha mo* (desert), and from there appeared again to plunder An-ting. He took also with him the imperial seal. In 1392 the Chinese general Lang Yu with his host marched out westward (from Kau su, it seems), and advanced as far as the river *A-djen*. In 1396 the emperor sent one of his officers to set in order the affairs of An-ting, and to

⁹⁸⁷ Of *A-duan* we shall speak in the next article. On *A-djen* see farther on. It was also the name of a river. *T'ie-li* is probably the *T'ie-le* of the Mongol annals (v. i. 263).

re-establish the military administration there. In 1413 *I-p'an-dan*, a grandson of Bu-yin T'ie-mu-rh, who had retired to *Ling-dsang*,⁹⁸⁸ offered tribute to the emperor, who invested him with the title prince of An-ting. It happened in 1424 that Chinese envoys who had been sent to *Wu-sz'-dsang* (Tibet) rested on the rivers *Bi-li-dju*⁹⁸⁹ and *Huang yang ch'uan* (Antelope river), when they were attacked by the troops of *San-k'o* and *San-dsi-sz'*, the first being one of the chieftains in An-ting, the other a *chi hui* of *K'ü-sien*. They robbed the embassy, killed the envoys, and fled. When the emperor heard of this violation of his authority, he became very angry, and sent out considerable forces under the command of *Li Ying* and *K'ang Shou* to pursue the rebels. *Li Ying* arrived at the *K'un-lun* mountains, and proceeding several hundred *li* westward, reached the country *Ya-ling-k'uo*, where he met the rebels of An-ting and defeated them with great slaughter. But the rebels of *K'ü-sien* had got wind and succeeded in hiding themselves. *Li Ying* then returned.

In 1446 *I-p'an-dan* died, and his son, *Ling-djan-gan-sie-rh*, succeeded him as prince of An-ting. He died in 1490, and was succeeded by his son, *Ts'ien-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 was living in *K'ü-sien* (see farther on). But *Ts'ien-ben* raised claims in favour of his brother. Nevertheless *Shen-ba* was elected prince of *Hami*.

Under the reign of *Cheng te*, in 1512, the Mongol chief *I-bu-la T'ai shi*, followed by the tribe *A-rh-t'o-sz'*, conquered *Ts'ing hai* (Kukenor, v. *supra*), and ravaged the

⁹⁸⁸ *Ling-dsang* is again mentioned farther on in the article *Wu-sz'-dsang* as situated in Tibet.

⁹⁸⁹ The name of a river *Bi-li-dju* occurs for a second time in the article *A-duan* (see farther on). The great highway to Tibet passed by this river.

adjacent countries. Thus they destroyed also the principality of An-ting.

The name An-ting is not found on modern Chinese or European maps referring to the regions in question. Its position in ancient times can only be approximately determined from the particulars above translated. It was situated west of Kukenor, somewhere near the K'un-lun mountains.

More than ten years ago, the well-known traveller Captain H. Trotter, whom I had the pleasure of meeting in Peking, informed me that, according to the Pandits entrusted with the survey of Tibet, there is north-west of the Tenkiri lake, in the country where the Sokpo Kalmuks live, a famous monastery called *Adjan*. This name is known also to the Mongol Lamas in Peking. It may be that it is connected with the district of the same name noticed in the Ming history.

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF A-DUAN.

Cl. 330 *A-duan* is comprised in the country of *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh* p. 373 (see note 986). As we shall see, the Ming shi notices farther on that A-duan borders east on *Han-dung*, north on *Sha chou*. In 1375 emperor Hung wu established here a military administration. Subsequently A-duan was plundered by *Do-rh-dji-ba* (see article An-ting). In 1406 the chief of A-duan, by name *Siao-sie*, and others, arrived at Peking to offer tribute, and solicited that the military administration in their country might be re-established. The emperor agreed, and bestowed upon *Siao-sie* and the other chiefs military ranks.

In the reign of *Hung hi* (1425-26) the chief of K'ü-sien, by name *San-dsi-sz'* (the same who had in 1424 robbed the Chinese envoys on their way to Tibet), induced one of the chi hui of A-duan, by name *So-lu-dan*, to unite with him for plundering once more a Chinese embassy. The

emperor sent a great host in their pursuit, but the Chinese were not able to lay hold of the robbers. They could only prohibit their returning to their countries. In 1431 the emperor appointed *Djen-dji-han* to administer 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*, where the great highway to *Wu-sz'-dsang* (Tibet) passes, the emperor had pardoned him, and he had returned with his clan to their former seats in *T'ie-rh-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 *T'ie-rh-gu*.

As to the last-mentioned *A-duan*, it seems to me that here *Khotan* is meant, which in the *Yüan shi* is generally termed *O-duan* (v. *supra*). However, as we shall see farther on, the Ming shi treats of *Khotan* under its ancient Chinese name *Yü-t'ien*.

But regarding the country *A-duan*, which properly forms the subject of this article, and which, according to the Chinese accounts, was originally comprised in the territory of *Sa-li Wei-wu-rh*, 1500 *li* south-west of *Kan chou*, I have little doubt that it must be looked for in the regions where the Yellow River takes its rise. In the *Yüan shi*, chap. lxiii., we find a dissertation on the *Sources of the Yellow River*. It is stated there that in 1280 Kubilai Khan despatched one of his high officers, *Tu-shi*, to explore the sources of the *Huang ho*. *Tu-shi* ascertained that the sources of this river consist of more than a hundred lakelets or marshes, which, when looked upon from an elevated place, have the appearance of a constellation, wherefore this country is called *O-duan nao-rh*, which is the same as *Su sing hai* in Chinese (starry sea). *Odun* in Mongol means "star," *nor* = lake. On modern Chinese

maps the country from which the Yellow River issues is termed *Oduñ tala* (starry plain).

CH. 330 THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF K'Ü-SIEN. p. 3733

It lies south-west of *Su chou*, and borders to the east on the district of An-ting. It is comprised in that country where anciently the *Si Jung* or *Si K'iang* of the Han period, or the *T'u-fan* in the days of the T'ang dwelt.⁹⁹⁰ The Yüan (Mongols) established here a military administration (*yüan shi fu*, properly "head-quarters"), called *K'ü-sien da-lin*.

In 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 upon him. A military administration was established at K'ü-sien. When *Do-rh-dji-ba* revolted (*v. supra*), 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 *A-djen* (*v. supra*).

In 1406 K'ü-sien was again separated from An-ting. The rank of *chi hui* was bestowed upon *San-dsi*, who had then charge of the district of K'ü-sien. *San-dsi-sz'* was appointed his assistant, but subsequently, at his request, was allowed to move and govern the country *Lo-wang-huai*. Eighteen years later, *San-dsi-sz'*, together with one of the chieftains 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-sz'*, who, with his people, had hidden himself at a long distance. Subsequently he was pardoned by the emperor, who invited him even to return and to administer 42,000 tents (families). *San-dsi-sz'* then sent an embassy to thank the emperor, and offered camels and horses. In 1430 a Chinese envoy, who had returned from the *Si yü* (Western countries), reported that *San-dsi-sz'* again had

⁹⁹⁰ All these names were applied in ancient times to Tibet and tribes of Tibetan race.

stopped and robbed envoys carrying tribute to the court, and that he had entirely shut up the passage. The emperor then became very angry, and ordered great forces to be sent in pursuit of the robbers. *San-dsi-sz'* succeeded in escaping before the Chinese arrived, but his companion, *T'o-t'o-bu-hua*, was completely defeated and killed. At length *San-dsi-sz'* was again pardoned, sent an embassy to express his thanks, and then was allowed to return to his country, where he died in 1432. He was succeeded by his son, *Du-li*. In the reign of Ch'eng hua (1465-88), the *T'u-lu-fan* (people of Turfan) invaded and ravaged K'ü-sien. In the reign of Hung chi (1488-1506), *Shan-ba*, the son of the prince of An-ting, who lived in K'ü-sien, was called to rule over Hami (*v. supra*). In 1512 the great headman of the *Meng-gu* (Mongols), *I-bu-la*, followed by the tribe *A-rh-t'u-sz'*, after making himself master of Ts'ing hai (Kukenor), ravaged also K'ü-sien, and destroyed the military administration there.

CH. 330 THE MILITARY DISTRICT CH'I-GHIN OF THE MENG-GU (MONGOLS). p. 3734

Proceeding from *Kia yü kuan* westward twenty *li*, one arrives at a place called *Ta ts'ao t'an* (high grass shoal). Farther on thirty *li*, the *Hei shan rh* (Black hill) is reached, and seventy *li* from the Black hill is *Hui-hui mu* (Mohammedan tomb). Farther west forty *li* is *Shen ma ch'eng* (gelding's city). There is a remarkable *tun t'ai*, in which look-out soldiers are kept.⁹⁹¹ Eighty *li* west of this place lies *Ch'i-ghin*.⁹⁹² At the time of the Han dynasty there

⁹⁹¹ The Chinese beacon-towers of the Ming are well described by Persian travellers in the fifteenth century. See Dr. Zenker's above-quoted translation of the *Khitai* nameh.

⁹⁹² The greater part of the above-mentioned places west of *Kia yü kuan* are found on the great Chinese map on the road between this gate and the city of *Yü men hien*. There are on the Chinese map two posts or stations, *Ch'i-ghin*, viz., *Ch'i-ghin hu t'ai* (post at the lake *Ch'i-ghin*) and *Ch'i-ghin hia t'ai* (post at the defile of *Ch'i-ghin*). A river runs between these two posts connecting two lakes.

was here the district of *Tun huang*;⁹⁹³ at the time of the Tsin the district of *Chang kün*. In the T'ang period this land belonged to *Kua chou*, and in the Mongol period to the circuit (*lu*) of *Sha chou*.

In A.D. 1380 the (Ming) general Pu ying, on his expedition westward, arrived at *Po ch'eng* (White city), captured the Mongol commander *Hu-du T'ie-mu-rh*, then reached the post of *Ch'i-ghin*, and made *I-lien-djen*, prince of *Pin*,⁹⁹⁴ and his people, consisting of fourteen hundred men, prisoners. He seized also the golden seal (granted by the Mongol emperors), and then returned. Subsequently a Mongol tribe took again possession of Ch'i-ghin. There was a Mongol by name *T'a-li-ni*, the son of *K'u-dju*, an ancient (Mongol) minister. He lived at first in the country of *Ha-la-t'o*, and in 1404 came with more than five hundred men to submit. He was appointed commander of a thousand, with an imperial seal in *Ch'i-ghin*, where a military post (*su*) was established. T'a-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 ts'ien shi*. In 1410 this military post was raised to a *wei* (military district). In 1411 T'a-li-ni died, and his son *Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia* succeeded to

The stations *Chighin pu* and *Chighin hia* appear in Colonel Matusowsky's itinerary (1875). In 1879, August, the expedition of Count B. Szechenyi passed by the same route from *Kia yü kuan* *via* *Yü men hien* and *An si* to *Sha chou*. Lieutenant G. Kreitner, the diarist of this expedition ("Im Fernen Osten," p. 645), mentions the same stations, but writes the names erroneously *Tscha tjen pu* and *Tscha tjen hia*. According to him, *Tscha tjen hia* (or *Chighin hia*) is situated on a lovely oasis abounding in grass and water. There is a little lake, into which three mountain rivers discharge themselves.

⁹⁹³ In the second century B.C. the Chinese established four districts in these regions at the north-western frontier, viz., *Tsiu ts'üan*, *Wu wei*, *Chang ye*, and *Tun huang*, the westernmost of these districts, situated west of *Yü menkuan*.

⁹⁹⁴ According to the genealogical table of the Mongol dynasty (*Yüan shi*, chap. cviii.), the title princes of *Pin* had been bestowed upon some descendants of Hulagu, Ilkhan of Persia. In this table *I-lien-dji Ba-ti* appears as a descendant of Hulagu in the fourth generation.

him. He presented tribute and received a 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* (*Khotan*, *v. supra*) with tribute to China, and even killed the envoy and twenty-one men of his suite. But he was punished at the demand of the emperor, and obliged to deliver the goods he had robbed. In 1440 a Chinese envoy who went to *Hami* passed through Ch'i-ghin. Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia supplied him with provisions, mules, horses, and even gave him a convoy. In return the emperor raised him in rank. In the next year it was reported to the emperor that a man belonging to Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia's tribe, but pretending to be a man from *Sha chou*, used to stop the envoys coming with tribute from the *Si yü* and plunder them. The emperor ordered the culprits to be punished. At that time the *Wa-la* had become powerful,⁹⁹⁵ and frequently invaded the neighbouring countries. Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia, 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-ghin and asked Ts'ie-wang-shi-ghia'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-shi-ghia, who had grown old, retired, and his son *A-su* took the administration of Ch'i-ghin, 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 to the prince of *Hami*, when resting in the city of *K'u yü* (see note 948), were attacked by the commander of the troops of Ch'i-ghin, who surrounded the city. But the Chinese made a sortie, defeated the rebels, and took

⁹⁹⁵ The *Wa-la* or *Oirats*, at the time here spoken of, had even a preponderating influence at the Mongol court at *Karakorum*.

the leader prisoner. A-su was a faithful adherent of China, and resisted the proposition Ye-sien made him to make a league with him against the emperor. He died in 1466. His son *Wa sa-t'a-rh* succeeded him. He died in 1471, and was succeeded by his son *Shang-bu-t'a-rh* in the administration of Ch'i-ghin.

In 1473 the *Su-t'an* of *T'u-lu-fan*, having captured Hami, sent envoys to Ch'i-ghin with a letter to the commander of the troops there, inviting him to attack China; but the commander put the envoys to death and sent the letter to the emperor. In 1482 Ch'i-ghin assisted *Han-ch'en* in retaking Hami (v. *supra*). In 1483 the neighbouring tribe, *Ye-mie-k'o-li* (see note 941) invaded and plundered Ch'i-ghin. Subsequently the *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) frequently ravaged this district, and finally destroyed the military station there in 1513. The Chinese government then removed the remains of the Mongol tribe of Ch'i-ghin to the southern mountains of Su chou. In 1528 they hardly numbered a thousand men.

The Ming Geography enumerates the following natural productions in the district of Ch'i-ghin:—

Camels,—*hu-t'ung-lü*, the exudation of a tree (*Populus euphratica*, see note 944), which is used for soldering gold and silver.—*Po-mo ken*,⁹⁹⁶—*kin t'ing tsao* (a plant unknown to me),—*jou ts'ung jung* (*Phelipaea*, a plant used as a medicine by the Mongols, v. i. p. 102),—*sha tsao* (sand jujubes, the Chinese name for the fruit of *Elæagnus*),—*fu kin* (gold dust),—*nao sha* (sal ammoniac, see note 975),—*ku fan* (a mineral, unknown to me).

Klaproth ("Asia Polyglotta," 269) as well as Howorth ("Mongols," i. 499, 500) are disposed to identify the *Ch'i-ghin Mongols* of the Ming period with the *Khoshotes* or *Kalmuks* of Kokenor of our days. Delamarre, in his

⁹⁹⁶ According to the *Pen ts'ao kang mu*, chap. xii., this is a plant with yellow flowers, which resembles the *mu su* or lucerne, and the roots of which are used as a medicine.

"Histoire des Ming," 177, translates the above name *Tche-kin Moung-kou*, according to the meaning of the Chinese characters, by "Mongols aux haches rouges." But *Ch'i-ghin* is without doubt a Mongol word, meaning "ear," frequently used in Mongol geographical appellations. Archimandrite Palladius, in his "M. Polo in N. China," observes that Ch'i-ghin is properly the name applied to two lakes there, the great and the little one. Kreitner, on the map appended to his narrative of Szechenyi's journey, indeed places two lakes in the vicinity of Chighin.

66.330 THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF SHA CHOU. 7.3736

Proceeding from Ch'i-ghin 200 *li* westward, one arrives at *K'u yü* (see note 948). From this place the way leads at first southward, then westward, and after advancing 190 *li* the traveler reaches *Kua chou*.⁹⁹⁷ Four hundred and forty *li* west of *Kua chou* lies *Sha chou*.⁹⁹⁸ At the time of the *Han* here was the district of *Tun huang*, situated at the border of the *Si yü*, opposite and not far from the two fortresses *Yü men kuan* and *Yang kuan*.⁹⁹⁹

⁹⁹⁷ On the great Chinese map "Ancient *Kua chou*" appears about 190 *li* north-west of *K'u yü*, 100 *li* east of *Tun huang hien* (*Sha chou*), south of the road which leads from this city to *An si chou*. *Kua chou* was founded in the beginning of the T'ang period, A.D. 622. Lieutenant Kreitner, who accompanied Count B. Szechenyi on his expedition to Tibet in 1879, visited the ruins of *Kua chou* ("Im Fernen Osten," 673, 676). It was a large and populous city till about 1869, when it was destroyed by the Mohammedan rebels. The site assigned to this place on the Chinese map seems to be correct.

⁹⁹⁸ There is evidently a mistake in the figures. Przewalsky ("Tibet," 93) visited *Sha chou* in June 1879. He states that *Sha chou* is also called *Tun huang*. Lieutenant Kreitner, who reached *Tun huang hien* in the same year a few months earlier, states that the ruins of ancient *Sha chou* are situated opposite modern *Tun huang*, between the left bank of the *Tan* river and its branches ("Im Fernen Osten," p. 658, Peterm. "Geogr. Mitth.," 1882, p. 418). The Chinese map, however, locates "Ancient *Sha chou*"—I am not able to say on what authority—about 100 *li* south-west of *Tun huang*.

⁹⁹⁹ The fortresses *Yü men kuan* and *Yang kuan* were built in the reign of the Han emperor Wu ti, about 120 B.C., west of *Kia yü kuan*. The foundation of *Tun huang* falls in the same period. See note 993. *Yü*

Sha chou was founded under the *Wei* dynasty (386-558).¹⁰⁰⁰ During the *T'ang* dynasty the name was not changed. Subsequently the *T'u-fan* (Tibetans) took possession of Sha chou. In the days of the *Sung* Sha chou belonged to the *Si Hia* (Tangut empire). In the Mongol period there was a circuit (department) *Sha chou lu*.

The history of Sha chou during the Ming period, as related in the *Ming shi*, has a great resemblance to what has been recorded with respect to the afore-mentioned districts. When the Ming established their power in China, Sha chou was, like *Ch'i-ghin*, in the possession of a Mongol tribe.

In 1404 two of the chieftains of Sha chou, *K'un-dsi-lai* and *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 shi*. *Mai-dju* died in 1410, and then *K'un-dsi-lai* alone administered Sha chou.

In 1424 it happened that an envoy of *T'ai ping*, prince of the *Wa-la* (Oirats, *v. supra*), on his way to the Chinese court found the passage barred by robbers, when *K'un-dsi-lai* gave him an escort. The latter was accordingly rewarded by the emperor. In 1425 envoys from *I-li-ba-li* (Mogh-

men kuan stood on the same place where now-a-days the city of *Yu men hien* lies; the site of *Yang kuan* was, according to the Chinese authors, 130 *li* south-west of *Tun huang*.

¹⁰⁰⁰ The *Ming shi* is wrong. As I have stated above, the name of Sha chou dates from the year A. D. 622. According to the Geography of the *Yüan* dynasty (quoted in the *Ming Geography*), the name of Sha chou is derived from the *Ming sha shan*, the rumbling sandhill near that place. The description of *Tun huang hien* states that the sand rolling down the hill produces a particular sound similar to that of distant thunder. Compare also about Sha chou, p. 18, and with respect to the rumbling sandhill, the report of a Chinese envoy of the tenth century, translated by *Rémusat* in his "Ville de Khotan," p. 77. According to this traveller, the rumbling sands producing sounds similar to those of thunder are ten *li* south of *Kua chou*. See also in *Yule's "Cathay,"* p. 156, ccxliv., about the *Friar Odoric's* account of the sandy hill in *Tartary*, on which he heard the sounds of invisible drums.

listan) and *Sa-ma-rh-han* were plundered in the territory of *Hami* by robbers from Sha chou. The military governor of *Su chou* received orders to pursue them. In 1426 *K'un-dsi-lai's* people were 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 despatched also one of his eunuchs to Sha chou to bestow presents on *K'un-dsi-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 envoys from *Ha-lie* (*Herat*), who had carried tribute to the court, complained that they had been plundered on their way in the district of Sha chou by *Go-yu*, the *chi hui* of *Ch'i-ghin*. *K'un-dsi-lai* then received orders to inquire into this matter.

In 1434 *K'un-dsi-lai* sent an envoy to the court complaining that the district of Sha chou was frequently plundered by robbers from *Si fan* (*Tangut*), who robbed men and cattle; and as he was not able to resist them, he solicited permission to withdraw and 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 thirty years; your people breed plenty of cattle and horses and have become wealthy; your arguments have no foundation." But in the next year, 1435, Sha chou was plundered by the people of *Hami*, and as *K'un-dsi-lai* feared also the *Wa-la*, he decided to abandon Sha 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-dsi-lai* at *K'u yü*. One part of his tribe had emigrated to *Hami*. Subsequently the *chi hui* of *Han-dung* (see farther on) established himself in the district of Sha chou, but he was expelled by the *chi hui* of *Ch'i-ghin*. In 1440 the emperor ordered

the Chinese governor at the frontier to rebuild the city of *K'u-yü* with the assistance of Chinese soldiers. In the winter of 1441 the work was finished. *K'un-dsi-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 to offer tribute. *Nan-k'o* received the rank of *tu tu ts'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 government succeeded in good time in stopping the emigration, and in 1446 they transferred the whole tribe from *Sha chou*, more than 200 families, numbering more than 1230 men, to China, to the district of *Kan chou*. The city of *Sha chou* was abandoned by the Chinese, and *Ban-ma-sz'*, the chief of *Han-dung*, 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 on account of the merits of his father and brother the emperor pardoned him. He was sent to *Tung ch'ang* (in the province of *Shan tung*).

Ch. 330

THE MILITARY DISTRICT OF *HAN-DUNG*.

p. 372 B

It is situated south of *Ch'i-ghin* and south-west of *Kia yü kuan*. It lies also in the land which in the days of the *Han* constituted the district of *Tun huang*.

In 1392 a general of the *Ming*, when pursuing robbers, arrived in the country of *Han-dung*. A great number of the people living there fled and hid themselves. But subsequently they returned, and in 1397 the chief of the tribe, by name *So-nan-gh'i-la-sz'*, sent an envoy with tribute to the Chinese court. The emperor then ordered a military administration in *Han-dung* to be established.

As I do not wish to fatigue the reader further by

records of embassies sent to the Chinese court, of predatory excursions, and of the plundering of embassies, I may briefly 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 *Turfan*. In the beginning of the sixteenth century the *Mongols* began to oppress the people of *Han-dung*. The *Mongols* at that time had taken possession of *Tsing hai* (*Kukenor*). At length the Chinese government transferred the whole tribe of *Han-dung* to *Kan chou*.

Ch. 330 THE MILITARY DISTRICT *HAN-DUNG* THE LEFT.¹⁰⁰¹

p. 373 C

This is the same as ancient *Sha chou*. There had been a discord among the people of *Han-dung*, and one part of them, conducted by *An-chang*, had settled on the territory of *Sha chou*, after this district had been abandoned by *K'un-dsi-lai* (*v. supra*). After *An-chang*'s death his son *Ban-mu-sz'* was put at the head of the tribe. He was suspected by the Chinese government of acting in collusion with *Ye-sien*, chief of the *Wa-la*. He died in the reign of *Ch'eng hua* (1465-88), and was succeeded by his grandson, *Dji-k'o*. In 1479 the Chinese government established at the ancient city of *Sha chou* the military administration of *Han-dung* the left. *Dji-k'o* then was placed at the head of it. At length the Sultan of *Turfan* took possession of this district.

Ch. 330

THE COUNTRY OF *HA-MEI-LI*.

p. 374 C

This country is not far from the district of *Kan su*. The prince *Wu-na-shi-li*, a relative of the *Yüan* (the *Mongol* house reigning in China), was living there when

¹⁰⁰¹ The Chinese character *tso*, the left side, is commonly used for the east, but in this case it seems west is intended, for *Han-dung*, according to this account, lay south of *Ch'i-ghin*, and *Han-dung* the left or *Sha chou* must have been west of it.

that dynasty was overthrown by the Ming. In 1380 the Chinese general *Pu Ying*, who exercised his troops in *Si liang* (present Liang chou fu in Kan su), solicited from the emperor permission to move out with his troops and take possession of the country of Ha-mei-li, in order to open through it a commercial 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 despatched the Mohammedan *A-lao-ding* (Alaeddin) with tribute to the Chinese court. The emperor rewarded him, and sent an officer to the country of the *Wei-wu-rh* (Uigurs)¹⁰⁰² to make known to the foreigners his manifestos.

In 1390 the emperor was informed that Wu-na-shi-li frequently disturbed the adjacent districts, and used to stop the caravans of the Mohammedans in the Si yü when passing through his territory, 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 forces marched out from *Si liang*, proceeded westward, and in the night arrived at the city of Ha-mei-li, which they surrounded. One of Wu-na-shi-li's officers came out to surrender. 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. The Chinese captured his city. *Bio-rh-k'ie T'ie-mu-rh*, the prince of *Pin*,¹⁰⁰³ and 1400 men were killed. The son of the prince and 1730 men were made prisoners. The golden and silver seals (bestowed formerly upon the prince by the Mongols) fell also into the hands of the Chinese.

Chapter cccxxxi. of the Ming shi treats for the greater

¹⁰⁰² Thus it seems that Ha-mei-li was comprised in the country of the Uigurs.

¹⁰⁰³ With respect to the princes of *Pin*, compare note 994.

part of Tibet, and then refers to some kingdoms of India which had political intercourse with China.

CL. 331

WU-SZ'-DSANG (TIBET).

P. 374 2

We have seen (v. p. 24) that already in the Yüan history Tibet is sometimes designated by this name, which seems to be a corruption of the joined names of the two provinces *U* and *Tsang*.

The Ming shi states that Wu-sz'-dsang lies west of the border of the province of *Yün nan*, and is more than 1000 *li* distant from the city of *Li kiang fu*, 1500 *li* from *Ma-lu-fu* in *Sz' ch'uan*, 5000 *li* from *Si ning* in *Shen si*.¹⁰⁰⁴

Besides the successors of *Ba-sz'-ba*, whom Kubilai Khan had constituted chief Lama of Tibet (and who had their residences, it seems, at Lhasa), the Ming shi mentions seven other heads of the Lamait Church in Tibet. In the beginning of the fifteenth century the Chinese emperor bestowed upon them Chinese titles.¹⁰⁰⁵

CL. 331

A-NAN-GUNG-DE, A KINGDOM IN SI TIEN.¹⁰⁰⁶

P. 374 9

In 1374 *Bu-ha-lu*, the ruler of this country, sent his chief explainer (*kiang chu*), by name *Bi-ni-si*, with tribute to the Chinese court. He brought, among other things, a stone which had the property of neutralising poison.

¹⁰⁰⁴ The distances seem to refer to *Lhasa*, the capital of Tibet.

¹⁰⁰⁵ For further particulars on the subject see Klaproth's "Magasin Asiatique," ii. 213. Klaproth translates the article *Si dsang* (the modern Chinese name for Tibet, *Western Dsang*), found in the Great Geography of the present dynasty.

¹⁰⁰⁶ *Si tien* (Western Heaven) is a Chinese name applied to India in some Chinese translations of Buddhist works.

A-nan-gung-de sounds like *Annagoondy*, which, according to W. Hamilton ("East India Gazetteer," 1828), is the name by which the Canarese designated the celebrated city of *Bijanapur*, founded in 1336 on the Toombuddra river, on the right bank of which the ruins of it can still be seen. Opposite, on the left bank, are the vast ruins to which the name of *Annagoondy* is usually applied. About 15° 20' N. lat. In 1443 Shah Rok sent an embassy to the king of *Bijanapur*. See "India in the Fifteenth Century," by Major, 1857, Hakluyt Society.

After this no embassy from that country was seen in China. That is all the Ming shi records with respect to this Indian kingdom.

At the end of the short record of the embassy from A-nan-gung-de the Ming history notices also an embassy sent to the Chinese court by the *kuo shi*¹⁰⁰⁷ *Do-rh-dji k'ie-lie-shi sz'-ba dsang-bu* of *Ho-lin*. This embassy reached the Chinese capital at the same time as that from A-nan-gung-de. The annalist explains that *Ho-lin* is the name of the capital of *T'ai tsu*, the first Mongol emperor.¹⁰⁰⁸ The *kuo shi* had despatched his *k'iang chu* (chief explainer), by name *Ju-nu-wang-shu*, to present to the emperor a Buddha's statue of copper, sacred relics, white cloth called *ha-dan*, one seal of jade, four seals of gold, five of silver, three tablets of authority with golden letters; all these things having been bestowed upon the *kuo shi* in former times by the Mongol emperors. The emperor received the envoy kindly. In the next year the *kuo shi* of *Ho-lin* once more sent presents, a Buddha's statue, relics, and two horses. The emperor bestowed upon the envoy a priest's robe of silk.

Ch. 331

NI-BA-LA, A KINGDOM OF SI T'IEN (INDIA). p. 3749

Ni-ba-la is situated west of *chu Dsang* (literally the whole *Dsang* or Tibet), and quite far from China. The rulers of this country are Buddhist monks. In 1384 the emperor Hung wu despatched a Buddhist monk thither with an imperial rescript and presents. This envoy visited also the adjacent kingdom of *Di-yung-t'a*. The king of *Ni-ba-la*, by name *Ma-du-na lo-mo*, then sent in return an embassy to the emperor to present a Buddha's

¹⁰⁰⁷ *Kuo shi*, or "teacher of the empire," was a title given by the Mongol emperors to the chief lamas. The Ming annalist explains the term by *fan seng*, or Tibetan lama.

¹⁰⁰⁸ The Ming shi is wrong, for *Ho-lin* or *Kasakorum* was only founded by Chinghiz' successor Ogotai in 1235.

statue of gold, five horses, &c. This embassy reached the Chinese capital in 1387. Three years later another embassy from the same country arrived, and the emperor Yung lo subsequently again sent envoys to *Ni-ba-la*. At that time the name of the ruler of *Ni-ba-la* was *Sha-go-sin-di*, and that of the ruler of *Di-yung-t'a* was *K'o-ban*.

In 1418 the emperor Yung lo despatched one of his eunuchs to *Ni-ba-la*, and on his way thither this envoy passed through *Han-dung*, *Ling-dsang*, *Bi-li-gung-wa*, *Wu-sz'-dsang* (Lhassa), and *Ye-lan-bu-na*.¹⁰⁰⁹

The kingdom of *Ni-ba-la* of the Ming historians seems to be Nepal. It is mentioned much earlier in the Chinese annals. The T'ang History records several embassies from *Ni-p'o-lo* to the Chinese court in the seventh century. The first arrived in 647. A few years earlier the Chinese Buddhist monk Hsuan tsang had visited this kingdom (Beal's "Si yu ki," ii. 82). The early Chinese accounts of Nepal have been translated by A. Rémusat in his "Nouv. Mém. Asiat.," vol. i.

The Ming shi gives the names of two kings of Nepal who reigned towards the end of the fourteenth century, viz., *Madana lomo* and *Shagosindi*. Wright, in his "History of Nepal," 1877, p. 178-180, mentions for the same period *Mati sinha deva* and *Sakti sinha deva*, who successively reigned there. *Shyama sinha deva*, the son of Sakti, is stated to have sent presents to China, which so pleased the emperor that he sent in return a seal with the name Sakti sinha engraved on it, and in addition the title of *Rama*.

THE KINGDOM OF SU-DU-SUNG-DJO.

This is a kingdom of *Si fang* (literally Western Region, another Chinese name for India, which occurs

¹⁰⁰⁹ We have already met with some of these names of countries or places in previous pages of the Ming history. They are not found on our maps of Tibet and the adjacent countries. These regions are still very imperfectly known.