

(Sairam). North-east of it is a considerable rivulet, which flows westward and empties itself into a great river. In the space of a hundred *li* the traveller meets many ruined cities, for this land is situated just at the boundary between *Bie-shi-ba-li* and the dominions of the *Meng-gu* (Mongols), and therefore has been frequently devastated, and its population has been dispersed. Now-a-days, several hundreds of soldiers are the only inhabitants of Yang-i, and the ruins of the ancient walls are covered with bushes and reeds.

In the reign of Yung lo (1403-24), *Ch'en Ch'eng* (a Chinese envoy, see p. 147) visited this country.¹⁰⁶⁰

¹⁰⁶⁰ There are some irreconcilable contradictions in the above statements. The boundary between Bishbalik (Moghulistan) and the territories of the Mongols cannot be 360 *li* east of Sairam. Probably we have to read Samarkand instead of Mongols. Farther on the same Ming shi states, in the article on Samarkand, that this latter country borders upon Yang-i. The name *Yang-i* seems to be intended for *Yanghi kand* (meaning new city). But there were in the Middle Ages several cities in Turkestan which bore this name. One of them is spoken of by Rashid-eddin as a city on the Lower Sihun, taken by Chinghiz Khan in 1220. The ruins of it can still be seen near the mouth of the Syr Daria (see note 676). But the Yang-i of the Ming shi refers to another city situated on the Talas river, as can be proved from the statements of the Mohammedian authors in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The Tarikhi Rashidi (Howorth's "Mongols," ii. 286, resp. Veliaminoff Zernof) reports that the city of *Taras* (or *Talas*) was called *Yanghi* by the Mongols, and that there were many people of *Yanghi* in *Maverannahr* who were called *Yanghelik*. In the steppe of *Yanghi*, says its author, are found the remains of several cities, and of domes, minarets, and schools, but he adds, it is not known which of these ancient cities was *Yanghi*, or what were the names of the others. It seems that the *Masalek alabsar* (first half of the fourteenth century) gives an answer to this question, for we read in this book (Quatremère's transl. 224) that it was twenty days' journey from Samarkand to *Yanghi*, and that this latter consisted of four towns, separated from each other by a distance of a *fersenk* each. They all had distinct names, and were known as *Yanghi*, *Yanghi baligh*, *Kendjek*, and *Talas*. From *Yanghi* to *Almalik* was twenty days' journey. According to Arab Shah (Manger's transl. ii. p. 147), the city of *Janci Belas* (correct reading according to Quatremère and Fraehn in other manuscripts: *Yanghi Talas*) was situated in the country beyond the *Khodjend* river (Sihun), and distant from Samarkand fifteen days' journey, and from Sairam about four days. We read in the *Zafer nameh*, vi. 26, s. a. 1404, Timur gave the Mirza Olug beg the government of the cities of *Tashkend*, *Seiram*, *Yenghi*, *Ashira* (correct reading *Aspa-*

Ch. 332

SHA-LU-HAI-YA (SHAHROKIA).

p. 3758

*Sha-lu-hai-ya*¹⁰⁶¹ is situated 500 *li* and more east (should be north-east) of Sa-ma-rh-han. The city has been built

rah), and all the kingdom of *Jete* as far as China; and to Mirza Ibrahim Sultan that of *Andekan*, *Aksiket*, *Taraz*, and *Kashgar* as far as *Khotan*. Sultan Baber in his "Memoirs," on the first page, notices that there was in former times north of *Ferghana* the flourishing city of *Yanghi*, in books called *Tarazkend*. But the Uzbeks had destroyed it. About ancient *Taras* or *Talas* see note 23.

¹⁰⁶¹ Arab Shah (i. 217) relates the following story in connection with the foundation of *Shahrokia* by Timur:—The latter had given orders to build a city (fortress) on the Sihun for the purpose of keeping in check the *Jetes* of *Moghulistan*. One day when Timur was playing at chess, and was just about to checkmate his opponent, the news was brought to him that the construction of the fortress had been finished, and at the same time another messenger arrived who informed him of the birth of a son. Timur then decided to give to the new-born prince the name of *Shah Rok*, and ordered the fortress to be named *Shahrokia*. (Shah in Persian means "the king," and *rok* the "rook or castle" at chess.) Arab Shah adds that *Shahrokia* was built on the opposite (*i. e.*, right) bank of the Sihun, and that a floating bridge was spread there over the river. According to the *Zafer nameh* (ii. 24), Mirza Shah Rok, Timur's fourth son, was born in 1377. But *Sherif-eddin* refers the foundation of *Shahrokia* to a later time. We read in the *Zafer nameh* (vi. 27) on the subject: The city of *Fenakend* had been so ruined by Chinghiz Khan's army (compare i. 278), that there remained no traces of any edifices till 1392, when Timur ordered it to be rebuilt and repopled, and as he then gave it to Mirza Shah Rok, it was called *Shahrokia*. When the conqueror, in 1404, made preparations for his great expedition to China, he ordered the right wing of his army to pass the winter with the troops at *Tashkend*, *Sairam*, and *Shahrokia*. (Comp. also *ibid.* vi. 39.) In the history of the successors of Timur (by *Abder Razzak*, *Mirkhond*, &c.), *Shahrokia* is repeatedly mentioned. In 1416 Shah Rok's son, *Ulug beg*, on his way from *Turkestan* to *Samarkand*, crossed the Sihun at *Shahrokia*. In 1449 the same prince, pursued by his rebellious son *Abdullatif*, fled to *Shahrokia*. In 1461 Mirza Mohammed Juki, the son of *Abdullatif*, revolted against Sultan *Abu Said*, who was then ruling over *Maverannahr* and *Khorassan* (*Herat*), and at the Sultan's approach shut himself up in the fortress of *Shahrokia* on the Sihun, protected, as the chronicler reports, on three sides by the stream of the river, and on the fourth by a deep ditch. This place was then rendered unassailable by the Mirza. It was only in 1463 that the fortress surrendered after a siege of nearly twelve months by the Sultan's troops. Sultan Baber in his "Memoirs" (i. 2) states:—The river Sihun, known also under the name of *river of Khodjend*, takes its rise in the north-east, and then flowing in a western direction, runs through *Ferghanah*. It passes north of *Khodjend*, and south of *Finaket*, which is now called *Shahrokia*, then turns to the

on a little hill on the river *Huo-djan*,¹⁰⁵² which borders it to the north-west. This river runs rapidly. A floating bridge stretches over it. But the people cross the river also on small boats.

(According to the Ming Geography, there is east of the city of *Sha-lu-hai-ya* another river called *Ha-bu-lien*.)

Not far to the south of *Sha-lu-hai-ya* are mountains, the valleys of which are well populated. There are rich gardens. To the west there is a great sandy desert, which extends for nearly 200 *li*. It is destitute of water, with the exception of some undrinkable brackish water found in some places. When cattle or horses drink it they die.¹⁰⁵³ A stinking plant, yielding the medicine *a-wei*, grows in this country.¹⁰⁵⁴ There is also a little bushy plant (shrub) from one to two feet high, which exudes a kind of dew which, when hardened in autumn, is eaten by the people

north towards Turkestan, where it finally loses itself in the moving sand, without reaching another river or a sea.

An interesting notice regarding the site of ancient *Shahrokia* is found in the "Turkestan Gazette," December 16, 1886. According to the *Tarikh nameh*, written in the first half of the sixteenth century, Timur, after the foundation of *Shahrokia*, ordered a canal to be dug in order to conduct the water of the *Sihun* westward for the irrigation of the *Djazir*, or the desert which extends between the *Jihun* and the mountains of *Djizak*. The dry bed of this canal, known under the name of *Urumbai aryk*, can still be traced in this desert, which the Russians term "golodnaya step," or hunger desert, and which the traveller proceeding from *Tashkend* to *Samarkand* has to cross between *Chinaz* and *Djizak*. By order of the Russian Government an attempt has even been made to re-establish the ancient water-course in the *Urumbai aryk*, and also in another artificial channel, the *Bokharu aryk* or *Shaar aryk*, in the same desert. The author of this note in the "Turkestan Gazette" is disposed to identify the ruins called *Sharkia*, situated on the *Sihun* opposite the head of the *Urumbai aryk*, with ancient *Shahrokia*. Unhappily the *aryks* and places mentioned in this article are not found on the detailed Russian map of Turkestan, but it seems that the head of the *Urumbai* must be looked for south of *Chinaz*.

¹⁰⁵² The river of *Khodjend* or *Sihun*. See preceding note.

¹⁰⁵³ This is the hunger desert noticed in note 1051.

¹⁰⁵⁴ *A-wei* is the Chinese name for *Asa fetida*. See note 974. Schuyler ("Turkestan," i. 228) states that the *Asa fetida* plant grows in great profusion on the road from *Chinaz* to *Djizak*.

like honey. By boiling, sugar can be obtained from it. The natives call it *ta-lang-gu-bin*.¹⁰⁵⁵

In the reign of *Yung lo* (1403-25), *Li Ta* and *Ch'en Ch'eng* (see p. 147) were sent to this country, whereupon the chief of it despatched an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1432 the Chinese emperor sent the eunuch *Li Kui* (see p. 148) thither, with a letter and presents for the chief.

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AN-DI-GAN (ANDEKAN).

p. 376 W

An-di-gan is a little realm in the *Si yü* (Western countries). After *T'ai tsu* of the *Yüan* (*Chinghiz Khan*) conquered the *Si yü*, he divided it, and gave the principalities as appanages to the princes of his house. The smaller ones were governed by officers, like the appanages of these princes in China (*v. supra*, p. 11). After the fall of the *Yüan* dynasty, these principalities became independent. Emperor *Yung lo* repeatedly despatched envoys to these countries, and some of them accordingly sent tribute to the Chinese court. The larger ones called themselves kingdoms, the smaller ones places. During the reign of *Yung lo*, from seventy to eighty different tribes or places of the *Si yü* had sent envoys with tribute, to bow respectfully before the emperor's door. *An-di-gan* was one of these little realms. In 1413 it sent tribute, together with *Ha-lie* (*Herat*). When, in 1416, the emperor despatched *Lu An* and others to *Ha-lie*, *Shi-la-sz'*, and other countries to open a route for commerce, this envoy passed also through *An-di-gan* and bestowed presents on the chief. But as this country was small, it was not able to send tribute again.¹⁰⁵⁶

¹⁰⁵⁵ This is the *Alhagi manna*. (See note 973.) The Ming Geography, (article *Samarkand*) calls it *kan lu*, or "sweet dew."

¹⁰⁵⁶ *Andekan* is the name of a city in *Ferghana*. On modern maps the name is generally written *Andedjan*, but the *Zafer nameh* writes it *Andekan*, and applies it generally to the whole of *Ferghana*, of which *Andekan* was the capital in the days of *Timur* and his successors. Compare *Sultan*

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SA-MA-RH-HAN (SAMARKAND).

p. 2155

Sa-ma-rh-han is the same country as that called *Ki-pin* at the time of the Han. At the time of the Sui (sixth century), it was called the kingdom of *T'sao*. The Tang adopted again the name *Ki-pin*.¹⁰⁶⁷ This country has always had intercourse with China. *T'ai tsu* of the *Yüan* (Chinghiz Khan) conquered it, and it was then ruled by a Mongol prince, and the name was changed into the Mongol name *Sa-ma-rh-han*.¹⁰⁶⁸ *Sa-ma-rh-han* is 9600 *li* distant from *Kia-yü kuan*.

At the close of the *Yüan* dynasty this country was ruled by the king *fu ma T'ie-mu-rh*.¹⁰⁶⁹

Baber's description of Ferghana at the beginning of his "Memoirs." He writes Andedjan. In 1376 Timur made his son Omar Sheikh governor of Andekan (Zafer nameh, ii. 16), and when this prince, in 1393, had been appointed governor of Fars, Timur, in 1393, gave the government of Andekan to Mirza Eskender, third son of Omar Sheikh (ibid. v. 2). In 1404 Timur entrusted the Mirza Ibrahim Sultan, second son of Shah Rok, with the government of Andekan (ibid. vi. 26). In 1409 Shah Rok gave the government of Ferghana to Mirza Emirek Ahmed, a younger brother of Eskender. He was expelled in 1414 by Mirza Ulug beg of Samarkand, and it seems that henceforth Ferghana depended on Samarkand. When Sultan Abu Said, great grandson of Timur, reigned in Samarkand, 1451-69, his son Omar Sheikh held the government of Andekan. Omar Sheikh died in 1494, and left Ferghana to his son Sultan Baber, who subsequently founded the Mongol empire in India.

¹⁰⁶⁷ These identifications of the Ming shi are altogether arbitrary and wrong. In the days of the Han, Samarkand was known to the Chinese under the name of *K'ang-ku*; the Tang historians called it *K'ang* or *Sa-mo-kien*. See above, p. 59. As to the country *Ki-pin*, it has been generally identified with Kabul.

¹⁰⁶⁸ This again is nonsense. About the origin of the name of Samarkand, see p. 60.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Fu ma* is a Chinese term meaning "son-in-law of the Chinese emperor." But the Chinese chronicler does not mean to say that the great Timur had married a daughter of the emperor of China. *Fu ma* here is a translation of the Mongol title *gurkan* or *kurgan*, which was bestowed only upon the princes allied by marriage with the house of Chinghiz Khan. In modern Mongol *khurghen* means a son-in-law. Klapproth informs us ("Nouv. Journ. Asiat.," 1828, p. 295) that on all medals preserved from the time of Timur he is titled *Amir Timur kurkan*. * Timur's favourite wife.

* It is strange to say, Vambéry takes the title *kurgan* to be the family name of Timur ("Travels in Central Asia," p. 208).

Hung wu (the first Ming emperor) was desirous of establishing a regular intercourse with the countries in the west, and sent repeatedly envoys with the imperial manifestos to invite the rulers of these distant countries to send em-

Serai Mulk Khanum, whom he married in 1369, and who subsequently became the mother of Shah Rok, was the daughter of Kazan Sultan Khan of Turkestan and Maverannahr, who was a descendant of Chinghiz (Zafer nameh, i. 26). Compare also Arab Shah, i. p. 27: "Postquam vero Transoxiane imperium sibi vindicasset, Timur, æqualibus suis superior in matrimonium accepit Regum Filias, ideoque addiderunt ei cognomen *kurkan*, quod in idiomate Moghulensi valet 'gener.'" But Arab Shah is mistaken in asserting farther on (ii. p. 859), that Timur's first and second wives were daughters of the emperor of China. I have not been able to find either in the *Yüan shi* or the *Ming shi*, where lists of the imperial princesses under each reign and their respective husbands are given, any corroboration of this suggestion. The *Zafer nameh* also, which notices nine wives of Timur, knows nothing about a Chinese princess among them. But besides Serai Mulk Khanum, Timur married in 1397 another Mongol princess, of the race of Chinghiz, called Tukul Khanum. She was the daughter of Khizer Khodja, Khan of Moghulistan (Zafer nameh, iii. 69, 70). Khanikoff is therefore mistaken in stating in his "Description of the Khanate of Bokhara," 1843, p. 103, that the *Medressah Khanyan* in Samarkand was built by a daughter of the emperor of China, Timur's wife. He states further that she had brought along with her for this purpose Chinese workmen. I am not aware from what sources the assertions of these authors are derived.

The Great Timur, as he reports himself in his Autobiography, was born in 1336, March 19, in the neighbourhood of the city of *Kesh* (in the village of *Ngar*, according to Arab Shah, i. p. 15). He belonged to the Mongol tribe of *Berulass* or *Berlas* (v. *supra*, p. 40), the progenitor of which, Kajuli, was the brother of Kabul Khan, the great-grandfather of Chinghiz. Timur's fifth ancestor, Karachar noyen, had been generalissimo and prime minister of Chagatai, the second son of Chinghiz. He first embraced the Mohammedan faith. *Kesh*, the property of Karachar, then became the residence of his tribe, *Berlas*. The name of Timur's father was *Taragai*. As Timur was lame—he had been wounded in the hand and foot in Seistan in 1363, he was called also *Timur lenk* (*lenk*=lame in Persian). See *Zafer nameh*, i. 8; Arab Shah, i. p. 15, ii. p. 781. This is the origin of the name *Tamerlane*, by which the conqueror was first known in Europe. In that period the Mongol Khans elected to reign over Maverannahr were mere titular khans, depending entirely on the great amirs, who set them up and murdered them as they liked. After a long struggle between Timur and his brother-in-law, Hussein, for the supreme power, which finished with the defeat and execution of Hussein in 1369, Timur ascended the throne of Maverannahr, and set up his residence at Samarkand in 1370. However, it is a fact worthy of notice that Timur never assumed the title of Khan. Even in the height of his conquests he called himself only Amir,

bassies. In 1387, in the fourth month, a Mohammedian, by name of *Man-la Ha-fei-sa*, arrived at the Chinese capital as envoy from *T'ie-mu-rh*. He offered as tribute fifteen horses and two camels, and was well treated and rewarded. Sa-ma-rh-han then sent horses and camels as tribute every year, and in 1392 that country offered as tribute six pieces of velvet, nine pieces of blue *so-fu*¹⁰⁶⁰ and green *sa-ha-la*,¹⁰⁶¹ two pieces of each, knives and swords made of *pin t'ie*,¹⁰⁶² armour, &c. At the same time Mohammedans from Sa-ma-rh-han had brought horses for sale to *Liang chou* (in Kan su). The emperor ordered these horses to be driven to the capital. During the Yüan (Mongol) dynasty the Mohammedans had spread over the whole of China, and especially in the province of Kan su they had settled in great number. Now an order was given to the governor of that province to send them back to their country, and accordingly, more than 1200 Mohammedans set out for Sa-ma-rh-han.

In 1394, in the eighth month, an embassy despatched by *T'ie-mu-rh* arrived. The envoy offered to the emperor 200 horses, and transmitted a letter of his sovereign of the following tenor:—

“I respectfully address to your Majesty, great Ming

and maintained titular successors to the throne of Chagatai in Maverannahr, and their names were put at the head of the state papers. The ast of these, Sultan Mohammed Khan, died during Timur's campaign in Anatolia in 1402 (Zafer nameh, v. 54).

¹⁰⁶⁰ *So-fu* (not a Chinese name) is, according to the Ming Geography, a stuff resembling silk, which is manufactured in Herat of downs of birds. But in the Yüan shi, chap. lxxviii., official dress, *su-fu* (evidently the same), is mentioned as a fine woollen cloth manufactured in the country of the Mohammedans. According to Mr. Schefer, transl. of the *Khitay nameh*, p. 63, note, *suf* is indeed a woollen cloth.

¹⁰⁶¹ The Ming Geography mentions the *sa-ha-la* also as a manufacture of *Bang-ko-la* (Bengal) and *So-li* (Tanjore, M. Polo, ii. 354), and states that this stuff is woven from wool, and that it is downy. There are two kinds, a red and a green. Probably by *sa-ha-la* the Persian *shal* (shawl) is intended. But see also note to Groeneveldt, *L. I.* (new edition), p. 253.

¹⁰⁶² Fine steel, see note 395.

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

your happiness and long life. May they last eternally like heaven and earth."¹⁰⁶³

With respect to the vase reflecting what is going on in the world, (the Chinese chronicler says) there is an ancient tradition among the people of Sa-ma-rh-han about the existence of a vase which has the property of reflecting sunlight in such a way that all affairs of the world can be seen.¹⁰⁶⁴

When the emperor had read the letter of T'ie-mu-rh, he was much delighted, saying that it was written in a good style.

In the next year, 1395, the emperor sent one of his secretaries, by name *An* (full name *An Chi tao*, see p. 144), to Sa-ma-rh-han, with presents and a letter for the ruler, to thank him for his kind dispositions.¹⁰⁶⁵ T'ie-mu-rh sent in one year 1000 horses as tribute, and the emperor made

¹⁰⁶³ This respectful and flowery letter of Timur addressed to the Chinese emperor is in complete contradiction with what we know from the report of Clavijo, the Castilian ambassador, about Timur's disposition regarding the emperor of China, whom he called a thief and a scoundrel even in the presence of the Chinese envoy, and to whom the Zagatays had given the name of *Tangus*, or "pig emperor." (See above, p. 145.) This latter name, *Tangus Khan*, applied to the Chinese emperor, occurs also in the *Zafer nameh*, iii. 70, v. 4. However, the allusion to the vase of *Djemshid* (see next note) in the above letter gives it a stamp of authenticity.

¹⁰⁶⁴ This is without doubt an allusion to the famous vase of *Djemshid*, spoken of frequently by the Persian poets. Rashid-eddin reports that this vase, made of turquoise according to tradition, was dug out of the ruins of *Estekhar* (Persepolis), which city, as is believed, had been founded by *Djemshid*, the first king of Persia. *Djemshid* in Persian means "vase of the sun." See d'Herbelot's "Bibl. Orientale." Compare also the *Shah nameh*, Mohl's transl., iii. 345, 347, 355: "Kai Khosrou voit dans la coupe qui réfléchit l'image du monde."

¹⁰⁶⁵ The *Zafer nameh* reports (iii. 70) that in 1396 or '97, when Timur passed the winter near *Chinaz* on the Sihun, ambassadors arrived from *Tanghus Khan*, emperor of Khatai, with abundance of curious presents. They were introduced to their audience by the great amirs. They offered their presents, and after declaring the subject of their mission, and delivering their credentials, they had their audience of leave, and returned home.

Hung wu, the first Ming emperor, died, according to the Chinese annals, in the summer of 1399. He was succeeded by his grandson, *Kien wen*, a youth of sixteen. *Yung lo*, his son, dissatisfied with this arrangement,

return presents of precious stones and money in bank-notes.

When Cheng tsu (Yung lo, 1403-24) had come to the throne, he sent again an envoy to Sa-ma-rh-han with a letter for T'ie-mu-rh. *An* at that time had not yet returned, and even in 1405 he was still absent. Intelligence then had been received that T'ie-mu-rh had raised troops, and was about to set them in motion against China, intending to pass through *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Moghulistan). The emperor gave orders to the commander-in-chief in Kan su to make ready for war. In 1407 the envoy *An* and his suite returned to China. He reported that the embassy had been retained by T'ie-mu-rh, who at the same time had refused to send tribute to China, and in order to boast of the great extent of his dominions, he had sent the Chinese envoy, accompanied by an officer from Sa-ma-rh-han, to journey in his states. It was only after T'ie-mu-rh's death¹⁰⁶⁶ that his grandson and successor, *Ha-li*,¹⁰⁶⁷ had released *An*, and when the latter returned to China he was accompanied by *Hu-dai-da* (Khodaidad), an envoy of

overcame his nephew, and seized the crown, after a struggle of four years, in 1403. A few years later, Yung lo moved the capital from Nan king back to Peking. The *Zafer nameh* (v. 4) reports on these events in the following terms: In 1399 (in autumn or winter, Timur then was encamped in the Karabagh beyond the Araxes) there came advice that *Tangus Khan*, emperor of Khatai, where he had reigned a long time, professing idolatry, was dead, and that the Khataians had revolted and caused great confusion in the empire.

¹⁰⁶⁶ According to the *Zafer nameh* (vi. 30), Timur died on the 18th of February 1405 at *Otrar*, just when he had resolved upon invading China, and moved out at the head of his army towards the east. Clavijo had left Samarkand on the 21st of November 1404. On his way home he went to visit Omar Mirza (Timur's grandson), who was encamped in the plain of Karabagh beyond the Araxes, and when he reached the camp, on the 26th March 1405, he first heard of the death of Timur Beg. But Clavijo is mistaken in stating that Timur died at Samarkand (Clavijo, 179, 186, 187).

¹⁰⁶⁷ By his last will, Timur had designated as his successor on the throne of Samarkand *Pir Mohammed*, the son of his eldest son, *Jehanghir*. Herat devolved to the conqueror's fourth son, *Shah Rok*. But after Timur's death, *Khalil Sultan* (the *Ha-li* of the Chinese annals), son of *Miran Shah*,

Ha-li, who sent presents to the emperor. This envoy was richly rewarded. The emperor then despatched the chi hui *Bo-a-rh-hin-t'ai* to offer sacrifices in memory of the deceased king of Sa-ma-rh-han, and bestow presents of silver and silk stuffs on the new king and the people.

About that time *Sha-hei Nu-rh-ding*,¹⁰⁶⁸ one of the chieftains (Amirs) of Sa-ma-rh-han, sent horses and camels as tribute. When this embassy returned home, *An* was sent for a second time to Sa-ma-rh-han with presents for the king. He returned in 1409. An envoy from Sa-ma-rh-han came along with him. Subsequently Sa-ma-rh-han sent tribute every two or three years.

In 1415, when the Chinese envoys *Li Ta* and *Ch'en Ch'eng* returned from their mission to the *Si yü* (see p. 147), an envoy from Sa-ma-rh-han came with them, and when this envoy returned, he was accompanied by *Ch'en Ch'eng* and *Lu An*, carrying silver and silk stuffs as presents for the chief (of Samarkand), *U-lu Bai*¹⁰⁶⁹ and others, and when Ch'en

third son of Timur, usurped the throne, and established his power in Samarkand and Maverannahr (*Zafer nameh*, vi. 46). He had scarcely reigned four years when he was dethroned by *Khodaïdad Husseinî*, and conveyed to Moghulistan. The Amir *Khodaïdad Husseinî*, a valiant general, who had taken part in most of Timur's campaigns, after the death of the latter sided with Khalil, and put him on the throne. *Khodaïdad* was put to death by order of the Khan of Moghulistan in 1409. As to Khalil Sultan, he returned from Moghulistan. Shah Rok, who had taken possession of Samarkand, sent him to *Rei* in Persia, where he died in 1411.

¹⁰⁶⁸ The Amir *Sheikh Nureddin*, a famous general in Timur's army. He was present when Timur died. In 1409 he revolted against Shah Rok, and retired with his troops to *Otrar*. He applied for assistance to the Khan of Moghulistan, who agreed to invade Maverannahr, when Sheikh Nureddin was treacherously murdered by one of Shah Rok's generals in 1411.

¹⁰⁶⁹ *Mirza Ulug Beg*, the eldest son of Shah Rok. He was born in 1394. In 1409 his father entrusted him with the government of Maverannahr and Turkestan, which he held to the day of his death. He resided at Samarkand. The narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China reports, that when this embassy from Herat had reached Samarkand in February 1420, Ulug Beg had already before this despatched his own envoys with a company of Khatai people. It seems that the embassy here spoken of is the same as the one recorded in the Ming shi as having accompanied the Chinese envoy Ch'en Ch'eng when he returned from Samarkand. Ulug

Ch'eng went back to China again, an envoy from Samarkand accompanied him.

In 1420 Ch'en Ch'eng was once more despatched to Samarkand, together with another envoy, the eunuch *Kuo King*.

In 1430, in the autumn or winter, envoys with tribute arrived from Samarkand. They had been sent by the chief *U-lu Bai Mi-rh-dsa* (Ulug Beg Mirza, see note 1069) and other chiefs. In 1432 the eunuch *Li K'ui* was despatched to Samarkand with presents for these chiefs.

In 1439 a fine horse was offered to the emperor by the chief of Samarkand. It was of black colour with a white forehead and white feet. By the emperor's orders a picture of it was made, and it was named *shui pao*.¹⁰⁷⁰

In 1445, in the tenth month, the emperor wrote the following letter to the Prince of Samarkand, *U-lu-Bai K'ü-lie-han* (Ulug Beg gurkan, see note 1059):—

"I am thankful to you, king, that you have sent tribute from so far a country as yours, and in reward I send you some pieces of silk stuff and garments for your wife and children, and as a particular mark of my esteem I add some vessels made of gold and jade, a spear with a dragon's head, a fine horse with saddle, and variegated gold-embroidered silk stuffs."

In 1456 an embassy from Samarkand with tribute arrived at the capital. The Board of Rites on this occasion made a report to the emperor, stating that it had

Beg was a very learned prince and protector of sciences. Astronomy especially flourished in Samarkand under his reign. In 1420 he constructed at Samarkand an observatory, the most important result of which was the formation of the *Zich-i-jedeid-i Gurkhani*, or new astronomical tables of Ulug Beg, subsequently in general use among the oriental astronomers for their calculations. (See Sédillot's "Prolégomènes des Tables Astronomiques de Oloug Beg," 1847, 1853). Ulug Beg was murdered in 1449 by his son Abdullatif.

¹⁰⁷⁰ It seems that Ulug Beg has twice made to the emperor of China a present of a black horse with white feet. We read in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy that the envoys saw (in 1420) the Chinese emperor mounted on a tall black horse with white legs, which Mirza Ulug Beg had sent him.

always been considered a rule to reward generously the envoys and other members of the foreign embassies who presented tribute, but that this abuse ought to be abolished and the return presents reduced. The Board of Rites proposed, amongst others, the following rates to be adopted:—

Every horse of the breed called *a-lu-gu*,¹⁰⁷¹ when presented as tribute, to be estimated as equal to four pieces of variegated velvet and eight garments of cheap silk.

Three camels = ten garments of cheap silk.

One Tatar horse (*Ta-ta ma*) = one piece of hempen cloth and eight pieces of cheap silk.

They (the embassy from Samarkand) had also brought jade, but only twenty-four pieces of it, weighing sixty-eight *kin*, were fit for being worked, whilst the rest, 5900 *kin*, was of no use. The Board of Rites proposed that they should sell it for their own account, but they solicited from the Board permission to accept it at the rate of one piece of cheap silk for every five *kin* of jade, to which the Chinese government consented. When the embassy went home, the emperor sent presents for the king of Samarkand, whose name was *Bu-sa-yin*.¹⁰⁷²

In 1457 the emperor sent the tu chi hui *Ma Yün* and

¹⁰⁷¹ Mr. Schefer (Khitay nameh, p. 63) holds that by *a-lu-gu* the Chinese intend *ulagh*, post-horse. *A-lu-gu* horses are also mentioned in the letters addressed to the Ming emperors by princes and envoys from the kingdoms of Central and Western Asia. See Amiot's translation, *l. c.* It is also not improbable that the Chinese by *a-lu-gu ma* (the last character means horse in Chinese) intended to render the word *arghamak*, which is still the name for Turkoman horses in Samarkand. Compare also the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China: The Chinese emperor said to the envoys that he had a mind to send to Kara Yusuf (the chief of the Turkomans at that time; he died in 1420), and to ask from him some fine race-horses.

¹⁰⁷² At the time here spoken of, *Sultan Abu Said* reigned in Samarkand. He was a grandson of Mirza Mirau Shah, the third son of Timur. Two years after Ulug Beg's death, in 1451, he got possession of Samarkand, where he reigned till 1469, when he undertook an expedition to Azerbeidjan against Uzzan Hassan, the chief of the Turkomans, who made him prisoner and put him to death. About the name Busaid or Bussain used for Abu Said, see note 789.

others to the *Si yü* (western countries). They had also presents for the *So-lu-t'an Mu-sa*,¹⁰⁷³ who ordered an escort for the imperial envoy when he went home. *So-lu-t'an* (Sultan) in their language means "sovereign," and has the same meaning as *K'o-han* (Khan) in Mongol.

In 1463 the chi hui *Chan Sheng* was entrusted with a mission to Samarkand.

In the reign of Ch'eng hua (1465–88) the *So-lu-t'an A-hei-ma*¹⁰⁷⁴ sent three times tribute to the Chinese court. In 1483 he sent an embassy to China, together with the chief of *I-sai-fa-han* (Isfahan, see farther on). They carried as presents two lions.¹⁰⁷⁵ When A-hei-ma's envoy had arrived at *Su chou* he requested a high Chinese officer to be despatched to meet him. The subject was discussed in the council of Chinese ministers, and from various sides it was objected that lions were useless beasts; they could not be employed in sacrifice, while they were also unfit to be put to a cart. Therefore such presents should be refused. But the emperor ordered a eunuch to be sent to meet the lions. The food of these beasts consisted of two living sheep and two jars of *ts'u yü* (a kind of sour soup), and two jars of milk with honey every day. The name of the envoy from Sa-ma-rh-han was *P'a-liu-wan*.¹⁰⁷⁶ He was not satisfied with the presents he had received from the emperor. When he returned home, the emperor ordered the eunuch *Wei Lo* and the master of ceremonies *Hai Pin* to accompany him. They went not by the usual way, but proceeded to *Kuang tung* (Canton), where the envoy from Samarkand bought a number of Chinese girls. *Wei Lo* made *Hai Pin* responsible for this contravention of the law,

¹⁰⁷³ It seems that here again *Sultan Abu Said* is meant.

¹⁰⁷⁴ *Sultan Ahmed*, the eldest son of *Abu Said*. He succeeded his father on the throne of Samarkand, and died in 1493.

¹⁰⁷⁵ The *Khitay nameh* (Shefer's transl. 63) reports that the Moham-medan merchants who (in the fifteenth century) go to China by the land route usually carry with them for sale lions, onces, and lynxes, for these beasts are highly prized there.

¹⁰⁷⁶ Probably *Pehelvan*, meaning "valiant" in Persian.

and the latter was accordingly degraded. The envoy then asked permission to proceed by sea-route to *Man-la-kia* (Malacca), to buy there a *suan i*,¹⁰⁷⁷ and present it to the emperor, but Wei Lo made objections. (It is not stated whether or not P'a-liu-wan was finally allowed to go home.)

In 1489 an envoy from Samarkand arrived at *Kuang tung* (Canton). He had come by way of *Man-la-kia*, and brought as tribute a lion and parrots. The governor of Kuang tung reported to Peking on his arrival. The Board of Rites objected that the sea-way was not the regular way for tribute carried from Samarkand, and that besides this, a lion was a beast too dangerous to be kept for pleasure. Its transport to the court would cause great trouble and require considerable expense. The emperor himself had declared that he disliked rare birds as well as strange beasts. But nevertheless presents were bestowed upon the envoy.

In the next year (1490) an envoy from Samarkand arrived together with an embassy from *Tu-lu-fan* (Turfan), to present a lion and a beast called *ha-la-hu-la*.¹⁰⁷⁸ When they reached Kan su, pictures were taken of these beasts and sent by a courier to the emperor. The ministers proposed to refuse these presents, but the emperor agreed to receive them.

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

When in 1523 an embassy from Samarkand had reached the capital, the Board of Rites laid before the emperor a report, pointing out that the embassies from foreign countries to the Chinese court used to be on their road a whole year, and then spent a considerable time at the capital.

¹⁰⁷⁷ I am not prepared to say what the Chinese author means. *Suan i*, according to Williams' Dictionary, 273, 833, a fabulous beast like a lion.

¹⁰⁷⁸ The *caracal*, *Felis caracal*, the Asiatic lynx. See I, p. 127.

For the whole time their subsistence was at the charge of the *kuang lu* (banqueting office). As there were no sums for defraying these expenses, it was proposed to change these regulations. The emperor agreed.

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

In the reign of Wan li (1573-1620) the intercourse with Samarkand was still animated, for those foreigners liked to carry on trade with the Chinese people. Besides this, it was the custom that when they had entered China, the Chinese government took charge of their maintenance. It had, however, been settled that tribute should be sent from Samarkand only once in five years.¹⁰⁷⁹

After this historical sketch of Chinese intercourse with Samarkand in the days of the Ming, the Ming shi adds a

¹⁰⁷⁹ In the very beginning of the sixteenth century the Timurids were expelled from Samarkand by *Sheibani Mohammed Khan*, the founder of the Uzbek dynasty in Khovarezm, and of Uzbek power in Transoxiana (*v. supra*, p. 142). It does not seem that the Mohammedan annals posterior to the middle of the fifteenth century mention any diplomatical intercourse between Samarkand and China. The so-called embassies from Samarkand, as recorded in the Chinese annals in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, bore probably a purely commercial character.

few details describing the city of Samarkand, the productions and customs of the country, &c. As the information on the same subject found in the Ming Geography is more detailed, I present in the following translation a fusion of these notices given in both works. The Ming Geography draws principally from the above-noticed narrative (see p. 147), *Shi Si yü ki*, the original of which does not exist at the present time.

The kingdom of Samarkand extends for 3000 *li* from east to west. It consists of vast plains. The soil is fertile. The city in which the king has his residence is 10 *li* wide and upwards, and its population is densely crowded.¹⁰⁸⁰

¹⁰⁸⁰ In 1404 Clavijo, the Castilian ambassador, visited Samarkand. Schildberger seems to have been there at the same time. Clavijo (165-170) gives some accounts of the capital of Tamerlane. He states that it was a little larger than the city of Sevilla, situated in a plain, and surrounded by an earthen wall. Outside the city there were a great number of houses, joined together in many parts so as to form suburbs. The city was surrounded on all sides by gardens and vineyards, which extended in some directions a league and a half, in others two leagues. Amongst these gardens, which were outside, there were great and noble houses, and here the Lord had several palaces. Many streams of water flowed through the city and through these gardens, and among these gardens there are many cotton-plantations and melon-grounds. The land is very plentiful in all things. And the name of *Samarcond* or *Cimesquinte* is derived from the words *cimes* great and *quinte* a town (*v. supra*, p. 59).

After Clavijo and Schildberger, for nearly four centuries no European visited Samarkand; so that Ritter in his "Asia" (1837) could give no information respecting it during that period, except some notices derived from Chinese sources. The first European who, after the Castilian ambassador, saw Samarkand, was the Russian subaltern *Yefrenof*. He was made prisoner in 1774 by the Kirghizes at the frontier south of Orenburg, and sold to a Beg in Bokhara, but he at length succeeded in escaping, and fled westward to Samarkand, Khokand, Marghilan, where he passed for a Nogai Tartar. Here he joined a caravan which was going to Kashgar, and from Yarkand took the route to India via Tibet and Delhi. Having reached Calcutta, he embarked for Europe, reached London, and in August 1782 St. Petersburg, where he published the narrative of his peregrinations.

For the first authentic account of Samarkand (*Yefrenof* devotes only a few words to this city) we are indebted to the members of a Russian scientific expedition sent to Transoxiana in 1841. See vol. i. p. 78.

We learn from Professor Vamberg's "Travels in Central Asia" that the author visited the celebrated city of Samarkand in 1863, of which he gives a detailed description. But when a few years later the Russians took pos-

In the south-western part of the city numerous stores of various kinds of merchandise are found. The city is known also under the name of "city of abundance." In the north-eastern part of it there is a beautiful building set apart for praying to Heaven. The pillars of it are all of *ts'ing shi* (blue stone), with engraved figures. There is in this building a hall where the sacred book is explained.¹⁰⁸¹

session of Samarkand (1st of May 1868), and the city became as well known as any other city of the Russian empire, serious doubts were raised whether the Professor's description of the ruins of Samarkand were really founded on personal observation.

On the Russian map of Samarkand the walled city is represented as an oblique, somewhat irregular square, each side measuring about two English miles. There can be no doubt that modern Samarkand (*i.e.*, the Mohammedan city, for the Russians have built a new city to the north-west) is the same as the city of Timur, which is proved by the ruins of the buildings erected by Timur being all comprised in the modern city. The *Ark*, or citadel, situated on the western limit of the city, on a hill, was built by order of Timur in 1370, immediately after his accession to the throne of Maverannahr. We read in the *Zafer nameh*, ii. 2, that Timur, after making Samarkand the capital of his empire, caused the walls of the city to be repaired and a fortress to be erected. He built stately palaces and neat public edifices. *Ibid.* vi. 26, *s. a.* 1404: Timur went from the College of Serai Mulk Khanum to the *Ark* (citadel), and lodged at *gheuk scrai* (blue palace), a palace he had built. This blue palace is, I have no doubt, the edifice in the citadel which contains the celebrated *gheuk tash* or blue stone. Vamberg (205) calls it the reception-hall of Timur. In the northern part of the city, not far from the northern wall, are the ruins of the *Medresseh* (College) *i Khanym*, which, according to Khanykoff and Vamberg, was built by a Chinese princess, wife of Timur. I have already proved (see note 1059) that this princess, Serai Mulk Khanum, was the daughter of Kazan Khan of Turkestan and Maverannahr, not of the Chinese emperor. The College of Serai Mulk Khanum is repeatedly mentioned in the *Zafer nameh*. It was opposite the Great Mosque, finished in 1404 (see note 1081). Professor Vamberg describes the *Medresseh i Khanym* from his own observation, strange to say, as situated near the *Dervazei Bokhara* (south-western gate), whilst on the map, and according to all the Russian explorers who have described the ruins of Samarkand (Khanykoff, Lehmann, Fedchenko, Dr. Radloff, &c.), it lies near the northern gate, *Shah Zindeh*. In the *Zafer nameh* this gate is called *Sheikh Zade*, and repeatedly noticed. I may finally mention the most interesting of the ancient monuments within the city of Samarkand, the celebrated *Sepulchre of Timur*, which lies in its southern part. Compare also about Samarkand note 197.

¹⁰⁸¹ The Chinese reporter saw probably the Great Mosque, the most magnificent of the buildings erected by Timur. The foundation of it was

This sacred book is written in gold characters, the cover being made of sheep's leather.

The king wears a white round cap, his wives wind about their heads white silk stuffs. The people are handsome and skilful. The customs and the productions of Samarkand resemble those of *Ha-lie* (Herat). The use of wine is prohibited, and it is not allowed to sell it in the market. For their beverage and food the people like sour and sweet things. They mix their broth with rice and meat. Their vessels are of gold and silver. They do not use chopsticks (to take up food with them) nor spoons, but take their food up with their fingers. When they kill oxen or sheep they bury the blood in the ground.¹⁰⁸² In trade they use silver coins minted in the country.

The following products are enumerated:—

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

Lions are met in the reed-jungles near the river *A-mu*. When they come into the world they have their eyes closed for the first seven days. The people there take advantage of this time to catch the young lions. It is impossible to tame them when they are more developed.¹⁰⁸³

Gi-bi-sz'-tan, a tree the leaves of which resemble the leaves of the *shan ch'a* (camellia), whilst the fruit is similar to that of the *yin hing* (*Salisburia adiantifolia*), but a little smaller.

Wa-shi-shi, a plant resembling the *ye hao* (*artemisia*).

laid in the spring of 1399, after Timur's return from the expedition to India. It was built opposite the College of Serai Mulk Khanum (see note 1080), and finished in 1404. The Zafer nameh (iv. 34, vi. 24) gives a detailed description of this beautiful mosque, which now seems to have entirely disappeared. Vambéry (*l. c.* 205), giving a short description of the Mosque of Timur from his own observation, states that it lies on the south side of the city; but neither Dr. Radloff, who describes in detail the ruins of Samarkand, nor other Russian explorers of its remains, mention this mosque.

¹⁰⁸² This is still the custom with the butchers in Persia. See also Chardin's "Voyage en Perse," iv. 142.

¹⁰⁸³ The Mohammedan authors report that Hulagu in 1254, after crossing the Djihun or Anu river, organised a lion-hunt. Ten lions were killed (d'Ohsson, iii. 140). Now-a-days there are no lions found in those tracts.

The fruit is very fragrant, and good for driving away insects.

Hua jui pu (lit., cloth made of blossoms. Probably cotton).

Shui tsing yen (rock-crystal salt). This kind of salt is very hard and bright, like rock-crystal. The people make dishes of it. When moistening these dishes with water, meat can be eaten in them without using salt.¹⁰⁸⁴

Besides this, gold, silver, copper, iron, and jade are found in this country.

East of the city of Samarkand there is a river called *Ha-la-bu-lan*. It is shallow but broad, and flows northward.

To the east, the country of Samarkand borders upon *Sha-lu-hai-ya* (Shahrokia), *Ta-shi-gan* (Tashkend), *Sai-lan* (Sairam), *Yang-i* (Yanghikend). West of Samarkand are *K'o-shi* (Kesh) and *T'ie-li-mi* (Termed). All these places (or countries) depend on Samarkand.

I may finally notice that in Amiot's translation of letters, &c., there are five addressed to the Ming emperors by envoys from Samarkand.

Bu-hua-rh is situated more than 700 *li* north-west of Samarkand. The city lies in a plain, and is 10 *li* and more in circumference (erroneous figure). The population numbers 10,000 families, and has the repute of great wealth. The land is low and the climate warm. The country produces the five kinds of corn, mulberry trees, silk, hemp, the six kinds of domestic animals, and is very rich.

After this the mission of *Ch'en Ch'eng* (see p. 147) is reported with some details. In 1432 *Li Ta* (see p. 148) visited *Bu-hua-rh*.

¹⁰⁸⁴ Chardin, iii. 358, reports that the stone salt of Persia is so hard that the poor men build their houses of it.

HEI-LOU (KHORASSAN?).

p. 3765

Hei-lou is not far from Samarkand. These two countries have always been allied by marriages (of their rulers). The mountains, rivers, plants, birds, and beasts of *Hei-lou* are all of a black colour. Even the men and women there are black.¹⁰⁸⁵

In 1432 an embassy from this country arrived with tribute to the Chinese court. In 1437 another embassy was sent to China by the king of *Hei-lou*, called *Sha-ha-lu So-lu-t'an* (Shah Rok Sultan). At the head of this embassy was the chi hui *Ha-dji Ma-hei-ma* (Hadji Mahmud). He presented tribute and received presents for his sovereign. In 1441 again an embassy from *Hei-lou* arrived, and in 1453 an embassy from that country reached the capital, together with (a caravan of) thirty-one neighbouring tribes (cities), comprising more than 100 men and women. They presented as tribute 247 horses, 12 mules, 10 donkeys, 7 camels, besides jade, sal ammoniac, fine swords made of *pin t'ie* (steel).

In 1463 the king of *Hei-lou*, by name *Mu-sai-i*,¹⁰⁸⁶ sent his chi hui ts'ien shi *Ma-hei-ma She-rh-ban* and others, with tribute to the emperor. The envoy received presents for his sovereign, and was himself rewarded, and raised to the rank of chi hui t'ung chi. The seven officers who had come with him were all raised to higher ranks.

In 1483 an embassy from *Hei-lou* arrived together with the envoys from *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), *Samarkand*, and *Ba-dan-sha* (Badakhshan). They carried lions as presents.

¹⁰⁸⁵ The statements are altogether absurd. *Hei* in Chinese means black, but *Hei-lou* is not a Chinese name; it seems to be intended to render the name of Khorassan or Herat, as appears from the mentioning of Shah Rok as the ruler of this country. The Ming shi, however, has yet another article devoted to Herat, where this city is termed *Ha-lie* (see farther on).

¹⁰⁸⁶ It seems to me that here again *Sultan Abu Said* of Samarkand (see note 1072) is meant. In 1458 he had taken also possession of Herat and Khorassan, and ruled over this province to the day of his death in 1469.

The name of the ruler of *Ba-dan-sha* (at that time) was *So-lu-t'an Ma-hei-ma*.¹⁰⁸⁷

Once more an embassy from *Hei-lou* is recorded under the year 1490. It reached the court at the same time as an embassy from *T'ien fang* (Arabia) and several other embassies. They brought as tribute camels, horses, and jade.

Ch. 332

K'O-SHI (KESH OR KASH).

p. 3759

K'o-shi is situated south-west of *Sa-ma-rh-han*, 360 *li* distant from this city. The city of *K'o-shi*, which is 10 *li* in circumference, lies in the middle of great villages. There are fine palaces and a beautiful temple. The pillars of it are of jade; the walls, doors, and windows are adorned with gold, precious stones, and coloured glass. In times past the ruler of Samarkand *fu ma T'ie-mu-rh* (see note 1059) used to reside in this city. Outside of it there are fields irrigated by water. To the south-east, in the neighbouring hills, there are plenty of gardens, and 10 *li* and more west of *K'o-shi* one meets with very rare trees.¹⁰⁸⁸ Three hundred *li*

¹⁰⁸⁷ See farther on the article *Badakhshan*, p. 277.

¹⁰⁸⁸ *Kesh* or *Kash*, the name of a district and a city south of Samarkand, in a very fertile country, and surrounded by a number of rich villages. Comp. note 209. *Kesh* is widely known as the birthplace and original patrimony of the great Timur (Zafer nameh, preface). It was also called *Shehr-i-sebz*. On modern maps it is generally called *Shehr*. We read in the *Zafer nameh*, i. 4: When Timur had become absolute master of *Maver-annahr* in 1360, he took up his abode in the city of *Kesh*, called also *Shehr-sebz*, or verdant city. Ibid. ii. 28: *Kesh*, called also *Shehr-sebz*, the green city, because of the verdure and freshness of its gardens, and a meadow famous for its rare and curious plants, was the place where the most learned doctors of the Mohammedan law assembled. At the same time men of learning came from all parts to this city. Since the end of 781, Heg. (March 1380) Timur made it his ordinary residence in summer, and declared it the second seat of the empire; wherefore he built there new walls and a new palace, which he named *Akserai*, because the walls were white. All the sherifs, doctors, and learned men from *Khovarezm*, after the capture of the capital (in 1379) were sent to *Kesh*, as also the tradesmen. Timur was charmed with the beauty of this city, the purity of the air in the surrounding plains, the goodness of the water, the deliciousness of its gardens. Baber in his "Memoirs," i. 105, 106, gives the following notice

to the west (should be south) the traveller reaches a great imposing mountain, with a defile through it. One might think that it had been cut artificially. At the exit of the defile, which is 2 or 3 *li* long, and has a direction from east to west, there is a stone gate. The colour of the stones is that of iron. For this reason the people of the country call this gate *T'ie men kuan* (Iron gate).¹⁰⁸⁹ A military post has been established there. There is a tradition that T'ai tsu of the Yüan (Chinghiz Khan) met here an animal with one horn.¹⁰⁹⁰

with respect to this city:—*Kesh* is situated south of Samarkand, at the distance of nine *igadj*. Between the two cities lies a hill called *Amak dayan*, from which all the stones brought to the city are quarried. In the spring the plains, the town of Kesh, the walls and terraces of the houses, are all green and cheerful, whence it is named *Shehr-i-sebz*. At Kesh was the place of Timur's nativity; he raised there vast buildings. Clavijo, who passed through *Kesh* in 1404, gives (p. 123) a detailed description of Kesh and the beautiful country around it. He speaks also of a grand mosque which Timur had ordered to be built, which then was not yet finished, within which the body of his father was interred. Timur had ordered another great chapel to be built for his own body. The first-born son of Timur was also interred in this mosque, named Jehanghir. Comp. Zafer nameh, ii. 18, about the magnificent mausoleum erected in Kesh for the body of the deceased prince Jehanghir.

The city of *Shehr* (anciently Kesh) now belongs to the Khanate of Bokhara. It lies about four English miles south-west of the city of *Kitab*, founded in the middle of the last century. When, in 1870, *Kitab* for a time was occupied by Russian troops, Mr. Kuhn visited *Shehr*, and in 1880 published in the "Memoirs of the Russian Geogr. Soc.," vi. p. 203, an interesting article on his explorations. The ruins of Timur's palace, *Aksarai*, can still be seen there, as also the remains of four other buildings of the time of Timur. The Russian expedition to Kabul in 1878 passed through *Shehr*. Yavorsky (i. 371, ii. 31) speaks of the beautiful gardens and the splendid vegetation around and within the city. The ancient name of *Kesh* or *Kash* has survived in the name of the river *Kashka daria*, on which the city is situated.

¹⁰⁸⁹ Compare about the Iron gate note 211. This celebrated defile, through which the road from Samarkand southward to the Jihun, and farther to Balkh and Kabul leads, is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh, and termed there *Derbend aheny* (Iron gate in Persian), or *Kolugha*. Sometimes the latter name is also written *Khulke* or *Kehulkeh* (i. 5, iii. 2, iv. 33, vi. 23). *Kolugha* had, it seems, the same meaning in the Djagatai Turki dialect as *derbend*, i. e., gate. In Mongol, *Khalga* means a mountain pass, a gate.

¹⁰⁹⁰ About this legend see i. p. 289, and note 696.

Ch. 332.

T'IE-LI-MI (TERMED).

p. 3759

This place lies south-west of Sa-ma-rh-han, 2000 *li* and upwards distant from *Ha-lie* (Herat). There is an old and a new city at a distance of more than 10 *li* between them. The population of the city and its neighbourhood consists of only several hundred families, who are engaged in the breeding of cattle. The city of T'ie-li-mi is situated east of the river *A-mu*, which abounds with fish. The country east of the river belongs to Samarkand. To the west are vast forests (jungles) of *lu* (reeds), in which lions are met with.¹⁰⁹¹

Ch'en Ch'eng and *Li Ta* (Chinese envoys, see pp. 147, 148) visited T'ie-li-mi.

Ch. 332.

AN-DU-HUAI (ANDKHUI).

p. 3763

This place is situated 1300 *li* north-west (should be north-east) of *Ha-lie* (Herat), and at the same distance south-east (south-west) of Samarkand. The city is surrounded by great villages, and is more than 10 *li* in circumference. It lies in a fertile, well-watered, and well-

¹⁰⁹¹ The Chinese account of T'ie-li-mi evidently refers to *Termed*, but the Chinese author is mistaken with respect to its position. We have to read north for east, and south for west. About the early history of *Termed* see p. 63. *Termed* is frequently mentioned in the Zafer nameh. The name is written also *Termez*. Timur in his expeditions from Samarkand to Herat and Persia generally proceeded by way of Kesh and the Iron gate, and crossed the Amu River or Jihun at *Termed* on a bridge of boats (Zafer nameh, i. 8, 22, ii. 31, 43, 48, iii. 2, iv. 2, 32, &c.). In Timur's Autobiogr., 53, we read that Timur in 1361 took possession of *Old Termez*. De Guignes, "Huns," v. 80, states (evidently on the authority of a Mohammedan author) that in 1407 Khalil Sultan ordered the city of *Termed* to be rebuilt at a distance of one parasang from the old city. Clavijo (118, 119), who travelled by the great highway leading from Persia to Samarkand, after crossing the great river *Viadme* (Oxus), arrived at a great city called *Termit*, which once belonged to India the Less, but was then belonging to Timur, who had conquered it, and from this place the empire of Samarkand began. Clavijo further reports that the bridge over the river at this place was only for the use of Timur, and when he had passed from one side to the other the people had to break it off.

populated plain, and has the reputation of being a pleasant place.

Between 1400 and 1416 An-du-huai used to send tribute together with *Ha-lie* (Herat), but afterwards the intercourse with this place was not continued.¹⁰⁹²

BA-DA-HEI-SHANG (BADAKHSHAN).

Ba-da-hei-shang is situated north-east of *An-du-huai*. The city is 10 *li* and more in circumference.¹⁰⁹³ The country is vast. There are no obstacles on the route (notwithstanding the high mountains the traveller has to cross). The mountains and the rivers present beautiful scenery. The people are peaceable there. Many towers are seen in the country. The merchants from the *Si yü* (Central and Western Asia) and those from the *Si yang* (Western Sea, *i.e.*, Indian, Arabian ports, &c.) all come to this country to traffic. For this reason the people of *Ba-da-hei-shang* are very wealthy.

¹⁰⁹² The city of *Andhui* or *Andkud* still exists in Khorassan, and, as the Chinese author correctly observes, it lies midway between Samarkand and Herat. Vambery ("Gesch. Bochara's," &c., i. p. xxx.) suggests that *Andkud* may have been founded by the Mongols, the name being of Mongol origin, and meaning "united happiness." But the learned Professor is mistaken in his supposition. Although *Andkud* is not a very ancient city, the name does not appear in the early Arab geographers; it existed, however, in the middle of the twelfth century, long before the name of the Mongols became known in Western Asia. Yakut (Barbier de Meynard, "Dict. Perse," 54) mentions *Endekhud*, a city between Merv and Balkh, and notices a celebrated jurist who died in this city about the middle of the twelfth century. It was near *Endekhod* that the army of Sultan Shihab-eddin of Gur was destroyed by Sultan Mohammed of Khovarezm (d'Ohsson, i. 138). This happened towards the end of the twelfth century. The name of *Andekud* occurs frequently in the *Zafer* nameh, and in the history of Shah Rok. On modern maps the name is always written *Andhui*.

¹⁰⁹³ According to Colonel Yule ("M. Polo," i. 164), the ancient capital of Badakhshan stood in the plain of Baharak, east of Faizabad, the modern capital. This city of Badakhshan is also mentioned in the *Zafer* nameh, i. 24. Timur, having defeated the princes of Badakhshan in 1368, remained in the city of Badakhshan, and ratified a peace there between the princes and the Amir Hussein.

At first (*i.e.*, when the Chinese intercourse with Badakhshan began, under the Ming), the son of *Sha-ha-lu* (Shah Rok) was the chief of *Ba-da-hei-shang*.¹⁰⁹⁴ In 1408 the emperor Yung lo sent the eunuchs *Pa T'ai* and *Li Ta* with a letter and presents to the chief of *Ba-da-hei-shang*. These envoys had received orders to visit also the countries of *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar) and *Ko-t'e-lang*,¹⁰⁹⁵ and to recommend to the rulers of these countries the protection of the merchants passing through their dominions. And since that time the intercourse of the distant countries with China through Badakhshan has met with no difficulties.

In 1414 *Ch'en Ch'eng* was sent to this country, and in 1420 an embassy with tribute from Badakhshan arrived at Peking, together with the embassy from *Ha-lie* (Herat).¹⁰⁹⁶ When these envoys returned to their countries, they were accompanied by *Ch'en Ch'eng* and the eunuch *Kuo King*.

In 1461 the prince (wang) of Badakhshan, by name *Ma-ha-ma*,¹⁰⁹⁷ sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese

¹⁰⁹⁴ During the reign of Timur, Badakhshan was ruled by its own princes, who acknowledged the supremacy of Timur. In 1412 the prince of Badakhshan revolted against Shah Rok, who sent his son Ibrahim Sultan thither, who reduced the rebel to obedience. In 1417 Shah Rok entrusted his son Siurgatmish with the government of Badakhshan.

¹⁰⁹⁵ *Khotl* or *Khotelan*, a name not found on modern maps, was applied in ancient times to a country on the Upper Jihun, north of Badakhshan. Ibn Haukal, quoted by Abulfeda, II. ii. 229, couples it with the country of Wakhsh, and states that Khotal is situated between the river Wakhshab and the river Badakhshan, called also Djariab. Compare also about Khotelan Yule's "Cathay," cxxxv. Khotlan is frequently mentioned in the *Zafer* nameh. At first it was ruled, like Badakhshan, by its own princes, but subsequently Timur annexed it to the dominions of his grandson, Pir Mohammed Jehanghir, who ruled over Balkh, Kabul, Ghaznia, &c.

¹⁰⁹⁶ This embassy from Badakhshan is noticed in the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China.

¹⁰⁹⁷ I have not been able to make out from Mohammedan sources who ruled in Badakhshan in 1461. But the *So-lu t'aw Ma-hei-ma* of Badakhshan, who, according to the Chinese annals, sent an embassy in 1483 (*supra*, p. 273), was without doubt *Sultan Mahmud*, the second son of the unfortunate Sultan Abu Said. As Mirkhond reports, he took possession after the death of his father in 1469 of Hisar, Badakhshan, Kondez, Bakalan, &c. Sultan Mahmud died in 1494.

court, and in the next year another envoy arrived from that country. His name was *A-bu-du-la*. The rank of *chi hui t'ung chi*, bestowed in former times upon his father, was now transferred to the son.

Ch. 332

HA-LIE (HARI OR HERAT).

p. 3761

Ha-lie, called also *Hei-lu*,¹⁰⁹⁸ is situated 3000 *li* south-west of Samarkand, and is distant from *Kia yü kuan* (at the Chinese frontier) 12,000 *li*. It is a large kingdom in the *Si yü*. When *T'ie-mu-rh*, the *fu ma* of the *Yüan* (Mongol dynasty),¹⁰⁹⁹ ruled in Samarkand, he sent his son *Sha-ha-lu*¹¹⁰⁰ to occupy *Ha-lie*.

During the reign of the emperor Hung wu (1368-99) *Samarkand* and *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Moghulistan) used to send tribute to the Chinese court, but owing to the great distance no embassy from *Ha-lie* was seen in China at this period. In 1392 the emperor despatched to the ruler of *Ha-lie* an officer with a letter and presents, consisting of gold-embroidered silk, &c. But this officer did not reach *Ha-lie*.¹¹⁰¹

In 1395 the envoys *An* and *Kuo Ki* (see p. 144) were sent to the countries of the west. This embassy was escorted by 1500 (Chinese) soldiers. *T'ie-mu-rh* retained it in Samarkand. In 1397 the emperor despatched another embassy thither, at the head of which he placed *Chen Te*

¹⁰⁹⁸ *Herat*, ancient *Aria*, in the Middle Ages was generally known under the names of *Hari* or *Heri*. See vol. i. note 684.

¹⁰⁹⁹ Allied by marriage with the house of Chingbiz Khan. See note 1059.

¹¹⁰⁰ *Shah Rok*, the fourth son of Timur, was born in 1377. In 1397 his father gave him during his life the propriety of the kingdom of Khorassan, and *Shah Rok* established his residence at Herat (*Zafer nameh*, iii. 67). After Timur's death in 1405, he mounted as independent sovereign the throne of Herat. *Shah Rok* died in 1447 at Rei.

¹¹⁰¹ At the beginning of Timur's career Herat was ruled by princes of the Kurt dynasty. In 1381 Timur took Herat from Pir Ali, the last ruler of this dynasty, and constituted his son, Mirza Miran Shah, governor of Herat and Khorassan. But this prince was only for a short time there (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 31-33). In 1397 *Shah Rok* was ruler of Herat.

wen, the chief inquisitor of Pei p'ing (Peking). But this embassy also did not return.

When Yung lo had ascended the throne (in 1403), he sent an officer with a letter and presents to the king of *Ha-lie*. But the latter did not send any embassy to China.

In 1407 the embassies headed by *An* and by *Chen Te wen* returned. The latter, a man from Pao ch'ang hien (Kuang tung province), reported that the king of *Ha-lie* had sent tribute to China, but that owing to the great distance this embassy had not reached the court. *Chen Te wen* had gathered on his way some information about the customs of the countries seen by him, and presented his notices in the form of a poem to the emperor, who was much delighted, and promoted him in rank.

In 1408 *An* was again entrusted with a mission to the west. He bore a letter and presents for *Sha-ha-lu Ba-du-rh* (Shah Rok Bahadur), ruler of *Ha-lie*; ¹¹⁰² and when *An* returned he was accompanied by an envoy of *Sha-ha-lu*, carrying with him tribute. (The Ming Geography calls this envoy the chieftain *Mo-lai*.) They arrived at the Chinese capital in 1409, where the embassy was well received. In 1410 another envoy from *Ha-lie* arrived.

¹¹⁰² We find ample corroboration for the Chinese records regarding the political intercourse between China and Herat in the fifteenth century in the life of *Shah Rok*, as recorded by *Abder-razzak* (see p. 153). These details were translated more than a century ago by Chambers, and are found also in Quatremère's translation of the same author in the "Not. et Extr.," XIV. i. (1843). My quotations in the subsequent pages refer to W. Chambers' article, "An Account of Embassies and Letters that passed between the Emperor of China and Sultan *Shah Rokh*, son of Amir Timur," the "Asiatic Miscellany," i. 1785, Calcutta, p. 71 seq. *Abder-razzak* records:—

When the *Khakan* (i.e., *Shah Rok*) returned from his expedition to Seistan (he returned on the 17th January 1409), ambassadors who had been sent by the Emperor of China to condole with him on the death of his father arrived with a variety of presents, and represented what they had to say on the part of their monarch. The *Khakan*, after showing them many favours and civilities, dismissed them. This seems to refer to the mission of *An*, which departed from China in 1408. In the article *Samarkand*, however (see p. 262), it is stated that *Bo-a-rh-hin t'ai* was sent to offer sacrifices in memory of Timur.

Sha-ha-lu was on bad terms with *Ha-li*, the son of his elder brother, Timur's successor. They attacked each other.¹¹⁰³ Therefore, when the envoy of *Ha-lie* returned home, the emperor sent the *tu chi hui* *Bo-a-rh-hin t'ai* (repeatedly mentioned in connection with missions to the west) to *Sha-ha-lu* with a letter of the following tenor:—

"Heaven has created men and appointed rulers to govern them. They (*i.e.*, the ruler and the people) have mutual duties. I am ruling now over China, and look upon all nations with benevolence. I make no difference between near and far countries. I have sent several times envoys to you, and accordingly you have done your duty in sending me your tribute. Your people in the west enjoyed peace and were happy. I was also much satisfied by your zeal. But subsequently I was informed that you are living in discord with your nephew *Ha-li* (*Khalil Sultan*), and make mutually war one on another. (Do not forget that) only when living in harmony relatives are able to stand up against outward enemies. When near relatives thus quarrel, how shall the distant relatives live in harmony with you? You must cease to make war, render peace to the people, and maintain the kindred bonds. Then you will enjoy the happiness of peace."¹¹⁰⁴

The emperor wrote a letter of the same tenor to *Ha-li*

¹¹⁰³ Indeed *Shah Rok* marched out twice, in 1405 and 1406, from Herat against *Mirza Khalil Sultan*, who after the death of *Timur* had usurped the throne of *Samarkand*, but they made peace before their armies had encountered each other. *Khalil Sultan* was dethroned in 1409. See note 1067.

¹¹⁰⁴ This letter, addressed by the Chinese emperor to *Shah Rok*, which I have translated from the *Ming shi*, presents a peculiar interest, the original of it having been translated nearly five hundred years ago into Persian, which translation has been preserved in *Abder-razzak's Matla-assaadein*. This Persian version, turned into English by *Chambers (l. c.)*, proves that the *Ming shi* gives only an abstract of this letter. We read in the above mentioned Persian historical record:—

In 1412 (A.D.) ambassadors from *Day Ming Khan*,* emperor of *Chin*

* *To Ming*, in Chinese the Great Ming (dynasty).

(*Khalil*), exhorting him to cease quarrelling with his uncle.

Bo-a-rh-hin-t'ai visited (besides Herat) *Sa-ma-rh-han*, *Shi-la-sz'* (*Shiraz*), *An-di-gan* (*Andekan* in *Ferghana*), *An-du-hui* (*Andkhui*), *T'u-lu-fan* (*Turfan*), *Huo chou*, *Liu-ch'eng*, *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (*Kashgar*), and exhorted the rulers of these countries to send tribute. They were all much delighted, and they all dispatched embassies, which arrived

and *Machin* (*Southern China*)* and all those countries, arrived at Herat. (Detailed description of the festivities and solemnity ordered by *Shah Rok* on this occasion.) His Majesty, with a splendour like the sun, ascended his throne and bestowed upon the chief of his lords and on the ambassadors the happiness of kissing his hand. The latter, after offering him their presents, delivered their message. The letter they brought from the Emperor of China was as follows:—

"The Great Emperor *Day Ming* sends this letter to the country of *Samarkand* to *Shah Rokh Bahadur*.

"As we consider that the Most High God has created all things that are in heaven and on earth, to the end that all his creatures may be happy, and that it is in consequence of his sovereign decree that we are become Lord of the face of the earth,† we therefore endeavour to exercise rule in obedience to his commands; and for this reason we make no partial distinction between those that are near and those that are far off, but regard them all with an eye of equal benevolence.

"We have heard, before this, that thou art a wise and an excellent man, highly distinguished above others; that thou art obedient to the command of the Most High God; that thou art a father to thy people and thy troops, and art good and beneficent towards all; which has given us much satisfaction. But it was with singular pleasure we observed that when we sent an ambassador with *kimkhas* and *torkos*‡ and a dress, thou didst pay all due honour to our command, and didst make a proper display of the favour thou hadst received, insomuch that small and great rejoiced at it. Thou didst also forthwith dispatch an ambassador to do us homage, and to present us the rarities, horses, and choice manufactures of that country. So that with the strictest regard to the truth, we can declare that we have deemed thee worthy of praise and of distinction.

"The government of the *Moghuls* was some time ago extinct, but thy father, *Timur-fuma* (see note 1059), was obedient to the commands of the

* *Comp. Yule's "Cathay,"* cxix. *Machin* confounded with *Manzi*, Southern China. The Persian author uses *Chin* and *Khatai* indiscriminately to designate China.

† The Chinese original has *T'ien hia*, beneath the sky. Thus the Chinese call the world ruled by the Son of Heaven. This term has been erroneously translated by "Celestial Empire."

‡ *Chambers* observes that *kimkhas* seems to be the *kinbob* of the English in India, a stuff composed of silk and cotton with flowers of gold. See *Yule-Burnell*, "Glossary," s. v. "Kinbob." *Torgo*=satin.

at the Chinese court together with the embassy from *Ha-lie* (Herat). The latter carried a lion,¹¹⁰⁵ a leopard, and western horses for the emperor, who received the ambassadors in audience in his palace. The ambassadors of Herat occupied the first place. When they returned, *Li Ta*,

Most High God and did homage to our great Emperor *Tay tui*,* nor did he omit to send ambassadors with presents. He (the Emperor) for this reason granted protection to the men of that country and enriched them all. We have now seen that thou art a worthy follower of thy father in his noble spirit and in his measures. We have therefore sent *Duji-chun-bay-askasay* and *Harara Suchu* and *Danching Sadasun Kunchi* † with congratulations and a dress and *kimkhas* and *toryos*. We shall hereafter send persons whose office it will be to go and return successively, in order to keep open a free communication, that merchants may traffic and carry on their business to their wish.

"*Khalil Sultan* is thy brother's son; it is necessary that thou treat him with kindness, in consideration of his rights as being the son of so near a relation. We trust that thou wilt pay attention to our sincerity and to our advice in these matters. This is what we make known to thee!"

Another letter, *Abder-razzak* adds, was sent with the presents, and contained a particular account of them, besides one calculated to serve as a pass, which was to remain with the ambassadors. Each was written in the Persian language and character, as well as in the Turkish language with the Moghul character, and likewise in the language and character of China.

His Majesty attended to the letter, and apprehended its meaning with his usual penetration; and when he had understood the objects of the embassy, he gave his assent to them all, and then gave orders that the Lords should entertain the ambassadors.

After the affairs of the Chinese ambassadors were settled, they had an audience of leave and set out on their return. *Sheikh Mohammed Bakshy* accompanied them as envoy on the part of His Majesty, and as the emperor of China had not yet assented to the Mussulman faith, nor regulated his conduct by the law of the Koran, His Majesty, from motives of friendship, sent him a letter of good advice in Arabic and Persian, conceiving that perhaps the Emperor might be prevailed upon to embrace the faith. (These letters have also been translated by Chambers, but they are of little interest.)

¹¹⁰⁵ About the lions and other beasts brought by the Mohammedan merchants and envoys to China, see note 1075. In the narrative of *Shah Rok's* embassy a lion is also noticed among the presents carried along for the Chinese emperor.

* *T'ai tau*, great ancestor, is the Chinese dynastic name given to the first emperor of a dynasty. Here it refers to *Hung wu*, 1368-99.

† I find no corroboration for these names.

Ch'en Ch'eng (v. p. 147), *Li Sien* of the Board of Revenues, and the chi hui *Kin-ha-lan-po* accompanied them, and bore letters for the respective rulers.

In 1415 the Chinese envoys returned, and *Ha-lie* and the other kingdoms all sent again tribute, and once more in 1416. In the same year *Ch'en Ch'eng* was again ordered to accompany the embassy back to *Ha-lie*, and orders had been given also that they should be well entertained in all the (Chinese) cities they had to pass through.¹¹⁰⁶ *Ch'en Ch'eng* came back in 1417 in the company of an envoy from Herat. In 1418 again an embassy from this kingdom arrived, and *Li Ta* was ordered to accompany it home.¹¹⁰⁷

¹¹⁰⁶ *Abder-razzak*, l. c.: *Day Ming Khan*, Emperor of China, having again sent ambassadors to His Majesty (*Shah Rok*), they arrived in May 1417 at Herat. The chiefs of them were *Bibachin*, *Tubachin*, and *Jatbachin* (*Quatremère* reads: *Matchin*, *Toumatchin*, *Djatmatchin*), who came attended by three hundred horse, and brought with them an abundance of rarities and presents, such as *shonkars* (gerfalcons), damasks, *khimka* stuffs, vessels of China ware. They brought also royal presents for each of the princes and the agas. With them came a letter, the contents of which consisted generally of an enumeration of past favours and civilities, and of expressions of confidence in the future continuance of His Majesty's friendship. The points more particularly insisted on were, that both parties should strive to remove all constraint arising from distance of place and a diversity of manners, and to open wide the doors of agreement and union, that the subjects and merchants of both kingdoms might enjoy a free and unrestrained intercourse with each other, and the roads to be kept open and unmolested. Moreover, as, on occasion of the first embassy to China, the *Amir Seid Ahmed Tarkhan* had sent the Emperor a white horse, that animal had, it seems, proved particularly agreeable to him, and he now sent that lord a number of things in return, together with a picture of the horse drawn by a Chinese painter, with a groom on each side holding his bridle. The ambassadors were handsomely entertained, and at length, as on former occasions, received their dismissal, when the *Khakan* (*Shah Rok*) sent *Ardashir Tavasky* back with them to China.

¹¹⁰⁷ *Abder-razzak* reports s. a. 822 H. (1419): *Ardashir*, who had been sent to China, returned from there, and gave His Majesty an account of that country and of the approach of a new embassy. In October 1419 the Chinese ambassadors *Bimachin* and *Janmachin* arrived at Herat, and presented to *Shah Rok* the presents and rarities they had brought, and a letter from the emperor of China, a copy of which is here subjoined, written in their manner, which is this, they write the name of the monarch on the first line, and begin the other at some distance below, and when in

In 1420 an embassy from *Ha-lie* arrived at the Chinese capital,¹¹⁰⁸ together with the envoys of *Yü-t'ien* (Khotan)

the course of the letter they come to the name of God, they leave off and begin a new line with that, and they follow the same method in writing the name of a sovereign prince.* The letter of the Emperor of China reads as follows:—

"The great Emperor of *Day Ming* sends this letter to Sultan Shah Rokh. We conceive that the Most High has made you knowing, and wise, and perfect, that the kingdom of the Islamites may be well governed, and it is owing to this that the men of that kingdom are become prosperous. Your Majesty is of an enlightened mind, skilful, accomplished, and judicious; and superior to all the Islamites. You honour the commands of the Most High, and you reverence the things that relate to him, which is the way to enjoy his protection.

"We on a former occasion sent Amir *Seyray Lida* † with others as our ambassadors, who arrived at Your Majesty's court, and you were pleased to receive them with much honour and ceremony, which *Lida* and the rest represented to us. Your ambassadors, *Beg Buka* and the others, also arrived here with *Lida* and the rest on their return, and delivered at this court all the presents of onces, lynxes, and Arabian horses, and other things which you sent us. We viewed them all. You have on this occasion displayed the sincerity of your affection, and we are exceedingly sensible of your kindness. The western country which is the seat of Islamism has from old time been famous for producing wise and good men, but it is probable that none have been superior to Your Majesty. Well may we afford protection and encouragement to the men of that country, for we deem it consonant to the will of Heaven that we should do so. Indeed, how should not the Most High be well pleased with those men who practise mutual affection, where one heart reflects the sentiments of another, as mirror opposed to mirror, and that though at a distance! In the eye of friendship, generosity and civility are precious above all things, but even in these also there is something more particularly so. We now send *Uchang-ku* and others, in company with your ambassadors *Beg Buka* and the rest, who will deliver to Your Majesty our presents, consisting of seven *shonkars* (gerfalcons), each of which we have flown with our own hands, and *kimkhas*, &c. The *shonkars* are not produced in this our Empire of China; they are constantly brought us as rarities from the sea-coast, so that we have plenty of them, but in that country of yours it seems they are scarce. ‡ We have sent you choice ones, such as might be deemed worthy the great soul of Your Majesty. In themselves, to be sure, they are of little value, but as they are tokens of our affection we

* This etiquette is still observed in official letters in China.

† The ambassador *Lí Ta*, often mentioned in the Chinese records.

‡ The *Pon ta'ao kang nu*, chap. xlix., sub *Fing*, states that the gerfalcons are brought from a country in the north situated on the Sea of Manchuria, which is in accordance with what M. Polo (l. 262) states about the native country of the peregrine falcons of Tartary. I may however observe, that the gerfalcons of Eastern Asia are not the same as those used in the West. The former are much larger in size.

and *Ba-da-hei-shen* (Badakhshan), and in 1422 *Ha-lie* sent another envoy, who arrived together with the envoy of *Yü-t'ien*.

The emperors *Jen tsung* (1425-26) and *Süan tsung* (1426-36) generally did not pay much attention to distant countries and were not in the habit of sending envoys abroad, on which account embassies from those countries

trust they will be acceptable to Your Majesty. Henceforth it is requisite that the sincerity of our friendship be increased, and that ambassadors and merchants be always passing and repassing between us without interruption, to the end that our subjects may all live in plenty, ease, and security. We may then assuredly hope that the Most High will make us experience more of his goodness and mercy.

"This is what we have thought proper to write to you."

Each time that letters from the Emperor of China were thus brought to His Majesty there were three, and each was written in three different sorts of character: that is to say, first in the vulgar character, in which we now write, and in the Persian language; secondly, in the Moghul character, which is that of the *Yegurs* (Uighurs), and in the Turkish language; and thirdly, in the Chinese character and language. But the purport was exactly the same in all. There was another letter which contained a particular account of the things sent, whether living creatures or other rarities, and was written in like manner in three languages and characters. And there was likewise a letter to answer the purpose of a pass. The dates of months and years inserted in each were those of the Emperor's reign.

The above English translation from *Abder-razzak's Matla-assaadein* by Chambers has been copied from the "Asiatic Miscellany." *Quatremère*, who translates the same work, gives some additional information about the same Chinese embassy (*l. c. p. 305*).

On the last day of the month of *Redjeb* 822 (August 22, 1419), the ambassadors of *Khata*, accompanied by *Ardeshir*, arrived at *Samarkand*, and offered magnificent presents to *Mirza Ulug Beg*, who entertained them handsomely, and then they departed for *Khorassan*. In the same year, in October, the ambassadors of *Khata*, on their way home, visited again *Mirza Ulug Beg* in *Samarkand*.

On the 9th of September 1420 *Abuka* (it seems the *Beg Buka* noticed in the emperor's letter) and *Pulad Timur* arrived from China with a great train and were well received.

¹¹⁰⁸ This was the famous embassy of *Shak Rok* to the Chinese emperor, a detailed narrative of which has been preserved in the *Matla-assaadein* (*v. supra*, p. 153). This embassy left *Herat* on December 5, 1419, arrived at *Samarkand*, February 6, 1420, where they were joined by the ambassadors from *Badakhshan* and others. They reached *Peking*, December 14, 1420, and stayed there till May 1421, when they set out for their homeward journey. They reached *Herat*, September 2, 1422.

were seldom seen in China during their reigns. However in 1427 one of the chieftains of *Ha-lie*, by name *Da-lahan I-bu-la* (Tarkhan Ibrahim?), presented horses as tribute, and in 1432 the emperor despatched the eunuch *Li Kui* to the countries of the West, and entrusted him also with a mission to *Sha-ha-lu* (Shah Rok), to whom he had written the following letter:—

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

Li Kui had not yet reached *Ha-lie*, when an envoy from that country by name *Fa-hu-rh-ding* (Fakhr-eddin) arrived at the Chinese capital, where he died in the official lodging-place. He was buried by imperial order with the marks of honour due to his position.

Another embassy from *Ha-lie*, bringing with him camels, horses, jade, &c., accompanied *Li Kui* when he returned to China, and when this embassy went home, in the next year in the spring, *Li Kui* accompanied it again to bestow presents on the king of *Ha-lie* and some of his chieftains. They reached *Ha-lie* in the autumn of the same year.

Under the year 1438 again an embassy from *Ha-lie* to the Chinese court is recorded. (The Ming Geography calls the head of this mission chi hui *Ha-dji*.)

As *Ying tsung* (1436-50) was under age when he was placed on the throne, and as the ministers neglected the intercourse with the foreigners, tribute-bearers arrived only in small number. In 1457, when *Ying tsung* had ascended the throne for the second time (he was kept prisoner by the Mongols for nearly two years, see p. 166), he decided to re-establish the former intercourse with the *Si yü*, and in 1463 sent a number of military officers with letters and presents for the foreign rulers of the various countries. The tu chi hui *Hai Yung* and the chi hui *Ma Ts'üan* were despatched to *Ha-lie*, but this country sent no more embassies to China.¹¹⁰⁹

The accounts which now follow, on the customs, productions, &c., of Herat, are drawn for the greater part from the repeatedly quoted narrative *Shi Si yü ki* (see p. 147), of which the Ming Geography gives some extracts.

Ha-lie is one of the most powerful kingdoms of the *Si yü*. The city in which the great king (*ta wang*) resides is ten li in circumference. The houses there are built of stones and resemble a high level terrace.¹¹¹⁰ The interior, comprising several tens of *kien*,¹¹¹¹ is empty.¹¹¹² The doors and the windows show beautifully carved work adorned with gold and precious stones. They spread over the floor carpets, which they sit on cross-legged.

They call their sovereign *so-lu-tan* (Sultan), which in their language means *kün chang* (supreme ruler). The men shave their heads and wrap them about with a piece of white cloth. The women cover their heads with white cloth and leave only apertures for the eyes. The

¹¹⁰⁹ At the time here spoken of, Sultan Abu Said of Samarkand ruled also over Herat and Khorassan. He had taken possession of Herat in 1458.

¹¹¹⁰ The houses in Persia have all flat horizontal roofs.

¹¹¹¹ *Kien* means a division of a room made by the framework. It may be taken also as a unit for measuring rooms.

¹¹¹² As is known, no furniture is found in Persian houses. The Persians sit and sleep on their carpets spread over the floor.

white colour is considered the colour of joy, whilst black is the mourning colour.¹¹¹³ Superiors and inferiors when speaking one to another simply address each other by their names. When they meet they bow slightly the body and bow three times the knee. At their meals they do not use spoons or chopsticks. They have porcelain vessels. Wine is made there of grapes. In trade they use three kinds of silver coins, large and small ones. It is not forbidden to cast coins privately, only it is requisite to pay the king a certain tax, whereupon the coins are stamped with the seal of the king. Coins without this stamp are not allowed.¹¹¹⁴ They do not barter. The taxes are two from ten. Measures (of liquids and corn) are unknown there. Everything is sold by weight.¹¹¹⁵ They have no (separate) government offices, but there is a (general) office called *dao-wan*.¹¹¹⁶ They have also no capital punishment. Manslaughter or murder is punished by a mulct.¹¹¹⁷ According to their customs two sisters are allowed to be the wives of the same husband. (Not allowed in China.)

The term for mourning is a hundred days. When burying the dead, they do not put the body in a coffin, but wrap it only up with a cloth.¹¹¹⁸ They offer sacrifices on the grave. They neither sacrifice to their ancestors nor to good or evil spirits. They pray frequently to heaven.

The cycle (of Chinese chronology) is unknown there. But they have a cycle of *seven* days. The first day is

¹¹¹³ In China white is the mourning colour.

¹¹¹⁴ A. Conolly, who in 1833 spent a considerable time in Herat, states that the taxes levied on coinage are considerable, and that besides this, excise is levied on goods of every description brought to the city. Every article, even meat, is provided with the Shah's stamp (Ritter, viii. 255).

¹¹¹⁵ Even now-a-days a rule adopted all over Persia.

¹¹¹⁶ Evidently the *divan* or Council of State is meant.

¹¹¹⁷ Even in our days a murderer in Persia is allowed to ransom himself from capital punishment; for the latter there is only an act of vengeance.

¹¹¹⁸ This is still a rule in Persia.

called *a-t'i-na*,¹¹¹⁹ on which the people assemble and pray to Heaven. The other (six) days they attend to their business. They fast twice a year, in the second and the tenth month, and then they eat only at night-time.¹¹²⁰

In the middle of the city (of Herat) there is a great building erected of clay. This is a college, called *mo-de-rh-sai*¹¹²¹ in the language of the country. In it a large copper vessel has been placed, which is several fathoms in circumference, with letters engraved on it. It resembles in shape the ancient (Chinese) vessels called *ting* (a large tripod vessel).

[This passage about the vessel is only found in the Ming shi.]

In the Shi Si yü ki, from which the Ming Geography draws, we read that in the middle of the college there is a great house in which the *yu hio* (lit. travelling scholars, students) live. It is provided with rooms on all four sides and a gallery runs all around. The literary men are wont to repair to this college as the Chinese scholars to the *ta hio* (university).¹¹²²

The people in Ha-lie live very luxuriously. There are

¹¹¹⁹ *Adhineh*, meaning properly "festival," is the Arabic name for Friday, which, as is known, with the Mussulmans answers to our Sunday (Bibl. Orient.).

¹¹²⁰ With respect to Mussulman fasts, compare notes 187 and 232, and Chardin, "Voy. en Perse," vii. 132 *seq.* Besides the great fast in the month of Ramazan, the Persians observe the fast of devotion on the 10th of Moharrem.

¹¹²¹ *Medressah*, a high school or college in Persian.

¹¹²² Herat has always been considered as being one of the centres of Mohammedan learning. It is the native place of many celebrated scholars. As to the large vessel seen by the Chinese reporter, I may notice that Mohun Lal, the companion of A. Burnes, who in 1833 spent seven months in Herat, mentions a similar ancient vessel there. We read in his report (Journ. As. Soc. Bengal, iii. 17): At the east end of the city is the Great Mosque, erected by Sultan Ghiassuddin, the old king of Gur, 700 years ago. In the square of this mosque is a small cistern of water for ablution and a large heavy vessel of tin made by Sultan Ghiassuddin. The circumference of it is twenty spans, and the thickness of the edge is one. There are inscriptions written on the borders of the vessel, dated also 700 years ago.

foot-runners who run 300 *li* in one day. The country is very fertile; the climate is hot. Rain is scarce. The following productions are found there:—

White salt, copper, iron, gold, silver, glass, corals, amber, pearls. The people rear plenty of silkworms and manufacture silk stuffs.

So-fu is the name of a stuff made of bird's down and resembles silk (see note 1060).

Hua fan (variegated carpets). They are very fine, and never change their colour.

Among trees they have mulberry trees, elms, willows, acacias, firs, cypresses.

As to fruits, they cultivate peaches, apricots, plums, pears, pomegranates, grapes and the *ba-dan hing* (*badan*, apricot).¹¹²³

The cereals and vegetables of *Ha-lie* are millet, wheat, hemp, beans, &c. Rape of enormous size, weighing ten *kin*, is found there.

The domestic animals are horses, cattle, sheep, dogs, fowls. There are also lions and panthers.

The kingdom of *Ha-lie* borders to the east upon *An-du-huai* (Andhui) and *Ba-la-hei*.¹¹²⁴ Both are subject to it.

K'I-LI-MA-BH (KIRMAN I).

This country sent tribute in the reign of Yung-lo (1403-25). The envoys offered skins of beasts, bird's feathers, carpets, woollen stuffs.

The people there are fond of hunting and do not till the ground. K'i-li-ma-rh borders to the south-west on the sea; to the north-east are dense forests, giving shelter to many ferocious beasts and poisonous insects. There are in the city streets, but no market-places. The people use iron coins.¹¹²⁵

¹¹²³ *Badam* is the Persian name for almond. See note 26.

¹¹²⁴ Instead of *Ba-la-hei* (Balkh), as the name is written in the Ming Geography, the Ming shi has *Ba-da-hei-shang* (Badakhshan).

¹¹²⁵ Perhaps *Kirman* is meant. This city is famed for its carpets and

I-SZ-FU-HAN (ISFAHAN).

This country is situated near *An-di-gan*.¹¹²⁶ In 1416 the emperor Yung-lo sent an embassy to *An-du-huai* and *Sa-ma-rh-han*, and the envoy proceeded also to *I-sz'-fu-han*, bestowing presents upon the ruler.¹¹²⁷ In 1419 this country, together with the adjacent kingdom *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), sent tribute, and presented to the emperor a lion, a leopard, and western horses.¹¹²⁸ The envoys were rewarded, and when they went home the Chinese envoy *Lu An* accompanied them. There was a man (of the embassy) by name *Ma-ha-mu* (Mahmud) who begged to be left in Peking. The emperor consented. In 1431 Isfahan sent an envoy, by name *Mi-rh-ali*, to China.

In 1483 *I-sz'-fu-han* sent tribute together with *Sa-ma-rh-han*, and presented a lion, fine horses, swords, *to-lo*,¹¹²⁹ *so-fu* (see note 1060). The envoys were richly rewarded.

woollen stuffs. However, there are in the Chinese account some statements which do not agree with Kirman. I am not aware that in any country of the world iron coins should be used.

¹¹²⁶ This is a geographical error of the Ming historians. *Andekan*, as we have seen, is situated in Ferghana.

¹¹²⁷ In 1403 Timur conferred the government of Isfahan on Mirza Rustem, son of Mirza Omar Sheikh, Timur's second son. In 1408 he was expelled from Isfahan by his brother Pir Mohammed of Fars, and after the death of the latter his brother Mirza Eskender took possession of Isfahan. In 1414 Shah Rok re-installed M. Rustem in Isfahan, and the latter held it to the day of his death in 1445. After Sultan Abu Said of Samarkand and Herat had been put to death by Uzzan Hassan, the founder of the Turkoman dynasty of the White Sheep, in 1469, the latter became sovereign of a great part of the dominions of the house of Timur. He made himself master of Irak (Isfahan) and Fars (Shiraz). But in the very beginning of the sixteenth century, Ismael I. Sofy, the founder of a new Persian dynasty, defeated the Turkomans and established his authority over the whole of Persia.

¹¹²⁸ The embassy of Shah Rok to the Chinese emperor on its homeward journey met the envoys from *Shiraz* and *Isfahan* near the Chinese frontier in August 1421.

¹¹²⁹ This seems to be a fabric of cotton. The Ming Geography notices it among the productions of *Bang-go-la* (Bengal). Groeneveldt, "Malay Archipelago," Appendix, states that *to-lo*, now-a-days *to-lo-ni*, means broad cloth.

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SHI-LA-SZ' (SHIRAZ).

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Shi-la-sz' lies near *Sa-ma-rh-han*.¹¹⁸⁰ In 1413 an envoy from this country arrived at the Chinese capital, together with the embassies from *Ha-lie* (Herat), *An-di-gan*, and *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), and others, altogether eight kingdoms. These embassies followed *Bo-a-rh-hin-t'ai* (a Chinese envoy who was returning from the western countries), presented their tribute, and when they went home they were accompanied by (the repeatedly mentioned Chinese envoys) *Li Ta* and *Ch'en Ch'eng*, who carried presents for the respective rulers.

In 1415 the chief of *Shi-la-sz'*, by name *I-bu-la-ghin*,¹¹⁸¹ sent an embassy, which arrived at the capital together with the afore-mentioned Chinese envoys. At the time they had reached China, the emperor was in the north (at war with the Mongols). When in the next year, in the summer, the envoy from *Shi-la-sz'* returned home, *Ch'en Ch'eng* and *Lu An* went along with him to bestow presents upon *I-bu-la-ghin*, and to hand over an imperial letter to him.

In 1419 *Shi-la-sz'*, together with *I-sz'-fu-han*, sent embassies to the Chinese court. They presented to the emperor

¹¹⁸⁰ There can be no doubt that by *Shi-la-sz'*, *Shiraz*, the capital of Fars, is meant. It is therefore strange that in the above record Shiraz is located near Samarkand. I may, however, observe that there was a little town *Shiraz*, with a castle, at a distance of four farsangs from Samarkand. This place is once mentioned in the *Zafer nameh* (vi. 45), and several times in the *Matla-assaadein*.

¹¹⁸¹ The dynasty of the Mozaffarids reigned in Fars (Shiraz) when Timur invaded Persia in 1387 and 1392. After the destruction of this dynasty, Timur, in 1393, conferred the government of Fars on his son Mirza Omar Sheikh, and after the death of this prince in 1394 on Omar's son, Pir Mohammed. The latter was assassinated in 1410, and his brother, M. Eskender, obtained the government of Fars. This prince revolted against Shah Rok, was defeated, and Shah Rok in 1414 appointed his second son, Mirza *Ibrahim Sultan*, to the government of Fars. *Ibrahim*, who had his residence at Shiraz, died there in 1435. In 1452 Sultan Baber of Herat took possession for a short time of Shiraz. He was expelled from there by the Turkomans. In the beginning of the sixteenth century Ismael I. Sofy conquered Fars.

a lion, a leopard, and fine horses. When they returned they were accompanied by *Lu An*, who carried rich presents for the respective rulers, namely, fine silk stuffs, girdles, porcelain vessels. At that time China was waging war in the north (with the Mongols), and was therefore in want of horses. Accordingly *Shi-la-sz'*, Samarkand, and the other countries were induced to send horses as tribute.

In 1423, in the eighth month, the envoy from *Shi-la-sz'* had an audience of the emperor at his travelling palace at *Suan hua fu*.¹¹⁸² He was kindly received and richly rewarded, and then proceeded to Peking. A number of his followers remained (or were retained) in China. It was not till after Jen tsung's accession to the throne (1425) that they went home.

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

After this for a long time no embassy from *Shi-la-sz'* was seen in China, when in 1483 again an envoy from that country arrived, in the company of other embassies from *Hei-lou* (see p. 272), *Sa-ma-rh-han*, and *Ba-dan-sha* (Badakhshan), and *I-sz'-fu-han*.

In 1492, when *Shan-ba*, who had been elected prince of Hami (see p. 182), was about to marry a wife from the neighbouring tribe *Ye-mie-k'o-li* (see note 941), the ruler of *Shi-la-sz'*, taking into consideration that they were poor, united with his neighbour the ruler of *I-bu-la-yin*, and both sent to the Chinese court envoys, namely, the councillor *So-ho-bu-dai* and the director *Man-k'o*, to solicit a wedding-gift for *Shan-ba*. The emperor took their intercession kindly, and made rich presents to *Shan-ba*, and also to the mediators and their envoys.¹¹⁸³

¹¹⁸² North-west of Peking, on the road to Mongolia and Siberia. The ruins of an imperial palace can still be seen at *Suan hua fu*.

¹¹⁸³ This statement is very obscure. Farther on in the *Ming shi*, *I-bu-la-yin* appears once more as the name of a country.

In 1524, *Shi-la-sz'*, together with thirty-two adjacent tribes (cities), sent horses and other products of their countries as tribute to China.¹¹⁸⁴

After this no embassy from *Shi-la-sz'* was seen in China.

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T'AO-LAI-SZ' (TAURIZ).

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

In 1431 *T'ao-lai-sz'* sent tribute to the court. In the next year the emperor despatched the eunuch *Li Kwei* to that country with a letter and presents (for the ruler); but as *T'ao-lai-sz'* is a small realm, it was not able to send tribute again.¹¹⁸⁵

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T'IENT FANG (ARABIA, ESPECIALLY MECCA).

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The ancient name of this country was *Yün chung* (see farther on). It is also termed *T'ien t'ang* (Heavenly

¹¹⁸⁴ At the time here spoken of the Sofyan dynasty ruled over Persia. See note 1131. Shah Isma'el I. died in 1524.

¹¹⁸⁵ My identification of *T'ao-lai-sz'* (see also p. 144) with *Tauris* or *Tabris*, the capital of Azerbeidjan, would properly not be admissible from the scanty and somewhat contradictory accounts given in the Ming shi about this place. But the Chinese sounds *T'ao-lai-sz'* represent exactly *Tauris*. The above phrase, that the people show reverence to Buddha, appears several times in the Ming shi, referring to Mohammedan countries of Western Asia. Hirth, in his "China and the Roman Orient," p. 284, quotes a Chinese cyclopædia in which the Koran is called *Fo king*, or Buddha's Canon.

Clavijo, who visited *Tabris* in 1404, states (87) that the city is in a plain between two high ranges of hills, and the hills on the left hand are very near the city and very hot, and the water which descends from them is not wholesome.

In 1404 Timur appointed his son, M. Miran Shah, to the government of Azerbeidjan, but some years after the death of the conqueror this province was taken possession of by the Turkomans.

hall) and *Mo-kia* (Mecca). From *Hu-lu-mu-sz'* (Hormuz, see p. 132) it can be reached by sea in forty days. Navigating from *Ku-li* (Calicut) in a south-westerly (mistake for north-westerly) direction, one arrives at *T'ien fang* in three months. The tribute from *T'ien fang* was carried (in the days of the Ming) frequently by the overland route, and entered through *Kia yü kuan*.

In 1430, when *Cheng Ho* (see p. 142) had been sent to the countries of the Western Ocean, he despatched one of his companions to *Ku-li* (Calicut). Having heard that a trading vessel was about to depart from this place to *T'ien fang*, he ordered him to join this party, and take with him various Chinese goods as presents (for the ruler). This trading vessel took a whole year to go to *T'ien fang* and return. The Chinese envoy had bought there fine pearls, precious stones, a *k'i lin*,¹¹⁸⁶ a lion, a *t'o ki* (camel-fowl),¹¹⁸⁷ and when he returned, the king of *T'ien fang* sent one of his officers (named *Sha-huan* according to the Ming Geography) to accompany him, in order to present tribute to the Chinese emperor. The emperor received him kindly and rewarded him richly. He was sent back in 1436 with presents for his sovereign on board a ship from *Chao-wa* (Java), which had brought tribute.

In 1441 the king of *T'ien fang* sent his son *Sai-i-de A-li* (Seid Ali), in the company of the envoy *Sai-i-de Ha-san*, with tribute to the Chinese court. They proceeded by the overland route, and carried with them pearls and precious stones. When this embassy had reached *Ha-la* (Karakhodjo, see p. 186) they were attacked by robbers. The envoy was killed, the son of the king of *T'ien fang* was wounded in his right hand, and they were robbed of all their goods. The emperor ordered the authorities at the frontier to inquire into the case, and to take steps accordingly.

In 1487 a Mohammedan from *T'ien fang* named *A-li*,

¹¹⁸⁶ The Chinese unicorn. See note 876.

¹¹⁸⁷ The ostrich. See vol. i. note pp. 143, 144.

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

In 1490 the king of T'ien fang, by name *Su-t'an A-hei-ma* (Sultan Ahmed), sent an envoy to China, who arrived together with the embassies of *Sa-ma-rh-han* and *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan). He presented as tribute horses, camels, and jade.

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

countries, in order to make known there the wishes of the emperor.

In 1518 the king of T'ien fang, by name *Sie-i Ba-la k'o*,¹¹⁸⁸ sent an envoy to the Chinese court offering as tribute horses, camels, knives made of fish-teeth, and other things. In return he received for his sovereign precious garments, silk stuffs, musk, &c.

In 1525 the king of T'ien fang, named *I-ma-du-rh*, and other princes despatched an embassy to China, presenting as tribute horses, camels, &c. On this occasion the Board of Rites presented to the emperor a report in which it was pointed out that the embassies from the west on their way to the Chinese capital used to be oppressed and retained, sometimes for more than half a year, by the officers in the province of *Shen si*, who in their reports accused the foreign envoys that the jade presented by them as tribute was all of bad quality, whilst these envoys retained the best pieces to sell them on their own account. The Board of Rites proposed to bring an action against those officers, and, in order to avoid annoyances on the road, to prohibit the importation of jade in great quantities. The emperor agreed.

In the next year (1526) the king of T'ien fang, *E-ma-du-kang*, and seven other princes of the same country, sent their envoys with tribute to China. This tribute consisted of jade;¹¹⁸⁹ but as this jade was coarse and of bad quality, *Ch'en Kiu chuan*, a councillor of the office charged with

¹¹⁸⁸ Wüstenfeld in his "Geschichte der Stadt Mecca," 1861, gives a list of the sherifs of Mecca, which place in the fifteenth century was subject to the sultans of Egypt, and subsequently became a Turkish province. The *Siei Balako* in the Chinese record is perhaps the Sherif *Barakut*, 1497-1524.

¹¹⁸⁹ As is known, valuable jade ($\frac{yü}{\text{in Chinese}}$) is found only near Khotan (see p. 249). But the Chinese annals mention frequently the *yü* among the productions presented as tribute by the envoys from the countries of Western Asia. This is not easily understood. Although the Chinese state (see p. 249) that the foreigners use to steal jade from the rivers of Khotan, it is, however, unlikely that the Arabian embassies, e.g., should have stolen jade at Khotan. But perhaps these foreigners bought jade somewhere on their road to China.

the affairs of the foreigners, refused to accept it. The envoys of T'ien fang then became indignant, and the interpreter *Hu Shi shen*, who was also vexed by the measures taken by Ch'en Kiu chuan, wrote down a complaint in the name of the envoys, in which the councillor was falsely accused of having stolen jade. The latter, on account of this charge, was imprisoned, and even tortured, and, notwithstanding the intercession of high-placed persons, he was exiled to the frontier.

In 1532 an embassy from T'ien fang arrived at the capital together with embassies from *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan) *Ha-mi*, *Sa-ma-rh-han*. It turned out that the embassy from T'ien fang had been sent by thirty-seven rulers, who all titled themselves *wang* (kings or princes, see note 929). The Board of Rites then made a report in which it was pointed out that the embassies from the countries of the *Si yü* arrived too frequently, and that the number of men with them was too large. It was further stated there that these foreigners came to China under the false pretence of bringing tribute, but that their principal aim was to spy out what was going on at court. The Board of Rites thought that strict orders should be given to the officers at the frontier not to allow the foreigners to proceed in great numbers to the capital, but to retain a part of the people accompanying those embassies, despatched by rulers who were only nominally vassals of China. The emperor approved of this proposal.

According to the former regulations, when foreign embassies had reached the frontier, the Chinese officers were bound to examine the goods selected for being offered as tribute, and write down a list of all these articles. According to this list the Board of Rites afterwards had to decide with respect to the return presents bestowed on the embassies. The rest of the goods, not comprised in the list, were allowed to be sold by the embassies on their own account. In the event of this merchandise not having been sold when the embassies departed, they

had the choice either to take it along or to sell it to the Chinese government, which paid in paper money according to the estimate made by the Board of Rites. Towards the end of the reign of *Cheng te* (1506-22), when it had been proved that the compradores (who attended to the embassies) made a bad use of these rules, it had been decided that all goods not presented as tribute had to be estimated by official brokers, whereupon the Chinese government bought them in exchange for silk and paper money.

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

In 1538 T'ien fang sent again tribute, and the envoy solicited permission to travel in the interior of China. But the Board of Rites suspected him to be a spy, pointing out, besides this, that there was no instance of such a request having ever been acceded to. Thus the envoy met with a refusal.

In 1543 T'ien fang, together with *Sa-ma-rh-han*, *T'u-lu-fan*, *Ha-mi*, *Lu-mi* (Rum), and other countries, presented as tribute horses and other products, and in the sequel T'ien fang sent tribute every five or six years. Even during the reign of *Wan li* (1573-1620) Chinese intercourse with T'ien fang still continued.

I may here notice that among the supplications translated by Amiot (see p. 149) there are two addressed to the Chinese emperor by envoys from T'ien fang: 1. *A-lo-ting*, envoy from T'ien fang, presents as tribute jade and *so-fu* (see note 1060), and solicits tea-leaves. 2. *Sha-chu-ting* presents as tribute jade and ten western horses, and solicits silk, tea-leaves, and porcelain.

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

In *T'ien t'ang* (Heavenly hall, thus the author terms Arabia) there are many vast deserts. This is the country anciently known under the name of *Yün-chung*. It has a pleasant climate, the air being vernal in all four seasons of the year. The soil is fertile and produces plenty of rice. There is an overland road from (the Chinese province of) *Yün nan* to this country, by which it can be reached in one year. Another way leads to it by the Western Ocean.

They have in T'ien t'ang the calendar of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans). With respect to the Chinese calendar *shou shi li*,¹¹⁴⁰ it shows a difference of three days. There is no error in their (astronomical) calculations (as in China). The climate is warm. The people are of good character. Men and women braid their hair. They are dressed in long coats made of fine (cotton or linen) cloth, and gird themselves around also with a piece of fine cloth. The country produces western horses measuring eight feet and more in height. The people like mare's milk, and usually mix it with their food. For this reason they are fat and handsome. For commercial purposes they use silver (coins). They manufacture satin of five different colours.

The Ming shi concludes the article on Arabia, or especially Mecca, with the following notices of the country, the customs, products, and sacred places there:—

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

People say that the name of the founder of the religion of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans) is *Ma-ha-ma* (Mohammed). He was the principal teacher of this country, and when he died he was buried there.¹¹⁴¹ On his tomb there

¹¹⁴⁰ *Shou shi li* was the calendar system invented by *Kuo Shou king*, the great engineer and astronomer of Kublai Khan. It was in use throughout the Yüan dynasty. Compare also note 187.

¹¹⁴¹ As I shall show farther on, this description here of T'ien fang refers properly to Mecca, and thus the Chinese record intimates that Mohammed was buried at this place. The reporter took the Kaaba for the tomb of Mohammed. This error with respect to Mohammed's being buried at Mecca has been frequently repeated by the mediæval travellers. See Friar Odoric's narrative in Yule's "Cathay," p. 66. Even Mandeville, who had served the Saracens in Egypt, states the same.

is a light which never goes out. The people still adhere faithfully to this religion, and therefore they are all good. Oppressions and revolutions are unknown there, and they have also no capital punishment. The officers and the people always agree. Robbery and theft are likewise not to be met there.¹¹⁴² *T'ien fang* is considered to be a blessed country.¹¹⁴³ The use of wine is forbidden there. They have temples in which they pray. At the beginning of each month the ruler, the officers, and the people all assemble to pray to Heaven with loud exclamations.

The (principal) temple is of a square form, each side of it measuring 90 *kien* (see note 1111); thus the four sides are 360 *kien*. The columns are all made of white jade (marble), the floor is of fine yellow jade. There is (in the middle of the courtyard of the temple) a hall representing a cube. The steps leading to the hall are composed of stones of five different colours. In the interior there are five large rafters of aloë-wood. The door-screens are all of gold. The wall in the interior of the hall has been made of clay mixed with attar and ambergris. The gate is guarded by two black lions.¹¹⁴⁴

¹¹⁴² Burckhardt in his "Travels in Arabia," i. 218, says the same with respect to the people of Mecca, but adds that on the other hand this place abounds in cheaters and beggars.

¹¹⁴³ The Arabian province of Yemen, the Arabia Felix of the ancients.

¹¹⁴⁴ Here evidently the Great Mosque of Mecca and the Kaaba in it are described. In the Kaaba, as is well known, the famous sacred black stone is kept, an object of the greatest veneration. It is supposed to have been one of the stones of Paradise, originally white, though since blacked by the kisses of the sinful but believing lips. The worship of stones is a very old form of Semitic cult (Palmer's "Quran," 1880, i. p. xiii.). This celebrated stone, not mentioned by the Chinese travellers of the Ming period, is noticed in the Tang History as early as the seventh century. (See my "Notes on the Knowledge Possessed by the Chinese of the Arabs," &c., 1871, p. 7). It is stated there that a lion disclosed to Mohammed the existence near Medina in a hole of a mountain of a sword and black stone with the inscription, "Whoever possesses me becomes ruler." Detailed descriptions of the Great Mosque of Mecca, the Kaaba, the black stone, &c., are found in Ibn Batuta, i. 305-319; Chardin's "Voyage," vii. 163 seq.; Burckhardt's "Travels," i. 134-162. The Kaaba stands in the middle of the square courtyard of the Great Mosque. This

To the left (east) of the hall is the tomb of *Sz'-ma-i*, who was a sacred man in this country. The tomb is covered with precious stones, and the wall around is made of yellow jade.¹¹⁴⁵

On both sides stand two magnificent halls built of stone, in which the doctrine (of Mohammed) is preached.

Behind the tomb of *Ma-ha-ma* there is a well, the water of which is limpid and sweet. People who start for the sea-voyage use to take along with them some water from this well, for it has the property of appeasing the waves in time of storm when sprinkled over the sea.¹¹⁴⁶

The vegetables, fruits, and domestic animals in this country are the same as in China. There are water-melons and melons of enormous size. Sometimes one man is not able to take them up. There are peaches weighing from four to five *kin*, and fowls and ducks of more than ten *kin* weight. Such things are not found in foreign countries.¹¹⁴⁷

These reports with respect to the customs, &c., of *T'ien*

courtyard, which is 200 paces broad and 250 long, is surrounded on all four sides by vast colonnades. According to tradition, the Kaaba was built by Ismaël, the son of Abraham, and long before Mohammed the people used to make pilgrimages to the sacred stone.

The chief shrine of the faith is the *Kaaba*. The name, which simply means a cube, was given to it on account of its shape, it being built square. The name of *T'ien fang* applied in the days of the Ming to Arabia, and referring especially to Mecca, means "heavenly square." The *Si shi ki*, referring to the middle of the thirteenth century, states (see i. p. 141) that west of *Bao-da* (Bagdad) twenty days' journey is *T'ien fang*, in which the divine envoy of Heaven is buried. The second character in the latter name means "house," and the name "Heavenly house" is evidently intended for *Beitullah*, house of God, as the Arabs call the Great Mosque of Mecca. Another traveller of the Yüan, in the fourteenth century, as we have seen (p. 300), terms Arabia (Mecca) *T'ien t'ang* (Heavenly hall).

¹¹⁴⁵ Evidently the tomb of *Ismaël* is meant. The Arabs consider Ismaël to be their ancestor. Compare with respect to Ismaël's tomb in the Great Mosque of Mecca, Ibn Batuta, i. 312.

¹¹⁴⁶ The well *Zemzen*, one of the most venerated objects in Mecca, is believed to be the spring which Hagar discovered when she fled into the wilderness with her son Ismaël. Ibn Batuta, i. 318; Burckhardt, *L. c.*

¹¹⁴⁷ Chardin, *L. c.*, also reports that Mecca abounds in vegetables and fruit.

fang refer to the time when *Cheng Ho* (see p. 142) had been sent to the Western Ocean. But subsequently the circumstances have changed, and the number of rulers there has reached even twenty or thirty.

MO-DE-NA (MEDINA).

This is the country of the ancestor of the *Hui-hui* (Mohammedans). It is situated near *T'ien fang* (Mecca).

In the reign of *S'ian te* (1426-36) the chief of *Mo-de-na*, together with the ruler of *T'ien fang*, sent an embassy with tribute to the Chinese court. After this no embassy from that country was seen in China.

It is reported that the first ruler of *Mo-de-na* was *Mo-han-me-de* (Mohammed).¹¹⁴⁸ He was endowed with divine spirit, and subdued all countries of the *Si yü*. All western people venerate him as *bie-yin-ba-rh*,¹¹⁴⁹ which in their language means divine envoy. They have in this country a sacred book which consists of thirty parts, and contains in the whole 3000 and more *tuán* (sections).¹¹⁵⁰ It is written in three different letters, the *chuan*, *ts'ao*, and *k'ie*.¹¹⁵¹ These letters are in use all over the *Si yü*.

According to their religion the people consider Heaven to be the supreme ruler. They have no images (or idols) in their temples. They pray every day piously, bowing towards the west. They fast one month every year. Then they bathe and change their clothes. It is a custom

¹¹⁴⁸ Indeed Mohammed was first proclaimed ruler in Medina, where he had retired after his flight from Mecca.

¹¹⁴⁹ *Peighember* = prophet in Persian.

¹¹⁵⁰ The *Koran*, the religious and moral code of the Mohammedans, written by Mohammed, is divided by some people into thirty, by others into sixty parts. It comprises 115 chapters and 6300 verses (Chardin, *l. c.* ix. 164).

¹¹⁵¹ *Chuan* is the name for the ancient Chinese characters or seal characters; *ts'ao* are the running-hand characters; *k'ie* is the square elegant style of Chinese characters. The *Koran* was originally written in the *Cyfic* or ancient Arabic characters. The Arabic running-hand characters, *naskhi*, were invented in the tenth century. Chardin (*l. c.* iv. 275) states the Arabs have seven different styles of characters.

among the people to change frequently the houses they dwell in.

During the reign of *Kai huang* of the *Sui* dynasty, *Sa-ha-ba Sa-a-di Gan-go-se*, a man who had arrived from *Mo-de-na*, first taught the Mohammedan doctrine in the Middle Kingdom.¹¹⁵² At the time of the *Yüan* (Mongol) dynasty, the *Hui-hui* were met everywhere in China. The *Hui-hui* adhere faithfully to their religion, and never turn apostate. They are all well versed in astrology, medicine, music. They weave figured stuffs and manufacture fine vessels. They do not eat pork. Even when they travel to other countries, they do not change their customs.

Besides Mecca and Medina, the *Ming* History notices several other countries and places of Arabia. These accounts are found in chap. cccxxvi., where the countries reached from China by the sea-route are treated of.

Dsu-fa-rh, a Mohammedan country situated to the north-west of *Ku-li* (Calicut), distant from this place ten days' sail with favourable winds. To the south-east of this country is the Great Ocean, to the north-west are high mountains. There are to be found ostriches. Among the products are mentioned *ju-hiang* (olibanum), *an-si-hiang* (storax), *su-ho yu* (also a kind of storax), *mo yao* (myrrh), *lu-hui* (aloes), *h'ie kie* (dragon's-blood). In 1422 an embassy from *Dsu-fa-rh* reached China.¹¹⁵³

A-dan, situated west of *Ku-li* (Calicut), can be reached by sea from that place in twenty-two days with a favourable wind. The country is devoid of grass and trees. The

¹¹⁵² Regarding this passage see i. p. 266.

¹¹⁵³ *Zhafar* or *Dhafar*, on the south-eastern coast of Arabia. It was an important trading place in ancient times; the *Sapphara* of Ptolemy, the *Dufar* of M. Polo, ii. 439. Ibn Batuta calls it *Zhafar*, and states that the sea-voyage from *Zhafar* to Calicut takes one month. Barbosa, in the beginning of the sixteenth century, mentions (p. 29) *Divfar* among the towns of the Arabian coast east of Aden. There is now no town of this name, but it survives attached to a well-watered and fertile plain opening on the sea.

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Ch. 324

p. 368 1

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first embassy from A-dan to China was sent in 1427. These embassies were subsequently often repeated.¹¹⁵⁴

Ch. 324 *La-sa*. This country is reached from *Ku-li* with a favourable wind in twenty days. It is devoid of grass, for it never rains there.¹¹⁵⁵ p. 3682

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LU-MI (RUM). p 3769

This country is very far from China.¹¹⁵⁶ In 1524 an embassy from *Lu-mi* arrived, and presented as tribute a lion and a western ox. One of the imperial councillors laid before the emperor a report in which he pointed out that *Lu-mi* does not range among the countries which used to send tribute, and that a lion is not a beast proper for being kept. He proposed to refuse such presents. Another high officer reported that the Chinese authorities at the frontier had detected among the people belonging to the embassy from *Lu-mi* some men from *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan), and as Turfan constantly made predatory incursions on the Chinese dominions, he proposed to treat the envoy from *Lu-mi* as a spy, and send him beyond the Chinese frontier. However, the emperor accepted the presents, but

¹¹⁵⁴ *Aden* was known already to the Romans, as is testified by Philostorgius, who wrote in the fourth century. It is mentioned as a seaport on the Arabian coast by all the early Arab geographers. Edrisi, in the twelfth century (i. 51), says that from *Aden* ships sailed for Hind, Sind, and China. M. Polo mentions *Aden* frequently. Barbosa (26-28) gives a detailed description of *Aden* and its trade.

¹¹⁵⁵ This is probably *El Hasa*, a province on the east coast of Arabia. In the days of Ibn Batuta (ii. 247) there was also a city of this name.

¹¹⁵⁶ My identification of *Lu-mi* with *Rum* is founded only upon similarity of sounds, and the statement in the Chinese record that *Lu-mi* is at a great distance from China. From early times the Persians and other Asiatics applied the name of *Rum* to the Roman Empire, and after its division, referred it especially to the Eastern or Byzantine Empire, which, as is known, included the whole of Asia Minor, Armenia, Syria, &c. *Rum* and the *kesars* of *Rum* are frequently mentioned in the Shah nameh. The Arab geographers continued to use the same name for designating the territories of the Byzantine Empire in Asia and Europe. Mas'udi (ii. 293) correctly derives the name of *Rum* from the city of Rom. He, as well as Tabari (ii. 1-31), give a list of the *kesars* of *Rum*, beginning with

ordered that the authorities at the frontier should inquire into the matter.

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

In 1543 *Lu-mi* sent an embassy, which arrived at the Chinese capital together with the embassies from *T'ien-fang* and other countries. They presented horses and products of the country. The next year the embassy returned home. When they arrived at *Kan chou*, it happened that robbers from the north had crossed the Chinese frontier. The Chinese commander of the troops selected ninety of the men from *Lu-mi* and sent them against the robbers; nine of the former were killed in this expedition. When the emperor had been informed of this event, he ordered the slain to be buried with all marks of honour.

Augustus and concluding (Mas'udi) with the emperor Romanus I., about A.D. 920. When, towards the end of the eleventh century, the Seljukian Turks established their power in Asia Minor, the Asiatic nations retained the name of *Rum* for the territories of this monarchy, but, as appears from Abulfeda (II. i. 315; II. ii. 133), continued to call the Byzantine Empire likewise *Rum*. Subsequently, when, towards the end of the thirteenth century, the Seljukian dynasty disappeared, and the Ottomans succeeded them in these territories, the name of *Rum* was transferred to the Ottoman Empire. Thus, in the days of Timur and his successors, this name was applied by the Mohammedans, as now-a-days, to the dominions of the Ottoman Sultans in Asia and Europe. In the *Zafer nameh* *Rum* is identified with *Anatolia* (iii. 28, 55, &c.). Sherif-eddin calls Bayazed, the Ottoman emperor, whom Timur made prisoner in 1402, *Kaiser i Rum*.

The Chinese annals record several embassies from *Lu-mi* to China in the sixteenth century. It is not said that they had been despatched by the rulers of this country. I have not been able either to find in the history of the Ottoman empire any allusion to a diplomatic intercourse with China.

In 1548 and in 1554 again embassies from Lu-mi arrived. They presented as tribute corals, amber, diamonds, porcelain vessels, *so fu* (see note 1060), curtains made of *sa-ha-la* (shawl, see note 1061), *ling yang* (antelope), skins of western dogs, skins of the *she-lie-sun*,¹¹⁵⁷ *t'ie-kio-pi*.¹¹⁵⁸

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MI-SI-RH (EGYPT),¹¹⁵⁹

Mi-si-rh or *Mi-sz'-rh* sent an embassy with tribute to China in the reign of Yung lo (1403-25). It was well treated, and the members of it were provided with meat and drink every five days. Orders had also been given to entertain them everywhere on their way through the Chinese dominions.

In 1441 the king of *Mi-si-rh*, by name *So-lu-t'an A-shi-la-fu*,¹¹⁶⁰ sent an envoy with tribute to the Chinese court. The Board of Rites on this occasion made a report stating that *Mi-si-rh* is a very distant country, and that the presents usually bestowed on the foreign embassies ought to be diminished. The emperor consented. Then the presents for the king of *Mi-si-rh*, his wives, and the envoy are enumerated.

After this no embassy from *Mi-si-rh* was seen in China.

Father Amiot (*l. c.* 241) has translated (from the Chinese version) a letter written by *Mo-li ko* (Malek), sovereign of *Mi-sz'-rh*, addressed to the emperor of China, to whom he

¹¹⁵⁷ *Shelasun* is the Mongol name for the lynx.

¹¹⁵⁸ Literally iron horn's skin. Unknown to me.

¹¹⁵⁹ See i. p. 141, and ii. p. 135.

¹¹⁶⁰ This embassy had been sent, it seems, by the famous Sultan *Burbay*, the only one of the Sultans of the Mameluk or Circassian dynasty in Egypt who had the title of *Malek al Ashref* (sublime king). According to Weil, "Gesch. d. Chalifen" (v. 167-208), he reigned from 1422, and died on the 7th of June 1438. The envoy may have been despatched from Egypt a short time before the Sultan's death, and it is not unlikely that he did not reach China till three years later. The above Chinese text properly says that the Sultan himself came to China, but there are probably characters wanting, for farther on it is stated that an envoy was at the head of this Egyptian embassy.

had sent one of his officers, by name of *Ku-li*, to offer three horses of the breed *a-lu-gu* (see note 1071). As this letter, like all the letters translated by Amiot, bears no date, it is impossible to say what Sultan of Egypt had sent this embassy. Almost all the Sultans of the Mameluk dynasty had the title Malek.

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

A. Rémusat, who had seen a copy of the original text of these letters, written in Persian, found that *Pei-se-le* (Beise-le) was intended to render the name of Bassora, and *Di-mi-shi* stood for *Dimishk* or Damascus ("Mélanges Asiat.," ii. 249).

As to the remainder of the countries and cities of Western Asia (and perhaps also Africa) mentioned in the last chapter of the Ming History as having sent tribute to the Chinese court by the overland routes, I shall give a translation of the Chinese accounts, which are somewhat obscure, without venturing on any identification. I am at a loss what to make of these names of countries, cities, and sovereigns, &c., occurring in the subjoined record. As has been proved in the foregoing pages by comparative investigations, the historical as well as the geographical records of the Ming shi concerning the greater kingdoms of Central and Western Asia are generally in good accordance with what we know on the same subject from Mohammedan sources, and there is therefore no reason for supposing that the Chinese chroniclers should have invented names of foreign countries and rulers. Rémusat (*l. c.*) has, however, suggested that the letters of Western

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Asiatic sovereigns and envoys to the Chinese emperors, translated by Amiot, had been fabricated by the Chinese envoys sent to the western countries, but who themselves never reached these countries. It is needless to say that this is an arbitrary and utterly unfounded view. Rémusat besides this was mistaken with respect to the time these letters had to be assigned to. He believed that they had been addressed to emperor *K'ang hi* (1662-1723) of the present dynasty. It seems that in the days of *K'ang hi* China had indeed no intercourse with the countries of Western Asia. Thus, in the first edition of the great Chinese geography *Ta Ts'ing I t'ung chi*, published in 1744, previous to the conquest of Ili and Eastern Turkestan by the emperor *K'ien lung* and to his missions to Western Turkestan and Ferghana, in the section on foreign countries and the map appended we meet with respect to the countries situated north-west of China only with the names of *Hami*, *T'u-lu-fan* (Turfan), *Ye-rh-k'in* (Yarkend), *Ba-li-k'un-rh* (Barkül), and *Wu-lu-mu-ts'i ho-t'un* (city of Urumtsi), for embassies from these places came to the Chinese court in the reign of *K'ang hi*, at the close of the seventeenth century. It seems that the open communication which existed, as related in the foregoing pages, between China and the countries of Central and Western Asia by the overland route in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, had subsequently been suspended for more than a century.

After this digression we now continue the translation of the Chinese accounts regarding the countries of the west, as found in the Ming History.

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A-SU.

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A-su is situated near *T'ien fang* (Arabia) and *Sa-ma-rh-han*.¹¹⁶¹ It is a vast country. The city (capital) leans against a mountain, and on the other side it is bordered by a river, which flows southward and empties itself into

¹¹⁶¹ Nonsense. There are probably characters wanting in the Chinese text.

the sea. The country produces plenty of fish and salt. The people till the ground. They show reverence to Buddha (see note 1135) and dread spirits. They are charitable and disposed to peace. *A-su* is a rich country. The climate there is cold and warm, according to the seasons. Dearth is unknown. Theft and robbery are not frequent.

In 1419 the ruler of this country, by name *Ya-hu Sha*, sent an envoy to China to present to the emperor as tribute horses and products of the country. The envoy was kindly received. But *A-su* did not send tribute again, owing to the great distance from China. In 1463 the emperor sent the *tu chi hui Po Ts'üan* thither, but no embassy from that country was seen again in China.

ch. 332

SHA-HA-LU.

p. 3766

It lies on an island in the sea west of *A-su*. In the reign of *Yung lo* (1403-25) an embassy (caravan) consisting of seventy-seven men arrived from *Sha-ha-lu* with tribute to the Chinese court. This country is surrounded by mountains and rivers, and is rich. The people are good-natured and disposed to peace. They show reverence to Buddha (see note 1135). The ruler and the high officers live in the city, whilst the people dwell outside. Many rare sea-products are found there. The merchants from the *Si yü* purchase them at low rates. The people are ignorant with respect to the value of these articles.

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PO SUNG HU RH.

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The original name of this country was *Su-ma-li*. There is a white tiger living in a pine grove. It does not kill men and does not eat other animals. This white tiger is visible only once in ten days. The people consider it to be a sacred animal. This is the white tiger the soul of which descended to the western countries.¹¹⁶² For this

¹¹⁶² To make this strange statement intelligible, I may observe that the *po hu* or white tiger is the Chinese symbol for the west. They have also

reason the name of the country was changed into *Po sung hu rh*.¹¹⁶³ Great mountains are not met there, and there are also no forests. Poisonous insects and ferocious animals are likewise unknown. The products are scarce. In the reign of Yung lo tribute was sent from this country.

HUO-LA-DJA.

This is a little insignificant country surrounded by mountains on four sides. It has little grass and trees. The river flows in many windings, and has neither fish nor shrimps. The city (capital) is only about one *li* in circumference. The houses are all built of clay. The chief of that country also lives in a miserable house. The people hold the priests¹¹⁶⁴ in esteem.

In 1460 Huo-la-dja sent an embassy with tribute. It was well received in China, and order was given to entertain the embassy in all cities of China they passed through. In 1492 a Mohammedan from that country named *P'a-lu-wan* (Pehelevan, see note 1076) with his followers arrived in China by the sea-route, and offered as tribute glass, agate, and other things. The emperor did not accept these presents. Orders were given to pay him the expenses of his journey and to send him back.

DA-RH-MI.

This country is situated in the sea, and is subject to Samarkand. It is only 100 *li* in extent. The population amounts to not more than ~~1000~~¹²⁷⁷ families. There are no cities surrounded by walls. The high and the low all live in wooden houses. They carry on agriculture and manu-

symbols for the other quarters of the globe; the azure dragon, *tsing lung*, represents the east; the red bird, *chu kia*, the south; the black warrior, *huan wu*, accompanied with a tortoise and a snake, the north. Comp. Legge's *Liki*, i. p. 92 note.

¹¹⁶³ *Po sung hu rh* means tiger of the white pines.

¹¹⁶⁴ *Seng* means properly a Buddhist priest, but if applied to western countries, it may be a priest of any religion. See also note 1135.

facture woollen cloth. They have horses, cattle, camels, and sheep. The people are punished with the bamboo. They have silver coins.

In the reign of Yung lo (1403-25) an embassy from that country arrived with tribute. Return presents were made. They received the Chinese calendar, silk stuffs, sundry medicines, and tea.

NA-SHI-DJE-HAN.

It is situated several days' journey by ship west of *Shi-la-sz'* (altogether contradictions). East of the city the land is level, fertile, and abounds in water and grass. Many kinds of cattle and several races of horses are bred there. There is a small breed of horses not more than three feet high. The people hold priests in esteem, and everybody is obliged to offer them meat and drink. The people are of a quarrelsome character and like to fight. Whoever has been worsted is derided by the others.

In the reign of Yung lo an embassy with tribute arrived from that country. The envoy, when returning home, travelled through *Ho pei*,¹¹⁶⁵ and then turning (to the provinces) inside the gate (*Kia yü kuan*), reached *Kan chou* and *Su chou*. Orders had been given to entertain the embassy at every place they passed through.

THE CITY OF MIN-DJEN.

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

¹¹⁶⁵ *Ho pei*, north of the Yellow River. It seems this embassy had come to Nanking, which in the beginning of Yung lo's reign was his residence.

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JI-LO.

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This country sent likewise tribute in the reign of *Yung lo*, and subsequently, in 1488, its king, named *I-sz'-han-da-rh Lu-mi T'io-li-ya*, despatched one of his high officers with tribute to the Chinese court, and solicited in return silk stuffs, *hia pu*¹¹⁶⁶ and porcelain. The emperor granted his request.

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THE CITY OF K'UN.

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It is situated in the *Si yü*. The inhabitants are Mohammedans.

In 1430 an envoy from *K'un* named *Dje-ma-li-ding* (Djamal-eddin) arrived at the court, and presented as tribute camels and horses.

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Finally, the Ming shi reports that, in addition to the afore-mentioned countries which had intercourse with China, the official documents of the Ming enumerate a number of little realms in the *Si yü* which also used to send tribute to the Chinese court. The Ming shi terms them *ti mien* (places, localities). Their embassies to China passed through *Ha mi*, and entered at *Kia yü kuan*. They sent tribute every three or five years, and their caravans generally arrived in the company of those of the kingdoms of *Ha-lie* (Herat), *Ha-shi-ha-rh* (Kashgar), *Sai-lan* (Sairam), *I-li-ba-li* (Moghulistan), *Shi-la-sz'* (Shiraz), *Sha-lu-hai-ya* (Shahrokhia), *A-su*, *Ba-dan* (Badakhshan). The number of the members of these (little) embassies was not allowed to surpass twenty-five men.

The following are the twenty-nine names of these *ti mien* given in the Ming shi without any particulars:—

¹¹⁶⁶ A fabric made from the fibre of *Bochmeria nivea*, grass-cloth.

*Ha-san.**Ha-lie-rh.**Sha-di-man.*¹¹⁶⁷*Ha-di-lan* (probably *Khotelan*, see note 1005).*Sao-lan* (perhaps *Savran*, see i. 170).*Me-k'o-li* (a tribe near *Ha-mi*, see p. 178).*Ba-li-hei* (Balkh).*An-li-ma* (Almalik?).*T'o-hu-ma* (Toghmak, see note 897).*Ch'a-li-shi* (the Chialis of Hadji Mohammed, the Chialis of Goea. See pp. 200, 229, 236, 330).*Gan-shi.**Bu-ha-la.* — 130khatā*P'a-la.**Ni-sha-wu-rh* (Nishabur).*K'o-shi-mi-rh.**T'ie-bi-li-sz'.* — T'ie-bi-li-sz' (T'ie-bi-li-sz')*Huo-tan.**Huo-djan* (Khodjend).*K'u-sien.*¹¹⁶⁸*Ya-si.**Ya-rh-gan* (Yarkend).*Jung.**Bai* (probably the city of this name in Eastern Turkestan).*Wu-lun.**A-duan.*The city of *Sie-sz'* (Sis in Asia Minor?).*She-hei.**Bai-yin.**K'o-kia-shi.*

The following eleven small countries or places, which also used to present tribute, did not send it through *Ha-mi*:¹¹⁶⁹—

*K'i-rh-ma.**Mi-rh-ha-lan.**K'o-t'o kia la dju ye di gan la dju* (four names).*I-bu-la-yin* (comp. p. 293).*K'o-shi-mi.**K'i-rh-ghi-sz'.* — K'inghi-z*Yü-nu-sz'.**Ha-sin.*

¹¹⁶⁷ The fortress of *Shaduman* is frequently mentioned in the *Zafer nameh* (i. 5, 20, iii. 20 &c.). It was situated between Samarkand and Karshi. There was also a territory *Hissar-Shaduman*, likewise frequently mentioned in the *Zafer nameh* (iii. 2, 3, &c.). It seems this is the *Hissar* of our maps between Samarkand and Badakhshan.

¹¹⁶⁸ Perhaps *Kusan* in Moghulistan, mentioned together with *Bai* in the *Zafer nameh*, see i. pp. 163, 230, and 330. *Kusan* is probably *Kucha*.

¹¹⁶⁹ The thirty-three characters which now follow in the text, and which represent these eleven names, are placed one after another without separation. I therefore am not sure whether I have always correctly divided.

EUROPEAN NATIONS MENTIONED IN THE MING HISTORY.

In order to complete my sketch of the intercourse between China and the countries of the west in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries by the overland route, I may finally give some extracts from the more or less extensive articles devoted in the Ming shi to the Portuguese, Spaniards, and Dutch, whose nautical and commercial supremacy in the waters of Southern and Eastern Asia lasted during the second half of the Ming period, and who caused much trouble also to the Chinese. These somewhat confused accounts are found in the section treating of the countries reached from China by the sea-route.

325 The *Fo-lang-ghi* (Ferenghi or Franks) are said in the Ming shi, chap. ccxxv., to dwell near *Man-la-kia* (Malacca). In the reign of Cheng te (1506-21) they took possession of the latter country and expelled its king. In 1518 they sent a high officer, *Kia-pi-tan-mo* (capitano), and others with tribute to China. They went up the river with their big ships to *Kuang tung* (Canton), and caused great sensation by their tremendously loud guns. These guns are described in the record.¹¹⁷⁰ These foreigners were lodged in the *Huai yilan* post-station, and a report was sent to the emperor. When an order returned to accept the presents and send the foreigners immediately away, the latter did not obey, and the ambassadors solicited permission to proceed to the capital. When the emperor (Cheng te) was travelling in the southern provinces (end of 1519), they despatched an envoy named *Huo-dja Ha-san* to the court. But meanwhile advice had been received

¹¹⁷⁰ More detailed accounts of these guns of the *Fo-lang-ghi* are found in a Chinese military treatise translated by the late W. F. Meyers in his article on the "Introduction of Gunpowder and Firearms among the Chinese." Journ. N. Ch. Br. As. Soc., new ser. vi. 1869.

from Canton that the *Fo-lang-ghi* had built houses and thrown up entrenchments (at the island *Ta mang*, see note 1171) and committed all sorts of atrocities. They were accused of robbery and kidnapping, and even suspected of eating children. The ministers influenced the emperor against the *Fo-lang-ghi*, and when Cheng te died (in February 1521), his successor *Kia tsing* took measures to drive them out.¹¹⁷¹ Farther on the same record states that

¹¹⁷¹ A contemporary Chinese account of the same events, i.e., the first arrival of the Portuguese in China, has been translated by the late W. F. Meyers in "Notes and Queries on China and Japan," 1868, p. 130. The first intercourse of the Portuguese with China is recorded with all particulars by J. De Barros, the author of the classical history of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests in Asia. I refer for the present summary to D. W. Soltau's German translation of de Barros' "Asia," 1821, iii. pp. 63-76, 203-209.

Malacca had been conquered by the Portuguese (Alfonso d'Albuquerque) in 1511. Some years later, in 1515 or 1516, Jorge d'Albuquerque, then governor of Malacca, despatched *Rafael Perestrello* in a Malay junk to China. On the 12th of August 1516, no news having been received from Perestrello, the governor ordered *Fernão Perez d'Andrade* to sail for China. But this expedition failed, and Perez was compelled to return to Malacca, where he found Perestrello, who in the meanwhile had come back from China, having realised an excellent profit from the goods sold to the Chinese. It was then resolved that F. d'Andrade should try a second time to reach China. Having taken in a cargo of pepper, he set off with his squadron on June 17, 1517. *Thomas Pirez* accompanied him in the quality of an envoy from the king of Portugal. Although he was only an apothecary, he had the reputation of a clever man, well qualified for a diplomatic mission. On the 15th of August they reached the island called *Tamang*, which was three leagues distant from the Chinese shore, and where all the foreign ships which carried on trade with Canton had to anchor. F. d'Andrade met here with Duarte Coelho, his companion in the first expedition, who, after passing the winter in Siam, had reached this port a month ago. Notwithstanding the protestations of the Chinese authorities, F. d'Andrade with some of his ships sailed up the river to Canton, and saluted by firing the guns. The envoy, Thomas Pirez, was then landed with his suite. The Chinese received him well and lodged him in a comfortable house. The goods the Portuguese had carried with them were also landed and stored up. Whilst D. Coelho was despatched to Malacca to inform the governor of the arrival of the expedition at Canton, J. Mascarenhas received orders to explore the coast of China. He proceeded with a small number of junks to *Chincheo*, in the province of *Fo kieng* (Chincheo was the name given by the old Portuguese to the port of Chang chou in Fu kien). In August 1518 *Simão d'Andrade* arrived at