SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN ṬĀHIR MARVAZĪ
ON
CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA
Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120)
with an English translation and commentary
BY
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I am grateful to the Trustees of the Forlong Fund for undertaking the publication of my work.

Above all I must thank Dr. Arberry who showed a truly Sufi spirit of disinterestedness in yielding up to me the honour of explaining a text which he had discovered. It was hoped at first that the work might have been accomplished by both of us jointly, and Dr. Arberry kindly gave me his typescript of the text and supplied the first draft of the translation of Chapter IX. Other duties prevented him from continuing his collaboration and I have had to assume the responsibility for any imperfections of the present book.

Many points in the chapters on China and India could be elucidated only by scholars fully versed in the languages and cultures of these great countries. For China, I was fortunate in having the advice of two distinguished scholars, Professors J. Mullie (Louvain) and G. Haloun (Cambridge), who have not spared their time in answering my queries and in trying to find parallels in Chinese sources. On India, my friends and colleagues Dr. L. D. Barnett, F.B.A., and Prof. H. W. Bailey have given me their advice ungrudgingly. The progress realised in the explanation of the Indian terms and names, greatly disfigured in Arabic transcription, is due to the help of the Indianists mentioned. All the suggestions coming from outside are duly acknowledged in the text.

In the explanation of the Arabic text I received much help from my learned Persian friends Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb Qazvīnī and Sayyid Ḥasan Taqizadeh. My former pupil, A.A.M. al-Marāghi patiently collated with me the text of the India Office MS., and many good suggestions in Arabic are due to this scholar brought up within the walls of al-Azhar. His colleague A. Dūrī helped me in correcting my transcript of the original text.

Prof. E. H. Minns, F.B.A., most kindly agreed to check the English of my Translation, and my pupil, J. A. Boyle, similarly obliged me with regard to my Commentary.

At a period of great strain and anxiety, my wife patiently typed my copy in its successive avatars and prepared the Index.

1937—1941.

ENGLISH TRANSLATION

CHAPTER VIII

OF THE CHINESE

(F.12a) 1. The kingdom of China embraces a vast area, comprises many towns, cities and villages and belongs to three climes. (The latter) are as follows.

The First Clime begins in the East at the farthest limit of the Chinese lands and stretches over the latter in their southern extension. In it lies the King's City and the harbour of the ships which (is called) the Chinese Harbour. Then it stretches across the sea-shore in the south of India (Hind), then across the lands of Sind, and the island of al-Krk (until) it cuts through the sea in the direction of Arabia and the territory of Yemen with its lands, which are Zufār, 'Omnān, Aden, Ḥaḍramūt, Ṣanā', Jurash, Mahra, Saba', etc. Then it cuts through the Qurzum sea and stretches across the Ḥabasha lands, cuts the Egyptian Nile and stretches across a place called Jarmi, which is the capital of Ḥabasha, across Danqala, which is the capital of Nubia, then into the territories of Maghrib, to the south of the Berber countries, until it ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Second Clime begins in the East and stretches across China, Hind (12b) and Sind, passing through al-Manṣūra and Daybul. It cuts through the Green Sea, the Sea of Basra and the Arabian peninsula (across) the territories of Najd, Tihāma, Yamāna, Baḥrayn and Ḥajar. It cuts through the Qurzum Sea and runs through Upper Egypt and the territories of Maghrib, across the central part of Irrīqiya, then across the Berber lands, ending in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Third Clime begins in the East and stretches across the northern part of the Chinese lands, then across the lands of Hind and the northern part of the lands of Sind, then across the lands of Ḫabul, Ḫirmān and Sijīstān, then across the coast of the Sea of Basra. It passes through the districts of Ahwāz, by the lands of Syria, after which it cuts through the lower part of the Egyptian territory and of Qayruwān and ends in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Fourth Clime begins in the East and runs across the lands of Tibet, then Khorasan and Transoxiana, the territories of 'Irāq.
and Daylam, some of the lands of Syria and Rûm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Tanja (Tanger) to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Fifth Clime begins in the East in the lands of Gog and Magog and runs through the northern part of Khorasan, Transoxiana and Khwârizm, then through Aṣḥâb-Ayân, Armenia, and the lands of Rûm, then through the shores of the Syrian Sea in their northern part, then through the lands of Spain, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Sixth Clime begins in the East in the North of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Turks, then across the shores of the Abaskân Sea, in their northern part, then cuts through the Sea of Rûm and stretches along the lands of the Saqâliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

The Seventh Clime begins in the East of the lands of Gog and Magog and stretches across the lands of the Toghuzguz and the territory of the Turks, then across the lands of the Alân, the Sarî, the Burnjân, some of the Saqâliba, to end in the Sea of Maghrib.

2. The territory of China belongs to three of these climes in view of (the great) extension of its frontiers and the number of its lands. Inasmuch as its lands are situated towards the Sunriser their air is pure, the waters cold and digestible and the soil good. As its lands possess such properties, its inhabitants and cultivators are of a similar quality because we have mentioned that the most important thing for an animal is the soil on which it develops, and therefore a man is called after his home (lit. “soil”), as he is called after his parents, e.g. Hijâzi, Sha‘âmi (Syrian), Rûmî, Hindî, Şînî, as well as ‘Adnânî, Qâhṭânî, ‘Alawî, ‘Abbâsî. The inhabitants of China have a moderate temperament, pleasant forms and faces and mild manners. They are a people varying according to their countries and places of residence.

3. Their territories are divided into three categories, namely, Şîn, Qitây*, called by common people Khitây, and Uyghur, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Şîn (China).

4. The people of China are the most skilful of men in handicrafts. No nation approaches them in this. The people of Rûm are highly proficient (in crafts), but they do not reach the standards of the Chinese. The latter say that all the men are blind in craftsmanship, except the people of Rûm who (however) are one-eyed, that is to say that they know only half the business.

5. The Chinese do not mix with the Turks from whom they differ in most things because the latter wear jubbâs and turbans and not qabâs and hats. (On the contrary) the Qitây and Uyghur mix with the Turks and have relations with them. They have relations and correspondence with the kings of Transoxiana, whereas the Chinese are different and do not allow strangers to enter their country and stay among them.

6. This is the law that was given to them by the false prophet Mâni when he implanted his faith in their hearts, this faith being dualism. He feared lest strangers should come to them and explain to them the futility of this faith and convert them from it.

7. I met a clever man who had been to China and traded with the Chinese in their goods. He said that the city which is their capital is called Y. Njur. This is a great city having a three days’ periphery. Near it is another still greater city called Kawa, but the king resides in Y. Njur. (The merchant) said: This town is crossed by a great river which divides it into two parts (13b). The king with his retinue, army and attendants resides in one part, while in the other are the dwellings of the subjects and the merchants. Their king is called Taqghaj-khan, and it is he who is called Faghfûr.

8. He said that because of their skill in crafts the Chinese do wonderful things. For example, he said that their king during each definite period, which (the merchant) mentioned, has a day in which audience is given to the nobles and the commoners and the king listens to (their) complaints. In front of the audience-hall there is a large and spacious square at the gate of which is placed a large block of wood, and on the latter a hatchet. The first who enters takes the hatchet and with it strikes one single blow on the block. Then he who comes after him strikes a blow, and so does each one who enters. And when the audience is concluded, out of that block there appears a perfect likeness of either a horse, or a lion, or a man, and so on, (although) each one who enters strikes only one blow. And the acme of their skill is that (after) the one who entered the first and struck the first blow, he who follows him knows what likeness was intended when the beginning was made.

9. With them the art of (making) images is held for (divine) worship and approach to God because Mâni had given them such orders and beguiled them with the words of philosophers. The latter say as the final conclusion of their philosophy that one is agreeable to God in proportion to (what) human power can achieve.

10. He also mentioned that among the market population there
are men who go about the city selling goods, fruits and so on, and each of them has built himself a cart in which he sits and in which he puts stuffs, goods and whatever he requires in his trade. This cart goes by itself without an animal (to draw it), and he sits in the cart stopping it and setting it in motion whenever he desires so.

II. And he said: I saw the market population eager in games of chance. There is no shop without dice or backgammon and sometimes (when) the parties (in a deal) have difficulties about something, one of them says: "Let us gamble for it," and from business they turn to trickery.

II. As regards the tailoring of cloths and draperies the Chinese possess in it an elegance and skill which is not attained by any nation.

I. We have already said (?) that the Manian Biha Farid brought with him from China a green shirt which (14a) being folded could be held in the hand so that nothing would appear of it.

I. It is written in the *Akbar* (or "there is some written information") that an envoy of some Muslim king set out to the kingdom of China. It is said that when he reached the capital of the king of China the latter's people met him with respect and welcomed his arrival. He says: I saw their king's servants who are as lovely as full moons. They are those who are specially destined for the king's service and they speak on his behalf as ambassadors. He says: One of them used to come to me as the king's envoy, listen to my answers and transmit them (to the king). He knew most languages and while some day he spoke to me on behalf of the king suddenly my eye fell on a black mole on his breast which was apparent under his shirt as if it were uncovered, and I was filled with wonder at the perfect whiteness of his face, at the blackness of his mole and the thinness of his shirt. He asked: "What has happened to thee that thy state is changed?" and I replied: "My wonder is great at the thinness of thy shirt and its beauty." He said: "Hast thou concluded that I am wearing but one shirt?" Then he rose and took off one shirt, then another, until he had taken off five of them. And so the mole was apparent from under five (layers) of clothing. And this is one of the kinds of (their) textiles.

I. And they possess many other kinds which are exported from their country together with (other) astonishing and strange rarities. The importations to their country are: ivory, frankincense, genuine Slavonic amber which falls in drops of resin from trees in (the lands of) the Slavonic sea. (It is imported) because in China amber is blackish and there is no demand for it, but there is a demand for the genuine one for their ornaments. They pretend that it is helpful against the evil eye. There is also a demand for *khula* (spelt *khut*) which is the horn of the rhinoceros, and this is the most precious freight for China because they make of it girdles, and the price of each such girdle reaches high sums amongst them.

I. The importers to China may not enter the city and most of their business is done in the absence (of the parties). Near the city there is a river, one of the greatest in existence; in the middle of it there is a large island and on it a large castle inhabited by *Talibid* *'Ali* Muslims, who act as middlemen between the Chinese and the caravans and merchants coming to them. These Muslims come forth to meet them, examine the merchandise and goods, carry them to the Lord of China and come back with their equivalents (14b) when these latter have been established. One after the other the merchants enter the castle with their goods and often remain there for several days. The reason why the said *'Ali* Muslims are found on the island is that they are a party of *Talibids* and had come to Khorasan in the days of the Omayyads and settled there. But when they saw how intent the Omayyads were on finding and destroying them, they escaped in safety and started eastwards. They found no foothold in any Islamic country because of fear of pursuit. So they fled to China, and when they reached the banks of the river they settled, as is the custom, prevented them from crossing, while they had no means of going back. So they said: "Behind us is the sword and before us the sea." The castle on the island was empty of inhabitants because snakes had grown numerous in it and overrun it. So the *'Ali* Muslims said: "To endure snakes is easier than to endure swords or be drowned." So they entered the castle and began destroying the snakes and throwing them into the water until in a short time they had cleared the castle (of them) and settled there. When the Lord of China learnt that (for him) there was no trouble behind them and that they were forced to seek refuge with him he established them in this place and comforted them by granting them means of existence. So they lived in peace and security, begot children and multiplied. They learned Chinese and the languages of the other peoples who visit them, and became their middlemen.

I. The Chinese language is different from other languages and so is the language of Tibet. All Chinese are of one faith which is the faith of *Mani*, contrary to the *Qitay* and *Uyghur* among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.
In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (qasaba). When Islam appeared and God delivered the said district to the Muslims, the Chinese migrated to their (original) centres, but there remained in Samarqand, as a vestige of them, the art of making good paper of high quality. And when they migrated to Eastern parts their lands became disjoined and their provinces divided and there was a king in China, and a king in Qitāy, and a king in Yughur with long stretches of territory between these kingdoms.

19. He who intends to visit these countries upon commercial or other business travels:

From Kashgar to Yarkand in 4 days (15a)
then to Khotan .. 10 ..
then to Kriwy (Keriya) .. 5 ..
then to Sajū (Sha-chou) .. 50 ..

There (at Sajū) the roads to China, Qitāy and Yughur part:

A. He who travels to Ynjur, which is the capital of the king of China Tanghāj-khan turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches *Qam-ju (= Kan-chou), then Lksin—in forty days—and during this journey he leaves on his left the lands of *Khocho (spelt Hkw), of which are known Sulm (sic) and Chinjukath. From here he enters the kingdom of Tanghāj-khan and finally reaches Ynjur in about 40 days.

Beyond China there is a nation known as Shagchel, called by the Chinese Sinju (*Sung-kwo), which is at a month's distance from *Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called Majin (*Machin) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahachina).

B. He who intends going to Qacho (spelt Fajw), which is the city of the Yughur-khan, turns away towards the left after Sajū (*Sha-chou).

C. He who intends going to Ujam (sic), which is the capital of Qitāy, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called Khattun-san (*Khatun-sin) in about 2 months
then to Utkin (?) . a month
then to Ujam (sic) . a month

The circuit of Ujam is about 2 farsakh and this mamlaka ("kingdom, territory") is surrounded by (a fence of) sticks bent and driven into the ground at both ends, and here, at every two farsakh, there are stationed guards who keep going on patrol and following footprints, and they kill anyone whom they discover to have gone out without lawful business. And from it (i.e. Ujam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

20. The traveller towards *Qitāy at half a month's distance from Sajū (*Sha-chou) reaches a group of Shānī who are known by the name of a chief of theirs which is Basmi. They fared to this place from Islam being afraid of circumsicion.

21. The kings of Qitāy and Yughur, in spite of the fact that their countries are situated far from the countries of Islam, and that the roads leading to them are cut off, do not feel safe on the side bordering on the kings of Islam and Islamic armies because they have heard of, and witnessed the rise of this faith, its elevation, and the power of its adherents in punishing their enemies. Therefore they protect themselves and their country by closing the road and stationing guards.

22. When Sultan Mahmud, God's mercy on him, succeeded in achieving his might and in conquering the Indian and Turkish lands, the lords of *Qitāy and Yughur became afraid of him and the lord of *Qitāy wrote to him a letter (15b) the translation of which is as follows:

"Concerning the welfare [of the Khan]. To the amir of Khorasan, Mahmud Qarah-khan."

"The Lord of the Heavens has granted to us (many?) kingdoms upon the face of (this) wide earth and placed us in possession of regions occupied by numerous tribes. In our capital we enjoy security and act according to our will. Anyone in the world who can see and hear cannot help seeking friendship and close relations with us. Our nephews from among the amirs of the nearer regions constantly and without exception send their envoys, and their letters and presents follow upon one another. (Only) he (Mahmud) until now has sent no envoy or messenger, while we hear of his excellence in strength and courage, of his outstanding position in might and elevation, of his supremacy over the amirs by awe, of his control of the provinces by might and authority and of his peace in his homeland according to his own will. As he enjoys such a glorious position it is a duty for him to write his news to the Supreme Khan, than whom there is none higher beneath the heavens, and to treat him with consideration according to his state. So we have taken the initiative, limiting ourselves to the dispatch of this lightly equipped envoy rather than someone who would exceed him in rank and equipage, in view of the greatness of the distance and the length of time (necessary) for covering it.

1 Cf. on this title p. 56.
"And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir-khan through a noble lady, from the bosom of my house who became married to his son *Chaghri-tegin, and (thus) both houses became united through her, we have ordered Qadir-khan to open the road to our envoy to him (i.e. to Maḥmūd) and to his envoy to ourselves, chosen from among men of sound judgment, intelligent and serious, so that we may inform him of how things stand with us, and communicate with him on what there is in the world, while establishing the custom of mutual donations, in friendship with him.

"The object in dispatching this envoy Qalitunkā (*Qul-Tongā) is to open the road of union and to fasten the ties of amity."

Of souvenirs the (envoy) carried only:

- 2 suits of khowīd
- 1 suit of zhwīk
- 2 suits of skh.rāi, (each) of 2 pieces
- 15 suits of raw silk, (each) of 2 pieces
- 15 furs of sable-marten (for) pelisse (*yāqī)
- 200 sable martens
- 1000 grey squirrels
- 30 vesicles of musk
- 1 bow with 10 arrows

This letter was written in the year of the Mouse.

23. The Yughur-khan (too) wrote a letter to (Maḥmūd) and this is its translation:

"Concerning the welfare of ourself, the exalted Ilig Yughur-khan to Sultān Maḥmūd.

"In spite of the great distance, (we enquire) how he is in his person. We rejoice at what we hear of his welfare and we are gladdened by what we hear about his conquests over the lower countries (down) to the lands of Hind.

"As he is entertaining close relations with the kings of the world, and friendliness with the lords of the outlying regions, our happiness (kingdom) is inclined toward the friendship of one who belongs to the number of famous champions and celebrated worthies of the world in view of the superiority and heroism (which he manifested) in the Eastern and Western spheres. We ardently desire that love and respect should be established between (us).

"Therefore the present envoy has been dispatched and, though the countries be far apart, our hearts are near to each other. We desire to devote the rest of our life to correspondence and mutual love so that a good memory thereof may remain forever. If he wishes what we wish, let him write a letter and dispatch an envoy—to prepare the policy of friendship through him and to strengthen the position by his rank.

"A messenger (slave?) whose name is Q.tunkā has been sent from *Qīṭāy and we have joined with him one of our companions, so that whenever someone is dispatched to ourselves he may be with him. The road of return of the *Qīṭāy envoy lies through this region. We have not entrusted any presents to our envoy because there is no safe road, but we have sent a slave and an arrow as a symbol. Qūshī will deliver our message orally. In the fifth month."

24. When the two letters were presented to Maḥmūd and he saw what stupidity they contained, moved as he was by his strong belief in Islam, he did not find it possible to grant what was requested with regard to the establishment of sincere relations and correspondence, and he dismissed the envoys, saying to them: "Peace and truce are possible only so far as to prevent war and fighting. There is no faith uniting us that we should be in close relations. Great distance creates security for both of us against any peril. I have no need of close relations with you until you accept Islam. And that is all."

25. This happened in the year 418 (A.D. 1027), and as regards the expression "Year of the Mouse" mentioned as the date of the letter (it must be known that) the Chinese, the Turks, the Tibetans and the Khotanese possess a cycle of 12 years, on the completion of which they start again from the beginning. These years are called after certain animals whose names differ in the said languages (16b) and they are called:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Animal</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>the first</td>
<td>the year of the Mouse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the second</td>
<td>Bull</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the third</td>
<td>Leopard</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the fourth</td>
<td>Hare</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the fifth</td>
<td>ɐ̰.bna (?) of the Water</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the sixth</td>
<td>Snake</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the seventh</td>
<td>Horse</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the eighth</td>
<td>Sheep</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the ninth</td>
<td>Monkey</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the tenth</td>
<td>Hen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the eleventh</td>
<td>Dog</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>the twelfth</td>
<td>Hog</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

and then it goes back to the Mouse.

26. As regards the road to China by sea, the first sea port on the way to it is called Lūqīr (*Lūfīn, Lung-pien), then the town of
The name of the captain is written down together with that of his father, as well as the names of the merchants who accompany him, with the age of each one of them, that is, every man is asked how old he is and whence he comes and from what tribe. Then they write down and register whatever there is on board of goods according to their classes. The most appreciated thing imported to them is the rhinoceros horn, called khatū (spelt khatā), and the Chinese call it bishān (sic). Having registered all the cargo of the ship they allow (the sailors) to land and, as soon as they are settled at an inn, they are visited by a eunuch clerk who takes them to the master of the town. Whoever has cleaner and better garments is more respected by them. Then the king enquires about their personal health and how they fared on their voyage, after which he sends them to the house of the eunuch clerk situated outside the town. When they have entered it, seats (kursi) are brought to them and they sit on them. Then they are asked about their health and (the eunuch) shows them signs of respect and serves them local fruit and wine. Then he tells them to adjourn to their inn and tells his representatives to look after and care for them. They call the representative fāsān (*fan-chang).

Then the goods which form the cargo are taken out and placed in (store) houses which are sealed by the clerks, and their sale or purchase is prohibited for the term of six months, till the end of the period of the monsoon (al-rīh, "wind"). When they have learned that the arrival of ships has stopped and the time has come when no one arrives, they remit the goods to the merchants after having levied the custom fee, which amounts to 30 per cent. ("three out of ten"), and they sell as they wish. The object of this prohibition of trade during six months is that all the import cargoes should have arrived (17b) and the price of them have been stabilized lest the buyer or seller should (suffer) because of low prices or sustain a loss. It often happens that the amount of goods in a year increases and the market is spoilt, or the amount dwindles and the prices rise. They purchase all with money with which they pay for all goods.

27. Their king is kind to merchants and there is no oppression of anyone who enters his region.

The (Chinese) have all white faces and there are (17a) no black or dusky people among them. They are whiter than the Rūm (Byzantines), of a pure white colour and fine skin.

Their king is Khan-fu rules on behalf of the king of China, he commands an army and (gives) the battle-orders.

Their custom is to levy from the merchants who come to this city three-tenths of whatever they have with them; of this (tax) one-half goes to the lord of the army and the other is sent to the king of China.

When a ship comes to the gate of this city it is met by the clerks and scribes from among the local population who register the number of whoever there is on board: men, women, children, slaves. Then
they were born. If a man has died among his people and in his house, he is kept in a wooden trough (naqir), which has the shape of a coffin. Some drugs are strewn over him which preserve his body from evil smells and decay. Thus, if he was well-off. And if he was poor, some burnt shells are strewn over him after they have been heated and reduced to powder. They absorb his humours and his remains no longer smell. This trough in which they place dead men may remain in the earth one thousand years or more, and it hardly gives off any smell.

If a man dies, a period of three years' mourning is imposed on his wife, as well as on her son and her (sic) brother. If a wife dies, a similar period of mourning is imposed on the husband. Men and women weep over their dead at the beginning of the day, in the middle of the day and at the end of the day, so long as the dead body remains with them. If one of them or their relatives does not weep he is punished and beaten and people will say: "Thou hast killed him if his death does not grieve thee." When the time for burying him has arrived and they are about to carry him to the grave, if he was well-off, they put food, fruit and wine on the road from his house to the cemetery, and wrap them up in brocades and silks. After he has been put in the grave these dishes are ransacked (by the crowd). And sometimes, if the deceased was a rich person, his beasts and clothes without exception are carried with him to his place of burial and there looted (fa-yumazaq). If a Muslim dies in their country and has no heir, his property is taken and placed in the king's treasury and an inscription is put up over it recording the names of the person, his father and grandfather, and the date of his death. And they wait three years and three months and three days and, if his successor comes before the expiration of the term, the property is handed over to him.

The Chinese know each other's age without mistake because all of them record (?) it in writing. Should someone die and leave a child without a tutor, the child is entrusted to the king's clerks for teaching and education and the treasury provides his sustenance. When finally he has reached maturity he is assessed to the poll-tax. When an old man has reached the age of eighty, or even seventy, the king's treasury pays him an allowance and even though he has committed a fault punishable with death or a fine, he is pardoned. If there is an enmity between a man and a woman they are more disposed towards the woman. Their women outdo men in crafts and commerce. They do not cover their hair. A married person

who has committed adultery is killed, be it a man or a woman, but the mourning is not remitted thereby. In their markets there are women practising fornication, and the government levies a tax on them. However, these are recruited from among the low and vile.

All this in the city of Sānjū (read: Khān-fū, Canton ?), which is a great city.

29. The great city in which the king of China lives is called Khumbān, and it is said that from the city of Chinānjkath to Khumbān there is a distance of four months through pasture lands.

30. The country of China is vast. The majority of its inhabitants have round faces and flattened noses, their clothes are of silk and brocade. All wear wide sleeves and long skirts trailing on the ground. Their homes are spacious and embellished with porticos (majdil) and statues. Their army is numerous. Their king is almost invisible and only his vazir or chamberlain attends on him. The heads of his army see him once a week. If an envoy from the king visits him he is introduced into his presence at a specially appointed time. (At the audience) the vazir stands on (the king's) right, and the envoy is kept at a distance in accordance with the rank of (him who) sent him. Then he prostrates himself and does not raise his head until ordered (to do) so. Then the chamberlain addresses him and he informs him about himself and of the object of his mission. Then the king orders him to be given presents consisting of a cut (lakhī) of textile and of a gilt silver bowl. The envoy returns to the envoy's house and appears daily at the court (18b) and gradually approaches (the object) until the answer is given and he is dismissed.

31. Most of their crops are cereals. Whenever the rains have been scanty, prices rise, and when the inhabitants have suffered from scarcity the king sends (his men) to the idol-temples to seize the shamans, to imprison them, to put them in irons and to threaten them with death if it does not rain, and they keep using them roughly till it does rain.

32. In the king's palace there are numerous kettle-drums and drums, and when the sun is about to set the kettle-drums are beaten. When the inhabitants hear it everyone hastens and hurries towards his house. No one remains outside after sunset. The Government agents dispense themselves in the town-wards and on the highways and, if they find anyone out of his house, they behead him and

1 V. i., this sentence repeated in §59.
2 Gardizi: "one vazir on the right and another on the left."
3 Gardizi, 93: lākhi dībā.
33. In the environs of Khumdān, which is the capital of the king surnamed Faghūr, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks (musraddtāb). The city has four gates, and when the king mounts 30,000 horse mount with him. It is said that the king of China possesses 360 towns, and daily one of them send him its khardāj, together with garments for his personal wear and with a handmaiden to please him. One of their customs is that no one is allowed to monopolise wheat, wood, salt or iron, but these commodities are exposed in the markets and may be bought according to one's needs. In the environs of Khumdān are lakes with islands, and among paying khardāj.

34. The coast of China stretches for two months and, as on a day when there is a fair wind the mariners are able to sail a distance of 50 farsakhs, the extension of the coast is 3000 farsakhs along the seashore.

35. To the left of China towards the Summer sunrise (N.E.), between China and the Khirkhiz, there is a populous number. They are tribes with names such as Abram, ʿUrnayr, Tulmān, F. Rānklī, Yāthī, Hamthī, Būbūnī, B. Nukūy, Fūrī. They make (19a) ornaments for their women out of white shells (wadʿ, cowrie'), which they use instead of pearls.

36. The author of the book al-Masālik says that beyond China there is a nation of white-and-pink complexion (shuqr) and red hair. The heat of the sun is extreme in their country and they live in underground dwellings which they have built themselves. When the sun rises they enter these dwellings until the sun is about to set and then they come out. However, this record needs (further) consideration because a white-and-pink complexion and red hair are produced by the excess of cold and deficiency of heat, as in the case of the Slavs and the Rus.

37. One of the customs of the Chinese is that, when a man has committed a crime which deserves a fine and punishment, he cannot be prosecuted before he has confessed and signed (?) a document to this effect. Then this document is presented to the king's clerks and the king orders a punishment appropriate to his crime. And similarly, when he has committed a crime punishable by death, they do not kill him before he has signed a document saying that he has indeed merited execution. This document is read to him publicly that he may agree with it. Then (the judges) suspend the procedure during several hours in order to see whether they have any doubt about the criminal's mind. And only having agreed as to the soundness of his mind do they kill him.

38. One of their customs is that, when someone is leaving the country for a journey, they register his name and the goods and slaves he is taking with him. At every military post where he arrives the document is read and the officer in command reports to the eunuch, who is the king's clerk, that so-and-so, son of so-and-so, safely passed here on such a day and such a month, with his goods and slaves. They do it to protect people's property. He who left their country without the king's permission and was caught is arrested, imprisoned and fined. In some of their lands, when a stranger who has bought a handmaid and begotten a child by her wants to take her away with him, he is prevented from so doing, for they say: "Why hast thou sown in our soil? Who allowed thee to do so? Now take the crop, i.e. the child, and leave the soil.”

39. They take pride in elegance of dress, in the perfect state of their houses and in the number of (their) vases. Their homes are spacious and adorned with porticos, statues and painting (v.s. §30). Their avenues are overshadowed (muhultū?) by temples built of cypress wood, as are also most of their markets, and every day several times they are levelled and sprinkled. They build (19b) the thresholds of their houses high in order that no litter may fall out of their dwellings.

40. Whenever the king wants to enter his women's apartments and to remain alone with the women the astrologer goes up to the roof of the house where he is and observes the stars in order to choose the time propitious for his intercourse with some one of his women.

41. At the farthest end of the Chinese territory lies the land called Sīlā (Silla, Shin-lo, Corea). Whoever Muslim or other stranger enters it, settles in it and never leaves it, on account of its pleasantness and excellence. Much gold is found there. The territories of China lie between the Ocean, the Toghuzhuz territories, Tibet and the Persian Gulf (sic).

42. Tibet is a country situated between China, India, the country of the Kharukh and Toghuzhuz and the sea of Fārs.
Some of it lies in the kingdom of China and some in the kingdom of India. The inhabitants resemble those of China, Turkish (lands) and India. Tibet has an independent king and its language differs from other languages. A particular feature of their country is that whoever enters it and settles in it becomes ever gay and smiling without knowing the reason for it, and never a sad face is seen in it.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called Arā, who live in a land and place called in Tibetan Akhāyāl, which possesses thick woods, meadows and pastures. They are of the king's people. When the Tibe-takhāqan dies childless and there is no one else in the khāqān's family, a man from among them is elected and made khaqān. As regards the place called Bāb al-Tubbatayn "the Gate of the two Tibet's", it is a gate between the mountain Shīwa and the river Khīrāb, fixed on a weak wall built of thorns and earth, and the Tibetans have there a military post where toll is levied from anyone travelling that way, to the amount of one part out of forty.

There is a tribe of Tibetans called Ank-r. nk (lower: Rānk-r. nk). These are a poor and weak people (but) they possess gold and silver mines, some of which are in the mountains, and some under the ground. In those which lie in the mountains large nuggets are found like heads of rams and kids, but they do not fetch any of it, saying that, if anyone takes it, death strikes his house and goes on until he (26 a) has replaced the nugget in its place in the mountains, and only then does death leave him alone. The part of these minerals from which they profit is what they get out of the ground. With that they pay their kharāj, which is assessed per head.

Above Rānk-r. nk (sic) there is another tribe of Tibetans resembling Turks. They possess cattle and tents and from their place to the frontier (?) of the Tibet-khāqān there is a distance of 20 days. Here lies a place called Zāb, where a huge river is found, one of whose banks, namely, the eastern one, forms the frontier of China, while the western side is the frontier of Tibet. Chinese merchants bring their goods to the bank of this river and pass over to the other bank in boats which they build of timber and skins. They trade with Tibetans and return on the same day.

43. Tibetan musk is of the best quality and of the purest scent. Musk is the navel of an animal which resembles the largest (kind of) deer. At a certain season of the year the animal becomes agitated and black blood flowing from other parts of the body gathers in its navel. The tumour swells and pains in the head and in the whole body increase. The animal comes to certain places in the desert where it is wont to roll and does not graze or drink until from the plenitude of blood its swollen navel becomes detached (falls) and sometimes its horns as well. Some of the animals die there, but some survive and return to the pastures. The navels accumulate on the said rolling-grounds, and, after some years, the blood coagulates, dries up and turns to musk. At the season of the rains Tibetan youthas start towards those deserts and often discover rolling-grounds with thousands of (fallen) vesicles and collect what is good of them. But often their endeavours are foiled.

CHAPTER IX
OF THE TURKS

1. The Turks are a great people and consist of many kinds and varieties, many tribes and sub-tribes. Some of them dwell in towns and villages, and some of them in wastes and deserts.

2. Of their great tribes are the Ghuuz, who comprehend twelve tribes, and of these some are called Toghuzghuz, some Uv-ghur, and some Óch-ghur (?). Their king is called Toghuz-khāqān, and he has numerous armies. In ancient times their king had 1000 life-guards (shākiri) and 400 female servants; with him (indu-hu) the life-guards used to eat food three times a day, and after eating, were served with drink three times. Their king only presents himself to the people once in a season (?). They have good customs in government. Some of them live in wastes and deserts, having tents and yurts (felt-huts, khargāh); their wastes march with Transoxiana and partly also with the territories of Khwārazm.

When they came into contact with Muslim countries some of them embraced Islam; these were called Türkāns. Open war broke out between them and the others who had not accepted the faith, but in the end the Muslims became numerous, made an excellent profession, and overwhelmed the infidels and drove them out. The latter quitted Khwārazm and migrated to the regions of the Bajanāk (Pechenegs). The Türkāns spread through the Islamic lands and there displayed an excellent character, so much so that they ruled over the greater part of these territories, becoming kings and sultans.

3. To them (also) belong the Qūn; these came from the land of Qitāy, fearing the Qitā-khan. They (were) Nestorian Christians, and had migrated from their habitat, being pressed for pastures.
Of their numbers [is? or was?] *Akinji b. *Qochqar (?) the Khwārazmi shāh. The Qūn were followed [or pursued] by a people called the Qāy, who being more numerous and stronger than they drove them out of these [new?] pasture-lands. They then moved on to the territory of the Shāri, and the Shāri migrated to the land of the Tūrkmāns, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the Ghuzz country. The Ghuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the Bajānāk, near the shores of the Armenian (?) sea.

4. To them (also) belong the Khirkhiz, a numerous people dwelling between the summer east [=N.E.] and the north; the Kūnāk live to the north, the Yahmā and the Khirkhiz to the west of them, while Kucha (K. jā) and Ark [with regard to them] lie between the winter west and the south. The Khirkhiz make a practice of burning their dead, asserting that fire purified and cleansed them; that was their ancient use, but when they became neighbours with Muslims, they began burying their dead. Among the Khirkhiz is a man, a commoner, called *ṣagānān, who is summoned on a fixed day every year; about him there gather singers and players and so forth, who begin drinking and feasting. When the company is well away, this man faints and falls as if in a fit; he is asked about all the events that are going to happen (21a) in the coming year, and he gives information whether [crops] will be plentiful or scarce, whether there will be rain or drought, and so forth; and they believe that what he says is true.

5. In the territory of the Khirkhiz there are four watercourses, which flow and pour into a single great watercourse running between mountains and dark caverns. It is related that a certain man of the Khirkhiz took a boat and sailed along this watercourse for three days, in darkness, during which time he saw neither sun nor star nor light of any kind. Then he emerged into light and opened air and left his boat. Hearing the sound of the hoofs of beasts, he climbed into a tree to watch; three horsemen came along, each as tall as a long spear, and with them were dogs the size of oxen. When they came up to him and saw him they took pity on him, and one of them fetched him down [from the tree] and mounted him on his beast, hiding him from the dogs for fear that they should tear him to pieces. They took him to their encampment, set him on top of a tent, and gave him their food to eat, marvelling at him, as if they had never seen his like before. Then one of them carried him and brought him near his own place, guiding him on the road until he arrived there. No one knows who these people were or to what race of mankind they belonged.

5 bis (= 5 in Chap. XV). As for the farthest parts of the territories of the Turks there are between Uj and Kāšīghar meadows and steppes wherein are wild camels and various species of wild beasts; there are likewise wild men who have no intercourse with [other] men.

5 ter (= 6 in Chap. XV). On this side (dān) of the Khirkhiz, in the direction of Chinānjkath, there are thicketts and forests, overgrown and impenetrable, tangled places, abundant water, and valleys in close succession to one another where rain is continuous. In these forests there dwells a wild people; they have no intercourse with other men, and do not understand their language; they are like wild beasts, and (only) associate with their own kind. The boats which they employ for the transport of their loads consist of the skins of fish and wild animals. (43a) Whenever they emerge from these forests they are like fish out of water. They have wooden bows, and their clothes are of the skins of wild beasts; their food they get by hunting. They are warriors and fighters; when they intend to attack any enemy they go out with their families on foot (seeking to) compute their enemy's numbers; having ascertained them, they set upon them by night, destroying and annihilating them. Whatever falls into their hands and whatever they seize they set fire to and burn, for they do not hold it to be lawful to take the possessions of others, with the exception of weapons and iron. When they desire to have intercourse with their wives, they make them go on all fours, and then have coition after the manner of wild beasts and animals. Their wives' dowries consist of animals and wild beasts. When any one of them dies, his corpse is bound up with ropes and suspended in trees, and there left to rot. Now and then one of them visits a Khirkhiz in search of food; if his quest is granted by the Khirkhiz and he is hospitably received (all is well); otherwise he leaps upon (the Khirkhiz) and slays him, and then flees back to his meadow.

6. To them also belong the Kharlukh. These formerly dwelt in the mountain of Tūnis (*Tālis), which is the Golden mountain, and were the slaves of the Toghuqjuzh; [later] they rebelled against them, and migrated to the land of the T.R.K.S (*Tūrgish), which they seized and conquered and usurped the kingdom (or: subjected the king). From thence they moved on to Islamic territories. Of the Kharlukh there are nine divisions, of which three are of the Chigil, three of the B.gh.sk.l, and one each of the B. jāq, Kūk.kīn (*Kūdärkīn ?) and Tukhīsi.

1 See also Chapter XV, 321.
7. To them also belong the Kimāk, a people without villages or houses, who possess forests, woods, water, and herbage; they have cattle and sheep in plenty, but no camels, for camels will not live in their country more than a year. They also have no salt, except what may be imported by merchants, who for a maund of it obtain a fox and sable skin. In the summer they live on the milk of mares, in winter on jerked meat. Snow is plentiful there, and even falls to a depth of a spear-shaft. When the snow falls as heavily as that, the Kimāks transfer their beasts to the Ghuzz country, if there is peace between them. The Kimāk possess underground dwellings (asrāb) which they prepare for winter and in them they live when the cold is severe. If any of them wishes to go out to hunt the sable (samūr) or the ermine (qūqum) or suchlike, he takes two pieces of wood, each three cubits long and a span wide, with one of the ends turned up like the prow of a ship, and binds them with his boots on to his feet. In these he treads, rolling across the snow like a ship cleaving the waves.

8. To the right (South?) of these Kimāks are three peoples who worship Fire and Waters. They trade with foreigners, employing signs, without any vocal conversation passing between them. The foreigner brings his merchandise on a wooden [plank] and then a Kimak comes and puts down opposite it his equivalent. If the owner of the merchandise is satisfied, he takes the equivalent and throws the goods off the plank; if, however, he is not satisfied, he leaves the goods there. They are particularly fond of copper (shabah) bowls and red leather bags (jurab). They fast one day every year, burn their dead, and do not mourn for them, saying: 'We acquiesce in God's decree.'

8 bis (= 15 in Chap. XV). It is related in the book al-Masālik wal-Mamālik that there is a certain people who come in boats from a westerly direction (nāhiyā al-gharb) to the Kimāk and trade with them by signs, putting their wares on a plank of wood until they come to terms. They (?) are fond of copper bowls of which they make ornaments for their womenfolk. (While bargaining) they do not speak (44a–b).

9. Towards the gībla of the Kimāk is a people called the B.ṣrāl (?); they have an independent cheiftain, they live in woods and forests winter and summer.

10. The Pechenegs (Bajanāk) are a wandering people, following the rainfalls and pasturage. Their territory extends a distance of thirty days in either direction, and they are bordered on all sides by many peoples; to the north are the Khīfjākh, to the south-west (al-junūb fil-maghrīb) the Khazars, to the east (min nāhiyat al-sharq?) the Ghuzz, and to the west the Slavs. These peoples all raid the Pechenegs, who [likewise] raid them. The Pechenegs are wealthy, having beasts, flocks, household property, gold, silver, weapons, ensigns, and lances (jaradāl). Between the Pechenegs and the Khazars there is a distance of ten days, the country being steppes and forest. There is no beaten track between the two territories, and they travel over (the distance) by means of the stars, landmarks or at random.

11. The territories of the Khazars are wide, reaching on one side to a great mountain (range). At the farthest end of this mountain there dwell two divisions of the Turks, called the Tūlās and the Lwr. This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflis. Their city is called Sārīs (Sārīg.-sh. u?) and they have another city called Kh.ṭalīgh (sic) or Kh. nbalīgh, etc.; in these two cities they dwell during the winter, but with the approach of spring they go out into the deserts (sahārī), where they spend all the summer. Their king rides at the head of 10,000 horsemen wherever he goes. It is their custom, when going forth in any direction, that every horseman carries with him twenty tamarisk pegs two cubits (dhīrā) long. When they come to their encampment, they all plant their pegs in the ground surrounding the site, and lean their bucklers against them: in this way in less than an hour round the encampment a wall is made which cannot be pierced.

12. To them (also) belong the B.ṛdās, whose territory is part of the Khazar territory, there being a distance of 15 days between the two tribes. They obey the Khazar king, and supply 10,000 horsemen. They have no cheiftain to rule and govern them, but at every place they have an elder to whom they refer their disputes as they arise. Their territory is wide, and contains forests. They raid the B.lkār and Pechenegs. They are handsome and comely and have a [fine] physique. Among them when a girl reaches puberty she leaves the authority of her father, and chooses whom she wants among the men, until finally a suitor (khālīf) comes for her to her father and the latter, if he wishes, gives her away [to the man]. They have swine and oxen as well as abundance of honey; their [chief] property is the fur of weasels (dalag). They consist of two groups, one group burning and the other burying their dead. Their land is flat, their trees are mostly the khalanj, and they have

1 On the names, see the Commentary.
2 Probably the animal called in Russian КУНЦА.
tilled lands. The extent of their land is 17 days in either direction; they have no fruits, and they make a drink from honey.

12 bis (=2 in Chap. XV). In the northern direction lies the country of Bulghar$^3$; it lies between the west (?) and the north, inclining towards the Pole, and is three months distant from Khwarazm. These (people) have two cities, one called Suvâr and the other called Bulghâr; between the two cities is a distance of two days' journey, along the bank of a river and through very dense forests, in which they fortify themselves against their enemies. The trees are mostly khadang, but there are also hazels. They are Muslims, and make war on the infidel Turks, raiding them, because they are surrounded by infidels. There are in their forests fur-bearing animals, such as grey squirrels, sable, and so on. The latitude of their territory is very considerable (wa 'ardu ardikim kahirun), so much so that in summer their day is extremely long and their night extremely short, so short in fact that the interval between twilight and dawn is not sufficient for cooking a pot (of meat).

§12 ter (=3 in Chap. XV). At a distance of twenty days from them, towards the Pole, is a land called Isû, and beyond this a people called Yûra; these are a savage people, living in forests and not mixing with other men, for they fear that they may be harmed by them. The people of Bulghar journey to them, taking wares, such as clothes, salt and other things, in contrivances (lit. 'utensils') drawn by dogs over the heaped snows, which (never) clear away. It is impossible for a man to go over these snows, unless he binds on to his feet the thigh-bones of oxen, and takes in his hands a pair of javelins which he thrusts backwards into the snow, so that his feet slide forwards over the surface of the ice; with a favourable wind (?) he will travel a great distance by the day. The people of Yûra trade by means of signs and dumb show, for they are wild and afraid of (other) men. From them are imported excellent sable and other fine furs; they hunt these animals, feeding on their flesh and wearing their skins.

§12 quater (=4 in Chap. XV). Beyond these are a Coast-dwelling people who travel far over the sea, without any (definite) purpose and intention; they merely do this in order to boast of reaching (such and such a remote) locality. They are a most ignorant and stupid tribe, and their ignorance is shown by the following. They sail in ships, and whenever two (of their) boats meet, the sailors lash the two together, and then they draw their swords and fight. This is their form of greeting. They come from the same town, perhaps from the same quarter, and there is no kind of enmity or rivalry between them; it is merely that this is their custom. When one of the parties is victorious, they (then) steer the two ships off together. In this sea is the fish whose tooth is used in hafting knives, swords and suchlike. Beyond them is a Black Land which cannot be crossed. As for the sea-route, the voyager sailing towards the Pole reaches a part where there is no night in the summer and no day in the winter; the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months, circling the horizon like the revolution of a mill-stone; the whole year thus consists of one day and one night.

13. The Majghari are a Turkish people having wide territories reaching a distance of 100 farsakhs in either direction. Their chieftains ride at the head of about 20,000 horsemen, and is called *k. n.a., this name being the distinction of their king. They are a tent-dwelling people, and migrate following the herbage (kald) and vegetation. One border of their territory reaches the sea of Rûm, and there are found here (wa ḥandka) two rivers which flow into that sea, one of them being bigger than the Oxus (Jayhûn). The habitations of the Majghari lie between these two rivers, whose names are the Rūnâ (Kaldâ?) and the Atîl. Their territories abound in forests, and they also have sown fields. They overcome those of the Slavs and Rûš who are their neighbors, carrying off captives whom they sell in Rûm. The Majghari are handsome and very comely (riwa wa manzar hasan), their bodies are bulky, and they have wealth and visible property on account of their great commerce.

14. The Slavs are a numerous people, and between their territories and the territories of the Pechenegs is a distance of 10 days, along steppes and pathless country with thick trees (ashjâr multafta) and [abounding] in springs. They inhabit these forests. They have no vines, but possess much honey. They tend swine, and burn their dead, for they worship Fire. They grow mostly millet, and have a drink prepared from honey. They have different kinds of pipes (maṣâmir), including one two cubits long. Their lute is flat and has eight strings but no peg-box (banjug), while (sillâ anna) its pegs are level. They have no great wealth (laya lahum sa'at fîl-maṭsha). Their weapons are javelins and spears, and they have fine bucklers. Their head chieftain is called swâh$^1$, and he has a deputy called sh. ṣâ. The king has [riding] beasts and on their milk he feeds. The town in which he resides is called K. H. Z. H. R. A. T., where they hold a market for three days in every month. Among them the cold is so severe that they dig deep underground dwellings which they cover with wood, and heat with the steam [produced by the burning] of dung and firewood. There they remain during their winter season.

$^1$ See the Commentary.
Hippocrates says that in the country of Europe there is a tribe of Turks and that the Turks resemble one another, but do not resemble other peoples. Likewise the Egyptians resemble one another, except that they grow up in the heat, and the Turks in the cold.

Galen says that the people called Sūrmāta (Sauromatae) have small eyes and long eye-slits (tīwēl al-ulāhāt).

Hippocrates says that Turkish food and customs are similar (everywhere). Therefore they grew similar in their persons, and distinct from other peoples. And indeed they do not resemble them either in their features or in their habits. He adds: on this account their features have grown thick and fleshy so that their joints do not appear, and their bodies are soft and damp (lymphatic), with no strength.

Galen says: Turkish lands are cold and damp with plenty of water, steppes [23b] and mines. The Turks are care-free and have no exacting occupations. He adds: their joints do not appear, i.e. their joints are hidden and invisible on account of the abundance of flesh, for damp (lymphatic) constitutions engender much flesh which is damp, cold, fat and weak. Therefore Turkish constitutions have become damp and cold.

18. Hippocrates says: their intestines are very damp and secrete much discharge. This, because it is impossible for intestines to grow dry, as happens in such a country and in such natural and climatic conditions, as ours. He adds: their bodies are very obese and necessarily (?) hairless. He adds: such conditions are not favourable for having many children for libido does not incite men towards women and coition in view of the dampness of their constitutions and of the softness and coldness of their intestines. At another place he says that the child-bearing of their women is infrequent on account of the softness and dampness of their entrails. As regards the dampness (it is explained by the following facts); (1) their wombs cannot catch and attract the sperm; (2) the purifications which affect the women every month do not occur as they ought to because their purifications become little (and) take place after long periods; (3) the mouths of their wombs are obstructed by the abundance of fat; (4) as all their bodies grow fat, cervix uterorum earum necessarily also grow fat. Whereas thin and lank limbs have the passages open and the openings broad, fat limbs have narrow openings; therefore (Turkish women) do not conceive often.

Galen says that the fact that they conceive seldom is the result of several causes, such as the narrowness of their cervices, the fact
CHAPTER XII
ON INDIA

(32a) 1. The Indians are a great nation comprising numerous races (castes?) of various kinds and of widely different views and religions. They inhabit the southern quarter of the oecumene. Their lands are numerous, with extensive areas, and the outlying parts of them are far-flung, stretching as they are down to the limit of habitation where cultivation and procreation cease and the existence of animals comes to an end.

2. Their known races (castes) are seven, namely:
   The Śākhavariya (*chakraviartya?), who in their caste are the noblest, and all the castes prostrate themselves before them, while they do not do so before anyone. The king belongs to them.

3. Then the Brahman, who have the leadership under the king. They prostrate themselves before the Sumani, but the latter do not do so before them. Some of those who belong to this caste do not drink wine or intoxicating drinks.

4. The *Kṣitārīya (kshatriya), who do not drink more than thrice (at a time). The Brahman do not give (their own women) in marriage to them but marry theirs.

5. Then the Shudriya (śūdra), who are agriculturists and husbandmen. The Kshatriyas marry their (women) and give them theirs, while the Brahman marry theirs but do not give them (their own).

6. Then the Bāyshiya (vaisyā), in whose caste are craftsmen and tradesmen. None of the enumerated castes intermarries with them.

7. Then the Sandaliya (candāla), singers and players. Their women are beautiful and sometimes Brahman become infatuated with them so as to abandon for them their religion (but otherwise) none of the castes mentioned touches them.

8. Then the Dunbhya (domba), who have a dark complexion and are performers and musicians. People treat them as candālas, but the latter do not mix or intermarry with them.

9. Among their arts and sciences is magic. They pretend that by this means they obtain what they want, heal poisonings while

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1 Sumani, "Buddhist"?
2 Kh., 71, also has sumr, cf. infra §47, but another possible reading is qaim somar, "entertainers."
meat, but they said: "What you have been eating all these days was this same animal." And they forced me to eat it, but it nauseated (daqa) me and so I left them. And this is the animal called nasnīs ("fan" ?).

21. It is said that in the deserts stretching between Badhakhashān and Kāshghar there is a considerable number of this animal.

22. It is mentioned in the Akhbār Iskandar ("Alexandrian lore") that when he was about to enter the kingdom of darkness a tribe of this kind appeared before him and they rivalled his army in numbers and he was obliged to fight and exterminate them. They were a kind of ape (garada) and their bodies were covered with hair like those of apes.

23. I have read in the Kitāb al-Bahr ("Book of the sea") that in the island of Wāq-Wāq, where ebony grows, there is a tribe (45b) whose nature is like that of men in all their limbs, except the hands, instead of which they have something like wings, which are webbed like the wings of a bat. They, both males and females, eat and drink while kneeling. They follow the ships asking for food. When a man makes for them, they open these wings and their flight becomes like that of birds, and no one can overtake them.

COMMENTARY

CHAPTER VIII

CHINA


The chapter is a complicated patch-work of quotations from various sources. Its contents are as follows:

(a) General introduction: 1. The Seven Climes. 2. General characteristics of China. 3. Sin, Qiṭāy and Yughur. 4. The Chinese and Byzantines as craftsmen. 5. The Chinese do not mix with other people. 6. Mānī's law.


(e) Land routes: 19. to China, Yughur and Qiṭāy. 20. The Ṣhārī or Basnīl. 21. Policy of Qiṭāy and Yughur.


(g) Maritime routes: 26. Lūfīn, Khān-chā, curfews, goods. 27. Malik of Khān-chā; Chinese are white; registration of cargoes; the fan-chān, the monsoon.


(j) Tribes between China and Khirkhz. 35. Al-Masālik on a red-haired nation.


(l) Sīlā (Corea): 41.

(m) Tibet: 42. Its divisions. 43. Musk.

The introductory section on the Climes is probably borrowed from al-Farghānī. As for the rest of the Chapter, the author himself quotes among his sources the account of a merchant who travelled to China, as well as the Akhbār (?) and the Masālik, but, although
with regard to the merchant the text positively states: "I met a clever man" (§7), a closer analysis of the passage leaves no doubt about its having been transcribed from an earlier work.

Under the name of Aḥkār Gardīzī refers to a work of Ibn Khurdābdīsh, which is not otherwise known. Barthold, Otech, 79, tentatively identified it with Kitāb jamharat al-Furs wa-l-nawāzīl, "Genealogies of Persians and their colonies," quoted in the Fihrist, 149. As our §4 is not in Gardīzī, it is probable that, in this case, Aḥkār refers to some collection of reports, similar to that going under the name of Sulaymān the Merchant. In fact, §29, on mourning, etc., is very close to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, p. 37. The description of the maritime road to China is more likely to have been inspired by I. Khurdābdīsh's work, BGA, VII, 60.

The Māsīlūk is referred to in a paragraph (§36), which is also found in Gardīzī, the latter quoting Jayhānī as his source. One should imagine that the other items coinciding in Marvāzī and Gardīzī had also passed through Jayhānī's huge and important compilation. Here is the abstract of Gardīzī's chapter on China with the indication of the parallel §§ in Marvāzī.

### Gardīzī

- Road to Khumdān
- China is a vast kingdom
- Silk clothes with long sleeves
- Streets covered
- Dwellings have statues
- Army of 400,000
- Chinese clever
- Good textiles and vases
- Abū Zayd (Balkhi?) on the Ghuzz being China's neighbours
- Frontiers: Khotan, India, Bolor, Gog and Magog
- I. Khurdābdīsh says every traveller to China becomes a sage
- Many kings under the Faghür
- Yellow brocade and white horses reserved for the Faghür
- Visible once a year when he rides to the ancestors' tombs
- Great audience with musicians
- Only the vāzir, the šāhib (?) and the envoys admitted to the king
- Reception of envoys
- Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum

### Marvāzī’s §§

- 29
- 30
- 39
- 30 and 39
- 8 (“numerous”)
- 12 (?)
- deest (Sulaymān, 59: Toghuughī, Tibet)
- deest, but cf. I. Kh., 713
- deest
- deest
- 30 (vāzir and hājib)
- 40

1 Compiled in 337/951 and completed by Abū Zayd Ṣafīcī, c. 303/914. Cf. Chap. XV, 43, in which so-called Ḫūsres al-bayr is referred to. It is noteworthy that I. Kh., 62, quotes some reports of Mariniers (dhakara bahriyyīn) on the pepper-plant of Southern India. The data may have passed through Jayhānī.
2 On the original source, v.1, §59.
3 The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, as E. Honigmann, Die Sieben Klimata, 1990, pp. 10-30.

The question of the direct sources of our text does not cover the problem of the original reports responsible for single items. Many details indicate that Marvāzī's data relate to different times and places. All the items in which Manichaeism is said to be the religion of the Chinese (§§9, 17) are earlier than A.D. 843. The traditional name of the Chinese capital is in §29, namely, Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu), taken back to the T'ang epoch and is entirely different from the later capital of Y. нихūr (Yung-chou?), which flourished in the post-T'ang time, see §§7, 19. The data on the K'itin embassy belong to 418/1027. Different sources account for some repetitions (§26—curfew in Canton, §32—ditto in Khumān; goods for China §§25 and 26) and inconsistencies (the item on the appearance of the Chinese disturbs §27).

In brief, the primary sources which one can recognize are as follows:

(a) Some ancient (eighth to ninth century A.D.) accounts of Arab mariners: §§14—17 and separately §§26—28, 37—39 and 41.

(b) Some overland travellers to the capital of Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) under the T'angs (early ninth century A.D.?): §§6 (?), 29—35.

(c) Some merchant who visited the capital of Y. нихūr probably in the beginning of the tenth century: §§7—12.1

(d) Data collected personally by Jayhānī (early tenth century A.D.): §§42 (partly), 43 (?).

(e) Data of an embassy from Qītāy in 418/1027: §§5, 5 (?), 18—25.

(f) Marvāzī’s own remarks: §§8, 28 (?).

With the exception of (e) and (f), most of the remaining items may have passed through Jayhānī as intermediary.

§1. The division of the earth into climes comes appropriately at the beginning of the chapter on China, the latter being considered the easternmost country of the world. The division is an ancient Greek one, but even in translating Ptolemy Arab geographers introduced their additions into the original scheme, see Khwārizmī's Šīrāt al-arḍ, ed. Mīk, and Barthold's Preface to the H.-ʾĀ, 10.

Apart from some minor alterations, the description entirely corresponds with that found in al-Farḥādī’s Fi-l-ḥarādī al-samawiyya,

1 The authority (b) calls the emperor Faghūr, whereas the authority (c) refers to him as Talghālī-ḵān.
2 The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, as E. Honigmann, Die Sieben Klimata, 1990, pp. 10-30.
ed. Gollus, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 35. Practically the same text is reproduced in I. Rusta, 96–8, Mutahhar, IV, 49–53 (Seventh Cline left out), *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, 479–81, and Yaqūt, I, 29. By some slip, Marvazi skipped the original Sixth Cline and then quoted under the "Sixth Cline" the description of the Seventh Cline, and under the "Seventh Cline," the data referring to the zone which I. Rusta calls "what is beyond the aforesaid climes, down to the end of the inhabited lands." Marvazi slightly abridges the enumeration of places. The island al-K.ār is spelt al-K.āl in Fergānī and Khuwārīzmi, al-Kel in I. Rusta and the *Mujmal*, and al-K.ār in Mutahhar and Yaqūt. De Goeje in his note to I. Rusta, 906, identifies it with "Kūlū or Kūlam" (Quilon). According to Nallino, *Alī dei Lincei*, 1896, II/1, 39, the island which Khuwārīzmi calls "al-Mydh or al-K.l" is meant to represent Gujarāt, cf. also al-Battānī, ed. Nallino, II, 51, 239. The people of Mydh (Mydh?) or Mr.nd are often quoted by early Arab writers as occupying the coastal region of the Sind and Kathiawar, see Minorsky, *Manā* in EI. The Mydh were notorious pirates, and in this connection it may be placed on record that some mysterious al-K.ār plundered Jedda in 151/716. Two years later Manṣūr sent against them a naval expedition from Basra, see I. Athir, V, 145 and 446. The question of al-Mydh or al-K.ār is complicated by Ibn Sa‘īd (d. circa 1280 ?), as available in Ferrand’s translation, *Relations*, 336. Ibn Sa‘īd places the islands of Mr.nd at the end of the First Cline. The principal island was called K.lūna, and had three towns: K.luna (the capital), Mr.nd and Knk. It is added that the inhabitants are brethren of those of Hind and Sīn, but they have been either expelled or subjugated by the Zanj. Here the ancient Mydh seems to be confused with the Kilwa of the Somali coast.

The arrangement of the Climes in Biruni’s *Tsahīm*, ed. Wright, 143–5, is somewhat different. Biruni begins the Sixth Cline with "Eastern Turks, such as Qayy, Qān, etc." Marvazi quotes these rare names in his Chapter IX, §3, but does not introduce them into his list of the Climes. Altogether divergent is the description of I. Faqīh, 5–7, who is more dependent on Ptolemy, etc. (through Muhammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārīzmi, quoted *ibid.*, p. 4 ?), and whose enumeration is accompanied by some general characteristics of the Climes.3

§2 is the author’s own conclusion, the influence of geographical surroundings being his favourite theme. In the chapter of the Persians (ll. 11a–12b) the author quotes Hippocrates, Galen and Aristotle to show that "the life of the inhabitants (of a country) depends on the character of their habitat" and that "the specific factor (akhsa’ al-asghy) in a man, as in every animal, is the soil (turba-tahnu) on which he develops, because the character of the soil conditions his own character."

§§3 and 5 announce §18, which describes the situation after the rise of the Qitay (K’itan). §4 is of a general character. The story of the "blindness" of other nations must be old. A parallel to it is found in Abū Manṣūr Tha‘lībi’s *Lata‘if al-ma‘rīf*, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 127. The author lived 350–430/961–1038, and used Jayhānī, but is, in style at least, independent of Marvazi. As the "one-eyed nation" he quotes the Babylonians (ahl-Babil) and not the Byzantines.

§§6 and 9 have a common background in the supposition that all the Chinese follow the law of Manī, which indicates a.D. 843 as the *terminus ante quem* of the original report, v. i. §17. §9 looks like an unrecognised repetition of an obsolete view.

§§7–12 are connected by the person of the narrator. As in §7, Y.ṣuṣ (Ho-nan-fu, cf. §19) is mentioned as the capital of China, the merchant in question must have visited China after a.d. 907. The first person of "I met a merchant" apparently refers to Jayhānī, whose lifetime corresponds with this period, but as the first traces of the report (the block of wood, self-propelling carts, gambling) appear in Marvazi (cf. "A‘ufi"), we have to suppose that it was incorporated only in some later copies of Jayhānī’s work.

§13. The Zoroastrian reformer Bihāfāridh was executed by Abū Muslim in 131/748. The green silk shirt which he had brought from China was worn by him to prove his celestial origin, see Houtsma, *Bihāfāridh*, in WZKM, III, 30–7, and E.T., and lately Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris, 1938, 113–131. No "previous" mention of Bihāfāridh is found in Marvazi, but "A‘ufi" gives a pretty complete version of Bihāfāridh’s story, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 93 (= No. 1624 in Nizāmū’-dīn’s list). He may have taken the details from a passage omitted in our copy of Marvazi, but it is possible that in this particular case he made direct use of Jayhānī’s *Masālīk*, cf. Nizāmū’-dīn, 10x–3, 249.

§§14–16 (plus §§26–28, and possibly §§17, 41, etc.) refer to the maritime region of China and form one stock of information. The person1 responsible for it is much interested in all that pertains to commerce and displays a truly Arab vivacity of mind and love for the picturesque and the marvellous. In §14 Marvazi quotes some written source which he calls *al-Ākbār*, and which may be identical with "some Maritime Climes" (ba’d al-tawjjar al-bahriyyin) and

1 Perhaps several persons.
with Kīdāb al-baḥr, quoted elsewhere (ff. 44a and 45a). The narrator, or narrators (cf. §14), had in view the situation in Khān-fū (Canton), where Muslims were in such force that in A.D. 758 they raided the city. In a.d. 879 many Muslims perished when Canton was taken by the rebel Huang-chiao, see Barthold, Khān-fū in E.T.

§14. The story of the eunuch and his five shirts is found in Abū Zayd Sīrāfī, who wrote an appendix to Sulaymān, ed. Reinaud, 74. It is quoted on the authority of an important and trustworthy merchant who sojourned in Khān-fū (sic). [Perhaps the Quraishi?]

§15. On imports into China see Sulaymān, 35 (minus amber) and ‘Afu, No. 1905. Khūṭa is repeated under §27, which points either to two sources or to the carelessness of the epistomist in summing up his material.

§16. The story of the ‘Alid intermediaries established on an island (near Canton?) is of clear Shi‘a inspiration and its linguistic style reflects the influence of some pious lore. The details about the destruction of snakes is to be connected with legends concerning ‘Alī, ‘the slayer (lit. ‘render’ of the Serpent, or Dragon, Hayyār-i hayya-dar,‘ cf. H.-J., §13, 2, and p. 282. There is nothing improbable about an early penetration of ‘Alids into China. In fact, they played for Islam a role similar to that of the Nestorians for Christianity. According to the report found in the Fihrist, 344-5, after the execution of Abū Muslim (d. A.D. 755), one of his disciples Ishāq al-Turk carried on the extremist propaganda of the Abū-Musliimiya among the Turks of Transoxiana. Some said that he was a descendant of Imām Yahyā b. Zayd b. ‘Ali (killed in Gūzgān A.D. 743), and that he “fled from the Omayyads and traversed the country of the Turks.” The first convert to Islam among Turkish rulers Satuq Bughra khan of Kāshghar (d. 344/955)1 presumably pursued the Shi‘a. See Barthold, Turkistan, 190, Grenard, La légende de Satok Bughra, in J.A., Jan. 1909, p. 1-79; Marquart, Günther’s Bericht über die Begegnung der Uiguren, 1912, 495; Blochet, La conquête des états nestoriens de l’Asie Centrale par les ch‘ites, in Revue de l’ Orient Chrétien, XXVII, 1926, pp. 3-131 (very disappointing). The story of the ‘Alids is shortened in ‘Afu, No. 1905. More interesting is another echo found on Kāshghari’s Map. Baldāt al-‘Ala‘iyya, the town of the ‘Alids,” is shown on it beyond Bish-baig to the S.E. of the mountains (Altai?) from the northern side of which rises the Y.mār (Obi). Baldāt al-nisā, “The Town of the Women,” which figures in the same sector, increases the impression of a terra incogitata. The only other name seen beyond the Town of the Alids,

near the coast of the Ocean, is Jāfū, a mis-spelling of some Chinese name, possibly Khān-fū (Canton). Kāshghari must refer to the same colony of ‘Alīds as Marvāzi (§16), but the time which elapsed since Marvāzi’s original source obscured the situation: the ‘Alid settlement had grown into a Shi‘a parallel to Prester John’s kingdom. Three centuries later Maqrīzī, ed. Wet. I, 59, removed the ‘Alid colony still further east, to Corea (al-Shīlā).

F. Grenard, Mission scientifique de Doutreuil du Rhins, 1898, II, 308-15, and Pelliot, Les Abdāl de Painṭep, J.A., 1907, janvier, 115-39, have described a curious community in Chinese Turkestān (near Cherchen and Kāshghar), speaking a dialect in which a predominantly Persian vocabulary is combined with Turkish grammar. Both French explorers were inclined to see in these ‘Abdāl “les descendants des chi‘ites, qui apparten l’ancien et premier Islam en Iran ch‘ite.” Whatever the date of the installation of the Abdāl in Kāshgharia they are a typical example of Persian-Shi‘a infiltrations similar to that described in Marvāzi’s source.

§17. For the item on Manichaeism as the religion of the Chinese, v.s. §§9-10. The Uyghurs (or the Orkhon) were converted to Manichaeism by missionaries from China after A.D. 763, and soon became the official protectors of the creed. Their interventions in Chinese affairs provoked much ill-feeling and no sooner did the Uyghur kingdom fall (A.D. 849) than the Manichaeans in China were disestablished and persecuted (A.D. 843). Marvāzi’s source refers to the time when Manichaeism was openly preached in China, but at the same time it was the official religion of the Uyghurs also. Consequently when Marvāzi speaks of the variety of creeds flourishing among the Uyghurs his source may be influenced by the state of affairs obtaining in the later Uyghur kingdom of Khocho, cf. Chavannes et Pelliot, Un traité manichéen, in J.A. 1913, I, 295-305, and a clear resumé in Grousset, L’Empire des steppes, 1939, pp. 173-6.

§18. This paragraph announces §§25-26. The few introductory words about the Chinese having been masters of Transoxiana presuppose the use of a well informed source, for early Muslim historians are silent on the momentous battle of A.D. 751, in which Ziyād b. Šālīf inflicted a decisive defeat on the Chinese. Following Barthold’s indication, Turkistan, p. 196, I have found a parallel record on paper in Samarqand in Ta‘lībī’s Lātā’sf al-ma‘ārif, where quotes al-Masālik wal-Mamālik. Consequently this is one more

1 V. p. 63
2 Mutahhar b. Tahir, IV, 63 (tr. IV, 60), says that there is a colony of descendants of Husayn b. ‘Ali in Khutan, which according to his source (Jāfū?) is a part of Tibet.

3 Also A. von der Lietze, Die Abdāl, in Basset-Marchand, 1912, II/3, pp. 221-3.
4 Ta‘lībī, ed. Jing, 1867, p. 129: “the author of al-Masālik wal-Mamālik writes that, among the prisoners taken by Ziyād b. Šalih, there came from China to Samarqand some who (organized the fabrication of paper there. Then this art increased and the custom persisted and paper became the staple merchandise of the peasants.” The Fihrist, 344, 24, is much more vague: “it has been said (raga) that artisans from China fabricated (paper) in Khorasan, similar to Chinese paper.” Abū-Ma‘ṣūr ‘Abd al-Malik Tha‘lībī died circa 459/1068.
precious fact from Jayhânî's lost treasure and a link between 'A. Malik Tha'alibi and Marvazi, both of whom wrote in Khurasan.

As regards the formation of three kingdoms in the Far East following the withdrawal of the Chinese from Turkestan, it is true that the Uyghurs succeeded to the Eastern Turks (T'u-küeh) on the Orkhon in 744, i.e. only a short time before the events in Transoxiana, but Marvazi's text has in view the later Uyghur kingdom of Öcho and Bish-balik formed by the remains of the Uyghur, after the occupation of the Orkhon by the Qirghiz (A.D. 840). The K'itan (Qitay) proclaimed an independent kingdom in Manchuria and northern China only in A.D. 926, but their emancipation began much earlier. During the memorable year A.D. 751 they defeated a Chinese army sent against them, cf. Grousset, o.c., p. 181. Consequently the historical excursus of Marvazi's source (Jayhânî?) is not incorrect.

§21-25, with the introductory §18, form one block and are the most valuable part of the chapter. It is probable that a part of the information on the lands to the east of Sha-chou is due to the ambassador from the emperor of Qitay who visited Ghazni circa 418/1027, for it is immediately followed by the account of that embassy. This impression is strengthened by the fact that for the first time the same data, in a different arrangement, are quoted by Biruni in his al-Qāmūn al-Mas'ādī compiled shortly after 421/1030. Biruni's book on precious stones contains a definite statement that he "interrogated the ambassadors who came from the Qitay-khan" on the value they attached to khutū (v.i. p. 83). In every way he must have taken a full advantage of the presence in Ghazni of the rare guests from the Far East. Biruni's short explanations of the names tally perfectly with Marvazi, but the latter gives many more details. Very probably there existed an official record of the interrogation of the ambassadors and a copy of it had reached Marvazi. Biruni's tables give the following co-ordinates in the Far East:

### Fifth Clime
**Twam.t in Outer Tibet**
Long. 110° 0' 39° 10'
Lat. 20 42 0

**Chinān-kath, i.e. Öcho, residence of the Uyghur-khan**
111 20 42 0

**Sānju (Sha-chou)?**, whence the road separates southwards to China
115 10 40 20

**Qāmju (Kan-chou)**
116 5 39 0

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### Commentary

**Third Clime**
T.kshîn (L.kshîn?) in the land of the Defender Turks
Long. 120 15 32 50
Lat. 40 31 50

*Khâgün-sin, i.e. "The Tomb of the noblewoman"
Long. 129 40 31 50
Lat. 50

**Second Clime**
Y.nûj, residence of the Fagh-für of China surnamed Taghâmâj (sic)-khan
Long. 125 0 22 0
Lat. 127 0 21 0

Ütîn
Long. 136 30 26 0
Lat. 40 21 40

Qitâ, to the N.E. of China, its Lord being Qitâ-khan
Long. 158 40 21 40
Lat. 120

**First Clime**
Sh.rûudî, in Chinese S.nûj, which is Mâlâchîn
Long. 155 0 15 0
Lat. 0

Khân-fû, one of the gates (abvâh) of China, on a river
Long. 160 0 14 0
Lat. 0

Khân-jû, one of the gates, also on a river
Long. 162 0 13 0
Lat. 0

**Beyond the First Clime**
Hâmîr-râ, one of the gates of China, and the estuary of its rivers
Long. 166 0 11 0
Lat. 0

Silî, at the extreme end of China towards the East; few people travelled to it by sea
Long. 170 0 5 0
Lat. 0

There is no doubt that Biruni calculated his co-ordinates approximately, i.e. from itineraries, and I am grateful to Dr. A. D. Thackeray, Assistant Director of the Solar Physics Observatory, Cambridge, and Dr. Besicovitch, Trinity College, who calculated for me the distances between the more important points in Biruni's catalogue.

**Miles**

- Tûsmat—Kan-chou: 327
- Sha-chou—Kan-chou: 105
- Sha-chou—T.kshîn: 101
- Sha-chou—Khatân-sînî: 101
- Sha-chou—Y.nûj: 224
- Kan-chou—T.kshîn: 764
- T.kshîn—Y.nûj: 1722
- Sha-chou—Kûfî: 148
- Kan-chou—Khatân-sînî: 1528

**Km.**

- Tûsmat—Kan-chou: 526
- Sha-chou—Kan-chou: 169
- Sha-chou—T.kshîn: 147
- Sha-chou—Khatân-sînî: 160
- Sha-chou—Y.nûj: 241
- Kan-chou—T.kshîn: 764
- T.kshîn—Y.nûj: 1722
- Sha-chou—Kûfî: 238
- Kan-chou—Khatân-sînî: 1528

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1 In M. Nazim, Sultan Mahmud, 56: long. 113° 40', lat. 29° 40' (sic) is an obvious mistake.

2 Possibly Ptolemy's Ortopiê.xticks (long. 166°, lat. 37° 15'), in Khurazmian Oftorîqêhâ (long. 149° 10', lat. 37° 15'). Biruni is more faithful to Ptolemy.

3 If "Shan-chou" is to be taken for Sha-chou the distance is entirely wrong for the Chinese sources estimate the stretch Sha-chou—Kus-chou—Su-chou—Kan-chou—Kan-chou at 136 li or 413 ri, i.e. 690 or 760 Km. Even as the crow flies, the distance is c. 235 Km. (G. Haloun). Garzî counts between Sha-chou and Kan-chou 13 days, H.-Z., 229.
§ 79. The itinerary from Kāshghar to Sha-chou, along the southern line of oases of Chinese Turkistan is very brief. For the 14 days' journey between Kāshghar and Khotan the author quotes only Yārīkh. Both the Hudūd, 260, and Gardizi, 94, give the stages of this stretch and Gardizi enumerates exactly 14 of them.

The common source is undoubtedly Jayhānī. In the stretch Khotan-Sha-chou, K. rwy (Keriya) is mentioned at a distance of 5 stages from Khotan; in the Hudūd (§ 9, 21) there are only some faint traces of this portion of the road. The whole distance from Khotan to Sha-chou is 55 stages, but in the important passage quoted below under § 43 it is taken as being two months. Sha-chou is known to Gardizi as the meeting place of roads from Qumul (in the Uyghur region) and the south, v. s. Biruni, under "Sânjū." Marvazi makes three roads start from Sha-chou.

(a) Road to China. Contrary to the descriptions in the Hudūd and Gardizi, which have in mind the road to a point on the Yangtze, our source follows the road southwards, down to Kan-chou (Qamjū) and then turns away eastwards to L. kṣin (Biruni: T. kṣin ?), thence to reach the later capital of Y. njūr (Biruni: Y. njūr). The distances Kan-chou—L. kṣin, 40 days, and thence to Y. njūr, "about" 40 days, seem to be exaggerated. Reckoning again 32 Kms. per day's march, we obtain a distance of about 2500 Kms., whereas the distance as the crow flies between Kan-chou and Ho-nan-fu hardly exceeds 1200 Kms.

According to Biruni, T. kṣin was situated at approximately one-third of the way between Kan-chou and Y. njūr, there being 764 Kms. between Kan-chou and T. kṣin, and 1693 Kms. between the latter and Y. njūr. If we content ourselves with this ratio and apply it to the actual distances on the modern maps, we may tentatively place L. kṣin in the neighbourhood of Ning-hsia, which lies about 550 Kms. from Sha-chou and 950 Kms. from Ho-nan-fu (via Hsi-an-fu).

Supposing that the itinerary is of the beginning of the tenth century (v. s. §§ 7–12) we have to think of the old administrative centre of the region Ling-chou (a short distance to the south of the later Ning-hsia).

The first part of L. kṣin/T. kṣin could be easily restored as

1 In Biruni's Canon also K. rwy (possibly assimilated to Karavya "caraway").
2 Duteuil de Rhins, Mission, II, 201, reckons from Kāshghar to Yārīkh 180 Kms., or 5 stages; thence to Khotan 300 Kms., or 8 stages; thence to Keriya 160 Kms., or 4 stages. Marvazi's average stage is consequently 32 Kms.
3 The r of Y. njūr (which is also reflected in 'Anūh's H. jīr, Barthold, Turkestan, I, 98) seems to be superfluous. Marco Polo also adds r in a similar name Sueser for "Suk-chou" (now Su-chou).
4 Even if the text is understood in the sense that 40 days cover the distance Sha-chou—Ho-nan-fu the stretch would not exceed 1300 Kms.

"Tangut pacified") is a later name which occurs first A. D. 1288. Under the Tangut (since A. D. 1020) it was called *Hing-chou or *Hing'king-fu (G. Haloun).

*Ling*, but sin-* presents a difficulty since Chinese -chou would give -jū in Arabic. During the period of the Five Dynasties Ling-chou could have been considered as the frontier town of the Emperor, see Herrmann, Atlas, 41.

A welcome supplement to our § 7 is Biruni's statement that the second and larger city called Kūfū lay to the south-east of Y. njūr. Kīfūn/Kīfū looks like a mis-spelling of Kuf, n to be identified with K'ai-fēng, the eastern capital of the Sung. The western capital was at that time Ho-nan-fu, which was then called Hsi-kung, but during the period A. D. 907–23 Yang-chou.¹ Our Y. njūr (Yun-jū) is a perfect Arabic equivalent of the original chou and a close indication of the date at which the original authority visited China. As another reference to Y. njūr is found in § 7 in the report of a merchant who sojourned in China, we should attribute to him this part of the itinerary.² The K'īt'an ambassador who speaks of his contemporary Sung (A. D. 960–1279) with someraithiness, must have avoided their capital. The period at which the capital was at Ho-nan-fu (Y. njūr) corresponds with the time when Jayhānī flourished, and it is natural to connect the item on Y. njūr with Jayhānī's work. Some difficulty lies in the fact that the Hudūd and Gardizi, who used Jayhānī, mention Khūmān (Hsi-an-fu) as the capital of China (cf. also § 29), but we have reasons to believe that Jayhānī used side by side the works of his predecessors and the data collected by himself (v. s. p. 7).

Whatever the explanation of the name, the position of Y. njūr, as indicated by Biruni (v. s. p. 69), corresponds to Ho-nan-fu and not to Hsi-an-fu. Our firm point is Kū-fū (*Kū-fū, K'ai-fēng. The distance (as the crow flies) between K'ai-fēng and Ho-nan-fu is about 145 miles (233 Kms.), and between K'ai-fēng and Hsi-an-fu circa 320 miles (515 Kms.). The distance between Kū-fū and Y. njūr, as calculated by Dr. Thackery from Biruni's co-ordinates, is 148 miles! The indication that Ku-fu was larger than Y. njūr is also important for understanding the Sung Ho-nan-fu had 233,280 inhabitants and K'ai-fēng 444,940 (though their areas were very much the same).³

(b) Road from Sha-chou to Uyghur, i.e. to the Uyghur capital of Chínānjāk (Khocho), is described by Gardizi, 92. The form Sūm.n, which is also found in Biruni, is probably a misspelling for Solmi (or Sūmī), see Kāshghari, I, 103, and the Saka

¹ Prof. Millie quotes the Ts'ai gêng huān yü-hi. Prof. Haloun has also tabulated for me the chronology of Chinese capitals. Ho-nan-fu enjoyed this distinction A. D. 904–7, 909–13 and 923–37, for the most of the time jointly with K'ai-fēng or with Hsi-an-fu.
² Note the opening paragraph of § 19, which refers to travellers "on commercial or other business."
³ Khumān is quoted by Qutdām, 264, who largely depends on the original text of the Turkestanica.
transcription communicated to me by H. W. Bailey. On Kashghari's map it is shown to the south of Qocho (=Khocho), contrary to Biruni's co-ordinates:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Chinânjkath</th>
<th>Long.</th>
<th>Lat.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>111° 20'</td>
<td>42° 0'</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sâlimn.</td>
<td>113° 0</td>
<td>43° 0</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

according to which Sâlimn. lie to the N.E.E. of Khocho, apparently on the northern side of Tien-shan.

e) The description of a road to Qitay is of great significance for it reflects the rise of the Liao kingdom in Manchuria and Northern China. All the stages exactly correspond with the names quoted in Biruni's Canon, the authority for the route being apparently the Qitay embassy to Ghaznî of A.D. 1026.

As already suggested, Biruni's co-ordinates have only a relative value, as they must have been calculated from distances. They indicate a steady south-easterly direction of the road to Qitay, though a clear easterly direction would be expected. A comparison of Biruni's and Marvâzi's distances indicates a considerable divergence at the third stretch:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Biruni</th>
<th>Marvâzi</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Sha-chou—Khatun-sinî</td>
<td>circa 1610</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thence to Çtkin</td>
<td>925</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>thence to Ûjam</td>
<td>2850</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is clearly stated in §19 that the road to Qitây branches off from Sâjû (*Sha-chou), but in §20 the initial (?) point is called Sânjû. Biruni's MS. gives something like Miyânjû (*Sânjû), but leaves no doubt as to its identity with Sâjû (*Sha-chou). More complicated is the case of Kâshghar who, I, 349, says "Shanju, a township on the way to Upper China, more correctly Shanju." It is possible that al-Shin al-dîl stands here for Qitay, but is the name, so carefully spelt out, distinct from Sânjû? The assimilation of the spellings Shanju and Shanjû may be on the responsibility of the author, who, by the way, does not mention Sâjû (Sha-chou). On Kâshghar's map Shanju is shown as continuing the line Kâshghar-Khotan-Cherchen, but is separated from the latter by a range of mountains (Kun-lun, Altin-tagh?). As on the other hand this Shanju begins a line of four towns stretching southwards, it is an indication in favour of its identity with Sha-chou. Some confusion may be accounted for by the direction of the Altin-tagh, which near Charkhlik forms a prominent screening Cherchen from Sha-chou. Pelliot, Toung-Pao, 1936, p. 365, identifies Kâshghar's Shanju with Shan-chou lying on the Hsin-ning river to the west of Lan-chou. This out-of-the-way place is ill-fitted for the position of a terminus (or even a stage) on the road to "Upper China." Kâshghar might have taken some interest in Shan-chou in connection with the presence of the Sari-Yughurs in its neighbourhood (?), but then he must have confused Shanju with the Sajû (*Shâjû) of the Islamic geographers.

From §20 it is clear that the encampment of Al-Shâchîya was reached by travellers one-and-a-half months before arriving at Khatun-sinî. Nothing whatever is known about this people, unless they are the Sari-Yughurs, who after the fall of the Uyghur kingdom in Mongolia, A.D. 846, became settled in the region of Kan-chou. A Samânid embassy seems to have visited their king Qâlin b. Shakhir about 381/941. Not until A.D. 1029 did the Yellow Yughurs succumb to the Tangut supremacy, see Bretschneider, Med. researches, I, 243, and H. â', 227, 236, 264-5. According to Marvâzi, al-Shâchîya (*Sari) were called after one of their chiefs Bâsmîl. This name is a precious indication, for it can refer only to the Basmîl (in Chinese Pâ-sî-înî), a Turkish tribe closely associated with the Uyghurs. According to Chinese sources, the Basmîl formed the tenth division of the Uyghurs. A.D. 742 the Basmîl assisted the Uyghurs in destroying the old Turkic (Toqoz-Ghuz) empire in Mongolia. Later the Uyghurs attacked their allies in their homes near Bish-balîq, but it is very likely that numerous clans of Basmîl remained in the Uyghur federation and shared the fate of its survivors when 15 aymaks of the latter were led to Kan-chou by P'âng-tî-le (*tegin), see H. â', 264, 266, 272, 285. The Sari-Yughurs were Manichaean (later, Buddhists) and as such could not have failed to be alarmed by the advance of any, now militant church. Their fear of Islam may refer to the rise in Chinese Turkestan of the Qara-khanid dynasty. The first of this family to be converted to Islam was Satuq Begha khan. He is said to have died in 344/955, but only towards the very end of the century did the Kâshghar branch of the family push its conquests into the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, which tallies well with Marvâzi's report, cf. H. â', 234, 280.

Al-Shâchîya might have been met on the road by the Kitan embassy. It is also possible that the Basmîl clan was somehow connected with Shan-chou, while the latter name became confused with Sha-chou. If the two weeks' distance (32 Km. × 14 = 448 Km.) is to be reckoned from Shan-chou, the encampment of the Basmîl must be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Yellow river, in Alashan or Orodo. Should the distance be reckoned from Sha-chou, they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the Etsina-ghol.

Mahmûd Kâshghar refers to a Qâtan-sinî "between Tangut and China," III, 240, and to Õtukkan, "in the Tatar steppe near the Uyghur," I, 123. Chinese sources know three places called K'o-tun-ch'êng: (a) one on the Etsina-ghol (= Kâshghar, III, 240); (b) one in Mongolia on the Orkhon, 3000 li from the "Upper Residence" (Pelliot, J.A., April, 1920, 174, places it at the confluence 1 Of another group of this name see Chap. IX, §3C.}
of the Orkhon with the Kökshin-Orkhon; (c) and one near the northern bend of the Yellow river. Prof. Mullie most kindly supplied me with an abstract of the sources. According to the T'ang-shu a place called Tsai-sai-kium, "properly K'o-tun-ch'eng," existed in the eighth century at some distance to the west of Kueihua-chêng in the north-western part of the Uarat banner. The town is still mentioned under the Liao and even under the Kin (Ho-tung-kuan for "K'o-tung-kuan"). This place, situated half-way between Sha-chou and the Liao capital (v.i.), in the zone very likely lying on the ambassador's way, seems to correspond to Marvazi's Khatun-sin, if only "Khatun's tomb" = Khatun's chêng ("wall, walled town").

In Arabic script Utikín looks very much like the Turkish Ütkükân (Kâshgari: Utkin?), but a visit to the famous Ütkükân-yish, the residence of the Eastern Turkish gaghân, would have taken the ambassador far out of his direct road. The authorities seem to agree in placing Ütkükân somewhere in the Hangai (Khangay) range to the south of the upper Orkhon, see Thomsen, Inscr. de l'Orkhon, 1896, p. 152; Melioransky, Zap. V. O., XII, p. 84; Thomsen, ZDMG, 78, 1924, p. 123; cf. Herrmann, Atlas of China, p. 49. Kâshgari, on his Map, is apparently wrong in placing his Ütkükân somewhere near the source of the Irtish (?). Prof. Mullie tells me that, according to the Liao-shih, Ch. 41, p. 4r, the army of the town of Feng-sheng-chou, situated east of Ta-tüng (now Chua-lu-hsien, in Hopei) was called Wu-tung-kium, which might be compared with Ütkin. I gratefully place this indication on record. Biruni's co-ordinates suggest for Ütkin a southerly bend of 5° 50' in comparison with Khatun-sin.

The name of the terminal point of the itinerary is transmitted in Marvazi as Üjam, whereas Biruni refers indecisively to the "residence of the Qita-khan." Prof. Mullie's opinion was particularly valuable on this point as he had explored in person the residences of the Liao, see Les anciennes villes de l'Empire des Grands Liao, in Toung-Pao, 1922, p. 195. He thinks that the ambassador most probably had in mind the Upper Capital, called in Chinese Lin-huang-fu and situated on the right bank of the river Ulji-müren, in the Mongolian province of Bârin (in Mongolian Boro-khoto, "The Brown City"). The perimeter of Üjam was 2 farsaks, i.e. 11-12 Kms., while that of Boro-khoto was 7-8 Kms., but jointly with the southern town about 10 Kms.

The form Üjam might be shaped into something like *Lükham (?), as an approach to the Chinese form, but the weak point is that the ambassador must have used its native name which is not otherwise attested. Very important is the statement that it is 7 days distant from the sea. According to Prof. Mullie, the distance from Boro-khoto to Kin-lisen would be covered post haste in 7 days, but not by caravan. As the stages in our source are rather small (v.s. p. 79) this affords some difficulty in an important detail. In Biruni the road between Utkin and the Qita capital bends another 4° 50' southwards. His distance in a straight line seems very exaggerated and would even exceed the distance between Ütükân (in Khingai) and the Liao territory.

It is also strange that Biruni's table gives "Qita" without any accompanying term equivalent to "city, capital," while Marvazi qualifies Üjam as manulaka, "a kingdom" (?). The description of Üjam suggests a "royal camp" rather than a city, and here is an important quotation from the Liao-shih, Ch. 34, p. 4r, and K'i-lan-kuo-chih, Ch. 23, p. 3r, in Prof. Mullie's translation: "Chaque fois que les K'îtan font des incursions au sud (i.e. en Chine), leurs troupes ne comptent pas moins de 100,000 (hommes). Quand le chef de l'état entre dans les frontières (de Chine), les fantassins, les cavaliers et les tentes sur chariots ne suivent pas les chemins réguliers. D'est a ouest, ensemble, ils marchent en avant de la grande tente du chef... Quand le chef des barbares sonne le cor (pour donner le signal), les troupes s'arrêtent aussitôt et entourent le K'oung-lou (Leao-ché: la tente impériale). Depuis le voisinage (de la tente) jusqu'au loin ils plient des branches d'arbres, les courbent en koung-tie-p'ou et ne prennent pas la precaution d'établir une enceinte de fossées et de palissades ou un camp de lances." Kung-tie-p'ou is explained in the same chapter of the Liao-shih as follows: "Quand les chevaux de l'armée des Leao (?) sont au repos, on ne fait pas de fossée de camp, (mais) on plie des branches d'arbre en (forme d') arc pour former ainsi un lieu de rassemblement. Lorsque des ambassadeurs des divers états arrivent (en territoire Leao) on place au bord de la route des arcs de branches d'arbre, qui font fonction de barrière." This is an illuminating parallel to Marvazi's text!

The paragraph on the nation living "among water and thin mud," called Sagi and corresponding to Mahâchin undoubtedly refers to the Sung state *Sung-khu (A.D. 900-1279). No one except a Liao

1 Built A.D. 749 near the Ola range, south-east of the present Wu-yian, i.e. near the ancient T'ien-tzu-chên (M. Polo: Tendou). A fourth Ho-tung-chêng lay near the Kerulen, 1900 li from the "Upper Residence" (C. Hulun).
2 Unless the three years which it took him to arrive in Ghaami are accounted for by such great detours.
3 A grim idea would be that the ambassador intentionally embroiled the facts, cf. es. He may have mentioned Khatun-sin as a more or less known term and Ütkín (Ütükân) as a place close to the theatre of the recent operations of the Liao in Northern Mongolia, cf. a quotation from the Liao-shih (under A.D. 1012) in Marquart, Romanen, 194-5.
4 Personally I should prefer the Central residence which lay much nearer to the sea (under 300 Kms., as the crow flies), on the left bank of the Lokhan-pira, a southern tributary of the Shara-muren, cf. Chavannes, Voyageurs chinois chez les Khitan, J.A., mai 1899, 377-311. The suggested restoration of Üjam as *Lükham, Lokhan would acquire more importance in comparison with Lokhan.
5 Abul-Hasan Hayhaqi, Tärikh-i Bayhay (A.D. 1164), Tehran 1938, p. 18, refers to Sagi as the great town (I) of Mahâchin.
ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name Sh. rghāl must be a Kūtān term, very welcome in view of the meagreness of the Kūtān vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are Sh. rghād, in the Qanūn, and Sh. rghār in the Jawāhir, 236: "it is reported that in Sh. rghār there is a spring which is the personal property of its ruler the Khān. No one can approach it. The Khān sweeps (rakes?) it every year and extracts from it much gold." Biruni also refers (ibid., Annex 7) to the "small sea" (buhayra?) of Sh. rghār lying beyond China (fawa al-Sīm), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. H.-A. 179.

§§22–25. A record of an embassy from Qītāy and Yughur to Sultan Mahmūd is found in Gardizi under the year 417/1026: "Ambassadors came from the Qītāy-khan and the Yughur-khan to Amir Mahmūd and brought good messages and reported the readiness (of the said kings?) to place themselves at his service. They prayed (saying) 'we want good relations between us.' Amir Mahmūd gave orders that they should be received honourably, but then he answered their messages saying: 'we are Muslims and you are unbelievers; it is not seemly that we give our sisters and daughters to you. If you become Muslims the matter will be considered,' and he dismissed the ambassadors honourably.'"

Ibn al-Muhannā misses the point of Marvazi's report, when he says that the ambassadors were sent by the lords "of China and the Turks," see Barthold, Zwölf Vorlesungen, 89. Only the original of Marvazi's work enables us to appreciate the importance of the event.

Marvazi gives the date of the embassy as 418/1027, but the year of the Mouse in which the letter of the emperor of Qītāy is said to have been written corresponds to 1024, as pointed out by Barthold.1 We have to admit then that the ambassador Qītāṇka's westward journey took from three to four years owing perhaps to some detours or the unsettled condition of the roads to which the Yughur-khan refers. From the Yughur-khan's letter we only learn that it was written in the fifth month (Beshīnj ay?) without indication of the year. The reference to Mahmūd's conquests in India is naturally too vague, for his victorious campaigns extended over a period from A.D. 1000 to 1027. By 1024, at any rate, the rajas of Gwālīor and Kālīnjar had submitted and Mahmūd's empire had reached its utmost limits. Another fact may have had considerable repercussions in Central Asia: after a long series of struggles with the Qara-khanids, Mahmūd established peace with the representative of the Kāshghar branch, Qadir khān, whom he met in person at Samarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazim, o.c., 55. To seal this friendship Mahmūd betrothed his daughter to Qadir's son, Yaghan-tegin. The news must have been rapidly circulated in Chinese Turkistan and may have induced the opponents (v.i.) of the Qara-khanids to seek similar guarantees from the mighty Ghaznavid. Mahmūd's answer (v.s.) Gardizi leaves no doubt that some overtures in this sense were made to him by the inidel ambassadors.

The Qītāy (in Chinese Kūtān) empire, which was founded by Ye-li Apaoki in 916, and officially proclaimed in 926, comprised Southern Manchuria1 and Northern China up to Peking. The date of the embassy falls in the long reign of the emperor Sheng-Tsung (983–1031) whose activities in the west were very conspicuous. In 1009–10 his high commissioner temporarily subdued Kan-chou and Su-chou and about 1017 a Qītāy expedition was launched against Chinese Turkistan and Semirechye.2 The embassy to Ghazni throws new light on the Qītāy diplomacy in Central Asia. A century later (A.D. 1124), after the Qītāy dynasty had been crushed by the Tunguz dynasty of Kin, an energetic scion of the Qītāy, Ye-li Ta-shi, founded a new empire in Semirechye and the neighbouring regions. To the series of events foreshadowing this issue, we must now add *Qul-tonga's mission of A.D. 1027.

The identification of the Yughur-khan whom Sheng-tsung requested to speed on Qul-tonga to Ghazni is a difficult question. There were two Uyghur principalities, the northern one in Khocho and Bish-balıq, in the eastern part of T'ien-shan, and the southern one, in the region of Kan-su, which usually went by the name of Sari-Yughur ('Yellow Uyghurs').3 The history of these later branches is still obscure. Both kingdoms had relations with...

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1 For the final element compare the Mongolian plural in -di-di.
2 The text in Barthold, Turkestän, 1, 17 and Gardizi, ed. M. Nazim, 87. The passage has been unfortunate in its interpreters, see Raverty, Tabāqāt, 904 (where the two khasa are mistaken for brothers of the Qara-khanid Qadir khan); Barthold, Turkestän, Engl. transl., 286 ('Qītāy mis-read as Qaya'); M. Nazim, Sultan Mahmūd, 57 (the reading is right, but the identification of Qītāy with Kucha in Chinese Turkistan is unfortunate). Even Marquart, who closely scanned Barthold's texts, did not suggest any correction. In his lectures delivered in Istanbul in 1928 and published in German translation by Menzel in 1935, under the title Zwölf Vorlesungen, Barthold says, pp. 88–9: "Nach der Erzählung des Gardizī kam im Jahre 1026 die Gesandten von zwei thürskischen Chān zu Mahmidd (es werden ihre Titel angeführt deren Lesung ... nicht ganz sicher festgestellt werden kann)." On Ibn Muhannā's quotation from Marvazi Barthold remarks: "die neue Quelle gibt folglich keine neuen Nachrichten über die Gesandtschaft der zwei Chān und bringt nur eine chronologische Unklarheit hinein."

3 More exactly the year covers the period of 12 February, 1024, to 30 January, 1025 (S. H. Taqizadeh). The other Mouse years were 1012 and 1036. The latter is out of the question as Mahmūd died on 30th April, 1030, and 1012 would imply too great a mistake on the part of Gardizi and Marvazi.

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1 The names of the river Liao-ho, Liao-ron, etc., are traces of the dynasty, called Liao in Chinese.
2 It was repulsed by the Qara-khanid prince of Kāshghar, see Barthold, Turkestän, 279, and Koro-Khakhāy in E.I. There seems to be no record of the expedition in Chinese sources (G. Haloun).
3 See H.-A. 226, 271. The "Fair-haired Uyghurs" in the region of Tsaidam are mentioned for the first time towards A.D. 1081–3 (Haloun). Presumably the appellation was of a much older origin. On the term Sari-Yughur (Sari Uyghur) used in 1226, see Bretschneider, I, 263. Cf. also Chap. IX, §3 (al-Shāriya).
K’itans, but the latter seem to have attached more importance to the Kan-chou branch. When the founder of the dynasty pushed back the Khirkhs from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to occupy his fathers’ home,1 but this proposal proved unacceptable. In 1009-10 the K’itan high commissioner attacked Kan-chou and subdued the khan Ye-la-li, although the Uyghurs soon recovered their rights. The position of the Yellow Uyghurs between their eastern neighbours of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) and the Muslim Qara-khanids in the west was precarious. In 1028 the Tangut occupied Kan-chou, Bretschneider, I, 243, and by 1035 had spread their domination2 to Sha-chou (Haloun).

This outline makes it possible that the report on the embassy of 1025 had in view the khan of Kan-chou, towards whom the emperor of Qitaty adopts a respectful but patronising attitude.3 There are some other indirect arguments in favour of this hypothesis. The khan of Bishbaliq had the honourable title of idiqut, which they had inherited from the Basmil, their predecessors in the region.4 It would be strange if the khan had omitted his distinctive title in an official letter. Most of the known idiquts bore the name of Arslan, and our sources (admittedly very scanty) do not mention any such princely names as Qadir and Chaghri, see Bretschneider, o.c., Cafferoghi, Süslük, 42, 123. On the contrary, in Kan-su, the name of the khan Qali b. al-Shakhrir, quoted by Mis’ar b. Muhalih, seems to be Qalin b. Chaghir (a possible variation of Chaghri). The name Chaghri occurs also in the Khotanese texts referring to Kan-su (H. W. Bailey). Even the confusion in Biruni and Marvazi of Sha-chou with Shan-chou (v.s. p. 72) might be a hint in favour of Kan-su. The khan of this region, on the eve of the fall of his kingdom, was undoubtedly anxious to secure any help from outside and could reasonably hope that, at least against the Qara-khanids, Mahmud might give him the necessary support.5

The original letters of the two khanms must have been in Turkish, says Kashaighi, I, 20: “The people of Machin and Chin have a separate language. In spite of it, their natives excel in Turkish and their letters to us are written in Turkish (bi-khat al-turkiyya).” As yet no specimen of royal or diplomatic correspondence in Turkish seems to be available, but the Arabic translation of the letters gives some idea of the usage. Such expressions, as “upon the face of this wide earth” and the introductory formulas sound Turkish.

1 The fact was referred to by Ye-li Ta-shi when in 1123 he wished to secure the friendship of the khan of Kan-chou. The latter paid him homage and declared himself his vassal, Bretschneider, I, 214.
2 Probably only their suzerainty, see above note.
3 See the text: “We have ordered Qadic-khan.”
4 Juyany, I, 32; Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, VII, 163, says that the title was assumed dar in akhva, but he possibly means by that “since their arrival in Khocho.”
5 As against these considerations can be quoted that in §193 (as also in Biruni’s dynasty) Khocho is called the “city of the Yughur-khan,” although it is possible that this part of the itinerary goes up to an earlier source (Jayhân).

In comparison with the Uyghur an salamatinâ, the Qitaty formula can hardly be an salamâni. More likely it is to be read an salamâti (of so-and-so) and is meant to be completed by the name of the khan. Very probably the latter was separately inscribed at the top of the missive. The regular practice of Mongol and Timurid times was to insert in the text a “ticker” as a reference to the king’s name. See the decree of the Ilkhan Abâ Sa’d in Barthold, Nadîsp.. Manuchê, 1911, p. 5, and Timur’s letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, Mémoires de l’Acad. des Insr., VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muhammad Qazvinî, Bist-magala, Bombay, 1928, 44.

The question of the titles used in the letters is of great interest. The “lour of Qitaty” only refers to the power given him by Heaven over numerous kingdoms and tribes and calls the “amirs” of the neighbourhood his “nephews.” The lord of the Yughurs calls himself “Exalted I.k Yughur-khan,” which may reflect the original Ulugh Ilg found in the Uyghur texts of Turfan in the sense of “Exalted King,” see reference in Bang-Gabain, Analytischer Index, 1931, 27. Sultan Mahmûd is properly addressed (“Sultan”) in the second letter, but in the first he is given the astonishing title of “amir of Khorsan Mahmud Qara-khan.” The translator must have preserved it as a curio. “Amir of Khorsan” is quite respectful in itself, but, after all his victories, Mahmud had considerably outranked the rank of the Samanids. The addition of “Qara-khan” after the name is quite unexpected and might suggest that the Qitaty emperor had somehow confused Mahmud with his Qara-khanid rivals. However, Marvazi himself affirms (Chap. XIII, 57) that “whenever the Turks wished to honour a king they addressed him as Qara-khan!”

The presents of the Qitaty emperor were such as might be expected from a Far Eastern ruler. Among the names of the textiles, khwâid, zhihiki, k.ni and sh.krdi, only the first and the last one seem to be of Iranian origin; the middle two mean sounds (dzun-kî, tsung-kî)? The furs are of the usual “northern” kind; yauq or...
**Sharaf al-Zamān Ţahir Marvāzī**

*yaghu* is a Turkish term for “a pelisse of Siberian type with the fur outside.” Radloff, *Versuch*, III, 141. The musk could be of Chinese origin, though Mas'ūdī, *Muṣṭafā*, I, 353, admits that Chinese musk is inferior to that of Tibet. The sending of messengers with arrows is a well-known Far Eastern custom. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1930, 27, says that it is attested for the Tibetans at the T'ang epoch. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 383, quotes it for the Chinese dynasty of Kin (of Tunguz origin). In our source the practice is confirmed as regards the Kin'tans and Uyghurs.

The name of the Qitay envoy was *Qāšī*. He became great by the vocation *Qalṣūnāk,* but the complex (*Qul-karga?) sounds Turkish. The Qitay emperor may have employed an Uyghur for the mission to Western lands. The other envoy’s name, *Qāšī,* is attested in Mongol times. According to Rashid al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 7, one of Ögedey’s sons was called *Qāšī* because he was born at the time when Chengiz khan conquered “the country (vilāyat) of Qāšī, which is now called Tangqut.” The Turkish habit of giving names after countries and towns is well known (Urus, Bughdād, Dimishq).

§25. The explanation which Marvāzī gives of the animal cycle of twelve years employed in Central Asia suggests that the system was little known at Ghaznī in 418/1027, and even under the Seljuks in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. Less astonishing was the need of explanations on the part of Kāshghari, I, 1076–7. Even in the fifteenth century, Sayyid Jamāl al-dīn Ibn Muhannā (d. 824/1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon, refers to Marvāzī: “Know that the Turks count time by calling each year by the name of an animal, as will be mentioned, so that twelve years pass under (the names of) twelve animals. For example, when a child is born it is said that he was born in the year of such-and-such an animal, and when his life reaches that year again (i.e. a similarly named year) he has completed twelve years, and so forth. In the book *Kitāb al-hayawān,* composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabb al-Marvāzī, who described therein the countries of China and the Turks, he gives a translation of the letters *(asāmi?*, “names”), which the Lords of China (*Sīn*) and the Turks wrote to Sultan Mahmūd in 428, the date being given as the fifth month of the year of the Mouse. He also records the order of years and animals in the following way:

| The year of the Mouse | Sīchqan-ylī | }
|-------------|-------|---|
| Ox | Sīghīr | }
| Leopard | Pars | }
| or Qapīan | or (Ar)jan | }

*1 Hiyyat al-tnān, first edited by P. M. Melioransky, *Arab-ōlog*, Stb. 1900, and later (with the author’s real name) by Kilisi Rifat, Istanbul 1338–40. The passage is complete in Melioransky, pp. 441–442, but truncated in the Turkish edition.*

**Commentary**

The year of the Hare

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Fish</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Balīgh</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Snake</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Yītan</td>
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</table>

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Horse</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>At</td>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sheep</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Qōyīn</td>
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<table>
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<tr>
<th>Monkey</th>
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<table>
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<td>Taqūq</td>
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<table>
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<th>Dog</th>
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<td>It</td>
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</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Hog</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Donghuz</td>
</tr>
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</table>

And one often sees this (system) in the calendars of Turkish kings, and especially (in) the computation of time of this mighty Mongolian state. They date according to this system which they have taken (*nāqlītā*) from the histories of the Uyghurs (or Oghuz?) and their ancient books.

Among the nations using the animal cycle Marvāzī refers to the Khotanese, possibly even to the use in the old Khotanese (Saka) language. H. W. Bailey has found a complete list of the twelve years in Khotanese, see *BSOS*, VIII/4, 1937, pp. 923–30 (he also quotes the names in Soghdian, Krorayina Prakrit and Kucheän).

The origin of the twelve years’ cycle has been discussed many times and for comparative purposes it will suffice to quote the series as given in Turkish by Kāshghari (column 1), in Mongolian and Persian by Rashid al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *passim* (columns II and III) and in Turkish, as in the *Alam-dār,* and still in use in Persia (column IV):

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>sīchqan</th>
<th>quqlunna</th>
<th>mūsh</th>
<th>sīchqan</th>
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<tr>
<td>ud</td>
<td>hūker</td>
<td>ġāv</td>
<td>ud</td>
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<tr>
<td>bars</td>
<td>pars</td>
<td>yūz</td>
<td>bars</td>
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<tr>
<td>tavishghan</td>
<td>tual</td>
<td>khargaś</td>
<td>tushqan</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nāk</td>
<td>luy</td>
<td>azhdāh</td>
<td>luy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yīlan</td>
<td>mohga</td>
<td>mār</td>
<td>līyan</td>
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<tr>
<td>yund</td>
<td>morin</td>
<td>ṣarp</td>
<td>yunt</td>
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<tr>
<td>qoy</td>
<td>qoín</td>
<td>gūlsta</td>
<td>qoy</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>bījīn</td>
<td>bīchin</td>
<td>būzna</td>
<td>pīchī</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tāqūgh</td>
<td>dāqīq</td>
<td>mūrgh</td>
<td>tāqāqu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>it</td>
<td>noqay</td>
<td>sag</td>
<td>it</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>tonguz</td>
<td>qaqa</td>
<td>kūh</td>
<td>tonguz</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for “dragon” either Indian nāga or Chinese lūy (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original lūng; Chavannes, *Le cycle des douze animaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1900, 52). Kāshghari, I, 289, explains nāk as “a crocodile” (*al-timsāh*), and additionally, III, 116, as “a large snake” (*al-thu'bān*). Marvāzī undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form *bndāl al-mā* is obviously wrong. By sacrificing the initial 1 we might read *badnāl al-mā* (*fiūtīaqua*). In a verse of al-Muthallim b. Riyāḥ al-Murri, *Hamāsā*, ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with “the clamour (*ṣīyāh*) of hungry *badnāl al-mā*.”
Tibrîzî in his commentary says that some explain this term as “aquatic birds” and some as “frogs,” neither of which explanations suit the twelve year cycle. Damirî, Ḥayât al-hayawân, 1, 196, explains this term as “fishes in the sea of Rûm, resembling women and having (long) hair,” which sounds like sirens. Even Ibn Muhannâ was unable to understand Marvazi’s form for which he substituted samak = balîq, though no “Year of the Fish” is known either. [Cf. Addenda, p. 161].

It appears then that the restoration of the term as “banât al-mâ’ is of no help and that the initial element of lbnât should be taken into account. In view of the parallels in our lists (nâk, lîy, ashdarhâ) I would restore Marvazi’s lbnât al-mâ’ as thubân al-mâ’, “The Water Serpent,” which interpretation gives a satisfactory meaning and is quite plausible from the palaeographic point of view. Cf. Arabic-text, p. 9u.

§86–28 are based on the old accounts of Arab mariners (v.s. p. 63) and have many points in common with “Sulaymân,” which is a collective name covering a collection of early ninth century reports. Marvazi complements Sulaymân in several instances.

§86. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Başra and Sirâf, as attested by I. Khurdâdibih’s list of ports of call, pp. 6r–9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, On P’u Shou-keng, in Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, 1–79 (an excellent general introduction in which recent investigation is summed up) and No. 7, 1935, 1–104. Lüchin (or better, *Lî-čin*) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi, Kuwabara, 1928, 15. Khân-fûi is now generally recognized as Canton, ibid., 11. Muslim traders possessed a very good knowledge of the situation in this port. Sulaymân, p. 14, says that the king of China invested a Muslim with the administration of the colony of his co-religionists, a fact confirmed by Chinese sources, Kuwabara, 41. The interdiction of the export of Chinese slaves is differently formulated in §38, which suggests the existence of two separate reports.

§27 continues the description of Canton and contains more details than the other early sources. Khûtû, “rhinoceros horn,” had been mentioned above in §15. Here its Chinese name bûšân is added, which Sulaymân, 31, takes for the name of the animal itself. Reinaud already recognized the identity of the term with Sanscrit visána “horn,” which in Chinese sounds p’ü-sha-na. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, BSOS, X/I, 68, it is said that the specific term for rhinoceros horn is basan. Should we read in Arabic *bûšân, this form may hail from Champa (in Arabic Šân), i.e. the present-day Annam, where there existed a Muslim colony, see H.-A., 240.

Sinologists identify khûtû with the Chinese term ku-tu-sî, which refers to walrus and narwhal ivory and not to rhinoceros-horn, see Lauffer and Pelliot in T'oung-Pao, 1913, 315–70, and Lauffer, Sino-Iranica, 1919, 565. Whatever the use of the term in China, it is certain that Muslims apply their (Turkish ?) term khattû to the horn of an animal which is differently identified. Vullers, Lexicon, I, 650, quotes seven various definitions of the khattû (“dentes animalis cuiusdam” coming at the last place). For Biruni khattû is “a frontal bone of a bull in the country of Khirkhiz,” Der Islam, II, 1911, 345–58; more usually, as in our text, khattû is taken for a synonym of *bûšân (rhinoceros horn). In Chap. XV, §3 (on northern seas), Marvazi refers to a fish “whose tooth is used in setting knives,” but does not call it khattû.

The title of the Governor’s representative fâsám must be restored *fâ-shâm, to suit Chinese fan-chang, “the foreign head-man.” “In the month of June in Kuang-chou reside all the people from beyond the seas. A fan-chang is appointed over them and he has charge of all public matters connected with them. He makes it his special duty to urge the foreign traders to send in tribute,”1 Hirth and Rockhill, Chau Ju-kua, p. 17. Kuwabara, 41, thinks that Sulaymân (v.s. p. 82), has in view precisely such a “foreign head-man,” but the Chinese term appears only in Marvazi.

Our text is much more explicit on “the last ship of the season” than Sulaymân, 36. With regard to the monsoon Kuwabara writes, 36: “The ships from the southern seas came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon, so that the half-year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports.” The foreigners went on their homeward voyage in winter, but the expeditions of the Arab traders usually took two years. Sulaymân, 36, confirms that the entrance duty was 30 per cent.

§28 on Chinese customs is a natural continuation of §§26 and 27 (cf. also §§37–39). The data on the poll-tax (in Chinese ting-kou-shui), old age pensions and education of orphans follow Sulaymân, 41, 47. On the delay of burials, funeral ceremonies and the conservations of corpses, see ibid., 37, with some difference in details. Similar items are found in Ya’qûbi, Historiae, I, 208, Muṣṭahar, IV, 19, and al-Fihrist, 350.

On the property of deceased foreigners Kuwabara, 78, quotes an Imperial edict of A.D. 1114, according to which the belongings of the foreign trader “who had come to China and lived for five (l) generations . . . shall be taken charge of at the trading ships’ offices, according to the laws of extinct families.”

The reference to the registration of courtiers is much more developed in Abû Zayd (in Sulaymân, 69). The concluding sentence is of a general character and cannot be connected with the courtesans alone. The sense is evidently: “all these details (i.e.

1 I.e. to open up trade, in Kuwabara’s interpretation.
term lalmi, still in use in Turkestan for crops on non-irrigated lands. (Lalmi may be a local form of Arabic dayami, the alternate d'al being common in eastern Iranian).

§32 as in Mu'tahhar and Gardizi, with insignificant additions. Cf. also §26.

§33 on Khuddan has several points in common with the Hudud: 360 towns sending kharaj (§g, 3., also in Mu'tahhar, IV, 61); a lake "in the region of Khuddan" (§3, 35). Sulayman, 33, counts 200 towns in China, while I. Kh., 69, says that "China has 300 towns, all prosperous, and 24 among them renowned." The item on the four kinds of commodities is not attested elsewhere. Sulayman, 41, says only that the major assets of the Treasury are the poll-tax and the monopoly of salt and tea (*shā′i, instead of shākh, Russian vata). §34. Cited I. Kh., 69: "the length of China along the sea from Armāb (?) to the (other) end is 2 months," and al-Fihrist, 350: from Armāyil to Bānšwa (?) 2 months ("3000 farsaks" being quoted as the distance to China overland).

§35 is welcome as a parallel to a mysterious passage in the Hudud, pp. 84, 228. The two lists are identical, and even though the names are mutilated in both sources, we are now in possession of two variants for each name.

Here are some general considerations on the two lists:

(a) In view of the date of the Hudud (A.D. 982), this enumeration has nothing to do with the report of the Qitay embassy (§§16–25).

(b) The two lists, each of nine names, are identical, but between 2. and 3. Marvazi inserts Fīlmān, instead of which the Hudud has Anfaz.

(c) The original source apparently gave a much fuller explanation of the nine names, but each of the two epitomists selected some special details and obscured them by his personal interpretation.

(d) According to the Hudud (§9, 2.), "besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large regions (nāhīyat) on the coast of the Eastern sea,
and Bengal, he turns back eastwards and speaks of Cangigu, Amin, Toloman (or Coloman, Chapter 58) and Ciju (Chapter 59, cf. Rashid al-din, ed. Blochet, 451: Kaʃfe-ərəx = Kwei-chou). Deveria, La frontière sino-annamite, 1886, 114-5, has identified Tholoman with T'u-la-ma, "the Tu-la barbarians" referred to in the Yiuan-shih-kei-pien. The Tu-lao, whom the Chinese also call Shan-t∫a, "Mountainers" still occupy the southern highlands of Yiuan-nan. In the Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao, translated by C. Sainson, 1904, 188, the Tu-lao are said to have formerly lived more to the east on the frontier of Szechuan, Kwai-chou and Kwangsi. Deveria's identification has been adopted in Yule-Cordier, II, 124. *Tulmán, or *Tulamán of Marvazi, coming as it does before *Qara-jang (Yiuan-nan) would be an extremely close parallel to Toloman!

Marvazi's mention of "white shells" being used by the nine nations, or by some of them (Quri?) is astonishing. The cowries (wadd) are usually associated in India or the southern seas, cf. Sulaymán, 6, 28 = Ma'su'd, Muruž, I, 385, Idrisí, tr. Jaubert, 68, Dimisqi, 208, Hobson-Jobson, 1903, p. 269. Curiously enough, M. Polo lays stress on the use of cowries in Carajan and Toloman, in spite of the latter's great wealth in gold, ibid., II, 66, 76, 123.

The other names of the group are still inexplicable. As the variant of Ir.sh indicates, the name might have sounded Ir.m or Ayrm.n, etc. The same may apply to No. 2. Numerous names of Barbarian tribes, especially in Yiuan-nan end in Chinese -man. The acquaintance of Muslims with Yiuan-nan may be postulated from their knowledge of the kingdoms of Ti'sul, Mu-sa and Mänk, v. i., India, §52. According to M. Polo there were in Yiuan-nan not only Saracens and Idolators, but even a few Nestorian Christians. The story of the river separating Tibet from China, v. i. §42, points to the upper reach of the Yangtze on the northern border of Yiuan-nan. But we were to take Yiuan-nan for the beginning of our list we should have to postulate that the list enumerates the marches of China first in the extreme south-west, and then, with a formidable leap, in the extreme north-east!

For it is a fact that the list ends in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz, the only sure name being Quri. I now think that to the latter may be added the mysterious Anfs of the Hudud. In a confused passage of the Fihrist, 350, some nameless traveller states that he was told by some inhabitants of And. l.s. that a steppe separated their country from China (Sín): "China is called the Great Country (ard al-kabīra), and al-And.l.s. is to the north of it, and therefore they are near to where the sun rises." Says Ya'qūbī, Historiae, I, 208 (before a.d. 891): "on land China has three borders. The first of them is with the Turks and Toghzuhuz: with them wars were perpetual, until peace had been made and ties of marriage

1 In the Hudud, the Yellow River is taken for the continuation of the Tarim.
2 See Arabic text, p. 52, line 1.
3 A and even -aq would be better in an ancient text! Cf. Mānbā-lā in Gardatf.
§39 (see also §12) adds slightly to Gardizī. Cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 61.

§40 as in Gardizī.

§41. Si-la is the Silla kingdom (in Chinese: Sin-lo), which comprised the central and eastern part of Corea (A.D. 755–935). The passage is borrowed (directly or indirectly) from I. Khurdadibihin, 70 and 170, cf. I. Rusta, 82, Muṭahhar, IV, 661 (who quotes Kitāb al-Masālik, and al-Fihrist, 350).

§42. The chapter on Tibet is based on the same source as §11 of the Hudūd (commentary, ibid., 524–53). One should think that the source of the chapter is Jayhānī but v. i., p. 90, note i.

Arā must be restored as *Akhā (or Ajā?)* to bring it into harmony with the following Akhā-yul (yul, *a country* in Tibetan), on which see H.-A., §11, 7.

The item on the *Gate of the two Tibet* (bāb al-Tubbatayn) corresponds to Dar-i Tubbat of the Hudūd, §26, 12, but contains a precious indication on its position between the mountain Shīwa and the river Kh.māb. The latter is the Upper Oxus (Panj), see H.-A., §6, 7, and p. 208. Shīva is the plateau with a mountain in the easternmost part of Badakhshān, see Burhān al-din Kūshkānī, Raḥnumā-yī Badakhshān, Russian transl., pp. 197–200 (under Darvāz). Shīva is an additional link to the road between Khuttal (in the present day Tajikistan) and Kashmir, which I have tried to trace in H.-A., 363–6. After the crossing of the Oxus, see Ya‘qūbī, Geography, 396. I. Kh., 178, the road must have followed the river of Rāgh before penetrating into Shīva. Thence it ran southwards down to the western side of the pass of Zardiw, where we can place the *Arab* Gate (H.-A., §24, 25). The *Tibetan* Gate must have stood further east, on the road to Ishkashim. Idrīsī, tr. Joubert, I, 493, refers to a gate at B.thinj (?) depending on Tibet.

The record of a Tibetan toll-house to the south-west of the Panīr is curious chronologically. It may be a reminiscence of the earlier period of Muslim domination in Central Asia (round about A.D. 715) when Chinese annals several times refer to Arab and Tibetan collaboration in the Hindukush-Tien-shan region. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in B.S.O.S., 11/4, pp. 614–5. On the other hand, the H.-A. definitely modernises the situation while it assigns the construction of the Arab Gate to Mārun (possibly towards A.D. 811) adding that the toll at the *Gate of Tibet* was levied by the Muslims living there (without a reference to Tibetans).

Rākhr-nk correspond to H.-A., §11, 1, the second part of the

1 See Arabic text, p. 52, 1, 2.
2 Still obscure is the term Ṣumānas which the Hudūd applies roughly to the chains of mountains separating Tibet from China. Is this terminology due to some misunderstanding? The mis-spelling Anfī may have been separated from the original Ṣumāns and the latter name located where the list began?
3 The lake Khāsan, near which the Russians and Japanese came to a clash in 1938, may reflect the same name.
name standing apparently for Tibetan rong, “a cultivated valley.” Strangely enough, Biruni, Jawahir, 236-42, does not speak of Tibet in his enumeration of gold mines. On the other hand, Mustafii, Nuzhat al-qulub, GMS, 201, quotes the story of nuggets which are found “in Rânk, in the country of Turkistan,” on the authority of the Suyar al-aqili.\(^1\)

Separately from the legend of gold nuggets in Tibet, Marvazi speaks of gold in the paragraph on ants (f. 210a), see Arabic text, p. 57, l. 14), in which it is stated that at the farthest limit of India there is a land called Zamin-i zar (in Persian!), where gold grows like grass.\(^1\) Merchants can penetrate into it only at night for fear of the ants which are the size of a dog and can overtake the best horses if they are wounded or are moving slowly. Maqdisi, IV, 93 (tr., IV, 88) quotes the same legend (<!Jayhâni), while he places the country where gold grows like plants somewhere “towards the sun-rise.” Cf. also Ibn Iyâs in Ferrand, Textes, 476. Ferrand is wrong in trying to substitute namir, “a panther,” for namî, “an ant.” Legends connecting ants with gold are too well known, see Herodotus, III, 102-5, and Mahabharata, II, 1860: “The kings of the North-West [brought to Yudhiṣṭhīra] gold measured by droops which had been dug up by ants (pîhilakha) and was called pipilīka” (L. D. Barnett). On Mongolian and Tibetan sources see Lauffer, Die Sage von den goldgräubenden Ameisen, in T’oung-Pao, 1908, 429-52, and A. N. Francke, Two Ant stories from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Tibet, in Asia Major, II, 1924, 67-75.

Instead of Zab, H.-A., II, 3, has N.zvân. Marvazi gives some new details. Zab is “above,” i.e. beyond Rânk-r.nîk; its inhabitants resemble Turks; it has a river forming a frontier between Tibet and China. The last fact may be compared with H.-A., §6, 2, where it is said that the river Kîsaû [Kin-sha-chan?] “rises from the east of the mountain Mânîsâ (separating Tibet from India, and then from China), and reaches a place situated in the centre of Tibet (or “in the middle of the Tibetan frontier”?). It flows on along that mountain, until it comes opposite the Tibet-Indian frontier. Then it cuts through many mountains,” and finally becomes the Ghîyân (Yangtze). In §9 it is added that the Chinese embark on the Ghîyân to visit Tibet for trade. These hints would suggest for “Zab” a situation on the upper course of the Yangtze, contrary to the H.-A., which describes “N.zvân” (T.zâdân, et., perhaps Tsaïdâm?) as lying at the north-eastern corner of Tibet (see my sketch map, ibid., 196).

A reference to the river separating China from Tibet is also found

in the Fihrist, 351, where the bridge spanning it is likewise described.\(^1\) It was made of “aqab, which the editor interprets as “boats.” However, “aqab in this meaning appears to be a strictly local Egyptian term, Dozy, Supplement, II, 140. As the text insists on the dreadfulness of the crossing by the bridge, which was a cul-de-sac wide, we must admit some other meaning of “aqab. As the usual meaning of “aqab is “sinews or tendons of which strings of bows, etc., are made,” Lane, p. 2190, the report may hint at this tough material used in the construction of the bridge.\(^2\)

These details have a certain importance as suggesting that Muslims possessed some knowledge of the Sino-Tibetan borderland (possibly in the region of Szechuan), from whence they could have advanced even into Yü-nan, v.s. §35.

§43. The description of the musk-deer is repeated in the chapter of the gazelles (al-ṣûdā) (ff. 84b-85a) in which Marvazi quotes a certain al-h-ski (?) , who in his turn depended on “maritime merchants” (tiyijâr al-bahr), v.s. §14. In fact, the story is very close to that of Abû Zayd Sirâfî (in Sulaymân, III-2), who undoubtedly used the maritime lore of the Persian Gulf. A similar passage of the Murâj, I, 355-6, is directly derived from Abû Zayd, whom Mas’ûdî met in A.D. 915. Very detailed information on musk was contained in a work of Ya’qûbî, now lost. The work was quoted in the jayb al-arîs of Muhammad b. Ahmad al-Tâmirî al-Muqaddâsî (d. 380/990), whose grandfather was Ya’qûbî’s companion. Some of these quotations have survived in Nuwayrî’s Encyclopaedia, cf. BGA, VII, 364-70. Ya’qûbî says, ibid., 364, that the best musk comes from “a place called Dhinmît, situated at 2 months’ distance from (the capital of) Tibet.” This place is without doubt identical with Tûsîmat, which the Hûdûd quotes under Tibet (§11, 9). The name does not occur in Marvazi, but his chapter on the bovine species (f. 76a) contains the following important passage: “Jayhâni, in the book of al-Masâlik wal-Mamâlik, says that a traveller from Sha-chou (Sâ-ju) to China (Sîn) sees on his right a mountain on which live the musk-deer and the oxen from whose tails whiskers (“chawry”) and tops of banners are made. It seems that at this place they are the best (although these oxen (i.e. yaks) are numerous in the region extending eastwards from Khuttal, in the direction of Shîkân and Vakhkhân. (The above-mentioned mountain) is at a distance of two months and a half from Kâshghar. It lies at the point where the roads branch off to

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\(^1\) Of Abû Zayd Bâkhf? The latter’s work is known to us only in the version of Iṣṭâkhri, BGA, 1, which does not contain the passage on Rânk. In BGA, I, Iṣṭâkhri’s work bears the title of Masâlik al-mamâlik, but on its last page, 34b, it is called Kûb al-ashkâli. Biruni, Jawahir, 204, 216, 246, several times refers to the Ashkâl al-aqâlim (of Bâkhf?)

\(^2\) It is possible that the author has in view Assam, cf. Chap. xii, §52.
Qitay—in an easterly direction, and to China—with a deflection to the right, namely, southwards. (The mountain) lies approximately opposite Tibet.” According to the description, the mountain would roughly correspond to Nan-shan. I think there is considerable likelihood that the region referred to in this quotation from Jayhâni is the famous Tüsmat. In the commentary on the H.‘-‘A‘, p. 259, I had to locate Tüsmat near Khotan, while stressing a discrepancy between this location and Biruni’s co-ordinates (v.s. p. 67). The latter undoubtedly points to the north-eastern border of Tibet. The travellers had in view not only Nan-shan but also the terra incognita behind it. Following Biruni the distance from Kan-chou to Tüsmat (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 Kms.), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand, the name Tüsmat reminds one of Tibetan Mdo-smat, “The Lower Amdo.” Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor. Its distance from Kan-chou is considerably under 526 Kms., and this increases the impression that the original report vaguely referred to the highlands forming the north-eastern corner of Tibet.

CHAPTER IX
THE TURKS

Under the heading of “the Turks” Muslim geographers include also the Finno-Ugrian and Slavonic peoples of Eastern Europe. Several items which Marvazi, on his own initiative, inserted in Chapter XV have been reincorporated in their appropriate places in Chapter IX. The latter consists of two distinct parts:

A. A general description of the tribes:
§§1-3: Introductory, with an account of a great migration of tribes (Qāy, Qūn, Shārī, etc.).
§§4-16: Eastern Turks: Khirchkh, Kharlukh, Kimâk and their neighbours, Pechenegs.
§§11-20: Peoples of Eastern Europe: Khazar, Būrdâs, Bulghâr, the northerners, Majhâr, Slavs, Rûs.

B. Anthropological remarks on the influence of the climate on the northern peoples.
§§17-20: Theories of Hippocrates and Galen about the Turks (read: Scythians) and Amazons.

1 It stretches along the upper Hoang-Ho (to the south of Kuku-nor, down to the limits of Kan-su and Szechuan). In Amdo lie the famous monasteries of Gumbum and Labrang. Musk-deer in herds are still found in Amdo, but wild yaks have been driven out by the nomads, see P. K. Koslov, Mongoli, Amdo, etc., German translation 1925, pp. 171 and 215. According to W. W. Rockhill, The land of the Lamas, 1891, pp. 73-3, the term Amdo applies to the country “within the Kan-su border inhabited by Tibetans.” The latter locally call themselves Amdo-wa, the inhabitants of the more fertile valleys being called Rong-wa.

In the background of the Introduction is the Ghuz (Arab. Ghuzz) tribe to which the Seljuk dynasty belonged. A part of it (§2) is but a rearrangement of traditional data, but §3 refers to facts which are not found in any previous records.

The middle part of the Chapter (§§4-16) runs more or less parallel with a number of texts already known and supposed to be connected with Jayhâni, but Marvazi’s text contains some curious additions, which undoubtedly belong to the original source, for they fit exactly into the system. Thus he described the neighbours of the Kimâk (§§8 bis, 9), who are only vaguely referred to in the Ḥudūd, and beyond the Isâ and Yûra, extends the description down to the northern sea (§§12 ter and quart). The paragraph on the Rûs (§15) has a curious epilogue on their conversion to Islam.

As already stated, the basic source must be Jayhâni, but in the latter’s text too one must discriminate between the facts borrowed from earlier authors (I. Khurâdâshib, etc.), and the material collected directly under the author’s instructions. Some hesitation in the nomenclature, which reflects the difference between the older (pre-Jayhâni) sources, is noticeable in Marvazi. In §12 the Bûrdâs (Išakhrî < Bâlkhî: Bûrâs) are said to raid the Bulghâr, but in §12 bis the latter nation is called Bulghâr. The earlier “Bulghār—Bûrdâs” report may have been incorporated in I. Khurâdâshib, though the problem of its other contents requires a special study. To it probably belonged the data on the Slavs, Rûs and western Turks, but it is difficult to say how much ground it covered in the east. On the whole, the points which Marvazi has in common with I. Rusta and Bakri are §§11, 12 (similarly: Bûrâs, §13 (partly), 14 (partly), 15 (partly). The additional points in which Marvazi agrees with the Ḥudūd and Gardizi are §§4, 5 ter, 6, 7, 8 (partly), 10, 12 bis (partly), 13. The points recorded only in Marvazi (and partly copied in ‘Afi) are §§1, 2 (a rearrangement of former sources), 3 (the famous passage on the migration of tribes), 5, 5 bis, 8, 8 bis, 9, 12 ter and quart (some details not in ‘Afi), 15 (on the conversion of the Rûs to Islam). §§17-20 are of an entirely different origin based as they are on ancient Greek medical texts slightly retouched by the author.

§1. This paragraph is literally translated in ‘Afi, see Marquart, Uber das Volksverbreitung der Kometen, p. 40, where the original afdhâdh, “sub-tribes,” has been readily transmitted.

§2. ‘Afi (ibid., lines 4-9) abridges and modernises our text which itself represents an attempt to rearrange the traditional facts to bring them more up to date. The composite character of the paragraph is apparent from the simultaneous use of the terms Toghzhuhrz and Turkman.

1 As partly suggested by Barthold, Zap., XXI, pp. xii-iii.

2 I. Rusta omits the eastern Turks but the Ḥudūd, Gardizi and Marvazi describe them.
The Tughuzghuz Turks (in Chinese T'u-küeh) on the Orkhon had ceased to exist as a political power A.D. 745; their western branch, continued by the Türgish clans, gave way to the Qariq about A.D. 776. The Uyghurs ruled on the Orkhon from 745 down to 840, when their federation was dissolved by the Qirghiz and Chinese, a part of it only surviving in Kan-su and Eastern Tien-shan. The spelling *U-yghur for Uygur (see Arabic text, p. 18) is curious as separating the final element, which was perhaps considered as a link between the three ancient names mentioned in §2. Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, Trudi Vost. Otd., VII, 159, also spells U-yghur. The third name, *Uch-gur or *Uch-ghuz is a puzzle unless the name refers to the Oghuz (*Uch-oq?) division which formed the left wing of the Oghuz (Ghuz) federation, see Rashid al-din, ibid., 35. Whether the Uyghur were originally a part of the Turk (Ghuz) tribe is still very doubtful, see Hudud, 263-8, but in later times (fourteenth century) they were considered as "having always been together with the Oghuz," Rashid al-din, ibid., p. 22.

The title Toghuz-khaqan (or rather, Toghuzghuz-khaqan) properly belonged to the Turkish (T'ü-küeh) rulers, but might have been traditionally applied to their successors on the Orkhon and elsewhere. In Marvazi's time it was a sheer anachronism. The text has mainly in view the Ghuz from whom the Seljuk dynasty has sprung up. The description of the Turkish boundary points to the time of earlier Sāmānids. The word shākirī seems to be of Soghidian origin, see Vladimiritzov, Mongolica I, in Zap. Koll. Vost., I, 1925, p. 327. In Turkish and Mongolian chaqar (=isqar) applies to "a court-yard, a fortified camp," and with a further extension of the meaning, to the persons grouped round a court, a monastery. In Central Asia, the form chākar/chākhar (Hsian-Tsang: Chó-kieh) was used to designate the "life-guards" of the local rulers, see Barthold, Turkestān, 180. The three cups of wine are what is called halāthī-yi ghassāla (Hafiz). Nizām al-mulk in his Siyāsāl-nāma, 190, refers to si ḵaydā-yi sharāb at an entertainment of Turkish amirs of the Samanid court. Cf. also Chap, XII, §4.

The term Tūrmān is first recorded towards the end of the tenth century. It does not occur in Ištakhri (<Bal'uki) or the Hudūd. For practical purposes Tūrmān is a later synonym of Ghuz. The clear distinction which Marvazi draws in applying it only to the Muslim Ghuz is curious; in fact, the spread of the term Tūrmān coincides with the Islamization of the Ghuz, v.t. p. 103. In spite of the lack of positive proofs, we may imagine that the Seljuks favoured a special denomination for their subjects, such as would distinguish them both from the Ghuz hordes which raided

Persia as forerunners of the Seljuks, and from the tribes opposed to the Seljuks, such as, at a later date, held Sultan Sanjār prisoner (from A.D. 1153 down to the end of 1256).

On the Turkish and heathen Ghuz see also §3, which refers to a movement of the Türkman-Ghuz-Pechenegs, but with a significant difference. In §2 the Ghuz, under the pressure of the Türkmans, leave Khwārāzmn () and migrate to the territory of the Pechenegs, and the success of the Türkmans is explained by their Islam. §3 has no religious background and the (Muslim) Türkmans seem to succumb to the pressure of other tribes. Constantine Porphyrogenitus records the first attack of the Ghuz and Khazars on the Pechenegs, circa A.D. 893, and attributes it to the seizure of the Magyar territory by the Pechenegs. Some traces of this migration of the Pechenegs are found in İstakhrī (circa A.D. 930), p. 10, and the Hudūd (A.D. 982). The latter (<Jayhânl) speaks distinctly of the "Turkish Pechenegs" in their former seats (§20) and the "Khazarian Pechenegs" in the neighbourhood of the Black Sea, see my commentary, ibid., 312-5, 443-4. In §2 Marvazi echoes the same tradition though he modernizes it by the use of the later term Türkman. The tradition of §3 seems to be entirely different.

§3. The contents of this important record had first become known through 'Afi's Persian translation brought to light by Barthold, Turkestān, I, 99, and re-edited by Marquart, Komān, 406-41, with an amazingly elaborate commentary. Barthold and Pelliot have discussed Marquart's theories in their reviews of his work, cf. also Hudūd, 284, 317, 444 and passim. Marvazi's original adds a few important details to which I referred in my article, Une nouvelle source musulmane sur l'Asie Centrale au XIe siècle (1937). There is much that is still dark in this passage but a closer study of it enables me to make new suggestions on several points.

A. The Qāy. The migration was begun by the Qūn, but its easternmost link seems to have been the Qāyā. According to Marvazi, the Qūn left their territory because (a) they were afraid of the ruler of Qūqay and (b) they were cramped for grazing grounds. The obvious explanation is that the expansion of the Qūqay federation under the Liao dynasty caused a redistribution of pastures and that the Qūn had to leave their headquarters (marakhiz) and move westwards. The Qūn were ousted from "these pasture lands (marādū)' by a stronger tribe called Qāya. The phrase is clumsy but suggests that the Qāya attacked not the original homes of the Qūn but the new pasture lands which the Qūn were using. The Qāy are said to have "followed" (or "pursued") the Qūn and the verb ḫalā ḫala also indicates that the Qūn were already on the

1 Already Ibn al-Athir, XI, 54 (under the year 330/1141), mentions the two divisions of the Ghuz Ajī and Bā[Y] (<Bāq>). i.e. *Uch-gur and *Uch-ghuz. The earliest reference in Muqaddasi, B.G.A., III, 275, who in one breath mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Sarān and Sh.gh.jārn and the "Turkmans who have accepted Islam" in the neighbourhood of B.rūk and B.lāj.
move. In Arabic script the names Qitay and Qay can be easily confused, but the separate entity of the Qay is attested in other sources as well.

The oldest record of this tribe is in Biruni’s Ta’ifim (written in 420/1029), ed. Wright, 145: “The Sixth Clime begins from the Eastern Turks, such as the Qay, Qan, Khirkhs, Kimak and Toghuughz,” etc., cf. Hudaq, 284. Incidentally this enumeration suggests that the Qay were considered as the easternmost tribe in the list. In al-Qanmam al-Mas’idi, compiled shortly after 427/1036, no mention is found of the Qay and Qan, while (the capital of?) Oita figures as the easternmost point of the Clime, beyond Utquq (v.s. p. 60). This curious omission may be due to the technical impossibility of fixing astronomically the position of the nomad tribes.

In Kashghari’s Divan, I, 28, the Qay appear in the series of tribes stretching from the Byzantine Empire in a west-to-east direction: Pecheneq—Qipchaq—Oghuz—Yamak (Kimak)—Bashghurt—Basmil—Qay—Yabat—Tatar—Qirgiz. The latter are said to live in the neighbourhood of al-Sin, i.e. of Khitay, for the China proper of the Sung is called by the author “Tavghach, which is Maaqin [Mahachin].” Another series of tribes “in the middle (zone) between south and north (sic)” is as follows: Chiqiq—Tukhus—Yaghma—Ighraq—Churug—Jumul—Uyghur—Tangut—Khitay, “which is al-Sin.” On the Map accompanying Kashghari’s text, Qay is shown in the space between the Iritish and Obi: beyond the Iritish and to the north (!) of the mountains (Altai?) is inscribed Utqin; to the north-east of the latter and on the left bank of the Yamur (Obi) is shown the “habitat of the Jumul and downstream from it” the “habitat of the Qay.” This position agrees with the place of the Qay in the above-mentioned enumeration according to which the tribe lived considerably to the west of the Qirgiz. On the other hand, Qay appears immediately north of Utqin. If this name stands for the well-known Oitukon in the Selenga basin, the position of the Qay should be moved considerably eastward to the neighbourhood of Baikal (?). However, Kashghari’s Utqin may echo the Utqin of Biruni and Marvazi, on which see Chap. IX, §20c. In this case, no great importance should be attached to Kashghari’s location of a little-known place. All we can say is that in the two series of tribes the Qay and the equally vague Jumul are taken for neighbours. Kashghari, III, 118, considers the Qay as a Turkish tribe, and though, I, 30, he mentions them among the peoples having their own longha (“language, or dialect”), he admits that they speak good Turkish. Finally, III, 58, a Turkish verse is quoted whose author accuses his enemy of having stolen his Qay slave.

Next, in chronological order comes Marvazi’s paragraph describing the chain of migration of Turkish tribes (§3). “Auff’s passage is only a translation of it.”

The Syriac Map published by the late Mingana in the Manchester Guardian of 19th May, 1933, shows at the eastern extremity of the Sixth Clime, “Qiriz; Qay and Qan; the country of the Turks and Mongols (?).” The last detail makes it difficult to accept the date of A.D. 1150 attributed to it by the editor. In any case, the description of the Sixth Clime is apparently influenced by Biruni’s Ta’ifim, which manual is also directly responsible for Yaqut’s description of the Climes, I, 33.

Thus Biruni, Kashaighari and Marvazi are our original authorities on the Qay. The date of the Ta’ifim (1029?) in which the Qay and Qan are mentioned for the first time might suggest that the information on the Far Eastern peoples was brought by the Kitan embassy of A.D. 1027 (Chap. VIII, §22). The distance between the Qay and Qan on the one hand (6th Clime) and the Qitai on the other (2nd Clime) is considerable. It may indicate that the tribes had already begun their westward trek, unless it is due to the southern expansion of the Qitai.

Kashghari’s enumeration of the order in which the tribes come is presumably more reliable than their position on his Map. As there is no trace of the Qun in Kashghari, he may have in view some later period when the Qay had moved still more to the west before vanishing from the stage and being forgotten by later writers.

Who were the Qay? Some connection with the Qitai and some similarity of names make me think of the Hi (read: yi), who are often coupled with the Qitai. In the Orkhon inscription the name Tatabi presumably refers to them, while the Chinese transcription may have preserved their indigenous appellation (originally K’u-mo-hi). In the T’ang-shu their territory is said to be contiguous in the north-east with the K’itan and in the west with the Turks.

1 I, 33: they pronounce y instead of j; I, 393: their word girmag, “a slave girl”; III, 108: their word gat, “a fruit, a berry” (both words in common with several other tribes).

2 This map is identical with that published by Chabot, Une mapousse Syrienne du XIIIe siècle, in Bull. de gog. hist. et descc, 1897, pp. 98-112, and 1898, p. 31-43. Cf. Honigmann, o.c., 167-78.

3 On the other hand, thought that the founders of the Qipchaq dynasty (c. 514/1122) were Hi, ibid., 117, 137.

4 According to Karlberg, the pronunciation of the sign in Cantonese is hay (Haloun). This makes it still nearer to Qay. Pelliot, J.A., April, 1920, 150, restores the ancient reading Hi as γαι, or, in the complete form K’u-mo-hi, K’u-mo-γαι = Qayi-gai.

5 Thomas, Inscriptions, 141, and ZDMG, 1924, 174. Melioransky, Zep., XII, 100.
As early as A.D. 696, they had made an alliance with the latter. In the beginning of the ninth century they allied themselves with the Uyghurs. Finally, the Kitan subdue the Hi and I learn from Prof. Haloun that they transferred a considerable number of them to the north-west of the great bend of the Yellow River. The solution of our problem lies in this direction, but it must be reserved as a prize for those who can read the Chinese chronicles of the Kitan.

B. The Qun. The name is found only in Biruni and Marvazi (>Aui). As in the case of Qay, the earliest information about Qun was possibly obtained through the Kitan ambassador, but the additional facts seem to be due to Akinchi b. Qochgar (v.i. p. 101). A "very old, correct and reliable" MS. of 'Aui (Br.Mus.Ori. 2676) instead of Qun gives Qay, which form caused me to suppose, H.-A., 285, that Qun=Qur, v.i. § 5 ter. This surmise is no more defendable in view of Marvazi's clear spelling Qur, and his unexpected revelation that the Qun were Nestorian Christians. The first report of a considerable success of Christian proselytization among the Far Eastern nomads, namely, the conversion of the Kerite, reached the West only about A.D. 1009. This date corroborates the assumption that the great migration could have taken place only in the eleventh century. The name Qun, however, does not occur among the Christian tribes of the Far East.

As the conversion of an important tribe would not have passed unobserved in the centre of Nestorian administration, we have to suppose that either the Qun were only a part of some federation (Kerite, Ongit) or that Qun is a Qutay term for a tribe familiar to us under a different name. As yet we know of no conversions to the north of Mongolia. Thus it is probable that the Qun were established among the Mongols.

Marquart's theory, Kumanen, 80, about the Qun being a division of the tribe Murqa or Murga is a mistake. Instead of 'Aui's Murqa Marvazi has a clear firaq, "a tribe," and this reading is supported by the Persian variant marduni in one of 'Aui's MSS. Consequently, exit Murqa!

Professor Haloun whom I have consulted on the identity of the Qun has made a new and original suggestion. He would consider the possibility of the Qun being the Tu-yu-hun. "Besides the full form of the latter name, the shortened forms Tu-hun and Tu-hun are also, and in fact preferably, used in the Chinese sources from the seventh century A.D. onwards. Instances of simple Hun (Middle Chinese yuen) are very numerous as well."

1 See Iakinš [Bechiri], Istoria na redov, 1/1, pp. 470–6, where the information on the Hi is grouped together.
2 The name Qur figures in Marvazi in Chap. VIII, 353, but unfortunately for our comparative purpose, not in Chap. IX, § 5 ter.
3 Barbier d'Aurevilly, Chron. Cisl., III, 279–80; see now this passage in A. Mingana, Turco-Muslim spread of Buddhism in Central Asia, Manchester, 1925, p. 15.
4 The Christian tribes among the Mongols were Kerite, Ongit, Naymai and partly Merkit. See Pelliot, Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale, in T'oung-Pao, 1914, 629–44, and Grousset, L'empire des steppes, 1939, 243–6.

The first known home of the Tu-yu-hun was in south-western Manchuria and their original language may have been a Mongolian dialect. In about A.D. 310 they occupied the country round the present Ho-chou in Kan-su and made themselves masters of the Koken or region over which they ruled uncontested from A.D. 446. After a crushing defeat inflicted upon the Tu-yu-hun by the Tibetans in 663, their qayan, together with a large body of his followers, was settled by the Chinese at Tu-lo-chou, to the south of modern Ning-hsi (A.D. 672), while other fractions of the tribe were established near Yen-an in Shen-si (Hun-chou), in north-eastern Ordos (Ning-shu-chou), on the Ulan-muren, south of Liang-chou (Ko-mên-chou), and elsewhere. In 769 An-lo-chou in its turn was taken by the Tibetans and the main body of the Tu-yu-hun shifted to the region of Yan-shan, north of the great bend of the Huang-ho, where they formed the chief constituent element of the population during the ninth and tenth centuries, the other elements being the Sha-to, the Chi-pi and other Turkish tribes. In the second half of the ninth century an important division of the Tu-yu-hun moved further on to northern Shan-si. Their rule over Ta-tung (881–901) was broken by the Sha-to, and thereupon a group settled round Yi-chou (near the Little Wu-tai-shan) became paramount. During the tenth century this group practically bordered on the "Western Hi" who, facing the Kitan, had occupied Kuei-chou (present Hupeh) and Peking. The Kitan took the Tu-yu-hun from this tribe and the region of Yan-shan in 916 and dominated the territory of Yi-chou in 928. The Tu-yu-chou of Yi-chou crossed over to Chinese territory, and in 946 were almost annihilated near Lan-chou (north-west of Tai-yüan-fu). There seems to be no direct indication as to a migration of the remaining Tu-yu-hun to the west, but their name disappears from Eastern-Asiatic records during the eleventh century.

The prolonged stay of the Tu-yu-hun in the region of Yan-shan makes it quite plausible that at least a part of them were touched by Christian propaganda radiating from Ordos. In this important point too Prof. Haloun's hypothesis looks very satisfactory.

As the scene of the clash between the Qay and Qun has to be placed somewhere in Eastern Mongolia, and the Shariya whom the Qun subsequently pressed are to be sought near Lake Aral, the distance which the Qun travelled over could not be under 4000 Kms. This is the most obscure link in the chain of migrations. The Qun must have been in good numbers to provoke a further displacement of the western tribes, but their road ran through regions equally removed from Chinese, Muslim and Western observers. Apart from Marvazi, the only reference to the migration of the Qun is found in Matthéus of Urfa, in whose text "the people of Serpents" corresponds to our Qun (v.i. p. 102). The only representative of the tribe

2 Iakinš [Bechiri], Istoria na Tibet i Khakass, 1921, pp. 73–74.
3 It seems less probable that the Qun might have been connected with a Tōbi tribe known from A.D. 800 and whose later destitute are closely connected with the Uyghurs. Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-houns occidentaux, p. 87, n. 3, No. 10.
whose memory has survived is the amir Ākinchi b. Qochqur, of whom it will be more convenient to speak in the following paragraph.

C. Al-Shārīya. With regard to this group we have three questions to consider, namely, (a) its relation to the homonymous group mentioned in the chapter on China; (b) the implications of the name; and (c) the authority for Marvāzi’s report.

(a) A group of al-Shārīya is described in Chapter VIII, §20, at a half-month’s distance to the east of Shan-chou (or Sha-chou?). These Shārīya who are said to have fled from Islam, i.e. from some more westerly region, seem to have been connected with the Sary Yughurs of Kan-su. The more important group of the Shārīya, which, in the great migration of Turkish tribes, forms the principal connecting link between Western Asia and Eastern Europe, is to be located some 3,000 Kms. to the N.W. of the first group. If the identity of their name points to their appurtenance to the same nation, the latter must have experienced considerable vicissitudes and have been very widely scattered.

(b) Stripped of the Arabic ending the name appears in ‘Afi as Sārī. Barthold restored this form as Türkisch sarı, “yellow,” and compared it with the name of the Qipchaq (Komans), whom the Russians call Polovtsi (from полоцкий, “yellowish, sallow,” see H.-A., 315) and the Western Europeans, Paladini, etc. As is customary with nomadic federations, the “Qipchaq” must have been an association of various tribes, within which the chieftainship was assumed by single clans, families and even outsiders. Very probably the variety of names under which the federation is known reflects the historical succession of leadership within it. The Hudūd, §18, refers to several territories intermediate between the Kimak and Qipchaq. The name of one of them spelt Y.-yshū-yāshī made me suspect in the first part of it a reference to some Yughurs whose presence in the Qara-qum sands is referred to in several sources, H.-A., 309–10. If Marvāzi’s §3 has in view this tribe, the comparison with Chap. VIII, §20, might suggest that, after the catastrophe of A.D. 840, a part of the Ughur tribes had sought refuge in this remote region lying to the north-east of the Aral lake. We have no means, however, of answering the questions when and why the

1 In his review of Marquart’s Komamen, which H. H. Schaeder has translated into German in his introduction to Marquart’s Weiβen und Arag, p. 42.


3 In Juwaini, II, 102, I should now restore the names of the two rivers Qyl Y and Qymj as Qamqis and Qibqah.

4 Or could the two groups represent some variation of Yngre (v.i. §12 ter). We are insufficiently informed of the early distribution of this Finnish tribe which before A.D. 1000 is supposed to have occupied the middle and lower course of the Obi and the lower reaches of the Irinsh, see V. N. Chernetsov, Ocherki istorii Obshchikh Yughov, in Kvat. Soviet. Inst. Mater. Kul., IX, 1944, pp. 18–28.

1 We can only put on record, as a mere parallel, that at an earlier time, the Targish were divided into two groups called “Black” and “Yellow,” see H.-A., 301. A considerable stream Sari-su flows in the neighbourhood of the Qara-qum sands. Marquart, Komamen, 41, took Sāri for the capital of Mazandaran, but in his corrections, ibid., 202, has admitted that the country of Sāri must have lain to the east of the Turkmen.
years, nor could it have been surveyed in its entirety from outside. Very probably the two series of moves, “Qay—Qin—Shariya” and “Türkmän—GhuZ—Pecheneg” were knitted together at some central point, such as Khwarazm. No person was better qualified to correlate the facts than Akinchi b. Qochar. If our surmise is correct, the terminus ante quem of the report is A.D. 1097, but the family tradition may have been considerably older, and the only course open to us is to check the date of the last waves of the migration which reached the shores of the Black Sea. This will oblige us to reverse the order of our survey and proceed from the West to the East.

D. Bahr Armînya. No sea, except the Lakes of Urmia or Van could be called “Armenian.” The mistake in Marvazi (and ‘Auí) is obvious. In the chapter on the Turks (§ 3), the Majghari are said to occupy the territory down to Bahr al-Rûm, and, as the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from these lands, Bahr Armînya must be restored as Bahr al-Rûmîya, a natural term for the Black Sea, see Chap. IX, § 3.

E. The Pechenegs (v. i. § 10). In the famous passage of De administrando imperio (Chap. 37), Constantine Porphyrogenetus says that fifty, or fifty-five years before the composition of his book (written circa A.D. 948) the Khazars and the Oghuz (GhuZ) drove the Pechenegs from their former territory and the Pechenegs came to seize the land of the Magyars (Topeci in Byzantine terminology), “which they occupy even to this day.” According to Constantine’s chronology, the territory near the Black Sea was reached by the Pechenegs shortly before A.D. 900, i.e. earlier than Apanaki laid the first foundations of the K’itan state (circa A.D. 907)! Consequently our report has in view some further movements among the Pechenegs. In 1036 Yaroslav of Kiev inflicted a crushing defeat on them, but down to the middle of the eleventh century they were active in the Balkans and on the Byzantine front. Under the year 1054 the Russian chronicles refer for the first time to the “Torks” (=GhuZ) and, simultaneously, to the Polovtsi (Qipchaq). In 1064 the GhuZ appear on the Danube, see Huididí, 316.

Of great importance is the passage which Marquart, Komanen, 51, discovered in the Armenian historian Matheos of Uria who sub anno 1050–1 says that a people of “SerPents” (ax-ic-n), having defeated the “Pallid, or Fallow ones (xarís),” the latter did the same to the “Us and Patissnak,” and finally the Pechenegs (perhaps with some others of the enumerated tribes) raided the Byzantine territory. The raid is confirmed by Byzantine sources, but nothing else is known of its remote stimulus. In any case, it must not be 

1 The identity of Akinchi in ‘Auí’s text with the governor of Khwarazm was disputed by Marquart, Komanen, 1914, but Barthsold, Barthold, Turkish, 1912, 22, identifies this Yabghâ (or Pîghî) with an ancestor of the Seljuks, which gives the facts an added significance. [Pusav. FYin “a kind of hawk,” see Le Coq, Beren. zum türk. I, 2, p. 114.]

2 As suggested above, p. 94, the term Türkmân in our § 2 may be an anachronism introduced by Marvazi into an earlier tradition.
connected with the word bagh, “God” (cf. faghfūr). The description of the practices of a Turkish shaman (qam) is very accurate.

§5. The beginning of this story seems to be a vague reference to the terrible deile of Kemchik-born through which the Yenisei pierces the Sayan mountains. At some places the gorge is only 30 yards wide with the current rushing along at the speed of 40 miles an hour. The journey from Cha-kul (above the gorge) to Minusinsk lying in the plain used to take 3-5 days, see Carr, Carr, Unknown Mongolia, 1914, I, 110. Further on, from Achinsk to Krasnoyarsk the river again flows through a mountainous landscape. The four watercourses must be the head-waters of the Yenisei rising in Uriangkhai (Tungu-Tuvim), viz, the Ulu-kem, formed of Bei-kem and Achalkem, and the Kemchik. Rashid al-din calls the head-waters of the Yenisei Sekiz-muren (“the Eight rivers”).

Nothing can be said about the people described in the second part of the item. The dogs “as large as oxen” remind one of the mysterious country called in Turkish It-baraq (“It-baraq, “one whose dogs are hairy”). This name occurs in the story of Oghuz-khan’s exploits, see Rashid al-din, VII, 23, Abul-Ghažī, ed. Desmaisons, 18, and Oghuz-name, §34. The particulars of It-baraq (Baraqa) are very contradictory. Marquart, Komanen, 146, compares its people with Volga Bulgars; Pelliot, T’oung-Pao, 1930, 337, sees in the name of its king Masar an echo of Misr (Egypt); Bang and Rachmati, SBA, 1932, read the name of the country Barqan, with reference to Kâshghari, I, 378, according to whom “the Lower Tavghaj is Burqan, i.e. Kâshghar.” If my suggestion had some truth in it, we should look for It-baraq in the middle Yenisei.

The story which must go back to Jayhān was translated by ‘Aūfi, see Barthold, Turkestan, I, 100 = Nizâmu’d-dîn, o.c., No. 1067; summed up in Barthold, Kirgis, 1927, 24.

§6. This paragraph seems to be a more sober version of Chapter XV, §27. Both refer to a region in the neighbourhood of Kâshghar which the epitomist has some difficulty in describing. The second passage is clearer in Mutâhhar, IV, 92, who says that a kind of nasnâs (“faun”) is found in the region of Bâmir (Pamir), which is a desert (majûz) stretching between Kashmir, Tibet, Vakhân and China. The nasnâs are covered with fur except on their faces, and leap like gazelles; the people of Vakhân hunt them and eat them. The animal may be the Oris Poli (T. A. Minorsky). Kâshghari, born in the vicinity of Pamir, had to remove the nasnâs to a farther terrâ incognita. On his Map some sands are shown to the north of the lake into which the rivers Ili, Irîsh and Obi are supposed to disemerge, with the legend: “nasnâs are said to live in this wilderness.”

§6 ter. Two different items are wrongly coupled in this paragraph. The beginning corresponds to the description of the road

1 In Chapter IX, §§8 and 8bis present a similar case of parallelism.
from Chinnanjath to the Khirkhz, Gardizi, 86, cf. H.-‘A, 282. The wild people of the second part correspond to the Fûri/Qûri, whom the H.-‘A, and Gardizi place beyond and to the east of the Khirkhz. Gardizi’s Persian translation, pp. 86-7, runs parallel with our text, the latter being fuller at the end. Mutahhar, IV, 96, and the Hudûd, §14, 1, are brief, but the former adds two items: on a people living among the Turks which salts and eats the corpses of its enemies, and on another people “living in the north” (cf. §12 ter) existing like wild animals. All these details must go back to Jayhâni.

Marvazi leaves out the name *Qûri*, but it occurs in another paragraph (Chap. VIII, §38), which is also found in the H.-‘A, (=Jayhâni?). In it the *Qûri* are similarly placed in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhz. The Hudûd (§4, 1) describes the Fûri (Qûri?) as brutal cannibals having a language of their own, whereas in Gardizi’s more detailed description the wild people seem to be the marsh-dwellers on the road to the large (or great?) tribe Fûri(?) living at a distance of 2-3 months beyond the Khirkhz. Even if easy stages of 30 Kms. be reckoned, a radius of 1800-2700 Kms. from the Yenisei takes us to the neighbourhood of the Khingan range, and even into Manchuria. If the Fûri (Qûri?) lived at the end of the road they must have been of Tunguz or Mongol stock. The form Qûri is preferable to Fûri,² because it is supported by other sources. In the Orkhon inscriptions a name Qurigau twice occurs in the series: “Qurigau, Qurigau, Utuq-Tatar, Qitay, Tataba.” Rashid al-din, ed. Berezin, VII, 168, refers to the peoples “Qûri, Barghût, Tûmat and Bâylûk, which he classes as Mongols³ and places in the region called Barqûqin-Tûkûm in the neighbourhood of the Qurigau. Barqûqin, ibid., 108, 112, 168, 188, 189, is said to be beyond the Selenga, apparently in Transbaikalia.⁴

§6. The Kharlukh. Translated in ‘Auﬁ, Marquart, Komanen, 40, lines 17-20. The mountain Tûnûn (read: *Tûnis, as in the H.-‘A, p. 283) must be Altai (or Tarbghat?) . T.r.k.s (read: Tûrgizh) is a welcome indication how Turkestân (?) in Gardizi’s more complete text is to be restored, cf. H.-‘A, p. 287. The H.-‘A, treats the Chigil and Tukhs as separate tribes and so does Gardizi, o.c., 102. Marvazi may introduce here some later information, but the basic facts on the Tûrgish and Qarluq must belong to Jayhâni. Of the other tribes, Byskh (*Auﬁ: Hûsky) is otherwise unknown (in Transoxiana there was a place B.y.s.kûn, see H.-‘A, p. 355 (I. Hauqal, 396: M.s.kûn). *Bulag is certainly better than Auﬁ’s N.dâ: the tribe is mentioned as a Yaghma clan in the H.-‘A, §3. Kûh.rûn (*Auﬁ: Kûh.rûn) may be connected with the title Kûd.rûn, known among the Ghuz, cf. H.-‘A, p. 312.

§7. The Kîmâk. The H.-‘A, §18, abridges the same source: nomads, sable-martens, migrations to the Ghuz territory. Gardizi,¹ I.e., 83-4, gives a very close Persian parallel (cf. also the Akâm al-marjânî, BSOS, IX/1, 1937, 147). A new detail is the use of skis by the Kîmâk. The description is different from what is found in §12 ter.

§§8-9 have been closely translated into Persian by ‘Auﬁ. The text (Br. Mus. Or. 2675, f. 67) was published and explained by Marquart in Ostas. Zeitschr., VIII, 1919-20, pp. 296-9, but Marvazi’s text raises some new points. Through some oversight, Marvazi in his diffuse Chapter XV gives another variant of §8, which we treat here as §8 bis, and in it he happily indicates his source as al-Masâlik wa’l-Mamâlik, i.e. undoubtedly Jayhâni’s lost work, as Marquart had guessed.

Owing to some misunderstanding there are a few discrepancies between the Arabic and Persian texts. As it stands, Marvazi’s version can be understood only in the sense that (a) there were three nations living “to the right” of the Kîmâk, and that (b) the dumb barterer took place between the merchants and the Kîmâks (cf. wa-yajûn al-Kîmâkûn wa lajûn al-Kîmîkûn). It is obvious, however, that the story refers to some primitive population, much wilder than the Turkish Kîmâks, and ‘Auﬁ must be right in applying the report on dumb barterer to the three nations “living to the right of the Kîmâk.” But how could he have corrected what was incorrect in his source?

I think the explanation is that Kîmâk of our copy of Marvazi is a mis-spelling of some different but similarly spelt name. Here the Hudûd comes to our rescue, while quoting among the Khirkhz a tribe called K. saym, which I have tried to explain as *Kistâm, ibid., 236. Rashid al-din’s text, ed. Berezin, V, §9, VII, 112, spells the name K.st.mi., K.stymî. According to the Hudûd the K. saym living on mountain slopes had some traits of similarity with the Kîmâk and Khalukh. This indication points to their being neighbours of the said two nations, and I take it that the name of this tribe stood in Marvazi’s text instead of Kîmâk, and was left out by ‘Auﬁ because he was unable to decipher it. In Russian seventeenth-century documents the Turkicized tributaries of the Qirghiz are indiscriminately referred to as Kîstâm. In the present case also this name possibly covered the original “three tribes” living between the Kîmâk and Khirkhz.² By their origins the Kistâm must have

¹This is undoubtedly the original pronunciation of the name, the allif of the Arabic form being only a mater lectionis.
belonged to the Samoyed stock or to the mysterious “Yenisei” group.¹

The tribes worshipped Fire and Water and, like the Khirkhiz (§4. cf. H.-‘A., §14), burnt their dead. This last habit may account for their reputation as Fire-worshippers, as was apparently the case with the ancient Rus whom the Arab writers called mażus, in view of their burial system as described by I. Fadlan, cf. Minorsky, Rus in E.I.

The worshipping of waters may reflect the influence of the western neighbours of the K.saym. According to Gardizi, p. 83, the Kimak worshipped the Itith and said: “the river is the god of the Kimak.”

The indication “to the right of the Kimak” is naturally vague. As in Chap. VIII, §35, the expression “to the left of China” is interpreted by NE. we might take our “right” for SW. But as the observer’s starting point was probably Bukhara, the indication “to the right” would apply to any southerly direction, from the Siberian plains towards the great belt of Central Asian mountains. According to the Ḥudūd the K.saym (*Kishitim) were trappers and lived in a hilly country, somewhere in the Altai region. As the merchants visiting them from the west used a waterway we should think either of the Itith or Obi, and rather the former, because the sweep of the Obi would make the journey too long.²

Marquart attached a special importance to ‘Aafi’s mention that “the merchandise of that land is copper cups (of) clean (work).” He connected this detail with the “Southern Siberian copper and bronze civilisation” of the region between the Itith and Yenisei. However, in the light of Marvazi’s text we must understand the passage in the sense that copper cups were not a local product but rather the product in particular demand among the three tribes. Marvazi definitely states that the cups were used as ornaments by their women, and refers to another article of importation, “the red bags (al j favors al-bāum?),” which ‘Aafi left out in his translation. §8.

The record of this undotted name apparently goes back to Jayhāñ, but has survived only in Marvazi (and ‘Aafi). Looking from the Kimak region, the qibla, i.e. the direction of the Ka’ba, is SW. More probably the qibla is meant in the general sense of the south. Apparently the tribe of qibla lived more to the west than the tribes of §8. On the strength of ‘Aafi’s spelling M.qer.bā Marquart thought of the Uralian people Meshchera (Mishar) living among the Bashkir, but did not himself insist on this unlikely surmise. The final element of the name is of course the Arabic suffix -iyu. The name may then be read BŠR, NSR, YSR, and eventually Bšra, Brš, etc. An initial n is improbable in a Turkish name, and

¹ See Aristov, Einschichtige südost-turatische platten, in Zhivotny Staraia, 1896, II, 323, 340. Of the Yenisei peoples (apparently corresponding to the people called by the Chinese Tīng-ling), there remains now only a small group of Ket (improperly called *Yenisei Ostiai*).

² Unless the Vas-Yugan portage were used.

Arabic $ may stand for ₣. Our tribe lived in the woods, somewhere in the Altai region, and can not have anything to do with the BAŠRA, whom the still suspect letter of the Khazar king locates in the neighbourhood of the Khazar, cf. H.-‘A., 471. Should ‘Aafi’s form *MSR be preferred, one might compare it with the name of one of the headwaters of the Volga river, called Mras-su. Mras (Maras?), with metathesis of the r, comes very near to *Masar.*³ None of the names of the “busmen” tribes in Rashid al-din, VII, 112-7, is similar to MSR.

§10. The PECHENEGS. Entirely as in Gardizi, p. 95. The abridgment of the H.-‘A., preserves only a few traces of the original source which refers to the time before the Pechenegs migrated to the south, i.e. before the tenth century a.D. Bakri, pp. 42-3, is more complete and adds some details on the conversion of the Pechenegs to Islam after 1000-990. On the Pechenegs see also §§2 and 3.

§11. The KHAZAR. See I. Rusta, 142-3, and Gardizi, 96 (who alone gives the same detail on the fortification of the camp); the geographical names also found in the H.-‘A., §50 (see the Commentary, ibid., pp. 450-50). Bakri, 43-4, mentions the same two towns, but gives more details (on the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism).

In the H.-‘A., 453-4, I suggested that the names of the later town S거신 was nothing but a simplification of the earlier Sārigh-shin (*sun†). The name of the other town (which probably lay on the eastern side of the Volga estuary) cannot be restored with certainty, but Marvazi increases the probability of a form like Kh.l-baligh, Kh.n-baligh, etc. (though hardly Khān-baligh!)

§12. The B.R. The B.R as in I. Rusta, 140-3, H.-‘A., §52, and Gardizi, 96. Even the name B.r.dās (Bakri: F.radās) is characteristic for the older tradition (Jayhāñ< I. Kh.?) as against the form Bürdās found in Istakhri, Mas‘udi, etc. The tribe is usually identified with the Mordvans, or rather with the Moksha section of them, H.-‘A., 462-5. There is some obscurity in the item on the emancipation of the Bürdās females. Chwolson, who edited the passages from I. Rusta in 1869, interpreted it in the sense that the girl is free in choosing her lovers, until a suitor applies for her to her father and the latter gives her away to him. Our text seems to confirm this curious habit. The reading adopted by de Goeje in I. Rusta, 143, indefinitely speaks of a suitor to whom the father gives the girl away, subject to her (variant: his) consent. Gardizi’s Persian translation definitely states that the girl chooses the suitor who (in marid) then asks her father for her. This renders the text clearer but seems to contradict the preliminary statement that the girl “abandons the authority of her father” and the use of khafti‘īn instead of the expected al-kafti‘īn.

³ The Oghuz-name, Chap. XXXIV, speaks of the king (sic) Masar (?) in the land Baraq, but the characteristics of the latter are vague and contradictory, v.s. §§5.

His conclusions need partly to be re-examined. The difficult question of the origin of Marvazi’s additional paragraphs can be summed up as follows:

(a) We now know that ‘Auff’s immediate source was Marvazi. ‘Auff translates even the introductory paragraph of the Tabā’ī on the lack of temperance (or “harmony”) in the men living far from the Equator, one of Marvazi’s favourite themes.

(b) It is a fact that I. Rusta, the Ḥudūd and Gardizi, of whom at least the latter two certainly used Jayhānī, omit the paragraph on Arctic lands and give a different description of the Bulghar. Very curiously they call the latter people Bulāqār, which detail seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also Burdās for Burdās). We have to allow for the existence of earlier and later copies of Jayhānī’s work, of which the former must have contained the “Bulāqār-Burdās” report, and the latter made use of the new information due to I. Faḍlān.

(c) It is true that the known texts of I. Faḍlān’s report do not contain the details of Marvazi’s chapter, but even the Mashhad MS. of I. Faḍlān is incomplete. Some additional details may have survived in the private communications which I. Faḍlān addressed to his protector Jayhānī, as suggested above, p. 7. Under §12 bis the points of similarity between I.F. and Marvazi are enumerated and a point of divergence explained, and I should not discard I.F.’s responsibility for at least part of Marvazi’s facts.

(d) In Biruni’s biography found in Yaqūt’s *Irshād al-arib,* VI, 310, it is reported how “an ambassador from the extreme limits of the Turks” angered Sultan Maḥmūd by telling him that “beyond the sea, in the direction of the southern (sic) Pole,” he saw the sun rotate visibly above the earth. This is very much like the detail on Arctic regions found in §12 quater. The Turks are pre-eminently a northern nation, and “southern” instead of “northern” may have crept into the anecdote by mistake. Abū-Ḥasan ‘Ali Bayhaqi’s *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (563/1164), recently published in Tehran (1317/1938), pp. 53, throws more light on the possible identity of the ambassador. If reports, p. 53, that in 415/1024 the padshah “of Bulghar and the

1 The “Bulāqār-Burdās” report was possibly incorporated in I. Khurādibēh, as suggested by Barthold with regard to the description of the “Bulāqār” in I. Rusta, Bakhtiari and Gardizi.

2 See [Khrachovsky], *Puteshestviya Ibl Fadlana,* Leningrad, 1939.

3 Possibly on the authority of the *Māqāmāt-ī Abū Nāṣr Maškūrī* by Abū-Faḍl Bayhaqi.

regions which go by the name of Bulghar (sic),” namely, al-amīr Abū-Iṣḥāq b. Ḥabīm b. Muḥammad b. Bilqīs, had a dream suggesting that he should send an offering (māl) to Bayhaq, in the region of Nishapur, to be spent on alms (naṣafqā) and the embellishment (ṣamārāt) of the Friday mosques of Sabzavār and Khurāsān. He sent rich offerings and joined them wonderful presents for the padshah of Khurāsān, “the like of which wonders has never been seen.” No doubt the gifts were intended for Sultan Maḥmūd. This may have been the occasion on which the record of the information on the Far North was completed by the court savants just as was done two years later with regard to the Far East, see chap. VIII, §32. Copies of the report could easily have been circulated in Khurāsān.

(e) Resemblance between Marvazi and Biruni can be traced not only in the *Tāfṣīm* (A.D. 1029), but also in the earlier *Tahāf al-amākin* (A.D. 1025), and in the later *Canon Masudic* (A.D. 1030?), as shown below in §12 ter. Consequently the idea of his borrowing directly from him is by no means outside the question, but as yet we know of no work of Biruni’s containing an equally detailed account of the northern lands, cf. A.Z. Validi, *Die Nordvölker bei Biruni,* in *ZDMG,* 1936, pp. 38–51. Nor does the artless narration of Marvazi (and his original?) bear any resemblance to the ponderous and characteristic style of the “Muslim Erotophēnēs.”

(f) Even the latest date found in the *Tabā’ī* (514/1120) is too early to allow of any contact between Marvazi and Abū Ḥamīd of Granada, who claims to have stayed in Sakkhar (ancient Ṣārīgh-sin, at the estuary of the Volga) in 525/1131 and 526/1134, and visited Bulghar in 530/1136; see Ferrand, *Le Tahfet al-Ālbāh,* in *Jour. As.* , juillet, 1925, pp. 116, 123, 132. It is quite possible that the visitor from Spain used some of Marvazi’s sources while embellishing them with the flowers of his fantasy, v. i. §12 quater. Meanwhile Abū Ḥamīd himself has preserved some details (“Black Sea”) which help to elucidate dark points in Marvazi’s condensed narration.

Propositionally only I. Faḍlān (A.D. 921) and the Bulghar embassy of A.D. 1024 may be considered as the likely indirect sources of Marvazi.

§12 bis. As already mentioned, the contents of this paragraph differ from what is found in I. Rusta, 142–2, Gardizi, 97 (who exactly follows I. Rusta) and Bakhtiari, 44–5. Marvazi has the following details in common with I. Faḍlān: the name Bulghar (instead of Bulāqār found in I. Rusta, etc.), the title of the king (absent in I.R., Ḥ.-ʿA. and Gardizi), the town of *Suvār,* the existence of hazel trees in the Bulghar land and, particularly, the short duration of the night, insufficient “for the cooking of a pot (of meat),” cf.

1 In September, 1024, Maḥmūd was in Balkh, cf. M. Nazim, *Maḥmūd,* p. 53.

2 According to I. Rusta Marvazi directly refers to Abū Ḥabīb Brūnī, v. s. p. 2.

3 The *Erotophēnēs,* §32, is too short and combines the *Jayhānī* and *Balkh* (Iṣfahān) traditions. Through Balkh he may have incorporated some of I. Faḍlān’s facts.
I. Faḍlān in the Mashhad MS. 204b, 206b, and 205b, and in Yaqūt, I, 723n, 726n, 725n. As I. Faḍlān travelled from Khwārazm to Bulghār, the bearing (N.W.) and the distance between the two places may also go back to him. I. Faḍlān, Mashhad MS. 203b, estimates the distance at 70 days, as confirmed in Puteshestviye, note 308, but in the passage on the preparations for his journey, fol. 199a, he states that the embassy took virtuall for three months! Cf. also Marquart’s surmise, a.c., 266, of a possible confusion of sab’in (“70”) and lis’in (“90”).

The title of the Bulghar king is separably quoted in §15: Bīltw, which is doubt identical with I. Faḍlān’s Bīltw, see Puteshestviye, f. 204a and note 8. Both forms may be an ancient mis-spelling of the original *Yīltarav, or Yīltarav (?), cf. Hidād, 461, identical with elābir found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In our text the name is mutilated, the initial b standing apparently for the Arabic preposition bi.

In the Mashhad MS. S.vān represents *Suvār; Išt., 225, quotes Suvār on the direct authority of someone who was preaching in the local mosque (akhbarān man kāna yakhtubu bihā). Visitors from Suvār, especially of a non-trading class, could not be numerous in Transoxiana. It is true that I. Faḍlān, f. 204b, mentions a special khaṭṭāb (sic) in Bulghār, but, in view of the vagueness of his own function in the embassy with which he visited Bulghār, he himself might have referred to in Transoxiana as al-khaṭṭāb. The distance between Suvār and Bulghār is not recorded in I. Faḍlān’s text, but the formula akhbarān in Išt. (<Balkhī) suggests an oral communication.

§12 ter. I. Faḍlān’s text contains only some scanty information on Wūsa which the traveller gathered from the Bulghar king, Puteshestviye, ff. 206a, 207b, 208a, and Yaqūt, IV, 944.

Biruni in his Canon enumerates side by side Bulghār, Isā and Yūra, Long. Lat.

The two towns Suvār and Bulghār, on the river of the Rūs and Saqāliba (or: in the direction (fā nakūr) of the R. and S.)...

8° (?) 49°30

The country *Isā with which the Bulgharians trade...

69° 55°

The forests of Yūra whose inhabitants are wild and trade by dumb barter (miʿāya-nata-n)...

63° 47°30

1 I. Faḍlān calls the king reigning in 309/921 Almush b. Shilik (later renamed Ja’far b. Abdilah), but in the introductory paragraph the king’s name is Hasan b. Baiṭāvar. On the king reigning in 415/1024 (v.s. p. 111).

2 Already Barthold in his note on I. Faḍlān’s rizala, ZAP, XXI, 1913, XI–II, 85, suggested that Istakhri’s reference was to I. Faḍlān. Marquart, Archbische Länder, 266, calls I. Faḍlān khaṭṭāb, and 319, “Prädiger.”

3 I.F. places them at 3 months’ distance from the Bulghar, while Marvazi (and Biruni) places them translated by A. Z. Valdai, a.c., 50, reduces the distance to 20 days. Apparently I.F.’s text refers to summer communications by water, and Marvazi’s to travelling by sleigh, as suggested by our text.

The captions present some interest, but the co-ordinates are out of order. As Biruni usually proceeds in the order of increasing longitudes, his enumeration apparently suggests for the Wūsā an easterly position with regard to the Bulghar, but the text, in its present state, is unreliable. The indication that the Bulghars traded with the Isā coincides with Abū Hāmid’s story.

Since Frazeh it has been accepted that the Wūsā are the Finnish 
Ves (*Veps) whom the Russian Chronicles place near Belo-ozoero and whose descendants (some 25,000) are still found between the Lakes Onega and Ladoga. The form Wūsa (I. Faḍlān) seems to be preferable to Isā, which may be due to a confusion of the initial wūs with ašīf.

The term Yūra is identical with Russian Yugra, cf. Ibn Faḍlān-Allah al-Umari, transl. Quatremerre in Notice et Extraits, XIII, 284; Yāghra, Prof. S. V. Bakhushin, Ostasiatiky-i vogulskyi knižestva v xvi–xvii-tekhali, Leningrad, 1935, writes that in the eighteenth century the Novgorodians applied the name Yugra to the Ugrian peoples (i.e. cognate with Hungarians) who were living between the Pechora river and the Ural mountains. Novgorodians penetrated into their country after they had subjugated the Pechora tribes (probably Komi-Zirians). In the first place the term Yugra was applied to the tribes which later were called the Ostiaks, but among the latter there were certainly some Vogul tribes as well. The terms Yugra (*Yugra-yazy) and Vogul (“wild”) belong originally to the Komi language. Later the Ostiaks moved eastwards, and in the fourteenth century they were in occupation of the lower reaches of the Obi. Still later Yugra, in a territorial sense, was understood to cover the basin of the rivers Sosva and Sigva.

Within our group of Muslim texts, Marvazi states that Bulghars visit Yūra by dog-sleights; Abū Hāmid (v.i.) does not refer to Yūra on the road Bulghar–Wūsa—the sea, and Biruni, Tahdīt, gives a distance of 12 days by sleigh from Isā to Yūra. These latter indications suggest that Yūra lived on one side, and probably to the east, of the Bulghar–Wūsa road. Since the distance (as the crow flies) of 850 Kms. between Bulghar and Belo-ozoero was covered in 20 days, the distance of 12 days (circa 550 Kms.) traced to the east of Belo-ozoero would hardly reach the Yugra territory. At the most it would take us to the wooded basin of the Vychegda, which even in the tenth century was presumably occupied by Perimans (Komi–Ziryan).

The agreement of Biruni’s caption on forests and dumb barter with Marvazi is an indication of a common source. Another example of dumb barter and contrivances for walking in snow is found in the description of the Kimak region (§§7–8 bis); but the wooden

1 According to M. V. Talitsky, K ethnogeny Komi, in Krat. soobshchennyh Inst. Istor. Mater., Kuž, 1914, pp. 47–54, the Isā, as described by Gharnat, ‘Aulā and Ye, would be located in the upper Kama. Such questions cannot, however, be solved without a joint study of the available sources and their interdependence. On Yugra see above, p. 100.
skis of the Kimák are distinct from the thigh-bone skates (?) which the Yura people used to make from b Reynolds, see Al. Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 479-81, and Ilu Batštiva, II, 399-401; for skates, Rubruquis, ed. Avezac, p. 327, and for skis Rashid al-din, ed. Berezine, VIII, 115. 1

§72 quater. Marvazi and his translator 'Aufi are positive about the "coast peoples" and "Yura," but if the usual identification of the Yura of Yura is true, the road Bulgarians-Wisā-Yura could not have formed a short cut to the northern sea. Abū Ḥamdī Gharunji, ed. Ferrand, 118, quotes a curious story about the Bulgarians taking to Wisā (sic) blades of Adharbayjan. These weapons, unpunished, but well tempered and giving a good ring, were exchanged for beaver pelts (qanduz). On their part the Wisā carried the blades to "a country adjacent (qarina) to the region of Darkness (al-Zulumāt) and overlooking the Black Sea" and exchanged them for sable pelts. 2 The inhabitants of this maritime country "throw the blades into the sea and God causes a fish as big as a mountain to come up to them. They bring up to them a still larger fish, and it approaches the coast. Then men in boats begin to cut it up and fill their houses with its flesh and oil." Abū Ḥamdī may have expanded the similar story found in I. Fadlān, f. 208a, or may himself have picked it up in Bulghar (in 530/1135). The point which interests us is that the Wisā are said to be direct conveyor of the coast-dwellers (Marvazi: sāhibiyān), while the Yura are not mentioned on the road to the sea (v.s). This version may be taken as an indication that the coast-dwellers are looked for in the neighbourhood of the White Sea. In point of fact the Vog lived in a knot of fluvial communications and could easily reach this sea by the Ornea. F. Nansen, In Northern Mists, Engl. transl., 1911, II, 145, says that the coast-dwellers "may have been Samoyeds (on the Pechora), Karelians, Terfinnans and even Norwegians." In view of Abū Ḥamdī's text, the first eventuality should drop. It would be strange too if the Bulgarians intended their blades for the Norwegians, who could obtain such weapons nearer home. Moreover, the Norwegians made only occasional raids into the White Sea. The remaining candidates are the Finns (Karelians), or more probably the Lapps, 1 whose traces Prof. Vasmir 2 has detected in the toponymy of the region stretching south of the White Sea down to Lake Onega. 3

The new detail of our text is the Black Land (ard saudā) found beyond the coast-dwellers. This land has no parallels in Muslim geographical literature though it seems probable that this term has some connection with the "Black Sea" of Abū Ḥamdī, which he identifies further on, p. 94, with the Sea of Darkness (al-bahr al-aswad al-ladūhī yarūt al-bayr al-sulmāt), i.e. with the Arctic Ocean on which the ideas of Muslim scholars were vague. 2 Consequently the "Black Land" may be either a misunderstanding meant for the "Black Sea," 2 or else, starting from the White Sea, we might take it for the Kola peninsula which until the recent discovery of its mineral wealth, was very sparsely populated. 2

We come now to the last interesting point of §72 quater, namely, the statement that a voyager sailing in the direction of the North Pole reaches a point at which "the sun rotates visibly over the land for six months." Marvazi puts this statement almost hypothetically, and one might take it for an echo of some astronomical speculation. The anecdote, which Yāqūt quotes in his Irshād al-ārīb, gives a personal turn to the story. The "Turkish" ambassador who boasted of having witnessed the phenomenon seems to have been the Bulgār envoy who brought presents to Sultan Mahmūd A.D. 1024. By an astonishing coincidence, in the Tahādī (composed in 1025) Birānī refers to the coast-dwellers of the Sea of Varangians, 3 adding that "in summer time one of them on his hunting and raiding expedition sails so far into that sea that in the direction of the North Pole he reaches a spot where at the summer solstice the sun rotates above the horizon. He observes this and boasts to his people, saying that he has reached a place which has no night in it."

I am inclined to connect this statement (as well as our §72 quater) with the Bulgār envoy's report (A.D. 1024), but, on the other

1 Marquart, o.c., 324-7, was inclined to identify the quarelsome seafarers with some Lapp tribe.
3 Alan S. C. Ross, The Tserkynas and Beormans of the Olhobbe, Leeds, 1940, identifies Terfinnans with the Lapps of the Terskiy beryg (Kola peninsula) and Beormans (Birman) with Karelians ("in all probability"). We know that Lapps were formerly found down to the immediate neighbourhood of Archangel Gulf.
5 Marvazi's text is clear in opposing this Black Land to the voyage by sea.
6 I thought at first of a hint at Spitzbergen (ancient Svalbard, which might have been misunderstood as "Svalbard," but Icelandic annals speak of its discovery only after A.D. 1023). See R. Hennig, Terrass Ineference, II, pp. 377 and 379. Even the identity of Svalbard with Spitzbergen is not quite clear.
7 I.e. the Baltic, confused with the White Sea.
8 As the original is not available I am obliged to translate this passage from Prof. A. Z. Valdai's German version. Cf. Huddād, 181-2.

1 A bad mutilation of the report is found in Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Marvān-dīsh (A.D. 1006), ed. E. D. Ross, 39: "In the country of the Turks (Turkānān) there is a forest called the forest of Augra (read: Vorra). The inhabitants of it are wild and do not mix with anyone," after which the procedure of the dumb barter is described.
2 The mention of the beavers and sable may serve as a clue for the identification of the two territories.
3 A possible reference to some harpooning operation (?)
4 Muslim geographers speak of the "Silaymānian" swords of the Rūs, see Huddād, 437, and the special story by A. Z. Valdai, Die Schwerte der Germanen, ZDMG, 1936, 19-37. I take silaymānian for a hint at Qurān, XXXIV, 10-12.
hand, I do not see how this report could be an echo of the circumnavigation of the North Cape by Ohthere whose authentic communication submitted to King Alfred has no trace of any similar statement.

The originality of Biruni is that he seems to be the first Muslim writer to use the name Varakh (Waring, old Russian Vargus), and to call by it what appears to be the Baltic. But Biruni did not clearly distinguish between the latter and the White Sea, and in the process of compilation he apparently pieced together two different reports, whereas in Marvazi, etc., there is no trace of the Baltic.

The natural phenomenon referred to in Marvazi needs to be taken cum grano salis. As Marquart, o.c., 311, points out, the idea that a year at the Pole consists of one day and one night, each of the duration of half-a-year belongs to Greek tradition. Prof. Neugebauer calculated for Marquart, o.c., 331-4, the latitudes at which some real phenomena are observed which may have suggested the story found in Marvazi, etc.

A summer day of 24 hours -6-6-8°
A winter night of 24 hours -6-6-6-2-8°
A summer day of 40 days and a winter night of 40 days +8-6°

Roughly speaking, these latitudes coincide with the White Sea and the Kola peninsula, and were within reach of the coast-dwellers.

§23. With the paragraph on the Majhāri we return to the original Šajhāri tradition (v.s. §22). See I. Rusta, 124-3, Ḥ.-. A., 22, Gardizi, 8, and Bakri, 45 (confused), cf. H.-. A., 456, and my article Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au Xe siècle, in Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie, avril, 1937, pp. 305-12.


Apart from Mas‘īdī, Murājī, III, 61-5, (cf. Marquart, Osteuropäische Sirensäige, 85-160), and Ibrahim b. Ya‘qūb, ed. Rosen, 33-42, other early authors writing in Arabic and Persian had a confused idea of the territory occupied by Slavs, as distinguished from the Rūs. In my commentary on the Ḥ.-. A., 527-32, I have summed up the evidence indicating that the principal centre of the Slavs was supposed to be in Moravia and in the basin of the middle Danube and its tributaries. Eastern Slavs are usually confused with the Rūs, I. Kh., 124, 154. The Ḥ.-. A. speaks of a group of Slavs among the Rūs (§44). I. Faḍlān, ff. 198a, 207b (?), calls the king of Bulghār “king of the Slavs,” and elsewhere (Ya‘qūb, II, 440) speaks of Slavs as subjects of the Khazars. Marvazi (§10) and Gardizi, 95, repeat the report on the [Eastern] Slavs counter-attacking the Pechenegs.

The naïve indication that the Slavs burn their dead “because they are fire-worshippers” may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs al-maṣūs. Ya‘qūbī, B.G.A., VII, 334, calls the raiders who plundered Sevillas in 229-843: al-Maṣūs alladhdhina yuqalū yahum al-Rūs. In a famous passage I. Faḍlān as an eye-witness describes the cremation of a Rūs, and the argument may have been reversed: “the Rūs were fire-worshipping Magians, for they burnt their dead,” cf. Minorsky, Rūs, in E.L. Gardizi must have mis-read nīrān into ihtān, “bulls,” for in his Persian book he calls the Slavs “cow-worshippers”!

The detail of the Slav king feeding on milk (Ḥ.-. A.), or more precisely on mare’s milk (I. Rusta, Marvazi), is curious. As mare’s milk is a typically Turkish drink it is possible that our source refers to some dynasty of Turkish origin lording it over some Slavs.4 The Avar domination in south-eastern Europe was crushed by Charlemagne between A.D. 791-805, and there are very few references to the Avars in Muslim literature, (v.s. p. 64). The detail interesting us may point to the early date of the original record, but it is possible that the local Slav aristocracy connected with the once dominant race carried on for some time the habits of the latter.

In his translation of Orosius, King Alfred the Great (A.D. 848-799) incorporated two additional geographical reports, one by the Norwegian Ohthere (v.s. p. 116) and the other by the Dane (?) Wulfstan describing his voyage to the Vistula (towards A.D. 890, cf. F. Nansen, o.c., I, 106). According to Wulfstan the Vistula separates Wexland (“the land of the Slavs”) from Wiltland belonging to the Este. Wiltland corresponds to East Prussia and the Este are the ancient Aestii, i.e. probably the original Prussians (a Baltic people belonging to the same family as the present-day Lithuanians and Latks). Wulfstan proceeds: “The land of the Este is very large, and contains a great many forts, and there is a king in each fort, and it contains a great quantity of honey and fish; and the king and the wealthy classes drink mare’s milk, but the poor and the slaves drink meal” (translated for me by Mr. N. K. Chadwick). The inhabitants burnt their dead and divided the latter’s property into prices for which races were run by horsemen. The details of mare’s milk, meal and the burning of the dead are parallel to our §14 on the Slavs. The detail of the races increases the impression that there may have been some “Turkish” elements among the Prussians.

The name of the Slav king seems to refer to the Moravian king Svetopluk I (870-94). In Arabic it was transcribed Swyyl-blk, of which the final element was confused with mlh (i.e. malik, “king”) and finally eliminated. For the name of the second ruler Marvazi adds one more variant, Sh. rih (š. rih or sh. rih), but no better

explanation of it has yet been found than Chwolson's *shabbanj <
+iwance* (?), although the available variants begin with s-, which in
Arabic would more likely represent an original s or f. On the
name of the town see H.-A., 430.

The details on lutes are more complete in Marvazi. The dis-
tinguished musicologist Dr. H. Farmer, to whom I communicated
my passage, very kindly gave me the following explanation: "The
malâwî are the tuning pegs on any strung instrument. Every
string is fixed by a knot at one end of the instrument, generally by
being tied through a hole or around a short peg or button. The
string is then stretched over the surface of the instrument to the
other extremity, where it is tied to a "tuning peg" (malâwî). This
'tuning peg' the performer turns (yalâwi) when he wishes to tune
the string to its proper note. The malâwî is always at the head of the
instrument, and in lutes is either fixed directly (mussauwî) into a hole
in the head, or else the malâwî goes into a hole in what we call a
peg-box (banjâh, banjâh, bunjâq). The lute of the Slavs, according
to your MS., did not have a peg-box for the tuning-pegs. The
latter were fixed directly and perpendicularly into the head of the
instrument. (Dr. Farmer annexes a sketch of the two systems.)
It would appear that the Slavonic lute was either the balalaika or the
goudok because it did not have a round, vaulted sound-chest, but a flat
(musaâfâh) one."

§25. The Rûs. For the first part see I. Rusta, 145-7, H.-A.,
§44. Gardizi, 100-1, Bakrî, 34-40. The story of the conversion of
the Rûs to Christianity and then to Islam was copied by 'Afi', whose
text was edited and translated by Barthold in *Zap. Vost. Otd.*, IX,
1895 (1896), pp. 261-7.1 'Afi translates Marvazi word for word,
repeating the date "300" and the name of the Bulgâr king in the
form B.îlû. The date, 300/912, is wrong, the second and the third
figures having been omitted in the text (cf. a similar mistake in the
date of Zurgân's death, p. 128).2

The Russians were baptised A.D. 988 or 989 (378-9 H.), but
Ibn al-Athîr, IX, 30, who knows the circumstances of the marriage
of Vladimir to the sister of the emperors Basil and Constantine,
speaks of the conversion sub anno 375/985-6, cf. Dimishqi, tr.
Mehren, 378. As Marvazi quotes the name of Vladimir (older
Woldemar), he cannot refer to any other occasion, for there was

1 Barthold's posthumous article, "Arab Sources on Russians" in *Sovetskoye
Vostokovedeniye* (ed. by the Academy of Sciences of the U.S.S.R.), I, 1941, is
inaccessible to me.

2 The Bukhat al-wawrîkh of Shukrâlîh (A.D. 1456) and the still later *jâmi* al-
tamârîkh of Muhammad Za'fîm (A.D. 1578) change the date of the conversion respectively to 301 and 333, see Hammer, *Les origines russes*, 1827, 48, 65-6, as quoted by Barthold.

3 In *wâdirm*, the initial ã stands for Arabic preposition bi, as in bi-khâqân which follows it. "Afi, however, took the whole complex for the name of the prince Bûlûddîm, possibly with a popular Persian etymology "prince of steel" (*pûlûddîh-mîr* "Stalin"). In I. Hajar's bibliographical dictionary *Durâr al-hâmin*, Haydarabad,
only one Vladimir in the fourth century H. Russian annals report
that before his conversion to Byzantine orthodoxy Vladimir had
made enquiries about the other faiths. His embassy, composed of
ten men, visited the Muslim Bulgars on the Volga. Islam was
finally rejected on the ground that "drinking wine was a joy of the
Russians." As Barthold remarks, there would be nothing im-
probable in the admission that the envos had also visited Khwârazm,
from which the Bulgars themselves sought religious instruction.

Two details in our story must be considered:

(a) Some years must have elapsed before the "shrinking of liveli-
hood," concomitant with Christian principles, could become
manifest.

(b) For that the personal name Vladimir might have become a
generic designation, several princes in succession must have
borne it. Now after Saint Vladimir, who died A.D. 1015, the
second important ruler of this name was Vladimir Monomach
(born in 1053, prince of Pereyaslavl from 1097, prince of Kiev,
1113-25), the name of whose exploits against the nomad
Polybots1 must have reached Khwârazm. The chronicles
praise Monomach for his unimpeachable orthodoxy, but some
minor princes or noblemen involved in feudal struggles might
well have sought refuge as ar away as Khwârazm,2 and even
have expressed a desire to embrace Islam.

In its general bearing the story is but a variation of Muslim
criticism of Manicheans and Christianity as exercising an enem-
tating influence on their votaries. *Mutulâs mulutanâs*, it is even
reminiscent of the refusal of the Turkish (Tûrîgîh) khaqan to accept
Islam at the request of the caliph Hishâm (105-25/724-43). The
khaqan held a review of his army and said to the envoy: "These
men have no barbers, no cobbler, no tailors; if they accept Islam
and follow its prescriptions, whence will their food come?" *Yâqût*, I,
839 (commented on by Marquart in *Festschrift f. F. Hirth*, 289-93).
The story is already found in I. Faqîh.

The indication respecting the protective chains in Constantinople
raises several interesting points. The term *khâlij* means both
"gulf" and "strait". I. Khurdâdhîbîh, 103-4, uses it in the latter
1350, IV, 458, No. 1124, N. A. Poliak has found a curious name, *Wîddîn* (var.
*Wîdîn*). The traditionalist W.lâmîr b. Abdûlîhâh al-Sa'îd was a client of Bâqtrâmur
al-Sa'îd al-Azîz, and lived 644-710/1246-1310. It is likely that *Wîddîn* corre-
spends to Vladimir. The name may have been used by the Turks on the assumption
that -din is "âmir" "lord." On the other hand, the close relations between Egypt and
Qipchaq (i.e. the steppes of Southern Russia) make it quite possible that the
family, like many others, was of Russian origin. The father's name, *Abdûlîhâh*, is
a usual name among converts to Islam. It can even be a translation of "Theodore.

1 He had 89 major expeditions to his credit. He made peace 10 times with the
Polybots, whom he had fought a total of 93 times.-Ed.

2 Cf. the story of Sviatopolk of Kiev, who after his defeat by his brother Yaroslav,
Cammu Third Series, 1914, p. 2.
sense while saying that at the western outlet of the khalij (Dar-danelles) there stands a tower "in which there is a chain preventing the Muslim ships from entering the khalij." On the other hand, he says that at the (western) entrance (fth), to the khalij (Bosphorus) there is a town called "Musannad." Mas'ud, Muraj, II, 317, is more explicit in stating that at this place "he cultivated lands (and tr) and the Byzantine town called M.s.nah, which impedes the ships of the Rûs and others who come from the (Black) sea." Cf. also Tanbih, 141 (where the Rûs are called al-Kûdân, read al-Urnaniyya). De Goeje (I. Kh., transl. 75) has surmised that the name "Musannat must be an Arabic term having the sense of "digue on brise-lasses." (Cf. Lane: "a dam, a thing constructed, or raised to keep back the water of a torrent, a kind of wall built in the face of water... ") and cf. also Tomaschek, Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasiern, 1890, p. 3 (without any further explanation). The probability of an Arabic etymology is increased by the existence of a place al-Musannat in Egypt, Muraj, IV, 421, and Yagût, IV, 533. The "town" of which Mas'ud speaks could not by itself prevent Russian ships from entering the Bosphorus unless it possessed some kind of boom, but we have no record of "chains" in the Bosphorus.1

Marvazi's "chains" must belong to a different tradition. The Byzantines used a strong iron chain drawn between the tower of Galata and the citadel (Acropolis) to impede the access to the Golden Horn. The chain is first mentioned A.D. 717 at the occasion of the Arab invasion, see quotations in C. du Fresne du Cange, Historia Byzantina, 1680, Constantinopolis Christiana, pp. 9–10. According to the Russian Chronicle (Laurentian Codex, Polnoye sobranye russkikh leтописей, 1926, I, 30), when the Russians led an attack against Constantinople A.D. 907, the Greeks "locked the Gulf (въмкою съюм) and closed up the city." Marvazi possibly refers to this event of which Jayhani was a contemporary. The raid of the Rûs on Barda's in 332/943–4 was described by I. Miskawain, The Eclipse, II, 52–78, and traces of some additional information are found in the Hudûd, §36, 30., but no other source prior to Marvazi has the reports on the conversion of the Rûs to Islam, and on the great migration of Turkish tribes (v.s. 85). Both clearly reflect a Khâwarzmian tradition and for the time being we are obliged to attribute them to Marvazi himself.

§17–20, based as they are on Greek medical authorities, differ from §§1–16. What the Greeks say on the Iranian nomads of their time is applied to the Turks. Byzantine authors were responsible for the identification of the Turks with their predecessors in the steppe belt. Menander Protector, who collected the reports of Byzantine embassies to various eastern peoples, says (frag. 29) that the Turks were formerly called Saka (тън Твркъ, тън Сакон калкиитон пълна). On the Iranian side the Book of Kings (Khâwâyâ-nâmâk) similarly confused the descendants of Tûr (Turanian) with Turks, and this view was consecrated by Firdausi. I. Faqih, 7, includes in Scythia (Isgûfiyâ): Armenia, Khurasan, the Turks and Khazars, and Marvazi simply substitutes "Turks" to the "Scythians" of the Greek authors. §§17–20 are a fair example of Marvazi's favourite theories on the influence of the climate which he develops with regard to the "Turks" in the north, and to the "Ethiopians" and other southern peoples, in his chapters XIII and XV. As the quotations indicate, these views are of direct Greek origin and are borrowed from Hippocrates's treatise Περί ἅπαντων ἀλληλούς εὐτυχίατος ποίησις, see Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate, ed. E. Littre, 1840, II, at the places indicated below.

§17. Cf. Littre, II, 67; on Ἀπρομαχάων living near the Maeotis. §18. Cf. ibid., II, 73–7. Scythians are fat and their skin is hairless: "la matrice ne peut plus saisir la liqueur séminale, car l'écoulement menstruel, loin de s'opérer avec la régularité nécessaire est peu abondante et séparée par de longs intervalles, et l'orifice de l'utérus, fermé par la graisse, n'admet pas la semence." The women who do the work conceive easily, etc. An echo of these theories is also found in I. Faqih, 6, according to whom the Turks have few children. Gardizî, 81, and the Muqaddim al-tawârîkh, 105, quote legends to explain why Turks have little hair on their bodies (Iâng-mi). §19. Cf. ibid., II, 77: on the morbid effeminacy of some Scythians called ἀνατόπες. Cf. Herodotus, I, 105: ἀνατόπες. Marvazi admits that such men are found in "some Turkish lands," but insists on the vigour of the nomads. The passage on "Ionians and Turks," who owe allegiance to nobody, is a misunderstanding, perhaps an intentional one, for the Greek original was too unpalatable for Marvazi's masters: "Les Européens sont plus belliqueux... car ils ne sont pas, comme les Asiatiques, gouvernés par les rois... Gouvernés par leurs propres lois, sentant que les dangers qu'ils courent, ils les courent dans leurs propres intérêts, ils les acceptent volontiers... car le prix de la victoire est pour eux (τὴν ἀμυνὴν τῆς πολεμοῦ χάριν). C'est ainsi que les lois ne contribuent pas peu à créer le courage." A sublime idea, even for our own times!

1. M. Comnenus (A.D. 1143–80) a second chain was drawn between two towers on the European and Asiatic side, against the aggressors coming from the Marmara sea.


§20. Cf. ibid., II, 67: in Hippocrates, the passage on warlike women with one breast (μακάνος) belongs to the description of Sauromatae (v.s. §17), the term “Amazons” being found only in a gloss. Some additional reference to Amazons is found in Chap. XVII, f. 48a. Their warlike behaviour is compared with what ‘A‘ishā did in “the battle of the Camel” and what some Turkish women and Byzantine girls do.

On the whole Marvazi simply follows the Greeks and shows less critical acumen than Avicenna, who in his Canon studies the same problem of climatic conditions. Avicenna too states that the periods of the females living in northern countries are defective “owing to constriction of the channels and the absence of the stimulus to . . . relaxation of the channels. Some assert that this makes the women sterile. . . . But this is contrary to experience, at any rate as regards the Germans (var. Turks, Parthians, etc.). My opinion is that the great amount of innate heat makes up for the absence of the stimulus to flow. Abortion, it is said, is rare among women in those climates, and this further supports the opinion that their vitality is great. . . . Female slaves are liable to develop ascites and hydroruterus; but these also pass away as they grow old.” See O. Cameron, A Treatise on the Canon . . . of Avicenna, London, 1939, p. 207.

The original source of Marvazi’s quotations having been ascertained, it is more difficult to trace the part in them which goes back to Galen. In fact the latter commented on Hippocrates’s Ἰπί ῥέμα, but (a) of this commentary only a Latin translation has survived, and (b) this Latin text stops short of the paragraphs in which Hippocrates describes the Scythians, see Opera Hippocratica Csi et Galeni Pergameni, Lutetiae Parisiorum, 1679, VI, 201–12.

Another problem is to identify the Arabic translation from which Marvazi borrowed his quotations. It will be better reserved till the time when the whole of the Ṭabā‘ al-hayawān has been studied and edited. The famous Ḥunayn b. Ishāq says in the Bibliography of his translations that he rendered Hippocrates’s Ἰπί ῥέμα (kitāb al-hawā wal-mā wal-māsākin) into Syriac, adding to it a short commentary of his own, but that the work remained unfinished. He also translated the original book into Arabic, while his nephew, Ḥubaysh, translated the explanations of Galen, see Bergsträsser, Ḥunain b. Ishāq, in Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes, XVII, No. 2, 1925, p. 25 (point 99). Ya‘qūb, Ṭurā‘ik, I, 119–29, sums up the contents of the works of Hippocrates: Kitāb fil-ahnyya wa-lammin wa-miyād wa-amān (p. 119–20) and Kitāb fil-ahnyya wa-bulūdān (pp. 120–9), but leaves out the part on Sauromatae, etc. He adds that Galen composed a running commentary on the book (fāṣ fāṣ wa ma‘nā ma‘nā). Even the rendering of the title suggests that Ya‘qūb used some translation other than that of Ḥunayn. A similar difference with regard to the Prognostikon has been indicated by M. Klamroth, Ueber die Aussüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-‘a‘qūbī, in ZDMG, 40, 1886, p. 202. The same is apparently true for Marvazi.

CHAPTER XII

INDIA

The following reference books are quoted in this section by the names of the authors: L. D. Barnett, Antiquities of India, 1913; J. Dowson, A Classical Dictionary of Hindu mythology and religion, 1875; Nundo Lal De, The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Medieval India, 1927; Renan, Mémoire géographique historique et scientifique sur l’Inde antérieure au milieu du XIe siècle de l’ère chrétienne, d’après les éloiscons arabes, persans et chinois, in Mémoires de l’Institut National de France, Académie des Inscriptions, XVIII/2, 1849, 1–399 and 565–6 (still a remarkable achievement). (O. Spies, An Arab account of India in the 14th Century, Stuttgart, 1936 (a translation of the compilative account from the Masālik al-A‘jār by ‘Omarī) belongs to a much later period.)

The arrangement of this chapter is clearer than that of the others.
A. Introduction (§1), followed by an enumeration of the “seven” castes (§§2–8) and an eulogy of Indian sciences, crafts, etc. (§§9–16).

B. Religions. The account takes up the major part of the chapter. It deals with individual Indian creeds and sects (§§17–42) and concludes with an inadequate reference to Buddhism (§43).

C. Politico-geographical conditions. This part begins with the usual enumeration of Indian kings and their customs (§§44–62), and ends with some desultory notes on the northern part of India (Panjab) (§§63–66).

A. Castes

§§2–8. Biruni, 49–51 (I, 101–4, and II, 293) gives a very clear description of the four castes, after which he speaks of the functional low castes (antaz < antyaja) and finally of the outcaste Hádi (Hādī), Dūm (Doma), Candal and Bahadaw.1 In this, he follows the Rig-Veda, the laws of Manu and other authoritative sources, cf. Barnett, o.c., 132–5.

His predecessor, from whom most of the authors including Marvazi derived their data, know the principal categories but, being limited to his personal observations and enquiries, commits some errors in his classification of the castes and his interpretation of the facts. Marvazi’s data on the castes correspond almost word for word with the statements found in Ibn Khurdābīh, 72, but, as Marvazi gives more details in the style of the original (prohibition of intermarriages, Brahmins infatuated with candal girls), it would seem that he had at his disposal a more complete version of the original. More probably he obtained these additional details through the medium of Jayhānī. In any case, the primary report,

1 Still unexplained. Possibly nādāya, “a criminal,” in Arabic *badāy (with final s instead of a, like in nāpe > bare)}.