Notes on the Western Regions.

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many Negro races. Hence it seemed safe to regard the Bantu rather as a linguistic than a racial family, corresponding somewhat to such collective terms as Aryan or Finno-Tatar elsewhere, terms to which few Anthropologists would now feel inclined to attach any great ethnical value.

Mr. CORNELIUS WALFORD believed that famine would be found upon inquiry to have operated largely upon the migration of race in different parts of the globe and in all periods of time. Very extensive migrations had resulted from this cause in India in modern times. This law, founded on the force of necessity, he thought had not been heretofore regarded sufficiently either by Ethnologists or Anthropologists: its operation under certain conditions might be more potent than conquests; and more difficult to explain in later times, as regards people who keep no records. Such traditions, however, were likely to be preserved among the people themselves; and the facts might therefore be ascertained by travellers who would keep the point in their minds. He regarded Dr. Holub as the modern Livingstone of African travel, and as he was young, and in robust health, we had a fair right to look forward to much more information of a valuable character from him in due course.

NOTES *on the* WESTERN REGIONS. Translated from the "Tsëen Han Shoo," Book 96, Part 1. By A. WYLIE, Esq.

THE intercourse of China with the Western regions commenced in the time of the Emperor Woo-te (B.C. 140-87). The thirty-six kingdoms then opened up became afterwards gradually subdivided into more than fifty; all lying to the west of the Heung-noo, and south of Woo-sun. Along the north and south run great mountains, and through the centre flows a river.* From east to west the land is more than 6,000 *le* in extent, and from north to south it is over 1,000 *le*. On the east it touches the confines of China at the Yuh gate and the Yang barrier.

On the west it is limited by the Tsung-ling mountains. The Southern mountains† commence on the east from Kin-ching,‡ and are connected with the southern hills of China. The river has two sources, one of which rises in the Tsung-ling mountains,§ the other in Khotan.|| Khotan lies at the foot of the Southern mountains,

* The Tarim.

† The Kwän-lun range.

‡ This is still represented by the district of Kin in the prefecture of Lan-chow in Kansuh province. The district city is in N. lat. 35° 55', E. long. 104° 8'.

§ The Kashgar river.

|| The Yarkand river.

and the river runs northward till it joins its confluent from the Tsung-ling, and then flows eastward into Lake Lob, which is also called the Salt Marsh. This is over 300 *le* distant from the Yuh gate and the Yang barrier, and is 300 *le* in length and breadth. The water is stationary, neither increasing nor diminishing in summer or winter. The river is then said to run under ground, and issue again at Ts'eih-shih,* where it becomes the Yellow river of China. From the Yuh gate and Yang barrier there are two roads through the Western regions. That by Shen-shen, skirting the River Po, on the north of the Southern mountains, and leading west to Sha-keu,† is the Southern road. After this road passes the Tsung-ling mountains, it leads to the country of the Ta Yuě-she and Gan-sêih. From the Royal Palace of Anterior Keu-sze,‡ following the course of the River Po, in the direction of the Northern mountains as far as Soo-lîh,§ is the Northern road. This road passing westward across the Tsung-ling mountains, goes on to Ta-wan (*i.e.*, Fergana), K'ang-keu (*i.e.*, Sogdiana), and the Yen-ts'ae (Alan) country. In Yen-ke|| and the various kingdoms of the Western regions the land is covered with cities, villages, cultivated fields, and domestic animals; and the inhabitants differ in their customs from the Heung-noo and people of Woo-sun. Hence they were all employed in the service of the Heung-noo. The Jih-ch'uh Prince, on the western border of the Heung-noo territory, appointed a Slaves' Protector General, whose office was to rule the Western regions, and who always dwelt in the dangerous part of Yen-ke. He had to levy the taxes on the cultivated land, and received of the wealth of these kingdoms.

From the time of the decline of the Chow dynasty, the barbarians of the North and West had dwelt intermixed on the north of the King and Wei rivers.

When Che-hwang of the Ts'in appropriated the interjacent countries, he built the Great Wall to form the boundary of China. But it only came west as far as the River T'aou.¶

The Han succeeded, and in the time of the Emperor Woo-te, the barbarians on all sides were invaded, the dignity of the empire was extended, and Chang Keen first opened up the way into the Western regions.

* Literally "Accumulated stones," the name of a mountain.

† This represents the modern Yarkand.

‡ This was the country known by the name of Kaou-chang during the T'ang dynasty, and was in later ages inhabited by the Ouigour nation.

§ The ancient name of Kashgar.

|| On the site of the present Kharashar.

¶ A large affluent of the Yellow river, west of the city of Lan-chow in Kansuh province, flowing near the town of T'aou-chow, lying south-east of Kokonor.

After him the Light-horse General attacked and subdued the right-hand land of the Heung-noo (B.C. 121). The Kings of Kwān-ya and Heu-choo then submitted to the Han, when the populations of their kingdoms were removed, and the building of the Wall was begun from Ling-keu westward. The region of Tsew-tseuen was first established, and afterwards gradually the people were removed in to fill it. He also divided the three territories of Woo-wei,* Chang-ya,† and Tun-hwang into four regions, for which he made two barriers.

After the Urh-sze General had reduced Ta-wan (B.C. 104), the powers in the Western regions were greatly afraid, and most of them sent envoys to China with offerings of tribute; while the Han imposed office on more of the Western region potentates. In consequence of this, resting stations were erected at intervals, from Tun-hwang westward as far as Lake Lob; and at both Lun-t'ae‡ and K'eu-le there were several hundred agricultural troops. An envoy was appointed as Deputy Protector, to rule and defend, by sending envoys to the outside countries.

In the time of Seu-en-te (B.C. 73-49), the Cavalry leader Wei, was sent with a commission to protect the several kingdoms from Shen-shen westward; when he subdued Koo-sze. He did not utterly exterminate it, however, but divided the nation between the two Kings of Anterior and Ulterior Keu-sze. As for the six nations on the north of the mountains, the Han at that time only undertook to protect the Southern road, and could not include all on the Northern road. Yet the Heung-noo were not at rest.

After this the Jih-ch'uh Prince rebelled against the Shen-yu, submitted to China with all his followers, and was received by Ching Keih, the envoy who protected the country west from Shen-shen. On his arrival in China, the Jih-ch'uh Prince was created Marquis of Kwei-tih, and Ching Keih was made Marquis of Gan-yuen. This took place in the year B.C. 59.

Ching Keih was then appointed to defend the Northern road, and hence he was entitled Governor General, a title that originated with the appointment of Ching Keih. From this time the office of Slaves' Protector General was abolished. The Heung-noo became still more weakened, and were unable to approach the Western regions. The military colonies were therefore removed and planted in the countries of Pih-seih, Keen-pe, and Sha-keu. The Deputy Protectors of the military colonies were first attached to the Governor General. The Governor General

* Now represented by the prefecture of Leang-chow in Kansuh province; of which the chief city is in N. lat. $37^{\circ} 59'$, E. long. $102^{\circ} 48'$.

† Now represented by the prefecture of Kan-chow in Kansuh province, of which the chief city is in N. lat. $39^{\circ} 0' 40''$, E. long. $100^{\circ} 56'$.

‡ A military colony to the west of Yen-ke, which is represented by the present Yugur, about 60 miles east of Kuchay.

took the oversight of the affairs of Woo-sun, Sogdiana, and the various foreign countries. When any sign of disaffection was manifest, he reported the same to headquarters. If it was practicable, the matter was amicably adjusted; if it was a case for coercion, then he attacked them. The Governor General had his residence in the city of Woo-luy,* distant from the Yang barrier 2,738 *le*, and in proximity to the officer of the agricultural colony of K'eu-le. The land is rich and productive, being medium-class land of the Western regions. Hence the Governor General had his seat there.

In the time of the Emperor Yuen-te (B.C. 48-33), the *Woo-ke* Deputy Protector was also appointed, and a military colony established at the Royal Palace of Anterior Keu-sze. About this time, Tsze-leih-che, the Heung-noo King of Eastern Poo-luy,† submitted to the Governor General with more than 1,700 followers. The latter divided the western part of the kingdom of Ulterior Keu-sze into Woo-tan and Tsze-le, in which he placed this new accession. After the reigns of Seu-en-te and Yuen-te, the Shen-yu was styled a border vassal, and the Western regions gave in their submission. The extent of the land, the hills and the rivers, the kings and marquises, the number of the people, and the distances by the roads were all carefully examined and noted.

Outside the Yang barrier the inhabitants of the adjacent country were first called Chō Keang.‡ The King of Chō Keang was called Keu-hoo-lae, and lived at a distance from the Yang barrier of 1,800 *le*, and from Chang-gan 6,300 *le*, in a secluded part on the south-west, away from the high road. The kingdom consisted of 450 families, comprising 1,750 individuals and 5,000 well-trained soldiers. On the west it was bounded by Tseay-mūh.§ The people removed their flocks for the convenience of water and pastures. They did not cultivate their fields, and depended upon Shen-shen, Tseay-mūh, and Kō-shan for iron, with which they made military implements. Their soldiers were armed with bows and lances, and wore knives, swords, and helmets. Proceeding north-west from thence to Shen-shen, the high road is reached.

Shen-shen.||

The original name of the kingdom of Shen-shen was Low-lan.

* On the site of the modern Tsetar, about 90 miles west of Kharashar.

† The modern Tehanggi.

‡ A division of the country of Turfan.

§ It has been suggested by Mr. Kingsmill that this represents the district of Shemotóna mentioned by the Buddhist traveller Heuen-chwang, lying between Khotan and Lake Lob. ("Chinese Recorder," vol. vii, p. 341.)

|| Although we may not be able to identify this place with certainty, we have

The capital is the city of Woo-ne, which is distant from the Yang barrier 1,600 *le*, and from Chang-gan 6,100 *le*. The kingdom contains 1,570 families, comprising a population of 14,100, with 2,912 trained troops, a Guardian Marquis, a Marquis of Keih-hoo, a Protector General of Shen-shen, a Protector General for repelling the Keu-sze, a Right Tseay-keu, a Left Tseay-keu, a Prince for repelling the Keu-sze, and two Interpreters-in-chief. The seat of government of the Chinese Governor General lies to the north-west 1,785 *le*. The kingdom of Shan is distant 1,365 *le*; and Keu-sze lies to the north-west 1,890 *le*. The land is sandy and salt, and there are few cultivated fields.

yet sufficient indications to give an approximate idea of its position, as being south of, and not far distant from Lake Lob. It is mentioned under the same name by the Buddhist traveller Fa-heen in his journey to India; who places it at seventeen days' journey, or 1,500 *le* from Tun-hwang, a known fortress in N. lat. 39° 40', E. long. 94° 50'. According to the text, the capital is 6,100 *le* from Chang-gan the metropolis of China, now Se-gan. Measuring off this distance according to the Han *le*, brings us to about 88° E. long. or 7 degrees west of Tun-hwang, from which Fa-heen began his seventeen days' journey; giving him an average of somewhere about twenty-five miles a day, which we may assume is not far from the truth. Heuen-chwang, another Buddhist pilgrim, who passed through it on his return journey, gives the distance by road from Khotan—another known point—about 2,530 *le*. The country is spoken of by Heuen-chwang under the original name of Low-lan, in which he places the city of Na-fô-po. We have probably a transmutation of this latter name still remaining, in the lake "Lob" or "Lop," as suggested by Colonel Yule. The "She ke," book cxxiii, fol. 2, tells us that "there were cities with suburbs belonging to Low-lan and Koo-sze, on the banks of the Salt Marsh." Now as Heuen-chwang's *Na-jô-po* appears to represent the Sanscrit *Lavapa*, "Salt water," we have in this a translation of the Chinese *Yen-tsih*, or "Salt Marsh." Marco Polo, who passed through the place in the 13th century, speaks of it as a large town on the edge of the desert, and adds:—"On quitting this city, they enter on the desert." This perfectly agrees with the position of Shen-shen, as given by Fa-heen. In some notices collected by Mr. Wathen from Turkestan pilgrims at Bombay, he states that—"Lopp is remarkable for a salt-water lake in its vicinity;" and in an Itinerary presented to the Geographical Society by Mr. Johnson, in 1866, Lob is noted as a "village, by a large lake with fish." These several notices seem clearly to prove that there is still a village of Lob, the representative of a former city on the border of the lake; and that this is near about the site of the ancient capital of Shen-shen in the time of the Han. A variety of confirmatory statements might be gathered from Chinese works; but it will be sufficient to quote from the "Shwuy king," as edited by scholars of the present dynasty; where we read:—"The Tarim debouches into the marsh. The marsh lies on the north of the kingdom of Laou-lan, at the city of Woo-ne. Formerly the popular name of this lake among the inhabitants was Laou-lan lake."

Five days before reaching Lob, Marco Polo passed through the city of Charchan. This has been identified by Colonel Yule with a place still existing under the name of Chachan, 95 miles from Lake Lob. Mr. Kingsmill tries to identify this with Fa-heen's Shen-shen; but the distance from the great desert is too great, although we may possibly have in it a trace of the ancient name, and it may even have been included within the boundaries of the kingdom, as it existed in the time of the Han. ("Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms," by Herbert A. Giles, p. 3.—"Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.," trad. par M. Stanislas Julien, tom. ii, pp. 247, 427, 428, &c.—"The Book of Ser. Marco Polo," by Colonel H. Yule, C.B., 2nd edition, vol. ii, pp. 200-204.—"Journal of the Royal Geographical Society," vol. xxxvii, p. 44.—"The Chinese Recorder," vol. vii, p. 343.)

The country relies on the neighbouring kingdoms for cereals and agricultural products.* The country produces jade,† abundance of rushes, the tamarix, the *elaecocca vernicifera*, and white grass. The people remove with their flocks and herds for pasturage where they can find sufficiency of water and herbage. They have asses, horses, and many camels. They can fabricate military weapons the same as the people of Chō Keang.

At first the Emperor Woo-te, under the influence of Chang Keen's representations, was very desirous to cultivate an intercourse with Ta-wan and the interjacent countries, and the envoys of the respective nations followed each other continuously, more than ten in number in the course of a year. Low-lan, in concert with Koo-sze,‡ however, being on the high road, harassed these officials, attacked and robbed the Chinese envoy Wang K'wei and his party, and on various occasions acted as eyes and ears to the Heung-noo, causing their troops to intercept the Chinese envoys. The latter were profuse in their statements that the kingdom contained cities and towns, and that the military were weak and might easily be vanquished. Woo-te thereupon sent Chaou Po-noo, the Marquis of Tsung-peaou, to take command of the cavalry of the dependent States with the local troops, numbering several tens of thousands, and make an attack on Koo-sze. Wang K'wei, who had several times suffered at the hands of Low-lan, received the Imperial order to assist Chaou Po-noo in the command of the army. The latter advancing at the head of 700 light-horse, seized the King of Low-lan; then subjugated Koo-sze, and, relying on the prestige of his fierce troops, he overawed the States dependent on Woo-sun and Ta-wan. Chaou Po-noo was further promoted Marquis of Tsūh-ya, and Wang K'wei was made Marquis of Haou. About this time the Chinese erected fortresses and entrenchments at intervals between that country and the Yuh gate. Low-lan having submitted, presented offerings of tribute to China, which the Heung-noo hearing of, sent troops to attack them. On this the King of Low-lan sent one son as a hostage to the Heung-noo, and another to China.

Afterwards, when the Urh-sze General went to attack Ta-wan, the Heung-noo wished to intercept him. The General's troops, however, presented such a formidable appearance, that they did

* Fa-heen says of Shen-shen :—"The land is rugged and barren." Marco Polo speaks of the province of Charchan as sandy, and says :—"Quitting Charchan [the capital city presumably], you ride some five days through the sands, finding none but bad and bitter water." ("Marco Polo," *i.e.* p. 201.)

† Marco Polo says of Charchan :—"The province contains rivers which bring down jasper and chalcedony, and these are carried for sale into Cathay, where they fetch great prices."

‡ The same as Keu-sze.

not dare to take the initiative, but sent cavalry to wait in Low-lan till the Chinese envoy should again pass, wishing completely to cut off his return. The Chinese Military Chief, Jin Wăn, had then command of the military colony at the Yuh gate barrier; and when the Urh-size General was afterwards obstructed, Jin Wăn ascertained the facts from some captives and reported the same to the capital.* The Emperor issued a rescript ordering Jin Wăn to lead troops by a convenient road, and capture the King of Low-lan. The General proceeded to the city gate, where he reproached the King for his conduct, but the latter replied: "When a small State lies between two great kingdoms, if it has not an alliance with both, it cannot be at rest. I wish now to place my nation within the bounds of the Chinese empire." The Emperor confiding in his words re-established him in his kingdom, and commissioned him to keep a watch over the movements of the Heung-noo. From this time the Heung-noo had no great intimacy with, or confidence in, Low-lan.

In B.C. 92 the King of Low-lan died, when the people of the country came to request the son, who was residing as a hostage in China, to succeed to the throne; but the hostage Prince had always been treated as a criminal while in China, and as a punishment was confined in the Silkworm-house Palace. Hence, instead of sending him home, the Chinese informed the applicants that the Emperor was so tenderly attached to his attendant prince, that he could not part with him, and requested them to install the next son in the dignity. When the King of Low-lan was appointed, the Chinese again reproached the hostage prince with the fact that his father had also sent a son as hostage to the Heung-noo. On the death of the next king, the Heung-noo first hearing of it, sent their hostage prince back, who succeeded to the throne. China then sent an envoy with a rescript to the new king, ordering him to pay a visit to Court, when the Emperor would bestow upon him most liberal gifts. The wife of the former king by a second marriage, who was consequently the step-mother of the present king, said to him: "Your royal predecessors sent two sons to China as hostages, neither of which returned. Is it indeed reasonable that you should now go to Court?" The King, taking her counsel, discharged the envoy with the remark: "Having newly acceded to the throne, the affairs of the kingdom are not yet adjusted. I wish to wait a year or two, after which I will have an audience with the Emperor." Now the extreme eastern border of the kingdom of Low-lan where it approached nearest to China, was opposite

* Compare the "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," January, 1874, p. 136.

the Pih-lung mound, where there was a scarcity of water and pasture; and it always fell to its share to provide guides, to carry water and forward provisions to meet the Chinese envoys; but being frequently exposed to the oppressive raids of the soldiery, they at last resolved that it was inconvenient to hold intercourse with China. Afterwards, again on the revolt of the Heung-noo, they several times intercepted and killed the Chinese envoys. The King's younger brother, Hwuy-too-ke, who had submitted to the Han, communicated all these facts to the Chinese.

In B.C. 77 the Generalissimo, Ho Kwang-pih, sent Foo Keae-tsze, the Superintendent of Ping-lo, to stab the King. Foo Keae-tsze hastily selected some bold and daring followers, and having received gold and silks, circulated the report that the object of his mission was to make presents to a foreign State. Having reached Low-lan, he deceived the King with the pretence that he had presents for him. The latter, delighted with the event, unsuspectingly invited Foo Keae-tsze to drink wine. When the King was intoxicated, Foo removed the royal screen and told two of his sturdy followers to stab him from behind. The nobles who were sitting round all fled. Foo Keae-tsze then made an announcement, saying: "The deed just accomplished is a retribution for the King's crimes against the Han. The Emperor sent me to put him to death. You must set up the King's younger brother, Hwuy-too-ke, now in China, as King." The Chinese troops, who had just arrived, not daring to move, he gave orders that the kingdom of Low-lan should cease to be. Foo Keae-tsze then decapitated the King, and having committed the head to the wardens, it was suspended at the north gate, and Foo Keae-tsze was promoted Marquis of E-yang. Hwuy-too-ke was then set up as King, and the kingdom re-established under the name of Shen-shen, for which a seal of investiture was engraved. One of the ladies of the royal palace was bestowed on him for a consort. Carriages, cavalry, a baggage train, ministers of state, generals, troops, and officers of every grade escorted him outside the east gate, and sent him away as the first of a new line. The King himself presented the following request to the Emperor: "I have resided long in China, and now that I am returning weak and single-handed, while there is still a son of the former King living, I fear I shall be assassinated. In our kingdom there is the city of E-tun, where the land is rich and productive; may I request the Han to send a general to plant a military colony there, and collect the grain, so that your servant may rely upon his prestige?" The Han monarch thereupon sent a cavalry leader with forty subordinates to cultivate the fields at E-tun, in order to guard the place and

soothe the people. After this a Protector General was appointed and this was the beginning of placing officers in E-tun.

Following the high road from China, through Shen-shen, westward to Tseay-mŭh is 720 *le*.* Beyond Tseay-mŭh the five cereals are everywhere cultivated. The land, herbage, trees, the animals they rear, and the military implements they make, are all much the same as in China, with some differences. A record of these matters is given below.

Tseay-mŭh.†

The capital of the kingdom of Tseay-mŭh is the city of Tseay-mŭh, which is distant from Chang-gan 6,820 *le*. The State contains 230 families, comprising 1,610 persons, with 320 trained soldiers, a Guardian Marquis, a Right General, a Left General, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The city is distant from the seat of the Governor General on the north-west 2,258 *le*. The country joins Hwuy-le on the north, and it is about three days' journey to the kingdom of Little Wan on the south. Grapes and other fruits are produced. The kingdom of Tsing-tseuē on the west is 2,000 *le* distant.

Seau Wan.‡

The capital of the kingdom of Seau Wan is the city of Yuling, distant from Chang-gan, 7,210 *le*. The kingdom contains 150 families, comprising a population of 1,050 people, with 200 trained soldiers, a Guardian Marquis, and a Left and a Right Protector General. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-west 2,558 *le*. The country joins that of Chō Keang on the east, lying out of the way of the high road.

Tsing-tseuē.§

The capital of the kingdom of Tsing-tseuē is the city of

* Heuen-chwang gives the distance from Tsow-mo to Na-fō-po as 1,000 *le*.

† Fewer notices are to be found of this kingdom than the preceding; yet as we gather from the distances, it lay on the high road to the west, and adjoining that of Shen-shen. It is mentioned in the "Shwuy king," as lying to the east of the kingdom of Yu-me, and south of the southern confluent of the Tarim river. Fa-heen does not notice the place in his narrative; but Heuen-chwang speaks of the kingdom of Tsow-mo, as the last through which he passed before reaching Na-fō-po, on his homeward journey. This, which he says is identical with Neŭ-muh, is without doubt the same. He also calls the country, as well as the capital city Che-mo-ta-na; which appears to be still the old name modified to accommodate the language of the natives. He says:—"The city walls are very high, but there are now no inhabitants."

‡ *Seau Wan* means "Little Wan;" probably so called to distinguish it from Fergana, which is called *Ta Wan*, or "Great Wan."

§ According to the "Shwuy king" this lay on the south bank of the southern

Tsing-tseuĉ, distant from Chan-gan 8,820 *le*. The kingdom contains 480 families, comprising 3,360 persons, with 500 trained troops, a Protector General of Tsing-tseuĉ, a Right and a Left General, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north 2,723 *le*. The Kingdom of Jung-leu lies four days' journey to the south, through a country abounding in narrow passes. Yu-me lies to the west, 460 *le* distant.

*Jung-leu.**

The capital of the kingdom of Jung-leu is the city of Pe-pin, distant from Chang-gan 8,300 *le*. The kingdom contains 240 families, comprising 1,610 persons, with 300 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-east 2,850 *le*. The country joins Little Wan on the east, Chō Keang on the south, and Keu-līh on the west. It lies off the high road from China.

Yu-me.†

The capital of the kingdom of Yu-me is the city of Yu-me, distant from Chang-gan 9,280 *le*. The kingdom has 3,340 families, comprising a population of 20,040 persons, with 3,540 trained troops, a Guardian Marquis, a Right and a Left General, a Right and a Left Protector General, a Right and a Left Knight, and two Interpreters-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-east 3,553 *le* distant. The country joins Keu-līh on the south, Kwei-tsze on the north-east, and Koo-mīh on the north-west. Khotan lies 390 *le* to the west. The present name of the country is Ning-me.

Keu-līh‡.

The capital of the kingdom of Keu-līh is the city of Keen-too, distant from Chang-gan 9,950 *le*. The kingdom contains 310 families, comprising 2,170 persons, with 300 trained soldiers. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north east 3,852 *le*. The country joins Jung-leu on the east, Chō Keang on the west, and Yu-me on the north.

great confluent of the Tarim. The distances given in our text from Chang-gan and the residence of the Governor General, place the site of the city somewhere about the location of Khotan as given in our maps.

* The text indicates this to be a tribe lying on the north-western outskirts of the territory now forming the Kingdom of Tibet.

† The *Shwuy king* places this country on the south bank of the northern confluent of the Tarim; which agrees with the indications in the text. All point to a spot nearly coincident with the present Yarkand.

‡ From the indications in the text, this appears to correspond with the site of modern Sandzu.

*Yu-teen (Khotan)**

The capital of the kingdom of Khotan is West City, distant from Chang-gan 9,670 *le*.

The kingdom contains 3,300 families, comprising a population of 19,300 persons, with 2,400 trained troops, a Guardian Marquis, a Right and a Left General, a Right and a left Knight, an East City Chief, a West City Chief, and an Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-east, distant 3,947 *le*. The country joins Chō Keang on the south, and Koomih on the north. The waters on the west of Khotan all flow westward into the Western (Caspian?) Sea. The waters on the east all flow eastward into the Salt Marsh (Lake Lob), from which springs the source of the Yellow river. The country produces abundance of jade and other stones.† Pe-shan lies 380 *le* to the west.

Pe-shan.‡

The capital of the kingdom of Pe-shan is the city of Pe-shan,

* There is no doubt about this name designating the well-known Khotan, but from the several indications here given, it is almost certain that the city spoken of as the capital lay far to the west of modern Khotan. The distance given from Chang-gan carries us to about the 78th degree of longitude, and renders it probable the city lay on an upper bend of one branch of the Yarkand river. This would be the "West city" of the text; from which we learn that there was also an East city, but at what distance we are not told. Both, we may suppose, were known by the name of Yu-teen. Some traditionary statements in Heuen-chwang's narrative are strongly suggestive of the elastic and shifting character of the boundaries of this kingdom. But perhaps the strongest presumption for the more westward site of Khotan is afforded by the statement that the country extended to the watershed of the Pamir; as we are told that the waters on the west all flowed westward, and those on the east flowed eastward. The "Shwuy king" tells us that after passing the kingdom of Yu-teen, the river flows eastward, passing in succession the kingdoms of Yu-me, Tsing-tseuē, and Tseay-mūh. Fa-heen spent over three months in this city, in the beginning of the fifth century; but he gives scarcely any clue to the position. Heuen-chwang also passed through Khotan on his return journey, and gives the distance from *Cho-keu-kea*, the ancient Yarkand, as 800 *le*, which seems to agree tolerably well with the present position of the city. Marco Polo, who passed the same road, says:—"Cotan is a province lying between north-east and east, and is eight days journey in length." (See "*Mémoires sur les Contrées Occidentales*," tom. ii, pp. 223-224.—"*Record of the Buddhistic Kingdoms*," pp. 5, 9.—"*Marco Polo*," vol. i, p. 196.)

† Heuen-chwang says:—"From this country are got woollen carpets, fine felts, well-woven taffetas, white and black jade." As jade is traditionally spoken of in China as the production of Khotan, it is remarkable that Marco Polo says nothing about it. Neither does Mr. Johnson, who visited the place in 1865. ("Rec. of the Bud. Kingd." p. 5.—"*Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.*" tom. ii, p. 427, etc.—Yule's "*Marco Polo*," 2nd edition, vol. i, pp. 196, 197.)

‡ The "*Se yih t'ung wān che*" (book iii, fol. 25), a native polyglott geographical dictionary, gives Duwa, in the province of Yarkand, as on the site of the ancient Pe-shan. The "*Shwuy king choo t'oo tseen kaou*" (book i, fol. 3), places the site of Pe-shan south-east of Yarkand, and west of Khotan.

distant from Chang-gan 10,050 *le*. The kingdom contains 500 families, comprising 3,500 persons, with 500 trained troops, a Right and a Left General, a Right and a Left Protector General, a Knight and an Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-east, at a distance of 4,292 *le*. The kingdom of Woo-ch'a lies to the south-west 1,340 *le*. The country joins T'een-t'uh (India) on the south, and is distant from Koo-mih on the north 1,450 *le*. The road to Ke-pin (Kophen) and Woo-yih-shan-le lies to the south-west. North-west to Sha-keu is 380 *le*.

*Woo-ch'a.**

The capital of the kingdom of Woo-ch'a is the city of Woo-ch'a, distant from Chang-gan 9,950 *le*. The kingdom contains 490 families, comprising 2,733 persons, with 740 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies north-east 4,892 *le*. The country joins Tsze-hō and P'oo-le on the north, and Nan-tow on the west. The hills are surrounded by cultivated fields, and white grass grows among the rocks. The dwelling-houses are built of stone; and the people join hands in drinking. They have small trained horses and asses, but no oxen. To the west is the Hindu Cush. The capital is distant from the Yang barrier 5,888 *le*, and from the seat of the Governor General 5,020 *le*. The Hindu Cush is a rocky mountain range. There are gorges and valleys with no connecting road, but having ropes and chains thrown across, by means of which the passage is effected.

Se-yay.†

The title of the King of Se-yay is King of Tsze-hō, and the capital is called Keen-kōh, being distant from Chang-gan 10,250 *le*. The kingdom contains 350 families, comprising a population of 4,000; with 1,000 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-east, at a distance of 5,046 *le*. The country joins Pe-shan on the east, Woo-ch'a on the south-west, Sha-keu on the north, and P'oo-le on the west. The kingdoms of P'oo-le, E-nae, and Woo-luy all belong to the same ethnic class with Se-yay. The Se-yay differ from the Tartar nations; being rather connected by affinity with the Keang and

* The indications in the text would lead us to place this territory somewhere about Sarikol. It may possibly have been near the present Kurghan-i-Ujadbai.

† The "Se yih t'ung wän che" (book iii, fol. 23) gives Yul-arik in the province of Yarkand, as the modern representative of ancient Se-yay. On Wyld's map there is a place named Yolarik on a confluent of the Yarkand river, in N. lat. 37° 26', E. long. 77° 22'. The corresponding place on the Russian map is named Kargalik.

Te-hing. The people move hither and thither, according to the supply of water and pasturage for their flocks and herds. The land of Tsze-hō* produces jade and other precious stones.

P'oo-le.†

The capital of the kingdom of P'oo-le is the city‡ of P'oo-le, distant from Chang-gan 9,550 *le*. The kingdom contains 650 families, comprising a population of 5,000, with 2,000 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies north-east, distant 5,396 *le*. Sha-keu lies to the east, at a distance of 540 *le*. Soo-līh is 550 *le* to the north. The country joins Se-yay and Tsze-hō on the south. Woo-luy lies 540 *le* to the west. There is a Marquis and a Protector General. For field products they rely on Sha-keu. Their national customs are the same as Tsze-hō.

E-nae.§

The capital of the kingdom of E-nae is distant from Chang-gan 10,150 *le*. The kingdom contains 125 families, comprising 670 persons; with 350 troops. The seat of the Governor General lies north-east, at a distance of 2,730 *le*. Sha-keu is distant 540 *le*, and Woo-luy 540 *le*. Soo-līh is 650 *le* to the north. The country joins Tsze-hō on the south, and their customs are the same. The cereals are scarce, and they rely on Soo-līh and Sha-keu for agricultural produce.

Woo-luy.||

The capital of the kingdom of Woo-luy is the city of Leu,

* There is great uncertainty about the position of this place. It was the first station Fa-heen stopped at after leaving Khotan, on his way to Ujjana, but the time he took—twenty five days—to reach it, throws a difficulty in the way, as it appears to have been just to the north of the Karakorum range. Otherwise we might suggest somewhere about Shahidula at the Sokhbulak Pass; a little to the south of which “Jade Quarries” are marked on Wyld’s map. This may perhaps be included in the country. After a careful review of Fa-heen’s narrative, Professor Wilson remarks regarding this part of the journey:—“It is impossible, therefore, not to suspect something wrong in the distances or the hearing, perhaps in both.” (“Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,” 1838, p. 113.)

† The “Se yīh t’ung wān che” (book iii, fol. 27) gives Serlek in the province of Yarkand, as the modern representative of this place. The “Shwuy king choo t’oo shwō tseen kaou” (book i, fol. 3) tells us that the country lay between the modern Yengihissar and Yarkand. The Russian map has a place named Sajryk, a few miles south-west of Yengihissar.

‡ The text has *kwō* (kingdom) here, which is obviously a typographical error for *ching* (city).

§ According to the “Shwuy king choo t’oo shwo tseen kaou” (book i, fol. 3) the site of ancient E-nae should be on the southern border of Yengihissar, somewhere about N. lat. 39°, E. long. 76°.

|| The “Se yīh t’ung wān che” (book iii, fol. 18) gives Aratchulas the present name of the ancient Woo-luy country. This name is found in the native atlas

distant from Chang-gan 9,950 *le*. The kingdom contains 1,000 families, comprising a population of 7,000 persons. The seat of the Governor General lies north-east at a distance of 2,463 *le*. P'oo-le lies 540 *le* to the south. The country joins Woo-ch'a on the south, Keuen-tüh on the north, and on the west. The dress of the people resembles that of Woo-sun; and their customs are the same as Tsze-hö.

*Nan-tow.**

The capital of the kingdom of Nan-tow is distant from Chang-gan 10,150 *le*. The kingdom contains 5,000 families, comprising a population of 31,000 persons, with 8,000 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-west at a distance of 2,850 *le*. Woo-luy lies 340 *le* to the west. Ke-pin lies 330 *le* to the south-west. The country joins Chö Keang† on the south, Heu-seun on the north, and the Ta Yuě-she on the west. They cultivate the five cereals, grapes and other fruits.‡ The country produces silver, copper, and iron, and they make military weapons, the same as other nations. The kingdom is attached to Ke-pin.

Ke-pin (Kophen).§

The capital of the kingdom of Kophen is the city of Sun-

Hwang chaou chung wae yih tung yu t'oo, in about N. lat. 39°, E. long. 74°, on the western border of the Kashgar province; but no corresponding name appears on any accessible European map.

* The distances and positions here seem to lead us somewhere about the southern part of the country of Shignan, where the city of Ishkashim is located. This is spoken of by Heuen-chwang, who says of it:—"This kingdom is an ancient province of the kingdom of Tokharistan. It is about 1,000 *le* from east to west, and 300 *le* from north to south; the capital is 15 or 16 *le* in circumference. The productions of the soil and manners of the inhabitants are much like those of Momkan." Marco Polo also speaks of the town of Casem, at the distance of a three days' ride from Taican, and says:—"This town is at the head of a very great province, which is also called Casem. The people have a peculiar language." ("Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.," tom. ii, p. 196.—"Marco Polo," vol. i. p. 161.)

† It seems a little difficult to reconcile this statement with fact. Chö Keang represented Tibet—or at least the northern portion of it. We must, however, extend its boundaries as far west as Baltistan or Little Tibet, in order to give it a chance of meeting the country here spoken of.

‡ At the place above indicated Heuen-chwang tells us:—"The sowing of grain and the harvests take place at regular periods. There is a flourishing vegetation of plants and trees; and the flowers and fruits are in extraordinary abundance." ("Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.," tom. ii, p. 193.)

§ By general consent of investigators, this has been admitted to be the ancient kingdom of Kophen, a name closely connected with—if not derived from—the River Kophes, which is found in the Vedas under the form *Kubha*, and appears in the classical writers also as Khoes and Koaspes. This country was identical with Kabulistan of later times, the capital of which is represented by the modern Cabul, the capital of Afghanistan. Heuen-chwang appears to have taken

seen,* distant from Chang-gan 12,200 *le*. The kingdom is not under the control of the Governor General. The numbers of families, persons, and trained troops are very large, as it is a great kingdom. The seat of the Governor General lies north-west at a distance of 6,840 *le*. The kingdom of Woo-ch'a lies 2,250 *le* to the east. The kingdom of Nantow is nine days' journey to the north-east. The country joins the Ta Yuě-she on the north-west and Woo-yih-shan-le on the south-west. Formerly, when the Heung-noo subjugated the Ta Yuě-she,† the latter migrated to the west, and gained the dominion over the Ta-hea (Dahæ);‡ whereupon the king of the Sae (Sacæ) moved south and ruled over Kophen. The Sae were scattered, and at times formed several kingdoms.§ North-west of Soo-lih the Heu-seun, Keuen-tŭh, and consanguineous nations are all descendants of the ancient Sae. The land of Kophen is flat; and the climate mild and agreeable.|| The country produces *medicago sativa*, various herbs, strange trees, sandal wood, *sophora japonica*, *rottlera japonica*, bamboo, and the varnish tree. They cultivate the five grains, grapes and other fruits.¶ They manure their gardens and fields. In the low and damp

this in his homeward journey, and describes it under the name of Urddhasthana, as 500 *le* from Ghazni. The old name of *Ke-pin* or Kophen, he preserves as that of the capital city *Hwo-pe-na*.—"Anc. Geog. of India," pp. 34, 37.—"Mém. sur les Cont. Occid.," tom. ii, p. 190.)

* It is difficult to identify this name. Possibly it may be a corrupt transcript of "Urddhasthana," the ancient name of Cabul; or it may be a distortion of the name "Ghazni."

† See "Journal of the Anthropological Institute," January, 1874, pp. 414, 415, 433.

‡ "The Scythian tribes who occupied the Caspian plain to the west of the Massagetæ, extending to the Oxus or even to the Jaxartes, in which case they must have blended with the Massagetæ, bore the general appellation of Dææ." (Wilson's "Ariana Antiqua," pp. 140, 141.)

§ "In Ariana they passed the mountains, and proceeding southwards, occupied the tract below the great lake wherein the Helmond terminates, which took from them the name of Sacastanê (land of the Saka or Scyths) a name still to be traced in the modern 'Seistan.' Further to the east, they effected a lodgment in Kabul, and another in the southern portion of the Indus valley, which for a time bore the name of 'Indo-Scythia.'" (Rawlinson's "Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy," pp. 117, 118.)

|| "In the summer, the heat of Candahar is intense; the winter mild. In Cabul the summer is charming; but during the winter the cold is intense." ("Notes to accompany Mr Wyld's Maps of Central Asia and Afghanistan," p. 24.)

¶ According to the Chinese, the five grains are—hemp, millet, rice, wheat, and pulse. ("Chinese Reader's Manual," p. 316.) Mr Wyld says:—"There are, as in India, two harvests in Afghanistan: of these one is sowed in the autumn and reaped in the spring, the chief crops being wheat, barley, peas, and beans: in Western Afghanistan this is the most important. The autumn harvest on the contrary is the principal one in Eastern Cabul, the seed is sown in the spring, and gathered in the autumn; it consists of rice, a grain called bajra (*Holeus spicatus*.) and Indian corn." Of Cabul he says:—"It is a most lovely landscape, the plain being refreshed with numerous streams brought from the Cabul river, and

ground they grow rice. In winter they eat raw vegetables. The people are ingenious in carving, ornamenting, engraving and inlaying; in building palaces and mansions; weaving nets, ornamental perforation and embroidery; and excel at cooking. They have gold, silver, copper and tin,* of which they make vessels, and expose them for sale. They have a gold and a silver currency.† On the obverse of their money is a man on horseback, and on the reverse a man's face.‡ The country produces the Indian ox, the buffalo, the elephant, great dogs, large apes, and the pea-fowl; also pearls of different kinds, coral, amber, rock crystal, vitreous ware, camels, and domestic animals the same as other nations.§

From the time that the Emperor Woo-te opened up communication with Ke-pin, the rulers of that kingdom, in view of the extreme distance, had considered themselves safe from the intrusion of a Chinese army. In this confidence the King Woo-t'ow-

covered with green fields, fringed by rows of poplars and willow trees; orchards and vineyards filled with fruit trees of every description; and gardens well laid out and stocked with flowers and useful vegetables. Large quantities of grapes and dried fruits are exported to all parts of Northern India." (*l.c.* pp. 28, 18.)

* "Iron exists in the Vaziris Hills, and in Furmul; copper in the Asmai Koh to the West of Cabul; lead in the Hazara Mountains, at Ko-i-wardak near Ghuznee, and in Argandab; antimony at Shah Mahsud, north of Candahar; sulphur, near Herat and Seistan; zinc in the Zhobe valley; and nitre all over the country. Gold, too, is found in the river beds, and affords a precarious existence to the few hundreds who search for it." ("Notes to accompany Mr. Wyld's Maps," &c., p. 27.)

† We do not find any specimens of a gold coinage among the Sacæ rulers of Kabulistan; but *silver* coins are by no means rare. Seven or more specimens of *gold* coins are known of Kadphesis who is supposed to have reigned in B.C. 1, while a solitary *silver* coin of this monarch is the only known silver specimen of the Indo-Scythian dynasty.

‡ This description applies only to one reign, on the coins of which there is no name, but only the title of the monarch, thus ΣΩΤΗΡ ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ—"Great King of Kings the Preserver." Wilson, who supposes them to have been issued in the first century of the Christian era, gives the figures of sixteen specimens, and remarks:—"There is no great variety in these coins, although they are infinitely numerous, and are, with very few exceptions, of copper, and these latter are found, to use Mr. Prinsep's expression, 'by bagfuls' at Beghrum, in many of the topes in the Panjab, and even in Central India. . . . The type on one face is universally the mounted monarch, as on the coins of the preceding princes. On the other we have in a few instances the figure of a man in a long robe, apparently a priest, with a fire altar; but the device on those coins that are so numerous is the head of the king, occasionally, though rarely, with a helmet, but in general with either a kind of turban, or his hair dressed in a peculiar manner." No doubt the Han author had these in view when he wrote his account of Ke-pin, and his description is sufficiently accurate; but the pretended figures of foreign coins, found in Chinese numismatical treatises, are worthless caricatures, mere productions of the imagination of some Chinese, to illustrate the descriptions given in the dynastic histories. (*See* "Ariana Antiqua," p. 332.)

§ "The horse, camel, cow, buffalo, sheep, goat, mules, and asses are the principal animals of the country." ("Notes to accompany Mr. Wyld's Maps," etc., p. 27.)

laou* on several occasions put the Chinese envoys to death. On the death of Woo-t'ow-laou, his son, who succeeded to the dignity, sent an envoy with offerings to China; when Wán Chung, the Protector General at the barrier, was sent to escort him home. The King again wished to take Wán Chung's life; but the latter becoming aware of his intention, entered into a plot with the King of Yung-keu's son, Yin-müh-foo, which resulted in an attack on the country, when the King was killed, and Yin-müh-foo installed as King of Ke-pin, and received the seal and ribbon of investiture from China.

Afterwards the Military Marquis Chaou Tih, who was sent to Ke-pin, managed to get on bad terms with Yin-müh-foo, when the latter put the felon's collar on the envoy, killed his assistant and attendants, more than seventy persons in all, and then sent an envoy with a letter to the Emperor, acknowledging his transgression. But the country being among the unregistered and impracticable regions, the Emperor Yuen-te discharged the envoy; communication being cut off by the Hindu Cush.

In the time of the Emperor Ching-te (B.C. 32-7) Ke-pin again sent an envoy with offerings and an acknowledgment of guilt. The supreme board wished to send an envoy with a reply, to escort the Ke-pin envoy home; but Too Kin addressed the Generalissimo Wang Fung to the following effect:—"Formerly Yin-müh-foo, the King of Ke-pin, who was instated by China, ended by perversely rejecting our authority. Now there is no greater manifestation of virtue than for a ruler of a kingdom to treat the people as his children; and there is no greater sin than to detain and murder an envoy. Hence although omitting to requite favours they have no fear of chastisement; for they know that they are at such an extreme distance that our troops cannot reach them. When they have anything to ask, they come with humble expressions; but when they do not want anything, they are proud and insulting. They cannot by any means be brought to cherish the feeling of submission. Whenever China enters into liberal correspondence with the barbarian tribes, and we are pleased to

* The coins of Spalyrius, the Saca King of Kophen, bear the inscription ΣΠΑΛΥΡΙΟΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΤΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ *Spalurius Dikaion Adelphou tou Basileos*. He is here stated on the coin to be "brother" to the king, but Wilson thinks "it is not impossible that the 'brother' was the king *de facto*, although he left for a season the title to Palirisus." As we do not find a name among the Sacæ princes of Kophen in any way resembling *Woo-t'ow-laou*, it seems probable that the Chinese may have received the Greek designation *Adelphos* as the name of this prince. Truly the Chinese transcript is a nearer phonetic approach than the Arianian *Alabaraputosa* found on the same coins, and which Wilson says, "looks as if it was a blundering attempt to represent the Greek term ΑΔΕΛΦΟΣ." The date given is B.C. 75, which would apparently synchronize with the Chinese narrative. (See "*Ariana Antiqua*," pp 315, 316.)

attend to their requests, we receive their approaches with intimacy, and they act as brigands. Now the dangerous passes of the Hindu Cush cannot be traversed by the people of Ke-pin. A cringing attitude is no evidence of the pacification of the Western regions; and although they are not annexed to the empire, yet they are not a source of danger to the cities and suburbs. Formerly those we held intimate relationship with repudiated the token of authority, and spread vice and anarchy through the Western regions; so that intercourse was found to be impracticable. Now they come professing penitence, and do not enter into an intimate relationship. Their dignitaries who present offerings are all mean men carrying on commerce. They wish to open up commercial relations for the sake of the trade; and the offerings are a mere pretence. Therefore if we take the trouble to send an envoy to escort them to the Hindu Cush, I fear we shall commit an error, and find ourselves deceived. Whenever an envoy is sent to escort a guest, precautions must be taken to protect him against the attacks of brigands.

“From Pe-shan southward there are four or five kingdoms not attached to China. With only a hundred men to keep a lookout, and to beat the five night watches for self-protection, they will be at times exposed to attacks from robbers, carrying off their asses and cattle bearing provisions; and will thus be rendered dependent on these countries for food, for which they must make some requital. The countries may be small and poor, and unable to furnish food; or the inhabitants may be cruel and crafty and refuse to give, even intercepting them at the boundary. The Chinese Commission will in such circumstances be left to starve among the hills and valleys, begging food to sustain life, with no means of obtaining it. In some ten or twenty days men and animals will die in the desert, and be never more heard of. Again, on passing the Great Headache Mountain, the Little Headache Mountain, the Red Land, and the Fever Slope, men's bodies become feverish, they lose colour, and are attacked with headache and vomiting; the asses and cattle being all in like condition. Moreover there are three pools with rocky banks along which the pathway is only 16 or 17 inches wide for a length of some 30 *le*, over an abyss of frightful depth where the travellers whether on horse or afoot are all attached, and lead each other by ropes. After more than 2,000 *le* the Hindu Cush is reached; more than half the cattle having perished by falling down the chasms, their bodies lying scattered about and dashed to pieces. Men lose their grasp, and they are unable to save each other. In fact, viewing the dangers of these precipitous gorges, the difficulties

are beyond description. The sage kings divided the empire into nine departments and instituted regulations for the five tenures. Applying themselves to secure prosperity in the interior, they sought nothing from abroad. Now in sending an envoy to carry out the supreme commission by escorting the barbarian traders, you weary out the host of officials in passing through a dangerous and difficult road; thus suspending and degrading the trustworthy in the performance of a useless service. This is not a far-sighted policy. The envoy having already received his credentials, let him proceed as far as Pe-shan and then return." To this Wang Fung replied:—"According to your words, it is certainly profitable to Ke-pin if we grant them a market for their commerce; while they only send an envoy once in several years."

*Woo-yih-shan-le.**

The capital of the kingdom of Woo-yih-shan-le† is distant from Chang-gan 12,200 *le*. The State is not under the control of the Governor General. The numbers of families, of the population, and of trained troops are all those of a great kingdom. The seat of the Governor General lies north-east at a distance of sixty days' journey. The country joins Ke-pin on the east, Po-taou (Bactria) on the north, and Le-keen‡ and Teaou-che§ on the west. After a journey of about a hundred days, the kingdom of Teaou-che is reached, bordering on the Western Sea.|| The climate there is hot and damp, and rice is cultivated. There are large birds, with eggs in size like a pitcher. The people are very numerous and are often under petty chieftains, subject to the Parthians, who consider foreigners clever at jugglery. There is a tradition among the Parthian elders about the Dead water,¶ and the Mother of the

* The positions laid down for this kingdom clearly point to Aria of the ancients, represented by the modern Khorassan.

† This is very suggestive of the word "Alexandria," the name of a city which had been repaired by Alexander the Great. The indications of the classical authors lead to the belief that it stood on the site of modern Herat and may have been the capital of the country about the beginning of the Christian era. (See "Ariana Antiqua," pp. 151, 152.)

‡ This appears to be the kingdom of the Seleucidæ, represented by Syria.

§ The country of the Tajiks, or ancient Persians.

|| This passage involves some difficulty. Teaou-che is generally admitted to represent the Tajiks or ancient Persians; but a hundred days' journey west from Herat carries one far beyond the limits of Persia. The most satisfactory conclusion—as Dr. Bretschneider has shown—is, that Syria is the country here alluded to; and the description generally agrees with this identification. The Western Sea in this case would be the Mediterranean. (See "Notes and Queries on China and Japan," vol. iv, pp. 58, 59.)

¶ Probably the "Dead Sea."

Western kings* in Teaou-che, but they have never been seen. They say that from Teaou-che, a sea voyage of about a hundred days westward brings one near the place where the sun sets. The burning heat of the country of Woo-yih is exceptionally fierce. They have herbs and trees, domestic animals, the five kinds of grain, fruits, vegetables, food and drink, palaces and dwelling-houses, bazaars, circulating medium, military weapons, gold, pearls, and such like, all the same as in Ke-pin. They have also excellent peaches. The lion and the buffalo are found there, and by custom it is deemed laudable to kill these without mercy. On the obverse of their money there is only a man's head, and on the reverse is a figure of a man on horseback. They ornament their staves with gold and silver. Being extremely distant from China, an envoy rarely arrives. From the Yuh Gate and the Yang barrier, the southern road passing Shen-shen, tends southerly to Woo-yih-shan-le, which is the terminus of the southern road. Thence proceeding north, Parthia lies on the east.

Gan-seih (Parthia).†

The capital of the kingdom of Gan-seih is the city of Fan-tow, distant from Chang-gan 11,600 *le*. It is not under the control of the Governor General. The country joins K'ang-keu‡ on the north, Woo-yih-shan-le§ on the east, and Teaou-che|| on the west. The soil, climate, productions, and customs of the people are the same as those of Woo-yih and Ke-pin. They also have a silver coinage, with the king's head on the obverse, and a woman's head on the reverse.¶ When the king dies, they immediately cast new coins. The country produces ostriches. They have several hundred cities great and small. It is a kingdom of the largest size, being several thousand *le*

* It is not improbable that we have here an allusion to Lot's wife; the tradition of whose calamitous fate would naturally linger in after ages among the Moabites and Ammonites, and their descendants.

† That Gan-seih designates the ancient kingdom of the Arsacidæ seems scarcely to admit of a doubt.

‡ Sogdiana.

§ Khorassan.

|| Persia.

¶ This somewhat singular fact is remarkably corroborated in the case of the Parthian monarch, Phraataces, who came to the throne B.C. 2. Engravings of two of his coins are given in the "International Numismata Orientalia;" and Professor Rawlinson gives a wood-cut of one with the following remarks:—"The coins of Phraataces have on one side his head; which is being crowned by two Victories; on the other the head of Musa [his mother], with the legend ΜΟΥΣΗΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΙΣΣΗΣ ΘΕΑΣ ΟΥΡΑΝΙΑΣ." Referring to the fact of this king having placed the effigy of Musa on the coins, Rawlinson observes:—"It is perhaps doubtful whether Phraates IV. [predecessor of Phraataces] had not done the same in his latter years as Mionnet and Mr. Lindsay imagine." ("The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy," p. 220.)

square.* As the country extends to the Wei (Oxus) river their traders traverse the adjoining kingdoms† both by land and water. They write on skins in horizontal lines, in which manner they keep their records.‡

When the Emperor Woo-te first sent an envoy to Gan-seih, the King commanded a general to take 20,000 cavalry to meet him at the eastern border. The eastern border is several thousand *le* distant from the metropolis. Proceeding northward, they passed several tens of cities on the way, all the people of which were allied to each other. On this occasion the King sent an envoy to follow the Han envoy home to China. He took with him ostrich eggs and Le-keen jugglers, which he presented as offerings, and with which the Emperor was greatly delighted. To the east of Gan-seih is the country of the Ta Yuě-she.

Ta Yue-she (Massagetæ).

The capital of the kingdom of the Ta Yuě-she is the city of Keen-she, distant from Chang-gan 11,600 *le*. It is not under the control of the Governor General. The kingdom contains 100,000 families, comprising a population of 400,000, with 100,000 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east, at a distance of 4,740 *le*. To Parthia on the west is a distance of forty-nine days' journey. The country joins Ke-pin on the south. The soil, the climate, the productions, the customs of the people, and the currency, are all the same as those of Gan-seih. They have the single-humped camel (dromedary). The Ta Yuě-she are a wandering nation,

* Professor Rawlinson gives the dimensions of Parthia proper as "from east to west a distance of 320, and from north to south of nearly 200 miles." This would amount to about 1,920 by 1,200 *le*. (See "The Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy," p. 1.)

† "There was a considerable trade between Parthia and Rome, carried on by means of a class of merchants." If they traded with Rome, it can scarcely be doubted that the commerce extended also to the Transoxianian nations. (See "Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy," p. 425.)

‡ "Though the Parthians had, so far as we can tell, no native literature, yet writing was familiar to them, and was widely used in matters of business. Not only were negotiations carried on with foreign Powers by means of despatches, but the affairs of the empire generally were conducted by writing. A custom-house system was established along the frontier, and all commodities liable to duty that entered the country were registered in a book at the time of entry, by the custom-house officer. In the great cities, where the Court passed a portion of the year, account was kept of the arrival of strangers, whose names and descriptions were placed upon record by the keepers of the gates. The orders of the Crown were signified in writing to the satraps; and they doubtless corresponded with the Court in the same way. In the earlier times the writing material commonly used was linen; but shortly before the time of Pliny, the Parthians began to make paper from papyrus, which grew in the neighbourhood of Babylon, though they still employed in preference the old material." ("Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy," pp. 424, 425.)

moving from place to place for the convenience of their flocks and herds, the same as the Heung-noo.* They have more than a hundred thousand men skilled in the use of the bow ;† and in former times considered themselves strong enough to treat the Heung-noo with contempt. Originally they lived between Tun-hwang and Ke-leen, when Maou-tun Shen-yu‡ attacked and subdued them. Laou-shang Shen-yu§ killed the King of the Yuě-she, and converted his skull into a drinking-bowl. The tribe then removed to a distance, passed Ta-wan, and attacked the Ta-hea on the west, reduced them to vassalage, and established their metropolis on the north of the Wei (Oxus) river, where the King held his Court. A small section, who were unable to leave, fortified themselves at the southern mountains, and were named by the Keang the Seaou Yuě-she. The Ta-hea were originally without a Chief Paramount ; and were accustomed to set up petty chiefs over their cities. But the people were weak and afraid to engage in war. Hence when the Yuě-she removed into their country they all became their vassals, and they presented a united petition to the Chinese envoy. They have five Heih-hows. One is called the Heih-how of Heu-mieh ; his capital being the city of Ho-mih, distant from the Governor General 2,841 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 7,802 *le*. The second is the Heih-how of Chwang-me ; his capital being the city of Chwang-me, distant from the Governor General 3,741 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 7,782 *le*. The third is the Heih-how of Kwei-seang ; his capital being the city of Hwo-tsaou, distant from the Governor General 5,940 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 7,982 *le*. The fourth is the Heih-how of Heih-tun ; his capital being the city of Po-maou, distant from the Governor General 5,962 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 8,202 *le*. The fifth is the Heih-how of Kaou-foo ; his capital being the city of Kaou-foo, distant from the Governor General 6,041 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 9,283 *le*. These five Heih-hows are all dependents of the Ta Yuě-she.

K'ang-keu (Sogdiana).||

The King of K'ang-keu likes to hold his Court during winter

* Wilson, speaking of the Massagetæ, says :—" The character of the countries which they occupied seems to have been in all ages essentially the same—extensive steppes and plains of sand, interspersed at intervals only with water and verdure, and compelling the inhabitants to lead a migratory life, in quest of pasture for the cattle on which they themselves chiefly subsist." (" *Ariana Antiqua*," p. 138.)

† " They were good riders and excellent archers." (" *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy*," p. 119.)

‡ He ruled from B.C. 209 to 174.

§ From B.C. 173 to 160.

|| The identification of K'ang-keu with Sogdiana has been generally accepted.

in the country of Yuě-nieh at the city of Pe-teen, which is distant from Chang-gan 12,300 *le*. The kingdom is not under the control of the Governor General. From the country of Yuě-nieh to the king's summer residence inside the border is a distance of seven days' journey on horseback. Thence to Chang-gan is 9,104 *le*. The kingdom contains 120,000 families, comprising a population of 600,000, with 120,000 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east 5,550 *le*. Their customs are the same as those of the Ta Yuě-she. On the east they paid a forced servitude to the Heung-noo.

In the time of the Emperor Seuen-te (B.C. 73–49), when the Heung-noo were in a state of anarchy, and five Shen-yu were all fighting against each other, China interposed its influence to set up Hoo-han-seay Shen-yu; and Che-che Shen-yu being incensed against the Chinese, put their envoy to death; and then moving westward (B.C. 49) settled in K'ang-keu.

After this the Governor General Kan Yen-show and the Assistant Deputy Protector Ch'in Tang brought the Woo-ke Deputy Protector with the troops of the various kingdoms of the Western regions to K'ang-keu and exterminated the power of Che-che Shen-yu; the details regarding which may be found in the Memoirs of Kan Yen-show,* and Ch'in Tang.† This took place in the year B.C. 36.

In the time of the Emperor Ch'ing-te (B.C. 32–7), the Prince

Bretschneider remarks:—"It seems however, that the country of *K'ang kü*—first mentioned in the 'History of the Anterior Han'—before our era, included Sogdiana; for in the 'History of the Northern Wei (386–558),' a country in the west, *K'ang*, is described, and it is further stated there that the people of *K'ang* are a branch of the *Kang-kü* of the Han period. In the 'History of the T'ang,' chap. cclviii, *b*, the kingdom of *K'ang* is again spoken of; and among the synonyms given for the same country we find *Sa-mo-kien*, which is intended for Samarcand." ("Notices of the Mediæval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia," p. 163.)

* The biographical notice of this officer is summed up briefly as follows:—"Kan Yen-show, who bore the cognomen Keun-hwang, was a native of the district of Yuh-che (now Gan-hwa) in the prefecture of Pih-t'e (now K'ing-yang in the province of Kansuh). Being a scion of a good family he excelled in horsemanship and archery in his youth, and was made a member of the Imperial body-guard. In such athletic exercises as throwing the stone he far outstripped his compeers; and upon one occasion he leaped over the two-story guard-house. Consequent on this feat he was appointed fugleman at the military competitive examinations. By his talents, strength, and amiability he gradually rose in the service, till he became Governor of Leaou-tung. Instead of availing himself then of his official carriage, he travelled on horseback like a general, and was exemplary in his patronage. In time Kan Yen-show was made Secretary and Grand Adviser, and was appointed Governor, General of the Western regions and Cavalry Protector General; when, in concert with the Assistant Deputy Protector, he killed and beheaded Che-che Shen-yu, and was promoted Marquis of E-ching. After his death he was designated the Robust Marquis. The viceregal dignity descended to his great-grandson, till the defeat of Wang Mang, when the line was cut short." ("Tseen Han Shoo," book lxx, fol. 3, 4.)

† See Appendix A.

of K'ang-keu sent his son to China as a hostage, with an offering of tribute ; but the country being at such an extreme distance, the Prince was only haughty and insolent, and refused to look up to China like the other nations. The Governor General Kwo Shun several times addressed the throne, saying :—"Originally when the Heung-noo attained their highest prosperity it was not on account of their connection with Woo-sun and K'ang-keu ; and when they came calling themselves menials, it was not because they had lost these two kingdoms. Although China has received hostage princes from all these, yet the three kingdoms impose burdens on each other, and neglect intercourse with the empire as of old. They also keep watch, waiting a convenient time for demonstration. When near they cannot be taken into close confidence ; when distant they cannot be made use of as vassals. Applying this to present circumstances, the connection with Woo-sun by marriage has never turned out of any advantage to us ; but on the contrary has been a cause of trouble to China. However, Woo-sun having formerly formed this connection, and now both that nation and the Heung-noo style themselves vassals, it is not right that they should be repelled. But K'ang-keu is so proud and crafty that they will not pay due honour to our envoys. When the Governor General's official reached their country he was set below the envoys from Woo-sun and the other countries. When the King and his nobles have finished their repast, the Governor General's official is then allowed to swallow a morsel. Hence there is no room for boasting to the neighbouring kingdoms of these forming provinces of the empire. According to this estimate, why do they send their sons to Court as hostages ? The reason is that they wish to deceive us by specious words in order to be allowed to trade. The Heung-noo and all the great barbarian kingdoms now render perfect service to China ; but it is reported that K'ang-keu does not pay homage ; and moreover that it has sent an envoy to the Shen-yu, as an act of self-humiliation. Their hostage prince ought to be sent back, and an envoy should never be sent to them again, in order to show that the house of Han does not hold intercourse with kingdoms which ignore the rules of etiquette. The small regions of Tun-hwang and Tsew-tseuen and the eight kingdoms on the southern road give food to the envoys passing to and fro, including men, horses, asses and camels ; all which becomes very severe on them, exhausting their supplies of rice ; but to meet and escort those of proud, crafty, and extremely distant nations, is by no means a wise policy. In opening up a fresh intercourse, China treats men from afar with the greatest liberality ; but in the end has to curb and restrain them, yet she does not cast them off."

To the north-west of K'ang-keu, about 2,000 *le* distant, is the kingdom of Yen-tsaë,* with more than 100,000 bowmen; having the same customs as K'ang-keu, on the border of a great marsh without banks, which is the Northern Sea (Caspian). K'ang-keu has five viceroys. One is called the viceroy of Soo-heae; his capital being the city of Soo-heae, distant from the Governor General 5,776 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 8,025 *le*. The second is called the viceroy of Foo-mih; his capital being the city of Foo-mih, distant from the Governor General 5,767 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 8,025 *le*. The third is called the viceroy of Yu-nieh; his capital being the city of Yu-nieh, distant from the Governor General 5,266 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 7,525 *le*. The fourth is the viceroy of Ke; his capital being the city of Ke, distant from the Governor General 6,296 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 8,555 *le*. The fifth is called the viceroy of Gaou-kéen; his capital being the city of Gaou-kéen, distant from the Governor General 6,906 *le*, and from the Yang barrier 8,355 *le*. All these five are viceroys of K'ang-keu.

Ta-wan (Fergana).†

The capital of the kingdom of Ta-wan is the city of Kwei-shan,‡ distant from Chang-gan 12,550 *le*. The kingdom contains 60,000 families, comprising a population of 300,000, with 60,000 trained troops, a Viceroy, and a National Assistant Prince. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east at a distance of 4,031 *le*. To the city of Pe-teen in K'ang-keu on the north is 1,510 *le*. To the Ta Yuě-she on the south-west is 690 *le*. The country joins K'ang-keu on the north, and the Ta Yuě-she on the south.§ The soil, climate, productions, and customs of the people are the same as those of the Ta Yuě-she and Gan-seih. Round about Ta-wan they make wine from grapes. Wealthy people store up as much as 10,000 stone and over in their cellars, and keep it for several tens of years without spoiling. The people are fond of wine, and the horses are fond of *medicago sativa*. There are more than seventy other cities in the country. There is a numerous breed of excellent horses which perspire blood. It is said that this breed is from the strain of a supernatural stallion. When Chang Kéen first told the Emperor about them, the monarch sent an envoy with a thousand pieces of gold and a golden horse, in order to obtain some of these excellent horses. But the King of Ta-wan, con-

* The Asi.

† This corresponds to the present Khanate of Khokand.

‡ The most ancient capital of Fergana recorded by Mohammedan writers is Akhsi. Possibly Kwei-shan may be a mutation of the same name.

§ The "She ke" says "west."

sidering that on account of its extreme distance China could not send an army there, and in view of the great value he attached to these precious horses, refused to part with them to China. The envoy having been betrayed into the use of some unguarded expressions regarding Ta-wan, the King had him put to death, and took possession of his treasure. The Emperor thereupon sent the Urh-sze* General Le Kwang-le in command of an army numbering over 100,000 from first to last, which attacked Ta-wan for four successive years, till at last the natives beheaded the King Wuh-kwa, and presented an offering of 3,000† horses. The Chinese army then returned. The details of these transactions are found in the "Memoir of Chang Këên."‡ The Urh-sze general having secured the decapitation of the King, set up a noble of the country, who had previously received benefits from China—by name Mei-tsae—in his place.

More than a year after this the nobles of Ta-wan charged Mei-tsae with having, by his sycophancy, caused the butchery of their compatriots, and uniting together, they put Mei-tsae to death, and set up Chen-fung, the younger brother of Wuh-kwa, as king, who sent his son to Court as a hostage. China consequently sent an envoy with gifts, to secure and pacify them. More than ten missions were subsequently sent to the various kingdoms west of Ta-wan, seeking for rarities; and the fame of the power of China, which had subdued Ta-wan, was thus spread far and near. Chen-fung, the King of Ta-wan, entered into a treaty with China, by which he agreed to send an offering of two celestial horses every year. The Chinese envoy selected and took back with him plants of the grape and *medicago sativa*. The Emperor now having a numerous stud of celestial horses, and the ambassadors flocking in numbers from foreign countries, having also planted the grape and the *medicago sativa*, he left his palace and took up his residence in a separate house, to have a distant look-out upon his possessions. From Fergana westward to the kingdom of Parthia, although their language is somewhat different, yet the resemblance is so great that they can make themselves intelligible to each other. The people of Ta-wan have deep sunken eyes, and bushy beards and whiskers. They are clever traders,

* Urh-sze was the name of the city where the King of Fergana kept the famous horses. The name is strongly suggestive of Ush or Uzgend, a place on the high-road through Fergana. "The city is now in ruins, and from their extent it may be concluded that the ancient city was very large." (Bretschneider's "Notices of the Mediæval Geography and History of Central and Western Asia," p. 157.) On Wyld's Map of Central Asia, the name is written Osh.

† In the "Memoir of Ch'in Tang," the number of horses presented on this occasion is said to be thirty. Three thousand is probably a misprint.

‡ See Appendix B.

and dispute about the division of a farthing. Women are honourably treated among them, and their husbands are guided by them in their decisions. Silk and varnish are used all over the country. They did not understand casting iron implements till a Chinese envoy, having lost his troops, submitted to them, and taught them the art of casting, when they made new military weapons. They applied the Chinese gold and silver to make vessels, instead of using them for state presents. From Woo-sun westward to Gan-seih, the several kingdoms are all near the country of the Heung-noo. The Heung-noo having oppressed the Yuě-she, when the Heung-noo envoy came to Ta-wan with a letter from the Shen-yu, he was entertained and forwarded, as they dared not detain and punish him. But when the Chinese envoy arrived, he could not obtain food, nor purchase cattle, nor secure the accommodation necessary for his horses till he had delivered his presents. The reason of this was that China was so far distant, and possessed so much wealth, that the people of Ta-wan would only give them what they wanted on fair commercial considerations. After Hoo-han-seay Shen-yu paid court to China, then China was honoured by all the kingdoms.

*Taou-hwae.**

The capital of the kingdom of Taou-hwae is distant from Chang-gan 11,080 *le*. The kingdom contains 700 families, comprising a population of 5,000, with a thousand trained troops.

Heu-tun.†

The capital of the kingdom of Heu-tun is in the Meaou-fei valley, on the west of the Tsung-ling mountains, distant from Chang-gan 10,210 *le*. The kingdom contains 358 families, comprising a population of 1,030, with 480 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east, at a distance of 3,121 *le*. To the valley of Yen-tun in Keuen-tŭh in the same direction is 260 *le*. To the kingdom of Ta-wan on the north-west is 920 *le*. To the Ta Yuě-she on the west is 1,610 *le*. The customs of the people and their clothing are of a class with those of Woo-sun. They move about for the convenience of

* From the very scanty indications given, it is impossible to identify this locality. The distance from China would lead us to believe that it must be somewhere eastward of and not far distant from Fergana. The name is somewhat suggestive of the ancient Tochari. Is it possible that a section of that people may have localised the name to this small territory?

† No clue presents itself to the identification of this small territory, which lay apparently at the western extremity of the Kashgar basin.

their flocks and herds, according to the supply of pasture and water. They are originally one of the old Sae tribes.

*Keuen-tüh.**

The capital of the kingdom of Keuen-tüh is in the valley of Yen-tun, distant from Chang-gan 9,860 *le*. The kingdom contains 380 families, comprising a population of 1,100, with 500 trained troops. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east 2,861 *le*. Soo-lih also lies to the east. To the south is the uninhabited region of the Tsung-ling mountains. Ascending the Tsung-ling mountains on the west is Heu-tun. North-west to Ta-wan is 1,030 *le*. On the north the country joins Woo-sun. The dress of the people is of a class with those of Woo-sun. They move about the Tsung-ling mountains, where they can find water and pasture for their flocks and herds. They are originally one of the Sae tribes.

Sha-keu.†

The capital of the kingdom of Sha-keu is the city of Sha-keu, distant from Chang-gan 9,950 *le*. The kingdom contains 2,339 families, comprising a population of 16,373, with 3,049 trained troops, a National Assistant Marquis, a Left General, a Right General, a Left Knight, a Right Knight, an Anticipater of Se-yay raids, two Protectors General, and four Interpreters-in-chief.

The seat of the Governor General lies to the north-east at a distance of 4,746 *le*. Soo-lih is 560 *le* to the west.‡ P'oo-le is 740 *le* to the south-west.§ There is a mountain of iron in the country which produces blue jade.

In the time of the Emperor Seuen-te (B.C. 73–49), the Imperial Princess|| of Woo-sun had a little son named Wan-nëen, who was tenderly loved by the King of Sha-keu. The King of Sha-keu died without a son, Wan-nëen being in China at the time. The people of Sha-keu determined to submit the choice of a new king to China, and wishing at the same time to be on good terms with Woo-sun, they forwarded a letter to the Emperor, requesting to have Wan-nëen made King of Sha-keu.

* The indications in the text would lead us to look for this small territory to the west of Kashgar, on the high road to Uzgend, somewhere about the 74th degree of longitude.

† Chinese geographers of the present dynasty identify this with Yarkand.

‡ The account of Soo-lih makes Sha-keu lie to the south 560 *le*. Probably the truth is an average between the two.

§ The account of P'oc-le makes Sha-keu lie to the east 540 *le*. The present text seems the more probable.

|| This was Keae-yew, the daughter of the King of Tsou, who was sent by the Emperor in marriage to Keun-sew-me the Ch'in-tsow, and after his death was married to Ung-kwei-me, his cousin and successor.

The Emperor consented, and sent the envoy He Ch'ung-kwō, to escort Wan-nēn back. When the new sovereign first ascended the throne he was tyrannical and cruel, and alienated the people of the country. The old King of Sha-keu had a younger brother named Too-ching, who killed Wan-nēn and also the Chinese envoy, and set himself up as king, entering into a compact with the neighbouring kingdoms to turn against China. It happened at this time that Fung Fung-she, the Marquis of Wei, was sent to escort home an envoy from Tā-wan; and seized the occasion to call forth the troops of the several kingdoms, attacked and killed the King, and then set up the son of one of his brothers as King of Sha-keu. On his return Fung Fung-she was made a Great Statesman of the Banqueting-house. This occurred in the year B.C. 65.

*Soo-līh.**

The capital of the kingdom of Soo-līh is the city of Soo-līh, distant from Chang-gan 9,350 *le*. The kingdom contains 1,510 families, comprising a population of 8,647, with 2,000 trained troops, a Marquis of Soo-līh, a Heung-noo Attacking Marquis, a National Assistant Marquis, a Protector General, a Left General, a Right General, a Left Knight, a Right Knight, a Left Interpreter-in-chief, and a Right Interpreter-in-chief. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east at a distance of 2,210 *le*. Sha-keu lies 560 *le* to the south. They have a market for goods. The road to the Ta Yuě-she, Ta-wan, and K'ang-keu lies direct west.

Yu-t'ow.†

The capital of the kingdom of Yu-t'ow is in the valley of Yu-t'ow, distant from Chang-gan 8,650 *le*. The kingdom contains 300 families, comprising a population of 2,300, with 800 trained troops, a Left Protector General, a Right Protector General, a Left Knight and a Right Knight. The seat of the Governor General lies to the east 1,411 *le*. The country joins Soo-līh on the south; but the road being mountainous, renders intercourse difficult. Keuen-tūh is 1,314 *le* to the west, two days' journey on horseback by a narrow path. They have cultivated fields, and rear domestic animals, moving about for convenience of water and pasturage. Their dress is in the same style as that of Woo-sun.

* This is satisfactorily identified as the ancient representative of the more modern Kashgar.

† This is said to be the ancient representative of modern Uch, lying to the north-east of Kashgar. On Wyld's Map of Central Asia the place is named Ush-turfan.

APPENDIX.

- A. The following is the account of CH'IN TANG, alluded to, as contained in the "Tseen Han Shoo," Book lxx. fol. 4-14.

CH'IN TANG, who bore the cognomen Tsze-kung, was a native of the district of Hea-k'eu (now Tsze-yang) in the prefecture of Shanyang (now Yen-chow in the province of Shantung). In youth he was fond of books, and became deeply read in the higher order of literature. Having come of a poor family, however, he was driven to shifts for a subsistence, and being extravagant in his habits he failed to gain the esteem of his neighbours. Being induced to leave home, he went west to Chang-gan, the metropolis, to seek employment, and there obtained a menial office in the service of one of the higher dignitaries. After several years' residence there his abilities brought him favourably to the notice of Chang Pö, the Marquis of Foo-ping.

In B.C. 47, when the various marquises were ordered by the Emperor to select men suitable for the public service, Ch'in Tang was selected by Chang Pö. While waiting for his appointment his father died; but he did not return home to attend the funeral rites. A censorial officer memorialised the throne that Ch'in Tang had failed to **comply** with the mourning regulations; and having been selected **by Chang Pö**, the latter was deemed unfaithful to his charge, and **was mulcted** in the revenue of two hundred families; and at his death he **was canonised** as the Erring marquis. Ch'in Tang was thrown into prison; but after a favourable consideration of his case he was again set at large. After repeated requests to be sent on foreign service, he was at length appointed Assistant Deputy Protector in the Western regions, and left for his post, together with Kan Yen show, the Governor General.

Previous to this, in the time of the Emperor Seuen-te, when the Heung-noo were in a state of anarchy, five Shen-yu being all striving together for the supremacy, China lent her patronage to Hoo-han-seay Shen-yu.

Both this chieftain and Che-che Shen-yu sent their sons to reside at the Chinese Court, where they were duly received. After this, Hoo-han-seay went in person to Court, and had an audience with the Emperor, at which he styled himself a vassal. Che-che, thinking Hoo-han-seay had been induced to tender his submission to China in consequence of his enfeebled state, in which case he would not venture to return to his own country, resolved to occupy the right-hand land on the west. But when China sent a formidable military escort to accompany Hoo-han-seay back, Che-che moved westward, subdued the Woo-këë, Keen-kwän (ancestors of the Kirghiz), and Ting-ling nations, and fixed his capital in Keen-

kwän. Irrate at China for extending its protection to Hoo-han-seay, and not assisting himself, he treated the Chinese envoy Keang Nae-che and his suite with severity and insult.

In B.C. 45, Che-che sent an envoy with offerings, and availed himself of the occasion to request that his son might be excused attendance at Court, as he wished his service in the administration. When the Chinese were deliberating on sending the Guard Cavalry Leader Kūh Keih to escort Che-che's son to his home, the Censor and Great Statesman Kung Yu, and the Professor K'wang Häng said :—"From the *Ch'un ts'ew* history we know that if the empire is to acquiesce in the wishes of the barbarian races, concession cannot be limited to a single instance. Now Che-che is not drawing towards our civilizing influence from disinterested motives. His residence being so extremely distant, the envoy should be ordered to escort his son beyond the boundary and then return." At this point Kūh Keih presented a memorial to the following effect :—"China professes to exercise an unlimited control over the barbarian races. Now having entertained the chief's son for ten years past, a deep and salutary impression has been produced. Is it wise to efface this impression by refusing to send an envoy? Should we merely escort him for a short distance to the boundary and return, like sending off a petty official whom we do not desire longer to entertain, we shall quite extinguish his attachment, and he will give no heed to the Imperial will. It is not prudent to abandon the advantage gained by previous favours, and provoke resentment in the future. The Imperial counsellors consider that there has been no retaliation for the treatment Keang Nae-che received at the hands of Che-che; but they should know that the severities to which our representatives were subjected will naturally produce shame on the part of the offender, which is a natural prelude to becoming a vassal, and when the vassal is oppressed with anxious cares we shall happily succeed in strengthening the authority of China. When exhibiting the illustrious and sacred decree, holding forth the most liberal favours, he will not dare to act a deceitful part. If we cherish birds and beasts, and treat a vassal with no regard to principle, then the Shen-yu—who has been culpable of a great crime—will certainly abscond and take up his residence in a still more remote region; nor will he dare to approach the frontier. Let one envoy be sacrificed to secure the peace of the people. Such is State policy, and such is your servant's desire. He wishes to escort the party to the Court of the Shen-yu." The Emperor laid this memorial before his Court for consideration. Kung Yu again contended that if Kūh Keih went, the empire would certainly have cause to repent it, for it would give rise to troubles. He dissuaded compliance with the proposal. The Right General Ma Fung-she, however, supported the projected escort, and the Emperor gave his sanction. The embassy having been thus decided on, in due time the party reached Che-che's settlement; but the latter was in no mood to conciliate the Chinese, and giving vent to his wrath, he ultimately put to death Kūh Keih and all his retinue.

Knowing that he had thus rendered himself obnoxious to China, and hearing that Hoo-han-seay was becoming more formidable, he fled to the west, and settled in K'ang-keu. There the king of the country gave his daughter in marriage to Che-che, while he in turn gave his daughter in marriage to the King of K'ang-keu. The K'ang-keu treated Che-che with great honour, wishing by means of his prestige to intimidate the other nations. On several occasions Che-che borrowed K'ang-keu troops to attack Woo-sun. He advanced a long way into that country, to the city of Chih-küh, slaughtering and carrying captive the people, and driving off their animals. The Woo-sun troops did not dare to pursue them to the western border, the country being waste and without inhabitants for 1,000 *le*. Che-che now began to assume for his domain the status of a great kingdom, being renowned for his dignity and loaded with honours; and being furthermore haughtily elated by his victories, he refused to render the rites due to the King of K'ang-keu. In the consequent misunderstanding, Che-che's anger rose to that extent that he put to death the daughter of the K'ang-keu king, some of his nobles, and several hundreds of the people, some of whom he dismembered, and threw their bodies into the Too-luy River. He then set the people to work to build a city, having 500 men at it daily for two years, till it was finished. He also sent envoys to chide Hō-soo (the Asi), Ta-wan (Fergana), and other countries into sending yearly offerings, which they did not dare to withhold. China sent three envoys to K'ang-keu for the dead bodies of Kūh Keih and his followers; but they were oppressed and insulted by Che-che, who refused to receive the Imperial rescript, and through the Governor General forwarded a letter to the throne, saying:—"Wretched and miserable as I am, it is my desire to become attached to the empire, submitting to its plans, and I will send my son to reside at the Chinese Court." This was said in haughty raillery.

In B.C. 36, Ch'in Tang went to the Western regions with Kan Yen-show. Now Ch'in was a man of indomitable bravery, and was fertile in comprehensive designs, having an abundance of deep-laid stratagems at his command. He was, moreover, fond of adventure. On passing any city, town, hill, or river, he was accustomed to ascend some eminence to get a view of the position. When he had received his foreign commission, he took counsel with Kan Yen-show, saying:—"The Northern and Eastern barbarian races are naturally disposed to submit to the larger tribes. Originally the Western regions belonged to the Heung-noo. Now the fame of Che-che Shen-yu's dignity is spread far and wide. He insultingly threatens Woo-sun and Ta-wan, and is constantly scheming for their subjection to K'ang-keu. Should he get possession of these two kingdoms, attack E-leih on the north, take Gan-seih on the west, and push back the Yuē-she and Woo-yih-shan-le on the south, in a few years all the settled kingdoms will be in danger. His people are active, fearless, and fond of fighting; and having obtained several victories, if they are much longer tolerated they will certainly become the scourge of the Western regions. Although

Che-che lives at an extreme distance, yet the barbarian races have no impregnable cities or strongly defended fortresses. If we take the available troops from the military colonies, and urge on all the forces from Woo-sun straight up to his city, should he take to flight he will find no asylum to receive him; or should he stand on the defensive he will be unable to protect himself; and so by one morning's work we shall achieve a merit that will be remembered for a thousand years." Kan perfectly agreed with these suggestions, and wished to memorialise for permission to act on them. Ch'in however replied:—"When the Emperor holds a consultation with the dukes and high Ministers about any scheme of great importance, if it does not commend itself to the whole assembly, it will certainly not be carried out." Kan, however, still persisted in postponing action. It happened shortly after this that he was laid aside by a protracted sickness; when Ch'in took upon himself single-handed to call out the troops of the settled kingdoms, and the Woo-ke Deputy Protector of Keu-sze, with the trained contingents of the military colonies. When Kan heard of these proceedings he rose in excitement, and wished to put a stop to them. Ch'in then in wrath laid his hand on his sword, and said to Kan indignantly:—"The great body of the troops are already assembled. Menial! would you throw an obstacle in the way?" Kan eventually assented. The forces were gathered in brigades, and arranged in ranks as usual, with the additional companies of the Expanding Dignity, the White Tiger, and the United Cavalry, the Chinese and foreign troops together forming an army of over 40,000. Kan and Ch'in then memorialised the throne, inculcating themselves, and stating the particulars of the military enterprise, in which they had ventured to act on their own responsibility. The same day they called out the army, dividing the troops by ranks, and separating them into six companies. Three of the companies went by the southern road, across the Tsung-ling Mountains, following the path through Ta-wan. The three other companies, which were under the personal command of the Governor General, started from the kingdom of Wan-suh, advanced by the northern road to Chih-küh, crossed Woo-sun, and passed over the border of K'ang-keu, to the west of the Teen Lake. The assistant King of K'ang-keu, named Paou-teen, had made a raid at the head of several thousand horsemen on the country east of the city of Chih-küh, killing and taking captive more than a thousand of the Great Kwän-me's subjects, and carrying off immense droves of cattle. Subsequently, coming up with the rear of the Chinese army, they made a serious plundering attack on the baggage train. Ch'in now giving the reins to his foreign troops, they killed 460 of the enemy, recovered 470 of the people that had been carried off, and delivered them back to the Great Kwän-me; but used the horses, oxen, and sheep as food for the army. They also took one of Paou-teen's nobles named E-noo-tüh, and advanced beyond the eastern border of K'ang-keu; but the troops were restrained from acts of brigandage. Ch'in then secretly sent for T'oo-mih, a noble of the country, and after a

solemn conversation they pledged their mutual fidelity by drinking together. T'oo-mih was then sent forward to lead the way for the army. When within about 60 *le* of the Shen-yu's city they pitched their camp, and caught two more K'ang-keu nobles, named Keu-sih-tsze and Nan-kae-mow, of whom they made use as guides. Keu-sih-tsze was T'oo-mih's maternal uncle, and both were aggrieved by the conduct of the Shen-yu, by which means Ch'in gained an intimate knowledge of the state of Che-che's affairs. The following day the army advanced, but when within 30 *le* of the city the camp was again pitched. The Shen-yu then sent a messenger to inquire what the Chinese troops had come for; to whom the following reply was committed:—"The Shen-yu formerly addressed a letter to the throne, saying: 'Wretched and miserable as I am, it is my desire to become attached to the empire, submitting to the plans of the powerful Han, when I will go to render homage in person.' Now the Emperor, compassionating the case of your highness in having abandoned a great kingdom, and condescended to submit to the condition of K'ang-keu, has sent the military commander under the Governor General to meet your highness with your wives and children. But fearing the inhabitants might be moved with alarm, we have not ventured to approach the city." This was followed by a succession of correspondence between the parties; till at length Kan and Ch'in forwarded a message to the following effect:—"We have made a long journey for the sake of your highness; yet up to the present time you have sent no prince of distinction or grandee to meet the general, to receive the Imperial instructions, or to tender his services. Why is your highness surreptitiously concocting some great scheme of deception, while you omit the rites of hospitality? After their long and weary journey, men and animals are utterly broken down, and the store of provisions is exhausted, so that it is to be feared we shall not be able to return. We beg your highness, in concert with your high Ministers, to devise some means for our relief." On the following day they advanced towards Che-che's city on the Too-luy river. They halted at a distance of three *le*, and formed into rank. Round the city could be seen flags and streamers of every colour, and several hundred men in armour on the walls. More than a hundred cavaliers were riding about under the walls, and about the same number of foot soldiers were clustered round the gates like scales on the back of a fish. These seemed to be planning the disposal of their troops; while those on the wall were bawling out defiance to the Chinese army. A hundred or more horsemen rode towards the camp, where the troops all stood ready with their bows bent, but the horsemen drawing aside, evaded the arrows. The Chinese detached a party to attack those round the city gates, when horse and foot all sought refuge inside. Kan and Ch'in then gave orders to beat to arms through the camp, and the sound of the drums was heard at the city walls. The city was defended on all sides at the entrenchments and gates of the barricades; the shield-bearers formed the van in the attack, and these were followed by the lancers

and cross-bow men. The archers aimed at the occupants of the galleries inside the city, when the latter rushed down and took up a position outside the earthworks, and inside the double stockades. There the arrows of the besieged succeeded in killing and wounding some of the attacking party. The besiegers then collected fuel and set fire to the stockades. At night several hundred horsemen tried to make their escape, but lost their lives in the attempt. When the Shen-yu first heard that the Chinese troops had arrived, he suspected the King of K'ang-keu, irritated against him, had called in the aid of the Chinese; but learning afterwards that the troops of Woo-sun and the other kingdoms were all in arms, he found there was no asylum open to him. He therefore returned again after he had left the city, saying:—"My best plan is to hold out on the defensive. The Chinese troops having come a great distance, will be unable to sustain a lengthened siege." Putting on his armour he ascended a gallery with his consorts and ladies to the number of several tens, all armed with the bow and arrows, presenting a bold front to the besiegers. At length an arrow from below struck the Shen-yu on the nose, while the ladies were all nearly dead with exhaustion and alarm. The Shen-yu descended, mounted his horse, rode off shooting as he went, and took refuge in the ladies' apartments. After midnight an opening was effected in the stockades; when those inside crossed the earthworks, ascended the city wall and shouted. At the same time, over 10,000 K'ang-keu mounted troops, who were stationed at ten or more places all round outside the stockades, answered the shouts of those within. During the night there was much running to the camp, greatly to the detriment of the Chinese cause. By daybreak the fire was raging in all directions, and the air was rent with the joyous shouts of the victors, while the noise of the drums and cymbals shook the very earth. The K'ang-keu troops then led the Chinese in on all sides; and the shield-men got within the earthworks. More than a hundred persons, male and female, of the Shen-yu's family ran to take refuge in the inner apartments of the palace. The Chinese set fire to the building, and strove to gain admission, when the Shen-yu was speared by the troops, and the military deputy, T'oo Heun, cut off his head. In the palace were found two of the Chinese envoy's tokens of credence, and the silk presents and despatches brought by Kūh Keih and others. The captors delivered up the prisoners they had taken. The consort and heir-apparent of the Shen-yu, with distinguished princes and subordinates 1,518 persons in all, were decapitated; 145 were carried captive; and more than 1,000 submitted. These were distributed among the fifteen princes of the surrounding kingdoms, who had sent to assist in the siege. At this stage of the proceedings Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang prepared a statement to lay before the throne, to the following effect:—"Your servants have understood that the great theory of empire is unity. In ancient times there was the empire of Tang Yu, and now there is the formidable Han. Hoo-han-seay, the Shen-yu of the Heung-noo, has already declared himself a northern border vassal.

But Che-che Shen-yu rebelled, and would not acknowledge his crimes; while the people on the west of the Ta-hea all said that he could not be brought under vassalage to the formidable Han. Che-che's inhuman violence was being painfully felt among the people, and his great crimes cried aloud to Heaven for vengeance. Your servants, Yen-show and Tang, taking command of the voluntary forces, have carried out the retribution of Heaven. Relying on your Imperial Majesty, the spiritual intelligences and the dual powers, and looking to the celestial indications, at early dawn we assaulted the ranks of the refractory, defeated the enemy, and decapitated Che-che with his distinguished princes and subordinates. It would now be well to suspend their heads at the Barbarian Hotel in Kaou Street in the capital, in order that it may be clearly known to a distance of 10,000 *le*, that whoever contravenes the institutions of the formidable Han, however great the distance, the crime will certainly be punished." This matter was referred to the proper board for decision; when the Prime Minister K'wang Häng, and the Grand Censor Fan Yen-show, delivered the following as their views:—"Were the heads of Che-che and his distinguished princes exhibited through the various kingdoms, the several barbarian races would all then inevitably become acquainted with the facts. According to the *Yuë-ling* section of the 'Book of Rites,' 'Spring is the time for covering up rotten bones, and burying putrid flesh.' Consequently the heads ought not to be suspended." The Carriage Cavalry General Heu Kea, and the Right General Wang Shang said:—"According to the 'Spring and Autumn Annals,' when there was a state assembly at Keä-küh, the jester She having ridiculed the princes, he was put to death at the instigation of Confucius. Although it was then the height of summer, the head and feet of the victim were suspended at different gates. The heads ought now to be suspended for ten days, and then buried." An Imperial rescript then ordered the generals to hold a council on the subject. Now it so happened that on a previous occasion the Board Clerk Shih Hëen had wished Kan Yen-show to marry his sister; but Kan had refused. At the same time K'wang Häng and Fan Yen-show, who were both disgusted with Ch'in Tang's haughty bearing, brought the following charges against him:—"During the siege, Ch'in had kept an eye on the treasure that was captured; and when it was brought into camp he had made an unlawful appropriation of the same. As Superintending Official and Deputy Protector he had forwarded letters along the road to cause recruits to be raised. In proof of this we may refer to his memorial, in which he says:—'Your servant, in concert with the officers and troops, has put to death Che-che Shen-yu. He has happily succeeded in taking captives and crushing the spirit of insubordination, thus restoring order among the people to a distance of 10,000 *le*. It would be well to send an envoy to meet and congratulate the victors on the road.' Now it is plain that the superintending official has rebelled, and taken the recruits with him. As proof of this we may refer to what he says of having taken vengeance on

the Shen-yu. Should the Emperor send troops with orders to suspend the heads and prepare entertainments along the road, it will be in excess of military custom." When they came to discuss the question of merit, Shih Hëen and K'wang Hăng thus expressed their views :—"Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang have raised an army on their own responsibility, and by their overbearing conduct have fortunately been successful in escaping chastisement. If further rank and land be conferred on them, then future envoys, striving to obtain a marquissate, will succeed in raising troubles among the barbarians, and thus involve the empire in difficulties, which will gradually become inextricable." The Emperor, however, looked with favour upon the merit of Kan and Ch'in, and took exception to the counsel of K'wang Hăng and Shih Hëen. The consultation having lasted for a long time without arriving at any decision, the Clan Rector Lew Heang laid the following memorial before the throne :—"Che-che Shen-yu imprisoned and put to death our envoys and their followers, and his innumerable barbarities had become notorious, so that our prestige in foreign countries was being injured, and our influence destroyed; being a source of grief to all the Ministers of your Imperial Majesty. In considering the question of chastisement, your Majesty in your luminous penetration has not forgotten that Kan Yen-show, the Governor General of the Western regions, and Ch'in Tang, the Assistant Deputy Protector, rested on the indication of your Sacred will, trusting to the spiritual intelligences. While ruling the princes of all the barbarian races, and holding the control of the troops of the various cities, they yet advanced in person to the most distant regions, passing through a hundred unheard-of dangers. Then making an incursion on K'ang-keu, they destroyed the five-fold defended city, pulling down the satrap's flag. They beheaded Che-che, and suspended the Imperial banner at a distance of more than 10,000 *le*. They exalted the prestige of the empire to the west of the Kwän-lun Mountains; they swept away the disgrace of Kūh Keih's affair, and established the most resplendent merit. Now the barbarians will tremblingly submit, being all filled with trepidation. Hoo-han-seay, seeing that Che-che is punished, will be moved with joy, and also with fear; and when the rumours reach him, he will hasten to show his allegiance by prostrating himself before the throne. Wishing to preserve the northern border territory, the Shen-yus through all ages will acknowledge themselves vassals. Thus merit of a thousand years' standing has been achieved, and peace has been secured for 10,000 generations. There is no higher instance of patriotism among the Ministers than this. In former times, when Fang Shuh and Keih-foo, Great Statesmen of the Chow dynasty, chastised the Heen-yun for King Seu-en, the barbarians all submitted, as commemorated in the "Book of Odes" (Part II. Book iii. Ode 4, ver. 4) :—

" Numerous were his war chariots,
 Numerous and in grand array,
 Like the clap or the roll of thunder their onset.

Intelligent, and true is Fang Shuh.
 He had gone and smitten the Heen-yun,
 And the tribes of King came, awed by his majesty."

We read in the "Book of Changes":—"It is a good thing to behead the chief offender, to obtain the submission of the rebellious class." This commends the slaughter of the head criminal, since it causes all the refractory to return to their allegiance. Now the capital punishment inflicted and the trepidation created by Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang is a feat not equalled even by the beheading of the chief offender of the "Book of Changes," or the thunder-clap or roll of the "Book of Odes." In speaking of great merit, little faults are not noticed. In selecting an object of exquisite beauty, petty blemishes are tolerated. Sze-ma Fä says:—"In rewarding military merit, a month should not be allowed to elapse; for the people should quickly appreciate the benefits of well-doing."

By the rapid attainment of military merit, the service of the men is enhanced. When Keih-foo returned to Chow, he received liberal gifts; as it is said in the "Book of Odes" (Part II. Book iii, Ode 3, ver. 6):—

"Keih-foo feasts and is glad;
 Great happiness is his.
 In returning from Haou,
 Distant and long had been our march."

At 1,000 *le* they considered Haou to be very distant; how much more extreme the exertion when 10,000 *le* off! As Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang have not received this great happiness for their reward, while on the other hand they have risked their lives, and long humbled themselves before the ranks, they have not been treated in a way likely to encourage meritorious soldiers who are expert with their lances. Formerly, when Hwan the Duke of Tse had the merit of doing honour to the Chow before him, and the guilt of exterminating Heang behind, superior men considered his merit had made amends for his delinquency, and were silent regarding his conduct in the past. Again, Le Kwang-le, the Urh-sze General, sacrificed an army of fifty thousand, and spent an untold amount of silver in a laborious service of four years, and merely obtained thirty swift horses for his trouble; and although he secured the decapitation of Wuh-kwa, the King of Ta-wan, this was a very inadequate return for the expense. His own sins were very many; yet in consideration of his military achievements for a distance of 10,000 *le*, the Emperor Woo-te overlooked his faults. He was then promoted Marquis of Pae-leang, with three high Ministers, an emolument of 2,000 piculs of rice, and a retinue of over a hundred persons. Now K'ang-keu was stronger than Ta-wan, the renown of Che-che was greater than that of the king of Ta-wan, and the crime of killing an envoy is much heavier than that of retaining horses. But Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang have not troubled the empire for troops, nor have they used a bushel of the

empire's rice; so that in this respect their merit is a hundred times greater than that of the Urh-sze general. Further, when Chang Hwuy was about to attack Woo-sun, and when Ching Keih went to meet the Jih-ch'uh prince coming in person, the earth was rent with acclamation, and they received rank; hence it was said that their martial dignity and laborious service were greater than those of Fang Shuh and Keih-foo; and their manifest merits compensating their faults, were even more abundant than those of Duke Hwan of Tse and the Urh-sze general. Now the merit of the recent events is higher than those of Ching Keih, Marquis of Gan-yuen, and Chang Hwuy, Marquis of Chang-lo. But the great merit of Kan and Ch'in has not been proclaimed, while their petty faults have been overstated. Your servant is oppressed with the opinion that the heads of the malefactors ought to be exposed to view for the proper period, and duly inserted in the records. Absolve the victors for past faults, and honour and prefer them by rank and position as an encouragement to the meritorious." Consequent on this, the Emperor issued the following rescript:—"Che-che Shen-yu of the Heung-noo, in contravention of established rites, detained and put to death China's envoy and suite, rendering himself exceedingly obnoxious to the principles of justice. How can I forget this? Consequent on this, much ineffectual travelling took place, but there was no invasion of the offender's territory. The army was harassed by painful expeditions, wearying the troops till they were well-nigh exhausted; so that we were obliged to endure the wrong in secret, without giving utterance to our feelings. Now Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang, watching their opportunity, took advantage of the time to secure the aid of the various kingdoms; and raising an army on their own responsibility, peremptorily invaded the domain of the delinquent. Relying on the spiritual intelligences of heaven, earth, and the ancestral temple, they took vengeance on Che-che Shen-yu, decapitating him, together with his consort, his nobles, distinguished princes and subordinates, to the number of a thousand in all. Although in this matter they have overstepped the rules of propriety and transgressed the law, yet they have not troubled the empire for a single man's service, nor have they spent a *tael* from the Imperial treasury; but supplied themselves with provisions from the enemy's stores, for the use of the army. They have thus established their merit at a distance of more than 10,000 *le*. All the barbarians are moved with awe by their prestige, and their renown has spread to the remotest seas. They have rendered a service to the empire in improving the character of the troops; and those who settle down on the borders may now rest in peace. Still they have rendered themselves amenable to the punishment of death or exile, and their crimes have been under consideration by the authorities. But I, feeling great compassion for them, hereby grant a free pardon to Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang." The Emperor then ordered the dukes and high ministers to consult together as to their promotion. The assembled deliberators decided that the rule prescribed by military

law, regarding the capture and decapitation of a Shen-yu, ought to be complied with. K'wang Hǎng and Shih Hēēn, however, said that Che-che having fled into exile, had lost his kingdom; and clandestinely exalting his pretensions, he was not really a Shen-yu. The Emperor quoted the precedent in the case of Ching Kēh, the Marquis of Gan-yuen, who was promoted to the benefice of a thousand families. After hearing some further objections from K'wang Hǎng and Shih Hēēn, Kan Yen-show was gazetted as Marquis of E-ching, while Ch'in received rank as Marquis of Kwan-nuy. Each was endowed with a benefice of 300 families, and had a bonus of a hundred pounds weight of gold. The event was declared before God and in the ancestral temple, while a general amnesty was proclaimed throughout the empire. Kan Yen-show was inducted as Deputy Protector of Chang-shwuy, and Ch'in Tang was made Deputy Protector of Seay-shing. Kan Yen-show was successively removed to the offices of Deputy Protector of the City Gates and Army-defending Protector General, and died during his incumbency.

Soon after the accession of Ching-te (B.C. 32), Ch'in's old opponent, K'wang Hǎng, again memorialized, saying:—"While under Imperial commission, with an emolument of 2,000 piculs, Ch'in Tang issued his own commands among the barbarian nations. He was himself the first unjustly to appropriate the booty taken in K'ang-keu, and warned his subordinate officers that in such an extremely distant region matters would never be inquired into. Although this took place anterior to his pardon, still it is not right that he should be in a position of trust." Ch'in stood exculpated from these charges, however. After this he laid a statement before the throne to the effect that the hostage prince of K'ang-keu was not really the king's son. Upon investigation it was found that he was truly the king's son, and Ch'in was thrown into prison on a capital charge. While still in durance, the Grand Middle Great Statesman, Kuh Yung, laid the following apology for Ch'in before the throne:—"Your servant has heard that Duke Wān of Tsin caused Tsze-yuh Tih-shin, an officer of Tsou, to sit at a side mat. When Ma-fuh, the Seaou General, was overbearing in his conduct to Ts'in, Leen Po of Seaou could not bear to observe troops in the Well defile. More recently, during the Han, when Che-che had his capital at Wei, although a Heung-noo, he did not dare to go south to the Sha-mo desert. From such instances as these we may see that the general who is victorious in battle is as claws and teeth to the empire, and may not be treated slightly. When the superior man hears the sound of the drums, his thoughts naturally revert to his servant in command of the troops. It appears to me that Ch'in Tang, the Marquis of Kwan-nuy, having formerly been appointed Assistant to the Governor General of the Western regions was enraged at Che-che's unprincipled conduct; and pitying the king's inability to chastise him, he excogitated a plan of action, impetuously called out an army of patriotic braves, and hastily got them in train. When the troops were set in

motion they made a rapid march across Woo-sun, and assembled at a distant point on the Too-luy river. Destroying the triply-fortified city, he decapitated Che-che, and reported the punishment of the ten years' refugee, thus wiping off the disgrace of the border official stations. His prestige has overawed all the barbarians, and the fame of his military prowess has extended to the Western sea. From the commencement of the Han dynasty, no general had been found competent to invade the outside regions. Now Ch'in Tang stands charged with perjury, and having been cast into prison, has been long in bonds; and although much time has elapsed, his case is not yet decided. The officials at whose instigation he is confined wish him to be submitted to capital punishment. In former times, when Pih K'e, the Ts'in General, had captured Ying-too in the south, and outwitted Seaou-kwa in the north, he was afterwards put to death at T'oo-yew for some trifling fault; and the people of Ts'in all shed tears of compassion for his fate. Now should Ch'in Tang be submitted to the executioner's knife, there will be an instantaneous outburst of tears of blood for a distance of more than 10,000 *le*. His meritorious deeds have been presented in the ancestral temple, and declared before God at the annual sacrifice. The armour-clad warriors, who invariably look for justice, will deem this a crime, and an inglorious enormity. 'The Book of Chow' says:—'The proper attitude for a prince is to remember men's merits and forget their faults.' When dogs and horses exert themselves for their masters, their service is rewarded by cloths and coverings. How much more should the meritorious service of a Minister of the empire be acknowledged! I fear your Imperial Majesty has disregarded the sound of the drum; and not having examined the meaning of the 'Book of Chow,' has forgotten to give the cloth or the covering to a useful servant. Should Ch'in Tang die, his retainers will consult together, and there will be disquietude among the people, like the indignation of the people of Ts'in. That is not the way to encourage Ministers to brave difficulties to the death for their country." When this memorial reached the Emperor he set Ch'in at liberty, but deprived him of his titles and reduced him to the ranks.

Several years after this, Twan Hwuy-tsung, the Governor General of the Western regions, being surrounded by Woo-sun troops, despatched a horse express to Court with a letter, signifying his desire to raise troops from the various Western kingdoms and from Tun-hwang for self-protection. The Prime Minister Wang Shang, the Generalissimo Wang Fung, and all the high officials, deliberated together for several days without coming to any decision; when Wang Fung suggested:—"Ch'in Tang is fertile in devices, and practised in the ways of foreigners. His opinion might be asked." An Imperial rescript then summoned Ch'in to the palace. It happened that his arms were paralysed from the effects of the cold and sickness brought on at the time he attacked Che-che. When he entered the palace the Emperor consequently dispensed with the customary prostrations in his case; and Twan Hwuy-

tsung's memorial was shown to him. Ch'in excused himself, remarking :—"The high civil and military magnates are all men of wisdom and ability, intelligent and prudent; but your humble servant has been cast aside as infirm and useless, and is now incapable of planning any great undertaking." The Emperor said :—"There are superior men for State emergencies. Do not withhold your counsel." Ch'in replied :—"Your servant is of opinion that there is no great cause for anxiety." "How so?" said the monarch. Ch'in continued :—"Five foreign soldiers are equal to one Chinese. How is this? The swords they use are rough and blunt; and their bows are of the clumsiest description. Now I hear they have acquired something of Chinese ingenuity in the manufacture; still they are but as three equal to one of ours. Again, according to the military canons, when the guest is double and the host only half, then war ensues. But the multitude encircling Twan Hwuy-tsung are insufficient to conquer him. Let not your Imperial Majesty be disquieted. Light troops travel at the rate of 50 *le*, while heavy troops make only 30 *le*. Now Twan Hwuy-tsung wishes to raise troops from the various kingdoms, and from Tun-hwang. In course of time they would arrive, and might serve for retaliation, but they would be of no use to deliver in a case of emergency." The Emperor said :—"How is the siege to be raised? In what time will it certainly be raised?" Ch'in, knowing that the Woo-sun force was like a heap of tiles without any bond of union, and would be unable to maintain the siege for long, judging by former events not more than a few days, answered :—"The siege is already raised." Then doubling up his fingers to number the days, he said :—"Within five days you ought to have good news." In four days a military despatch arrived, with the news that the siege was raised. The Generalissimo Wang Fung remarked in a memorial, that—"Among the inner councillors on State business, none is better able to arrive at a correct conclusion than Ch'in Tang. He is clear as to the laws, he judiciously discriminates according to the position of affairs, and in tendering his views he pays great attention to the practical. When he receives money from others, he embodies his financial report in a memorial; and this has eventually brought him to ruin."

Ch'in was originally on good terms with Keae Wan-nëen, the Superintendent of Public Works. Since the time of the construction of the Wei tombs during the reign of Yuen-te, the people had not been removed to any new city. Several years after Ching-te had erected the Ts'oo tombs, the work was again carried on south of the pavilion devoted to the music of the Pa tombs. Keae Wan-nëen taking counsel with Ch'in, the latter said :—"The work executed by the architect Yang Kwang-e in the time of Woo-te, was submitted to the Emperor for approbation. Having myself induced the Superintendent of Public Works, with the Superintendent of Agriculture and Inner Deputy Käng Show-chang, to build the T'oo tombs, the rank of Marquis of Kwan-nuy was conferred on me; and the Superintendent of Public Works, Ching-ma

Yen-nēen, was placed on the civil list at 2,000 piculs of rice. Now the great merit of repairing the Ts'oo tombs and building the city having been completed, Keae Wan-nēen ought to receive a handsome reward. My wife and family are in Chang-gan; my children were brought up in Chang-gan, and do not like the east country. I may ask to be removed, and might receive the gift of a house and land all complete." The thought commended itself to Ch'in, who laid the matter of promotion before the throne, saying:—"The land of the Ts'oo tombs, which belongs to the capital, is very rich, and might be erected into a district. For more than thirty years past the people of the empire have not been removed. Wealthy men on the east of the barrier are becoming very numerous; they are marking out the good land for themselves, and are availing themselves of the services of the poor people. These latter might be removed to the Ts'oo tombs, in order to strengthen the capital, and weaken the feudal princes, which would tend to equalise the wealth of the middle and lower classes. Tang wishes to be the first to move to the Ts'oo tombs with his family and dependants." The Emperor fell in with this scheme, and began the erection of the city of the Chang tombs, intending afterwards to populate it with people from various regions. Keae Wan-nēen imposed on himself the task of finishing the city wall in three years, but died before it was completed. The Ministers then strongly represented the unsuitability of the site. The question was referred to the authorities in charge for deliberation. The latter all said:—"The site of the Chang tombs being low, in order to raise it to the proper height the earth has to be heaped up like a mountain, while it is proposed to place the adjoining buildings on the level ground. The alien earth will not be protected by the invisible intelligences; nor can the low outer portion be defended by troops. The expense of the work will amount to millions, and will have to be carried on at night by candle-light. The expense of bringing earth from the eastern hills will make it as costly as grain. When the work is carried on for several years, distress from fatigue will be felt throughout the empire; the Imperial house will be wearied out, and, the resources of the treasury will be exhausted; while the masses of the people will bitterly bewail their fate. The ancient tombs were raised with the natural earth of the locality, according to celestial principles, the height being regulated by those of the ancestors adjoining. Ten years of meritorious service has already been expended on them. It would be well to return again to the ancient tombs, and not remove the people." The Emperor then issued a rescript, ordering a cessation of the works at the Chang tombs, the words of which are found in the "Record of the Reign of Ching-te." The Prime Ministers and censors requested that the houses in the city of the Chang tombs might be abandoned. Before their memorial was handed over to the proper board, Ch'in was asked why his official residence was not transferred, so that he had no occasion again to remove? To this he replied:—"As district officer, I am obedient to the wish of the Ministers; still

there will be another removal." At that time, Shang, the Marquis of Ching-too, who was newly-appointed Cavalry Superintendent, General of the Guard and Assistant Administrator, who had been on bad terms with Ch'in, hearing these words, said:—"Ch'in has been exciting the multitude," and he was thrown into prison. It appeared on investigating his crimes that formerly when Ch'in was Cavalry Protector General, Wang Mang laid a letter before the throne, saying:—"My father dying early in life, I his only son was not promoted; my mother, Ming-keun, applying herself with still more unwearied assiduity in the service of the empress-dowager." Being entitled to promotion he was eventually made Marquis of Sin-too. After this, Kow Tsan, the Protector General of Shwuy-häng, who was uterine brother of the empress-dowager, died; and his son K'ieh was among the Imperial attendants. The widow of Kow Tsan wishing to obtain promotion for K'ieh, Ch'in Tang received fifty pounds weight of gold from her, with the promise that he would forward a memorial for her according to her desire. Now it happened that Chang Kwang, the Governor of Hung-nung, stood charged with having received a million cash, for forwarding a fraudulent and unprincipled petition to the throne. The Emperor ordered an investigation; and fearing he should be cast into prison, he sent a messenger to inform Ch'in. The two million cash for which Ch'in had given his promise belonged to the same class of offence for which the other had been impeached. This took place before he received his free pardon. Afterwards, Hih Lung, the Governor of the region of Tung-lae, sent a person to make inquiry of Ch'in regarding the matter. Ch'in said this was for the payment of petty transactions connected with what is called the Black-gate, of which the disbursements and receipts are at no stated times. Hence Hih Lung said it was not a periodical payment. Again, as to his remark that "there will be another removal," the words had been passed from mouth to mouth by ten or more persons; and the Prime Ministers and censors memorialised to the effect that:—"Ch'in had excited the multitude to evil; and had unjustly attempted to impose perverse views on the sovereign; his words being highly improper, and greatly wanting in reverence. T'ing Hwuy and Seau Tsäng-show in consultation have considered that if this iniquity is not a capital crime, it is difficult to know how to class the offence. Your servants in employing subordinates have erred in judgment; and have therefore brought this case before T'ing Hwuy for decision. Let unparalleled cases be first heard, that the punishments may be rectified, and human life respected. The intelligent sovereign, compassionating the people; has issued an order, which has already been published, to put a stop to operations at the Chang tombs, that the officials and people may not be removed. But Ch'in having falsified the Imperial intention, saying, 'There will be another removal,' although the words are calculated to stir up a movement; yet as they have not been widely circulated, there has been no rising among the people, and it can scarcely be said that he has excited the multitude. Ch'in

having fraudulently fabricated a statement, however, for which there was no foundation, his words are highly improper, and greatly wanting in reverence." An Imperial order was then issued, which said:—"Yen Hwuy and Seaou Tsäng-show have judged rightly. Ch'in has the merit of having formerly reduced Che-che Shen-yu. Let him be reduced to the level of the common people, and removed to the border." The order said also:—"Formerly Keae Wan-nëën, the Superintendent of Public Works, fraudulently and disloyally concocted false statements, and made oppressive exactions; vexing the people with troubles, and making use of their services in violent and oppressive labours. Numbers of troops who had incurred the death penalty were seen in bands. Bitterness spread through the masses, and from sea to sea their hopes were tempered with complaint. Although he has received a free pardon, he must not reside in the capital." Ch'in Tang and Keae Wan-nëën were consequently removed to Tun-hwang. After a time, the Governor of Tun-hwang memorialised thus:—"Formerly Ch'in Tang personally chastised Che-che Shen-yu, and his prestige having spread through the foreign kingdoms, it is not suitable for him to be near the border strongholds." By Imperial order he was then removed to Gan-ting (now the district of Lung-tih in the prefecture of Ping-leang, in Kansuh province). While there, the Counsellor Käng Yuh presented a letter to the throne, pleading Ch'in's cause, against the injustice to which he had been submitted, saying:—"Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang have expanded the sacred influence of the Han, and made known its prestige in remotely distant parts. They wiped out the shame for many years' standing of the Imperial family; reduced the intractable princes of the remotest regions; and attached the most ungovernable captives at a distance of 10,000 *le*. How was this? The former Emperor treated them kindly, and issued an illustrious rescript proclaiming their merits. He also changed the style of the years (B.C. 33), that the memory of their actions might be everlastingly handed down through changing generations. Corresponding with this, a white tiger was presented from the southern regions; and there was no alarm or precautions taken at the border. When the sovereign was laid on a sick bed, the same idea was still carried out, nor were the meritorious forgot. The president of a supreme board was on several occasions sent to institute inquiries, and the Prime Ministers were constrained to acknowledge their merits. Only the Prime Minister K'wang Häng made objections, and refused to accede. Kan Yen-show and Ch'in Tang were promoted to benefices of several hundred families, and now we see how such meritorious Ministers and distinguished warriors lose hope. When the Emperor Ching-te came to the throne, he obtained the prestige of successful invasion; the troops were at rest; the Imperial family was undisturbed; and the depraved and slanderous insinuations of great Ministers had little weight at Court. Difficulties from first to last have arisen from a desire to guard against imaginary contingencies. Some wishing to have undivided control of the prestige, merit had

to give way to envy, and Ch'in was treated as a blockhead. Being unjustly held a prisoner, he was unable to exculpate himself. Eventually, for no crime committed, he was exiled to Tun-hwang in his old age; which being directly on the high-road to the Western regions, caused officers and subjects of irreproachable name to turn on their heels, while Ch'in himself became the laughing-stock of the remaining captives who had been in the service of Che-che. Truly it is mournful. Hitherto those who have received a commission to the outer barbarians have lost no opportunity of adducing the chastisement of Che-che, in order to exalt the resources of the Chinese empire. Now to put forward the merits of men in order to frighten the enemy, while the persons of the same are sacrificed to please insinuating flatterers, how truly painful! In the time of peace we should not forget danger; in the season of prosperity we ought not to ignore the possibility of decay. Now the Imperial house does not possess the well-filled treasury, resulting from the many years of economical government of Wān-te; nor has it the subjects courageous and distinguished for taking the enemy that were presented and received at the Court of Woo-te. Ch'in Tang is the only one that can claim that honour. If past ages should not have attained to the glory of your Imperial Majesty, it is to be hoped your Imperial house will look back and record the meritorious, and put the seal of promotion on his tomb, in order to encourage the emulation of posterity. Ch'in Tang happily succeeded in obtaining merit during the sacred years of your reign; but ere long, depraved Ministers gaining the ascendancy, he was scourged away to a distant abode. Should he flee into exile, skulking in obscurity, and die in a homeless land, good men looking at his case from a distance will reckon thus: Ch'in's merit is unattainable for ages, and his faults are such as are common to human nature. Such is Ch'in, and although his bones and sinews are rent asunder, and his bare body exposed to the heat and cold, yet still he is under the control of mere talkers, and is held captive by jealous Ministers. On this account your servant is still more distressed for the Imperial house." On the presentation of this memorial the Emperor recalled Ch'in, and he ended his days in Chang-gan. Some years after his death, when Wang Mang the Duke of Ganhān, held the reins of government, calling to mind the former favours of Ch'in Tang, and desiring to flatter the empress-dowager, he reported the merit of chastising Che-che, in the temple of Yuen-te, whom he honoured by designating Kaou-tsung. In remembrance of the former merits of Ch'in Tang and Kan Yen-show, he bestowed large gifts on Po and How-ching, but made no gift to T'oo Heun. He then further promoted Ts'een, the grandson of Kan Yen-show, to a benefice of 1,600 families. Ch'in Tang was canonized as Robust Marquis of Po-hoo; and his son Fung was made Marquis of Po-hoo. T'oo Heun was made Marquis of Taou-teih.

B. The following is the Memoir of Chang Këen, as given in the "Tsëen Han Shoo," Book lxi, fol. 1-6.

CHANG KËEN was a native of Han-chung. In the *keen-yuen* period (B.C. 140-135), when he held a subordinate office in the Council, some of the subjects of Heung-noo reported that the Yuë-she had been defeated by their countrymen, who had converted the king's skull into a drinking bowl. The Yuë-she had decamped under a strong feeling of irritation against the Heung-noo; but standing alone, it was hopeless to attempt retaliation. On hearing this, the Chinese—who were looking for some occasion to extinguish the power of the Heung-noo—wished to open up communication with their old neighbours the Yuë-she, but unfortunately the way to their new settlement lay through the Heung-noo country. When it became a question who should undertake the commission, Chang Këen requested the appointment, and was accredited to the Yuë-she, to be accompanied by Kan-foo, a slave of the T'ang-yih family. They left the country by Lung-se, and attempted the passage through the Heung-noo; but were stopped by the latter, and taken before the Shen-yu. The chieftain thus addressed them when he had ascertained their object:—"The Yuë-she dwell to the north of my territory. How can the Chinese think of holding communication with them? Should I wish to send an envoy to the Yuë, would China suffer it?" Chang Këen was accordingly detained, and forced to live among them for more than ten years, during which time he married a native of the tribe, and begat children. Still he was ever careful of his token of credence, which he never lost; and being located in the western part of the Heung-noo country, he contrived eventually to make his escape, along with his followers, and took the road towards the Yuë-she. After a rapid journey westward for several tens of days, he reached Ta-wan. The king of that country, who had heard of the superabundant wealth of China, had wished to open up intercourse with the empire; but had hitherto been unable to do so. On seeing Chang Këen he was delighted, and inquired the object of his journey. The envoy replied:—"I am sent by China on a mission to the Yuë-she, but have been detained on the way by the Heung-noo. Now I have escaped, and wish your Majesty to send guides to escort me on the way. Having reached my destination, and returned to China, the Emperor will send presents of untold value to your Majesty." These words satisfied the King, who sent guides and interpreters to conduct the party to K'ang-keu. The K'ang-keu, in their turn, forwarded them to the Ta Yuë-she. When the King was killed by the Heung-noo, his widow was raised to the supreme power, and having reduced the Ta-hea they ruled over them. The country they now inhabited was rich and fertile; brigandage was rare, and the people were peaceful and happy. Considering the distance they were from China, they would not entertain the envoy's overtures, and had not the slightest intention of taking vengeance on the

Heung-noo. Chang Këen then went to the Ta-hea; but to the end he could get no satisfactory hold on the Yuě-she; and after a stay of more than a year, he returned. Following the Southern mountains, he tried to make his way through the country of the Keang, but was again taken by the Heung-noo. There he was detained more than a year, till the Shen-yu died, when the nation falling into a state of anarchy, he was able to make his escape with his foreign wife, and Kan-foo of T'ang-yih, who all fled to China. Chang Këen was then made Grand Middle Great Statesman, and Kan-foo of T'ang-yih was made Prince of Commission. Chang Këen was robust and impetuous, generous and confiding, and had gained the affections of the barbarians. Kan-foo of T'ang-yih was a Heung-noo by nation, and excelled in archery. In times of emergency he was able to supply the party with food, by the game that fell under his arrows. When they commenced their journey the party consisted of more than a hundred men; they were absent 13 years, and only two of the original company returned. The envoy personally visited Ta-wan, the Ta Yuě-she, the Ta-hea and K'ang-keu. Besides these, he collected accounts of five or six of the neighbouring great kingdoms, and gave to the Emperor a description of their outlines and productions; the details regarding which are all given in the "Notes on the Western Regions." Chang Këen is reported to have addressed the monarch in such terms as the following:—"When your servant was among the Ta-hea he observed they had Keang bamboo staves, and Shuh cloth. On inquiring where they procured these things, the Ta-hea people replied: 'Our merchants go to Shin-tüh to buy them. Shin-tüh is south-east from the Ta-hea, several thousand *le*. The inhabitants are accustomed to live in permanent settlements, the same as the Ta-hea. The country is low, damp, and hot; and the people go to war on elephants. The boundaries of the kingdom extend to the great ocean.' According to my estimate, the Ta-hea are situated south-west from China, at a distance of 12,000 *le*; and as Shin-tüh, where the Shuh productions are found, is several thousand *le* to the south-east of the Ta-hea, it seems that place cannot be far distant from Shuh. Now it is dangerous to pass through the Keang, in order to reach the Ta-hea; for the Keang are inimical. A little farther to the north we get taken by the Heung-noo. We ought to go straight through from Shuh, and then we should escape the brigands. Your Imperial Majesty has heard of Ta-wan, the Ta-hea, and Gan-seih, which are all great kingdoms, having many things that are strange, and natural productions special to each. Their customs resemble those of China in some respects; their military are feeble; and they have a high appreciation of Chinese treasures. To the north are the Ta Yuě-she and K'ang-keu, who have formidable armies. By dint of presents they might, with the prospect of gain, be induced to render homage to China, and thus verily by diplomacy we might succeed in securing their attachment. Our territory would thus be expanded 10,000 *le*, embracing people of every custom, and requiring a ninefold staff of interpreters; while the prestige of

the empire would be all-pervading from sea to sea." The Emperor was transported with delight, and fell in heartily with Chang K'een's suggestions. He then gave orders that exploring parties should be sent out from Shuh and Keen-wei, in four different directions. One party went by Mang; one by Tsö; one by Se and K'eung; and one by Pö; each party reaching a distance of between 1,000 and 2,000 *le*. Those who went north were stopped by the Te and Tsö tribes; and those who went southward were stopped by the Suy and Kwän-ming. The Kwän-ming tribes have no chiefs, and are much given to brigandage; and so the Chinese envoys suddenly met their death at the hands of these marauders. To the end a passage could not be opened in that direction; but they heard of some countries about 1,000 *le* to the west, named Teen and Yuë, where the inhabitants rode on elephants, and the Shuh traders, who carried on a clandestine commerce with them, occasionally went there. Consequent on this, the Chinese first penetrated as far as the kingdom of Teen, in trying to find a road to the Ta-hea. When the Chinese first tried to open a communication through the south-western barbarians, after incurring a heavy expense, the enterprise had to be abandoned. When Chang K'een, however, spoke of the possibility of a communication with the Ta-hea, they were again brought into contact with the south-western tribes. When Chang K'een, as Deputy Protector, followed the Generalissimo in an attack on the Heung-noo, by his knowledge of the places where water and pasture were to be found, he was the means of saving the army from much suffering, and was in consequence created Marquis of Po-wang. This took place in the year B.C. 123.

Two years later, Chang K'een, as Guard Protector, left Yew-pih-ping with Le Kwang, for an attack on the Heung-noo. The latter surrounded General Le, who lost the greater part of his army on the occasion. Chang K'een, who had failed to bring up his contingent at the appointed time, had rendered himself amenable to decapitation; but the Emperor was pleased to pardon him, reducing him to the status of the common people. This same year the Light-horse General defeated the Heung-noo, and killed some tens of thousands on the western border, advancing as far as the Ke-leen Mountains. In autumn, the Prince of Kwan-ya brought his numerous followers, and tendered his allegiance to China; and the territories of Kin-ching, Ho-se, Se-ping, and Nan-shan, and as far as the Salt Marsh, the country was clear of Heung-noo. At that time the Heung-noo were rarely seen at Court.

Two years after this the Chinese attacked the retreating Shen-yu on the north of the desert. The Emperor several times asked Chang K'een regarding the Ta-hea tribes, when Chang, although he had been degraded from the nobility, thus addressed the sovereign:—"When your servant was residing among the Heung-noo he heard that the King of Woo-sun was styled Kwän-mo. Originally the Kwän-mo's father, Nan-tow-mo, and the Ta Yuë-she, both had small kingdoms between Ke-leen and Tun-hwang. The Ta Yuë-she attacked and killed Nan-tow-mo, and seized his land; when his

people fled to the Heung-noo. His son, the Kwăn-mo, being newly born, his guardian, the Poo-tsew Heih-how, fled with the infant in his charge, and deposited him among the grass. Going to seek nourishment for his charge, on his return he found the child being suckled by a wolf; while a bird with some flesh in its beak alighted by his side. Looking on these as tokens of the child's supernatural character, he then took him to the Heung-noo, where the Shen-yu conceived a liking for him, and brought him up. On reaching manhood, the former subjects of his father were placed under his command; and on several occasions he distinguished himself by military successes. About that time, the Yuě-she, who had been defeated by the Heung-noo, attacked the King of the Sae on the west; and the latter taking flight to a great distance southward, his territory was occupied by the Yuě-she. The Kwăn-mo, who now felt himself strong, requested permission from the Shen-yu to avenge his father's wrongs; moved westward, attacked and defeated the Ta Yuě-she, who fled still farther to the west, and settled in the country of the Ta-hea. The Kwăn-mo took the mass of the people under his control, and remained in the country, where he gradually raised a powerful army. On the death of the Shen-yu, he refused any longer to render homage to the Heung-noo. The latter sent an army to attack him, but the expedition returned without success. The belief in his supernatural character was thereby strengthened, and the Heung-noo were careful to keep him at a distance. Now the Shen-yu having been recently coerced by China, and the original country of the Kwăn-mo being empty, while the barbarian races retain a lingering affection toward their fatherland, and at the same time covet the treasures of China, truly this is the time to send rich presents to Woo-sun, and invite them eastward to occupy their old country. Let the Emperor send his daughter in marriage, and cement a fraternal alliance with the Kwăn-mo. He will then listen to the Emperor's instructions, and thus the right arm of the Heung-noo will be broken. Woo-sun being thus attached, the Ta-hea tribes on the west may all be induced to submit themselves as vassals." The Emperor approved of these suggestions; and Chang Këên was made Secretary and General, with the command of 300 men, with two horses to each man, and over 10,000 oxen and sheep; with supplies of gold and presents of silk to the value of several tens of millions of cash. Many of his followers held tokens as assistant envoys, who might be sent on commission to neighbouring kingdoms along the road. When Chang Këên arrived at Woo-sun he delivered the Imperial edict, but he could not bring the matter to any satisfactory conclusion. The details regarding this are to be found in the "Notes on the Western Regions." Chang Këên then despatched the assistant envoys to Ta-wan, K'ang-keu, the Yuě-she, and the Ta-hea; while Woo-sun sent interpreters and guides with them. Woo-sun also sent a mission of several tens of persons to escort Chang Këên back, with some tens of horses as a peace-offering to the Emperor. The envoy had orders to avail himself of the occasion to observe the state of

China, and then became aware of its magnitude. Chang Këên, on his return, was made Traveller-in-chief, and in little more than a year he died.

Above a year later, the envoys who had been sent to communicate with the Ta-hea tribes, nearly all returned, bringing some of the natives of these countries with them. The intercourse of China with the countries in the north-west commenced from this time, so that Chang Këên has the merit of having opened up the road. Succeeding envoys who were despatched to those parts all spoke of the Marquis of Po-wang as their passport to the favour of foreign kingdoms, and foreign nations gave credence to them on this account. After this, Woo-sun eventually contracted a matrimonial alliance with China. At first the Emperor issued a divination document, saying:—"Supernatural horses ought to come from the north-west. When we received the Woo-sun horses, these being an excellent breed, were called Celestial horses; but on receiving the Ta-wan blood-perspiring horses, the name of the Woo-sun horses was changed to Remote Western horses, and the Fergana horses were called Celestial horses." China then began to build the great wall from Ling-keu westward, and the region of Tseu-tseuen was first established, to promote intercourse with the north-western kingdoms. Envoys were consequently again sent to Gan-seih, Yen-ts'ae, Le-keen, Teau-che, and Shin-tüh; and the Emperor conceived a partiality for the Ta-wan horses. Missions followed each other in quick succession; the larger numbering several hundred persons, and the smaller a hundred or more; and the gifts they bore were for the greater part the same as in the time of the Marquis of Po-wang. Afterwards when the custom became less of a novelty, the number of followers was gradually reduced. The greatest number of missions sent by China in one year was over ten, and the smallest number five or six. From distant countries, return missions were sent every eight or nine years, and from the nearer every few years. About this time, Yuë having been exterminated by China, the south-western barbarians, who were reached by way of Shuh, all became alarmed, and requested to have Imperial officers set over them. The regions of Tsang-ko, Yuë-suy, Yih-chow, Tsin-le, and Wän-shan were then appointed, as the commencement of a conterminous chain, intended to extend onward to the Ta-hea. More than ten missions were then sent in a year from these first regions, but they were all again stopped by the Kwän-ming, who killed the envoys and seized their presents. On this provocation, China sent troops to attack Kwän-ming, when they decapitated several tens of thousands of the tribe. After this envoys were again sent, but to the end they never succeeded in opening up a passage. The details of these events are found in the "History of the South-Western Barbarians." When Chang Këên first opened up the road to foreign kingdoms, the officials were rewarded with honours and nobility, and there was a pressure of memorials to the throne, detailing the marvels of foreign countries, and speaking of the advantage of attaching them, and the danger of

leaving them unsubdued. When any one sought the office of envoy, the Emperor—in view of the extreme distance which rendered such enterprises undesired by most men—accepted the volunteer, and gave him a token to raise followers, without making particular inquiry as to whence he came. A large reserve was thus raised for the service. These were sent to extend the open communications, and in their journeys to and fro there was almost invariably a robbery of the presents, or some failure on the part of the envoy. In order to maintain the efficiency of the service, the Emperor immediately caused an investigation into such cases, and filled up the places of defaulters, while inducements were held out to offenders to redeem themselves by meritorious conduct. When the facts regarding the missions were inquired into, innumerable breaches of law were treated with leniency; and when any of the officials died, his place was immediately filled up. In estimating the status of foreign kingdoms, for those reputed great, the envoy had a token of credence, and to the lesser an assistant envoy was sent. Hence a rivalry arose among those reckless talkers who were mere ciphers in action, and the envoys, all usurping official prerogatives, disposed of the presents at their own option, wishing to make purchases on easy terms for their own personal advantage. The foreign nations also became disgusted with the Chinese envoys, whose reports were full of glaring discrepancies. In view of the great distance of the Chinese army, these foreigners, who judged themselves safe from invasion in that direction, forbade the supply of provisions, in order to distress the Chinese missions. The envoys, thus reduced to extremities, were exasperated into hostilities. The petty kingdoms of Low-lan and Koo-sze, which lay on the high road, wantonly attacked and robbed the envoy Wang K'wei and his company; and the Chinese were being constantly intercepted and attacked by picked Heung-noo troops. The envoys emulated each other in speaking of the advantage to be gained by the subjugation of these kingdoms, and the danger of leaving them unrestrained; adding that the troops stationed in the cities were weak, and might easily be defeated. The Emperor thereupon sent Seaou Po-noo, the Marquis of Tsung-peaou, to take command of the cavalry of the subject kingdoms, with the troops from the several regions, to the number of several tens of thousands, to attack the Heung-noo, but the latter made off.

Next year an attack was made, when the troops of Seaou Po-noo carried off the King of Low-lan. Guard-houses were planted at intervals, from Tseu-tseuen to the Yuh Gate. Ta-wan and the other countries sent envoys to accompany the Chinese missions back, that they might see for themselves the magnitude of the empire. On such an occasion they presented ostrich eggs and conjurers from Le-keen, with which the Emperor was greatly delighted. The Chinese envoy had been to the source of the Yellow river, where the mountains contain abundance of jade and other precious stones, some of which he had selected and brought with him. The Emperor consulted an ancient hydrography of famous rivers, from

which he found, that the mountains whence this river issued were called the Kwān-lun range. About this time the monarch made several tours round the lakes, on which occasions he distributed money and silks, and made presents in generous profusion to the various parties from foreign kingdoms who were residing in the capital for a time, in order to show them the great wealth of China. The chief actor exhibited the wonders of his art in the choicest performances; and to the vast multitude of spectators assembled the Imperial hospitality was extended in pools of wine and forests of flesh meat, thus giving the foreign visitors to see the inexhaustible resources of the Imperial treasures and stores, that so they might be duly impressed with the magnificence of the empire. When the feats of jugglery were added to the entertainment, the performance of the actors improved year by year, the great popularity of the fêtes dating from this period. The envoys from foreign countries continued to arrive without intermission. But the nations to the west of Ta-wan, all relying on their great distance, assumed a haughty and intractable bearing; and as they would not conform to the rites, they had to be submitted to restraint. Envoys were despatched from China with a vast retinue of followers; but the return envoys brought merely fair words to the Emperor. They reported that Ta-wan had excellent horses in the city of Urh-sze; but they refused to show them to the envoys. The Emperor, who was fond of the Ta-wan horses, heard this report with pleasure. He forthwith despatched the sturdy yeoman, Chay Ling, and others on a mission to the King of Ta-wan, with 1,000 ounces of gold, and a golden horse, to prefer a request for some of the famous horses in the city of Urh-sze. But Ta-wan already possessed a superabundance of Chinese objects, and the magnates consulting together, came to the following conclusion:—"China is at a great distance from our country, and travellers thence are frequently lost in the Salt Desert. If they leave by the northern route they are exposed to the Heung-noo raids; if they take the southern route they suffer for want of water and pasture, and at many parts of the road, where there are no settled inhabitants, great scarcity prevails. If the Chinese envoys come with a retinue of several hundred persons, more than half of them usually die of starvation on the way. How then can they possibly send an army? The Urh-sze horses are the most valuable horses in Ta-wan." Consequent on this, the demand of the Chinese envoy was met by an absolute refusal. The envoy was enraged, and gave way to unguarded utterances, hammered the golden horse into a shapeless mass, and left. The Ta-wan magnates became irritated, and said:—"The Chinese envoy has come to insult us." When they sent him away, orders were transmitted to the King of Yuh-ching on the eastern border, who intercepted and killed him, taking possession of his treasures. On hearing of this event, the Emperor was in a fury. Yaou Ting-han and the others who had been to Ta-wan, said the Ta-wan troops were feeble, and it would not require more than 3,000 able-bodied Chinese archers to subjugate the country. The Emperor had already sent the Marquis of

Chüh-ya, with a force of 700 cavalry, to chastise Low-lan, and he having at once taken the king prisoner, the Emperor was the more disposed to listen to the suggestion of Yaou Ting-han. Wishing at the same time for an opportunity to confer honour on his favourite concubine Madam Le, he appointed her relative Le Kwang-le General, with a commission to chastise Ta-wan.

Chang Këen's grandson Mäng, with the cognomen Tsze-yew, became distinguished for his abilities. In the reign of Yuen-te (B.C. 48-33) he was made Magnate of the Banqueting-house, and was sent on a mission to the Heung-noo. While holding the office of Secretary to the Censorate, he was calumniated by Shih-Heen, under the influence of which he committed suicide.

FEBRUARY 24TH, 1880.

E. BURNETT TYLOR, Esq., F.R.S., *President, in the Chair.*

The minutes of the previous meeting were read and confirmed.

The following presents were announced, and thanks ordered to be returned to the respective donors :

FOR THE LIBRARY.

From the EDITOR.—Correspondenz-Blatt, December, 1879 ; January, 1880.

From the SOCIETY.—Achtzehnter Bericht der Oberhessischen Gesellschaft für Natur-und Heilkunde, November, 1879.

From Lieut. R. C. TEMPLE.—The Lord's Prayer in the South Andaman Language. By E. H. Man.

From the AUTHOR.—Notes on the Transliteration of the Burmese Alphabet. By Lieut. R. C. Temple.

From the AUTHOR.—The Lokaniti translated from the Burmese paraphrase. By Lieut. R. C. Temple.

From the AUTHOR.—Rough Notes on the Distribution of the Afghan Tribes about Kandahar. By Lieut. R. C. Temple.

From the AUTHOR.—Notes on the formation of the country from Kala Abdullah Khan in the Khójak Pass to Lugárá Bárkhán. By Lieut. R. C. Temple.

From the EDITOR.—"Nature," Nos. 537-538.

From the EDITOR.—"Revue Scientifique," Nos. 33-34.

From the SOCIETY.—Journal of the Society of Arts, Nos. 1421-1422.

From the SOCIETY.—Transactions of the Imperial Society of Naturalists, Moscow, Tom. XXXIII, liv. 1 ; Tom. XXXIV,