

in Chinese translations of Buddhist works. See note 1006).

The emperor Yung lo in 1405 despatched an envoy to that country; but owing to the great distance, no embassy from there was seen in China.

After this the Ming shi treats again, in the same chapter, of some districts situated apparently in Tibet.

Ch. 331

DO-GAN.<sup>1010</sup>p. 374<sup>1</sup>

This place (or country) is stated to be situated beyond Sz' ch'uan. It borders on the south with Wu-sz' dsang. The Yüan (Mongol dynasty) first established a military administration in Do-gan. I omit the details on the history of Do-gan.

Ch. 331

THE SÜAN WEI SZ'<sup>1011</sup> OF CHANG HO SI, YÜ T'UNG, p. 375<sup>1</sup>  
AND NING YÜAN.

These districts were all situated beyond Sz' ch'uan in Tibet. These names (Chinese names) occur already in the Yüan History. The Mongols first established a military administration there. I omit the details.

THE SÜAN WEI SZ' OF DUNG-BU AND HAN-HU.<sup>1012</sup> p. 375<sup>3</sup>

These districts are stated to lie west of Wei chou in Sz' ch'uan. (Wei chou of the Ming period answers nearly the present *Wen ch'uan hien*.)

The 332d and last chapter of the Ming shi treats of *Bishbalik* or *Ilibalik* (Moghulistan, Jetes), *Kashgar*, *Khotan*, *Sairam*, *Yanghikand*, *Tashkand*, *Shahrükia*, *Andedjan*, *Samarkand*, *Bokhara*, *Khorassan* (?), *Kash*, *Termed*, *And-*

<sup>1010</sup> We have seen that the Ming Geography notices *Do-gan* as one of the military districts in the country of the Si fan.

<sup>1011</sup> *Süan wei sz'* is a Chinese superintendency over foreign tribes.

<sup>1012</sup> Tibetan names, it seems.

*kut*, *Badakhshan*, *Herat*, *Kerman*, *Isfahan*, *Shiraz*, *Tauris*, *Egypt*, *Arabia*, *Mecca*, *Medina*, *Rum*, and, besides these, notices a number of other places and countries of Central and Western Asia, the identification of which presents some difficulties.

Ch. 332 BIE-SHI-BA-LI (BISHBALIK, MOGHULISTAN, JETES).<sup>1013</sup> p. 375<sup>9</sup>

*Bie-shi-ba-li* is a great empire in the *Si yü* (countries of the West). It is bordered on the south by *Yü-t'ien*

<sup>1013</sup> There can be no doubt that by *Bie-shi-ba-li* or Bishbalik (the name of the empire was subsequently changed into *Ili-ba-li* or Ilibalik) the Chinese from the end of the fourteenth to the sixteenth century understood the eastern part of the so-called "Middle Empire," assigned originally to Chinghiz Khan's second son, Chagatai. As can be proved by comparative investigations, *Bie-shi-ba-li* of the Ming History is the same as the empire of the *Jetes* or *Getes* of the Mohammedan chroniclers treating of the same period. It was known in the west also under the name of *Moghulistan* (not to be confounded with the country occupied by the true Mongols to the eastward). Timur, in his Autobiography (Stewart's transl., 46, 73), terms this empire *Desht Jitteh* (*desht* means desert), and considers the *Jitteh* his countrymen. Thus they were the followers of the descendants of Chinghiz. As can be concluded from the Mohammedan records, the empire of the *Jetes* embraced in the days of Timur the present Dzungaria, with Ili and the greater part of Eastern and Western Turkestan. I am not prepared to give any satisfactory explanation of the origin of the names *Jetes*, *Jitteh*, or *Getes*, as some orientalist write it. It is certain that it was unknown to the Persian authors before Timur's time, and it disappears again in the authors posterior to the first half of the fifteenth century. Sherif-eddin, the author of the *Zafer nameh*, records in detail the expeditions undertaken by Timur against the *Jetes* in Moghulistan, as does also Arab Shah. Abder-Razzak (+ 1483), who wrote the history of Shah Rok, mentions the *Jetes* s. a. 1425. Some orientalist, in the first place De Guignes, have tried to derive the name of the *Jetes* from that of the *Yue-ti*, a nation mentioned in the Chinese annals since the second century B.C., and the *Getas* and *Massagetas* of the classical authors. It has also been made a question whether the *Jats*, so widely extended over the Pendjab, on the banks of the Indus, and in other parts of India, belong to the same race as the *Jetes* in Central Asia. See Vivien de St. Martin's interesting investigations on the subject at the end of his treatise, "*Les Huns Blancs*," 1849.

In order to corroborate the Chinese records regarding *Bie-shi-ba-li*, I may put here together what I have been able to gather from various sources with respect to the history of Moghulistan and the *Jetes*. My information is derived from the *Tarikh-i Rashidi*, transl. by Erskine (v. p. 150); from Khondemir's *Habib es-siier*, transl. by DeFrémery (v. p. 150);

from Kia yü kuan in the south-east 3700 *li*. It is believed that Bie-shi-ba-li occupies the same tracts as in ancient

east of the Sihon; see i. p. 170), finally acknowledged their fault and requested Timur's pardon. Timur gave orders to bring them to his presence. When they arrived at *Otrar*, Sar Bugha surrendered, but Adil Shah, being alarmed, fled again and took refuge at *Aksuma*, which is the name of a tower built on the top of the mount *Karachuk*, a place designed for a guard to the country, because one may observe from there what is done in the plains of Kipchak. But Timur went into the mountain in search of this rebel, who was seized and put to death. Sar Bugha was pardoned, and served as guide in the campaign against the *Jetes* (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 19).

Timur ordered his son Omar Sheikh to march against Kamar-eddin directly, whilst Ketai Bahadur should make a detour and get in the rear of the enemy's camp. Omar Sheikh with the main body reached the plain of *Khuratu*, where Kamar-eddin was encamped, and defeated him. But Kamar-eddin again succeeded in escaping. Ketai having plundered the country of the *Jetes*, rejoined the prince and they returned to Samarkand.

The troops were no sooner upon their return than Timur resolved to march in person into the country of the *Jetes*. His avant-guard marched day and night, and then came upon Kamar-eddin at *Buyam Asigheul* (*Issikul*?), where they put him to flight after a furious battle, and then ravaged the country. Timur afterwards pursued Kamar-eddin as far as *Kuchar* (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 20).

In 1383 the *Zafer nameh* (ii. 42) records another expedition sent by Timur against Kamar-eddin. His generals proceeded by *Atakum* and *Behrin*, arrived at *Issigheul* (*Issikul*), and advanced as far as *Gheuktopa* in search of Kamar-eddin. Not being able to find him, they returned in autumn to Samarkand (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 42).

*Khizer Kholja Khan* of Moghulistan, 1389-99.—He was the son of Toghlaq Timur. When Kamar-eddin put to death the family of the Khans, he was still at the breast. Aided by his mother, the Amyr Khodaidad (*v. supra*) had concealed this child in *Kashgar*. The boy when twelve years old was conveyed to the hill country between *Kashgar* and *Badakhshan*, then to the hills of *Khotan*, and finally to *Sarigh-Uigur* (*v. l. 263*) and *Lob Kanik*, far in the east, where he remained for twelve years more. When Kamar-eddin's power was on the decline, the young man was brought back and raised to the Khanship by Amir Khodaidad under the style of Khizer Khodja. He contended bravely against Timur in the field.

The *Zafer nameh* (iii. 5) reports under the year 1389 (the year of Khizer Khodja's accession) an expedition undertaken by Timur to Moghulistan. Timur had just defeated the army of Toktamish of Kipchak near the Sihon, when he resolved to march thence directly into Moghulistan. The army was divided into two bodies. Mirza Omar Sheikh was sent one way, Timur with the other body proceeded to *Karaguchar*, where he encamped. Omar Sheikh defeated the enemy in the plain called *Iohmas Alagheul*

times *Yen-ki* and *Kui-tsz'*.<sup>1015</sup> In the days of the Mongol emperor *Shi tsu* (*Kubilai Khan*), there was at Bie-shi-ba-li

(*Alakul lake*!). Timur sent two of his generals in search of the enemy. They marched day and night and arrived at the river *Irtysk*. They took a great many prisoners, and returned with the spoils to the royal camp. Timur then passed the great desert, and after many days' journey arrived at *Amal guju* (on the Emil river (?); see note 818), and lodged in the palace *Serai Urdum* (*Serai ordo*). Here a general council was held, and it was decided to ravage the country of the *Jetes* in various directions. The army was divided into several bodies. The road each body had to take was set down in written memoirs. The country of *Yulduz* was designated as rallying-point. The prince Omar Sheikh crossed the mountain *Dubeshin Andur* and arrived at *Kara koja*, which is three months' journey from Samarkand by the caravan (*v. p. 186*). Another body, commanded by the Amir Jehan shah and Sheikh Ali, went to *Kara art* and *Shurugluk*. Another body, commanded by Osmar Abbas, passed by *Saghizgan*, *Sugulgan*, *Lighand* and *Geveyar*. Khodaidad Huseini and Mobsasher Bahadur, at the head of another body, went by *Urichu* to *Bikut*, where they defeated the hordes of *Bulgagi* and *Uker*. Timur himself proceeded by the road of *Oluk kul*, and having ascended the mountain *Sichkan doban*, met those *Bulgagis* and defeated them. The Amirs *Yadghiar Berlas* and *Soliman Shah*, who had been left in Western Turkestan, between *Jete* and *Kipchak*, when Timur invaded the latter country, received also orders to march into Moghulistan. They came to the mountain *Urdaban*, crossed the river *Ab Ede* (*Ili river*), and arrived at *Sutyheul* (the *Sairam lake*, see note 476), and at length at *Chicheklik*. From there they went to *Balaikan*, and wheresoever they met enemies they destroyed them. When they came to *Molzudu* they met *Khizer Khodja*, Khan of Moghulistan, at the head of a great army, and attacked him. The fight lasted two days, when the battle was finished by a treaty, according to which the Amirs departed with their troops towards *Yulduz*, the general rendezvous. Timur having passed by *Keitu* and *Konghez*\* arrived at *Yulduz*. Having heard the report about the battle with *Khizer Khodja*, he marched quickly, following the track of the Moghul Khan. He crossed the river at *Ulakianaor*, passed the great desert, and arrived at *Kara bulak*. From there he went to *Tebertash*, and coming to *Kushon kai*, he discovered the enemy's army, who however fled, favoured by the darkness of the night. Timur having passed the mountain *Nairin Keutel* pursued the enemy as far as *Karatash*. Then *Khizer Khodja* abandoned his kingdom to save his life. In the meanwhile the other bodies of Timur's army terribly ravaged the country of the *Jetes*, and gave no quarter to any one of the inhabitants of that country. They advanced as far as *Kulan Keuti*, took possession of an infinite number of horses, camels, and sheep, and made abundance of slaves.

When the victorious Timur came to *Jalish*, all the immense booty was divided among the soldiers (*Jalish* is the same as *Kharashar*, *v. p. 200*). At length, decamping from *Jalish* and passing by *Kagirtu* and *Bilaghir*,

\* This is the name of one of the rivers which by their junction form the *Ili river*.

(Khotan), on the north by the country of the *Wa-la* (Oirats), on the west by *Sa-ma-rh-han* (Samarkand), and

from Timur's Autobiography, transl. by Stewart (v. p. 151); Sherif-eddin's *Zafer nameh*, transl. by Pétis de la Croix (v. p. 150), and Abder-Razzak's history of Shah Rok, transl. by Quatremère (v. p. 151). Compare also Colonel Yule's able notes on the subject in his "Cathay," 522.

The immediate successors of Chagatai continued to reside chiefly in the desert. But within a century of Chagatai's death it had become much the custom for the Khans of the Middle Empire to take up their residence in the rich and populous country of Maverannahar. In this period a division of the Middle Empire had taken place, and two separate Khans governed, the one in Maverannahar, the other in the country of the Moghuls and Kashgar. This division existed already in 1321, for the Mohammedan chroniclers tell us that in this year *Il khodja*, called also *Ian Buka*, who reigned in Maverannahar, was called by the inhabitants of Kashgar, Yarkend, Alatagh, and Uiguristan, who found none among them of the posterity of Chagatai who might fill the throne which was then vacant (Abul Ghazi, p. 165). Maverannahar continued to have its proper Khans, who, however, were entirely in the hands of their ministers, the amyr, until at length the great *Timur* set himself upon the throne of Maverannahar in 1370.

*Ian Buka* seems to have reigned in Moghulistan till about 1330, when he died. After a long interregnum, in 1347 his son *Tughlak Timur* ascended the throne, 1347-63. Some years after his accession he became a convert to the Musulman faith. *Tughlak Timur* owed the throne to the Amyr *Yuladji*, of the powerful family of *Daghlak*, who then was hereditary ruler of *Kashgar* under the Moghul Khans, a man of great influence. *Tughlak Timur* twice, in 1360 and 1362, invaded and overran Maverannahar, where he established his son *Elias Khodja*. On the death of *Yuladji* he bestowed the father's office on his son *Amyr Khodaidad*, then only seven years old. Against this nomination *Kamar-eddin*, a younger brother of *Yuladji*, remonstrated, claiming the office (at *Kashgar*) as belonging of right to himself. But the Khan persisted in supporting *Khodaidad*.

*Elias Khodja Khan*, 1363-65.—He was in Samarkand when his father died, where he was opposed by the chiefs of the country, headed by *Amyr Husein*, and by the illustrious *Amyr Timur*, who at length defeated him, and *Elias* was compelled to return to his paternal dominions in the desert of *Jetes*, where after a short reign he was assassinated by *Kamar-eddin*.

*Kamar-eddin*, 1365-89, the usurper.—After putting to death eighteen males of the family of *Elias*, he assumed the title of Khan and the government of the country. But many of the Moghul tribes refused to acknowledge him. *Timur*, in his Autobiography, 148, *sub anno* 1373, calls him only "the slave and commander-in-chief of the *Jetes*."

*Timur* was engaged in war with his eastern neighbours, the *Jetes*, during almost the whole time of his reign.

In 1370 or 1371 the *Jetes* advanced towards Maverannahar. *Timur*, at

to the east it is contiguous to *Huo chow* (Karakhodjo),<sup>1014</sup> It is distant (probably the ordo of the Khan is meant)

the head of a numerous army, marched out from Samarkand, and advanced rapidly as far as *Nekak*. When he had reached *Sairam* and *Penki*, the *Jetes* fled. He went as far as *Senghizi Agadje*, taking great booty, at length arrived at *Adun Kusy*, and returned to Samarkand (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 8).

In 1375, in January, *Timur* marched out from Samarkand against *Kamar-eddin*, who had advanced to invade Maverannahar. When *Timur's* avant-guard had reached beyond *Sairam* and arrived at *Jarun*, they learned that *Kamar-eddin* was encamped at *Gheuk tupa* (near the *Ili* river; see note 803). *Timur's* son, *Jehanghir*, went to beat up his camp; *Kamar-eddin*, however, sought refuge in a mountain pass called *Birke Ghurian*, but on *Timur's* arrival fled again. *Amyr Hussein*, one of *Timur's* generals, having been drowned in the river *Ab Ile* (*Ili*), *Jehangir* pursued *Kamar-eddin* through a country which was full of trees and caves. Then his troops devastated the district of the *Jetes* called *Uch-Perman* (pronounced *Uch Turjan*, west of *Akan*). *Kamar-eddin* again escaped. *Timur* stayed fifty-three days at *Baitak* (written also *Bayak*). Among the prisoners taken there was the wife of *Kamar-eddin* and his daughter *Dilshad Aga*, whom *Timur* subsequently took as his wife. *Timur* leaving the camp, proceeded to the mountain of *Karakasnak* (*Shemak* in the Autobiography), where he met his son *Jehangir*. From there they marched to *Atbashi* (v. p. 50), and reached the beautiful plains of *Arpaizi* (*Azbebery* in the Autobiography), where *Timur* passed two pleasant months in the season of spring.\* After this *Timur* returned to Samarkand by way of *Yassi daban* and *Uzkend* (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 14).

In 1376 *Timur* sent the Amirs *Sar Bugha*, *Adil Shah*, and others with 30,000 horse into the country of the *Jetes* against *Kamar-eddin*; but these Amirs revolted and marched towards Samarkand, which they besieged. *Timur*, who was then on an expedition to *Kharezm*, returned. His son *Jehangir* had already defeated the rebels, who fled for refuge to *Urus*, Khan of *Kipchak*, and subsequently joined *Kamar-eddin*, whom they persuaded to join them in making war upon *Timur*. They proceeded to invade *Andaljan* (*Ferghana*), and compelled *Timur's* son *Omar Sheikh*, who was governor there, to retreat. *Timur* then immediately marched against the enemy, who fled. When *Timur* had reached the village of *Atbashi* (v. *supra*), accompanied only by 200 men, *Kamar-eddin*, who had remained in ambuscade, briskly sallied out and fell upon *Timur*. But he was repulsed, and when *Timur's* army arrived, they pursued *Kamar-eddin*, and defeated him at *Senghesiyadge*. Not being able to seize him, *Timur* returned to Samarkand (*Zafer nameh*, ii. 16-18).

*Sar Bugha* and *Adil Shah*, who had deserted from *Timur*, having wandered for two years among the mountains of *Karashuk* (*Karatau* chain

\* I may observe that *Arpa* is the name of a river on the route from the *Atpeah* river to *Uzkend* in *Ferghana*. It forms one of the sources of the *Alatuga*, an affluent of the *Naryn*, and runs partly in a broad valley. See *Kotsenko's* "Turkestan," i. 241.

a *siian wei sz'* (see note 1011); subsequently it became a *yüan shuai fu* (head-quarters of a Mongol corps).<sup>1016</sup>

Timur arrived at *Yulduz*, where he encamped. The Amirs and the several bodies of the army who had ravaged all the quarters of Moghulistan and destroyed the *Jetes*, came to this place, laden with spoils. The *Zafer nameh* adds that *Yulduz* is a place of great delight and pleasure; the many delicious fountains and abundance of pasture render the living therein very agreeable. The beauty of its fountains is the reason of its name, for *Yulduz* means "the Morning Star." The grass there is so strong and nourishing, that the leanest horses, when they have been a week in its meadows, become fat and strong.\*

From thence Timur sent Mirza Omar Sheikh to his government of *Andedjan* (Ferghana), ordering him to pass by the way of *Kaluga* (Iron gate). When he had passed this defile he met the prince *Kublik*, one of the great Amirs of the *Jetes*, defeated him and cut his head off. The prince Omar then continued his road by *Kusan* (Kucha), *Uch fermän* (Uch Turfan), and the great city of *Kashgar*, and at length successfully arrived at *Andedjan*, his residence.

Timur then resolved to return to Samarkand. He departed from *Kechik Yulduz* (Little Yulduz) at the head of his army, and when he had arrived at *Olug Yulduz* (Great Yulduz), he appointed a solemn feast and a magnificent entertainment. They passed several days in this joyful manner. On the 10th of August 1389 Timur departed, and made such expedition that he arrived at Samarkand on the 31st, although the distance is generally accounted two months' journey by the caravan (*Zafer nameh*, iii. 5-7).

At that time *Kamar-eddin* was still alive. It seems that after the flight of *Khizer Khodja* and the returning home of Timur's army, he had again established his power in Moghulistan. In 1390 Timur was obliged to send once more a vast army against this usurper. This army was commanded by *Soliman Shah*, *Khodaidad Huseini*, *Shamseddin Abbas*, and other generals. Having crossed the *Sihun* at *Tashkent*, they marched to *Issigheul* (Issikul lake), where they met 5000 men sent from *Andedjan* by *Mirza Omar Sheikh*, who joined them. When they arrived at *Gheuk topa* (v. p. 227), they stayed some days to inform themselves of the state of the enemy, and then took the road to the mountain *Arjatu*, and advanced as

\* It is impossible to venture on any identification of most of the places, mountains, &c., mentioned in the above itineraries of Timur's expedition into Moghulistan, for the tracts to which they refer are still very imperfectly known. We can, however, ascertain the position of *Yulduz*, which latter name appears also in the itinerary of *Shah Rok's* embassy to China in 1480 (Yule's "Cathay," cc.). We knew for a long time from Chinese maps that there is a mountain *Yulduz* or *Dyulduz* north-west of *Kharashar*, and a river of the same name. *Przewalsky* was the first European who visited this part of the *T'ien shan* in 1877. He states that *Yulduz* is the name of an elevated plateau, covered with luxuriant herbage and abounding in water. It is celebrated throughout Central Asia for its beauty, its springs, meadows, and fine breezes. It is the promised land of cattle. See *Przewalsky's* "Travels from Kuldja to Lobnor," p. 42, 21. According to *Przewalsky*, the *Yulduz* consists of two parts; the western part is called the *Great Yulduz*, the eastern the *Little Yulduz*.

In the reign of *Hung wu* (1368-99), when the Chinese general *Lan Yü*, on his expedition to the *Sha mo* (Mongol

far as *Almalegh*, where, having swam over the river *Ab Eile* (III), they advanced to *Karatal*, a horde of *Ankatara* (a prince of the *Jetes*), where they learnt that their avant-guard of 400 horse had fallen in with *Kamar-eddin* in a hunting country and had been defeated. The Amirs then sent several of their captains to the field of battle, where they received intelligence that *Kamar-eddin* had marched towards the field of *Jehna Buchna*. The Amirs immediately departed in search of the enemy, and having passed by *Jehna Buchna*, they arrived at *Uker Keptadji*, where they left their baggage and departed thence towards the *Irtish*. When they had reached the banks of this river, they learnt that *Kamar-eddin* had crossed it and was gone towards *Taulas* in the woods, where sables and ermines are said to be found. They saw the rafts and boats the enemy had built to cross the water. The Amirs stayed some days at this place, and then crossed the river and burnt with their arms, made red-hot characters on the pine trees there, that succeeding ages might see the marks of the arrival of Timur's army beyond the *Irtish*. But as six months had passed since they came into these wildernesses, where they wanted provisions, and most of them were living on what they got by hunting and on wild roots, and as the air became extremely cold, they resolved to return, which they did by *Altun Kaurke*, where there is a road made on the banks of the great lake called *Etrak gheul*; and making great haste, they happily arrived at Samarkand (*Zafer nameh*, iii. 9).

This is the last time that *Kamar-eddin* is made mention of in the *Zafer nameh*. According to *Erskine's* sources, he perished, worn out with fatigue and disease, in a wild corner of the desert, where he had concealed himself, accompanied by only two attendants, in about 1393.

As to *Khizer Khodja Khan*, he finally made peace with Timur, and this pacification he consolidated by giving to the conqueror his daughter *Tukel Khanum* in marriage. This happened, according to the *Zafer nameh* (iii. 69, 70), in 1397. The same work reports (v. 4) that in 1399, when Timur was in *Karabagh* (between the rivers *Kur* and *Araxes*), he received the news that *Khizer Khodja*, king of the *Jetes*, had paid the tribute to the *Angel Israel*, and that after his death dissensions arose among his four sons, *Shama Jehan*, *Mohammed*, *Shir Ali*, and *Shah Jehan*.

The same day they also heard that *Mirza Eskender*, son of *M. Omar Sheikh*, had availed himself of this favourable opportunity. *Eskender*, then only fifteen years old, and entrusted by his grandfather with the government of *Andedjan* (Ferghana), had got together the troops of this province, and, accompanied by the Amirs, had boldly entered the lands of the *Moghuls*. They advanced to *Kashgar*, and pillaged and ravaged the town of *Yarkand*. Then they marched to *Sarek Kumish*,\* *Kelapin*,† *Aligheul*, *Yar kurgan*, *Chartok*, and *Keiuk Bagh*, which places they likewise pillaged.

\* This is now-a-days the name of a lake or marsh south-east of *Kucha*.

† A mountain of this name is marked on modern maps south-west of *Aksu*, on the road to *Maralbasht*.

lian desert), had reached the *Pu yü rh hai*,<sup>1017</sup> it happened that several hundred merchants from *Sa-ma-rh-han* fell

They at length arrived in the province of *Audje* in Moghulistan. All the people submitted. They then laid siege to the citadel of *Aksu*. It consists of three castles, which have a communication with one another, and is considered so strong that the inhabitants of all the neighbouring provinces consider it as a safe asylum in time of war. The Mirza soon encamped with his Amirs without the place, and being prepared to attack it vigorously with instruments for sapping the walls, scaling-ladders, battering-rams, and other machines, he caused several assaults to be made for nearly forty days, when the besieged were obliged to surrender. Several very rich Chinese went out of the place and offered presents. After this the Mirza sent men to make inroads at *Bai* and *Kusan*, the former of which is a cool place, fit for the summer, and the latter a warm place, fit for the winter. These places were pillaged, and some princesses of the *Jetes* found there were made prisoners.\*

Hence they went to plunder the city of *Tarem*. (On the Chinese map a place *Tarim* is marked on the *Tarim* river, which, as is known, flows into the *Lopnor*.)

After these conquests the Mirza departed from *Aksu* for *Khotan*. This city is distant 157 days' journey from *Kambalek*, capital of *Northern China*, called *Katai*, which is a flourishing and populous country, with abundance of water. We count from *Kotan* to *Karakhodja* thirty-five days' journey, from there to *Tetkaul*, frontier of China, forty-one,† where there is a wall situated between two mountains, in which wall is a great gate, and several yam khans or inns to lodge passengers; and soldiers are always at this place to guard the frontier and the entrance of the wall. From here to *Ghendjan fu*, a city of China, is fifty-one days' journey; from that place to *Kambalek* forty. It is also forty from *Ghendjan fu* to *Nemnai*. The author of the *Zafernameh* adds that he has been assured that there is another road to go from *Khotan* to the frontier of China in forty days, but there is not one dwelling-place in it; the sands make it very tiresome, and although the water which is drawn out of the wells in the desert is easily come at, yet in several places it is poison, and kills the animals which drink of it; and what is very surprising, out of two wells at a small distance from each other, the water of one is poisonous and the other perfectly good.‡

From *Khotan* to *Kashgar* is fifteen days' journey, and from *Kashgar* to

\* The cities of *Aksu* and *Bai* still exist in Eastern Turkestan, on the great highway leading along the southern slope of the *T'ien shan* from *Kharashar* to *Kashgar*. *Kusan* is probably *Kucha* (v. p. 230). The *Si yü wen kien lu* also notices *Bai* as a cool place. According to *Europatkin*, who in 1876 and 1877 visited these places, the elevation of *Bai* is 3700 feet, that of *Kucha* 2900.

† *Karauli* in the narrative of *Shah Rok's* embassy; *Kie yü kuan*. *Tutkaul* means a pass in the Turki language. See *Favet de Courtelle's* Mem. of *Babor*, pref. xii.

‡ The author speaks evidently of the direct road from *Khotan* *via* *Lopnor* and *Sha chou* to *Kia yü kuan*. The embassy of *Shah Rok* on their return journey from China in 1421, having arrived at the frontier fortress (*Kia yü kuan*), was obliged, owing to the troubles in *Mongolia*, to take the unfrequented southern route through the desert to *Khotan* and *Kashgar*, instead of the frequented northern route *via* *Hami*, *Turfan*, &c. (See *Yule's* "Cathay," cxvi). *Przewalsky*, who two years ago

into his hands. The emperor ordered these merchants to be sent home to their country. A Chinese envoy accom-

*Samarkand* twenty-five. In *Khotan* are two rivers, *Orak kash* and *Kara kash*, the stones of which being jasper, are carried to other countries. These two rivers have their sources in the mountain of *Karangutak*.\*

The Mirza thus reduced all the places and castles of the frontier province (of Moghulistan) to Timur's obedience. He at length departed from *Khotan* and came to *Karangutak*, a very steep and rugged mountain,† to which the inhabitants of *Khotan* and the neighbouring places fly for refuge in time of war. The Mirza did not judge it convenient to hazard his troops there, but returned and spent the winter at *Kashgar*, and in spring went back to *Andedjan*.

After *Khizer Khodja's* death in 1399, he was succeeded by his son *Mohammed Khan*. His name, and that of his brother, *Shama jehan*, appear several times in the *Zafer nameh* and *Abder razzak's* *Life of Shah Rok*. In 1397 *Shama jehan* was at Timur's court. In 1411 *Mohammed Khan* is recorded to have sent his brother *Shama jehan* to invade *Maverannah*. As we shall see farther on, the Chinese annals assert that *Shama jehan* had been the immediate successor of *Khizer Khodja*, and was succeeded by his younger brother *Mohammed*.

*Shir Mohammed*, son of *Mohammed*, succeeded his father according to the *Tarikhi Rashidi*, but *Abder razzak* records, s. a. 1415, that after the death of *Mohammed*, Khan of Moghulistan, *Nakshi jehan*, son of *Shama jehan*, succeeded him. This is in accordance with the Chinese annals. In the next year *Nakshi jehan* sent an embassy to *Shah Rok*. According to *Mirkhond* (and probably also to *Abder razzak*), in 1425 *Shir Mohammed* was Khan of Moghulistan. In this year *Mirza Olug Beg* of *Samarkand* undertook a great expedition into the country of the *Jetes*, and defeated *Shir Mohammed*.

*Weis Khan*, a nephew of *Shir Mohammed*, having collected in the desert a band of adventurers, carried on a predatory war with his uncle, after whose death he was elected Grand Khan. He was not reconciled to *Amir Khodaidad* (v. *supra*), who adhered to his uncle, and called in *Ulug Beg* from *Samarkand*. *Weis Khan* was a prince of great energy. He was throughout his reign engaged in constant war with the *Kalmaks*, his eastern neighbours. The *Tarikhi Rashidi* says that he fought sixty-one actions against the *Kalmak* chief *Eshan Tayshi*, and only gained a single victory.‡

proceeded by this road from *Khotan* to *Lopnor*, informed me that it presents no difficulties at all. It passes along the northern slope of the mountains, through a well-populated and cultivated country. The difficulties to which *Shirfeddin* alludes are evidently met in the desert between *Lopnor* and *Sha chou*, not yet visited by European travellers.

\* Compare about these rivers *Rémusat's* "Hist. de la Ville de *Khotan*," 1820, and *in/ra* note 1044.

† See note 1043.

‡ This is evidently an erroneous statement, for *Essen Tayshi*, the chief of the *Wa-la* or *Olrats*, was not contemporary to *Weis Khan*. See p. 165.

panied them. When on his way back, this envoy passed through Bie-shih-ba-li, the king of this empire, by name

Weis Khan had his seat in the vicinity of *Turfan*, where he excavated several *karez*, or subterranean aqueducts, for the irrigation of the fields. He was very fond of hunting the wild camel, and annually made an excursion to *Lob* and *Katak* in pursuit of the game for the sake of their wool, which his mother used to weave into cloth for his vestments, and he wore no other but these.\*

In the course of the wars arising out of Ulug Beg's invasion, Weis Khan was accidentally slain by an arrow discharged by one of his own men in 1428-29.

In the narrative of Shah Rok's embassy to China, *Awis* (Weis) Khan is noticed, 1420, at war with Shir Mohammed, and farther on the diarist speaks of an envoy of Awis Khan who had been robbed. They saw him subsequently in Peking.

Weis Khan left two sons, *Isan Buka* (II.) and *Yunus*, each of whom claimed the succession. The latter sought the support of Mirza Ulug Beg of Samarkand. But Ulug Beg refused this, took Yunus prisoner, and sent him to Herat to his father Shah Rok, who placed Yunus under the care of Sherifeddin, the author of the *Zafer* nameh, at Yezd, where he remained for twelve years. After Sherifeddin's death he was conveyed to Tabriz, and finally to Shiraz. During this time Isan Buka reigned in Moghulistan. When Mirza Abu Said, of the house of Timur, 1451-68, had established himself at Samarkand, Isan Buka invaded Ferghana. Abu Said, in retaliation, sent for the exiled Yunus, conferred on him the Khanate of Moghulistan, and despatched with him an army into that country.

Isan Buka, who was then at *Yuldus*, the farthest eastern extremity of his dominions, on hearing of this attempt, collected his forces, and set out to the relief of *Kashgar*, which Yunus besieged. A desperate battle was fought, about twelve miles from Kashgar, near *Aksu*. Yunus was completely defeated, and arrived at Herat, where Abu Said then was, in the greatest distress. Abu Said bestowed on him the territory of *Masikhi*, a small hill country dependent on Andedjan and bordering on Tashkend, and sent him to renew the contest. This happened in 1456. Isan Buka died in 1462, and was succeeded by his son, *Dost Mohammed*, who reigned only four years.

*Yunus Khan* who, after the death of his brother, Isan Buka, had been joined by many of the tribes, became all powerful when Dost Mohammed died in 1468, and succeeded in establishing his authority in Moghulistan. Dost's son, *Kepek*, then a boy, was carried off by the immediate followers of the family, and they fled with him to *Turfan*, at the eastern extremity of the country, where, some time after, he was murdered. Yunus Khan,

\* From Bellew's translation of this passage (p. 156) it would seem that it refers to Eshan Tayshi. But as the statement is not perfectly clear, I did not hesitate to refer it to Weis Khan. We have seen (p. 194) that according to the Chinese annals Weis Khan took possession of Turfan in 1422.

*Hai-di-rh huo-dja*,<sup>1018</sup> despatched an embassy to the Chinese court. At the head of this embassy was *Ha-*

after his long sojourn in Persia, had become fond of cities and cultivated countries, and it was not his wish to take up his residence at *Aksu*. But the tribes disliked settled habitations, preferring to dwell under tents, and compelled him to return to the wilds of Moghulistan. After the disastrous expedition of Abu Said to Karabagh on the Araxes, where he perished in 1469, Yunus Khan, in fulfilment of an engagement with Abu Said, bestowed three of his daughters on Abu Said's sons. Thus he became the maternal grandfather of the famous Sultan Baber.

Not very long after, in the course of 1472-73, a *Kalmak* chief, expelled from his own country through intestine feuds, entered Moghulistan on the east with a numerous army. Yunus, on attempting to resist them, was completely defeated on the banks of the Ili river, and fled with the remains of his army westward. He passed the winter at *Kara Tokai*, on the Sihun, and moved in the spring to *Tashkend*. Here he was made prisoner by the governor of this place, who was nominally under the Sultan of Samarkand. It appears that his Amira, discontented with him, had entered into a conspiracy with the governor. It was only about a year after that Yunus was released from his prison by one of his Amira, and returned to Moghulistan. The *Kalmaks* had by this time returned to their own country. Yunus then remained for several years in the deserts of Moghulistan, never even hinting at a wish to visit any town. In 1479-80, Yunus assisted Mohammed Haider Mirza Doghlat, Amir of Kashgar, against his nephew Abu Bekr; but this campaign was not successful, for Abu Bekr was finally left in possession of Kashgar. Much of the latter part of Yunus Khan's life was occupied by his transactions with his sons-in-law, the Sultans of Samarkand and Ferghana. He was particularly attached to Sultan Omar Sheikh of Ferghana, the father of Baber, whom he frequently visited. His sons-in-law gave up to him *Tashkend* and *Sairam*. But when the Khan manifested his intention to remain there, a number of the Moghul tribes separated from his camp, and went home, putting at their head his younger son, *Sultan Ahmed Khan*, so that the empire was again severed in Yunus' lifetime. Tashkend and Sairam continued for some time to be the usual residence of one branch of the Moghul Khans. Yunus Khan died in 1496.

*Sultan Mahmud Khan*, the elder son of Yunus, generally called "the Elder Khan," succeeded to his father as Grand Khan, and reigned over the tribes which had entered Tashkend and Sairam, or that dwelt in the neighbouring steppes. But his younger son, *Sultan Ahmed*, or "the Younger Khan," continued to govern the tribes that ranged in the more distant parts of Moghulistan, *Aksu*, *Turfan*, &c.

Mahmud Khan was successful in a war against the Sultans of Ferghana and Samarkand. In 1497 he took possession of Turkestan, lower down the Sihun, and the government of this district he bestowed upon Sheibani Khan, the Uzbek, as a reward for some important services. But Sheibani

*ma-li-ding*,<sup>1019</sup> a commander of a thousand. He arrived in the seventh month (August) of 1391, and offered as tribute horses and gerfalcons. The emperor received him kindly, and bestowed presents of silk stuffs and cloths upon

was no sooner established in his government than the scattered Uzbeks began to assemble from all quarters under his banners. His power daily increased.

*Sultan Ahmed*, the younger Khan, who ruled in Eastern Moghulistan, was a man of great energy and capacity. He made successful inroads on the infidel *Kalmaks*, whom he defeated in two bloody battles, which earned for him the name of "Ilachi Khan, or slaughtering Khan. When his elder brother Mahmud was defeated by the *Kaisak-Uzbeks*, Ahmed marched to his assistance, invaded their territory, and plundered their country. The rapid success of Sheibani, who in 1500 had made himself master of Samarkand, caused the brothers to act in concert against this common enemy. Thus the younger Khan came to Tashkend with about 1500 men. But in 1503 Sheibani defeated the brothers completely, and they fell into his hands. Subsequently he set them at liberty, and they retired into the desert. The younger Khan died of grief a year after, while Mahmud Khan, who had returned to seek the protection of Sheibani, was put to death by order of the Uzbek in 1508.

When Sultan Ahmed had set out from *Aksu* to assist his brother on the *Sihun*, he caused his eldest son *Mansur* to be installed as the Khan of the Moghuls; and now, on his father's death, he continued to exercise his authority at *Aksu*, and in the whole territory to the east as far as *Chalis* (v. p. 200) and *Turfan*. He died in 1544, and was succeeded by his son *Sha Khan*. Sultan Ahmed, as well as *Mansur* and *Shah Khan*, are mentioned in the Chinese annals as rulers of Turfan (see p. 196-198). It seems that this line of the Chagatai Khans survived no longer as such. A son of Ahmed, however, succeeded in founding a dynasty in *Kashgar*, which maintained itself there for more than a century and a half (see note 1037).

<sup>1014</sup> See above, p. 186, and note 954.

<sup>1015</sup> *Yen-ki* and *Kui-tsz'*, two ancient kingdoms in Central Asia, first mentioned in the History of the Han before our era. Modern Chinese geographers generally identify them with present *Kharashar* and *Kucha*.

<sup>1016</sup> With respect to *Bishbalik* in the days of the Mongols, which name then was applied to the country of the Uigurs, see p. 27.

<sup>1017</sup> About this lake, the *Taal nor* in South-Eastern Mongolia, compare notes 114 and 906. The expedition here alluded to is that against the Mongols in 1388. The latter were defeated by the Chinese near lake *Pu ya rh hai*. See p. 163.

<sup>1018</sup> *Khizer Khodja Khan* of Moghulistan. See p. 228.

<sup>1019</sup> This name is probably intended for *Kamar-eddin*, but evidently it does not refer to the great captain of the *Jetes* who bore the same name. See p. 226.

the king and his envoy. In the ninth month of the same year the emperor entrusted the secretary *K'uan Ch'e*, the censor *Han King*, and the councillor *T'ang Cheng* with a mission to the countries in the west. They bore also an imperial letter for *Hei-di-rh-huo-djo* of the following tenor:—

"Although there are many kingdoms in the world, separated by mountains and seas, and differing one from another in their rules and customs, nevertheless, it seems to me, good and bad feelings, passions and human nature (literally 'blood and breath') are the same everywhere. Heaven assists mankind, and looks benevolently on everybody. It is the same with respect to the ruler on whom Heaven bestowed supreme power. Observing the heavenly rules, he is kindly disposed towards mankind, and shows mercy on everybody. Thus all the various kingdoms of the world are entitled to the merciful regards (of the emperor) and prosperity. When the inferior kingdoms will honour the great ones, Heaven will be propitious to them. In times past, when the rulers of the *Sung* dynasty had become careless, and the wicked officers infringed the laws, Heaven abandoned this dynasty and bestowed the power upon the *Yüan* (Mongols). *Shi tsu* (Kubilai Khan, the first Mongol emperor in China) arrived from the Mongolian desert to take possession of China and rule there. The people then became easy again, and enjoyed peace for more than seventy years, when the successors of *Shi tsu* began to neglect the ruling of their people, and appointed unworthy officers who disregarded the laws. The strong oppressed the weak. The indignation of the people cried to Heaven. The heavenly order then was bestowed upon me. I am holding now the sceptre of power, and am ruling over the black-haired people (the Chinese). I pursue with my troops the disobedient. I treat kindly those who submit. In the space of thirty years I succeeded in tranquillising all provinces of the Middle Empire. The foreign kingdoms also pay their respects, and acknowledge my supremacy. Only the *Yüan* (Mongols) disturbed the

Chinese frontier when my troops advanced to the lake *Pu-yü-rh-hai* (see note 1017), and caused a Mongol prince with his host to surrender. At the same time several hundreds of people from Sa-ma-rh-han, who had arrived for the purpose of trade, were made prisoners, and I despatched one of my officers to carry them back to their country. Since that time three years have elapsed. After my envoys returned, you sent an embassy to me to offer tribute. I am much obliged to you, and wish that you may continue to be on good terms with us, and entertain frequent intercourse with China. I send you my envoys to greet you and laud your zeal."

The emperor's envoys arrived at Bie-shi-ba-li, and transmitted the letter to the king; but when it was discovered that they had no presents for him, the gracious letter of the emperor made no impression upon the sovereign of Bie-shi-ba-li. He retained *K'uan Ch'e*, whilst the other Chinese envoys were allowed to return home.

In the first month of 1397, the emperor despatched once more an officer to the king of Bie-shi-ba-li with the following letter:—

"Since the time I ascended the throne, my officers at the frontier have never thrown obstacles in the way of the foreign merchants who came to traffic with China, and I had also given orders that the foreigners might be kindly treated by my people. Thus the foreign merchants realise great benefits, and there is no trouble at the frontier. Our flowery land (China) is a great power, and we show kindness to your country. Why then has the envoy I sent to you some years ago in order to establish friendly terms been retained? Why do you act so? Last year I ordered all the Mohammedan merchants from Bie-shi-ba-li who had come to China to be retained until my envoy *K'uan Ch'e* should be released. However, I allowed them to carry on trade in our country. Subsequently, when they complained of their having left their families at home, I commiserated them, and let them return home. Now I send

again an envoy to you that you may know my benevolence. Do not shut up the way to our frontier, and do not give rise to war. The *Shu king* says: In a case of dissatisfaction, we may lay aside the question whether it has been caused by an inferior or a superior. The principal things to be taken into consideration are whether the laws of justice have been observed or not, and whether a laudable zeal has been shown or not. Now I ask you, have you been just and have you shown laudable zeal?"

When the king had received this letter he released *K'uan Ch'e*.

After Yung lo acceded to the throne he sent an envoy with a letter and presents to the king of Bie-shi-ba-li. But at that time *Hei-di-rh-ho-djo* had died,<sup>1020</sup> and had been succeeded by his son *Sha-mi-ch'a-gan*.<sup>1021</sup> The latter sent in the next year an embassy to the emperor, offering as tribute a block of rude jade and fine horses. The envoy was well treated and rewarded. At that time it had happened that *An-k'o T'ie-mu-rh*, prince of Hami, had been poisoned by *Gwi-li-ch'i*, Khan of the Mongols (v. p. 163), and *Sha-mi-ch'a-gan* made war on the latter. The emperor was thankful, and sent an envoy with presents to him, exhorting the king to be on good terms with *T'o-t'o*, the prince of Hami. In 1406 *Sha-mi-ch'a-gan* sent tribute, and the emperor accordingly despatched *Liu T'ie-mu-rh*, a high officer, with presents to Bie-shi-ba-li. In the year 1407 *Sha-mi-ch'a-gan* presented three times tribute. His envoys had been ordered to solicit the assistance of Chinese troops for reconquering Sa-ma-rh-han, which country, as they stated, had formerly belonged to Bie-shi-ba-li.<sup>1022</sup> The emperor sent his eunuchs, *Pa T'ai* and *Li Ta*, together with *Liu T'ie-mu-rh*, to Bie-shi-ba-li to inquire cautiously into the matter. The envoys

<sup>1020</sup> According to the *Zafer nameh*, *Khizer Khodja* died in 1399. See p. 231.

<sup>1021</sup> *Shama jehan* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 231.

<sup>1022</sup> Samarkand with *Maverannah* indeed originally belonged to the undivided *Chagatai* empire. See p. 226.

presented silk stuffs to the king, and were well received. They returned home in the next year, and brought the intelligence that Sha-mi-ch'a-gan was deceased, and his younger brother, *Ma-ha-ma*,<sup>1023</sup> had succeeded him. The emperor then sent the same envoys once more to Bie-shi-ba-li to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late king and bestow presents on *Ma-ha-ma*. When, in 1410, imperial envoys on their way to *Sa-ma-rh-han* passed through Bie-shi-ba-li, they were well treated by *Ma-ha-ma*, who in the next year despatched an embassy to the Chinese court, offering fine horses and a *wen pao* (leopard). When this embassy returned, they were accompanied by *An* (v. p. 144), who carried gold-embroidered silk stuffs for the king. At that time an envoy of the *Wa-la* (Oirats) complained that *Ma-ha-ma* was arming for making war on the *Wa-la*. The emperor sent to warn him. In 1413 *Ma-ha-ma* sent one of his generals with tribute to China. He reached Kan su. Orders had been given to the civil and military authorities to receive him honourably.

In the next year (1414) people returning from the *Si yü* brought the intelligence that *Ma-ha-ma's* brother and mother had both died in a short interval. The emperor sent again *An* to Bie-shi-ba-li with a letter of condolence. When *Ma-ha-ma* died he left no son. His nephew, *Na-hei-shi-dji-han*,<sup>1024</sup> succeeded him, and in the spring of 1416 despatched an envoy to inform the emperor of his uncle's death. The emperor sent the eunuch Li Ta to offer a sacrifice in memory of the late king and confer the title of *wang* (king) on his successor. In 1417 *Na-hei-shi-dji-han* sent an embassy to inform the emperor that he was about to marry a princess from *Sa-ma-rh-han*,<sup>1025</sup> and solicited in exchange for horses a bride's trousseau. Then 500 pieces of variegated and 500 of plain white silk stuff were bestowed on the king of Bie-shi-ba-li as wedding presents.

<sup>1023</sup> *Mohammed Khan* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 233.

<sup>1024</sup> *Nakshi jehan* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 233.

<sup>1025</sup> The Mohammedan authors do not record this marriage.

In 1418 an envoy, by name *Su-k'o*, arrived from Bie-shi-ba-li, reporting that his sovereign (*Na-hei-shi-dji-han*) had been slain by his cousin, *Wai-sz'*,<sup>1026</sup> who then had declared himself king. At the same time *Wai-sz'* with his people had transferred their abode to the west, changing the former name of the empire (Bie-shi-ba-li) into *I-li-ba-li*.<sup>1027</sup> The emperor said that it was not his custom to meddle with the internal affairs of foreign countries. He bestowed upon *Su-k'o* the rank of *tu tu ts'ien shi*, and at the same time sent the eunuch *Yang Chung* with a mission to *Wai-sz'*, conferring on the king as presents an arrow, a sword, a suit of armour, and silk stuffs. The chieftain *Hu-dai-da*<sup>1028</sup> and more than seventy other people of *I-li-ba-li* all received presents. Subsequently *Wai-sz'* sent frequently tribute to the Chinese court,<sup>1029</sup> as did also his mother, *So-lu-t'an Ha tun* (Sultan Khatun).

In 1428 *Wai-sz'* died, and was succeeded by his son, *Ye-sien bu-hua*,<sup>1030</sup> who also sent repeatedly tribute to China. Tribute was also offered by *Bu-sai-in*, the son-in-law of the late king.

*Ye-sien bu-hua* died in 1445, and was succeeded by *Ye-mi-li hu-djo*.<sup>1031</sup> The latter sent camels as tribute, and also a block of rude jade weighing 3800 *kin*, but not of the best quality. The Chinese government returned for every two *kin* of jade one piece of white silk. In 1457 a Chinese envoy was sent to *I-li-ba-li* with presents for the king,

<sup>1026</sup> This is doubtless the *Weis* or *Awis Khan* of the Mohammedan chroniclers. See p. 233.

<sup>1027</sup> This name refers probably to the *Ili* river. About the place *Ilibalik* in the Mongol period, compare p. 44.

<sup>1028</sup> This seems to be the Amir *Khodaidad* of Kashgar, a man of great influence in Moghulistan. See p. 245. The embassy of Shah Rok to China in 1420 met the Amir *Khodaidad*, who then enjoyed great authority in the country in Moghulistan.

<sup>1029</sup> The embassy of Shah Rok saw an envoy of *Awis Khan*, by name *Batu Timur Anka*, in Peking in 1421.

<sup>1030</sup> *Isan Buka II.* of the Mohammedan authors. See p. 234.

<sup>1031</sup> *Imil Khodja*. This Khan is not mentioned by the Mohammedan authors.