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SHARAF AL-ZAMĀN TĀHIR
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ON
CHINA, THE TURKS AND INDIA

Arabic text (*circa* A.D. 1120)
with an English translation and commentary

BY

V. MINORSKY

Professor of Persian in the University of London



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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-K.rk (until) it cuts through the sea in the direction of Arabia and the territory of Yemen with its lands, which are Zufār, 'Omān, Aden, Ḥaḍramūt, Ṣanā', Jurash, Mahra, Saba', etc. Then it cuts through the Qulzum sea and stretches across the Ḥabasha lands, cuts the Egyptian Nile and stretches across a place called Jarmī, 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, Yamāma, Baḥrayn and Hajar. It cuts through the Qulzum Sea and runs through Upper Egypt and the territories of Maghrib, across the central part of Ifriqiya, 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 Kābul, Kirmān and Sijistān, 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 Rūm, then it cuts through the Syrian Sea, the islands of Cyprus and Rhodes, and the lands of Maghrib, and runs through the territory of Ṭanja (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 Khwārazm, then through Ādharbayjān, Armenia, and the lands of Rūm, 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 Abaskūn Sea, in their northern part, then cuts through the Sea of Rūm and stretches along the lands of the Saqāliba, 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 Toghuzghuz and the territory of the Turks, then across the lands of the Alān, the Sarīr, the Burjān, some of the Saqāliba, 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 Sunrise 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 mentioned¹ 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. Ḥijāzī, Sha'āmī (Syrian), Rūmī, Hindī, Šīnī, as well as 'Adnānī, Qaḥṭānī, 'Alawī, 'Abbāsī. 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, ŠĪN, QITĀY², called by common people Khitāy, and UYGHUR, of which the greatest is the region and kingdom of Šīn (China).

4. The people of China are the most skilful of men in handicrafts. No nation approaches them in this. The people of Rūm 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 Rūm who (however) are one-eyed, that is to say that they know only half the business.

¹ See Commentary, p. 156.

² Spelt *Qutay* throughout.

5. The Chinese do not mix with the Turks from whom they differ in most things because the latter wear *jubbās* and turbans and not *qabās* and hats. (On the contrary) the Qitāy 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 MĀNĪ 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.NJÜR. This is a great city having a three days' periphery. Near it is another still greater city called KWFWĀ, but the king resides in Y.njūr. (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 TAḤGHĀJ-KHĀN, and it is he who is called FAGHFÜR.

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 MĀNĪ 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.

11. 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.

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

13. We have already said (?) that the Magian BIHĀFARĪDH 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.

14. It is written in the *Akhbār* (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 lovely¹ as full moons. They are those who are specially destined² 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.

15. 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, genuine³ Slavonic amber which falls in drops of resin from trees in (the lands

¹ **Maḥbūbīn*, but the text has *majbūbīn* "fully castrated."

² Clearly spelt *y.khtaṣ.rūna*. Perhaps: **yaqlaṣirūna*, cf. Text, p. *87.

³ *Fuṣūṣī*, perhaps the kind "to be set in bezels (*fuṣūṣ*)."

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 **khutū* (spelt *khatū*), 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.

16. 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 Ṭālibid 'Alid 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 'Alids are found on the island is that they are a party of Ṭālibids 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 the patrol, 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 'Alids 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.

17. 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 Mānī, contrary to the Qitāy and Uyghur among whom are other faiths excepting (only) Judaism.

18. In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (*qaṣaba*). 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 Kāshghar to Yārkaṇḍ	in	4 days (15a)
thence to Khotan	„	10 „
thence to K.rwyā (Keriya)	„	5 „
thence to Sājū (Sha-chou)	„	50 „

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

A. He who travels to Y.NJŪR, which is the capital of the king of China TAMGHĀJ-KHĀN turns from the easterly direction southwards, towards the right, and reaches *Qām-jū (= Kan-chou), then L.ksin—in forty days—and during this (journey) he leaves on his left the lands of *Khocho (spelt *Hhw*), of which are known Sūlmin (*sic*) and Chinānjkaṭh. From here he enters the kingdom of Tamghāj-khān and finally reaches Y.njūr in about 40 days.

Beyond China there is a nation known as SH.RGHŪL, called by the Chinese S.NQŪ (*Sung-kuo), 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 Mājīn (*Māchīn) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahāchīna).

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

C. He who intends going to ŪJAM (*sic*), which is the capital of Qitāy, travels eastwards and arrives at a place called

Khātūn-san (*Khātūn-sīnī)	in	about 2 months
then to Ūtkīn (?)	„	a month
then to Ūjam (<i>sic</i>)	„	a month

The circuit of Ūjam is about 2 farsakhs 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 farsakhs, 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. Ūjam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

20. The traveller towards *QITĀY at half a month's distance from Sānjū (*Sha-chou?) reaches a group of SHĀRĪ who are known by the name of a chief of theirs which is BĀSM.L (*Basmīl). They fled to this place from Islam being afraid of circumcision.

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 SULTĀN MAHMŪD, 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 amīr of Khorasan Maḥmūd Qarā-khān.¹

"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 (Maḥmūd) 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 lady¹ 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-Tonga?) is to open the road of union and to fasten the ties of amity."

Of souvenirs the (envoy) carried only:

- 2 suits of *khwīdh*
- 1 suit of *zhūnkī*
- 1 suit of *k.nzī*
- 2 suits of *sh.k.rdi*, (each) of 2 pieces
- 15 suits of raw silk, (each) of 2 pieces
- furs of sable-marten (for) pelisse (**yāqū*)
- 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

¹ *al-ḥurra* stands undoubtedly for Turkish *khātūn*, v.i. Biruni's translation of *Qatun-sīnī* by *maqbarat-al ḥurra*.

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.ltunkā has been sent from *Qitāy 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 *Qitāy 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. Qāshī 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 perfidy. 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:

the first	the year of the Mouse	
the second	" "	Bull
the third	" "	Leopard
the fourth	" "	Hare
the fifth	" "	<i>l.bnāt</i> (?) of the Water
the sixth	" "	Snake
the seventh	" "	Horse
the eighth	" "	Sheep
the ninth	" "	Monkey
the tenth	" "	Hen
the eleventh	" "	Dog
the twelfth	" "	Hog

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

☐ KHĀN-FŪ (Canton, spelt *Hānqū*), which is larger than *Lūfīn. This is a great port with a great river of fresh water which flows through the city and is spanned by bridges. On one of its banks are the markets of foreign merchants and on the other the markets of the natives. The majority of Persian and Arab merchants who travel thither sail on their ships, (the Persians) from Sirāf and the Arabs from Basra.

In this city (of Canton) the Collector of the king's tithe gathers the goods of the merchants and levies the tithe.

The people of this city are faithful, sure and truthful in speech.

✓ Here Chinese porcelain is produced as well as excellent paper, one side of which is white and the other yellow. Chinese silk of good quality is also produced here.]

☐ The people are dressed in caftans. One of their customs is that at daytime each one of the inhabitants of the two markets mixes (freely) with the others carrying on trade and other operations, but at sunset the drum is beaten on both banks and each party retires to its own place. If after that some one of the two parties is found in the market of the other side he is punished and fined. If someone of the Chinese staying in the strangers' market is benighted he must spend the night with them.

No stranger is allowed to take out of the city slaves, either male or female, destined for servitude, but if a merchant has had children by a handmaiden he may export her, and he is not prevented from doing so.

✓ The goods imported to them are elephant's tusks, pepper, assafoetida, glass, lapis lazuli, saffron, steel, tamarisk wood, walnuts, all kinds of dried fruit, such as dates and raisins.]

☐ 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.

The king of *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

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 *khutū* (spelt *khatū*), 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 (*kursī*) 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 *fāsām* (**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-rīḥ*, "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.

28. All the Chinese are assessed to a poll-tax, with the exception of women and children. When a child is born to them the time of his birth at night or day time is recorded and the document is placed with his father, or his relatives, so that they should not be mistaken about his age. When he has reached the age of manhood he is assessed to the poll-tax, and never do records fail to go to the king of the men who live in his kingdom and of those who have died. ✓ The dead are buried only in the year, month, day and hour in which

they were born.¹ If a man has died among his people and in his house, he is kept in a wooden trough (*naqīr*), 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-yumazzaqu*). 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

¹ I.e. apparently a person born in the year of the Mouse (v.s. §25) was to be buried in the same year of the animal cycle.

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 KHUMDĀN, and it is said that from the city of Chīnānjkaṭh to Khumdān 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 (*majālis*) and statues.¹ 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 a 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,² 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 (*takht*) of textile³ and of a gilt silver bowl. The envoy returns to the envoys' 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 disperse 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 §39.

² Gardizi: "one vazir on the right and another on the left."

³ Gardizi, 93: *takhtī dibā*.

throw his head into a place specially prepared, over which there is an inscription: "This is the punishment of him who has disobeyed the order of the Government." And one of their laws is that he that has stolen (the value of) more than 100 small coins, i.e. 10 dirhams, shall be killed and shall on no account be spared.

✓ 33. In the environs of KHUMDĀN, which is the capital of the king surnamed FAGHFŪR, there are 120 villages, and in each of them some 1000 men of all ranks (*murattaba*). 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 *kharāj*, 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 towns paying *kharāj*. ✓

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 sea-shore.

35. To the left of China towards the summer sunrise (N.E.), between China and the Khirkhiz, there is a numerous population. They are tribes with names such as ABRMR, ḤWRNYR, TŪLMĀN, F.RĀHNKLĪ, YĀTHĪ, ḤYNĀTHĪ, BŪBŪ'NĪ, B.NKŪY, FŪRĪ.¹ They make (19a) ornaments for their women out of white shells (*wad'*, "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 Rūs. ✓

✕ 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

¹ The transcription of these names, which are undotted in the original, is purely conventional and cannot be relied upon. See the Commentary.

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 handmaiden 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 (*mughattāt*?) by temples built of cypress wood, as are also most of their markets, and every day several times they are levelled¹ and besprinkled. 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 Toghuzghuz ✓ territories, Tibet and the Persian Gulf (*sic*).

42. TIBET is a country situated between China, India, the ✓ country of the Kharlukh and Toghuzghuz and the sea of Fārs.

¹ Possibly **tuknasu* "are swept."

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,¹ who live in a land and place called in Tibetan AKHĀY.L, which possesses thick woods, meadows and pastures. They are of the king's people. When the Tibet-khāqān dies childless and there is no one else in the khāqān's family, a man from among them is elected and made khāqān. As regards the place called BĀB AL-TUBBATAYN ("the Gate of the two Tibets"), it is a gate between the mountain SHĪWA and the river KH.RNĀB, 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 (20a) 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.² With that they pay their *kharāj*, which is assessed per head.

Above Rāng-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

¹ Apparently **Akhā*. The following name is *Akhā-yul* "the country of A."

² *Yaltaqifūna*, "they pick up," but the meaning must be "which they extract."

of the 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 plentifulness 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 youths 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 GHUZZ, who comprehend twelve tribes, and of these some are called *TOGHUZGHUZ, some UY-GHUR, and some UCH-GHUR (?). Their king is called TOGHUZ-KHAQAN, and he has numerous armies. In ancient times their king had 1000 life-guards (*shākiri*) and 400 female servants; with him (*inda-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 yurtas (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 TÜRKMĀNS. 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 Türkmen 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?] *Ākinji b. *Qochqar (?) the Khwārazmshāh. 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 SHĀRĪ, and the Shārī migrated to the land of the TÜRKMĀNS, who in their turn shifted to the eastern parts of the GHUZZ country. The Ghuzz Turks then moved to the territory of the BAJĀNAK, near the shores of the Armenian (?) sea.

4. To them (also) belong the KHIRKHĪZ, a numerous people dwelling between the summer east [=N.E.] and the north; the Kimāk live to the north, the Yaghmā and the Kharlukh 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 *faghīnūn*, 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 KHIRKHĪZ 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 open 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 Ūj and KĀSHGHAR 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.¹

5 *ter* (= 6 in Chap. XV). On this side (*dūn*) of the Khirkhiz, in the direction of Chinānjath, there are thickets 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 this, 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 (**Tūlis*), which is the Golden mountain, and were the slaves of the Toghuzghuz; [later] they rebelled against them, and migrated to the land of the T.RK.S (**Türgish*), 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.lāq, Kūk.rkīn (*Kūdārkin*?) and Tukhsī.

¹ See also Chapter XV, §21.

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 (*qāqum*) 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 (*nāhiyat 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 *qibla* of the Kimāk is a people called the B.ŠRI (?)¹; they have an independent chieftain, they live in woods and forests winter and summer.

10. The PECHENECS (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

¹ The transcription is purely tentative!

by many peoples; to the north are the Khifjākh, to the south-west (*al-janūb fil-maghrib*) the Khazar, 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 (*tarādāt*). Between the Pechenegs and the Khazar 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 KHAZAR are wide, reaching on one side to a great mountain-(range). At the furthest end of this mountain there dwell two divisions of the Turks, called the Ṭulās and the Lw'r.¹ This mountain stretches away to the land of Tiflis. Their city is called SĀR's¹ (**Sārigh-sh.n*?) and they have another city called KH.TBALIGH¹ (*sic*) (**Kh.nbaligh*, etc. ?); in these two cities they dwell during the winter, but with the approach of spring they go out into the deserts (*ṣahārī*), 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 (*dhirā'*) 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.RDĀS, 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 chieftain 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 (*khātib*) 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 (? *dalaq*)². 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 куница.

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 BULGHĀR¹; it lies between the west (?) and the north, inclining towards the Pole, and is three months distant from Khwārazm. These (people) have two cities, one called SUVĀR and the other called BULGHĀR; 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 arḍihim kathīrun*), 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 Isū, and beyond this a people called YŪRA; 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 Bulghār 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 Yūra 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 MAJGHARĪ are a Turkish people having wide territories reaching a distance of 100 farsakhs in either direction. Their chieftain rides at the head of about 20,000 horsemen, and is called **k.nda*, this name being the distinction of their king. They are a tent-dwelling people, and migrate following the herbage (*kalā*) and vegetation. One border of their territory reaches the SEA OF RŪM, and there are found here (*wa hunāka*) two rivers which flow into that sea, one of them being bigger than the Oxus (*Jayhūn*). The habitations of the Majgharī lie between these two rivers, whose names are the Rūnā (*Rūtā*?) and the Atil. Their territories abound in forests, and they also have sown fields. They overcome those of the Slavs and Rūs who are their neighbours, carrying off captives whom they sell in Rūm. The Majgharī are handsome and very comely (*riwā' wa manzar ḥasan*), 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 (*ashjār multaffa*) 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 (*mazāmīr*), including one two cubits long. Their lute is flat and has eight strings but no peg-box (*bunjuq*), while (*illā anna*) its pegs are level. They have no great wealth (*laysa lahum sa'at fil-ma'īsha*). Their weapons are javelins and spears, and they have fine bucklers. Their head chieftain is called *suwīt*,¹ and he has a deputy called *sh.rīh*.¹ The king has [riding] beasts and on their milk he feeds. The town in which he resides is called KH. ZH. RĀT., 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.

In the winter the Majgharī raid them, and as a result of their mutual raidings they have many slaves.

15. The Rūs live in an island in the sea, its extent being a distance of three days in either direction. It has woods and forests, and is surrounded by a lake.¹ They are very numerous, and look to the sword to provide them with a livelihood and profession (*al-ma'āsh wal-kasb*). When one of their menfolk dies, leaving daughters and sons, they hand his property over to the daughters, giving the sons only a sword, for they say, "Your father won his property by the sword; do you imitate him and follow him in this."

And in this way their education (*nushu'*) was effected, until they became Christians, during the year 300. When they entered [the fold of] Christianity, the faith blunted their swords, the door of their livelihood was closed to them, they returned to hardship and poverty, and their livelihood shrank. Then they desired to become Muslims, that it might be lawful for them to make raids and holy war, and so make a living by returning to some of their former practices. They therefore sent messengers to the ruler of Khwārazm, four kinsmen of their king; for they had an independent king called VLADIMIR (*V.lādmīr*), just as the king of the Turks is called *khāqān* and the king of the Bulgars *b.t.lū*. Their messengers came to Khwārazm and delivered their message. The Khwārazm-shāh was delighted at their eagerness to become Muslims, and sent someone to them to teach them the religious laws of Islam. So they were converted.

They are strong and powerful men, and go on foot into far regions in order to raid; they also sail in boats (*fī sufun*) on the Khazar sea, seizing ships and plundering goods. They sail to Constantinople in the sea of Pontus, in spite of the chains in the gulf.² Once they sailed into the sea of Khazar and became masters of Barda'a for a time. Their valour and courage are well known, so that any one of them is equal to a number of any other nation. If they had horses and were riders, they would be a great scourge to mankind.

16. We have mentioned various kinds of Turks and their affairs so far as anything is known of them and the news has been propagated, but without going into the matter at any length because their various kinds and classes, their life, habits and customs are more than it is possible to mention or to describe.

17. HIPPOCRATES and GALEN have much to say about them (i.e. the Turks) and we desire to report some of their sayings.

¹ Or perhaps; "and in the neighbourhood (of the woods) there is a lake" (?).

² *Khalij* may apply to the Straits as well but here the reference is apparently to the Golden Horn.

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 (*tiwāl al-alhāz*).

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, cervices 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

that they are not properly purified every month, the fact that the attractive force inherent in the wombs is weakened by the cold and dampness found (in their bodies), so that the sperm, not being caught rapidly, becomes corrupted on account of its lightness and dampness before it has reached its destination.

At another place Galen says that Turkish women do not conceive often because they are care-free and tranquil; as to their hand-maidens and slaves, by dint of their movements and activities their bodies are shaken and discharge the excess of dampness contained in them. Consequently, their wombs dry up, they conceive rapidly and their children become many [24a].

19. Hippocrates says that many Turks, on account of what we have related about them, become like eunuchs, grow impotent with their women, do women's work and talk like women. Indeed, what he says is found and attested in the inhabitants of some of the Turkish lands, but those who live in deserts and steppes and lead a nomadic life in winter and summer, are the strongest of men and most enduring in battle and warfare. There are two classes of them: (1) those who possess chiefs and kings whom they obey and with whose decisions and orders they comply, and (2) those who owe allegiance to no one but themselves and over whom no one rules; these are the strongest and the most energetic and courageous.

Hippocrates says that in Asia there are people who owe allegiance to nobody and over whom no one else rules, such as the Ionians and Turks. They are free men who govern themselves and let no one else govern them. What they do and gain they do for themselves, not for anybody else. These are the most courageous, vehement and warlike and, thanks to their (common) perseverance in war against those who fight them, they take booty in equal parts (?).

20. Galen says that their women fight like men and that they cut off one of their breasts so that their entire strength should go into their arms, and their bodies grow slim (enabling them) to jump on to the backs of the horses.

Hippocrates has mentioned these women in some of his works. He calls them AMĀZŪNAS, which means "those who possess but one breast," for they cut off the other and they are only prevented from cutting off the (remaining) breast by the necessity of feeding their children for the perpetuation of their race. (The reason why) they cut off one breast is in order that it may not hamper them in shooting arrows on horseback.

21. As to the class which has kings and chiefs, there are numerous tribes of them, namely, those which we have previously mentioned.

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 SHĀKBĪRIYA (**chakravartiya*?), 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 BRAHMANS, who have the leadership under the king. They prostrate themselves before the Sumanī,¹ 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 *KISHTARIYA (*kshatriya*), who do not drink more than thrice (at a time). The Brahmans 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 Brahmans marry theirs but do not give them (their own).

6. Then the BAYSHIYA (*vaiśya*), 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 Brahmans become infatuated with them so as to abandon for them their religion (but otherwise) none of the castes mentioned touches them.

8. Then the DUNBIYA (*ḍomba*), who have a dark complexion² 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

¹ Shamani, "Buddhists"?

² I. Kh., 71, also has *sumr*, cf. *infra* §47, but another possible reading is *gaum samar*, "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 ('āqat) me and so I left them. And this is the animal called *nasnās* ("faun" ?).

21. It is said that in the deserts stretching between BADHAKHSHĀN 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 (*qarada*) and their bodies were covered with hair like those of apes.

23. I have read in the *Kitāb al-Baḥr* ("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

On the earlier Muslim description of China see Ferrand's collection of texts *Relations de voyages . . . relatifs a l'Extrême Orient*, I, 1913, II, 1914, and bibliography in *H.-'Ā.*, 223-8.

✓ 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. Šin, Qitāy and Yughur. 4. The Chinese and Byzantines as craftsmen. 5. The Chinese do not mix with other people. 6. Mānī's law.

(b) A merchant's report: 7. Y.njūr and Kūfū. 8. A block of wood carved into an image. 9. Mānī on images. 10. Self-propelling carts. 11. Gambling. 12. Tailoring.

(c) More on goods and merchants: 13. Bihāfarīdh's shirt. 14. The *Akhbār* on a eunuch's shirt. 15. Goods imported and exported. 16. The 'Alavī middlemen.

(d) General: 17. Language and religion. 18. Chinese once in Samarqand, now divided.

(e) Land routes: 19. to China, Yughur and Qitāy. 20. The Shārī or Basmīl. 21. Policy of Qitāy and Yughur.

(f) An embassy to Maḥmūd of Ghaznī: 22. A letter of the lord of Qitāy and his presents. 23. Ditto of the king of the Yughur. 24. Maḥmūd's reply. 25. Animal cycle of twelve years.

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

(h) Chinese customs: 28. Poll-tax. 29. Mourning, courtesans.

(i) General: 29. Khumdān the capital. 30. Clothing and dwellings. 31. Priests responsible for bringing rain. 32. Curfews. 33. Environs of Khumdān; 360 towns in China. 34. The sea-board of China. 35. Tribes between China and Khirkhīz. 36. *Al-Masālik* on a red-haired nation.

(j) Customs continued: 37. Criminal procedure. 38. Passports. 39. Clothing and homes. Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum.

(k) Silā (Corea): 41.

(l) 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 *Akhbār* Gardizī refers to a work of Ibn Khurdādhbih, which is not otherwise known. Barthold, *Otchot*, 79, tentatively identified it with *Kitāb jamharat al-Furs wal-nawāqil*, "Genealogies of Persians and their colonies," quoted in the *Fihrist*, 149. As our §14 is not in Gardizī, it is probable that, in this case, *Akhbār* refers to some collection of reports, similar to that going under the name of Sulaymān the Merchant.¹ 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. Khurdādhbih's work, *BGA*, VII, 69.²

The *Masālik* is referred to in a paragraph (§36), which is also found in Gardizī, the latter quoting Jayhānī as his source. One should imagine that the other items coinciding in Marvazi and Gardizī had also passed through Jayhānī's huge and important compilation.³ Here is the abstract of Gardizī's chapter on China with the indication of the parallel §§ in Marvazi.

Gardizī	Marvazi's §§
Road to Khumdān	29
China is a vast kingdom	30
Silk clothes with long sleeves	30
Streets covered	39
Dwellings have statues	30 and 39
Army of 400,000	30 ("numerous")
Chinese clever	8 (? many more details)
Good textiles and vases	12 (?)
Abū Zayd (Balkhī?) on the Ghuzz being China's neighbours	deest
Frontiers: Khotan, India, Bolor, Gog and Magog	deest (Sulaymān, 59: Toghuzghuz, Tibet)
I. Khurdādhbih says every traveller to China becomes a sage	deest, but cf. I. Kh., 170 ₃
Many kings under the Faghfūr	deest
Yellow brocade and white horses reserved for the Faghfur	deest
Visible once a year when he rides to the ancestors' tombs	deest
Great audience with musicians	deest
Only the vazīr, the šāhib (?) and the envoys admitted to the king	30 (vazīr and ḥājib)
Reception of envoys	30
Astrologers in the king's gynaeceum	40

¹ Compiled in 237/851 and completed by Abū Zayd Sīrāfi c. 303/915. Cf. Chap. XV, §23, in which some *Kitāb al-bahr* is referred to. It is noteworthy that I. Kh., 62, quotes some reports of Mariners (*dhakara bahriyyūn*) on the pepper-plant of Southern India.

² But the data may have passed through Jayhānī.

³ On the original source, v.i, §29.

Gardizī	Marvazi's §
Crops not irrigated	31 ("cereals")
Priests responsible for rains	31
180 drums in the palace	32 ("numerous")
Curfew	32
Crimes punishable with death	32 (more details)
A red-haired people living beyond China	36 (from <i>al-Masālik</i>)

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 Marvazi's data relate to different times and places. All the items in which Manichaeism is said to be the religion of the Chinese (§§6, 17) are earlier than A.D. 843. The traditional name of the Chinese capital in §29, namely, Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu), takes us back to the T'ang epoch and is entirely different from the later capital of Y.nchūr (Yung-chou?), which flourished in the post-T'ang time, see §§7, 19. The data on the K'itan embassy belong to 418/1027. Different sources account for some repetitions (§26—curfew in Canton, §32—ditto in Khumdān; goods for China §§15 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.njūr 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 Qitāy in 418/1027: §§3, 5 (?), 18–25.

(f) Marvazi's own remarks: §§2, 18 (?).

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 Greek² one, but even in translating Ptolemy Arab geographers introduced their additions into the original scheme, see Khuwārizmi's *Šīrat al-arḍ*, ed. Mžik, and Barthold's Preface to the *H.-'A*, 10.

Apart from some minor alterations, the description entirely corresponds with that found in al-Farghānī's *Fil-ḥarakāt al-samāwiya*,

¹ The authority (b) calls the emperor Faghfūr, whereas the authority (c) refers to him as Tafghāj-khān.

² The Seven Climes appear in the oldest Greek geographers, see E. Honigmann, *Die Sieben Klimata*, 1929, pp. 10–30.

ed. Golius, Amsterdam, 1669, p. 35.¹ Practically the same text is reproduced in I. Rusta, 96-8, Muṭahhar, IV, 49-53 (Seventh Clime left out), *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, 479-81, and Yāqūt, I, 29. By some slip, Marvazī skipped the original Sixth Clime and then quoted under the "Sixth Clime" the description of the Seventh Clime, and under the "Seventh Clime," the data referring to the zone which I. Rusta calls "what is beyond the aforesaid climes, down to the end of the inhabited lands." Marvazī slightly abridges the enumeration of places.² The island al-K.rk is spelt *al-K.rl* in Ferghānī and Khuwārizmī, *al-K.wl* in I. Rusta and the *Mujmal*, and *al-K.rk* in Muṭahhar and Yāqūt. De Goeje in his note to I. Rusta, 96c, identifies it with "Kūlū or Kūlam" (Quilon). According to Nallino, *Atti dei Lincei*, 1896, II/1, 39, the island which Khuwārizmī calls "*al-Mydh* or *al-K.rl*" is meant to represent Gujarat, cf. also al-Battānī, ed. Nallino, II, 51, No. 239. The people *Myd* (**Mydh*?) or *M.nd* are often quoted by early Arab writers as occupying the coastal region of the Sind and Kathiawar, see Minorsky, *Mand* in *EI*. The *Myd* were notorious pirates, and in this connection it may be placed on record that some mysterious *al-K.rk* plundered Jedda in 151/768. Two years later Maṣṣūr sent against them a naval expedition from Baṣra, see I. Athīr, V, 455 and 466. The question of *al-Myd/al-K.rk* is complicated by Ibn Sa'īd (d. circa A.D. 1286?), as available in Ferrand's translation, *Relations*, 336. Ibn Sa'īd places the islands of *M.nd* at the end of the First Clime. The principal island was called *K.lwa*, and had three towns: *K.lwa* (the capital), *M.nd* and *Knk*. It is added that the inhabitants are brethren of those of Hind and Sind, 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 *Tafhīm*, ed. Wright, 143-5, is somewhat different. Biruni begins the Sixth Clime with "Eastern Turks, such as Qāy, Qūn, etc." Marvazī 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 Muḥammad b. Mūsā al-Khuwārizmī, quoted *ibid.*, p. 4?), and whose enumeration is accompanied by some general characteristics of the Climes.³

¹ Its author is usually supposed to have worked under Ma'mūn (A.D. 813-33), but this assumption is by no means certain, as the astronomer's father, Muḥammad b. al-Kathīr, is said to have been employed under Mutawakkil (A.D. 847-861), see Brockelmann, *GAL*, I, 221, and *Supplement*, I, 392.

² In I. Rusta's Sixth Clime *Burjān* follows Constantinople and evidently corresponds to the Bulgars. In the Seventh Clime, *Burjan* comes before the Slavs and probably also refers to the Bulgars. In the zone "beyond the Climes," after the Alan come *al-Abar* "the Avars," *Burjān* and the Slavs. Marvazī leaves out the Avars but keeps *Burjān*, which at this place may originally refer to the Burgundians, cf. I. Khurdādhbih, 92, 119, Mas'ūdī, *Tanbih*, 190, *Hudūd*, 419, 447.

³ Cf. on Arabic Climes, Honigmann, *o.c.*, 112-83 (Ptolemaios und die Araber etc.).

§2 is the author's own conclusion, the influence of geographical surroundings being his favourite theme. In the chapter of the Persians (ff. 112a-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 (*akhaṣṣ al-ashyā*) in a man, as in every animal, is the soil (*turbatuhu*) 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 Maṣṣūr Tha'ālibī's *Laṭā'if al-ma'ārif*, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 127. The author lived 350-430/961-1038, and used Jayhānī, but is, in style at least, independent of Marvazī. As the "one-eyed nation" he quotes the Babylonians (*ahl-Bābil*) and not the Byzantines.

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

§§7-12 are connected by the person of the narrator. As in §7, *Y.njūr* (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 Marvazī (cf. 'Aufī), we have to suppose that it was incorporated only in some later copies of Jayhānī's work.

§13. The Zoroastrian reformer Bihāfarīdh 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, *Bihāfarīdh*, in *WZKM*, III, 30-7, and *E.I.*, and lately Gh. H. Sadighi, *Les mouvements religieux iraniens*, Paris, 1938, 113-131. No "previous" mention of *Bihāfarīdh* is found in Marvazī, but 'Aufī gives a pretty complete version of Bihāfarīdh's story, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 93 (= No. 1624 in Niẓāmu'd-dīn's list). He may have taken the details from a passage omitted in our copy of Marvazī, but it is possible that in this particular case he made direct use of Jayhānī's *Masālik*, cf. Niẓāmu'd-dīn, 101-3, 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 Marvazī quotes some written source which he calls *al-Akhhār*, and which may be identical with "some Maritime Merchants" (*ba'ḍ al-tujjār al-bahriyyīn*) and

¹ Perhaps several persons?

with *Kitāb al-baḥr*, quoted elsewhere (ff. 44a and 45a).¹ 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-chao, see Barthold, *Khānfū* in *E.I.*

§14. The story of the eunuch and his five shirts is found in Abū Zayd Sirāfi, 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 Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, v.i. §29?] Cf. 'Aufi, No. 1965 (from Marvazi?).

§15. On importations into China see Sulaymān, 35 (minus amber) and 'Aufi, No. 1905. *Khutū* is repeated under §27, which points either to two sources or to the carelessness of the epitomist in summing up his material.

§16. The story of the 'Alid intermediaries established on an island (near Canton?) is of clear Shī'a inspiration and its fluent style reflects the influence of some pious lore. The details about the destruction of snakes is to be connected with legends concerning 'Ali, "the slayer (*lit.* 'render') of the Serpent, or Dragon (*Ḥaydar-i ḥayya-dar*," cf. *H.-'A.*, §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-Muslimiyya among the Turks of Transoxiana. Some said that he was a descendant of Imām Yaḥyā b. Zayd b. 'Alī (killed in Gūzḡān A.D. 743), and that he "fled from the Omayyads and traversed the country of the Turks."² The first convert to Islam among Turkish rulers Satuq Boghra khan of Kāshghar (d. 344/955) professed the Shī'a. See Barthold, *Turkestan*, 199, Grenard, *La légende de Satok Boghra*, in *J.A.*, Jan. 1900, p. 1-79; Marquart, *Guwaini's Bericht über die Bekehrung der Uiguren*, 1912, 495; Blochet, *La conquête des états nestoriens de l'Asie Centrale par les schiites*, in *Revue de l'Orient Chrétien*, XXVV, 1926, pp. 3-131 (very disappointing). The story of the 'Alids is shortened in 'Aufi, No. 1965. More interesting is another echo found on Kāshghari's Map. *Baldat al-'Alawiyya*, "the town of the 'Alids," is shown on it beyond Bish-baliq to the S.E. of the mountains (Altai?) from the northern side of which rises the Y.mār (Obi). *Baldat al-nisā*, "The Town of the Women," which figures in the same sector, increases the impression of a *terra incognita*. The only other name seen beyond the Town of the Alids,

¹ V s p. 63

² Muṭahhar b. Ṭāhir, IV, 63 (tr. IV, 60), says that there is a colony of descendants of Ḥusayn b. 'Alī in Khotan, which according to his source (Jayhānī?) is a part of Tibet.

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 'Alids as Marvazi (§16), but the time which elapsed since Marvazi's original source obscured the situation: the 'Alid settlement had grown into a Shī'a parallel to Prester John's kingdom. Three centuries later Maqrīzī, ed. Wiet, I, 59, removed the 'Alid colony still further east, to Corea (*al-Shīlā*).

F. Grenard, *Mission scientifique de Dutreuil du Rhins*, 1898, II, 308-15, and Pelliot, *Les Abdāl de Païnāp*, *J.A.*, 1907, janvier, 115-39, have described a curious community in Chinese Turkestan (near Cherchen and Kāshghar), speaking a dialect in which a predominantly Persian vocabulary is combined with Turkish grammar.¹ Both French explorers were inclined to see in the Abdāls "les descendants des chiites . . . qui apportèrent les premiers l'Islam en Kachgharie." Whatever the date of the installation of the Abdāls in Kashgharia they are a typical example of Persian-Shī'a infiltrations similar to that described in Marvazi's source.

§17. For the item on Manichaeism as the religion of the Chinese, v.s. §§6, 9. The Uyghurs (on 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. 840) than the Manichaeans in China were disestablished and persecuted (A.D. 843). Marvazi'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 Marvazi 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 §§19-25. 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 even on the momentous battle of A.D. 751, in which Ziyād b. Šāliḥ inflicted a decisive defeat on the Chinese. Following Barthold's indication, *Turkestan*, p. 196, I have found a parallel record on paper in Samarqand in Tha'ālibī's *Latā'if al-ma'ārif*, who quotes *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*.² Consequently this is one more

¹ Cf. also A. von Le Coq, *Die Abdāl*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, 1912, II/5, pp. 221-8.

² Tha'ālibī, ed. Jong, 1867, p. 129: "the author of *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik* writes that, among the prisoners taken by Ziyād b. Šāliḥ, 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 people of Samarqand. . . ." The *Fihrist*, 21, is much more vague: "it has been said (*qila*) that artisans from China fabricated (paper) in Khorasan, similar to Chinese paper." Abū-Manṣūr 'Abd al-Malik Tha'ālibī died *circa* 430/1038.

precious fact from Jayhānī's lost treasure and a link between 'A. Malik Tha'ālibī and Marvazī, both of whom wrote in Khorasan.

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 Marvazī's text has in view the later Uyghur kingdom of Qocho and Bish-balīq formed by the remnants of the Uyghur, after the occupation of the Orkhon by the Qirghiz (A.D. 840). The K'itan (Qitāy) 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 Marvazī's source (Jayhānī?) is not incorrect.

§§19-25, 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 Ghaznī 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-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī* compiled shortly after 421/1030. Biruni's book on precious stones¹ 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 Ghaznī of the rare guests from the Far East.² Biruni's short explanations of the names tally perfectly with Marvazī, 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 Marv.³

Biruni's tables give the following co-ordinates in the Far East:⁴

<i>Fifth Clime</i>	Long.	Lat.
Twsm.t in Outer Tibet	110° 0'	39° 10'
Chinānjath, i.e. Qocho, residence of the Uyghur-khan	111 20	42 0
Sānjū (Sha-chou?), whence the road separates southwards to China ..	115 10	40 20
Qāmjū (Kan-chou)	116 5	39 0

¹ *Kitab al-jamāhir fi ma'rifat al-jawāhir*, ed. by F. Krenkow, Haidarabad, 1355/1936, p. 208.

² On his eagerness for knowledge, cf. his *Ṣaydana*, on how he obtained the Greek names of plants from a Greek who happened to visit Khwārazm, see Meyerhoff, *Das Vorwort zur Drogenkunde des Beruni*, 1932.

³ Close relations must have existed between Marv and Ghazni. In 510/1117 Sanjar put Bahrām-shah on the throne of Ghazni.

⁴ I am using B.M. Or. 1997, which is not very correct, but as the tables are arranged in the order of increasing longitudes (and, in our particular case, of decreasing latitudes) the approximate results are reliable enough.

Third Clime

	Long.	Lat.
T.ksin (L.ksin?) in the land of the Upper Turks	120 15	32 50
*Khātūn-sin, i.e. "The Tomb of the noblewoman"	129 40	31 50

Second Clime

Y.njū, residence of the Faghfūr of China surnamed Taghmāj (<i>sic</i>)-khan Kūfū, a city larger than the capital of Y.njū	125 0	22 0
Ūtkin	127 0	21 0
Ūtkin	136 30	26 0
Qitā, to the N.E. of China, its Lord being Qitā-khan ¹	158 40	21 40

First Clime

Sh.rghūd, in Chinese <i>S.nqū</i> , which is Mahāchin	155 0	15 0
Khān-fū, one of the gates (<i>abwāb</i>) of China, on a river	160 0	14 0
Khān-jū, one of the gates, also on a river	162 0	13 0

Beyond the First Clime

Hāmt.rā, ² one of the gates of China, and the estuary of its rivers ..	166 0	11 0
Silā, at the extreme end of China towards the East; few people travelled to it by sea	170 0	5 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	Km.
Tūsmat—Kan-chou	327	526
Sha-chou—Kan-chou ³	105	169
Sha-chou—T.ksin	589	947.7
Sha-chou—Khatun-sinī	1001	1610.6
Sha-chou—Y.njū	1393	2241.3
Kan-chou—T.ksin	475	764
T.ksin—Y.njū	1070	1722
T.ksin—Kūfū	1200	1931
Y.njū—Kūfū	148	238
Kan-chou—Khatun-sinī	900	1528

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

² Possibly Ptolemy's 'Οιτροκόρρα (long. 166°; lat. 37° 15'), in Khuwarizmi *Offorāqārā* (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—Kua-chou—Su-chou—Kan-chou at 1180 or 1316 li, i.e. 680 or 760 Km. Even as the crow flies, the distance is c. 525 Km. (G. Haloun). Gardīzi counts between Sha-chou and Kan-chou 13 days, *H.-A.*, 229.

	Miles	Km.
Khatun-sīnī—Kūfū	766	1232.5
Khatun-sīnī—Ūtkīn	575	925
Ūtkīn—Qitā	1420	2253

§19. The itinerary from Kāshghar to Sha-chou, along the southern line of oases of Chinese Turkestan is very brief. For the 14 days' journey between Kāshghar and Khotan the author quotes only Yārkan. Both the *Hudūd*, 260, and Gardizī, 94, give the stages of this stretch and Gardizī enumerates exactly 14 of them. The common source is undoubtedly Jayhānī. In the stretch Khotan-Sha-chou, K.rwya (Keriya)¹ 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.² 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 Gardizī as the meeting place of roads from Qumul (in the Uyghur region) and the south, v.s. Biruni, under "Sānjū." Marvazi makes three roads start from Sha-chou.

(a) ROAD TO CHINA. Contrary to the descriptions in the *Hudūd* and Gardizī, which have in mind the road to a point on the Yangtze, our source follows the road southwards, down to Kan-chou (Qām-jū) and then turns away eastwards to L.ksīn (Biruni: *T.ksīn* ?), thence to reach the later capital of Y.njūr (Biruni: *Y.njū*).³ The distances Kan-chou—L.ksīn, 40 days, and thence to Y.njūr, "about" 40 days, seem to be exaggerated. Reckoning again 32 Km. per day's march, we obtain a distance of about 2500 Km., whereas the distance as the crow flies between Kan-chou and Ho-nan-fu hardly exceeds 1200 Km.⁴ According to Biruni, *T.ksīn* was situated at approximately one-third of the way between Kan-chou and Y.nju, there being 764 Km. between Kan-chou and *T.ksīn*, and 1693 Km. between the latter and Y.njū. If we content ourselves with this ratio and apply it to the actual distances on the modern maps, we may tentatively place L.ksīn in the neighbourhood of Ning-hsia, which lies about 550 Km. from Sha-chou and 950 Km. 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).⁵ The first part of *L.k-sīn/T.k-sīn* could be easily restored as

¹ In Biruni's *Canon* also *K.rwya* (possibly assimilated to *Karavyā* "caraway" ?).

² Dutreuil de Rhins, *Mission*, II, 201, reckons from Kāshghar to Yārkan 186 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 'Aufi's *H.j.r*, Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 98) seems to be superfluous. Marco Polo also adds *r* in a similar name *Succiur* for

*Suk-chou (now Su-chou).

⁴ Even if the text is to be understood in the sense that 40 days cover the distance Sha-chou—Ho-nan-fu the stretch would not exceed 1500 Km.

⁵ Ning-hsia ("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-k'ing-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.njū. *Kūfwā/Kūfū* looks like a mis-spelling of *Kwf.n* to be identified with K'ai-fêng, the eastern capital of the Sung. The western capital was at that time Ho-nan-fu, which was then called Hsi-king, but during the period A.D. 907-23 *Yung-chou*.¹ Our Y.njūr (*Yun-jū) is a perfect Arabic equivalent of Yung-chou and a close indication of the date at which the original authority visited China. As another reference to Y.jūr 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'itan ambassador who speaks of his contemporary Sung (A.D. 960-1279) with some haughtiness, 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 Gardizī, who used Jayhānī, mention Khumdān (Hsi-an-fu) as the capital of China (cf. also §29),³ 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 Birūnī (v.s. p. 69), corresponds to Ho-nan-fu and not to Hsi-an-fu. Our firm point is Kū-fū (**Kū-f.n*) *K'ai-fêng. The distance (as the crow flies) between K'ai-fêng and Ho-nan-fu is about 145 miles (233 Km.), and between K'ai-fêng and Hsi-an-fu *circa* 320 miles (515 Kms.). The distance between Kū-fū and Y.njūr, as calculated by Dr. Thackeray from Biruni's co-ordinates, is 148 miles! The indication that Ku-fu was larger than Y.njūr is also important for under the Sung Ho-nan-fu had 233,280 inhabitants and K'ai-fêng 444,940 (though their areas were very much the same).⁴

(b) ROAD FROM SHA-CHOU TO YUGHUR, i.e. to the Uyghur capital of Chīnānjūth (= Khocho), is described by Gardizī, 92. The form *Sūlm.n*, which is also found in Biruni, is probably a mis-spelling for *Solmī* (or *Sōlmi*), see Kāshghari, I, 103, and the Saka

¹ Prof. Mullie quotes the *T'ai p'ing huan yü-ki*. 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-fêng-fu or with Hsi-an-fu.

² Note the opening paragraph of §19, which refers to travellers "on commercial or other business."

³ Khumdān is quoted by Qudāma, 264, who largely depends on the original text of I. Khurdādhbih.

⁴ King-chao-fu = Hsi-an-fu at the same period had 537,288 inhabitants, *Sung-shih*, ch. 85, p. 3 (Mullie).

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:

		Long.	Lat.
Chīnānjāth	III° 20'	42° 0'
Sūlm.n	113 0	43 0

according to which Sūlm.n lay to the N.E.E. of Khocho, apparently on the northern side of T'ien-shan.

(c) 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 Ghaznī 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 Marvazi's distances indicates a considerable divergence at the third stretch:

	Biruni Km.	Marvazi Days	Km.
Sha-chou—Khatun-sīnī ..	circa 1610	2 months	1920
thence to Ūtkīn ..	925	1 month	960
thence to Ūjam ..	2250	1 month	960

It is clearly stated in §19 that the road to Qitāy branches off from ✓ Sājū (*Sha-chou), but in §20 the initial (?) point is called Sānjū. Birūnī's MS. gives something like Miyānjū (*Sānjū), but leaves no doubt as to its identity with Sājū (*Sha-chou). More complicated is the case of Kāshghari who, I, 349, says "Shanjū, a township on the way to Upper China, more correctly Shānjū." It is possible that *al-Ṣīn al-d'lā* stands here for Qitāy, but is the name, so carefully spelt out, distinct from Sājū? The assimilation of the spellings *Shanjū* and *Shānjū* may be on the responsibility of the author, who, by the way, does not mention Sājū (Sha-chou). On Kāshghari's Map Shānjū is shown as continuing the line Kāshghar-Khotan-Cherchen, but is separated from the latter by a range of mountains (K'un-lun, Altīn-tagħ?). As on the other hand this Shānjū 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 Altīn-tagħ, which near Charkhlik forms a promontory screening Cherchen from Sha-chou. Pelliot, *T'oung-Pao*, 1936, p. 363, identifies Kāshghari's Shānjū 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." Kāshghari 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 Shanjū with the Sājū (*Shājū) of the Islamic geographers.

From §20 it is clear that the encampment of AL-SHĀRIYA¹ was ✓ reached by travellers one-and-a-half months before arriving at Khatun-sīnī. 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. 840, became settled in the region of Kan-chou. A Samanid embassy seems to have visited their king Qālin b. ✓ Shakhīr 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.-'Ā.*, 227, 236, 264-5. According to Marvazi, al-Shāriya (*Sari) were called after one of their chiefs *Bāsm.l.* This name is a precious indication, for it can refer only to the Basmīl (in Chinese *Pa-si-mi*), a Turkish tribe closely associated ✓ with the Uyghurs. According to Chinese sources, the Basmīl formed the tenth division of the Uyghurs. A.D. 742 the Basmīl assisted the Uyghurs in destroying the old Turkish (Toquz-Ghuz) empire in Mongolia. Later the Uyghurs attacked their allies in their homes near Bish-baliq, but it is very likely that numerous clans of Basmīl remained in the Uyghur federation and shared the fate of its survivors when 15 aymaqs of the latter were led to Kan-chou by P'ang-t'e-le (*tegin), see *H.-'Ā.*, 264, 266, 272, 285. The Sari-Yughurs were Manichaeans (later, Buddhists) and as such could not have failed to be alarmed by the advance of any 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-Boghra khan. He is said to have died in 344/955, but only towards the very end of the century did the Kashghar branch of the family push its conquests into the southern part of Chinese Turkestan, which tallies well with Marvazi's report, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 234, 280.

Al-Shāriya might have been met on the road by the K'itan embassy. It is also possible that the Basmīl 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 Basmīl must be looked for in the neighbourhood of the Yellow river, in Alashan or Ordos. Should the distance be reckoned from Sha-chou, they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the Etsina-ghol.

Maḥmūd Kāshghari refers to a QATUN-SĪNĪ "between Tangut and ✓ China," III, 240, and to Ōtūkān, "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 (= Kāshghari, 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 On another group of this name see Chap. IX, §3C.

of the Orkhon with the Kōkshin-Orkhon); (c) and one near the northern bend of the Yellow river.¹ Prof. Mullie most kindly supplied me with an abstract of the sources. According to the *T'ang-shu* a place called Tsi-sai-kiun, "properly K'o-tun-ch'eng," existed in the eighth century at some distance to the west of Kuei-hua-chêng in the north-western part of the Urat 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-sîn, if only "Khatun's tomb" = Khatun's *chêng* ("wall, walled town").

In Arabic script *ŪTKĪN* looks very much like the Turkish *Ötükän* (Kāshghari: *Ūtk.n?*), but a visit to the famous *Ötükän-yīsh*, the residence of the Eastern Turkish qaghan, would have taken the ambassador far out of his direct road.² The authorities seem to agree in placing *Ötükän* 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. 40. Kāshghari, on his Map, is apparently wrong in placing his *Ötükän* somewhere near the source of the Irtysh (?). Prof. Mullie tells me that, according to the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 41, p. 41, the army of the town of Feng-sheng-chou, situated east of Ta-t'ung (now Chua-lu-hsien, in Hopei) was called Wu-ting-kiun, which might be compared with **Ūtikīn*. I gratefully place this indication on record.³ Biruni's co-ordinates suggest for *Ūtkīn* a southerly bend of 5° 50' in comparison with Khatun-sīnī.

The name of the terminal point of the itinerary is transmitted in Marvazi as *ŪJAM*, whereas Biruni refers indefinitely 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 *T'oung-Pao*, 1922, p. 105. 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 Mongol principality of Bārin (in Mongolian *Boro-khoto*, "The Brown City"). The perimeter of *Ūjam* was 2 farsakhs, i.e. 11-12 Kms., while that of

¹ Built A.D. 749 near the Ola range, south-east of the present Wu-yüan, i.e. near the ancient T'ien-tê-chün (M. Polo: Tenduc). A fourth Ho-tung-ch'eng lay near the Kerulen, 1700 li from the "Upper Residence" (G. Haloun).

² Unless the three years which it took him to arrive in Ghazni are accounted for by such great detours.

³ A grim idea would be that the ambassador intentionally embroiled the facts, cf. §21. He may have mentioned Khatun-sīnī as a more or less known term and *Ūtkīn* (*Ötükän*) 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, *Komanen*, 194-5.

Boro-khoto was 7-8 Kms., but jointly with the southern town about 10 Kms.

The form *Ūjam* might be shaped into something like **Lūkham* (?), 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-hsien would be covered post haste in 7 days, but not by caravan. As the stages in our source are rather small (v.s. p. 70) this affords some difficulty in an important detail.¹ In Biruni the road between *Ūtkīn* and the *Qitā* capital bends another 4° 50' southwards. His distance in a straight line seems very much exaggerated and would even exceed the distance between *Ötügän* (in Khingai) and the Liao territory.

It is also strange that Biruni's table gives "Qitā" without any accompanying term equivalent to "city, capital," while Marvazi qualifies *Ūjam* as *mamlaka*, "a kingdom" (?). The description of *Ūjam* suggests a "royal camp" rather than a city, and here is an important quotation from the *Liao-shih*, Ch. 34, p. 41, and *K'i-tan-kuo-chih*, Ch. 23, p. 31, in Prof. Mullie's translation: "Chaque fois que les K'itan 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 à 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 *Koung-lou* (Leao-che: la tente impériale). Depuis le voisinage (de la tente) jusqu'au loin ils plient des branches d'arbres, les courbent en *koung-tze-p'ou* et ne prennent pas la précaution d'établir (une enceinte de) fossés et de palissades ou un camp de lances." *Kung-tzū-p'u* 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 *S.nqū* and corresponding to Mahāchīn undoubtedly refers to the Sung state **Sung-kuo* (A.D. 960-1279).² No one except a Liao

¹ 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 1897, 377-411. The suggested restoration of *Ūjam* as **Lūkham*, *Lokham* would acquire more importance in comparison with *Lokhan*.

² Abul-Hasan Bayhaqi, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (A.D. 1164), Tehran 1938, p. 18, refers to *S.nqū* as the great town (1) of Mahāchīn.

ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name *Sh.rghūl* must be a K'itan term, very welcome in view of the meagreness of the K'itan vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are *Sh.rghūd*, in the *Qanūn*, and *Sh.rghūr*¹ in the *Jawāhir*, 236: "it is reported that in *Sh.rghūr* 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.rghūr* lying beyond China (*fauqa al-Šīn*), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 179.

✓ §§22-25. A record of an embassy from Qitā and Yughur to Sultan Maḥmūd is found in Gardīzī under the year 417/1026: "Ambassadors came from the Qitā-khan and the Yyghur-khan to Amīr Maḥmūd 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.' Amīr Maḥmūd 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."²

Ibn al-Muhannā misses the point of Marvazī'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 Marvazī's work enables us to appreciate the importance of the event.

Marvazī gives the date of the embassy as 418/1027, but the year of the Mouse in which the letter of the emperor of Qitāy is said to have been written corresponds to 1024, as pointed out by Barthold.³ We have to admit then that the ambassador Q.ltunkā's westward journey took from three to four years owing perhaps to some detours

¹ For the final element compare the Mongolian plural in *-d*, *-ūd*!

² The text in Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 17, and Gardīzī, ed. M. Nazim, 87. The passage has been unfortunate in its interpreters, see Raverty, *Ṭabaqāt*, 905 (where the two khans are mistaken for brothers of the Qara-khanid Qadir khan); Barthold, *Turkestan*, Engl. transl., 286 (*Qitā mis-read as *Qayā*); M. Nazim, *Sultan Mahmud*, 57 (the reading is right, but the identification of Qitā with *Kuchā* in Chinese Turkestan is unfortunate). Even Marquart, who closely scanned Barthold's texts, did not suggest any correction. In his lectures delivered in Istanbul in 1926 and published in German translation by Menzel in 1935, under the title *Zwölf Vorlesungen*, Barthold says, pp. 88-9: "Nach der Erzählung des Gardīzī kamen im Jahre 1026 die Gesandten von zwei türkischen Chanen zu Maḥmūd (es werden ihre Titel angeführt deren Lesung . . . nicht ganz sicher festgestellt werden kann)." On Ibn Muhannā's quotation from Marvazī Barthold remarks: "die neue Quelle gibt folglich keine neuen Nachrichten über die Gesandtschaft der zwei Chanen 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 Maḥmūd died on 30th April, 1030, and 1012 would imply too great a mistake on the part of Gardīzī and Marvazī.

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 (**Beshinj ay?*) without indication of the year. The reference to Maḥmūd'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 Gwālior and Kālinjar had submitted and Maḥmūd'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, Maḥmūd established peace with the representative of the Kāshghar branch, Qadīr khan, whom he met in person at Samarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazim, *o.c.*, 55. To seal this friendship Maḥmūd betrothed his daughter to Qadīr's son, Yaghan-tegin. The news must have been rapidly circulated in Chinese Turkestan and may have induced the opponents (v. i.) of the Qara-khanids to seek similar guarantees from the mighty Ghaznavid. Maḥmūd's answer (v.s. Gardīzī) leaves no doubt that some overtures in this sense were made to him by the infidel ambassadors.

✓ The Qitāy (in Chinese *K'itan*) empire, which was founded by Ye-lü 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 Qitay expedition was launched against Chinese Turkestan and Semirechye.² The embassy to Ghaznī throws new light on the Qitay diplomacy in Central Asia. A century later (A.D. 1124), after the Qitay dynasty had been crushed by the Tunguz dynasty of Kin, an energetic scion of the Qitay, Ye-lü 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 Ghaznī is a difficult question. There were two Uyghur principalities, the northern one in Khocho and Bish-baliq, 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 Sarī-Yughur ('Yellow Uyghurs').³ The history of these later branches is still obscure. Both kingdoms had relations with

¹ The names of the river Liao-ho, Liao-tun, etc., are traces of the dynasty, called *Liao* in Chinese.

² It was repulsed by the Qara-khanid prince of Kashghar, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 279, and *Kara-Khitāy* in *E.I.* There seems to be no record of the expedition in Chinese sources (G. Haloun).

³ See *H.-'Ā.*, 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 *Sa-li Wey-wu-rh* (Sarī 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 Khirkhiz from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to re-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 Qitay adopts a respectful but patronising attitude.³ There are some other indirect arguments in favour of this hypothesis. The khans of Bishbaliq had the honourable title of *īdiqut*, which they had inherited from the Basmīl, 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 *īdiquts* bore the name of Arslan, and our sources (admittedly very scanty) do not mention any such princely names as Qadīr and Chaghri, see Bretschneider, *o.c.*, Caferoğlu, *Sözlük*, 42, 123. On the contrary, in Kan-su, the name of the khan Qālin b. al-Shakhīr, quoted by Mis'ar b. Muhallil, seems to be **Qalīn b. Chaqīr* (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 Birūnī 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, Maḥmūd might give him the necessary support.⁵

The original letters of the two khans must have been in Turkish. Says Kāshghari, I, 29: "The people of Māchīn and Chīn have a separate language. In spite of it, their natives excel in Turkish and their letters to us are written in Turkish (*bi-khaṭṭ al-turkiyya*)."⁶ As yet no specimen of royal or diplomatic correspondence in Turkish seems to be available, but the Arabic translation of the letters give 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-lū 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 Qadir-khan."

⁴ Juvayni, I, 32; Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 163, says that the title was assumed *dar in ākhira*, but he possibly means by that "since their arrival in Khocho."

⁵ As against these considerations can be quoted that in §19B (as also in Biruni's *Canon*) 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 (Jayhānī).

In comparison with the Uyghur '*an salāmātinā*, the Qitay formula can hardly be '*an salāmihi*. More likely it is to be read '*an salāmati* (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 "tick" as a reference to the king's name. See the decree of the ilkhān Abū-Sa'īd in Barthold, *Nadpis* . . . *Manuche*, 1911, p. 5, and Timur's letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīst-maqāla*, Bombay, 1928, 44.

The question of the titles used in the letters is of great interest. The "lord of Qitay" only refers to the power given him by Heaven¹ over numerous kingdoms and tribes and calls the "amirs" of the neighbourhood his "nephews." The lord of the Yughurs calls himself "Exalted Il.k Yughur-khan," which may reflect the original *Ulugh Ilig* found in the Uyghur texts of Turfan in the sense of "Exalted King," see reference in Bang-Gabain, *Analitischer Index*, 1931, 21.² Sultan Maḥmūd is properly addressed ("Sultān") in the second letter, but in the first he is given the astonishing title of "amir of Khorāsān Maḥmūd Qarā-khān." The translator must have preserved it as a curio. "Amir of Khorasan" is quite respectful in itself, but, after all his victories, Mahmud had considerably outgrown the rank of the Samanids.³ The addition of "Qara-khan" after the name is quite unexpected and might suggest that the Qitay emperor had somehow confused Maḥmūd with his Qara-khanid rivals.⁴ However, Marvazi himself affirms (Chap. XIII, §7) that "whenever the Turks wished to honour a king they addressed him as Qara-khan"!

The presents of the Qitay emperor were such as might be expected from a Far Eastern ruler. Among the names of the textiles, *khwīdh*, *zhūnkī*, *k.nzī* and *sh.k.rdī*, only the first and the last one seem to be of Iranian origin; the two middle ones sound Chinese (*dzun-ki*, *tsung-ki*?). The furs are of the usual "northern" kind; *yaqu* or

¹ Compare the original formula in old Turkish which is *Tāngri-dā qut bulmīsh*, "he who has found majesty through the Heaven (God)."

² A curious use of the title is reported in *Raudat al-Ṣafā*: Alp Arslan while appointing Nizām al-mulk to be the atabeg of his son Malik-shāh decreed that he should be called *Il.k-va-Atā Khwāja*, see Khwāndamīr, *Dastūr al-vuzarā*, Tehran, 1317, p. 156.

³ *H.-A.*, 19a (tr. 102): "the *mīr* of Khorasan resides at Bukhara."

⁴ V. V. Grigoriev is responsible for the introduction of the term "Qara-khanids." In Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54, "Qarā-khān" seems to be a mere slip for the well-known title *Boghrā* (*Boqrā*) borne by the first khan converted to Islam (*Q.rā* instead of *B.q.rā*) and many of his successors. However, in the document from Yarkand (*circa* A.D. 1100), published by Barthold in the *BSOS*, 1923, III/1, p. 153, the contemporary king is called "king of the East and China, Tafghāch Bughrā Qarā-khāqān Abū 'Alī al-Ḥasan, son of Sulaymān Arslān Qarā-khāqān." In the *E.I.* Barthold described the dynasty under *Ilāk-khān* (Ilig khan?). Abul-Ḥasan Bayhaqi, *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq*, ed. Tehran, 1317, p. 69, calls the conqueror of the Samanid kingdom *ilāk al-khān* (?). However, in the beginning of the eleventh century A.D. the titles *khān* and *ilāk* belonged to different branches of the family, see Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqi, 844, cf. Barthold, *Turkestan*, 274-8.

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, *Murūj*, 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 K'itans and Uyghurs.

The name of the Qitay envoy was *Q.ū.nkā*. No great importance can be attached to the vocalisation *Qalitunkā*, but the complex (**Qul-tonga*?) sounds Turkish. The Qitay emperor may have employed an Uyghur for the mission to Western Lands. The other envoy's name, *Qāshī*, is attested in Mongol times. According to Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 7, one of Ögedey's sons was called *Qāshī* because he was born at the time when Chengiz khan conquered "the country (*vilāyat*) of *Qāshī*, which is now called Tangqut." The Turkish habit of giving names after countries and towns is well known (Urus, Baghdād, Dimishq).

§25. The explanation which Marvazi 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 Muḥannā (d. 823/1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon,¹ refers to Marvazi: "Know that the Turks compute 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-ḥayawān*, composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabīb al-Marvazī, who described therein the countries of China and the Turks, he gives a translation of the letters (*asāmī*?, "names"), which the Lords of China (*Ṣīn*) and the Turks wrote to Sultan Maḥmūd in 418, 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-yīlī
"	Ox	Sīghīr "
"	Leopard	Pars "
	or Qaplan	"
	or (Ar)slan	"

¹ *Hilyat al-insān*, first edited by P. M. Melioransky, *Arab-filolog*, SPb. 1900, and later (with the author's real name) by Kilisli Rif'at, Istanbul 1338-40. The passage is complete in Melioransky, pp. 041-042, but truncated in the Turkish edition.

The year of the	Hare	Tavīshghan-yīlī
"	Fish	Balīgh "
"	Snake	Yīlan "
"	Horse	At "
"	Sheep	Qoyīn "
"	Monkey	Bichin "
"	Hen	Taquq "
"	Dog	It "
"	Hog	Donghuz "

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 (*nāqilīhā*) from the histories of the Uyghurs (or Oghuz?) and their ancient books."

Among the nations using the animal cycle Marvazi 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 Kuchean).

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 I), in Mongolian and Persian by Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *passim* (columns II and III) and in Turkish, as in the '*Ālam-ārā*, and still in use in Persia (column IV):

sīchghan	qulquna	mūsh	sīchqan
ud	hūker	gāv	ud
bars	pars	yūz	bars
tavīshghan	tulay	khargūsh	tushqan
nāk	luy	azhdarhā	luy
yīlan	mogha	mār	īlan
yund	morin	asp	yunt
qoy	qonin	gūsfand	qoy
bijin	bichin	būzīna	pichi
taqaghu	daqiqu	murgh	takhaqu
it	noqay	sag	it
tonguz	qaqa	khūg	tonguz

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for "dragon" either Indian *nāga* or Chinese *luy* (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original *lung*; 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*). Marvazi undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form *l.bnāt al-mā'* is obviously wrong. By sacrificing the initial *l* we might read *banāt al-mā'* (*filiae aquae*). In a verse of al-Muthallim b. Riyāḥ al-Murri, *Hamāsa*, ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with "the clamour (*ṣiyāḥ*) of hungry *banāt al-mā'*."

Tibrizī in his commentary says that some explain this term as "aquatic birds" and some as "frogs," neither of which explanations suits the twelve year cycle. Damirī, *Ḥayāt al-ḥayawān*, I, 196, explains this term as "fishes in the sea of Rūm, resembling women and having (long) hair," which sounds like sirens. Even Ibn Muḥannā was unable to understand Marvazī's form for which he substituted *samak* = *balīq*, though no "Year of the Fish" is known either. [Cf. Addenda, p. 161].

It appears then that the restoration of the term as **banāt al-mā*' is of no help and that the initial element of *l.bnāt* should be taken into account. In view of the parallels in our lists (*nāk*, *lūy*, *azhdarhā*) I would restore Marvazī's *l.bnāt al-mā*' as *thu'bān al-mā*', "The Water Serpent," which interpretation gives a satisfactory meaning and is quite plausible from the palaeographic point of view. Cf. Arabic text, p. 921.

§§26-28 are based on the old accounts of Arab mariners (v.s. p. 63) and have many points in common with "Sulaymān," which is a collective name covering a collection of early ninth century reports. Marvazī complements Sulaymān in several instances.

§§26. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Baṣra and Sirāf, as attested by I. Khurdādhbih's list of ports of call, pp. 61-9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, On *P'u Shou-kēng*, 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. *Lūqīn* (or better, **Lū-fīn*) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi, Kuwabara, 1928, 15. *Khān-fū* is now generally recognized as Canton, *ibid.*, 11. Muslim traders possessed a very good knowledge of the situation in this port. Sulaymān, 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. *Khutū*, "rhinoceros horn," had been mentioned above in §15. Here its Chinese name *bishān* is added, which Sulaymān, 31, takes for the name of the animal itself. Reinaud already recognized the identity of the term with Sanscrit *viṣāṇa* "horn," which in Chinese sounds *p'i-sha-na*. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, *BSOS*, X/1, 68, it is said that the specific term for rhinoceros horn is *basan*. Should we read in Arabic **bashān*, this form may hail from Champa (in Arabic *Ṣanf*), i.e. the present-day Annam, where there existed a Muslim colony, see *H.-'A.*, 240.

✓ Sinologists identify *khutū* with the Chinese term *ku-tu-si*, which refers to walrus and narwhal ivory and *not* to rhinoceros-horn, see

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

The title of the Governor's representative *fāsām* must be restored **fā-shām*, to suit Chinese *fan-chang*, "the foreign head-man." "In the foreign quarter 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 Sulaymān (v.s. p. 82), has in view precisely such a "foreign head-man," but the Chinese term appears only in Marvazī.

Our text is much more explicit on "the last ship of the season" than Sulaymān, 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. Sulaymān, 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-k'ou-shui*), old age pensions and education of orphans follow Sulaymān, 41, 47. On the delay of burials, funeral ceremonies and the conservation of corpses, see *ibid.*, 37, with some difference in details. Similar items are found in Ya'qūbī, *Historiae*, I, 208, Muṭahhar, 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 (1) generations . . . shall be taken charge of at the trading ships' offices, according to the laws of extinct families."

The reference to the registration of courtesans is much more developed in Abū Zayd (in Sulaymān, 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.

§§26–28) refer to “Sān-jū,” the following §§29–33 giving a description of Khumdān. *Sān-jū* is an obvious slip for *Khān-fū*, as indicated in §26. The present case is entirely different from Kāshghari’s confusion of Shan-jū and Sha-chou, (v.s. p. 78).

§29. *Khumdān* is a barbarian name for the T’ang capital of Hsi-an-fu, see *H.-‘Ā.*, 229. The name of Khumdān reappears in §33, as if concluding the series. Mas’ūdī, *Murūj*, I, 307–12, mentions two Muslim travellers who from Canton visited Khumdān. One of them, the rich Quraishite Ibn al-Wahhāb, travelled in A.D. 870, and much later, when he was an old man, was interrogated by Abū Zayd Sirāfi, the editor of Sulaymān’s report and the compiler of a supplement to it, pp. 77–87, cf. *H.-‘Ā.*, 224. Ibn al-Wahhāb is responsible for a long and exaggerated report on the particular respect which the Emperor of China displayed for Islam, but he winds up (p. 86) with some more realistic facts on Khumdān, such as curfews, etc. It is not impossible that immediately after his return from China, when his memory was fresher, he drew up a longer memorandum (for the caliph?)¹ which became known to Ibn Khurdādhbih, the later version of whose work is usually dated circa A.D. 885. This report is not in the abridgment published as *BGA*, V, but Jayhānī may have incorporated it from a fuller text (v.s., p. 6). Much of the information of §§29–33, etc., is also found in Muṭahhar, *al-Fihrist* and Gardizī. See Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (registration of children, burials deferred, culprit’s confession necessary and witnesses dispensed with, a stranger cannot export his Chinese wife, priests responsible for crops, curfews, etc.); *idem*, IV, 61 (capital at Khumdān, Chinese have flattened noses, wear long sleeves, decoration of houses, land non-irrigated, etc.); *al-Fihrist*, 350 (passports for travellers, three years’ mourning, wives not to be exported, looting at funerals); Gardizī’s longish paragraph was analysed above, p. 62, with the object of establishing its connection with Jayhānī, but its more remote source may be I. Kh.²

§29. The distance from Chīnānjkaṭh to Khumdān is greatly exaggerated. A part of the road is described in Gardizī, see *H.-‘Ā.*, 229.

§30 varies only insignificantly from Gardizī. On the inaccessibility of the Emperor Sulaymān, 40, says that he shows himself once in ten months in order to maintain his prestige. The use in Arabic of Persian terms *takht*, “a piece, a cut,” and *jām*, “a cup,” is curious. Gardizī, 93, has *takhtī dībā*.

§31. “Their crops are cereals,” as in Muṭahhar, IV, 21, who adds, IV, 61, that their lands are non-irrigated; Gardizī uses the

¹ Sulaymān, 85: Ibn al-Wahhāb told the Emperor of China that he was going to return to see the king of the Arabs “who is the son of my paternal uncle.”

² Gardizī’s report on China begins with a quotation from I. Kh. saying that every traveller to China becomes a sage (not in *BGA*, V, but very similar to I. Kh. other pronouncements). It is impossible to say whether the reference to I. Kh. is meant to cover the other facts of Gardizī’s account of China.

term *lalmī*, still in use in Turkestan for crops on non-irrigated lands. (*Lalmī* may be a local form of Arabic *daymī*, the alternance *d/l* being common in eastern Iranian).

§32 as in Muṭahhar and Gardizī, with insignificant additions. Cf. also §26.

§33 on Khumdān has several points in common with the *Hudūd*: 360 towns sending *kharāj* (§9, 3., also in Muṭahhar, IV, 61); a lake “in the region of Khumdān” (§3, 35.). Sulaymān, 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. Sulaymān, 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 чай).

§34. Cf. I. Kh., 69: “the length of China along the sea from Armābil (?) to the (other) end is 2 months,” and *al-Fihrist*, 350: from Armāyil to Bānṣwā (? + *chou*) 2 months (“3000 farsakhs” being quoted as the distance to China overland).

§35 is welcome as a parallel to a mysterious passage in the *Hudūd*, 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.

	H.-‘Ā.	Marvazī	
1.	ايرش	ايرمر	
2.	خورش كورش	خورسبر تولان	
3.	فراجكلى	فراجكلى	
4.	تاي	مائي (مائي؟)	
5.	خسانى	حسانى	
6.	تنكوي	سكوى	
7.	بونوغنى	بونوعى	
8.	قورى	قورى	
9.	انفس	{ الانساس : Ya'qūbi الاندلس : Fihrist	

Here are some general considerations on the two lists:

(a) In view of the date of the *Hudūd* (A.D. 982), this enumeration has nothing to do with the report of the Qitay embassy (§§18–25).

(b) The two lists, each of nine names, are identical, but between 2. and 3. Marvazī inserts *Tūlmān*, instead of which the *Hudūd* has *Anf.s.*

(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 *Hudūd* (§9, 2.), “besides Wāq-Wāq, China has nine large regions (*nāhiyat*) on the coast of the Eastern sea,

namely, *Ir.sh*, *Khūr.sh*, etc.," which, in spite of the differences of their populations in religion, appearance and customs, are governed on behalf of the *Faghfūr-i Chīn*. From the description of the rivers, §6, 2.-3., it appears that *Ir.sh* is located south of the Yangtze, *Khūr.sh* (or *Kūr.sh*?) between the Yangtze and the Yellow river and *F.rāj.klī*, north of the Yellow river. It is conceivable, of course, that there are some misunderstandings about the course of the two rivers.¹ Another detail is that the wild tribe *Fūrī* (§14, 1.), apparently identical with *Qūrī* (No. 8 in the list), is located to the east of the *Khirkhiz*, which fact is confirmed by *Gardīzī*. On *Qūrī* see Chap. IX, §5 *ter*. As the older Muslim tradition considered the *Khirkhiz* one of the north-easternmost nations, stretching down to China and the Eastern Ocean, see *H.-'Ā.*, §9 (beginning), this view may account for the disposition of the nine nations along the coast.

(e) Marvazi, for his part, refers the nine names not to "regions," but to various races (*ajnās*), which he locates, with considerable insistence, "to the left of China," "in a north-easterly direction," "between China and *Khirkhiz*." In fact the last name in Marvazi (**Qūrī*) brings us again to the east of the *Khirkhiz*. No reference is made to the sea, but the nations seems to be disposed in a vast north-easterly sweep.

(f) The lists have no parallel in contemporary Islamic literature. The mutilated names and the embarrassed geographical indications of the *Hudūd* and Marvazi suggest that we have to do with some remote and little known tract.

I would tentatively compare the name No. 3 with the name *Qarā-Jāng*, which in Mongol times was applied to a region of *Yün-nan*.² Says *Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. *Berezin*, XV, 23: "The Chinese (*Khitā'iyān*) call *Qarā-jāng* **Dāy-Kīw* (var. *Rāy-līv*, *Rāy-bnū*), which means "the Great Province." This dominion has a (great) extent and at present obeys the *Qā'ān*. The complexion of some of the inhabitants is white, similar to that of the Chinese, but some others are black, also similarly to the Chinese. In the language of India and Kashmir, this province is called *K.nd.r* (var. *K.ndū*, *Q.ndū*)," cf. *ibid.*, 21, and *Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. *Bloch*, 376, 395, 450. It is quite probable that the name *Qarā-Jāng*, "Black Chang," was in existence long before the Mongols, the word "black" being identical in Turkish (*qara*) and Mongolian (*khara*). The long *ā* in *Jāng* is only the usual Persian *scriptio plena*, and in an Arabic source might have been omitted. Finally, with a Turkish ending *-lī*³ Marvazi's name might be restored as **Qarā-Jāng-lī* (?).

Marco Polo describes *Carajan* in his chapters 48 and 49, see *Yule-Cordier*, third ed., 1921, pp. 64-84, and further, after having spoken of the country of "Gold-Teeth" (v. i., *India*, §56), of *Burma*

and *Bengal*, he turns back eastwards and speaks of *Cangigu*, *Amin*, *Toloman* (or *Coloman*, Chapter 58) and *Cuiju* (Chapter 59, cf. *Rashīd al-dīn*, ed. *Bloch*, 451: *Kasche-kūh* = *Kwei-chou*). *Deveria*, *La frontière sino-annamite*, 1886, 114-5, has identified *Tholoman* with *T'u-la-man*, "the T'u-la barbarians" referred to in the *Yüan-shih-lei-pien*. The T'u-lao, whom the Chinese also call *Shan-tzū*, "Mountaineers" still occupy the southern highlands of *Yün-nan*. In the *Histoire particulière du Nan-Tchao*, translated by C. Sainson, 1904, 188, the T'u-lao are said to have formerly lived more to the east on the frontier of *Szechuan*, *Kweichou* and *Kwangsi*. *Deveria's* identification has been adopted in *Yule-Cordier*, II, 124. **Tūlmān*, or **Tūlamān* of Marvazi, coming as it does before **Qarā-Jāng* (*Yün-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 (*Qūrī*?) is astonishing. The cowries (*wad'*) are usually associated with *India* or the southern seas, cf. *Sulaymān*, 6, 28 = *Mas'ūdī*, *Murūj*, I, 385, *Idrīsī*, tr. *Jaubert*, 68, *Dimishqī*, 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, 123.¹

The other names of the group are still inexplicable. As the variant of *Ir.sh* indicates, the name might have sounded *Irm.r* or *Ayrm.n*, etc. The same may apply to No. 2. Numerous names of Barbarian tribes, especially in *Yün-nan* end in Chinese in *-man*. The acquaintance of Muslims with *Yün-nan* may be postulated from their knowledge of the kingdoms of *Ṭirsūl*, *Mū-sa* and *Mānk*, v. i., *India*, §52. According to *M. Polo* there were in *Yün-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 *Yün-nan*. But were we to take *Yün-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 *Qūrī*. I now think that to the latter may be added the mysterious *Anf.s* of the *Hudūd*. 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* (*Ṣīn*): "China is called the Great Country (*arḍ 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 *Toghuzghuz*: with them wars were perpetual, until peace had been made and ties of marriage

¹ *M. Polo* calls cowries "pourcelainne" ("pig-shells"). Thence the name "porcelain" which from these shells was transferred to *China-ware*, *Yule*, *ibid.*, II, 74.

¹ In the *Hudūd*, the *Yellow River* is taken for the continuation of the *Tarim*.

² See Arabic text, p. 52, line 1.

³ *-lu* and even *-luq* would be better in an ancient text! Cf. *Mānb.k-lū* in *Gardīzī*.

established. The second is with Tibet: between China and Tibet is a mountain with a military post (*masāliḥ*) from which (the Chinese) keep watch on Tibet, while the Tibetan military post keeps watch on China, and the two posts are on the frontier of the two countries. The third border is with a people called *al-Mānsās*, who possess a separate kingdom and live in a large country which stretches for some years (*'iddat sinīn*) in every direction. No one knows what is beyond it. They are neighbours (*yuqāribūna*) of the Chinese. . . .¹ In Arabic script¹ the identity of *al-Mānsās*, *al-And.l.s* and (without *al-*) *Anf.s* seems quite probable, as it is likewise clear that the name is the earliest reference in Muslim literature to the inhabitants of Manchuria. I cannot explain the name, but possibly the final *s* of *Mānsās* is a plural suffix (cf. Mong. *-s* and Manchurian *-sa*, *Manju-sa*, "the Manchus").²

Giving rein to our imagination we might suggest for No. 4: *Qāy* or even *Qitāy* (Chap. IX, §3), and for No. 5, either *Khitāy* = *Qitāy*, or *Khasān* (<Khaskhañ, in Chinese *Ho-su-kuan*), an ancient Manchurian tribe, for whose existence Prof. Haloun is my surety.³

§36, coming as it does after §35, confirms the impression that with these items we have reached the farthest limits to the East. Gardīzī speaks of the Fūrī after the Khirkhīz, and of the red-haired people after China.

The red-haired people possibly go back to the Alexander legend; cf. Qor'ān, XVIII, 89, in which Alexander finds a people to whom God "has given nothing to protect themselves against the intense heat of the Sun."

§§37-41 continue §§26-8 and go up to *circa* A.D. 850.

§37. The same item on the necessity of confession on the part of the culprit is to be found in Muṭahhar, IV, 20, who adds that only written documents can prove a debt. As Sulaymān, 39, confirms that "no notice is taken of what the parties say; the arguments must be presented in writing," it seems that the whole report was drawn up before A.D. 850.

§38. The item is in Sulaymān, 42-3, who omits the curious detail on Chinese maidservants, but the latter is in Muṭahhar, IV, 19 (immediately after the point on written documents) and in *al-Fihrist*, 350. This popular version differs in style from the matter-of-fact statement in §26, which is apparently derived from another traveller. But §38 is more true to the tenor of the Imperial edict of A.D. 628: "Any foreign envoy merchant may marry a Chinese woman. He shall not, however, take her away to his own country," Kuwabara, 57.

¹ See Arabic text, p. 52, l. 2.

² Still obscure is the term *Mānisā* which the *Hudūd* applies roughly to the chains of mountains separating Tibet from China. Is this terminology due to some misunderstanding? The mis-spelling *Anf.s* may have been separated from the original *Mānsā* and the latter name located where the list began?

³ The lake Khasan, near which the Russians and Japanese came to a clash in 1938, may reflect the same name.

§39 (see also §12) adds slightly to Gardīzī. Cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 61.

§40 as in Gardīzī.

§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. Khurdādhbih, 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.*, 254-63). One should think that the source of the chapter is Jayhānī but v. i., p. 90, note 1.

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.-'Ā.*, §11, 7.

The item on the "Gate of the two Tibets" (*bāb al-Tubbatayn*)¹ 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.rnāb. The latter is the Upper Oxus (Panj), see *H.-'Ā.*, §6, 7. and p. 208. *Sheva* is the plateau with a mountain lake in the easternmost part of Badakhshān, see Burhān al-dīn Kūshkaki, *Rahnumā-yi Badakhshān*, Russian transl., pp. 197-200 (under Darvāz). *Shēva* is an additional link to the road between Khuttal (in the present day Tajikistan) and Kashmir, which I have tried to trace in *H.-'Ā.*, 363-5.² 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 Sheva. Thence it ran southwards down to the western side of the pass of Zardīw, where we can place the "Arab" Gate (*H.-'Ā.*, §24, 25.). The "Tibetan" Gate must have stood further east, on the road to Ishkashīm. Idrisi, tr. Joubert, I, 493, refers to a gate at *B.thīnj* (?) depending on Tibet.

The record of a Tibetan toll-house to the south-west of the Pamir 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-T'ien-shan region. Cf. H. A. R. Gibb, in *B.S.O.S.*, 11/4, pp. 614-6. On the other hand, the *H.-'Ā.* definitely modernises the situation while it assigns the construction of the Arab Gate to Ma'mūn (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).

Rānk-r.nk correspond to *H.-'Ā.*, §11, 1., the second part of the

¹ Perhaps the "Inner" and the "Outer" Tibet? Biruni places *Twsm.t* in the latter. It is possible that, instead of *Tubbatayn*, one should read **Tubbatayn* "of the Tibetans."

² On the authority of Jayhānī, Marvazi refers to Khottal, Shikinān and Vakhān in the paragraph of yaks, see Arabic text, p. 51, line 10.

name standing apparently for Tibetan *rong*, "a cultivated valley." Strangely enough, Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 236-42, does not speak of Tibet in his enumeration of gold mines. On the other hand, Mustaufi, *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, GMS, 201, quotes the story of nuggets which are found "in Rānk, in the country of Turkistān," on the authority of the *Ṣuwar al-aqālīm*.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. 51, l. 14), in which he states that at the farthest limit of India there is a land called *Zamīn-i zar* (in Persian!), where gold grows like grass.² 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 (<Jayhānī), while he places the country where gold grows like plants somewhere "towards the sun-rise." Cf. also Ibn Iyās in Ferrand, *Textes*, 476. Ferrand is wrong in trying to substitute *namir*, "a panther," for *naml*, "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 Yudhiṣṭhira] gold measured by droṇas which had been dug up by ants (*pipīlika*) and was called *pipīlika*" (L. D. Barnett). On Mongolian and Tibetan sources see Laufer, *Die Sage von den goldgrabenden Ameisen*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1908, 429-52, and A. N. Francke, *Two Ant stories from the territory of the ancient kingdom of Western Tibet*, in *Asia Major*, II, 1924, 67-75.

Instead of *Zāb*, H.-'Ā., §11, 3., has *N.zvān*. Marvazi gives some new details. *Zāb* is "above," i.e. beyond Rānk-r.nk; its inhabitants resemble Turks; it has a river forming a frontier between Tibet and China. The last fact may be compared with H.-'Ā., §6, 2., where it is said that the river Kīsau (Kin-sha-chan?) "rises from the east of the mountain Mānisā (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 Tibeto-Indian frontier. Then it cuts through many mountains," and finally becomes the Ghiyān (Yangtze). In §9 it is added that the Chinese embark on the Ghiyān to visit Tibet for trade. These hints would suggest for "Zāb" a situation on the upper course of the Yangtze, contrary to the H.-'Ā., which describes "N.zvān" (*T.zdān*, etc., perhaps Tsaidam?) 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

¹ Of Abū Zayd Balkhī? The latter's work is known to us only in the version of Iṣṭakhri, *BGA*, I, which does not contain the passage on Rānk. In *BGA*, I, Iṣṭakhri's work bears the title of *Masālik al-mamālik*, but on its last page, 348, it is called *Kitāb al-ashkāl*. Biruni, *Jawāhir*, 204, 216, 246, several times refers to the *Ashkāl al-aqālīm* (of Balkhī?).

² It is possible that the author has in view Assam, cf. Chap. xii, §52.

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, *Supplément*, II, 146. As the text insists on the dreadfulness of the crossing by the bridge, which was two cubits wide, we must admit some other meaning of 'qb. As the usual meaning of 'aqab is "sinews or tendons of which strings of bows, etc., are made," Lane, p. 2100, 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 Yün-nan, v.s. §35.

§43. The description of the musk-deer is repeated in the chapter of the gazelles (*al-zibā*) (ff. 84b-85a) in which Marvazi quotes a certain *al-Ḥ.skī* (?), who in his turn depended on "maritime merchants" (*tujjār al-bahr*), v.s. §14. In fact, the story is very close to that of Abū-Zayd Sirāfi (in Sulaymān, III-2), who undoubtedly used the maritime lore of the Persian Gulf. A similar passage of the *Murūj*, I, 353-6, is directly derived from Abū-Zayd, whom Mas'ūdī met in A.D. 915. Very detailed information on musk was contained in a work of Ya'qūbī, now lost. The work was quoted in the *Jayb al-'arūs* of Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Tamīmī al-Muqaddasī (d. 380/990), whose grandfather was Ya'qūbī's companion. Some of these quotations have survived in Nuwayri's Encyclopedia, cf. *BGA*, VII, 364-70. Ya'qūbī says, *ibid.*, 364, that the best musk comes from "a place called Dhūsm.t, situated at 2 months' distance from (the capital of?) Tibet." This place is without doubt identical with Tūsmat, which the *Hudūd* 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: "Jayhānī, in the book of *al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, says that a traveller from Sha-chou (*Sā-jū*) to China (*Ṣīn*) sees on his right a mountain on which live the musk-deer and the oxen from whose tails whisks ("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 Shiknān and Vakhkhān. (The above-mentioned mountain) is at a distance of two months and a half from Kāshghar. It lies at the point where the roads branch off: to

¹ This bridge must be different from the suspension bridge between two mountains on the road from Khotan to Tibet, on this side of the "mountain with poisonous air," as described by Jayhānī, from whom it passed into Biruni, *Chronology*, 271, and Gardīzi, ed. Barthold, 88; cf. also Muṭahhar, IV, 92, Z. Qazwīnī, I, 160.

² The system would be different from that of a Tibetan rope-bridge graphically described in H. R. Davies, *Yün-nan*, 1909, 259-60; the traveller is fastened to a gliding piece of wood and "flies across the river at the speed of an express train." More suitable would be the type represented in Yule-Cordier, II, 80, only without railings.

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 Jayhānī is the famous Tūsmat. In the commentary on the *H.-'A.*, p. 259, I had to locate Tūsmat 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 Twsm.t (almost due west) was 327 miles (526 Km.), which would take us to the region of Tsaidam. On the other hand, the name *Twsmat* reminds one of Tibetan 'Mdo-'smat, "The Lower Amdo." Amdo is the plateau extending to the south of Kuku-nor.¹ Its distance from Kan-chou is considerably under 526 Km., 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.).

§§4-10: Eastern Turks: Khirkhīz, Kharlukh, Kīmāk and their neighbours, Pechenegs.

§§11-16: Peoples of Eastern Europe: Khazar, B.r.dās, Bulghār, the northerners, Majgharī, Slavs, Rūs.

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. Kozlov, *Mongolei, Amdo, etc.*, German translation 1925, pp. 171 and 215. According to W. W. Rockhill, *The land of the Lamas*, 1891, pp. 73-5, 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 Jayhānī, 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 Kīmāk (§§8 *bis*, 9), who are only vaguely referred to in the *Hudūd*, and beyond the Isū and Yūra, extends the description down to the northern sea (§§12 *ter* and *quater*). The paragraph on the Rūs (§15) has a curious epilogue on their conversion to Islam.

As already stated, the basic source must be Jayhani, but in the latter's text too one must discriminate between the facts borrowed from earlier authors (I. Khurdādhbih, etc.), and the material collected directly under the author's instructions. Some hesitation in the nomenclature, which reflects the difference between the older (pre-Jayhānian) sources, is noticeable in Marvazi. In §12 the *Burdās* (Iṣṭakhri < Balkhi: *Burtās*) are said to raid the *Bulkār*, but in §12 *bis* the latter nation is called *Bulghār*. The earlier "Bulkār-Burdās" report may have been incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih,¹ though the problem of its other contents requires a special study. To it probably belonged the data on the Slavs, Rūs and western Turks, but it is difficult to say how much ground it covered in the east.²

On the whole, the points which Marvazi has in common with I. Rusta and Bakri are §§11, 12 (similarly: *Burdās*), 13 (partly), 14 (partly), 15 (partly). The additional points in which Marvazi agrees with the *Hudūd* and Gardīzi are §§4, 5 *ter*, 6, 7, 8 (partly), 10, 12 *bis* (partly), 13. The points recorded only in Marvazi (and partly copied in 'Aufi) 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 *quater* (some details not in 'Aufi), 15 (on the conversion of the Rūs 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 'Aufi, see Marquart, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, p. 40, where the original *afkhādh*, "sub-tribes," has been faultily transmitted.

§2. 'Aufi (*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 Toghuzghuz and Turkman.

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

² I. Rusta omits the eastern Turks but the *Hudūd*, Gardīzi and Marvazi describe them.

The Toghuzghuz 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 Qarluq 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 T'ien-shan. The spelling *Uy-ghur for *Uyghur* (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. Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, *Trudi Vost. Otd.*, VII, 159, also spells *Uy-ghūr*. The third name, *Üch-ghur or *Üch-ghuz is a puzzle unless the name refers to the *Üchūq* (*Üch-oq?) division which formed the left wing of the Oghuz (Ghuz) federation, see Rashīd al-dīn, *ibid.*, 35.¹ Whether the Uyghur were originally a part of the Turk (Ghuz) tribe is still very doubtful, see *Hudūd*, 263-8, but in later times (fourteenth century) they were considered as "having always been together with the Oghuz," Rashīd al-dīn, *ibid.*, p. 22.

The title Toghuz-khaqan (or rather, Toghuzghuz-khaqan) properly belonged to the Turkish (T'u-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 *shākiri* seems to be of Soghdian origin, see Vladimirtsov, *Mongolica I*, in *Zap. Koll. Vost.*, I, 1925, p. 327. In Turkish and Mongolian *chaqar* (>*tsaxar*) 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/chākir* (Hsüan-Tsang: *Chê-kieh*) was used to designate the "life-guards" of the local rulers, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, 180. The three cups of wine are what is called *thalātha-yi ghassāla* (Ḥafiz). Niẓām al-mulk in his *Siyāsāt-nāma*, 190, refers to *si piyāla-yi sharāb* at an entertainment of Turkish amirs of the Samanid court. Cf. also Chap, XII, §4.

The term *Türkmän* is first recorded towards the end of the tenth century A.D.² It does not occur in Iṣṭakhri (<Balkhi) or the *Hudūd*. For practical purposes *Türkmän* 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 *Türkmän* coincides with the Islamization of the Ghuz, *v.i.* 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

¹ Already Ibn al-Athīr, XI, 54 (under the year 536/1141), mentions the two divisions of the Ghuz *Aj.q* and *B.r.q* (**B.z.q*), i.e. **Uchuq* and **Bozuq*.

² First reference in Muqaddasi, *BGA*, III, 274, who in one breath mentions the Ghuz in the neighbourhood of Saurān and Sh.gh.ljān and the "Turkmans who have accepted Islam" in the neighbourhood of B.rūkat and B.lāj.

Persia as forerunners of the Seljuks, and from the tribes opposed to the Seljuks, such as, at a later date, held Sultan Sanjar prisoner (from A.D. 1153 down to the end of 1156).

On the Turkish and heathen Ghuz see also §3, which refers to a movement of the *Türkmän-Ghuz-Pechenegs*, but with a significant difference. In §2 the Ghuz, under the pressure of the *Türkmäns*, leave Khwārazm (!) and migrate to the territory of the Pechenegs, and the success of the *Türkmäns* is explained by their Islam. §3 has no religious background and the (Muslim!) *Türkmäns* 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 to it the seizure of the Magyar territory by the Pechenegs. Some traces of this migration of the Pechenegs are found in Iṣṭakhri (*circa* A.D. 930), p. 10, and the *Hudūd* (A.D. 982). The latter (<Jayhānī) 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 *Türkmän*. The tradition of §3 seems to be entirely different.

§3. The contents of this important record had first become known through 'Aufī's Persian translation brought to light by Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 99, and re-edited by Marquart, *Komanen*, 40₉₋₁₄, 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 XI^e 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 Qāy.

According to Marvazi, the Qūn left their territory because (a) they were afraid of the ruler of Qitāy and (b) they were cramped for grazing grounds.¹ The obvious explanation is that the expansion of the Qitāy federation under the Liao dynasty caused a redistribution of pastures and that the Qūn had to leave their headquarters (*marākiz*) and move westwards. The Qūn were ousted from "these pasture lands (*marā'i*)" by a stronger tribe called Qāy. The phrase is clumsy but suggests that the Qāy 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 *illaba'a* also indicates that the Qūn were already on the

¹ Cf. *Rāhat al-ṣudūr*, 92, on the petition which the Turcomans addressed to Sultan Maḥmūd asking him to allow them to cross the Oxus, because of the insufficiency of their pastures.

move.¹ In Arabic script the names Qitāy and Qāy can be easily confused, but the separate entity of the Qāy is attested in other sources as well.

The oldest record of this tribe² is in Biruni's *Tafhīm* (written in 420/1029), ed. Wright, 145: "the Sixth Clime begins from the territory of the Eastern Turks, such as the Qāy, Qūn, Khirkhīz, Kīmak and Toghuzghuz," etc., cf. *Hudūd*, 284. Incidentally this enumeration suggests that the Qāy were considered as the easternmost tribe in the list. In *al-Qānūn al-Mas'ūdī*, compiled shortly after 421/1030, no mention is found of the Qāy and Qūn, while (the capital of?) Qitā figures as the easternmost point of the Second Clime, beyond Ūtkīn (v.s. p. 69). This curious omission may be due to the technical impossibility of fixing astronomically the position of nomad tribes.

In Kashghari's *Dīwān*, I, 28, the Qāy appear in the series of tribes stretching from the Byzantine Empire in a west-to-east direction: Pecheneg—Qipchaq—Oghuz—Yamāk (Kīmak)—Bashghurt—Basmīl—Qāy—Yabāqū—Tatār—Qirqiz. The latter are said to live in the neighbourhood of al-Ṣīn, i.e. of Khitāy, for the China proper of the Sung is called by the author "Tavghāch, which is Māṣīn (*Mahāchīn)." Another series of tribes "in the middle (zone) between south and north (*sic*)" is as follows: Chigil—Tukhs—Yaghmā—Ighrāq—Charuq—Jumul—Uyghur—Tangut—Khitāy, "which is al-Ṣīn." On the Map accompanying Kāshghari's text,³ Qāy is shown in the space between the Irtysh and Obi: beyond the Irtysh and to the north (!) of the mountains (Altai ?) is inscribed *Ūtk.n*; 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 Qāy." This position agrees with the place of the Qāy in the above-mentioned enumeration according to which the tribe lived considerably to the west of the Qirqiz. On the other hand, Qāy appears immediately north of *Ūtk.n*. If this name stands for the well-known Ūtūkān in the Selenga basin, the position of the Qay should be moved considerably eastward to the neighbourhood of Baikal (?). However, Kāshghari's *Ūtk.n* may echo the *Ūtkīn* of Biruni and Marvazi, on which see Chap. IX, §20C. In this case no great importance should be attached to Kāshghari's location of a little-known place. All we can say is that in the two series of tribes the Qāy and the equally vague Jumul are taken for neighbours. Kāshghari, III, 118, considers the Qay as a Turkish tribe, and though, I, 30, he mentions them among the peoples having their own *lughā* ("language, or

¹ In 'Aufi's translation, the Qāy drive the Qūn away from their own pastures, i.e. from the neighbourhood of the Qāy pastures (*az marā'i-yi khud dūr kardand*)?

² The name *Thāy* of the *Hudūd*, which I tentatively compared with Qāy, *H.-'A.*, 229, is still uncertain. The three dots of the first character admit of an alternative restoration as **Qitāy*, v.s. Chap. VIII, §35.

³ The Map may have been drawn by the author himself, or based on his indications, cf. A. Herrmann, *Die älteste türkische Weltkarte*, in *Imago mundi*, 1935, p. 27, but it suggests that Kashghari's knowledge of Farther Asia was hazy, v.s. Chap. IX, §16.

dialect"), he admits that they speak good Turkish.¹ Finally, III, 58, a Turkish verse is quoted whose author accuses his enemy of having stolen his Qāy slave.

Next, in chronological order comes Marvazi's paragraph describing the chain of migration of Turkish tribes (§3). 'Aufi'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 "Qirqiz; Qay and Qun; 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 Birūnī's *Tafhīm*, which manual is also directly responsible for Yāqūt's description of the Climes, I, 33.²

Thus Birūnī, Kāshghari and Marvazi are our original authorities on the Qāy. The date of the *Tafhīm* (1029 ?) in which the Qāy and Qūn are mentioned for the first time might suggest that the information on the Far Eastern peoples was brought by the K'itan embassy of A.D. 1027 (Chap. VIII, §22). The distance between the Qāy and Qūn on the one hand (6th Clime) and the Qitay 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 Qitay.

Kāshghari'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 Qūn in Kāshghari, he may have in view some later period when the Qāy had moved still more to the west before vanishing from the stage and being forgotten by later writers.

Who were the Qāy ?³ Some connection with the Qitay and some similarity of names make me think of the Hi (read: *xi*),⁴ who are often coupled with the Qitay. In the Orkhon inscription the name *Tatabi* presumably refers to them,⁵ 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 *qirnaq*, "a slave girl"; III, 108: their word *qat*, "a fruit, a berry" (both words in common with several other tribes).

² This map seems to be identical with that published by Chabot, *Une mappemonde Syrienne du XIII^e siècle*, in *Bull. de géog. hist. et descr.*, 1897, pp. 98-112, and 1898, pp. 31-43. Cf. Honigmann, *o.c.*, 167-78.

³ Marquart, *Komanen*, 53, 187, made a mistake in confusing the Qāy (Kashghari, I, 28) with the Oghuz clan *Qayī* (Kashghari, I, 56: *Qayīgh*). On the other hand he thought that the founders of the Qipchaq dynasty (circa 514/1120) were Hi, *ibid.*, 117, 137.

⁴ According to Karlgren, 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 *γiāi*, or, in the complete form K'-u-mo-hi, **K'uo-mwak-γiāi* < **Qunayay*.

⁵ Thomsen, *Inscriptions*, 141, and *ZDMG*, 1924, 174. Melioransky, *Zap.*, 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.¹ Finally, the K'itan subdued 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 K'itan.

B. The QŪN. The name is found only in Biruni and Marvazi (>'Aufi). As in the case of Qāy, the earliest information about QŪn was possibly obtained through the K'itan ambassador, but the additional facts seem to be due to Ākinchi b. Qochqar (v.i. p. 101). A "very old, correct and reliable" MS. of 'Aufi (Br.Mus.Or. 2676) instead of *Qun* gives *Q.ry*, which form caused me to suppose, H.-'A., 285, that QŪn = Qūrī, v.i. §5 *ter*. This surmise is no more defensible in view of Marvazi's clear spelling QŪn,² and his unexpected revelation that the QŪn were Nestorian Christians. The first report of a considerable success of Christian proselytization among the Far Eastern nomads, namely, the conversion of the Kereit, reached the West only about A.D. 1009.³ This date corroborates the assumption that the great migration could have taken place only in the eleventh century. The name QŪn, however, does not occur among the Christian tribes of the Far East.⁴ As the conversion of an important tribe would not have passed unobserved in the centre of Nestorian administration, we have to suppose either that the Qun were only a part of some federation (Kereit, Öngüt) or that Qun is a Qitay 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, *Komanen*, 80, about the Qun being a division of the tribe *Marqa* or *Murqa* is a mistake. Instead of 'Aufi's *m.rqa* Marvazi has a clear *firqa*, "a tribe," and this reading is supported by the Persian variant *mardumī* in one of 'Aufi's MSS. Consequently, *exit Murqa!*

Professor Haloun whom I have consulted on the identity of the QŪn has made a new and original suggestion. He would consider the possibility of the QŪn being the T'u-yü-hun. "Beside the full form of the latter name, the shortened forms *T'u-hun* and *T'ui-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 *yuēn*) are very numerous as well".

¹ See Iakinf [Bichurin], *Istoriya narodov*, 1/2, pp. 470-6, where the information on the Hi is grouped together.

² The name *Qūrī* figures in Marvazi in Chap. VIII, §35, but unfortunately for our comparative purpose, not in Chap. IX, §5 *ter*.

³ Bar Hebraeus, *Chron. Eccl.*, III, 279-80; see now this passage in A. Mingana, *The early spread of Christianity in Central Asia*, Manchester, 1925, p. 15.

⁴ The Christian tribes among the Mongols were Kereit, Öngüt, Nayman and partly Merkit. See Pelliot, *Chrétiens d'Asie Centrale*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1914, 623-44, and Grousset, *L'empire des steppes*, 1939, 243-6.

"The first known home of the T'u-yü-hun was in south-western Manchuria and their original language may have been a Mongolian dialect.¹ About A.D. 310 they occupied the country round the present Ho-chou in Kan-su and made themselves masters of the Kökenör region over which they ruled uncontested from A.D. 446.² After a crushing defeat inflicted upon the T'u-yü-hun by the Tibetans in 663, their qayan, together with a large body of his followers, was settled by the Chinese at An-lo-chou, to the south of modern Ning-hsia (A.D. 672), while other fractions of the tribe were established near Yen-an-fu in Shen-si (Hun-chou), in south-eastern Ordos (Ning-shuo-chou), on the Ulan-müren, 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 T'u-yü-hun shifted to the region of Yin-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 Ch'i-p'i and other Turkish tribes. In the second half of the ninth century an important division of the T'u-yü-hun moved further on to Northern Shan-si. Their rule over Ta-t'ung (881-891) was broken by the Sha-to, and thereupon a group settled round Yü-chou (near the Little Wu-t'ai-shan) became paramount. During the tenth century this group practically bordered on the "Western Hi" who, fleeing the K'itan, had occupied Kuei-chou (present Huai-lai, north-west of Peking). The K'itan subdued the T'u-yü-hun of Yin-shan in 916 and dominated the territory of Yü-chou in 938. The T'u-yü-hun of Yü-chou crossed over to Chinese territory, and in 946 were almost annihilated near Lan-chou (north-west of T'ai-yüan-fu). There seems to be no direct indication as to a migration of the remaining T'u-yü-hun to the west, but their name disappears from Eastern-Asiatic records during the eleventh century."³

The prolonged stay of the T'u-yü-hun in the region of Yin-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 Shāriya 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 Matthēos of Urha, in whose text "the people of Serpents" corresponds to our *Qun* (v.i. p. 102). The only representative of the tribe

¹ Pelliot, *Note sur les T'ou-yu-houen*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1921, pp. 323-30.

² Iakinf [Bichurin], *Istoriya Tibeta i Khukhunora*, I, pp. 73-99.

³ It seems less probable that the Qun might have been connected with a Tölis tribe *Hun* which becomes known circa A.D. 600 and whose later destinies are closely connected with the Uyghurs. Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-hiue occidentaux*, p. 87, n. 3, No. 10.

whose memory has survived is the amir Ākinchi b. Qochqar, of whom it will be more convenient to speak in the following paragraph.

C. AL-SHĀRIYA. 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 Marvazi's report.

(a) A group of al-Shāriya is described in Chapter VIII, §20, at a half-month's distance to the east of Shan-chou (or Sha-chou?). These Shāriya who are said to have fled from Islam, i.e. from some more westerly region, seem to have been connected with the Sarī-Yughurs of Kan-su. The more important group of the Shāriya 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 'Aufi as *Sārī*. Barthold¹ restored this form as Turkish *sarī*, "yellow," and compared it with the name of the Qipchaq (Komans), whom the Russians call Polovtsi (from *половий*, "yellowish, sallow," see *H.-'A.*, 315) and the Western Europeans, Pallidi, etc.²

As is customary with nomade federations, the "Qipchaq" must have been an association of various tribes,³ 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.γsūn-yāsū* 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.*, 309-10.⁴ If Marvazi'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 Uyghurs 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 *Komanen*, which H. H. Schaefer has translated into German in his introduction to Marquart's *Wehrot und Arang*, p. 34*.

² The coming-into-being of the Qipchaq forms the subject of Marquart's book, *Über das Volkstum der Komanen*, 1914. Cf. now *H.-'A.*, §21, with my commentary. Recently D. A. Rasovsky has published a series of five excellent articles on the Polovtsi, *Seminarium Kondakovianum*, 1935-9 (see especially Chapter I: the origins of the Polovtsi).

³ In Juvaynī, II, 102, I should now restore the names of the two rivers QYLY and QYMJ as **Qanqli* and *Qibjakh*.

⁴ Or could the name of this group represent some variation of *Yugra* (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 Irtysh, see V. N. Chernetsov, *Ocherk etnogeneza Obshikh Yugrov*, in *Krat. Soob. Inst. Mater. Kult.*, IX, 1941, pp. 18-28.

Kan-chou Yughurs received their surname *Sarī* ("Yellow") (v.i. p. 77), and whether some larger division of the tribe was entitled to this appellation.¹ Should our identification of the Shāriya find a further confirmation, one might imagine that the western series of migration was provoked by this particular tribe, while the rest of the "Qipchaq" federation was not affected by it. In any case, to be in the position to press on the Muslim Türkmenš, the Shāriya (whether Polovtsi, or a special Uyghur tribe) must have lived in the neighbourhood of Lake Aral and the lower course of the Sir-daryā.²

Before we survey the repercussions of the movement among the western tribes it will be helpful to consider one important point throwing light on the origin of §3.

I am inclined to connect the transmission of our report with the person of an amir of Qun origin whose name is found in our text. According to Juvaynī, II, 3, Ākinchi b. Qochqar was Sanjar's slave, whereas I. Athīr, X, 181, says that he was one of Bark-yaruq's slaves and that this sultan appointed him Khwārazmshāh. Bark-yaruq began to reign in Shavval 487/14 October-11 November, 1094, and the nomination of Ākinchi was probably made on the occasion of Bark-yaruq's first visit to Khorasan after the overthrow of his tyrannous uncle Arslan Arghun. Bark-yaruq reached his army on 5 Jamādī I 490/20 April, 1096, and stayed in Khorasan over seven months. Ākinchi had time to collect a force of 10,000, most probably in his new government, and then came to Marv to join the Sultan, who by that time had returned to 'Irāq. Ākinchi arrived with a small escort and, while engaged in merry-making, was attacked and killed by two rival amirs. This must have happened towards the very end of 1097. Consequently, only for a very short time did Ākinchi enjoy his governorship, though a previous acquaintance with Khwārazm was a necessary prerequisite of his appointment. The fact that both his father's and his son's names are known points to some family tradition as accounting for Ākinchi's own whereabouts. A man of such standing as to become Khwārazmshāh, i.e. the governor responsible for the whole northern front of the Seljuk empire, must have been a prominent personality fully aware of the events in the steppe to the north of the Aral lake and the Caspian. There is nothing strange in the supposition that the court physician Sharaf al-Zamān, himself a native of Marv, knew him personally. He might even have been called to attend on the dying Khwārazmshāh.

It stands to reason that the immense migration of tribes ranging from Manchuria to the Black Sea could not be a matter of a few

¹ We can only put on record, as a mere parallel, that at an earlier time, the Türgish were divided into two groups called "Black" and "Yellow," see *H.-'A.*, 301. A considerable stream Sarī-su flows in the neighbourhood of the Qara-qum sands.

² Marquart, *Komanen*, 41, took *Sārī* for the capital of Mazandaran, but in his corrections, *ibid.*, 202, has admitted that the country of *Sārī* must have lain to the east of the Turkmans.

years, nor could it have been surveyed in its entirety from outside. Very probably the two series of moves, "Qāy—Qūn—Shāriya" and "Türkmān—Ghuz—Pecheneg" were knitted together at some central point, such as Khwārazm. No person was better qualified to correlate the facts than Ākinchi b. Qochqar.¹

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 ARMĪNIYA. No sea, except the Lakes of Urmia or Van could be called "Armenian." The mistake in Marvazi (and 'Aufi) is obvious. In the chapter on the Turks (§13), the Majgharī are said to occupy the territory down to Baḥr al-Rūm, and, as the Pechenegs ousted the Magyars from these lands, *Baḥr Armīniya* must be restored as *Baḥr al-Rūmiya*, a natural term for the Black Sea, see Chap. IX, §13.

E. THE PECHENECS (v.i. §10). In the famous passage of *De administrando imperio* (Chap. 37), Constantine Porphyrogenitus 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 (Γούρκοι 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 Apaoki 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 *Hudūd*, 316.

Of great importance is the passage which Marquart, *Komanen*, 55, discovered in the Armenian historian Mattheos of Urha who *sub anno* 1050-1 says that a people of "Serpents" (*avč-ic'n*), having defeated the "Pallid, or Fallow ones (*xartēš*)," the latter did the same to the "Uz and Patsinnak," and finally the Pechenegs (perhaps with some others of the enumerated tribes) raided the Byzantine territory. The raid is confirmed by Byzantine sources,² but nothing else is known of its remote stimulus. In any case, it must not be

¹ The identity of Ākinchi in 'Aufi's text with the governor of Khwarazm was discovered by Marquart, *Komanen*, 1914, but Barthold in his *Turkestan*, 1900, had already written on the said Khwārazmshāh (see Engl. transl., p. 324).

See the remarkable study by V. G. Vasilyevsky, *Vizantiya i Pechenegi in Trudi*, I, 1908, 1-175, which remained unknown to Marquart, *Komanen*, 55.

imagined that Mattheos resumes the events of one single year, the migration on such a scale having evidently required a series of seasons. If we compare the passage of Mattheos with our text, his "Pallid ones" (a usual designation of the Koman-Qipchaq) may correspond to our Shārī/Sarī (in Turkish "yellow, pallid") and his "Serpents" to our Qun.¹ Mattheos knew nothing of the Qay who had remained in the Far East.

We might remember at this place Constantine's testimony that after A.D. 889 some Pechenegs stayed back under the Ghuz dominion, which fact seems to be confirmed by the *Hudūd* (<Jayhānī). This part of the people may have become involved in the series of movements described in §3, and thus have added to the unrest in the southern Russian steppes occupied by the other Pechenegs.

F.G. THE GHUZ AND TÜRKMĀN. The rigorous distinction between the heathen and Muslim Ghuz (v.s. §2) has some chronological importance. Our sources on the beginnings of Islam among Turkomans are very scanty. From Gardizī, 64, we learn that the chief of the "Ghuz Turks," with whom the last Samanid sought refuge in 391/1001, made profession of Islam and established marriage ties with his guest.² This shows how tardily Islam was finding its way into the steppes.³

The following details in our analysis merit special attention.

(a) The great migration referred to by Marvazi is connected with the rise of the Qitay dynasty (907/1124).

(b) The Qitay embassy of 1027 must be responsible for the first mention of the Qāy and Qūn found in Biruni. Both nations are still placed east of the Khirkhiz. This suggests that the eastern part of the great migration began *after* A.D. 1027.

(c) The Christianity of the Qūn (Marvazi) also brings us down to the eleventh century.

(d) The superiority of the Muslim Türkmāns over the heathen Ghuz similarly points to the eleventh century.

(e) Marvazi's chain of migrations is not linked either with the Khazars or with the Majgharis, which can indicate that the former ceased to exist as an important state (second half of the tenth century), and the latter had already settled beyond the Carpathians (after A.D. 900).

(f) As the first southward spread of the Pechenegs (shortly before A.D. 900) is chronologically out of the question, our source must refer to the second Pecheneg migration about the middle of the eleventh century.

¹ In the mouth of a Christian author, the nickname "Serpents" is somewhat unexpected when applied to a tribe that is said to have professed Christianity.

² Barthold, *Turkestan*, 269, and *Ocherk istorii turkmen. naroda*, 20, 22, identifies this Yabghū (or Pighū) with an ancestor of the Seljuks, which gives the facts an added significance. [*Puxuy, Pīyu* "a kind of hawk", see Le Coq, *Bemerk. zur türk. Falkneri*, in *Baessler-Archiv*, 1912, II/5, p. 114].

³ As suggested above, p. 94, the term *Türkmān* in our §2 may be an anachronism introduced by Marvazi into an earlier tradition.

(g) The Khwārazmshāh Ākinchi b. Qochqar, who died A.D. 1097, may have witnessed in his youth, or known through his father, the last stages of the great migration; the tribal tradition of the Qun was undoubtedly preserved in his family.

(h) *Grosso modo* the migration is to be located within the period A.D. 1030–50, as already guessed by Marquart.¹

It remains for us to eliminate one more complication. The final formation of the Qipchaq state is attributed by Marquart, *Komanen*, 137, to the leadership of a family which, according to Chinese sources, had left the district of Wu-p'ing on the river Chê-lien, near the mountain of An-ta-han, see Bretschneider, II, 72. Marquart locates this region in the province of Jehol.² The prince who led the migration was K'ü-ch'u, and we are told that his grandson I-no-ssu was an old man when he submitted to Chengiz. This detail suggests that the emigration of K'ü-ch'u took place "about A.D. 1120 at the latest," and Pelliot, *J.A.*, April, 1920, p. 150, agrees with Marquart in placing it "in the beginning of the twelfth century." Marquart further thinks that K'ü-ch'u left his country in connection with the rise of the Kin (Jurje) in A.D. 1115 and the fall of the K'itan in A.D. 1125.

This particular migration of a Far Eastern tribe forms a curious parallel to the series described by Marvazi, but can hardly be identical with the latter. According to Marvazi the Qūn left the Far East when the Qitāy were still in power and the "beginning of the twelfth century" is also too late in consideration of the latest date found in the *Tabā'i' al-hayawān*, namely, 514/1120. Marquart's assumption that K'ü-ch'u was a Hi is doubtful for by the time in question great changes must have taken place in the ethnical composition of Jehol. In any case, the Qun amir Ākinchi (d. A.D. 1093) could not be connected with the migration of K'ü-ch'u.

§4. The *Khirkhiz*. The beginning on orientation and burials is abridged in 'Aufi, *ibid.*, lines 14–17. In the *Hudūd* the Khallukh and Kimak are similarly enumerated as neighbours of the Khirkhiz (§14), and a colony of the latter (§15, 13.) may have been in touch with the Yaghma and Kuchā (*ibid.*, p. 273, lines 8–9); burning of the dead as in Muṭahhar, IV, 22, and in Marvazi,³ but without the latter's record of a later change. Gardizī, ed. Barthold, p. 87, also mentions the burning of the dead and the *faghīnūn*. The latter term is undoubtedly of Eastern-Iranian (Soghdian) origin and

¹ *Komanen*, 57. Some of Marquart's arguments are wrong. Marquart himself corrected his interpretation of I. Athir, IX, 289, in his later article in *Ungar. Jahrbücher*, 1924, p. 276, note 5. His basic error is the confusion of the Far Eastern Qāy with the Ghuz clan of Qayī (<Qayīgh).

² Wu-p'ing-lu is the territory of the "middle" capital of the K'itan (Ta-ting-fu under the Kin). It lies in the present territory of the Kharachin tribe, in the neighbourhood of Khada=Ch'ih-fēng (G. Haloun).

³ The recent (1939) Russian archaeological expedition to the ancient Qirghiz area on the left bank of the upper Yenisei discovered burial places (already pillaged at an early time) in which scattered, "sometimes charred" human bones were found.

connected with the word *βagh*, "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 defile of Kemchik-bom 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 Carruthers, *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 (Tannu-Tuvim), viz. the Ulu-kem, formed of Bei-kem and Khuakem, and the Kemchik. Rashīd al-dīn calls the head-waters of the Yenisei *Sekiz-müren* ("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 (**Īti-baraq*, "one whose dogs are hairy"). This name occurs in the story of Oghuz-khan's exploits, see Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 23, Abul-Ghāzī, 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 Miṣr (Egypt); Bang and Rachmati, *SBA*, 1932, read the name of the country **Barqan*, with reference to Kāshghari, I, 378, according to whom "the Lower Tavghaj is Barqan, i.e. Kāshghar." If my suggestion had some truth in it, we should look for It-baraq on the middle Yenisei.

The story which must go back to Jayhānī was translated by 'Aufi, see Barthold, *Turkestan*, I, 100 = Niẓāmu'd-dīn, *o.c.*, No. 1967; summed up in Barthold, *Kirgizī*, 1927, 24.

§5 *bis*. This paragraph seems to be a more sober version of Chapter XV, §21.¹ Both refer to a region in the neighbourhood of Kāshghar which the epitomist has some difficulty in describing. The second passage is clearer in Muṭahhar, IV, 92, who says that a kind of *nasnās* ("faun") is found in the region of Bāmīr (Pamir), which is a desert (*mafāza*) stretching between Kashmīr, Tibet, Vakhān and China. The *nasnās* are covered with fur except on their faces, and leap like gazelles; the people of Vakhān hunt them and eat them. The animal may be the *Ovis Poli* (T. A. Minorsky). Kāshghari, born in the vicinity of Pamir, had to remove the *nasnās* to a farther *terra incognita*. On his Map some sands are shown to the north of the lake into which the rivers Ili, Irtish and Obi are supposed to disembogue, with the legend: "nasnās are said to live in this wilderness."

§5 *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 8 *bis* present a similar case of parallelism.

from Chinānjkaṭh to the Khirkhiz, Gardīzī, 86, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 282. The wild people of the second part correspond to the Fūrī/Qūrī, whom the *H.-'Ā.* and Gardīzī place *beyond* and to the *east* of the Khirkhiz. Gardīzī's Persian translation, pp. 86-7, runs parallel with our text, the latter being fuller at the end. Muṭahhar, IV, 96, and the *Hudūd*, §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 Jayhānī.

Marvazi leaves out the name *Qūrī, but it occurs in another paragraph (Chap. VIII, §35), which is also found in the *H.-'Ā.* (<Jayhānī?). In it the *Qūrī are similarly placed in the neighbourhood of the Khirkhiz. The *Hudūd* (§14, 1.) describes the Fūrī (Qūrī?) as brutal cannibals having a language of their own, whereas in Gardīzī's more detailed description the wild people seem to be the marsh-dwellers on the road to the large (or great?) tribe Fūrī(?) living at a distance of 2-3 months beyond the Khirkhiz. 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 Fūrī (Qūrī?) lived at the end of the road they must have been of Tunguz or Mongol stock. The form *Qūrī* is preferable to *Fūrī*,¹ because it is supported by other sources. In the Orkhon inscriptions a name *Qurīqan* twice occurs in the series: "Qīrqīz, Qurīqan, Otuz-Tatar, Qitay, Tatabi." Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezin, VII, 168, refers to the peoples "Qūrī, Barghūt, Tūmāt and Bāylūk, which he classes as Mongols² and places in the region called Barqūjīn-Tūkūm in the neighbourhood of the Qirgiz. *Barqūjīn*, *ibid.*, 108, 112, 168, 188, 189, is said to be beyond the Selenga, apparently in Transbaikalia.³

§6. The KHARLUKH. Translated in 'Aufi, Marquart, *Komanen*, 40, lines 17-20. The mountain Tūnis (read: *Tūlis, as in the *H.-'Ā.*, p. 283) must be Altai (or Tarbaghatai?). *T.rk.s* (read: *Türgish*) is a welcome indication how *Turkistān* (?) in Gardīzī's more complete text is to be restored, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, p. 287. The *H.-'Ā.* treats the Chigil and Tukhsi as separate tribes and so does Gardīzī, *o.c.*, 102. Marvazi may introduce here some later information, but the basic facts on the Türgish and Qarluq must belong to Jayhānī. Of the other tribes, *Byskl* ('Aufi: *Hsky*) is otherwise unknown (in Transoxiana there was a place *B.γ.skān*, see *H.-'Ā.*, p. 355 (I. Hauqal, 396: *M.skān*). **Bulāq* is certainly better than Aufi's *N.dā*: the tribe is mentioned as a Yaghma clan in the *H.-'Ā.*, §13. *Kwk.rkīn* ('Aufi:

¹ **Furi* might be explained as a Tunguz word meaning "children, family, descendants," cf. Manchu *furi*, *fursun*, Goldi *puri*, as quoted in Pelliot, *J.A.*, avril, 1925, p. 196.

² Also Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Blochet, 521: Qūrī, Barqū, Qirgiz.

³ The name is reflected in Russian Баргузин, as the north-eastern wind blowing on Baikal is called. Barguzin is also a small borough to the east of Baikal.

K.wālīn) may be connected with the title *Kwd.rkīn*, known among the Ghuz, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, p. 312.

§7. The KĪMĀK. The *H.-'Ā.*, §18, abridges the same source: nomads, sable-martens, migrations to the Ghuz territory. Gardīzī,¹ *l.c.*, 83-4, gives a very close Persian parallel (cf. also the *Ākhām al-marjān*, *BSOS*, IX/1, 1937, 147). A new detail is the use of skis by the Kimāk. 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. 2676, 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-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, i.e. undoubtedly Jayhānī'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 Kimāk, and that (b) the dumb barter took place between the merchants and the Kimāks (cf. *wa-yajī'u al-Kīmākī* and *tajī'u al-Kīmākīya*). It is obvious, however, that the story refers to some primitive population, much wilder than the Turkish Kimāks, and 'Aufi must be right in applying the report on dumb barter to the three nations "living to the right of the Kimak." But how could he have corrected what was incorrect in his source?

I think the explanation is that *Kīmākī* of our copy of Marvazi is a mis-spelling of some different but similarly spelt name. Here the *Hudūd* comes to our rescue, while quoting among the Khirkhiz a tribe called *K.saym*, which I have tried to explain as **Kishtim*, *ibid.*, 236. Rashīd al-dīn's text, ed. Berezin, V, 89, VII, 112, spells the name *K.st.mī*, *K.stymī*. According to the *Hudūd* the *K.saym* living on mountain slopes had some traits of similarity with the Kimāk and Khallukh. 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 *Kīmāk*, 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 *Kishtim*. In the present case also this name possibly covered the original "three tribes" living between the Kimāk and Khirkhiz.² By their origins the *Kishtim* must have

¹ This is undoubtedly the original pronunciation of the name, the *alif* of the Arabic form being only a *mater lectionis*.

² Rashīd al-dīn, VII, 112, under one heading describes three "bushmen" tribes: Ūrāsūt, Tālāngūt and *K.st.mī* (**Kishtim*).

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.-'Ā.*, §14), burnt their dead. This last habit may account for their reputation as Fire-worshippers, as was apparently the case with the ancient Rūs whom the Arab writers called *majūs*, in view of their burial system as described by I. Faḍlān, cf. Minorsky, *Rūs in E.I.*

The worshipping of waters may reflect the influence of the western neighbours of the *K.saym*. According to Gardīzī, p. 83, the *Kīmāk* worshipped the Irtish and said: "the river is the god of the *Kīmāk*."

The indication "to the right of the *Kīmāk*" 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 *Hudūd* the *K.saym* (*Kishtim) 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 Irtish 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 'Aufi'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 Irtish 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 jurab al-humr* ?)," which 'Aufi left out in his translation.

§9. The record of this undotted name apparently goes back to Jayhānī, but has survived only in Marvazi (and 'Aufi). Looking from the *Kimāk* 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 §9 lived more to the west than the tribes of §8. On the strength of 'Aufi's spelling *M.dr.ba* 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 *-iyya*. The name may then be read BŞR, NŞR, YŞR, and eventually BŞRA, BŞRI, etc. An initial *n* is improbable in a Turkish name, and

¹ See Aristov, *Etnicheskiy sostav turetshikh plemen*, in *Zhivaya Starina*, 1896, III, 323, 340. Of the Yenisei peoples (apparently corresponding to the people called by the Chinese *Ting-ling*), there remains now only a small group of Kett (improperly called "Yenisei Ostiaks").

² Unless the Vas-Yugan portage were used.

Arabic *ş* may stand for *ç*. Our tribe lived in the woods, somewhere in the Altai region, and can not have anything to do with the BAŞRA, whom the still suspect letter of the Khazar king locates in the neighbourhood of the Khazar, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 471. Should 'Aufi's form *MŞR be preferred, one might compare it with the name of one of the headwaters of the Tom river, called Mras-su. *Mras* (*Maras* ?), with metathesis of the *r*, comes very near to *Masar.³ None of the names of the "bushmen" tribes in Rashīd al-din, VII, 112-7, is similar to MŞR.

§10. The PECHENECS. Entirely as in Gardizi, p. 95. The abridgment of the *H.-'Ā.*, 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 400/1009. On the Pechenegs see also §§2 and 3.

§11. The KHAZAR. See I. Rusta, 141-2, and Gardizi, 96 (who alone gives the same detail on the fortification of the camp); the geographical names also found in the *H.-'Ā.*, §50 (see the Commentary, *ibid.*, pp. 450-60). Bakri, 43-4, mentions the same two towns, but gives more details (on the conversion of the Khazars to Judaism).

In the *H.-'Ā.*, 453-4, I suggested that the names of the later town *S.qsīn* was nothing but a simplification of the earlier *Sārigh-shin* (*-sin* ?). 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.t-baligh*, *Kh.n-baligh*, etc. (though hardly *Khān-baligh*!).

§12. The B.RDĀS. As in I. Rusta, 140-1, *H.-'Ā.*, §52, and Gardizi, 96. Even the name *B.rdās* (Bakri: *F.rdās*) is characteristic for the older tradition (Jayhānī < I. Kh. ?) as against the form *Burtās* found in Istakhri, Mas'ūdī, etc. The tribe is usually identified with the Mordvans, or rather with the Moksha section of them, *H.-'Ā.*, 462-5. There is some obscurity in the item on the emancipation of the *Burdās* 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, 141, 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 (*ān mard*) 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 *khaṭībun* instead of the expected *al-khaṭīb*.

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

§§12 *bis*, *ter* and *quater* form one block of information centring round the Bulghar. 'Aufi, in his Persian translation, very closely follows Marvazi but leaves out certain details. Marquart, *Ein arabischer Bericht über die arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus dem 10. Jahrhundert*, in *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1924, pp. 261-334, has studied 'Aufi's text in great detail, and also, 302-3, examined the problem of the sources.

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 'Aufi's immediate source was Marvazi. 'Aufi translates even the introductory paragraph of the *Tabā'i* 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 *Hudūd* and Gardīzi, of whom at least the latter two certainly used Jayhāni, omit the paragraph on Arctic lands and give a different description of the Bulghar. Very curiously they call the latter people *Bulkār*, which detail seems to reflect a Persian pronunciation (cf. also *Burdās* for *Burlās*). We have to allow for the existence of earlier and later copies of Jayhāni's work, of which the former must have contained the "Bulkār-Burdās" report,¹ 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.² 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 a part of Marvazi's facts.

(d) In Biruni's biography found in Yāqūt's *Irshād al-arīb*, VI, 310, it is reported³ 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. Abul-Ḥasan 'Alī Bayhaqī's *Tārīkh-i Bayhaq* (563/1164), recently published in Tehran (1317/1938), throws more light on the possible identity of the ambassador. It reports, p. 53, that in 415/1024 the padishah "of Bulghār and the

¹ The "Bulkār-Burdās" report was possibly incorporated in I. Khurdādhbih, as suggested by Barthold with regard to the description of the "Bulkār" in I. Rusta, Bakri and Gardīzi.

² See [Krachkovsky], *Puteshestviye Ibn Fadlana*, Leningrad, 1939.

³ Possibly on the authority of the *Maqāmāt-i Abū Naṣr Mashkānī* by Abul-Faḍl Bayhaqī.

regions which go by the name of Bulghar (*sic*)," namely, al-amīr Abū-Ishāq b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. B.lt.vār had a dream suggesting that he should send an offering (*māl*) to Bayhaq, in the region of Nishapur, to be spent on alms (*nafaqa*) and the embellishment (*'imārat*) of the Friday mosques of Sabzavār and Khusraugird. He sent rich offerings and joined to them wonderful presents for the padishah of Khorasan, "the like of which wonders has never been seen." No doubt the gifts were intended for Sultan Maḥmūd.¹ This may have been the occasion on which the record of 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, §22. Copies of the report could easily have been circulated in Khorasan.

(e) Resemblance between Marvazi and Biruni can be traced not only in the *Tafhīm* (A.D. 1029), but also in the earlier *Tahdīd al-amākin* (A.D. 1025), and in the later *Canon Masudicus* (A.D. 1030?), as shown below in §12 *ter*.² Consequently the idea of his borrowing directly from him is by no means out of 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 Eratosthenes."

(f) Even the latest date found in the *Tabā'i* (514/1120) is too early to allow of any contact between Marvazi and Abū Ḥāmid of Granada, who claims to have stayed in Sakhsin (ancient *Sārigh-sīn*, at the estuary of the Volga) in 525/1131 and 528/1134, and visited Bulghar in 530/1136; see Ferrand, *Le Tuhfat al-Albāb*, in *Jour. As.*, juillet, 1925, pp. 116, 123, 132. It is quite possible though 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 Ḥāmid has preserved some details ("Black Sea") which help to elucidate dark points in Marvazi's condensed narration.

Provisionally 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, 141-2, Gardīzi, 97 (who exactly follows I. Rusta) and Bakri, 44-5.³ Marvazi has the following details in common with I. Faḍlān: the name *Bulghār* (instead of *Bulkār* found in I. Rusta, etc.), the title of the king (absent in I.R., H.-'A. and Gardīzi), the town of *Suvār, the existence of hazel trees in the Bulghār 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, *S. Maḥmūd*, p. 53.

² According to Rieu Marvazi directly refers to Abū Rayḥān Bīrūnī, v.s. p. 2.

³ The *Hudūd*, §51, is too short and combines the Jayhānī and Balkhī (Iṣṭakhri) traditions. Through Balkhī he may have incorporated some of I. Faḍlān's facts.

I. Faḍlān in the Mashhad MS. 204b₇, 206b₃ and 205b₁₇, and in Yāqūt, I, 723₁₁, 726₁₇, 725₂₂. 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 victuals for three months! Cf. also Marquart's surmise, *o.c.*, 266, of a possible confusion of *sab'in* ("70") and *tis'in* ("90").

The title of the Bulghar king is separately quoted in §15: *Bllṭw*, which is no doubt identical with I. Faḍlān's *B.ṭṭwār*, see *Puteshestviye*, f. 204a and note 8. Both forms may be an ancient mis-spelling of the original **Yiltavar*, or *Yiltever* (?), cf. *Hudūd*, 461, identical with *eltābār* found in the Orkhon inscriptions. In our text the name is mutilated, the initial *b* standing apparently for the Arabic preposition *bi*.¹

In the Mashhad MS. *S.vān* represents **Suvār*; Iṣṭ., 225, quotes *Suvār* on the direct authority of someone who was preaching in the local mosque (*akhbaranī 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 *khātib* (*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 been referred to in Transoxiana as *al-khātib*.² The distance between *Suvār* and Bulghār is not recorded in I. Faḍlān's text, but the formula *akhbaranī* in Iṣṭ. (<Balkhi) suggests an oral communication.

§12 *ter*. I. Faḍlān's text contains only some scanty information on *Wisū* which the traveller gathered from the Bulghar king, *Puteshestviye*, ff. 206a, 207b, 208a, and Yāqūt, IV, 944.³

Biruni in his *Canon* enumerates side by side Bulghār, *Isū* and *Yūra*.

	Long.	Lat.
The two towns <i>Suvār</i> and Bulghār, on the river of the <i>Rūs</i> and <i>Saqāliba</i> (or: in the direction (* <i>fi naḥw</i>) of the R. and S.) ..	8°0 (?)	49°30
The country * <i>Isū</i> with which the Bulgharians trade	69°0	55°0
The forests of <i>Yūra</i> whose inhabitants are wild and trade by dumb barter (<i>mu'ayanatan</i>)	63°0	47°30

¹ I. Faḍlān calls the king reigning in 309/921 *Almush b. Shilkī* (later renamed *Ja'far b. 'Abdillāh*), but in the introductory paragraph the king's name is *Ḥasan b. Balṭavār*. On the king reigning in 415/1024 (*v.s.* p. 111).

² Already Barthold in his note on I. Faḍlān's *risāla*, *Zap.*, XXI, 1913, XLI-III, suggested that *Iṣṭakhri's* reference was to I. Faḍlān. Marquart, *Arktische Länder*, 266, calls I. Faḍlān *khātib*, and 319, "Prädiger."

³ I.F. places them at 3 months' distance from the Bulghar, while Marvazi (and Biruni in *Tahdīd*, as translated by A. Z. Validi, *o.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 *Wisū* 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 *Isū* coincides with *Abū Ḥāmid's* story.

Since Fraehn it has been accepted that the *Wisū* are the Finnish *Ves* (**Veps*) whom the Russian Chronicles place near *Belo-ozero* and whose descendants (some 25,000) are still found between *Lakes Onega* and *Ladoga*.¹ The form *Wisū* (I. Faḍlān) seems to be preferable to *Isū*, which may be due to a confusion of the initial *waw* with *alif*.

The term *Yūra* is identical with Russian *Yugra*, cf. *Ibn Faḍl-Allāh al-'Umari*, transl. Quatremère in *Notices et Extraits*, XIII, 284: *Yūghra*, Prof. S. V. Bakhrushin, *Ostiatskiye i vogulskiy kniazhestva v xvi-xvii vekakh*, Leningrad, 1935, writes that in the eleventh 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-Ziryans*). In the first place the term *Yugra* was applied to the tribes which later were called the *Ostiak*, but among the latter there were certainly some *Vogul* tribes as well. The terms *Yugra* (**Yogra-yaz*) 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-sleighs; *Abū Ḥāmid* (*v.i.*) does not refer to *Yūra* on the road *Bulghār-Wisū-the sea*, and *Birūnī*, *Tahdīd*, gives a distance of 12 days by sleigh from *Isū* to *Yūra*. These latter indications suggest that *Yūra* lived on one side, and probably to the east, of the *Bulghār-Wisū* road. Since the distance (as the crow flies) of 850 Kms. between *Bulghār* and *Belo-ozero* was covered in 20 days, the distance of 12 days (*circa* 550 kms.) traced to the east of *Belo-ozero* would hardly reach the *Yugra* territory. At the most it would take us to the wooded basin of the *Vichegda*, which even in the tenth century was presumably occupied by *Permians* (*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 *Kimāk* region (§§7-8 *bis*); but the wooden

¹ According to M. V. Talitsky, *K etnogenezu Komi*, in *Krat. soobshcheniya Inst Istor Mater. Kult.*, 1941, pp. 47-54, the *Isu*, as described by *Gharnati*, *'Aufi* and *Yāqūt*, should be located on 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 Kimāk are distinct from the thigh-bone skates (?) which the Yūra people attached to their feet, to say nothing of the dog-sleighs used by the Bulgharians. For the parallels see Marquart's commentary on 'Aufi, *o.c.*, 289, 309, where he quotes for dog-sleighs (our §12 bis), M. Polo, ed. Yule-Cordier, II, 479-81, and Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, II, 399-401; for skates, Rubruquis, ed. d'Avezac, p. 327, and for skis Rashīd al-dīn, ed. Berezine, VIII, 115.¹

§12 *quater*. Marvazi and his translator 'Aufi are positive about the "coast people" living "beyond Yūra," but if the usual identification of the Wisū/Isū and Yūra is true, the road Bulghār-Wisū-Yūra could not have formed a short cut to the northern sea. Abū Hāmid Gharnāṭī, ed. Ferrand, 118, quotes a curious story about the Bulghārs taking to Wiswā (*sic*) blades from Ādharbayjān. These weapons, unpolished, but well tempered and giving a good ring, were exchanged for beaver pelts (*qunduz*). On their part the Wiswā carried the blades to "a country adjacent (*qarīna*) 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 sea³ and God causes a fish as big as a mountain to come up to them. Being pursued by a still larger fish, it approaches the coast. Then men in boats begin to cut it up and fill their houses with its flesh and oil." Abū Hāmid may have expanded the similar story found in I. Faḍlān, f. 208a, or may himself have picked it up in Bulghār (in 530/1136). The point which interests us is that the Wiswā are said to be in direct communication with the coast-dwellers (Marvazi: *sāhiliyyūn*), while the Yūra are not mentioned on the road to the sea (*v.s.*). This version may be taken as an indication that the coast-dwellers are to be looked for in the neighbourhood of the White Sea. In point of fact the *Ves* lived in a knot of fluvial communications and could easily reach this sea by the Onega.

F. Nansen, *In Northern Mists*, Engl. transl., 1911, II, 146, says that the coast-dwellers "may have been Samoyeds (on the Pechora), Karelians, Terfinnas and even Norwegians." In view of Abū Hāmid's text, the first eventuality should drop. It would be strange too if the Bulghārians intended their blades for the Norwegians, who could obtain such weapons nearer home.⁴ Moreover, the Norwegians made only occasional raids into the White Sea. The remaining candidates are the Finns (Karelians), or more probably

¹ A bad mutilation of the report is found in Fakhr al-dīn Mubārak-shāh Marvārūdī (A.D. 1206), ed. E. D. Ross, 39: "In the country of the Turks (*Turkistān*) there is a forest called 'the forest of Laura (read: *Yūra*)'. 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 sables 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 "Sulaymānian" swords of the Rūs, see *Hudūd*, 437, and the special study by A. Z. Validi, *Die Schwerter der Germanen*, ZDMG, 1936, 19-37. I take *sulaymānian* for a hint at *Qor'ān*, XXXIV, 10-12.

the Lapps,¹ whose traces Prof. Vasmer² 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 Hāmid, which he identifies further on, p. 91, with the Sea of Darkness (*al-baḥr al-aswad allādhī yu'raf bi baḥr al-zulumāt*), i.e. with the Arctic Ocean on which the ideas of Muslim scholars were vague.⁴ Consequently the "Black Land" may be either a misunderstanding meant for the "Black Sea,"⁵ 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.⁶

We come now to the last interesting point of §12 *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 astronomic speculation. The anecdote, which Yāqūt quotes in his *Irshād al-arīb*, gives a personal turn to the story. The "Turkish" ambassador who boasted of having witnessed the phenomenon seems to have been the Bulghārian envoy who brought presents to Sultan Maḥmūd A.D. 1024. By an astonishing coincidence, in the *Tahdīd* (composed in 1025) Bīrūnī refers to the coast-dwellers of the Sea of Varangians,⁷ 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."⁸

I am inclined to connect this statement (as well as our §12 *quater*) with the Bulgharian envoy's report (A.D. 1024), but, on the other

¹ Marquart, *o.c.*, 324-7, was inclined to identify the quarrelsome seafarers with some Lapp tribe.

² *Die ehemalige Ausbreitung der Lappen und Permier in Nordrussland*, SBA, hist.-phil. Klasse, 1936, 176-270.

³ Alan S. C. Ross, *The Terfinnas and Beornas of the Othhere*, Leeds, 1940, identifies Terfinnas with the Lapps of the Terskiy bereg (Kola peninsula) and Beornas (Bjarmar) with Karelians ("in all probability"). We know that Lapps were formerly found down to the immediate neighbourhood of Archangel Gulf.

⁴ A. Z. Validi, *Nordvölker*, 46: "Freilich scheint Biruni keine klare Vorstellung von dem Unterschied zwischen Nord-und Ostsee einerseits und dem Weissen Meer andererseits gehabt zu haben."

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 **Svartbard*), but Icelandic annals speak of its discovery only under A.D. 1194. See R. Hennig, *Terrae incognitae*, 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. Validi's German version. Cf. *Hudūd*, 181-2.

hand, I do not see how this report could be an echo of the circumnavigation of the North Cape¹ 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 writer² to use the name *Varank* (Waring, old Russian *Varegi*), and to call by it what appears to be the Baltic. But Birūnī 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.

	Latitude
A summer day of 24 hours	65.6°-66°
A winter night of 24 hours	66.6°-67.2°
A summer day of 40 days and a winter night of 40 days ³	±68°

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

§13. With the paragraph on the MAJGHARI we return to the original Jayhānī tradition (v.s. §12). See I. Rusta, 142-3, *H.-'Ā.*, §22, Gardizī, 98, and Bakri, 45 (confused), cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 456, and my article *Une nouvelle source persane sur les Hongrois au X^e siècle*, in *Nouvelle Revue de Hongrie*, avril, 1937, pp. 305-12.

§14. The SLAVS. See I. Rusta, 143-5, *H.-'Ā.*, §43, Gardizī, 99-100, Bakri, 28-9.

Apart from Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, III, 61-5, (cf. Marquart, *Osteuropäische Streifzüge*, 85-160), and Ibrāhīm 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 *H.-'Ā.*, 427-32, 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 *H.-'Ā.* 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 (Yāqūt, II, 440) speaks of Slavs

¹ A. Z. Validi, *o.c.*, 46, "Bei dem Zitat aus dem *Tahdīd* über die Polarfahrt eines Warägers scheint es sich um eine Variante der Erzählung baltisch-nordischen Händler über die kühne Reise . . . des aus dem Norden Norwegens stammenden Ottar zu handeln."

² But see *Hudūd*, 182.

³ According to Abū Ḥāmid, quoted in Qazvini, *Athār al-bilād*, 418, the country of Yūra possessed this characteristic.

as subjects of the Khazars. Marvazi (§10) and Gardizī, 95, repeat the report on the [Eastern] Slavs counter-attacking the Pechenegs.

The naive indication that the Slavs burn their dead "because they are fire-worshippers" may explain why the Arab historians call the Rūs *al-majūs*. Ya'qūbī, *BGA*, VII, 354, calls the raiders who plundered Sevilla in 229/843: *al-Majūs allādhīna yuḡālu lahum 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.I.* Gardizī must have mis-read *nīrān* into *thīrān*, "bulls," for in his Persian book he calls the Slavs "cow-worshippers"!

The detail of the Slav king feeding on milk (*H.-'Ā.*), or more precisely on mare's milk (I. Rusta, Marvazi), is curious. As mare's milk¹ is a typically Turkish drink it is possible that our source refers to some dynasty of Turkish origin lording it over some Slavs.² 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?-900) 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, 104). According to Wulfstan the Vistula separates Weonodland ("the land of the Slavs") from Witland belonging to the Este. *Witland* 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 Letts). 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 mead" (translated for me by Mrs. N. K. Chadwick). The inhabitants burnt their dead and divided the latter's property into prizes for which races were run by horsemen. The details of mare's milk, mead 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 **Swyt-blk*, of which the final element was confused with *mlk* (i.e. *malik*, "king") and finally eliminated. For the name of the second ruler Marvazi adds one more variant, *sh.rīh* (**sh.rīj* or *sh.rīkh*), but no better

¹ Especially the fermented preparation called *qumis*. Cf. Chap. IX, §7.

² Cf. L. Niederle in *Revue des Etudes Slaves*, II, 1922, 32.

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

The details on lutes are more complete in Marvazi. The distinguished musicologist Dr. H. Farmer, to whom I communicated my passage, very kindly gave me the following explanation: "The *malāwī* are the tuning pegs on any stringed 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" (*malwā*). This 'tuning peg' the performer turns (*yalwī*) when he wishes to tune the string to its proper note. The *malwā* is always at the head of the instrument, and in lutes is either fixed directly (*mustawī*) into a hole in the head, or else the *malwā* goes into a hole in what we call a peg-box (*banjak*, *banjāk*, *bunjuq*). 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 (*musatṭah*) one."

§15. The Rūs. For the first part see I. Rusta, 145-7, H.-'A., §44, Gardīzi, 100-1, Bakrī, 34-40. The story of the conversion of the Rūs to Christianity and then to Islam was copied by 'Aufi, whose text was edited and translated by Barthold in *Zap. Vost. Old.*, IX, 1895 (1896), pp. 262-7.¹ 'Aufi translates Marvazi word for word, repeating the date "300" and the name of the Bulghār king in the form *B.ī.ūū*. 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 Zurqān's death, p. 128).²

The Russians were baptised A.D. 988 or 989 (378-9 H.), but Ibn al-Athīr, 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. Dimishqī, tr. Mehren, 378. As Marvazi quotes the name of Vladimir (older *Volodimer*),³ 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 Bahjat al-tawārikh* of Shukrullāh (A.D. 1456) and the still later *Jāmi' al-tawārikh* of Muhammad Za'im (A.D. 1578) change the date of the conversion respectively to 303 and 333, see Hammer, *Les origines russes*, 1827, 48, 65-6, as quoted by Barthold.

³ In *bvladmīr*, the initial *b* stands for Arabic preposition *bi*, as in *bi-khāqān* which follows it. 'Aufi, however, took the whole complex for the name of the prince *Bālādhmīr*, possibly with a popular Persian etymology "prince of steel" (*pūlādh-mīr* "Stalin"). In I. Hajar's bibliographical dictionary *Durar al-kāmina*, 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 improbable in the admission that the envoys had also visited Khwārazm, 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 livelihood," 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 fame of whose exploits against the nomad Polovtsi¹ must have reached Khwārazm. The chronicles praise Monomach for his unimpeachable orthodoxy, but some minor princes or noblemen involved in feudal struggles might well have sought refuge as far away as Khwārazm,² and even have expressed a desire to embrace Islam.

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

The indication respecting the protective chains in Constantinople raises several interesting points. The term *khalīj* means both "a gulf" and "straits". I. Khurdādhbih, 103-4, uses it in the latter

1350, IV, 408, No. 1124, N. A. Poliak has found a curious name, *W.lādmr* (var. *W.lāwy*). The traditionalist *W.lādmr b. 'Abdillāh al-Sayfī* was a client of 'Bāgtāmūr al-Sāqī al-'Azīzī, and lived 644-710/1246-1310. It is likely that *W.lādmr* corresponds to *Vladimir*. The name may have been used by the Turks on the assumption that *-dmr* is 'dāmūr "iron." 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, 'Abdullāh, is a usual name among converts to Islam. It can even be a translation of "Theodore."

¹ He had 83 major expeditions to his credit. He made peace 19 times with the Polovtsi with whom (down to 1093 alone) he had fought 12 battles.

² Cf. the story of Sviatopolk of Kiev, who after his defeat by his brother Yaroslav, A.D. 1019, fled to the Pechenegs, *The Novgorod Chronicle*, pp. 83-4; Engl. transl., Camden Third Series, 1914, p. 2.

sense while saying that at the western outlet of the *khalīj* (Dardanelles) there stands a tower "in which there is a chain preventing the Muslim ships from entering the *khalīj*." On the other hand, he says that at the (eastern) entrance (*fūha*) to the *khalīj* (Bosphorus) there is a town called **Musannāt*. Mas'ūdī, *Murūj*, II, 317, is more explicit in stating that at this place "lie cultivated lands (*'amā'ir*) and the Byzantine town called *M.snāt*, which impedes the ships of the Rūs and others who come from the (Black) sea." Cf. also *Tanbīh*, 141 (where the Rūs are called *al-Kūdkāna*, read **al-Urmaniyya*). De Goeje (I. Kh., transl. 75) has surmised that the name **Musannāt* must be an Arabic term having the sense of "digue ou brise-lames" (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 . . ."), cf. also Tomaschek, *Zur hist. Topographie von Kleinasien*, 1891, p. 3 (without any further explanation). The probability of an Arabic etymology is increased by the existence of a place *al-Musannāt* in Egypt, *Murūj*, IV, 421, and *Yāqūt*, IV, 533. The "town" of which Mas'ūdī 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. 9-10.² According to the Russian Chronicle (Laurentian Codex, *Polnoye sobraniye russkikh letopisey*, 1926, I, 30), when the Russians led an attack against Constantinople A.D. 907, the Greeks "locked the Gulf (замкоша соудъ) and closed up the city." Marvazi possibly refers to this event of which Jayhāni was a contemporary.

The raid of the Rūs on Barda's in 332/943-4 was described by I. Miskawih, *The Eclipse*, II, 62-78, and traces of some additional information are found in the *Hudūd*, §36, 30., but no other source prior to Marvazi has the reports on the conversion of the Rūs to Islam, and on the great migration of Turkish tribes (v.s. §5). Both clearly reflect a Khwārazmian 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

¹ Mas'ūdī had little influence on the writers of Khorasan. The interpretation of *M.s.nāh* as "Mysia," Seippel, p. xxx, is absolutely impossible. If we insist on a Greek origin for the name, we might perhaps envisage *Mesemvria*. This town lay far from the Bosphorus, but it is mentioned by Const. Porph., *De adm. imp.*, Ch. 9, as the terminus of the difficult sea voyage of the Russians on the way to Constantinople.

² Under Manuel 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.

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. 19) that the Turks were formerly called Saka (τῶν Γούρκων, τῶν Σακῶν καλουμένων πάλαι). On the Iranian side the Book of Kings (*Khwatāy-nāmak*) similarly confused the descendants of Tūr (Turanians) with Turks, and this view was consecrated by Firdausi. I. Faqīh, 7, includes in Scythia (*Isgūtiya*): Armenia, Khorasan, the Turks and Khazars, and Marvazi simply substitutes "Turks" to the "Scythians" of the Greek authors.¹ §§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 *Περὶ ἀέρων ὑδάτων τόπων*, see *Oeuvres complètes d'Hippocrate*, ed. E. Littré, 1840, II, at the places indicated below.²

§17. Cf. Littré, II, 67: on *Σαυραμάται* living near the Maeotis.

§18. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 73-7: Scythians are fat and their skin is hairless. The women are sterile: "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 handmaids who do the work conceive easily, etc. An echo of these theories is also found in I. Faqīh, 6, according to whom the Turks have few children. Gardizi, 81, and the *Mujmal al-tawārīkh*, 105, quote legends to explain why Turks have little hair on their bodies (*tang-mū'ī*).

§19. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 77: on the morbid effeminacy of some Scythians called *ἀνανδρείς*. Cf. Herodotus, I, 105: *ἐναπέες*. 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 (τὰ γὰρ ἀριστεία τῆς νίκης αὐτοὶ φέρονται). C'est ainsi que les lois ne contribuent pas peu à créer le courage." A sublime idea, even for our own times!

¹ Just as the older Russian translation of Joseph Flavius substitutes "Pechenegs" for "Scythians," Vsevolod Miller, *Osetinskiye et'udi*, III, 40.

² In the new edition *Corpus medicorum graecorum*, I/1: Hippocratis opera, Vol. I/1, ed. Heiberg, 1927, pp. 56-78 (especially pp. 71-8).

§20. Cf. *ibid.*, II, 67: in Hippocrates, the passage on warlike women with one breast (μαξόν) 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'isha 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 hydrouterus; but these also pass away as they grow old." See O. Cameron, *A Treatise on the Canon . . . of Avicenna*, London, 1930, 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 *Περὶ ἀέρων*, 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 Hippocratis Cui 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 *Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān* has been studied and edited. The famous Ḥunayn b. Ishāq says in the Bibliography of his translations that he rendered Hippocrates's *Περὶ ἀέρων* (*kitāb al-hawā wal-mā' wal-masākin*) 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, *Ḥunayn b. Ishāq*, in *Abh. für die Kunde des Morgenlandes*, XVII, No. 2, 1925, p. 25 (point 99). Ya'qūbī, *Ta'rīkh*, I, 119-29, sums up the contents of the works of Hippocrates: *Kitāb fil-ahwiya wal-azmina wal-miyāh wal-amṣār* (p. 119-20) and *Kitāb fil-ahwiya wal-buldān* (pp. 120-9), but leaves out the part on Sauromatae, etc. He adds that Galen composed a running commentary on the book (*faṣl faṣl wa ma'nā ma'nā*). Even the rendering of the title suggests that Ya'qūbī used some translation other than that of Ḥunayn. A similar difference with regard to the *Prognostikon* has been indicated

by M. Klamroth, *Ueber die Auszüge aus griechischen Schriftstellern bei al-Ja'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*, 1879; Nundo Lal De, *The Geographical Dictionary of Ancient and Mediaeval India*, 1927; Reinaud, *Mémoire géographique historique et scientifique sur l'Inde antérieurement au milieu du XIe siècle de l'ère chrétienne, d'après les écrivains 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-abṣār* 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* < **antyaaja*) and finally of the outcaste Hādī (*Hādī*), Dūm (*Doma*), Candala and *Badhatau*.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, knows 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 Khurdādhbih, 71, but, as Marvazi gives more details in the style of the original (prohibition of intermarriages, Brahmans infatuated with candala 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 *vadhya*, "a criminal," in Arabic **badhyū* (with final *u* instead of *a*, like in *vafa* > *baru*).