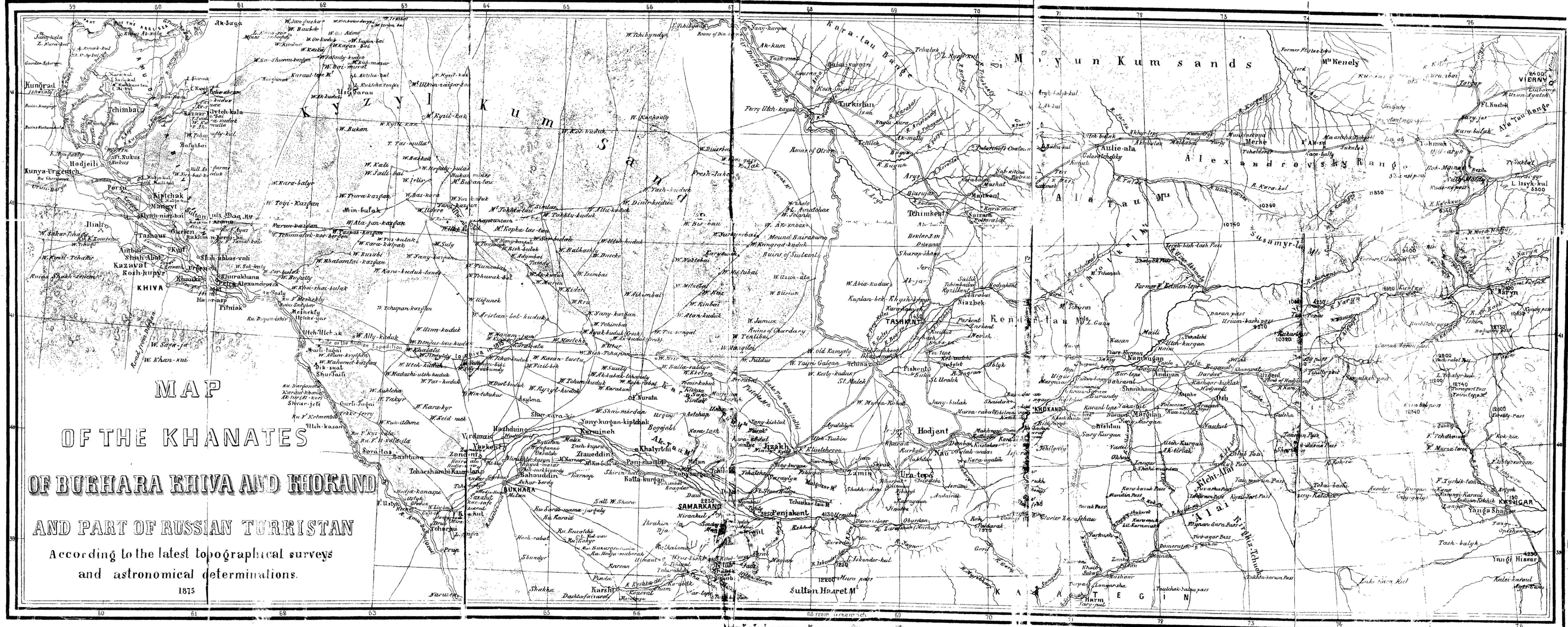


.TURKISTAN .

VOL. I.





MAP OF THE KHANATES OF BUKHARA KHIVA AND KOKAND AND PART OF RUSSIAN TURKISTAN

According to the latest topographical surveys and astronomical determinations.

1875

Scale in Russian verstes and English miles.

TURKISTAN

NOTES OF A JOURNEY IN RUSSIAN TURKISTAN,
KHOKAND, BUKHARA, AND KULDJA

BY

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WITH THREE MAPS AND NUMEROUS ILLUSTRATIONS

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. I

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PREFACE.

My readers must not expect either stories of personal adventure or accounts of geographical exploration. The care which the Russians, Bukhariots, and Khokandians took that I should incur no personal danger, and should penetrate into no regions previously unexplored, prevented both one and the other. The chief aim of my journey in Central Asia was to study the political and social condition of the regions which had been recently annexed by Russia, as well as to compare the state of the inhabitants under Russian rule with that of those still living under the despotism of the Khans. In this I was in a measure successful.

I have attempted in this book to give my impression of what I myself saw, and of what I learned from my intercourse both with Russians and natives. In endeavouring to give a true picture of the condition of affairs, I have sometimes felt obliged to speak at length of subjects upon which it has given me little pleasure to dwell. I think, however, that my friends in Russia will not mistake my object in speaking. I have lived too long in Russia, and have made too many friends there, to have other than kind feelings for the country and the people. I hope, then, that my readers will believe that the criticisms made upon certain acts of the Russian administration in Central Asia are not made in a spirit of fault-finding. It is evidently for the interest of Russia that the mistakes and faults of the Russian policy should be known, and should be remedied as soon as possible.

I have felt the more free to mention some of these things in this book, because the substance of the later chapters was

embodied in an official document which was subsequently made public and excited considerable discussion.

Besides my own observations, and the information which I have received from persons of very different grades and stations in life, both Russians and natives, from official documents, and from private letters, I have made use of whatever materials, either printed or written, were accessible, some of which are little known to any except Russian specialists. I have, however, I trust, followed no authority blindly; I have never accepted a statement without enquiry and comparison with the accounts of others; and if I sometimes state things which seem opposed to all that has been written or printed before, upon any particular subject, it has not been without good reason.

It is of course impossible, and would be unwise, in every instance to name the authorities for my statements; I can only say that I have endeavoured in all cases to obtain exact and accurate information.

It is impossible for me to thank by name the many friends who assisted me in my enquiries and with my work; but I desire to express my special gratitude to the Russian authorities, both in St. Petersburg and in Central Asia, particularly in Samarkand and Semiretch, where I was rendered so much kind assistance about my journey. My thanks are also due to Professor Grigorief, Professor Zakharof, and Mr. Lerch, of the University of St. Petersburg, for all their patience and kindness in opening to me their stores of Oriental information. I desire also to express my obligations to General Milutin, the Russian Minister of War, for his polite attention in allowing the Topographical Department of the Staff at St. Petersburg to prepare the two special maps of Central Asia and of the Kuldja region which are annexed to this book.

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Erratum.

Page 15, line 30, for woods read roads.

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APPENDICES.

APPENDIX I.

A SKETCH OF THE HISTORY OF KHOKAND IN RECENT TIMES.

KHOKAND, or the Valley of Fergana, was included among the provinces given by Tchinghiz Khan to his son Jagatai, and shared the general fate of the countries of Maverannahr. We know its condition as an appanage to the throne of Samarkand during the time of Baber; and after that it was sometimes rebellious, sometimes conquered, sometimes in the possession of this or that prince, and does not emerge as a separate and independent country until toward the beginning of the present century. No written historical account of the country by a native author has yet seen the light, and what we know of its modern history is derived chiefly from traditions and oral accounts, strengthened here and there by numismatic and documentary evidence.

Both popular tradition and the Chinese accounts agree that in the middle of the last century Khokand was not under one rule, but was divided into separate cities, provinces and clans, each with its own Bek or Hodja. According to the account of Mahsum Hodja, quoted by Ritter,¹ some time in the last century Shahbrukh Bek, with some of his country people, went from the Volga region

¹ My chief authorities have been:—

1. An article, 'Description of the Khanate of Khokand in its present condition,' published in the 'Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society,' Book III. 1849.
2. An article by V. Veliaminof-Zernof, 'Historical Information about the Khanate of Khokand from Mohammed Ali to Khudayar Khan,' published in the 'Labours of the Oriental Section of the Imperial Archaeological Society.' Vol. ii. 1856.
3. 'Contemporary coins of Khokand,' by V. Grigorief; *ibid.*
4. 'List of known coins of Khokand,' by A. Savelief; *ibid.*
5. An article by the Kirghiz Sultan, Nurekin, 'Sketches of the History of

to Fergana, and married the daughter of Ediger Hodja, the ruler of the town of Khurram-Sarai, and then settled with his Uzbeks in Kukan, twelve miles west of the present Khokand. He then murdered his father-in-law, and made himself ruler of the district, and, profiting by the dissensions and weakness of his neighbours, soon extended his sway. He was succeeded by his eldest son Rahim Bek, and he by his brother Abdul Kerim Bek, who built the present city of Khokand, to which he transferred his residence. He was succeeded by his nephew Irdana, or Erdeni, son of Rahim, (according to some a son of Abdul Kerim). The Chinese geographer¹ says that the Beks of all the other towns in Fergana were under the rule of Erdeni Bek, and obeyed his orders. In 1759, the Chinese General Tchao-hoei was in pursuit of Khodzidjan, and detached some officers to put down the Buruts. Erdeni entertained these officers in Khokand, and when they departed, sent one of his officials to tender his submission to the Emperor Khian-lung. The other Beks, among them Tokto Mohammed of Andijan, and Ilas Ping-li (Kuli?) of Marghilan, followed his example, and, in 1760, sent embassies and tribute to Pekin, Tokto Mohammed going thither in person. Among the gifts sent to the Chinese Emperor, were 'horses that sweat blood (*argamaks* ²), great eagles and falcons for hunting, and plates of the fountain of the dragon.' Tashkent had submitted to China in 1758. In 1762, Erdeni invaded the country of Oshi (Ush), which belonged to Adzi Bii, but was ordered by the Chinese Governor-General to withdraw his troops. In 1763, there was another invasion of the country of the Buruts, which was blamed by an imperial decree. Erdeni died in 1770, and was replaced by Khokand from 1841 to 1864,' published in the 'Turkistan Gazette,' No. 36, 1872.

6. The report of Mahsum Hojda, as given in Ritter's 'Erikunde von Asien,' Vol. v. p. 772..

7. The 'Memoirs of Mirza Shems,' Kazan, 1841.

8. 'Eastern Turkistan,' by V. Grigorief; St. Petersburg, 1873.

9. 'The Uzbek State of Kokan' by W. H. Wathen, in the 'Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal,' August, 1834.

10. Notices in the accounts of various travellers, such as Nazarov, Kliutcharef, Pospielof and Burnashof, and Mir Izzet Ullah.

11. Personal observation; the Russian newspapers; official reports; private letters from Tashkent and Khokand; and accounts taken down from the lips of Tashkentians and Khokandians, some of whom were actors in the events described. Some of these last have also been used by Mr. N. Petrofsky in his 'Sketches of the Khanate of Khokand,' in the 'Messenger of Europe' for October, 1875.

¹ *Thai tshing y thoutg tchi*, or Great Geography of Chinese Empire, edition of 1790, sect. 420, translated by Klapproth in 'Magna Asia,' vol. i. 82.

² 'Horses sweating blood' in the early times always formed part of the tribute to the Chinese Emperors from the countries of Central Asia.

his nephew, Narbutu (Narbuta), who sent an embassy and tribute to Pekin.

Here contradiction begins, for Mahsum Hodja says that Erdeni was succeeded, after twenty years' rule, by Saleiman Bii, and then by Shahrukh Bek, who only reigned three months. It is a question, too, who Narbuta Bii was. Mahsum Hodja says that he was a grandson of Abdul Kerim, and apparently Abdul Kerim and Rahim are in some way confused. But according to local tradition, Narbuta Bii was the son of a certain Abdurrahman Batyr, an Uzbek of the tribe of Ming, and ruler of the town and district of Isfara, once much more important than now, and was descended from a certain Tchumatch Bii, a great local hero.¹ Abdurrahman Batyr married the sister of Erdeni Bek, and was treacherously killed by the latter, who wished to get possession of Isfara. Narbuta, then a child, was spared on account of his tender age, and when on Erdeni's death his heirs were killed or dispersed, was chosen by the Khokandians to succeed him.

Narbuta passed his whole reign in wars with his neighbours, and added to his dominions Andijan, Namangan and Ush, besides other smaller towns, which had been thitherto independent. His last years were occupied in a contest for the possession of Hodjent, with Fazil-Bii and his son Khudayar Bek, the ruler of Ura-tepé. Hodjent was sometimes in the possession of one party, and sometimes of the other, but was never permanently annexed to Khokand until after Narbuta's death. Abul Gaffar Bek,² the grandson of Khudayar Bek, says, that during the reign of Fazil, Narbuta Bii in alliance with Rahim Bii of Bukhara, attempted to take Ura-tepé, but were beaten back, when Khudayar sallied out, completely routed them, killed 20,000 men, and made a pyramid of their heads in Ura-tepé. In 1799, Narbuta undertook an expedition against Tashkent, but was beaten and captured together with many of his followers by Yunus Hodja, the ruler of all that place, and in 1800 was beheaded there.³ Narbuta left three sons, Alim, Omar, and Shahrukh, of whom the eldest, Alim, succeeded him.

¹ Khanikof says that the father of Narbuta was Iamchi Bii (probably the same as Tchumatch), a descendant of the Sultan Baber. *Frachs, Novs Supplementa*, p. 336.

² See pp. 88 and 310.

³ See 'Travels of Pospislof and Burnashof to Tashkent,' in 1800. 'Messenger of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society,' 1851, vol. i, p. 23. Narbuta Bii is here called Khan Hodja, which accords with the Chinese account that the cities of Khokand were governed by Hodjas; they were probably connected in some way with the Hodjas formerly reigning in Kashgar. In one of his notes to this journey Mr. Khanikof gives some information with regard to the history of Tashkent,

After the defeat given to Narbuta Bii, Yunus Hodja raised an army, including the Kirghiz tribes subject to him, and marched against Khokand, making a treaty with Bek Murad Bek, the son of Khudayar Bek, then ruling in Hodjent, for mutual action against the Khokandians. The armies of Khokand and Tashkent met on opposite sides of the Syr Darya; but although the fire was kept up for some time, it was without effect, and both armies retreated. Yunus Hodja, however, again took the field, with the intention of placing on the throne of Khokand one of the sons of Narbuta Bii, whom he held prisoner. In connection with Bek Murad Bek, he besieged Ura-tepé, but could not take it, and was obliged to retreat. Baba Bek of Ura-tepé, brother of Khudayar, therefore allied himself with Omar Khan, the second son of Narbuta Bii (who was apparently even then on bad terms with his brother), and succeeded in driving Bek Murad Bek from Hodjent. Baba was subse-

which may be an interesting addition to what I have said on pages 111-12. 'Even in the beginning of the seventh century Tashkent, or Tchash, was considered as in vassalage to the Chinese. In 713, the ruler of Tashkent, who had thitherto been called Khan, was raised by the Chinese Emperor to the rank of King. In 714, he complained to the Emperor of the invasion of the Arabs and asked for help, but the Chinese instead of complying with this request only confirmed the high-sounding titles which he assumed. Soon after that a Chinese official was sent there to arrange the disturbances among the petty princes. The ruler of Tashkent submitted unconditionally, but his nephews were put to death, and he in consequence turned for help to the Arabs; thus their dominion became established in that region. In the tenth century, according to Ibn Haukal, Tashkent, under the name of Khaa, was one of the strongest barriers of Turkistan. In the beginning of the thirteenth century it belonged to the possessions of Ala-Eddin, the ruler of Khârezm, under the name of Binaket. Lying on the frontier, Tashkent was one of the first regions of Central Asia which felt the attack of the Mongols, and was speedily subdued. In 1390, Tashkent again appeared as an important military point, being the rendezvous for the army of Tamerlane on his second campaign against Toktamish. At the end of the fifteenth, and during the first years of the sixteenth centuries, Tashkent was under the rule of Omar Sheikh Mirza, and of his son Baber, the ruler of Khokand. In the middle of the fifteenth century the Uzbeks, taking advantage of the dissensions between Abul Seid and Abdullatif, princes of Maverannahr, penetrated under command of the latter into the district of Tashkent as well as across the Syr Darya, and although in 1456 Abdullatif was obliged to submit to Abul Seid yet the Uzbeks made use of this road under the command of Sheibani Khan for the complete expulsion of the Timurides from Maverannahr, among whom was Baber, the ruler of Fergana as well as of Tashkent, who was forced to flee to Kabul, where he laid the basis for the empire of the Great Mogul in India.'

From the reports of Kushelef and Müller, who were in Tashkent in 1789, we learn that at that time the city was ruled by Yulbars Khaa, and that the city of Turkistan under Seid Sultan, was in a certain measure subject to it. This Yulbars, who appears not to have been a Tashkentian, but a Kirghiz Sultan, was killed by the Sarts on April 17th, 1740, three days after Müller had left the city.

quently murdered by his nephew Bek Murad, in return for which Bek Murad was himself killed by the children of Baba Bek in Samarkand, whither he had been invited by the Bukharan Amir Haidar. Yunus Hodja, however, was finally unsuccessful, and was obliged to retreat to Tashkent, which city was captured by Alim Khan either in 1803 or in 1805. He then turned his attention southwards, and took Ura-tepé, but having been unfortunate in a campaign against Jizakh, Ura-tepé was retaken by Mahmud Khan, a nephew on his mother's side of Khundayar Bek. Alim Khan took up his residence for some time in Tashkent, in order to look after the administration of that province and put down rebellions, and was constantly engaged in forays against the Kirghiz. The people of Khokand got disgusted with the continual wars, and more than all others the courtiers and officials of Alim, who wished to profit by the wealth they had acquired. They therefore conspired to kill him, and to put on the throne his brother Omar. Having succeeded in getting Omar to their side, they withdrew to Khokand, when some of the faithful followers of Alim, getting wind of the conspiracy, reported it to their master, and urged him at once to advance to Khokand and put it down. Alim, however, was unwilling to believe it, and for a long time refused to take any decided measures, in consequence of which the band of conspirators daily increased. Instead of following the advice of his friends, and taking a round-about way, Alim insisted upon going the shortest way through the defiles of Kendyr-tan, where he was attacked in the little village of Shaitun, and was killed by a shot from a certain Maidan Yuldash, an adherent of Omar, who wished to find favour with his master. Happily he did not get the expected reward for his treachery, for on telling Omar of his exploit, he was himself immediately executed.

The death of Alim Khan probably occurred in 1812. How long the sovereigns of Khokand continued to pay tribute to the Chinese, is unknown, but Mahsum Hodja and others say that Alim Khan was the first who gave himself the title of Khan, who ordered his name to be recited in the *Khutbe*, or daily prayers, and who coined money. Mahsum Hodja says that these coins, which were of bronze silvered over, were struck from old cannon, left by Nadir Shah at the time of his conquest.

Omar Khan,¹ in spite of the reasons for his elevation, found it difficult to keep the peace with his neighbours, captured Mahmud

¹ Called also Homar and Gomar. By Mir Iszet-Ullah, probably by some mistranscription, he is called *Amir Khan*, and by Nazarof *Amir Valliamí*, i.e. Omar-Veli-a-niem.

Khan of Ura-*tepé*, sent him prisoner to Khokand, and appointed one of his own adherents Governor of that place. In three months the new Bek was turned out, and the struggle began again. After many changes of fortune, Jizakh fell to Bukhara, and Ura-*tepé* to Khokand, and Tiura-Bek-Yiura, the son of Mahmud Khan, went to Khokand, and occupied an honorary position at the court of the Khan. About the same time Turkistan and several smaller towns to the north were conquered by the generals of Omar. The last descendant of the Kirghiz Khans, Tozai Khan, notwithstanding a brave defence, was forced to seek refuge in Bukhara, where he was killed in the troubles accompanying the accession of Mozaffar-Eddin.

In 1822, Omar Khan, who was greatly loved by his people, died, or, as it is said, was poisoned by his elder son Mohammed Ali, who then became Khan, and is the first of whom we have some detailed accounts. His name, according to a frequent custom, has been abbreviated to Madali Khan. His accession was accompanied by no revolutions, but he found it necessary to exile many of his relatives. His younger brother, Sultan Mahmud, escaped to Shahr-*isabs*, where he lived for many years, having married a daughter of its ruler. He was also in favour with the Amir Nasrullah, and was appointed by him for a short time Bek of Urmitan, and after its capture of Hodjent.

The disagreement with Bukhara, which broke out soon after the accession of Madali, ended peaceably in 1825, and in the following year he joined Jihangyr Hodja, one of the Appak family, in his efforts to recover Kashgar, from the throne of which his ancestors had been driven by the Chinese, in 1756. Some slight, but bloody, skirmishes with the Chinese seemed to Madali sufficient to warrant the title of 'Ghazi,' or 'Conqueror of the Infidels;' and after a twelve days campaign he returned home, leaving a part of his troops to help Jihangyr Hodja, who succeeded in taking Kashgar, and making himself temporary master of the country. But soon a Chinese army of 70,000 men arrived and turned the tables. The Khokandians withdrew in time with their booty, but Jihangyr was captured, it is said, by the treacherous consent of Madali, and was sent to Peking, where he was executed. This was in 1827.

In 1828-29 there was another attempt made on Kashgar by Yusuf Hodja, the elder brother of Jihangyr. Madali Khan again lent the services of his army and of his best generals. Again Kashgar, Yangy-Hissar and Yarkand were taken, and again the Khokandians withdrew with their booty on the approach of a Chinese army. Yusuf Hodja escaped to Khokand, where he died

five years afterwards. Many thousands of Kashgarians were massacred by the Chinese, and 70,000 took refuge in Khokand, where they were colonised in the city of Shabri-Khana, built by Omar Khan, and on the Syr Darya below Hodjent.

On account of the depopulation of Kashgaria, and the dangers of constant hostile relations with Khokand, the Chinese resolved to resort to their former practice of buying peace and quiet, for they had at one time paid a large yearly sum to Khokand for that purpose. A treaty was therefore readily concluded at Peking, in 1831, with Alim Patcha, Madali's envoy, by which the Khan of Khokand was to receive the duties on all foreign goods imported into Aksu, Ush-Turfan, Kashgar, Yangy-Hissar, Yarkand, and Khotan, and was allowed to maintain *aksakals* in all those towns to collect the duties and to protect the Mohammedans, and by which he bound himself to prevent the Hodjas from leaving his dominions, and to punish them if they did so. In this way Khokand acquired a great influence over its neighbour Kashgar.¹

After this Madali Khan conquered Karategin, and forced Kulab, Darvaz, and Shugnan, to recognise his authority. In this way, up to 1840, Madali Khan had the reputation of a brave and active sovereign, and was exceedingly popular. At that time a sudden change came over him. He threw aside his occupations, ceased to think of military expeditions, and gave himself up to complete licentiousness. This change is supposed to have been due to the remorse which he felt at having murdered the Ming Bashi Hakk Kul, by whose intelligent counsels he had been previously guided.

At this time Madali received a letter from the Amir of Bukhara, accusing him of breaches of Mussulman law in marrying two sisters, and even his step-mother—one of the wives of Omar Khan—and upbraiding him for his licentious life. Madali was in such a rage that he imprisoned the envoys, had half of their heads and beards shaved, and gave orders for an immediate campaign. At the first meeting of the hostile troops Madali was cut off from his army, and only saved himself from capture by running away. His army dispersed without fighting, and the war thus ignominiously ended.

Soon the whole realm fell into disorder, there was general discontent, and a conspiracy was raised against Madali Khan with the aim of placing on the throne Murad Bii, the son of Alim Khan, or Shir Ali, the son of Hadji Bii, the brother of Narbuta. Not feeling themselves, however, strong enough to overturn their ruler,

¹ See 'Memoirs of Mirza Shems' and Grigorieff's 'Eastern Turkistan,' part ii. pp. 448-460.

the conspirators fled for assistance to Nasrullah, the Amir of Bukhara. Though he was most ambitious to obtain possession of Khokand, yet from distrust he refused to have anything to do with the conspirators. Not deterred by this, they tried again, and at last he consented to lead an attack against Khokand, and set out from Bukhara in the middle of April, 1842, with an army of 18,000 men, and in a fortnight encamped a few miles from the city of Khokand.

This sudden invasion terrified Madali Khan, and he could think of no means to save himself but by peace, and sent out his eldest son, Mohammed Amir (Madamin), with other ambassadors, to propose to admit himself the vassal of the Amir of Bukhara, and to allow the Amir's name to be used in the public prayers, and to be stamped on the coins. The Amir received the embassy kindly, and sent back the prince, but after a conversation with the Kush Begi Leshker, and on ascertaining that the inhabitants of Khokand were not disposed to defend their sovereign, but were ready to open the gates to him, he demanded that Madali Khan should himself come to him for personal explanations.

Madali Khan, however, thought it better to save himself by flight, and quickly collecting his valuables, sent them off in a hundred carts to Namangan, whither he himself soon followed, with a suite of a thousand men.

The Amir of Bukhara was immediately received into the city, and thinking that he could better lay the inhabitants under subjection by terror, gave the city up for half a day to pillage by the soldiery, and immediately sent to capture Madali Khan and his family. The unfortunate Khan, after leaving Khokand, had thought it might be best to return there, and to go personally to the Amir and make what peace he could with him, and had come to Khokand for that purpose when he was discovered by the persons who had promised to capture him, and was brought to the Amir, who resolved to execute him.

This intention was opposed in council by the magnates of Khokand, as well as by Irdane, the Kush Begi of Bukhara, who said how much better it would be for the Amir to rule the country by love than by fear. This council displeased the Amir, and the Kazi Kalian of Bukhara, who was present, knowing his master's wishes, immediately accused Madali Khan of the crime of having married his step-mother, and insisted on his death. Madali Khan, his mother, and his eldest son Madamin Bek, were immediately brought before the council, and executed in their presence.

A second son, Mozaffar, was also killed by the Amir's orders, and a third son by another wife, Ashala, was killed near Tchusta

in 1866-7, by the orders of Khudayar Khan. It was really true that Madali Khan had married his step-mother, the widow of his father Omar Khan. She was apparently an attractive person, for after Madali Khan's death, the Amir Nasrullah married her himself, although he put her to death in the same year after his second expedition against Khokand. The other wives of Madali Khan were sent in forty carts to Bukhara. Two hundred and fifty of the chief Khokandians were also taken to Bukhara as hostages.

The Amir appointed as Governor of the Khanate Ibrahim Datkha, formerly Governor of Samarkand, and left with him 600 soldiers, and after arranging affairs there to suit him, made a triumphant entry into Bukhara, the whole campaign having lasted only fifty-four days.

Hardly three months had elapsed, however, since this easily gained triumph, when the whole of Khokand was in an insurrection, and the Bukharan power there was destroyed. It seems that Ibrahim Datkha greatly oppressed the people, and made them pay not only all the taxes which existed in Bukhara, but others introduced at his own pleasure. The people, indignant at these exactions, resolved to rid themselves of the Bukharan yoke, and sent to the Kiptchaks where Shir Ali, the son of Hadji Bii was living, and asked them to come and deliver them. Shir Ali was himself extremely feeble, and unfit for governing, but the leading Kiptchaks thought it would be a good opportunity for their own personal aggrandisement, and for restoring the supremacy of the Kiptchaks and Uzbek tribes in the Khanate. In former times they had had possession of all the important offices, and had ruled the country, but had afterwards been turned out by the town people, or Sarts, who surrounded Madali Khan, and were his favourites.

Shir Ali had taken refuge among the Kiptchaks on account of the designs of Madali Khan against his life, and had there married daughters of two of the prominent chiefs.

The Kiptchaks then were moving in a mass on the capital, when the inhabitants threw themselves on the Bukharans and killed nearly all of them. Ibrahim Datkha and his brother with difficulty saved themselves by flight. Shir Ali immediately entered the city, occupied the citadel, and was at once proclaimed Khan.

The news of this successful rebellion threw the Amir into a great rage, and he immediately ordered the punishment of Ibrahim Datkha and his brother, confiscated their property, and finally decided to send another army to Khokand, thinking that the Kiptchaks, hearing of its approach, would at once run away, and in the autumn set out with an army of 20,000 men, taking with him the 250 Khokandian officials, whom he had previously taken to Bukhara

as hostages. He feared to leave them in Bukhara, lest they might enter into some plot with Allah Kul, the Khan of Khiva, who had long been in disagreeable relations with him, and was particularly jealous of his extension of dominions.

The Amir laid siege to Khokand, but the garrison refused to surrender.

One of the hostages, a Kiptchak, who had formerly been a Yuz Bashi, or centurion, in Khokand—a person of remarkable intelligence and capacity—called Mussulman Kul, and popularly known as Tchulak (cripple) on account of his lameness, resolved to save his country. He adroitly flattered the Amir, and offered to obtain for him the possession of the city, and was therefore allowed to enter Khokand. Once arrived there, however, he energetically preached 'no surrender,' and urged the inhabitants to fight till the last drop of blood. As he had previously been much respected, his words inspired them with confidence, and consequently sorties were made, in some of which the Bukharan army met with heavy losses. At the same time he had recourse to cunning. He addressed a letter to some of the Bukharan notabilities, urging them to fulfil their promise of rising against the Amir during the present campaign, and contrived that these letters should fall into the hands of the Amir. At the same time, by a most lucky coincidence intelligence arrived from Bukhara that the Khan of Khiva, by intrigues with Khokand, had invaded the country, and had carried off a large amount of spoil.

Nasrullah, terrified by this news, at once raised the siege, freed the 250 hostages, and returned to Bukhara. The whole siege lasted forty days.

After the departure of the Amir, Shir Ali was maintained in peaceful possession of the throne. He was simple and good-natured, and was a kind and mild ruler, so weak as to get the nickname of *pustiak* (mat or rag), and distinguished the beginning of his reign by causing the body of Madali Khan to be dug up and re-buried with great funeral ceremonies conducted by all the clergy.¹

The reign of Shir Ali was chiefly marked by a struggle for supremacy between the nomads and the settled inhabitants. The

¹ A distich composed by Shir Ali, quoted by Petrofsky, shows his character. It is addressed to himself:

Adat buldyr Khanlar ichikes yagmur yagar;

Sen na Khan sen! tulga Ichiksang khalk kusinden kanlar yagar.

What sort of a Khan art thou? when thou goest out, blood flows from the eyes of the people.¹

The tradition is that when Khans go out of doors, rain falls (*i.e.* blessings come).

Uzbek party had put Shir Ali on the throne, and it was therefore only natural that, knowing the Khan's weakness and inability to rule, their leader should insist upon governing the country. Their chief, the Kiptchak Yusuf, was made Ming Bashi, and began to remove all the Sarts from influential positions, and to fill up their places with his own favourites and adherents. But the head of the Sart party, Shadi, was more loved by the people; and, therefore, with the consent of Shir Ali, he poisoned Yusuf, and ordered many of his adherents to be executed. Desiring to get rid of Mussulman Kul, the hero of the revolution, who was his greatest enemy, he ordered him to come to Khokand. Mussulman Kul replied politely that he was on his way, and that he was rejoiced to hear of the death of Yusuf, who had been ill-disposed to him, but in reality he collected an army, and took into his service all the fugitive adherents of Yusuf. When Shadi heard of this, he sent hired assassins to Andijan, but they were caught and hung by order of Mussulman Kul. An open war now began between the two parties, and their armies met at Tuz, where the Uzbeks defeated the Sarts; Shadi was killed, and the Khan Khudayar, who had accompanied him, was taken prisoner. Owing to difficulties in finding a successor, he was retained on the throne, and Mussulman Kul occupied the place of Shadi Ming-bashi. But Mussulman Kul found it impossible thoroughly to propitiate the Sarts, adherents of Shadi, for he could not give them all the offices they desired; and the more he endeavoured to make friends with them, the more he displeased the Kiptchaks, who were jealous of his prominence in the government, and there was consequently a strong opposition to him, and every means were used to overthrow him. Finally the dissatisfied party, in 1845, sent deputies to Shahrisabs, and invited Murad Bek, son of Alim Khan, who was living there, to come to Khokand and take possession of the throne.

On the accession of Madali Khan, Murad Bek had gone to Khiva, where he had married his daughter to the Khan Allah Kul, but after her death had quarrelled with his son-in-law, and had sought refuge in Bukhara. Murad Bek easily persuaded the Amir Nasrullah to assist him, and with a small body of soldiery made his way to Khokand, and, profiting by the absence of Mussulman Kul, who had gone to the mountains in the east to collect tribute, seized the capital by a *coup-de-main*, put to death Shir Ali, and proclaimed himself Khan, but at the same time vassal and lieutenant of the Amir of Bukhara. Had it not been for this, he might perhaps have been successful, but the people so hated the Bukharans, that word was at once sent to Mussulman Kul, who advanced with his forces, stopping at Marghilan on the way, and taking with him

Khudayar, one of the younger sons of Shir Ali, and Bek of that place, who was at the same time his son-in-law.

As soon as Murad heard of the approach of Mussulman Kul, his courage deserted him, and he fled from the city and returned to Shahrisabs. According to other accounts he was killed. The Bukharan troops for the most part escaped.¹

Shir Ali had left five sons: by his first wife Jarkin, the daughter of the Kiptchak Tokhta Nazar, Sarymsak, then twenty-two, Bek of Tashkent, Khudayar, sixteen, Bek of Marghilan, and Sultan Murad; and by his second wife Suna Aim (also a Kiptchak), Malla, seventeen years old, Bek of Andijan, and Sufi.

Mussulman Kul was in unpleasant relations with Sarymsak, the eldest son, and preferred one of the younger boys as Khan, because in that way he could really govern the country himself. He therefore sent a letter with the seal of Khudayar to Sarymsak, who was then at Tashkent, asking him to come to Khokand and become Khan. Sarymsak believed this and started, but was murdered on the way. It is generally believed that this execution took place without the knowledge of his brother. On the next day his death was announced, and Khudayar was proclaimed Khan.

After the accession of Khudayar, there ensued a painful epoch for Khokand. The Khan himself was too young to engage in business, and was kept by Mussulman Kul in most strict seclusion. He was, for instance, rarely allowed any money, for fear he should buy himself friends, and only obtained a little through the good offices of the Aftobatcha Abdurrahman, the son of Mussulman Kul, then his best friend.

Mussulman Kul himself was a kind and naturally a just man; but he now removed from the government all of the Sarts who had been hostile to him, and the persons who surrounded him oppressed the people with their extortions. Mussulman Kul himself was not a man who could be contradicted, and insisted on the fulfilment of

¹ Atalyk, the second son of Alim Khan, had been sent to Karategin with his brother Murad on the usurpation of Omar. He was subsequently invited to Bukhara, where he married, going afterwards to Balh. In 1844 he headed a trifling insurrection in Khokand, but was defeated by Shir Ali at Kara Yasi and was killed. Six years after his death his widow went to live at Samarkand, accompanied by her son Pulad, then a boy of seven, and by a daughter, who afterwards married Mohammed Rahim Sabankul, the Matevali of the Medresé Hodja Akhrax. In 1872 Pulad went to Khokand where he was arrested by Khudayar, and was only set at liberty on the intercession of his sister. In the insurrection of 1875 Pulad took no part, and the person bearing that name, who was subsequently executed by the Russians at Marghilan, was an impostor, a Kirghiz from near Andijan, named Mullah Isiak, who was a tobacco-seller at Fiskent, and was put forward by the leaders of the Kiptchak party.

his will, whether it was according to law or not. He had raised up for himself enemies even among his own Kiptchaks, and the rulers of Ura-tepé, Hodjent, and Marghilan, and Nur Mohammed, the Bek of Tashkent, became especially hostile to him. In 1850, too, the Khan Khudayar reached his majority, and was less disposed to submit himself to the arbitrary will of his regent.

Open rebellion did not, however, begin until 1851, when Nur Mohammed led armed forces towards the capital, with the view of meeting with Utenbai, the Governor of Marghilan, and overthrowing Mussulman Kul. The latter, however, got wind of this, and cut off their intercourse, and forced Nur Mohammed to retreat to Tashkent, while Utenbai came to Mussulman Kul and declared that he had come to his assistance, and not to that of Nur Mohammed. He was, however, removed from office.

In consequence of various disputes arising out of the collection of the tribute due from Tashkent, in the next year another rebellion broke out, and in March 1852, Mussulman Kul marched with an army of 40,000 men, and laid siege to Tashkent, taking the Khan with him, as he dared not leave him in Khokand. The siege, owing in part to the treachery of the Bek of Marghilan, and to the violent rains, was unsuccessful, and after a fortnight, the Khokandian army was obliged to retire.¹

This disaster was followed with very important consequences for Mussulman Kul. The intrigues against him grew stronger, and were secretly supported by the Khan. He tried to disarm and propitiate his enemies with favours and promises; but at last, in July, he was obliged to besiege Tashkent again with 30,000 men. As, however, preparations for defence had been made, he found it impossible to take the place by storm, and contented himself with besieging the small fort of Niazbek, and with cutting off the water supply of the city; and then, turning to the north, took Tchimkent. In his absence, however, he found that a sortie had been made from Tashkent, the force blockading Niazbek defeated, and the water supply restored to the city. Hurriedly returning to Tchimkent with his army, he met the Tashkendians on the Tchirtchik. When just on the eve of battle, it was found that the Khan Khudayar and numerous of his followers had abandoned him, and gone over to the enemy. The Khokandian army, losing heart, ran away, and Mussulman Kul himself was obliged to take refuge among the Kiptchaks.²

¹ The Russian merchant Kliutcharef, then living in Tashkent, kept a very interesting diary of all these proceedings from February $\frac{9}{18}$ to $\frac{5}{17}$ June 1852, which is published as an appendix to Mr. Velyaminof-Zernof's article.

² Nurekin relates this differently. According to him Mussulman Kul won in the battle and captured the Khan, and the fall of Mussulman Kul was owing to the explosion of a subsequent intrigue.

Khudayar Khan had, however, not freed himself from the despotism of Mussulman Kul to fall into the hands of new regents, and a party among the Sarts of Khokand being formed, adverse to the Kiptchaks, he readily joined with them. Nur Mohanmed was executed, and his friends were overthrown. Malla Bek, the brother of the Khan, was sent to govern Tashkent. General orders were now given for the massacre of all the Kiptchaks in the Khanate from Ak Masjid (Fort Perovsky) to the mountains separating Khokand from Kashgar, and they were killed everywhere, in the bazaars, in the streets, and on the steppe, wherever they were found. Khokand was thus turned into a vast place of execution, and in all the three months during which this massacre lasted, 20,000 men, it is supposed, were killed. Khudayar was himself by his mother's side a Kiptchak, and this act of carnage was never forgiven nor forgotten.

In the beginning of 1853, while these murders were still continuing, Mussulman Kul was caught, and publicly punished. He was made to sit loaded with fetters, with a tall cap on his head, on a wooden platform, while 600 Kiptchaks were killed before his eyes, and at last he himself was hung. To please the people, who were delighted with the fall of their former oppressors, new and most unheard-of kinds of torture, were applied. It is said that when Mussulman Kul witnessed the horrible spectacle of the punishment of his partisans, he at first sat pale and silent, with difficulty sustaining his emotion; but that when he saw the heads fall of persons entirely innocent, he could no longer contain himself, and cried out, 'For God's sake kill me first.'

After the reign of the Kiptchaks came that of the Sarts. Malla Bek soon quarrelled with his brother and declared war against him, and being defeated fled to Bukhara. Subsequently, at the request of his mother, he was pardoned and recalled to Khokand, but received no new position.

Mirza Akhmet, one of the Sart leaders, and a great opponent of Mussulman Kul, was appointed Bek of Tashkent in his place.¹

Mirza Akhmet by his severity excited great discontent among the Kirghiz who lived in the district surrounding Tchimkent and Anlié-ata; and finding it impossible to put them down, was obliged to make a compromise with them and satisfy their demands.

This was in 1857. At the same time the Kara Kirghiz and what was left of the Kiptchaks entered into negotiations with Malla Bek and gained to their side many influential Uzbeks, especially Alim Kul, a person who afterwards rose to great promi-

¹ Mirza Akhmet is now one of the chief advisers of Yakub Khan, the Amir of Kashgar.

nence. They at once proclaimed Malla Bek their Khan and marched against Khokand.

The Khan with his army went out to meet them, but suffered a decisive defeat at Samantchi. His most trusted adherents immediately turned against him, and he was obliged to give up his throne and fly to Bukhara, while Malla Khan was received as the lawful ruler.

Another reason of dislike to Khudayar Khan had been the advance of the Russians, who in 1853, after the fall of Mussulman Kul, had captured Ak Masjid, and founded Fort Perovsky, and had made considerable progress in the north, having captured Pishpek, Tokmak, and other forts near Vierny.

Khudayar Khan was very well received at the Court of Bukhara, for Nasrullah thought that this might prove another opportunity for him to obtain possession of Khokand, a country the loss of which he had never ceased to regret, and Khudayar was given a sort of honorary position at Court, and subsequently went to live at Samarkand. When he had lived there for some time, for some reason or other the Amir suddenly changed his disposition to him, and sent him to live at Jizakh, at the same time giving strict orders to the Bek of that place to assist him in no possible way, and to prevent all people from holding any communication with him. Khudayar Khan saw himself, therefore, on the point of starvation. He lived with two personal adherents in a little hut made of mud outside of the walls. Afraid to appear in public himself, his attendants gathered reeds and roots which could be used as fuel, and disguising themselves sold them in the town, and with the money thus obtained purchased provisions. Then the mother of Khudayar Khan managed to send him from time to time small sums, and with this money, under an assumed name, he procured two or three camels, which he hired out to carry freight, and when events recalled him to Khokand he had laid the foundation of a fortune, and was standing the chance of becoming a rich merchant.

Malla Khan reigned for two years, during which time he succeeded in making himself much loved by the people. Alim Kul became his chief adviser, but, contrary to the hopes of the other Biiis who had taken part in the insurrection, he gave them no share in the Government, and allowed no one to approach the Khan. Their discontent increased to such a degree that some of their leaders, including Shadiman Hodja, resolved to murder the Khan, and taking advantage of the absence of Alim Kul, who had been appointed Bek in Andijan, and having gained over the attendant who always watched over his master, they murdered him during his sleep and proclaimed as Khan Shah Murad, a boy of about

fifteen years old, the son of Sarymsak, and therefore nephew of Khudayar Khan.¹

Malla Khan had left a son, a boy of about thirteen years, Seid Sultan, whom it was the intention of the conspirators also to kill, but Alim Kul, who had quick intelligence of what was taking place, sent to Khokand, and managed secretly to get him out of the palace and bring him to Andijan. The conspirators were very much frightened, thinking Alim Kul had intended immediately to proclaim Seid Sultan the Khan, but were soon quieted by receiving a message from him that he merely wished to save him from death, and that he was devoted heart and soul to the new government. He probably temporised in this way on account of the danger of being disunited in view of the position taken by Tashkent, for this city, with its usual rebellious spirit, under the influence of Shadiman Hodja, one of the murderers of Malla Khan, and of Khanayat Shah, Bek of Turkistan, had just recalled Khudayar Khan from Jizakh, and he had occupied it with his adherents. The army of Khokand, under the command of Shah Murad, with most of the conspirators, immediately moved on Tashkent and besieged Khudayar Khan; but as Tashkent held out strongly, after thirty-one days' siege, they retired. On the homeward march, while the army was resting, Alim Kul, who had just arrived from Andijan, put to death in the Khan's presence four of the leading murderers of Malla Khan, who had just plotted to go over to Khudayar, and on the same day another, Alim Bii, was also killed by his orders. Contrary to expectation Shah Murad, who was with the army, remained Khan, the only change being that Alim Kul was made regent, as he had been in the time of Malla Khan.

Khudayar Khan and his army at once followed and attacked Hodjent. Alim Kul at first began to defend Khokand, but finding general treachery he retired to Marghilan, and then to the mountains.

The young Khan, Shah Murad, somehow disappeared, and it was ascertained afterwards that Khudayar had succeeded in capturing and murdering him. He was also desirous of getting hold of Seid Sultan, but was unsuccessful.

Khokand received its old tyrant, Khudayar Khan, with great delight, and there were now two strong parties in the country—that of Khudayar, who was once again the lawful ruler, and that of Alim Kul, the Regent; and a violent contest lasted between them for three years, all the Uzbeks, with the exception of the Kara Kalpaks, supporting Alim Kul, and the Sarts and townspeople being on the side of Khudayar. Not only the two armies fought, but the indi-

¹ I have given the detailed account of this murder on p. 92.

viduals of the two classes of populations murdered each other whenever they had an opportunity.

The Uzbek party was somewhat divided in consequence of three new pretenders to the throne, descendants of the former Khans—Shahrukh, who had been proclaimed by Mirza Akhmet, Sadyk Bek, and Hadji Bek—and it was said that Alim Kul, to rid himself of opposition, enticed these young men to himself and had them all murdered in Ush, where they are buried on the side of the hill called 'Solomon's Throne.'

After this Alim Kul proclaimed Seid Sultan Khan, and began decisive operations against Khudayar, and soon took Marghilan and Andijan, and twice defeated the Khan's army. Khudayar Khan then sent Sultan Murad Bek to the Amir of Bukhara, asking for assistance, and the Amir—now Mozaffar-Eddin, the son of Nasrullah—came in person with a large army. Alim Kul retreated and shut himself up in the defiles of Kara-Kuldja, where he was for a long time besieged.

At last the Amir became disgusted at his want of success, got angry with Khudayar, sent to Alim Kul as presents a golden staff, a cap, a belt, and a fine Koran, and retired to Bukhara. Upon this Alim Kul advanced from the mountains, took Khokand without difficulty, and Khudayar for a second time sought refuge in Bukhara.

Alim Kul was now supreme ruler of Khokand, for Seid Sultan bore but the nominal title of Khan. Fully understanding the difficulties which internal disputes were causing the country, while lenient to ordinary offenders, he punished with unexampled severity all those accused of political offences, and is said to have executed over 4,000 men.

At first by these means he restored quiet to the Khanate, but soon reaction took place, and he was greeted with general discontent. Prayers from every city went out to Khudayar to return and assume the throne. Khudayar in the meantime was living in Jizakh, where he had renewed his former mercantile operations, but this time on a larger scale. On making representations to the Amir he succeeded in persuading him again to attempt an expedition, and preparations were being made when news arrived of the death of Alim Kul in Tashkent. He had been wounded in the first attack the Russians had made on the city in 1865, under General Tcherniaief. The partizans of Alim Kul, fearing the vengeance of Khudayar Khan, immediately fled, most of them going to Kashgar, where Yakub Bek was now making for himself a throne under the pretext of being the general of Buzruk Khan.

About the same time that the Russians took Tashkent, the Bukharan Amir took Hodjent, and one of the first propositions of the Russians in their efforts to make a peace was that the Amir of Bukhara should place on the throne of Khokand the rightful Khan Khudayar, even offering him the support of the Russian troops for that purpose. This, however, he did not accept, feeling confident of his own strength, and advanced to Khokand and reinstated Khudayar. He insisted on retaining Hodjent as the price for his services, and that town therefore remained a Bukharan possession until it was taken by the Russians in 1866. Seid Sultan Khan escaped for the time, but was brought to Khokand and executed in Isfara in 1871.

The Khanate of Khokand, by both Russian and Bukharan conquests, had now been reduced to but a small portion of its former dimensions, but the Khan succeeded in escaping complete conquest by following the shrewd advice of Ata Bek in sending to congratulate the Russians upon the capture of Hodjent. While in his heart hating the Russians, Khudayar became apparently submissive, and for the remaining ten years of his reign was unmolested by them. Fear of the Russians in a great measure restrained his subjects from rebellion, although they were no more contented with his rule than they had previously been; in fact, his reign had become much more severe. He did not give himself up so much to open licentiousness as he had previously done, but he began to make money as fast as possible out of his dominions, both by seizing the bazaars and taking the profits arising from them, and by imposing taxes of every kind upon the country. The Kirghiz and Kiptchaks, although they have not been the greatest sufferers by these taxes, have been the most indignant at them, and in all of their projects they have had the full support of the settled population—a thing which has never before occurred. It was with difficulty that anything could be attempted, as there was great fear that the Russians would march in and reduce the population to submission to the Khan, it being thought that the new conquerors looked upon him as their instrument.

In 1871 an open revolt broke out, but was speedily terminated.

During 1873 a much more serious movement began. The Khan desired to impose additional taxes upon the Kara-Kirghiz in the mountains to the south of Ush and Andijan, and asked as much as three sheep instead of one from a family. There were also some new taxes upon the cultivated land in the mountains. These taxes the Kirghiz refused to pay, and stripped and beat the officers who were sent to collect them; and when troops were sent,

conflicts ensued, and the Kirghiz in a mass retired to the inaccessible defiles of the mountains.

At this time the Aftobatcha Abdurrahman Hadji, the son of Mussulman Kul, and brother-in-law to the Khan, who had just returned from a pilgrimage to Mecca,¹—to the great surprise of all, who had supposed he had been secretly murdered by order of the Khan,—and who enjoyed a great influence among the Kiptchaks, was put in command of the troops, and was sent to bring the Kirghiz to obedience.

The Aftobatcha persuaded the Kirghiz to send to the Khan a deputation of forty men to represent their grievances, and to try to come to some understanding. At the same time he urged the Khan to retain them as hostages, but on no account to harm them, and to treat them well, as order could only be restored by pacific means. The Khan stupidly had all of them executed, and the Aftobatcha was obliged at once to return to Khokand, as the Kirghiz were thoroughly aroused at this act of perfidy, and the Kiptchaks were threatening to join them. All this occurred while I was in Khokand.

Open hostilities commenced at once, and the Kirghiz immediately took Uzgent and Suk, a small fortified place in the mountains, where was part of the private treasury of the Khan. In the low country the rebels met with little success, as they were too badly armed and disciplined to cope with even the poor soldiers of the Khan. A large number of them were taken prisoners, and 500 of them were executed in the bazaar at Khokand; and the pretender to the throne, who called himself Mozaffar Khan, son of Madali Khan, was impaled alive. At the same time the Khan sent two or three special envoys one after the other to Tashkent asking for assistance, and making complaints to the Russians that the Kirghiz subject to the Emperor had invaded Khokand, and were devastating it. On investigation the facts proved to be that several thousand Kirghiz from Khokand, on the breaking out of the disturbance, had emigrated from Khokand into the Russian territory; but when the rebels began to get the upper hand, with the exception of a few Kiptchaks, they all returned. The Russians refused to interfere on the side of the Khan, and the commander of the forces even telegraphed to St. Petersburg for permission to occupy Khokand if the insurrection continued, as

¹ Although the pilgrimage was the avowed object of the Aftobatcha's journey, he had been in reality sent by the Khan to the Sultan at Constantinople to ask his aid against the Russians. *Aftobatcha* is an honorary title meaning swerholder.

such a state of affairs was very injurious to Russian interests. This permission was, however, refused.

The position of the Khan was very unpleasant; he felt he could not even rely on those persons who ought to be the most devoted to him. Mirza Hakim, the Khokandian envoy at Tashkent, told me that he himself was strongly in favour of the insurgents, and that he, as well as many others, would abandon the Khan as soon as they saw that the rebellion had any prospect of success. He said that the Khan had promised him in case his mission were successful to make him Bek, but if it were unsuccessful, he was to have his head cut off. It was known that conspiracies were on foot in Andijan and Khokand, and the Khan had great fear of his son the Khan-Zada Nasr'eddin, Bek of Andijan, and desired to bring him to Khokand. The Khan-Zada, however, feared for his life, as some time before the Khan had openly told him that as long as he lived he could feel no safety. He therefore refused to go. At the same time three high military commanders in Andijan laid a plot to seize upon the person of Khan-Zada, carry him to the mountains, and proclaim him Khan, hoping that this would add confidence to the insurgent's cause. The Khan-Zada refused to be a party to this plot, and personally wounded two of the conspirators, and had them all arrested and sent to Khokand, where they were executed. It was not, however, until the good offices of his aunt,—a sister of Malla Khan, and much respected at Khokand.—had been brought into play, that he consented to go to his father at Khokand, resigning at the same time the Bekship, and taking his family and treasure with him, saying that he no longer wished to hold any public position.

Ush and Andijan were immediately after taken by the rebels, and various smaller places, such as Suzak, Utch-Kurgan, and Balyktchi. This last city greatly suffered from the insurgents. Its Bek was put to death by being pinned to the ground by a stake driven through his mouth.

The Khan now took command of the troops in person, together with Ata-Bek and the Aftobatcha, although the two former soon retired, leaving the Aftobatcha in sole command. He had several small engagements with the rebels; but a large number of the Khan's soldiers,—it is said several thousand,—passed over to the enemy, and the Aftobatcha shut himself up in the small fort of Tiura-Kurgan, near Namangan, and refused to take any further action.

Messages from Khokand and other cities were sent to the Kirghiz, asking them to advance more quickly, as they would at once rise against the Khan; and the aid of the Kiptchaks, who

had hitherto taken no active part in the rebellion, was promised, and it was hoped that the Aftobatcha even might be on their side.

It was now, however, autumn; and with the approach of cold weather the insurrection died out, and the Khan retook his cities with but little opposition, and the country during the winter returned to its usual quiet state. In 1874 the insurrection began again with a plot to put on the throne Mohammed Amin, or Madamin Bek, the second son of Khudayar, who, it is said, himself let out the conspiracy by his great talkativeness. The plan had been prepared by his uncle Batyr Khan Tinra, and it was proposed to seize the Khan about April 1, in one of his towns outside of the capital. Batyr Khan and sixteen of the conspirators were called to the palace, and never returned; it is supposed that they were drowned in a pond within its precincts. Madamin himself was placed under strict surveillance. The Mekhter, Mullah Mir Kamil, was also one of the victims, and was poisoned by order of the Khan, for not having given him previous information. Before that, the Mekhter had been suspected of embezzling the custom-house funds, and had been subjected to a severe ordeal. He was bound on a thin lattice work, which was thrown over a deep ravine, and a horse was made to gallop several times over this frail bridge, threatening at every moment to break through. As the Mekhter came out alive, he was considered innocent—at least, of that offence. The Kirghiz and Kiptchaks now united, and sought for another claimant to the throne, entering into negotiations with Abdul Kerim Bek, a boy of sixteen, and a grandson of Fazyl Bek, the Khan's uncle, who was living at Hodjent. As an infant of a year old, his mother had taken him from Khokand to Hodjent, where she soon after died, and, it is said, that he did not even know of his extraction. At a request of Khudayar, the Russians compelled Abdul Kerim to remove to Tashkent, where he would be under the strictest surveillance, and sent his chief adviser, Abdul Kaum, to Tchimkent.

The failure of these two plots did not restore to the Khan that tranquillity and quiet which he had previously enjoyed. He became sombre and distrustful. His body-guard, composed of 400 picked men, educated to that trust from their infancy, ceased to inspire him with the same confidence as before. He felt himself menaced everywhere and at all times, and he even saw dangers where there were none. For a long time he did not even leave his palace. The entry of his room was usually guarded day and night by a black slave, Nasim Toga, who was blindly attached to him, and who was ordered to let no one—not even his wives or children—enter without consulting him. His distrust and fear were so

great, that he was only lulled asleep by the noise of the voices of three of his most faithful servants, who were ordered to remain in the adjoining room, and to make themselves constantly heard, as a palpable proof that watch was being kept.¹ His eldest son Nasreddin was placed under strict surveillance, and the system of espionage throughout the Khanate was carried to its utmost limits. His best spy was a certain Mir Alim, a rich merchant of Khokand, who had agents in the Russian possessions, as well as everywhere within the dominions of the Khan, and who naturally played upon the affairs of the Khan in order to gain for himself a good fortune.

One of the most popular chiefs of the insurrection of 1873, was a certain Mamyn Batcha, from Andijan, who had taken refuge first on Russian territory, and then in Kashgar, where he had tried to find support. Not succeeding in this, he returned with some adherents to Khokand, but was defeated, and took refuge in Russia, where he was arrested and sent to Siberia. A Kiptchak, too, Mussulman Kul, a relative of the former Regent, Alim Kul, in June, 1874, collected a band of partisans in the mountains north of Namangan, and finally succeeded in taking the town of Kasan, from which the Bek had fled. The Khan sent against them 7,000 men, under the command of the Aftobatcha, and of Issa-aulié, the Bek of Shahrikhana, and defeated the insurgents at Tirra Kurgan. Mussulman Kul died in the fight, and Said Pulad Khan, a new pretender, together with a certain Mumyn, a Kirghiz chief, fled to Russian territory, where they were caught. Another slight insurrection of the Kirghiz to the north of Namangan, was also easily put down.

In 1875, General Kaufmann, in order to make a bargain with the Khan, resolved to give up Abdul Kerim, and sent him to Khokand. While the Russian embassy was still there, the rebellion broke out again; and the Aftobatcha, who had been waiting his own time to avenge the murder of his father, Mussulman Kul, appeared as its leader. Everything must have been well prepared, for the army deserted in a mass, and Khudayar's brother and sons immediately went over to the rebels. Khudayar was forced to fly for the third time, and escaped with all his treasure to Tashkent, where he was well received by the Russians. He was subsequently sent to live at Orenburg. His eldest son, Nasreddin, was proclaimed Khan, but did not long keep the title, for he allowed himself to be drawn into a war against the Russians, the details of which I have given elsewhere—and eventually lost his throne, after which Khokand was annexed to Russia under the historic name of Ferghana.

¹ 'Journal de St. Pétersbourg,' No. 24, January 25 (February 7), 1875.

APPENDIX II.

REVIEW OF VÁMBÉRY'S 'HISTORY OF BUKHARA,'
BY PROFESSOR GRIGORIEF.¹

History of Bukhara from the Earliest Period down to the Present, composed for the first time after Oriental known and unknown historical manuscripts, by Arminius Vámbéry, London, 1873, xxxv. 419 pp. 8vo.

IN the very title of this work the author represents that it is the *first* which has appeared in Europe on this subject, and that it has been based in a great measure on Oriental historical manuscripts *unknown* in Europe. In the preface he expatiates still more on his services. 'It seems, however, to be the lot ordained for me to traverse regions where I have had scarcely any, or absolutely no, predecessors;² and having now to explore with the pen an entirely new field,' he says (p. viii.), and further on (p. xvi.): 'The second

¹ As this review was published in a journal, but little circulated in Russia, and hardly known abroad—the 'Journal of the Ministry of Public Instruction' for November 1873—I have thought that a translation of it would be interesting and valuable to students of the East. I have in some cases slightly condensed it without changing the ideas of the author.

² As is evident from this and other passages, Mr. Vámbéry seems to think that he was almost the first traveller in Central Asia in recent times.

Without speaking of the numerous Russian merchants and agents who went to Khiva and Bukhara during the seventeenth century, I subjoin an imperfect list of European travellers in Central Asia from the beginning of the eighteenth century up to the date of Mr. Vámbéry's journey, the most of whom have left published accounts of their travels.

- 1690. *Dubrovín, Khiva.*
- 1725. *Florio Benciveni, Khiva and Bukhara.*
- 1727-30. *Basilio Batazzi, Turkistan and Persia.*
- 1732. *Colonel Garber.*
- 1741. *George Thompson and Reynold Hogg, Khiva and Bukhara.*
- 1740-1. *Murnoin and Gladishef, Khiva.*
- 1743. *Müller, Tashkent.*
- 1752. *Nikolai Grigorief, Bukhara.*
- 1774. *Philip Yefremof, Bukhara and Samarkand.*

part of my work (i.e. the 'History of Bukhara, from its Conquest by the Uzbeks') deals almost entirely with data hitherto little known, or entirely unknown even to the world of scholars, for they bring before us *a series of princes and even whole dynasties regarding whom scarcely anything has, as yet, been written in Asia, and not a single word in Europe.*' In conclusion the author says that 'it must always be a difficult task to write the *first* history of any country,' and that the present is 'the fruits of many years' toil.'

Statements of such a kind from a professor of Oriental languages, who has personally visited the country, the history of which he writes, and who has already succeeded in giving himself a reputation as a writer, would naturally cause every Orientalist, interested in the history of Central Asia, to read this 'History of Bukhara' with the expectation of finding in it, if not an artistic historical work, at least a whole mine of new information, of new facts, and of new conclusions penetrated with the spirit of European criticism, and enlivened by the author's acquaintance with the nature of the country investigated by him, and with the character of its inhabi-

- 1793-4. *Blankennagel*, Khiva.
- 1793-5. *Metropolitan Chrysanth*, Balkh, Bukhara and Khiva.
- 1794. *Timothei Burnashof* and *A. S. Bernosikof*, Bukhara.
- 1800. *Pospielof* and *Burnashof*, Tashkent.
- 1813-4. *Nazarof*, Tashkent and Khokand.
- 1819. *Muravief*, Khiva.
- 1820. *Negri* and *Baron Meyendorf*, Bukhara.
- 1821-2. *Fraser*, Khorasan.
- 1830. *Potantin*, Khokand.
- 1831-3. *Burnes*, Bukhara.
- 1834. *Honiberger*, Bukhara.
- 1834. *Demaison*, Bukhara.
- 1836. *Vitkevitch*, Bukhara.
- 1840. *Abbott*, Khiva.
- 1840. *Thomson*, Khiva.
- 1840. *Shakespeare*, Khiva, Merv.
- 1841. *Nikiforof*, Khiva.
- 1841. *Connolly*, Khiva, Khokand, and Bukhara.
- 1841. *Stoddart*, Bukhara.
- 1841-2. *Khanikof*, *Lehmann*, *Butenief*, Bukhara and Samarkand.
- 1842-3. *Danilefsky* and *Basiner*.
- 1842-3. *Eversmann*, Khiva.
- 1843. *Dr. Wolff*, Bukhara.
- 1851. *Kliutcharof*, Tashkent.
- 1858. *Admiral Butakoff*, the Oxus to Kungrad.
- 1858. *General Ignatoeff*, *Loroh*, and *Kühlewein*, Khiva and Bukhara.

An interesting map by Mr. Jacob Khanikof, giving the routes of many of these travellers, is appended to Book X. of the Memoirs (*Zapiski*) of the Imp. Russ. Geogr. Soc., 1866. [E. S.]

tants. Unfortunately, every page of Mr. Vámbéry's book only disappoints such expectations, and the general result of reading it shows that the very small particle of what is really new in his book is lost in the mass of what is old and well-known, which in most cases, too, he has misunderstood and has erroneously studied. It appears that instead of communicating new sources of information he has not even made use of very important books accessible to all, and has not even known of their existence. It seems, in short, that Mr. Vámbéry, in beginning his work, had not the slightest acquaintance with the history of Central Asia; and in the simplicity of his soul regarded his own gradual emancipation from complete ignorance on this subject as discoveries which would astonish and delight the learned world.

In consequence of this relation of Mr. Vámbéry to his subject, we have not in his book a conscientious and learned work, the result of many years' study, but a very light and superficial compilation, put together somehow or other in a few months, and with very frequent errors and omissions of the most unpardonable character—a compilation which would not be worth speaking about had it not been received both in the West and in Russia by unlearned persons with full credence in the boast of the author, as a monumental work, and in this quality been landed to the skies.

To show the foundation of our own unfavourable opinion of the last work of the noted traveller who has shown himself such a poor historian, we shall look more or less minutely at the contents of all the nineteen chapters of his book, together with the preface and the introduction.

In his preface, Mr. Vámbéry, after naming eleven works in eastern languages, which were his chief materials for the first part of his book—the 'History of Bukhara to the Uzbek invasion'—adds that besides these he has made use of all that he 'could find relating to the past history of Transoxiana, in Oriental works, both printed and in manuscript, or in European histories, biographies, or books of travel' (p. xii). 'As extensive a knowledge as can possibly be obtained of all literature bearing on this subject,' he adds directly afterwards, 'is now-a-days the first requisite for an author attempting any work.' This is of course true, and yet there can be no doubt that the author of the 'History of Bukhara' did not refer in preparing it to such European writers on the history of Central Asia as Deguignes, Abel Remusat, Klaproth, and Ritter, to say nothing of those less known. This circumstance alone shows what kind of a writer Mr. Vámbéry is, as well as what kind of a professor. Further on he enumerates five sources of information for the history of Bukhara which he supposes to be *new* and *un-*

known to anyone but himself; and what are they? The most important of these, and that which has furnished him with the whole 'series of princes and even dynasties,' about which, as he boasts, 'not a word has been written in Europe,' is the 'Tarikhi Mukim-Khani,' the text of which, with a partial French translation, was published fifty years ago in St. Petersburg by the late Professor Senkofsky.¹ The second in importance, the 'History of Bukhara,' by Narshaki, has been known to the learned world for more than thirty years, thanks to the extracts made from it by our Orientalist Khanikof. There are five manuscripts of this work in the libraries of St. Petersburg alone. The third source, 'Tarikhi Seid Rakim,' was obtained by Mr. Lerch during his visit to Bukhara in 1859, and is well known by extracts made from it in various works by Mr. Lerch and by the Academician Veliaminof Zernof.² Thus only two out of the five sources mentioned appear to be really new and unknown to anyone but Mr. Vámbéry—the poem in the Jagatai language, 'Sheibani Nameh,' and a collection of poems, 'Dakhme-i-Shahan,' both of which, as is evident from the citations of Mr. Vámbéry himself, contain almost nothing historical.³ There was no reason on account of this to raise a cry throughout all Europe and boast of the abundance of the new information communicated to the world.

In calling his book the 'History of Bukhara,' its author was obliged to explain what he meant by the name of Bukhara, for the boundaries of the country, the capital of which is the city of Bukhara, have greatly differed in different times. Part of the introduction is dedicated to this explanation, from which it is evident that by Bukhara the author means the Khanate of Bukhara within the limits which it had before the Russian movement beyond the Syr Darya, and in addition the countries on the left of the Amu Darya, north of the Hindukush and of the Paropamisus, beginning from the sources of that river to the Murghab on the west—countries very often in historical times independent of Bukhara. Let it be so, although this extension of the term Bukhara is not entirely correct; but why does the author then identify Bukhara with Maverannahr, or Transoxiana, and try to prove that the Arabs meant by Maverannahr not only the country to the north of the Oxus, or Amu Darya, but also the left bank of that river from its

¹ The title is 'Supplément à l'histoire générale des Huns, des Turks, et des Mogols,' par M. Joseph Senkowski :—St. Pétersbourg, 1824. [E. S.]

² Among others in 'Archæological Journy in the Region of Turkistan in 1867,' by P. Lerch. St. Petersburg, 1870. [E. S.]

³ A copy of the 'Sheibani Nameh,' has long been in the Imperial Library of St. Petersburg. [E. S.]

source to the Murghab, we can in no way understand, especially as all that is nonsense, and is not even proved by the only Arab geographer whom Mr. Vámbéry read and whom he cites. We find, however, that this geographer says entirely the contrary to that stated by Vámbéry (see 'Viæ Regnorum, auctore al-Istakhri' in edit. M. I. de Goeje, Lugd. Batav., 1870, pp. 286, 287). Indeed, it could not be otherwise, for the very name *Maverannahr* means 'what is beyond the river,' and by the river is there meant the *Jaihun*, the *Oxus* of the ancients, and the *Amu* of our times. Quite mistakenly, too, does Mr. Vámbéry call this geographer (*El Belkli*) the oldest Arabian geographer; and finding there the name of a country 'Udjan,' explains that this would be more correctly written 'Vadjan,' when this is the well-known 'Vakhan'; and in the same place in enumerating the districts on the left bank of the *Amu* he omits *Badakshan*, and informs us that the *Amu* means among the natives 'river,' while it is well known that the *Amu Darya* was so called from the city *Amuye*, or *Amulye*, on its left bank. He there repeats his absurd idea that it is necessary to pronounce *Khahrezm* and not *Khârezm*.¹ In the same place, speaking of the thirty-fifth degree of latitude he calls it longitude, and the seventy-first degree of longitude he calls latitude, and in addition does not think it necessary to say from what meridian he calculates, probably supposing that on all maps the degrees are counted from the same meridian. All this is on one page of the introduction (p. xxii.), not counting the statement on the same page that according to his 'historical researches' the left bank of the *Amu* was an integral portion of *Bukhara*, or *Maverannahr*, from the time of the *Samanides*; whereas there is nothing in the book to show any ground for this wrong assertion. No less ignorance of the history and geography of *Maverannahr* under Arab rule is evident on the two following pages (xxiii, xxiv). The chief town in the district of *Osrushna* he positively calls *Bu Mekhet*, although in the manuscripts the name of this city is written without diacritical points in so many different ways that it is by no means known how it should be read.² In the neighbouring district of *Tchatch* (*Tashkent*) there appear, according to him, the cities *Otrar*, *Siganak*, and *Sirem* (i.e. *Sairam*), of which *Balkhi* (that is, *Istakhri*) makes no mention whatever, and which only became known in very late times. Mr. Vámbéry is even surprised that during his journey in *Bukhara* he

¹ Mr. Lereh in his 'Khiva oter Khârezm' ('*Russian Review*,' vol. ii. pp. 445, 447), has conclusively shown Mr. Vámbéry's error, and takes *Khârezm* to mean *Lowland*. [E. S.]

² In the same passage 'Sabad or Savat' should be identified not with *Harvad*, but with *Savat* between *Zamin* and *Ura-tepé*. [E. S.]

heard no mention of the 'great wall, which Belkhi describes as having been built by Abdullah bin Hamid between the mountains and the Yaxartes.' No wonder, because there is not a word about any such wall neither in Belkhi nor, as far as we know, in any other Arabian geographer or historian. Turning then to the history of Tchatch, Mr. Vámbéry informs us that 'in the pre-Islamite period these northern shores of the Yaxartes formed an independent state governed by Turks, which, however, was annexed to Bukhara during the Arabic rule there in the time of the Samanides.' But in the pre-Islamite period all Maverannahr consisted of independent districts, for the most part having Turkish rulers; and the district of Tchatch was subdued by Mussulman arms long before the appearance of the Samanides. 'It asserted its independence again under the Seldjukides,' continues our historian, 'and the Turkish prince Kadr Khan rose to considerable power.' The fact is that the district of Tchatch, which fell under the power of the Samanides, together with the other dominions of the Abbasides in Maverannahr, never again obtained its independence, but with the enfeebling of the Samanides became subject to the Turkish sovereign ruling in Kashgar. This happened at the end of the tenth century, when the Seldjukides had not yet become important. And the power of the sovereigns of Kashgar did not begin with Kadr, or Kadyr Khan, who died in 1032, but at least with Bogra Khan, who took from the Samanides both Samarkand and Bukhara. 'From the date of the Mongolian invasion,' we read further in Vámbéry, 'Tchatch became a bone of contention between Khârezmians in the west and Uigurs in the east; and after the death of Djenghiz Kadr and his successors, waged a long fratricidal war with the Jagataides about this very territory.' Here there is hardly a word that is not erroneous. After the Mongol invasion of Maverannahr there were neither Khârezm-Shahs who could fight with the Uigurs, nor Uigurs who could fight with the Khârezm-Shahs; and even before the Mongol invasion the Khârezm-Shahs contended, not for Tchatch, but for Bukhara, and not with the Uigurs but with the Karakhatai or Karakidans, of the very existence of whom, as is evident further on, Mr. Vámbéry is ignorant. But what is best of all is the 'fratricidal' war, which, after the death of Tchingiz, Kadr Khan and his successors had with the Jagataides. Kadr Khan, as we have seen, died in 1032, and Mr. Vámbéry makes him outlive Tchingiz Khan, who died in 1227. The result is that Kadr Khan lived two centuries and a half, to say nothing of the fact that the power of his successors was destroyed by the Karakidans in 1120; so that the Jagataides, even if they had wished, could not have fought with the descendants of Kadr

Khan, who did not then exist, and who besides had not the slightest relation to them.

To show all the mistakes of Mr. Vámbéry we should be obliged to write a book three times larger than his 'History of Bukhara.' Therefore, in his introduction we shall note only two more capital errors. On page xxviii. Mr. Vámbéry says that Samarkand 'never became a centre of inland commerce,' for 'it lay a little on one side of the great high-road to India' (whence?). This shows that Vámbéry has no idea of the great and active traffic which was formerly carried on through Samarkand between China and Eastern Turkistan on the one hand, and Western Asia and Europe on the other, to say nothing of the fact that even part of the goods coming from India arrived at Bukhara only through Kashgar and Samarkand. On page xxxii we read that Bukhara has 'grain, fruit, silk, cotton, and dyes, all unrivalled of their kind,' and that 'the same may be said of its cattle, for besides their horses, which are celebrated throughout Asia, their camels surpass all the other kinds of this most useful domestic animal in the south and west of Asia, and their mutton, finally, is equal to any in the world.' This is not history. Mr. Vámbéry was himself in Bukhara, and therefore allows himself such inadmissible hyperboles. In what part of Asia are Bukharan horses celebrated, and why does he think that Bukharan cotton is unrivalled? With regard to camels and sheep, it is well known that Bukhara obtains animals of this kind chiefly from the Kirghiz steppes.

The first chapter of his work Mr. Vámbéry devotes to the history of the country before the introduction of Islam. It is natural to expect that the reader should find here the information about this period given by the Greek writers,—for the Greeks reigned over Transoxiana a long time after the conquest of the country by Alexander the Great,—as well as from the Chinese writers; for in the second century, B.C., this country was visited by Tchjan-Tsiang, and the beginning of the seventh century, A.D., by Hiouen Tsiang; and both of these travellers communicate very important details with regard to it, irrespective of the information contained in the Chinese official histories of the Han dynasty, of the elder and younger dynasty of Bei, of the 'Northern Courts,' and of the dynasties of Su and Thang. Instead of this, Mr. Vámbéry has apparently never heard of the Greek and Chinese authorities on the past of the country, the history of which he undertook to write. There is not even one word in his history to show that the Greeks ever ruled there, or that there was a time when the sovereigns of Maverannahr considered themselves vassals of the Emperor of China. The ancient history of Bukhara, ac-

ording to Vámbéry, begins with the legendary tales of Narshaki about the origin of the city of Bukhara, and the people who reigned there not long before the invasion of the Arabs, and about the early times of their conquest; and these tales are besides set forth without any criticism, with the name of a town *Eskedjiket* (Sekedjiket) taken as the name of its ruler. After that, he tells us, as one of his own discoveries, that *Maverannahr* was anciently inhabited by a race of Persian origin distinguished by high culture, and ascribes to the Roman historian Justin (p. 6) a phrase about *Bactria* which belongs to the Greek writer Apollodorus of Artamis, and refers, not to *Bactria*, but to *India*; and further on he makes the erroneous statement that 'the Persian dialect of modern Central Asia contains both in its words and forms more traces of the old Persian language, before it was disfigured by Semitic and Turanian elements, than all the other dialects of the language put together;' and that in the Tadjik dialect, 'the pronoun and verb appear to be less influenced by the Turkish language, than is the Persian or modern Iran.' Those who wish to assure themselves of the contrary, may read the grammatical notes on the Tadjik dialect appended to the edition of the 'Memoirs of Mirza Shems,' in that dialect.¹ On the west of Bukhara the old Transoxanian civilisation could not extend itself, we read further in Mr. Vámbéry's work (p. 8), because there, on the west of Bukhara, began sandy steppes, while on the previous page he cites from Rawlinson a quotation of Al Biruni, with regard to the high state of the civilisation of Khárezm, the present Khanate of Khiva, on the west of Bukhara.

In the same way, when beginning to talk about the Turanian neighbours of Transoxiana, Mr. Vámbéry at the first step displays his complete ignorance of the subject. He does not know where is the fatherland of the Guzz, because Balkhi (the only Arabian geographer read by the celebrated traveller), places them on the north of Tchatch, while Persian authorities many centuries later apply the same term to the Persian nomads in the neighbourhood of the modern Andkhai. When a man is not able to put together such simple things, he should not write history, but confine himself to sketches of travel. Immediately after this, Vámbéry ascribes to the Turks what Rawlinson says of the Scythians, and then expresses a doubt whether the first migration of the Turks over the Oxus could have taken place 700 years before Christ. This doubt is very well put, since the Turks appear in history only in the sixth century after Christ; and with such information, and

¹ See Note, p. 109. [E. S.]

such an historical method, people set themselves to write history, and wish even to teach and to astonish. . . . The learning of the author is also well recommended by his derivation of the name *Balkh*, from the Turkish *balyk* (p. 11); his book abounds in similar derivations, of which he is evidently proud, thinking that they are discoveries. According to him, *Bukhara* is also a Mongol word (p. 14), for *Bukhar* is even now the word for a Buddhistic 'temple' or 'monastery.' This Sanscrit *vihara*, borrowed by the Mongols, he takes for a Mongol word. As to when and how the nomad population of the steppes of the north of the Syr Darya came into *Maverannahr*, the celebrated traveller has not the slightest idea, and therefore with childish *naïveté* asks the question whether the Turks at their earliest appearance in *Transóxiana* played the parts of rulers, or served as auxiliary troops of native princes; and with still greater *naïveté*, says this is difficult to decide. But he has no difficulty in deciding that the Sogdian ruler *Maniakh* mentioned by *Zemarchus* was a Turanian. Why? Because *Maniakh* is a Turkish word, meaning 'prince, noble, distinguished,' and must have this meaning, because the chiefs of the *Diko-kamenny Kirghiz* are called *Manaps*, as if *Maniakh* and *Manap* were the same word. He also has no difficulty in deciding that Buddhism penetrated into *Maverannahr* before the beginning of history (p. 14), for he evidently does not know that the teaching of Buddha began in India only five centuries, B.C., as he is also ignorant that *Hionen Thsang* travelled in this country not in the fifth (p. 15) but in the seventh century, A.D.

The second and third chapters, treating of the conquest of *Bukhara* by the Arabs, and of the rule of the *Khalifs* there, to the time of the *Samanides*, are perhaps the best of the book, *i.e.*, least filled with mistakes of every kind. Unfortunately here, as in the remaining parts of his book, the author does not cite the sources whence he borrows his facts, which turns his history into a child's book. In applying himself to his work, the author, it appears, did not suspect that an historian who is not contemporary with the events which he describes, *i.e.*, who is not himself an authority, is bound to show whence he derives his information, because, among other things, the probability of the event is to some degree determined by the character of the person who recounts it. Writers like *Mr. Vámbéry* always avoid this duty, because if they should give the sources of their information, they would show their want of acquaintance with the literature of their subject, and their inability to become oriented in it. Concerning the facts relative to this period of *Bukharan* history, the '*Geschichte der Chalifen*' of *Weil*, gives them much better than the special work of *Vámbéry*,

who cares for nothing more than the tales of Narshaki. With regard to the choice of these facts, their grouping and their meaning, Mr. Vámbéry's work is beneath criticism. The struggle of Maverrannahr with the Arabs for independence, and its struggle a thousand years before with Alexander the Great for the same independence (of which there is not a word in Vámbéry's book), are events almost unparalleled in the history of all Asia; and Mr. Vámbéry, in telling of this struggle, overlooked such characteristic moments as the last efforts of Ezdedjerd to oppose the attack of the Arabs with forces which he chiefly drew from his vassal possessions on the north of the Amu. For Mr. Vámbéry this struggle begins only in the forty-sixth year of Hejra (666 A.D.). In this connection,—the relation of the victories of the celebrated Kuteibi-ibn-Muslim,—our historian communicates facts which are neither in Tabari nor in Narshaki;—whence did he get them?—and makes Kuteibi take Vardan (that is Vardan-Khudat, according to Narshaki), in the ninety-ninth year, A.H. (717-718 A.D.), although Kuteibi had died long before. The year 89 A.H. (corresponding to 707-8 A.D.), he makes 698 (p. 26) and a little further on, 94, A.H. (712-713 A.D.), he makes 742; while 95, A.H. (713-714 A.D.), he makes 711 of our era. In general, Vámbéry considers chronological accuracy as superfluous, and to put one year instead of another is apparently of no importance to him. The best of all is his account of the invasion of Kashgar by Kuteibi in the beginning of the eighth century of our era. Vámbéry finds there *Uigur* (?) princes whom he makes call in Kalmuk auxiliaries from north Jungaria (p. 31), while the name of Kalmuk, as is well known, appears in history for the first time in the fifteenth century. The following phrase too is good: 'we are told that the Arabs extended their incursions into the province of Kansu' (in Western China). There are no references for this, and judging from the character of the information, we should suppose that during his wanderings in Bukhara Mr. Vámbéry heard about this from his Dervish companion. From the same source he probably also obtained the information that Turfan in Eastern Turkistan embraced Islam on the very first appearance of the Arabs (p. 32).

In the third chapter, the most amusing thing is the part which Mr. Vámbéry makes the well-known Abu-Muslim (whom he calls 'founder of a dynasty') play among the present Turkomans and Uzbeks, and his reflections on that favourite as well as on the false prophet *EL-Mokanna*; nowhere in other parts of the book does his historical tact shine so brilliantly. No, we are mistaken; further on he is still more amusing about Tamerlane.

The fourth page is devoted to praise of the flourishing period of the rule of the Samanides, which he describes under the guidance partly of Narshaki, and partly of Mirkhond, a compiler of the fifteenth century, and of *Zinet-et-Tavarikh*, a compilation made in the beginning of the present century. Neither here nor further on is there any mention of Ibn-el-Athir, or of his copyist Ibn Khaldun. We are mistaken; Vámbéry knows of the existence of Ibn-el-Athir, but only by a quotation of this chief Mussulman chronicler in Defrémery. This would be the same as writing the history of the ancient east, and ignoring Herodotus. Mr. Vámbéry also displays a total absence of any knowledge of the whole literature of the coins of the Samanides which have been found in Northern Europe, and which show how great was the trade of Maverannahr under their rule. There is not one word on this subject of the highest importance and interest. Instead of this, in his efforts to show the political power of Samanide Ismail, he erroneously ascribes him dominion over Shiraz (p. 67), which was never in his power.

The fifth chapter relates to the fall of the Samanide power, and the transition of Maverannahr to the 'rule of the Turks;' but what Turks they were, he certainly does not know. Without hesitation he calls them *Uigurs*, while if he had carefully read the only Arabic geographer known to him, Balkhi (i.e. Istakhri), to say nothing of Ibn Khordadbeh, Ibn Khaukal, Masudi or Edrisi, he would have seen at once that these were not Uigurs, but Kharlukhs. Mr. Vámbéry, as an Uigur specialist, ought to have understood this long ago; but even in his 'Uigurische Sprachmonumente' he displayed an astonishing historical ignorance on this subject. This fifth chapter also exposes Mr. Vámbéry's knowledge of the Persian language to great doubt. *Amiri Reshid*, he translates, 'the brave prince,' instead of 'the just;' and *Amiri Shedid*, 'the just prince,' instead of 'the austere' (pp. 78-9.) But the Uigurs, or Kharlukhs, had Turkish rulers, who took Maverannahr from the Samanides, and the history of these rulers Mr. Vámbéry knows very unsatisfactorily. It is given by him chiefly in the sixth chapter, which is especially devoted to a detailed history of the Seldjukides,—very much out of place in a history of Bukhara,—a country which fell under their sway only temporarily. With regard to the struggle of Ilekkhan with the famous conqueror of India, the Sebuktiginide Mahmud, in the very beginning of the eleventh century, about which Utbi, Ibn-el-Athir, and others speak, there is not a word in Vámbéry. He knows only of the last intervention of Mahmud in the dispute of the successors of Ilekkhan, and the Khans Arslan and Kadyr. He makes Ilekkhan live till

the time of this dispute, and take part in it, although in reality he had died some years previously; and not knowing that Nek and his successors were vassals of Mahmud, presents the events related by them in a false light (p. 91). However the history of the Kharlukh sovereigns, who, besides Maverannahr, ruled over Western Jungaria and Eastern Turkistan, has never been well studied, and presents much that is dark and perplexing; the confusion of Mr. Vámbéry is, therefore, perhaps excusable. But what is inexcusable is to take, as he does in his whole book, *Karakidans for Uigurs*, and to suppose that *Kara Khatai* means the modern Chinese provinces of Shansi and Hansu (p. 101). This is the height of historical distortion, the like of which is not even found in the works of Mr. Vámbéry's famous countryman the late Viennese orientalist Hammer.¹ Before these two colossi of historical, ethnographical, and geographical ignorance, comparatively little importance should be given to all the other errors of the famous traveller; such as his admission, that he is unable to discover any mention of Jend in the geographers (p. 89), his statements that the country between the Oxus and Yaxartes, that is, all Maverannahr, was the inheritance from their fathers of the grandsons of Seldjuk (p. 91-2) that the authority of the Seldjukites was felt even in Africa itself; that the Gurkhan (Mr. Vámbéry does not know that this is the title of a man called Yeliu-Tashi, but takes this title for his proper name) extended his authority over a portion of the 'so-called' Khatai (p. 103), to say nothing of other charming passages in the sixth chapter.

The struggle for the supremacy over Bukhara and Samarkand between the sovereigns of Kara Khatai on one side, and the Khárezm-Shahs on the other, constitutes the subject of the eighth chapter. Even there Mr. Vámbéry continues to call the Kara Khatayans Uigurs, and besides, does not understand the events of this struggle, which, for the Khárezm-Shahs, had a religious character. He does not understand, too, that it was constantly excited by the rulers of Bukhara and Samarkand with the aim of making themselves independent, both of the Khárezm-Shahs, and of their Kara Khatai suzerains. He does not know that these rulers were descendants of these Kharlukh Karakhanides, who took Maverannahr from the Samanides, and as such had certain reasons for their political claims. The sway of the Khárezm-Shahs extended on the north, according to Vámbéry, to the very Volga

¹ The orientalist of St. Petersburg say that Hammer can never be quoted or believed without the verification of his citations, which are very frequently erroneous. [E. S.]

(p. 109), but in conclusion, the Kara Kidan ruler who fought against the Khârezm-Shah, Kutb Eddin Mohammed, Vámbéry considers as the same Gurkhan (Yeliu Tashi) who founded the sovereignty of Kara Kitans, and seriously remarks that the Gurkhan was now 90 years old (p. 113). This campaign took place in 1213, and Yeliu Tashi (the Gurkhan) died in 1136, and had he lived till 1213, would have been not 90, but more than 130 years old. This great mistake Mr. Vámbéry made, notwithstanding that the historian Juveini, whom he quotes, calls the Gurkhan who fought with Kutb Eddin by his name *Tchiluka*.

To relate the conquest of Maverannahr by Tchinghiz Khan, following Juveini only as Vámbéry does in his ninth chapter, is no great service when this conquest was recounted by D'Ohsson forty years ago from all the other sources. Vámbéry apparently cannot know of the existence of the first volume of such a work as D'Ohsson's 'L'Histoire des Mongols.' If he knew of it he would not derive the name of the Kerait Van Khan (Ong Khan) from the Uigur *un*, 'right' (p. 120), because Van is a Chinese title; and if he had known even a little Mongolian he would not have derived the name of the Kerait from the Turkish words *kir-it*, 'grey dog' (*ibid.*), for *t* in the name Kerait is evidently the Mongolian sign of the plural. This tribe, which still exists, is called Kirei or Kerai. Had Mr. Vámbéry been acquainted with the work of D'Ohsson he would not have said that Tchinghiz Khan fixed his residence in the fortress of Karakorum (p. 121), since Karakorum was constructed only by his successor, Ugedei, and was never a fortress; and he would not have said that Tchinghiz gave his son Tuli Khorasan Persia and India, when the appanage of Tuli was Mongolia itself; and if he had read the traveller no less famous than himself, Marco Polo, he would not have made the Emperor Khubilai send Marco Polo on a mission to Kerman (p. 139)! When we know what kind of an historian Mr. Vámbéry is, we of course do not blame him for blindly following the Mussulman stories of the complete depopulation of Maverannahr by Tchinghiz Khan; but we should have considered it the duty of anybody else to turn his attention to what is said on this subject in the travels of the Taoist monk, Tch'ang Tch'ung.

The rule of the Tchinghizides over Maverannahr is considered in the ninth chapter. But we were wrong in saying *considered*; he does not consider it there, but copies extracts from Mussulman historians, chiefly after the incorrect Hammer, about the ruin and devastation that were brought on this country by the quarrels of the different members of the family of Tchinghiz. About the genealogy of the Jagataides, who inherited Maverannahr, Mr.

Vámbéry has very confused ideas. For instance, he considers Kabul-Shah to be the last of this race (p. 157), and while thus ignorant has the boldness to accuse the Persian historian Mirkhond of error in saying that the Jagataides long after appear as rulers in the Djete Ulus and in Mongolia, when that fact does not admit of the slightest doubt. Nevertheless, taking into account the absence of detailed authorities for the history of the Jagataides, we must say of the ninth chapter that it is one of the most satisfactory in Vámbéry's book. He very truly remarks that it was in the period of the Jagataides that various religious teachers obtained in Maverannahr an immense importance, which the Mussulman clergy have kept up to this time; for under the Mongolian sway it was only with the religious class that the population could find support, defence, and protection (p. 160).

There now comes on the historical scene a personage about whom writers like Vámbéry love to speak in grand and sounding phrases—the terrible Tamerlane; and our historian of Bukhara of course does not let pass an opportunity of showing himself the panegyrist of such a hero, and devotes to him fifty pages of his book—the tenth and eleventh chapters. Unfortunately, in these fifty pages we find nothing new, except mistakes of various kinds; and a complete misunderstanding of the causes and character and influence of the events of the history of Central Asia. The explanation of the psychological contradictions united in the character of Tamerlane would be a very new and interesting problem—incomparably more interesting than an account of all the well-known campaigns of this conqueror beyond the boundaries of Maverannahr, an account with which Mr. Vámbéry feasts the learned world, forgetting that the biographies of Tamerlane by Sheref-eddin and Arabshah have existed in European translations for more than a hundred years. Mr. Vámbéry begins his biography of Tamerlane by the discovery that the title of *Kurkan*, the only one borne by this 'scourge of the world,' is the name of that branch of the family *Berlas*, from which he was descended (p. 163). Without going into an explanation of what this title means, we may remark that Tamerlane himself ought to know the source of this title, at least as well as Vámbéry, and Tamerlane in his autobiography, speaking of his ancestor Karajar Noyan, says that among other favours from Jagatai, the son of Tchinghiz Khan, his ancestor received the title of *Kurkan* (the 'Mulfuzat-i-Timury,' translated by Stewart, p. 28), and therefore this was not the family name of Tamerlane. The remark of Vámbéry that Karajar Noyan is a mythical personage was made before him by Defrémery.

Our Hungarian historian in general prefers silence with regard

to those learned men whose ideas he borrows. It is also strange that in many places he textually cites the 'Autobiography of Tamerlane,' when from his quotation on page 164 we must believe that he knows it only through the 'Indian Surveys' of Markham, an excellent book in its way, but not an authority on the history of Jagatai literature.

On page 179 Vámbéry does a thing very unusual for him—he names his authorities. He enumerates the biographies of Tamerlane which are accessible to European readers, that is, which have been translated into European languages, but he forgets to mention such authorities as Arab Shah, the 'Autobiography' and 'Decrees' ('Tazukat') of Tamerlane himself, long ago translated by Mangère, Davy, and Stewart. On the same page he explains that *Tokhtamish* is a modern Jagatai name, although it is one of the oldest peculiarly Turanian names known to us, and means not 'immortal' or 'immovable,' as Vámbéry states, but 'magician.' The meaning of 'immortal,' our historical linguist ascribes to it for the reason that a certain Khokandian in the presence of Mr. Vámbéry, changed the name of his son, *Tokhta*, to *Baki*, which in Arabic means immortal—a very good reason! That in recounting the campaign of Tamerlane against Tokhtamish Vámbéry did not make use of the special work on this campaign, written by Professor Charmoy in French, can be easily explained. How should he know of such specialties, when he has not even read Deguines? But what are all his remaining mistakes in comparison with his apology for Tamerlane on pages 195–197, where he tries to justify his cruelty and his lust for conquest? He there shows the depth of his historical sense. The six pages following are extracted from the account of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavigo, who was sent as ambassador to Tamerlane by Henry III. of Castile; of the existence of Schiltberger's account Vámbéry says nothing. The well-known motto on Tamerlane's seal he reads *Rusti rasti*, and translates 'Justice is Strength,' when he should read *Rasti resti*, which means, 'If Thou be Right, Thou shalt be saved,' or 'Safety is in Right.' On page 210 the well-known Mussulman *savant*, Taftazani, receives the unintelligible surname of *Ulama*, and on the following page, to Jezeri, a contemporary with Tamerlane, is attributed the composition of an Arabic dictionary, the author of which was not *Jezeri* but *Jougeri*, who lived four centuries before Tamerlane.

In the history of the Timuridea, which constitutes the subject of the twelfth chapter, Mr. Vámbéry ascribes to Khudaidad, an official of Khalil (p. 216), the insults heaped on Khalil's wife, the famous Shadi Mulk (with whom her husband was passionately in love), when, according to all historians, these insults were heaped

upon her by Khalil's uncle Shahruck; and Mr. Vambéry does this, not from ignorance, but because he is a great psychologist. 'Shahruck,' he says, page 216, 'had a romantic passion for his wife, Gowher Shadi, and it seems difficult to imagine him capable of thus further torturing his love-sick nephew.' In consequence of this acquaintance with the human heart the historian considers it just and logical to place the crimes of one man on another who was perfectly innocent of them. It appears that his psychology is worthy of his logic and *vice versa*. It also appears from his note on Khudaidad that he confuses this official of Khalil with the Khudaidad, the son of Puladji, the famous chief of the Ulusses in the possessions of the Djete Jagataides. We see this confusion also in the fact that Vambéry makes his Khudaidad (called Hussein), give over to Khalil, after defeating him, the government of Kashgar (p. 215), whereas Kashgar was in the hands of Khudaidad, son of Puladji. On the bottom of page 217, where there is printed *Khalil* we should read *Shahruck*. This is perhaps only a slip of the pen, but we cannot explain so easily the statement that Sheikh Nur-Eddin, after rebelling against Shahruck, was beaten by his commander Shahmulk, when, on the contrary, Shahmulk was twice beaten by Nur-Eddin, who was obliged to retreat (not to Tashkent as Vambéry says), only in consequence of a defeat inflicted on him by Shahruck himself. On page 218 our historian makes Ulug Bek, the son of Shahruck, fight with the Mongolians (he does not know that from the time of Timur the name *Mongol* or *Mogol* was given by the Mussulman historians not to the Mongols but to the Turkish subjects of the Jagataides who ruled in Jungaria and the western parts of what are now the Kirghiz steppes), and penetrate to Ak-su in Eastern Turkistan, when his authority, Abd-er-Rezzak, speaks not of Ak-su but of Akhsi, the old capital of Ferghana. In addition to this Mr. Vambéry gets his knowledge of the astronomical tables of Ulug Bek from the same source from which he drew that about Tamerlane's autobiography, that is, from Markham.

Not having at hand the Mussulman writer who is the authority for our historian in the accounts of the Timurides (that is, Abd-er-Rezzak, who can only be used in the translation of Quatremère, which stopped at the year 1420), and being unable to verify how correctly he cites him, we shall not go into any further investigation of the twelfth chapter; but the examples quoted are enough to convince any one how carelessly the author of the 'History of Bukhara' refers to his authorities, how badly he understands them, and consequently how he confuses and misstates events. Mr. Vambéry, however, does not found his reputation as an historian on the part of his work of which we have spoken, but rather on

that which still remains to be considered—his account of the fate of Bukhara from the time of the Uzbek conquest. Let us see if this part be any better than the preceding.

‘One of the most pleasing traits in the character of the Turkish people’ (Mr. Vámbéry ought to say *race*, and not *people*, for there is not one Turkish ‘people’ in the world, and there are many peoples of Turkish race) ‘has always been the custom of adopting the names of those princes whose glorious reigns, or whose exertions for the public weal, had given them special claims on the gratitude of posterity, as surnames.’

Thus Mr. Vámbéry begins his thirteenth chapter about the commencement of the Uzbek rule in Bukhara, and it must be said begins very unfortunately. Whence did he get the idea that such a custom exists among the Turkish peoples, when we do not find a single example of it in their history? He apparently took this, although, of course, he did not mention his authority, from Bentinck’s notes to the French translation of Abul Ghazi, on page 458. In making this plagiarism, Mr. Vámbéry did not notice that what is pardonable in a *savant* in the beginning of the eighteenth century, is not allowable to a writer in the second half of the nineteenth. In our times it is not possible seriously to say that the Mongols received their name from a certain Mongol Khan, or the Tartars from Tartar Khan. To the examples of Bentinck Vámbéry adds one of his own; that is, that the present Osmanlis (Turks of Constantinople) called themselves so in remembrance of their leader Osman. In reality, the present Osmanlis are called after Osman, the son of Ertogrul, but not in remembrance of him. The companions of Osman—the band of which he was the chief—received and accepted the name of Osmanlis, just as in our time the companions of Garibaldi got the name of Garibaldians, and as the robbers of the band of Lisofsky, that plundered Russia in the beginning of the seventeenth century, were known under the name of Lisofchiki. Subsequently the name of Osmanlis was extended over a mixture of various races which came under the banners of the successors of Osman. But there never existed, and does not now exist, any people that can be called Osmanli. What relation, however, does this have to the Uzbeks? This; that even this popular name Mr. Vámbéry considers adopted by Turkish tribes in remembrance of a Khan of the Golden Horde,—one Uzbek, as the Khivan historian Abul Ghazi affirms. But if one comes to that, Abul Ghazi believes also that the Turks are so called from Turk, the son of Japhet, and repeats on this head no end of nonsense. If we allow that the Uzbeks received this name in remembrance of an Uzbek Khan, then we can also allow the existence of some

benevolent Khan called Kazak, from whom the present Kazak people must have derived its name (by us wrongly called Kirghiz Kaisak, or simply Kirghiz). The fact is, that it was no more known to Abul Ghazi than to us, when, or in consequence of what circumstances, the name of Uzbek arose in the steppes north of the Syr Darya and the Aral Sea,—a name under which the population of these steppes began to be called by the Mussulman historians of the last half of the fifteenth century. As an Asiatic, without any idea of historical criticism, Abul Ghazi might easily refer the origin of this name to Uzbek Khan; but we in the nineteenth century must be more careful than Tartars of the seventeenth, and if we do not exactly know, we ought to say we do not know, and not repeat stupid fables. Stupid, we say, because in the Golden Horde, where Uzbek Khan lived, there were never any Uzbeks; but the Uzbeks appear in the Blue Horde, over which the power of Uzbek Khan never spread, and they only came on the scene a hundred years after his death. According to Vámbéry, a whole century must have passed before the population of the Blue Horde had sufficiently digested the services of Uzbek Khan, and had thought of adopting his name. This is about as probable as that in the beginning of the present century, the Poles, from a deep sense of the services of Peter the Great, should have suddenly called themselves Petroftsi. Vámbéry, however, says that the name of the Uzbeks is mentioned by a contemporary with Uzbek Khan, the celebrated Arabic traveller Ibn Batuta, but how he discovered the passage where Ibn Batuta speaks of this, is a mystery. He does not cite it, and we can find no such mention in Ibn Batuta, and do not believe that he can do so.

Explaining in this brilliant way the origin of the Uzbeks, Mr. Vámbéry passes immediately to the well-known Uzbek ruler Abul Khair Khan, saying that his name was found in the list of chiefs and vassals who renounced their allegiance to the ruler of Sarai during the reign of Ivan III. Vasilievitch, and exercised the right of sovereignty as grey beards or independent Khans. We should be glad to see this list in which 'aksakals' are put on an equality with Khans, and where Abul Khair is represented as the vassal of the ruler of Sarai, if such a detailed list exist. But, alas! it only exists in the imagination of Mr. Vámbéry, as does also the fact that Abul Khair 'retired (whence?—apparently from the banks of the Volga, from the encampments of the Golden Horde), with the tents and herds of his nomads, before the storm which was gathering in the north of Christendom against the Mussulman power, and sought refuge in the eastern steppes.' According to all known authorities, Abul Khair was the descendant of Sheibani, the brother

of Baty, who had his own special *ulus*, and was never considered a vassal of the rulers of the Golden Horde, who were descended from Baty Khan, never separated himself from them, and always reigned within the domains of the Blue Horde as an independent ruler by virtue of hereditary right. Is it allowable to destroy facts and their relations in this unceremonious way? According to Vámbéry, Kitchik-Mohammed was the Khan of the Blue Horde, instead of the Golden Horde, and the last one too, notwithstanding the fact that after him reigned Seid Akhmed, who brought such terror upon Russia. Vámbéry calls Akhmed Yasavi, the 'national saint' of the Uzbeks, and says that these Uzbeks invaded Maverannahr 'wrapped in horse skins!' The further fate of Abul Khair and of his descendants, he gives, according to Abul Ghazi, a writer whom Europe has known for a century and a half in a French translation, according to Baber, whose 'Memoirs' were translated into English more than forty years ago, and according to other well-known works, with the addition of some unimportant details from one new source, the poem *Sheibani Nameh*, but with mistakes, such as that he represents the Jagataide Mahmud Khan, son of Yunus Khan, and Yunus Khan himself, as rebels against the Timurides, and the Uzbek Khan Sheibani (p. 263). This is in a certain way even more radical than the idea of the Russian common people, who, when we had a war with the Turks, always insisted that the Turkish Sultan had again *rebelled* against our Tsar. The conqueror of Maver an nahr, and the introducer of Uzbek rule there, Mohammed Sheibani, of course appears to Vámbéry as a hero, for the reason that whoever succeeds must be a hero. In conclusion, we learn that there existed in the world the historically celebrated 'State of Transoxiana' (p. 270) about which, however, no one has ever yet heard, excepting Mr. Vámbéry.

The history of the successors of Sheibani in Maverannahr is the subject of the fourteenth chapter. It is well-known that the beginning of this history is very confused, both in the Mussulman writers who constitute the sources of our information, and in the works of Europeans who have written on this subject. We should expect therefore that a new historian of Bukhara would investigate these contradictions, and would explain the character of the Uzbek monarchy, which was undoubtedly divided up into appanages for a very long time; but we do not find here a word about the contradictions in the authorities, or even of this peculiar character of the Uzbek kingdom. He states events as if there were nothing at all doubtful or dark, and, besides this, does not tell us whence he gets the material for such statements. On the death of Mohammed Sheibani, who fell in battle with Ismail Sefevi, the

Uzbek sultans were deprived of a leader; but we read that immediately after this, a treaty was concluded with Ismail, according to which the boundary between the dominions of the Uzbeks and Sefevides should be the Amu Darya (p. 273). With what Uzbek rulers this treaty was concluded, or which of them had the right to conclude it without asking the rest, Mr. Vámbéry avoids telling us. Sheibani was killed unexpectedly, but we read that at his death he gave as appanages to his eldest son and presumptive heir, Mohanmed Timur Sultan, Samarkand, Kesh, Miankal, and even Bukhara and Karakul, which before that had been the appanage of his brother Sultan Mahmud (p. 64). How could Sheibani make this disposition at his death, when he fell in battle very unexpectedly? According to Vámbéry, this Mahmud inherited Bukhara from his father, but only reigned a few days, and died apparently a violent death (p. 274); while, according to other authorities, Mahmud did not reign in Bukhara, but in Samarkand, and even had command of the army, which, in 1512, three years after Sheibani's death, defeated Baber, who had taken from the Uzbeks Bukhara and Samarkand. According to Vámbéry, Kutchkunji Sultan was chosen as Sheibani's successor before the proposed invasion of Maverannah; whereas it is stated by trustworthy authority that this happened only after the battle of Hidjuvan. Such and similar contradictions should not be passed over in silence. Further, according to Vámbéry, Ubeidullah, the nephew of Sheibani, appears in relation to Kutchkunji, up to his very death, as his generalissimo, but was really only an appanaged prince of the district of Bukhara. Of the other appanages we find no mention made. On this subject we find only the following phrase:—'The Government of Transoxiana had hitherto (*i.e.* to the death of Ubeidullah) been more or less divided between the children of Kutchkunji and Sheibani, and the result was general confusion amongst the Uzbeks after the death of Ubeidullah (p. 281).'

As regards the division of which he speaks, Vámbéry had a very confused idea, as is evident from his remark that the division was between the children of Kutchkunji and Sheibani, when he ought to have said between the descendants of Abul Khair, for the son of this latter Siundj-Hodja had the appanage of Tashkent, and the grandson of Abul Khair, Jani Bek, had Miankal, Sogd, and Nur. Maverannah was therefore not the general inheritance of the descendants of Sheibani Khan, but of those of Abul Khair, and consequently the dynasty, which is called by Vámbéry (as well as by his predecessors, of whom he makes no mention) the Sheibanides, it would be more correct to call the Abul-Khairides.

Such misunderstanding of the tribal relations between the Uzbek sultans, makes Vámbéry consider the election to the Khanate on the death of Ubeidullah, Abdullah, and then Abdullatif the sons of Kutchkunji, as the work of a party (p. 281), when this was perfectly legal—that is, in conformity with Uzbek custom—and makes him represent Abdul Aziz, son of Ubeidullah, as the supreme Khan, whereas Abdullatif was such until his death in 1551, and Abdul Aziz from 1541 to 1551 was only the prince of the appanage of Bukhara. Further, the successor of Abdul Aziz in the Khanate is called by Vámbéry Mohammed Yar, and his successor Burhan, whereas both were princes of the appanage of Bukhara, and on the death of Abdullatif, the dignity of Khan fell to Nouruz Akhmed, son of Siundj Hodja, and on the death of Nouruz Akhmed in 1556 to Pir Mohammed, the son of Jani Bek, who reigned till 1561. The names of these Khans are not even mentioned by Vámbéry. No; Nouruz Akhmed is mentioned, but how?—not as a lawful Uzbek Khan, but as a Jagataide, son of Mahmud Khan, a cruel tyrant, who pillaged and devastated Maverannahr from Otrar to Bukhara. That would be the same as if an historian said that Ivan III. Vasilievitch, was a Khan of the Golden Horde, who devastated Russia from Saratof to Moscow. In this accurate way has the historian of Bukhara stated the events of that period, about which he thinks that his every word is a discovery for Europe. Representing, as is quite just, Abdullah, the son of Iskender, as the most remarkable of the Sheibanide sovereigns, Mr. Vámbéry knows so little of this celebrity, that he makes him first appear on the historical scene not earlier than 962 A.H., when this Abdallah had long before, by his ambition, spread disorder throughout the whole of Maverannahr. And all these errors are to be found on page 282 alone. On the following page he confuses Nouruz Akhmed (whom he constantly calls Borak) with Burhan Sultan, the appanaged prince of Bukhara, and makes Abdullah kill Burhan, whereas this latter died by the hands of quite a different personage. We then read, ‘Having thus driven out the invaders’ (there were no invaders; Vámbéry has, as we have said, taken for an invader the lawful Khan Nouruz Akhmed, and no invaders were driven out;—driving out here means the seizure by Abdullah of Bukhara which belonged to his relative Burhan Sultan), ‘he firmly re-established once more the authority of the Sheibanides in Transoxiana’ (which had never been menaced by any danger from without, and, besides, Abdullah was not a Sheibanide) ‘in imitation of Sheibasi and Ubeidullah, who, although practically sovereigns of the country, had left the actual seat of the Khanate to others, the more freely to pursue their

military career. Abdullah placed his father Iskender on the throne of Samarkand, and put himself at the head of the army to reconquer the original frontier of the Uzbek empire' (p. 284). Here there is not a word which does not show a complete misunderstanding of events, and a falsification of facts. Sheibani never gave up the throne to anybody. Ubeidullah, we have seen, could not give it up, because he was in 939 A.H. by right, and in reality, only prince of the appanage of Bukhara; and Abdullah, when he defeated Burhan and seized Bukhara, made himself only the appanaged prince of Bukhara, and could not dispose of the throne of the Khanate. The Khan at this time, 964 A.H., was his uncle Pir Mohammed, who reigned from 963, *i.e.* from the very death of Nouruz Akhmed, until 968; and only in this last year, on the dethronement of Pir Mohammed, was Iskender, the father of Abdullah, chosen Khan.

With such complete misunderstanding of the juridical relations of the descendants of Abul Khair, that ruled in Bukhara, and with mistakes of a similar kind does Mr. Vámbéry narrate also the remaining period of the rule of this race to the end of the sixteenth century. Although boasting of the abundance of new authorities unknown to previous orientalists, he did not use, nor even know of the existence of such works as the 'Lubb-ul-tevarikh' of Kazvini, and the 'Abdullah-Nameh' of Hafiz Tanysh, or even of the extracts from them, published by the academician Veliaminof-Zernof, to whom belongs the honour of explaining, as many as fifteen years ago, the greater part of the misunderstandings with regard to the descendants of Abul Khair in Bukhara, which have completely confused our new historian, who has worked over, in his own words, 'a field untouched' before him. He was led astray in part by his chief authority, the 'Tarikhi Mukhim-Khani.' In reading it, he did not notice that it is not the history of all Maverannahr under Uzbek rule, but only of the appanage of Bukhara, and it is probably for that reason that Mr. Vámbéry constantly gives to the appanaged sultans of Bukhara the rank of the supreme Khan, or Khakan, and is either ignorant of the existence of these latter, or considers them intriguers, and even invading foreigners. The appanage period of Russian history would not have come out very well if some one had related it as Vámbéry relates the Bukharan history of the sixteenth century.

The history of the so-called Ashtarkanides or Astrakhan dynasty—we prefer to call it with Fraehn the *Janids*—we find in the fifteenth and sixteenth chapters of Vámbéry, related for the seventeenth century after the 'Tarikhi Mukim-Khani,' with additions from Abul Ghazi and other well-known authorities. There is very

little new there, and there are not such mistakes as in other parts of his book. In the beginning of the eighteenth century the oriental sources for the history of Bukhara are, so to speak, dried up. The facts must be obtained chiefly from the accounts of Europeans who have visited the country in one way or another, or from the few described coins of the later Astrakhanides; but of numismatics as an aid to history Mr. Vámbéry has no idea. In his whole book he does not once refer to this source of information, and the works of orientalists on this subject are utterly ignored by him.

The Europeans who penetrated into Bukhara during the eighteenth century were almost exclusively our countrymen, who have left accounts in Russian of which Mr. Vámbéry has apparently not known, or which, at least, he has not used.¹ But Mr. Vámbéry does not even know of the information collected somewhat later by

¹ These authorities are not abundant in historical information, but still as they were contemporaries and eye-witnesses a skilful hand can get profit from them. Such are—1. The report and letters of *Florio Beacrovi*, the secretary of the 'Oriental Expedition of the Ambassadorial *Prikac*,' who was sent by Peter the Great to Bukhara, and remained there from the autumn of 1721 to the Spring of 1725, published by A. N. Popof, in vol. ix. of the *Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society*. 2. The report of the Greek *Nikolai Grigorief*, who travelled in Bakhara for more than ten years. It was taken down from his words in Orenburg, in 1752, and is printed by *Veliamisof-Zernof* in his 'Historical Information about the Kirghis-Kaisaks,' Ufa, 1852. 3. The recollections of *Philip Yefremof*, who, about 1774, was made a slave in Bukhara, and put into the military service, where he served several years taking part in various expeditions, and at last escaped to Russia through India. These recollections were published by Yefremof himself at St. Petersburg in 1786 under the title 'Ten Years' Wanderings and Imprisonment in Bakhara, Khiva, Persia, and India, of the Russian Non-commissioned officer Yefremof, now a College Assessor.' 4. The *Memoirs of the Mining Official Timothei Burnaschof*, who went to Bukhara in 1794 and returned in 1795. Extracts of these Memoirs were printed by G. J. Spaschi in the 'Siberian Messenger' 1818. Besides this, information about the events in Bakhara in the eighteenth century is contained in the works of Russian travellers, who visited this country in the nineteenth, such as *Meyendorf*, *Evermann*, and others. Mr. Vámbéry did not even use these sources, although *Meyendorf* wrote in French and *Evermann* in German.

In the archives of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs preserved at Moscow there are still other materials for the history of Bukhara and Khiva. Such are the papers relating to the missions of *Boris and Semen Pazukin* to Bukhara, 1662-1672; of *Vassily Dandof* to Bukhara and Khiva, 1677-8; of *Ivan Khokhlof* to Bukhara and Samarkand, 1620-23; of *Anisim Grubof* to Bukhara and Khiva, 1642; to the affair of the Boyar's son *Ivan Sorokin*, who in 1642 was ordered to be whipped for going to Bukhara without leave; to the mission of *Ivan Fedatof* to Khiva in 1670-73; and to the numerous embassies from Khiva and Bukhara to the court of the Tsars at Moscow, of which full accounts are preserved, from 1616 to 1739, with lists of presents, and details of ceremonies at the receptions. As regards the Russian embassies, not only are all the instructions preserved, but in most cases the

Izzet-ullah, and long ago translated into English and French. It is easy to imagine how short, therefore, is his account of the history of Bukhara during the greater part of the eighteenth century. The campaign of Nadir Shah against Maverannah during the reign of Abul-Feiz Khan is told, of course, after Nadir's historian, Mirza Megdi; but Vámbéry ascribes to Abul-Feiz a reign of forty years, and in another place of almost fifty years, although in his own words this Khan came to the throne in 1717 and died in 1737. At the same time coins of Abul-Feiz are known which were struck in 1154 A.H. and which therefore show that in 1741-2 A.D. this Khan was still living; and other authorities lead us to believe that he died in 1747, or ten years later than when Mr. Vámbéry kills him off. Even Vámbéry in another place (p. 342) speaks of the meeting of Nadir Shah with Abul-Feiz in 1740. What he says on p. 341 of the treachery of Rahim Bii was first invented by Burnes, and Vámbéry without studying the matter repeats Burnes, although he does not mention him. Nothing is said of the service of Rahim Bii under Nadir Shah in Persia, although it was due to this circumstance especially that Rahim Bii was afterwards able to get into his hands the power over Bukhara, to depose Abul-Feiz Khan, and to put him to death. Mentioning this latter circumstance our historian continues—'A similar fate befell his son, who had married a daughter of Rahim Bii, and although a third prince, said to be an Astrakhanide, was raised to an illusory sovereignty, in point of fact Abul-Feiz closed the line of rulers of that dynasty' (p. 343).

Why should such a conclusion be drawn with regard to Abul-Feiz, who, in the hands of Rahim Bii, was just as much of a puppet as were his successors, whose names are evidently unknown to Vámbéry? The first of these successors was named—if Mr. Vámbéry cares for the information—Abdul Mumin, and had the title of Khan apparently from 1747 to 1751. In any case there are coins of his marked 1160 and 1163 A.H. (1747 and 1750 A.D.). The successor of Abdul-Mumin was called Ubéidullah, and hardly belonged to the Astrakhan dynasty. On the other hand there is evidence that the Astrakhan dynasty did not cease with Abdul-Mumin, because Abul Ghazi, who after him had the title of Khan, was the son of a cousin-detailed journals (*statiny episek*) of the mission. Some short extracts from a few of these papers were printed by Mr. Khanikof in his 'Explanatory Memoir to the map of the Aral Sea and the Khanate of Khiva'—(Memoirs of the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, Book V. p. 268; 1851). They contain so much that is interesting and curious that they should either be published in full, or a careful abstract should be made of them. In 1869, Mr. P. N. Petrof read before the Imperial Russian Geographical Society, a paper on the reports of the mission of Dubrovín and the expedition of Colonel Garber in 1732, but nothing has yet been printed on the subject. [E. S.]

german of Abul-Feiz, and Mr. Vámbéry himself calls this Abul Ghazi, with what reason is not plain, the grandson of Abul-Feiz. Therefore this grandson or nephew of Abul-Feiz, and not Abul-Feiz himself, must be considered the last Astrakhanide on the throne of Bukhara. But it could scarcely have been in 1199 A.H. that Abul Ghazi was deprived of the throne, as Vámbéry says on page 350, for we have a coin of this Khan with the date of 1200 A.H., of which apparently the historian of Bukhara knows nothing, although it has been described more than seventy years.

The last and the now ruling dynasty in Bukhara is called *Manghit*, from that Uzbek family to which its founders belonged. The account of these founders is also given in the sixteenth chapter, but in such a way that it is evident that the author did not know even a fact of such importance as that Mohammed Rahim, whom he speaks of as *Atalyk*, was the first of the Manghit Bii's who took the title of Khan. This is indubitable, because we have his coins with this title. Mohammed Rahim, Vámbéry rightly calls Rahim Bii, but his successor, Danial Bii, he calls Danial *Bai*, and explains that *bai* means 'superior grey-beard' (p. 347), which shows that he does not know the present meaning of the word *bii* among the Uzbeks, those very Uzbeks whose language and life, according to him, no one in Europe knows so well as himself.¹ Of the date of the death of Rahim Bii and of the date of the coronation of Abul-Ghazi, Vámbéry does not speak. He does not know that Danial Bii was the own nephew of Rahim Bii, but instead of that tells us without authority that he was related on his mother's side to the Astrakhanides. The accusation which he makes against Danial Bii of 'the most disgraceful excesses, of covetousness and tyranny,' is doubtful, for he does not mention his authority, and in all the authorities known to us nothing like this is ascribed to Danial. Shah-Murad, too, was not the immediate successor of Danial in the rule of the Khanate, as appears according to Vámbéry, for on Danial's death the management of affairs passed to the Kush Begi Doulet, of whom Vámbéry makes no mention. We will state also that there is in Persian a whole history of Rahim Bii and Danial Bii, unknown to Mr. Vámbéry, a copy of which, obtained in Bukhara by Mr. P. I. Lerch, is now kept in the library of the Asiatic Museum at St. Petersburg.

Shah-Murad, son of Danial Bii, was one of the most remarkable political personages in the modern history of Asia, and the sketch of him by Vámbéry is lively, and full of relief; but this is not a merit of Vámbéry, but of the English historian of Persia, Malcolm,

¹ *Bii* has the sense of judge or ruler. *Bai* that of rich. [E. S.]

from whom Vámbéry took bodily all that he says of Shah-Murad, and without the slightest use of quotation marks. Those who wish to be assured of this, may compare pp. 348 to 355, and 361 of Vámbéry's history, with pp. 243 to 261 of the second volume of Malcolm's 'History of Persia' (London, 1815). Not in vain did Mr. Vámbéry play for a long time the part of a shameless Dervish: in writing a book in English, he has dared to rob a well-known and respected English writer, and to think that no one would notice it. To cover it up, he adds to what he has taken from Malcolm a few mistakes, which we do not find in the English writer. Among such errors is the statement that Shah-Murad, when he removed Abul Ghazi in 1784, mounted the throne of Bukhara (p. 350). We have already remarked that coins of Abul Ghazi are known with the date of 1200 A.H., =1785-1786, A.D. If, therefore, Shah-Murad mounted the throne, it could not have been in 1784, but later, and there are strong reasons for supposing that he never took the title of Khan, was never raised on the felt (a ceremony equivalent to the European coronation), and until the death of Abul Ghazi, which did not take place earlier than 1796, considered himself nothing more than the regent of the Khanate, with the title of *Naiib* (viceroy), and the honourable appellation *Veli-n-niom*. At least, he coined no money in his own name, and there is evidence that his name was not mentioned in the *Khutbe*; and the right to coin money and to be named in the *Khutbe*, are characteristics of supreme power in the Mussulman East. Shah-Murad, too, did not die in 1802, as Vámbéry states (p. 360), for we have coins of his successor Mir Haidar, dated 1215, A.H. (1801 A.D.), and therefore cannot say, as does Vámbéry, p. 362, that Mir Haidar mounted the throne in 1803. For the history of the reign of Mir Haidar, Mr. Vámbéry evidently had no materials at all, and did not use either Izzet-Ullah, or even Meyendorf, and therefore says that Mir Haidar 'enjoyed for twenty-three years the peaceful possession of his dominions,' p. 363. If this historian and professor had known of the 'Memoirs of Mirza Shems,'¹ he would have seen that the years of Mir Haidar's reign did not pass in such quiet. On one side he was constantly fighting with the Khans of Khiva, and on the other his own subjects were rebelling against him. And whence did Vámbéry get an idea that Mir Haidar reigned under the name of Amir Said? Various titles he certainly gave himself, as we see from his coins, but no such title is stamped on them, unless by *Said* Mr. Vámbéry means *Seyid* (Seid). *Seyid*, descendant of Mohammed, Mir Haidar really called

¹ See note on page 109, vol. i. [E. S.]

himself at times, on the ground that his mother was the daughter of Abul-Feiz Khan, and that this latter was descended from Din-Mohammed (the first Bukharan Khan of the Astrakhan dynasty), who was married to the daughter of Mirza Abul-Talib, really a direct descendant of the Khalif Ali. But besides this title, Mir Haidar bore others,—the Persian *Padshah*, and that of the Khalifs, *Amir-el-Muminim*.

The eighteenth chapter of the book is devoted exclusively to the reign of the Amir Nasrullah, who ruled from 1826 to 1860. The history of his reign up to 1842 is told according to the excellent book on Bukhara, written by our countryman N. V. Khanikof, which was translated into English; but although Vámbéry is guided by it, he has not a single reference to it, perhaps considering Khanikof a personal enemy because he was in Bukhara before him; for he tries to convince himself and the world that up to his time nobody had been there, nobody had seen anything, or had written anything about the country. Mr. Vámbéry spoils Khanikof with his additions in the same way as he spoils Malcolm. In entering upon the account of the conquest of Khokand by Nasrullah, he communicates some historical information about this Khanate, which is enough to make the hair stand up on the head of any one who is at all acquainted with the history of Central Asia. It is enough to say that he makes Mohammed Ali Khan of Khokand, genealogically related to Kaidu Khan of the thirteenth century, and says not a word either about Erdeni Bek, or Narbuta Bii and his successors, and assures us that there are no historical accounts of Khokand during recent times, and therefore follows what was told him by a Khokandian whom he met in his travels in Central Asia. Such an addition to the account of Mr. Khanikof is also the statement that, in 1841, when in war with Nasrullah, Mohammed Ali did not dare to risk a battle, because he had to detach a considerable portion of his forces to watch the Russians on the lower Yazartea, p. 374. But in 1841, not only had we not moved to the lower Syr Darya, but we had not even established our power in the Kirghiz steppes further than Orsk, which had been built a century before. The account of Khanikof ends with the war of Nasrullah in Khokand in the spring of 1842, and Vámbéry says nothing more of an intelligible character about the further acts of Nasrullah in regard to Khokand, or about the events in that country. We may mention that he seriously says that the well-known Mussulman Kul was a pretender to the throne of Khokand, put forward by Nasrullah (p. 376)! The events in the neighbouring Khanate of Khiva are no better known to him. He makes Rahim Kuli Khan reign from 1841 to 1843 (p. 377);

whereas this Khan occupied the throne from 1842 to 1845. As concerns Russia, of the relations of which country with Bukhara Vámbéry speaks on page 379, the mistakes are endless. The first Russian mission in Bukhara, he thinks, was the one of Negri in 1820, although even in 1620 Bukhara had seen a Russian mission within her walls. In 1834, Russia, according to Vámbéry, sent as an envoy to Bukhara, Demaisons, and in 1835, Vitkevitch, as a political agent, both to procure the liberation of Russian slaves (p. 380); whereas both of these persons went there secretly, *incognito*, the first under the guise of a Tartar Mullah, the last as a Kirghiz, which, we may say, demanded of both no less boldness, no less adroitness, and no less acquaintance with the languages and customs of the East, than the travels of Vámbéry himself disguised as a Derviah. Russian cannon had never at that time sounded on the Syr Darya, as Vámbéry says (p. 380), &c. &c.

The English relations with Bukhara, beginning with the mission of Stoddart in 1838, are much better set forth.

Let us pass to the last chapter of this book, which tells of the events from 1860 up to the present time. Here, Mr. Vámbéry, who constantly, as a publicist, had incited England against Russia, and had proclaimed to all the world our duplicity and lust for conquest, very unexpectedly appears as the apologist of Russian policy in Central Asia, and is even enthusiastic over our victories. We might therefore risk being considered prejudiced, if we should say that the end of his book is incomparably better than the middle or the beginning. In the first plan in this conclusion appear the Russian actions against the Khokandians, and those against the Bukharans. In recounting them, Mr. Vámbéry had no recourse to Russian authorities, and knows of these matters apparently only by the compilations of the Messrs. Michell ('The Russians in Central Asia,' London, 1865), and the German Hellwald's ('Die Russen in Central Asien,' Wien, 1869). But as these compilations are very good, we do not meet with many mistakes in the way in which he has retailed them. Some, however, we will point out. Mussulman Kul is again put forward as a usurper of the throne of Khokand (p. 393); and it is said that he was assassinated by Bukharan intriguers, and that the throne then reverted to Khudayar Khan, while the fact is that Khudayar Khan was placed on the throne by Mussulman Kul, and that Mussulman Kul was publicly executed on the scaffold by Khudayar, in consequence of a general uprising of the Sarts against the supremacy of the Kiptchaks, at whose head he was. Further, Khudayar Khan is not the grandson of Mohammed Ali, as Vámbéry states (p. 393), because the father-

of Khudayar Khan, Shir Ali, was not the son of Mohammed Ali, as Vámbéry says (p. 373), but his cousin. Moreover Khudayar Khan never personally led his armies against the Russians, never was in Bukhara previous to his dethronement by Malla Bek, and never found the gates of his capital shut in his face on returning from a campaign against the Russians, as Vámbéry recounts (p. 394). He ran away to Bukhara only after he had been defeated by Malla Bek between Tashkent and Khokand, and took refuge, not with Mozaffar Eddin, who had not then ascended the Bukharan throne, but with Nasrullah; and neither Mozaffar nor Nasrullah commanded the Bukharan army sent afterwards against the Khokandians to restore Khudayar to the throne. These are all inventions of Mr. Vámbéry, and all on the 394th page. But this unlucky page has still other and more improbable facts, viz., that Malla Bek was killed by the partisans of the Amir of Bukhara, and that Shah Murad was the younger brother of Khudayar, and that he did not succeed in getting on the throne after Malla Bek's murder, because he was forestalled by Mozaffar Eddin, who reinstated Khudayar, and then returned to Bukhara. This was not at all so. Malla Bek perished, assassinated by the leaders of the Kiptchak party, who were discontented with him, and who had nothing in common with the Amir of Bukhara. Shah Murad, the son of Khudayar's elder brother Sarymaak, was the nephew of Khudayar; and on the murder of Malla Bek, he was proclaimed Khan, and reigned until Khudayar was recalled from Bukhara by the inhabitants of Tashkent, and with their aid got possession of Khokand, when Shah Murad was dethroned. With all this, neither Nasrullah nor his son Mozaffar had anything to do. In the seventh line from the bottom of the same page, *Sumarkand* is an error for *Khokand*.

The further account by Vámbéry of the events in Khokand, we do not at all understand; it is so confused, and has so utterly distorted what we know to have taken place there.

We remark further: 1. *Kutebar* means in Kirghiz not the lucky one, as Vámbéry translates it on p. 399, but 'podicem habens' in the sense of 'magna podice praeditus;' and that the robber known as Isset Kutebarof not only did not undermine the Russian supremacy in the Middle Horde, nor even in the Lesser Horde, but enticed into temporary disobedience in all only two or three tribes; and Mr. Vámbéry has no idea of what he is talking of, when he speaks of the gold medal given to Kutebarof. 2. Mir Saïd was not the son of Sarymaak, but of Malla Khan. 3. General Tcherniaief was not the successor of General Perovsky, and in 1865 there was no Russian army on the banks of the Syr, but only an insignificant

detachment. The historian of Bukhara does not know the position of our affairs in the region of Tashkent in 1866 sufficiently well to make a proper estimate of the acts and capacities of Generals Tcherniaief and Romanofsky, as he does on p. 403. 4. The fort of Ura-tepé was not captured by Count Vorontsof-Dashkof alone (p. 408), as he commanded only one of the storming columns. 5. Yany Kurgan was occupied without any opposition on the part of the Bukharans, who had abandoned it, by Lieutenant Colonel Abramof, and not personally by General Kaufmann. 6. The affair of June 2 between the Russians, under the command of General Kaufmann and the Bukharans, took place not at Serpul, but on the heights of Zera-Bulak.

We have concluded, and we hope that we have confirmed our opinion of the character of Mr. Vámbéry's 'History of Bukhara' by a sufficient number of proofs. We have pointed out many errors, but it must not be thought that we have exhausted the supply of them. Persons who wish to assure themselves of this, may look in the review of Mr. Vámbéry's book published in the *Literarisches Centralblatt* of Leipzig, No. 19, 1873, written by Professor A. von Gutschmidt. Mr. Gutschmidt does not find words enough to brand the manner in which the author set about the work, for which he was not at all fitted by his education, the want of conscientiousness which he has displayed in his labour, and the vain-gloriousness with which he has proclaimed the unusual qualities of his history; but there is no evil in the world without some particle of good, and so there is one good side to Mr. Vámbéry's work, that is, his endeavour to correct the orthography of peculiarly Turkish names, which has been corrupted by the ignorance of the Turkish dialects both by the various Arab and Persian historians who wrote of the Turks, and perhaps even more by European orientalists who have used these historians, and who have not been able to read aright the names as given by them. However, in sometimes happily correcting the false orthography of peculiarly Turkish names, Mr. Vámbéry himself acts very illogically with regard to the Arabic names of Central Asiatics, writing them most frequently, not as they are pronounced by the natives, but as they are pronounced in Constantinople only.

APPENDIX III.

MEDIÆVAL TRAVELLERS IN CENTRAL ASIA.

ALTHOUGH much has already been written on the routes of the early travellers from Europe through Northern Central Asia, it may not be profitless briefly to review some of them again in connection with the Chinese records of similar journeys.

1. ZEMARCHUS.

In the fragments of Menander Protector, we find an account of an embassy of Turks, accompanied by Maniach, the chief of Sogdia, which arrived at Byzantium in 568. The next year the Emperor Justinian sent Zemarchus on a mission to Dizabulus, the ruler of these Turks. Dizabulus appears to be Dalobian Khan, the younger son of Kigin, or Muyi Khan, who established the power of the Turks (Tu-hiu) from the Western Sea to the Gulf of Corea, and from the Northern Sea to the steppes of Shamo, and who ruled from 553 to 572. Dalobian Khan, after his father's death, rebelled and founded the Western House of the Tu-hiu. He must have exercised a viceregal sway during his father's lifetime. He lived on the northern slope of the Tian Shan, which was then called the White Mountains, by the Chinese Bo-shan or Pe-shan, and by the Turks Ak-tag.

According to Menander, Zemarchus went to the mountains *Ek-tag*, which he translates Golden Mountain, where he found the camp of Dizabulus in a hollow, very probably the same 'Thousand Springs' mentioned by Hiouen Tsang. As Altai means golden, the residence of this Turkish Khan has been placed by some in the Altai Mountains, and Ritter on the strength of this even names a portion of the Altai range the *Ek-tag Altai*, an appellation unknown on the spot, and against which Captain Sosnofsky protests. ('Mem. Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.'; vol. v. Geography, p. 506; St. Petersburg, 1875).

After Zemarchus had been fitly entertained, the most of his suite was sent back to the land of the *Choliatæ* or *Chliatæ* (pro-

bably the *Kangli*), while he himself accompanied Dizabulus on an expedition against the Persians. On the way they stopped at *Talas* (near Aulié-ata), where they were met by a Persian ambassador). Here, being dismissed, and being allowed to take with him a deputation from the Choliatae, he crossed the river *Oech*—which it would be difficult to identify—and after a long journey, came to a huge wide lagoon, perhaps the northern shore of the Aral Sea, or the Mertvii Kultuk Bay of the Caspian. Travelling for twelve days across the sandy shores of this lagoon, and having to cross some very difficult places, he came to the stream of the river *Ich* (the *Emba* ?), then to the *Daich* (the *Yaik* or *Ural*), and then by other swampy tracts to the *Attila* (the *Ethil* or *Volga*), and then again to the land of the *Ugors*. Then passing down the west shore of the Caspian, he crossed the Caucasus, and got to *Trebizond*, whence he posted to *Byzantium*. (See Yule's 'Cathay and the Way Thither,' clx-clxvi). The *Vech* is by some (see Review of Marco Polo in 'Edinburgh Review' for January, 1872) identified with the *Wakh*, a name once given to the Upper *Oxus*. According to this supposition *Zemarchus* must have crossed the *Syr Darya* without mentioning it, and the *Oxus* a little below its mouth.

2. HIOUEN THSANG.

Sixty years after *Zemarchus*, in 629, *Hiouen Thsang*, a Buddhist pilgrim and student, started on his long journey through Central Asia. Leaving China by *Liang-tchow* and *Kua-tchow*, at the western extremity of the Great Wall, he went to *Khamil* (*Hami*), *Kharashar* and *Kutche*, and then leaving the high road to *Kashgar*, by which he returned fifteen years later, and passing through the borders of *Pa-lu-kia* (*Ak-su*), north-east, he crossed a stony desert, and arrived at an icy mountain (*Ling-tchan*, the *Muzart Pass*, close to the peak *Khan Tengri*), where 'snow had been heaped up from the beginning of the world, which never melts either in spring or in summer. Smooth fields of hard and glittering ice stretch out unendingly, and join with the clouds. The way is often between icy peaks overhanging on each side, and over high masses of ice. These places are passed with great trouble and danger, with constant blasts of piercing wind and gusts of snow; so that even with warm boots and a fur coat, the cold penetrates to the bones. There is no dry place in which to lie down or to eat. You must cook your food and sleep on the ice.' 'One is often a prey to the ferocity of dragons, which attack travellers. Those who follow this route should not wear red clothing, or carry calabashes, or cry aloud. Should these precautions be forgotten,

the greatest misfortunes would come. A violent wind would suddenly arise, whirl about the sand, and engulf the traveller with a shower of stones. It is very difficult to escape death.' Such were then the terrors of the Muzart Pass. Seven days' journey through these mountains brought Hiouen Tshang to a great lake, called *Thsing-tchi*, about 1,000 *li* in circumference. 'It is lengthened from east to west, and narrowed from south to north; on all sides it is surrounded by mountains. A number of rivers throw themselves into it, and are lost there. The colour of the water is a greenish black, and its taste is at once salt and bitter. Sometimes its vast waves extend in immense sheets, sometimes they swell up and roll impetuously. Dragons and fish inhabit it, and from time to time extraordinary monsters are seen to rise out of it. For this reason the travellers who go and come pray for good luck. Although the guests of the lake are very numerous, no one dares to fish there.' In this description it is impossible not to recognise Lake Issyk Kul. After travelling 500 *li* north-west from this lake, he arrived at the city on the river *Su-ye*. 'The city is from 6 to 7 *li* in circumference, and is the meeting-place of merchants from different kingdoms.' There can be no question that this river is the Tchu, and judging from the distance travelled, the city would be near Tokmak, where an ancient town existed. We are further told that, 'from this city to the kingdom of *Kie-choang-na* (Kesh), the country is called *Su-li*, and the inhabitants have the same name. This name is also applied to their writing and to their language. The radical forms of the graphic signs are very few, and are reduced to thirty-two letters, which, by being combined together, have gradually given rise to a great number of words. The inhabitants possess but few historical memoirs. They read from top to bottom.' An interesting description of the inhabitants follows. *Su-le*, which nearly resembles *Su-li*, was the Chinese name for Kashgar.

'West of *Su-ye*, there are many isolated towns. In each city chiefs are established, who are independent of each other, but who are all submitted to the *Tu-kue* (Turks).'

After travelling about 400 *li* west of the river *Su-ye*, he arrived at the 'Thousand Springs.' 'The country of the Thousand Springs is about 200 *li* square. On the south it is bounded by snowy mountains, and on the three other sides by level plains. The land is abundantly watered, and the forest trees offer beautiful vegetation. In the last month of spring the most varied flowers beautify the earth like a rich embroidery. There are a thousand basins of living water, whence have come the name of the Thousand Springs. The Khan of the *Tu-kue* (Turks) comes to this place

every year to avoid the warmth of summer. Here are a multitude of stags ornamented with little bells and rings. They are familiar with men, and do not flee their sight. The Khan likes to see them. He has published a decree, in which he says that any one who dared to touch one of them, would be punished with death without pardon. This is why all these stags can tranquilly end their days.'

The Khan of the Turks at this time, as we find from the annals of the T'hang dynasty, was Sy shekhu Khan, who had just de-throned Sybi Khan, and the 'Thousand Sources,' *Ming-bulak*, or *Thsian Thsionen*, where he passed his summers, was probably the same place as that at which Zemarchus had found his predecessor sixty years before. Mr. Severtzof places *Ming-bulak* in the valley of the Ters, a little west of Aulié-ata, where there is now a locality of the same name, noted for its fine pastures, but this does not seem to answer the requirements of the narrative, and at the same time *Ming-bulak* is not an uncommon name in any part of Central Asia. A glance at the map, which shows numerous streams descending the Alexandrofsky range and watering the triangle formed by the Tchu and its chief branch, the Kurgati, can leave little doubt as to the probable situation of the 'Thousand Springs,' which, according to Hionen Thsang was a locality about fifty miles square. According to the distances given it would be between Merke and Aulié-ata.

After travelling 140 or 150 *li* west of the Thousand Springs, he 'arrived at the city of *Ta-lo-ssé* (Talas, at or near Aulié-ata), eight or nine *li* in circumference. Merchants from different countries live in it indiscriminately. As regards the products of the soil and the climate, this country resembles that of *Su-ye*.' About ten *li* south of this he found an isolated city, inhabited by 330 families of Chinese origin, who, although they had adopted the dress and tastes of the Turks (*Tu-kue*), had yet preserved the language and usages of their country. 'Leaving this kingdom and travelling 200 *li* to south-west, he arrived at the city *Pi-shui*, or White Water (in Persian *Isfidjab*, the modern Tchimkent). This city is six or seven *li* in circumference. With regard to the products of the soil and the nature of the climate this country is much better than that of *Tu-lo-ssé*.'

'Travelling about 200 *li* to the south-west, he arrived at the city of *Kong-yu* (Yangy ?), which was five or six *li* in circumference. The plains were rich and fertile, and the gardens and forests offered magnificent vegetation.' Thence he went 40 or 50 *li* south to the kingdom of *Nu-tch'i-kien* (the old Nejkat or Nujkent), and thence 200 *li* west to the kingdom of *Tche-shi* (Tchatch, Shash, or Tashkent).

Hionen Tshang then went to Ferghana, Usrushna (Ura-tepé), Samarkand, and Kesh, and through the Iron Gates, to the Oxus.

The full account of the travels of Hionen Tshang is to be found in the 'Voyages des Pèlerins Bouddhistes,' par M. Stanislas Julien.

3. YE-LÜ TCH'U-TSAI.

The celebrated Chinese statesman, Ye-lü Tch'u-tsai, accompanied Tchinghiz Khan in his conquest of the West, and wrote a book about his travels, which he named 'Si-yn-lu,' or an 'Account of a Journey to the West,' an abstract of which was made and published long afterwards by Ju-tze. I quote some passages from the translation given in Dr. Bretschneider's 'Notes on Chinese Mediæval Travellers to the West':—

'In the next year (1219) a vast army was raised and set in motion towards the west. The way lay through the *Kin-shan* (Chinese Altai). Even in the middle of the summer, masses of ice and snow accumulate in these mountains. The army passing that road was obliged to cut its way through the ice. The pines and larch trees are so high that they seem to reach heaven; the valleys (in the Altai) all abound in grass and flowers. The rivers west of the *Kin-shan* all run to the west, and finally discharge into a lake (Nor Zaisan). South of the *Kin-shan* is *Bie-shi-ta* (*Bishbalik*, *Urumtsi*), a city of the *Hui-hu* (Mohammedans, Uigurs). There is a tablet of the time of the T'ang dynasty, on which it is said that here at that time was the station of the army of the northern desert. The desert is several hundred *li* distant from the city (of *Bishbalik*). There is a lake with an island in it, on which a great number of birds used to mew. West of the city (of *Bishbalik*), 200 *li* distant, is the city *Lun-t'ai-hien*, where also a tablet of the time of T'ang is found. South of the city (of *Bishbalik*) 500 *li* (beyond the *Tian-Shan*) is *Huo-tchou*, the same place which at the time of T'ang was called *Kao-tch'ang*, and also *Yi-tchou*. West of *Kao-tch'ang*, 3,000 or 4,000 *li* distant, is the city of *Wu-duan*, which is the same as the realm of *Yi-fien* (*Khotan*), of the T'ang dynasty. There is a river there, in which is found white and black jade.

'At a distance of more than 1,000 *li*, after having crossed the desert, one arrives at the city of *Bu-la*. South of this city is the *Yin-shan* mountain, which extends from east to west 1000 *li*, and from north to south 200 *li*. On the top of the mountain is a lake (*Sairam Nor*), which is 70 or 80 *li* in circumference. The land south of the lake is overgrown with apple trees, which form such dense forests that the sunbeams cannot penetrate. After

leaving the *Yin-shan* one arrives at the city of *A-li-ma* (Almalyk). The western people call an apple *a-li-ma* (*alma*), and as all the orchards around the city abound in apple trees, the city received this name. Eight or nine other cities and towns are subject to *A-li-ma*. In that country grapes and pears abound. The people cultivate the five kinds of grain as we do in China. West of *A-li-ma* there is a large river, which is called *I-lie* (Ili). Further on, west of this river, is the city of *Hu-sze-wo-lu-do*, the capital of the *Si-liao* (Karakhitai), several tens of cities are subject to it. To the west of *Hu-sze-wo-lu-do*, several hundred *li*, is the city of *Ta-la-sze* (Talas). From this place, 400 *li* and more to the south-west, are the cities *Kudjan* (Hodjent), *Ba-p'u*, *K'o-san* (Kassan) and *Ba-lun* (Badam, Kanabadam).'

After this follow notices of Hodjent, Badam, Otrar, Samarkand, and Bukhara, from which I have previously given some quotations.

Two places in this account deserve mention, *Bu-la* and *Hu-sze-wo-lu-do*. *Bu-la* is probably the same place as that marked on ancient Chinese maps *P'u-la*, the *Bolo* of Tch'ang-Te, the *Phulad* of Hethum, and the *Pulad* of the historians of the Mongols. It was a little to the north or north-east of Lake Sairam Nor, and may perhaps derive its name from the river Boro-tala, *r* and *l* being interchangeable, as in Talas and Taraz, and is perhaps *Ulan-buru*; or it may come from *Bulak*, a spring, which enters into several names in this region. May this not be the city which Rubruquis calls *Bolsk*, to which the German prisoners were sent from Talas, and which he passed at a distance of three days' journey?

Hu-sze-wo-lu-do was the capital of the *Si-liao* or Karakhitai, and should, therefore, be Bala Sagun, though whether it is meant for that is hard to tell. *Wo-lu-do* is simply *ordo*, or camp.

4. TCH'ANG TCH'UN.

Tch'ang Tch'un, the Taouist monk, also passed through this region in 1221 and 1224, on his way to and from the court of Tchinghiz Khan.

After leaving *Bis-sze-ma* (Bishbalik, the modern Urumtsi), and going along the northern slope of the Tian Shan, and passing several towns, he came after seven days' journey to *Tch'ang-ba-la* (Tchangbalik, a town on old Chinese maps, but not otherwise known). After travelling westward several days, during which he crossed a sandy desert, and then, turning southward on a long slope, he came to a lake, which he calls the *Lake of Heaven* (the modern Sairam Nor), the description of which, as well as of the Talki defile, which I have elsewhere quoted, is still very exact.

What a slope this was which he ascended may be seen from the fact that Sairam Nor is 7,200 feet above the level of the sea, while Ebi Nor, at a distance of less than 80 miles, is but 700 feet. After passing through this defile he came to the city *A-li-ma*. This was the old Almalyk, situated near the modern Kaldja, and its name he rightly derives from the Turkish *alma*, apple. Having been entertained by the ruler of the *P'u-su-man* (Mussulmans), he journeyed 'further to the west, and arrived in four days at the *T'a-la-sum-nien*. The river, which is deep and broad, comes from the east, and cutting across the Yin-shan mountains, runs in a north-western direction. To the south of the river, again, are snow-covered mountains. On the first of the tenth month (end of October) we crossed the river in a boat, and proceeding southward arrived at a great mountain, on the northern side of which was a small town. Thence we travelled five days to the west. . . . Travelling again westward during seven days, we crossed a mountain, and met a Chinese envoy who was returning to China. . . . Next day there was a great snow-fall, and we reached a small town of the Hui-ho (Mohammedans). The snow was one foot deep, but it was quickly melted by the sun.

'On the 16th of the tenth month, we went in a south-western direction, crossed the river on a bridge of planks, and in the evening reached the foot of the southern mountains. Here were (formerly) the dominions of *Ta-shi Lin-ya*. . . . Here the climate is quite different from that of the regions north of the Yin-shan (Tian Shan). The country has many plains, and the people are employed in agriculture and breeding of silkworms. They make wine from grapes. The fruits are about the same as in China; but it does not rain there during the whole summer and autumn, hence the fields are irrigated artificially by canals led off from the rivers, and the corn is brought to maturity. To the north-east are mountains, to the south-west valleys, which stretch out for ten thousand *li*.

'This kingdom (of Tashi-Linya), existed about a hundred years. As the power of the *Naiman* was broken, they (*i.e.*, Gatchluk and the Naimans), fled to the *Ta-shi*, and after becoming powerful, overthrew that nation. Subsequently the *Suan-tuan* (Sultan of Khârezm), conquered the western part of their dominions, then Tchingiz arrived, the *Naiman* were totally destroyed, and the *Suan-tuan* was also overthrown.

'We were told that the way still before us presented many difficulties. One of our carts was broken, and we were obliged to leave it behind.

'The 10th of the tenth month, we travelled westward along

the hills, and after seven or eight day's journey, the mountains suddenly turned to the south. We saw a city built of red stones; and there were the traces of an ancient military encampment. To the west we saw great grave mounds, which resembled the Great Bear. Passing over a stone bridge, and travelling five days along the south-western mountains, we arrived at the city of *Sai-lan* (Sairam).'

The chief, and, indeed, only difficulty in fixing the localities mentioned on this route, lies in the river called *Ta-la-su mo-lien*. *Molien* is the same as *Muren*, the Mongol word for river, and there is no question but that literally it must mean the river Talas. But Tch'ang Tch'un could not possibly have travelled the distance from Kuldja (Alima) to the Talas, about 600 miles, in four days, and have taken twenty-five days to go from the Talas to the city of Sairam, only about 100 miles.

On the return journey, the account is more easily understood. Tch'ang Tch'un left Sairam on the 16th of the third month. On the 23rd of the month he was joined by the Imperial envoy, A-gou, who had been ordered to accompany him along the southern bank of the *Tch'u-mu-lien* (the Tchu). Ten days later, he was at a distance of more than one hundred *li* to the west of Alima, and crossed a large river. On the 5th of the fourth month, he arrived at a garden east of the city of Alima, and in the evening reached the foot of the Talki defile.

Dr. Bretschneider, in his 'Chinese Mediæval Travellers,' pp. 34-36, in order to explain these difficulties, supposes there must be some confusion in dates, or that parts of the diary have been transposed. Mr. Lerch thinks that by the *Ta'-la-su mo-lien*, Tch'ang Tch'un does not mean the modern Talas, but the Tchu. It seems to me, however, very much more simple to suppose a slip of the pen on the part of the diarist. If we look attentively at the account, we shall see that he must have meant the Ili, although he called it the Talas. He had probably entered in his note-book the names of all the rivers he crossed, and of the places to which he came, and by an easily intelligible error placed here the wrong name. In no other way is it possible to understand the route. This must be the same river which was last crossed on the return journey before reaching Alima, but which is not named there.

After crossing the Ili in a boat, for it is too deep to be fordable, and probably was never bridged, and proceeding southward, he arrived at a great mountain, on the northern side of which was a town, probably somewhat to the east of the modern Vierny. Following these mountains, the Alatau, to the west, he crossed them probably at the Kastek Pass, on the route of the old post road, and then came to the river Tchu, which he crossed on a bridge, and

reached the foot of the Alexandrofsky range, where he came into the country of the Karakhitai, the history of which people he briefly relates. Then travelling westward along the foot of this range, he came to the ruins of Akhyr-taab, of which I have spoken on p. 121, vol. ii, and crossing the Talas on a stone bridge, arrived at Sairam, near Tchimkent. This supposition, that the river of which Tch'ang Tch'un speaks is the Ili, will make his dates properly agree.

For a note on the translation of the account of Tch'ang Tch'un's journey, see vol. i. p. 238. I have chiefly followed Dr. Bretschneider.

5. TCH'ANG TE.

In 1259, Tch'ang Te was sent by the Mongol Emperor Mangu Khan to his brother Hulagu, who had just defeated the Khalif of Bagdad. On his return an account of his journey was written by *Liu Yu*, who gave it the name of 'Si-shi-ki.' I quote a portion of it from Dr. Bretschneider's translation, which is much fuller and better than those of Rémusat and Panthier.

'On the 20th day of the first month of 1259, Tch'ang Te set out as a courier despatched to the west (to the prince *Hü-lie-wu* or Hulagu.) After leaving *Ho-lin* (Karakorum), he travelled through the country of *Wu-sun* in a north-western direction, more than two hundred *li*, the ground rising gradually. After a halt, the traveller then crossed the desert. The country was very high and cold, and notwithstanding the great heat in summer, the snow never melts there. The rocky mountains were covered all over with fine pine trees. After seven days' travelling in a south-western direction, Tch'ang Te had crossed the desert, and descending gradually for three hundred *li*, arrived at a river several *li* broad. It was called *Hunmu-liea* (the modern *Dsabyan*), and in summer often overflows the country. He crossed in a boat; and a few days later passed the river *Lung-gu* (Ulungur).

'Thence Tch'ang Te proceeded again in a north-western direction; the distance by road southward to *Bie-shi-ba-li* (Bish-balik), at the nearest point being five hundred *li* (through a country inhabited by a great number of Chinese). They cultivate wheat, barley, millet, and *setaria*.

'The river (Ulungur) flows to the west, stagnates, and forms a lake, which is more than a thousand *li* in circumference. The name of this lake is *Ki-tse-li-ba-sze* (Kyzyl bash). It abounds in good fish. There are mills (on the river), which are put in motion by the running water. Proceeding gradually westward, Tch'ang Te arrived at a city called *Ye-maa*. Further to the south-west a city, *Bo-la*, was reached. In this country wheat and rice are

cultivated. On the mountains many cypresses are found, but they do not thrive vigorously, and grow tortuously between the stones. The dwelling-houses and bazaars stand interspersed among the gardens. The houses are built of clay, and the windows furnished with glass.

'To the north of this place (Bo-lo), is the *Hai'e t'ie shan* (the iron hill of the lake). A furious wind comes out from the mountains, and blows people passing there into the lake.

'Proceeding south-west twenty *li*, Tch'ang Te reached a defile, which is called *T'ie-mu-r-ts'an-ch'a* (the Talki Pass). It was guarded by Chinese. The way leading through the defile was very rugged, with overhanging rocks. After quitting this defile, Tch'ang Te arrived at *A-li-ma-li* (Almalyk). There the reservoirs in the market-places were connected by running water. As regards fruits, there were melons, grapes, and pomegranates of excellent quality. The *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) in Alimali lived mixed up with the Chinese, and gradually their customs had got changed into the customs of the middle kingdom.

'South (of Alimali) there was a city called *Tch'i-mu-r*. Amongst the inhabitants were a great many Chinese from *Ping* and *Fen*.

'Going from the city of Bo-lo westward, the coins in use are made of gold, silver, and copper, and bear inscriptions; but they have no square holes.

'Tch'ang Te now entered the country called *Ma-a* (Maveran-nahr, i.e., Turkistan). In this country the people (in winter) put horses to sledges, and carry heavy burdens in this manner from station to station, going very quickly. It is reported that the *Ki-li-ki-sze* (Kirghiz), instead of horses, use dogs (for drawing sledges).

'On the 24th of the second month (in the first half of April), Tch'ang Te passed *Yi-tu*, situated between two mountains. The ground there was level, and the population numerous. The country was intersected in all directions by canals, which irrigated the fields. Numerous ancient walls and other ruins were seen. The people said that in former times the *K'i-tau* (Karakhitai) dwelt there. Tch'ang Te calculated that this country was fifteen thousand *li* distant from *Ho-lin* (Karakorum). In the neighbourhood there is a river called *Yi-yün* (probably the Kurgaty). It runs bubbling to the east. The natives say that this is the source of the Yellow River (the Tchu).

'On the 28th of the second month, Tch'ang Te passed *T'a-la-sze* (Talas), and on the 1st of the third month, arrived at *Sai-lan* (Sairam). There is a tower in which the *Hui-ho* (Mohammedans) worship.'

Yeman is perhaps *Imil* or *Emil*, a town supposed to be situated on the river of that name, running into Lake Ala Kul, and frequently mentioned by the historians of the Mongols. It was the appanage at one time of Kuyuk Khan. It was probably somewhere near the present Tchugutchak. *Yi-tu* is apparently the country near Pishpek and Tokmak, between the Ala-Tau and the Alexandrofsky range.

6. PLANO CARPINI.

In 1245 John de Plano Carpini, a Franciscan monk, was sent as a missionary by Pope Innocent IV., to Mongolia. With Friar Benedict, the Pole, he reached the encampment of Batu on the Volga in February 1246, in Comania, and crossing the Yaik, or Ural, entered the land of the Kangli (Kangittae), an arid and desert region. Thence they went into the land of the Bisermans, or Bussurmans (a Russian corruption of the word Mussulman, used in all the old chronicles, and even now by the common people) who spoke the language of the Comanians, but observed the law of the Saracens. Here they found many ruined cities and forts, and saw on a great river a certain town called *Janckint* (the old Yany, or Jany-kent, on the lower Syr Darya), as well as others, among which were *Barchin* and *Ornas*. The ruler of this land was called *Alti soldanus*, which Mr. Lerch thinks is probably a corruption of the name of the Khârezm Shah ruling at that time, Ala Eddin Mohammed Sultan. Thence they went into the land of the Black Kitayans (Kara Khitai), in which they saw the city *Omyl*, which had just been rebuilt, and after that came upon 'a certaine small sea, upon the shore whereof stands a little mountaine, in which mountaine is reported to be a hole, from which in winter time such vehement tempestes of wind doe issue, that travellers can scarcely, and with great danger, passe by the same way. In summer time the noise indeede of the winde is heard there, but it proceedeth gently out of the hole. Along the shores of the foresaid sea we travailed for the space of many dayes, which, although it bee not very great, yet hath it many islands, and wee passed by, leaving it on our left hande.'

The friars then passed by the lands of the *Naimans*, and arrived at *Karakorum* on July 22, remained there until November 13, and reached Kief again on June 8, 1247.

English translations of the relation of Plano de Carpini were published in 'Hakluyt's Voyages,' and in 'Purchas, His Pilgrims,' but the best text of the original with all the variations of reading in different manuscripts, is to be found in the fourth volume of the 'Recueil de Voyages et de Mémoires publié par la Société de

Géographie,' Paris, 1839, accompanied by learned and interesting notes on ancient travellers, by M. D'Avezac.

After crossing the Yaik, Plano Carpini went through the southern portion of the steppe now belonging to the Lesser Horde of Kirghiz, and passing, as Friar Benedict says, many salt marshes, pools, and streams, and then a vast sandy waste (the Great and Little Barsuk, and the Kara-Kum), until he arrived at the Syr Darya, which is evidently the large river of which he speaks. At that time the lower regions of the Syr Darya were inhabited and cultivated, and contained many cities, which, up to the Mongol invasion, had been under the Khârezm Shahs. The people which Carpini calls Bisermins or Mussulmans, were apparently of Turkish race, and of the Mohammedan religion. Of the cities there mentioned, Janckint is evidently Yanikent, the ruins of which were investigated by Mr. Lerch in 1867, and were described by him in his 'Archæological Journey in Turkistan.' Barchin is probably the same as Partchin, mentioned in the journey of King Hethum, and appears also to be mentioned by Shehab-Eddin, in his enumeration of the cities of Turkistan. The name is apparently also found, although without diacritical points, in a coin of Jutchi, described by Fræhn (see Lerch, *ibid.* p. 10). As to Ornas, Karamzin, D'Avezac, Kunik, and others identify it with the city of Tana or Azof, at the mouth of the Don, while Fræhn and others think it to be Urgentch, the modern Khiva. It seems probable that Carpini has confused in the two passages where he speaks of this place, cities with similar names. A full discussion of the various identifications proposed for Ornas is to be found in Professor Philip Bruun's notes to his Russian translation of Schiltberger in the 'Memoirs of the Imperial University of New Russia' (Odessa, 1867), vol. i. pp. 30-34. *Lemfinc* (Lemfinc, or Lemfint), mentioned in the last chapter, is otherwise unknown.

From the Syr Darya Carpini probably went by the usual road, through Talas, &c., but there is no means of settling his route until we come to the lake with islands and a violent wind, which is commonly believed to be Lake Ala Kul, or *Alak-tugul-nor*, as the Mongols call it, and which is mentioned by Tch'ang Te, as well as by Rubruquis. Ala Kul means the spotted lake, either on account of the islands in it, or because, as the Kirghiz think, it lies among the mountains Ala-tau. The Mongol name means the 'lake of the spotted bull.' It is the only lake on this route with large islands, and was explored first by Schrenk, and then by Golubef, whose account is printed in the 'Memoirs of the Imp. Russ. Geog. Soc.:' Geography, vol. i. p. 349.

The difficulty here is that if *Omyl* be *Iymil* or *Emil* (or *Yeman* in *Tchang-Te*), which is some distance beyond *Lake Ala Kul*, the lake must be the *Kyzyl-bash*, which has no islands, though it is frequently disturbed by violent winds. *Ala Kul* is the only lake in this part of Asia, except *Balkash*, which has any islands.

The place of the violent wind is the defile in the mountains on the road from the *Ala Kul* to *Sairam Nor*, of which I quote the account of a recent traveller, *Mr. Zakharof*, on p. 191 of vol. ii.

7. RUBRUQUIS.

In 1253, *William de Rubruk*, or *Rubruquis*, a *Flemish Franciscan friar*, was sent by *St. Louis of France* on a mission to the *Tartars*. He set out from the *Volga* on *September 16, 1253*, and went to the *Court of Mangū Khan*, at *Karakorum*, and got back to *Antioch* about the end of *June 1255*.

Twelve days from the *Volga*, the missionaries came to the *Jagay* (*Yaik, Ural*), and travelled through the land of the *Kangli* eastward till *October 31*; the inhabitants of the country having all migrated southward, they went straight south through certain *Alps* eight days, when they saw high mountains south of them (the *Alexandrofsky range*), and on *November 8*, they came to the city of *Kenchat* (*Kentchak, near Merke*). 'Here there descended a great river downe from the mountaines, which watered the whole region, according as the inhabitants would give it passage by making diuers chanelis and sluices; neither did this river exonerate it selfe into any sea, but was swallowed up by an hideous gulfe into the bowels of the earth (lit. was absorbed by the soil); and it caused many fennes or lakes' (probably the *Tchu*).

Hence they travelled eastward, and in a few days after 'entered upon those *Alpes* where the *Cara Catayans* (*Karakhitai*) were wont to inhabite (*Ala Tau*). And there wee found a mightie river: insomuch that wee were constrained to imbarke our selues, and to saile ouer it (the *Ili*). Afterward we came into a certaine valley, where I saw a castle destroyed, the walles whereof were onely of mudde: and in that place the ground was tilled also. And there wee founde a certaine village, named *Equis*, wherein were *Saracens*, speaking the *Persian language*; howbeit they dwelt an huge distance from *Persia*. The day following, hauing passed ouer the aforesaid *Alpes* (spurs of the *Ala Tau*), which descended from the great mountaine southward we entred into a most beautiful plaine, hauing high mountaines on our right hande, and on the left hande of us a certaine sea or lake, which containeth fiftene dayes journey in circuite (*Lake Balkash*). All the foresayde plaine is most commodiously watered with certaine freshets distilling from

the said mountaines, all which do fall into the lake. In summer time wee returned by the north shore of the saide lake, and there were great mountaines on that side also. Upon the forenamed plaine there were wont to bee great store of villages; but for the most part they were all wasted, in regarde of the fertile pastures, that the Tartars might feede their cattel there. Wee found one great citie there named *Oailac*, wherein was a mart, and a great store of Merchants frequenting it. In this citie wee remained fiteene dayes, staying for a certaine Scribe or Secretarie of Baatu, who ought to have accompanied our guide for the despatching of certaine businesse in the court of Mangu. All this countrey was wont to be called *Organum*: and the people thereof had their proper language, and their peculiar kinde of writing. But it was altogether inhabited of the people called Contomanni. The Nestorians likewise in those parts used the very same kinde of language and writing. They are called Organa, because they were wont to be most skilfull in playing upon the Organes or citherne, as it was reported unto me. Here first did I see worshippers of idoles, concerning whom, bee it known unto your maiestie, that there be many sects of them in the East countries.'

After leaving Kayalik on November 30, Rubruquis came to a 'small city of Nestorians, and then, after three days, arrived at the chief place of that province, at the extremity of the aforesaid sea, which seemed to us to be as tempestuous as the ocean. We saw in it a great island. My companion approached its shore, and dipped his linen cloth into it to taste the water, which was a little salt, but drinkable. Then there came a certain valley between the great mountains in the region between the south and east, and there among the mountains there was another great lake, and a river came through that valley from that lake into the other, and so great a wind continually comes through that valley, that men pass it with great danger of being carried into the lake. We then crossed this valley, going northward to great mountains covered with the deep snow which was then lying on the ground.' Here, the population being small, they hastened their journey, and on the second Sunday of Advent, passed between very horrible rocks, so that they were requested to say some good words to put to flight the demons which were accustomed there to fall on man. After that they entered into a plain, where was the Court of Kenkhan (Kencan or Kencan), formerly the land of the Naimans (the valley of the Black Irtysh). The place mentioned was not seen at that time, but only on the return journey. Then again they crossed mountains, always going northward, and at length on

November 26, came into a great plain like a sea where no hills appeared, and on the next day arrived at the Court of Manga Khan.

The best text of Rubruquis is that given by D'Avenac, but I have quoted in part from the quaint, though imperfect translation, given in Hakluyt. There are certain things in the account of Rubruquis which it is very difficult to explain until we come to Kentchak. What the Alps were which he crossed, it is impossible to say, unless they are the high lands south of Akmotinsk, but the high mountains which he saw to the south of him, and which he evidently did not cross, are the Alexandrofsky range, as is evident from the position of Kentchak.

Quatremère ('Notices et extraits,' vol. xiii. p. 220), cites various passages from Mussulman historians, mentioning Kentchak, and nearly always in connection with Talas. For instance, Rashid Edkin speaks of the prairies of Talas and Kentchak, and Haider Razi says 'the meadows of Talas and Kentchak which are commonly called *Meski* and *Turaz*.' *Meski* is so similar to Merke or Mirky, that it seems to me plain that Kentchak was situated in the neighbourhood of the present Merke. I had come to this conclusion even before reading the passage in Quatremère, from what Rubruquis says of Talas, for in the village close to the mountains, which he reached the day after leaving Kentchak, he made inquiries about the situation of Talas, and was told that it was six day's journey behind him (*VI diēbus post nos*). The VI may here be a misprint for IV, or even for II, or it may be that his question was not accurately answered. As at that time there was ice there, and as since Michaelmas they had had frost, it is probable that Rubruquis crossed the Tcha without noticing it, and the river which irrigated the country must therefore be either the Kurgaty, or one of the branches of the Tcha, or possibly the Tchu itself, which he approached from the other side. A few days afterwards he entered the Alps where the Karakhitai lived, and found there a large river, which he was obliged to cross in a boat, i.e., he crossed over the spurs of the Ala-Tau going toward Vierny, where the hills were not particularly high, and came to the *El*, which is the only stream in this region deep enough to need a boat to cross it. After crossing this, he comes to the town of Equina. Colonel Yule ('Cathay,' p. cc.), leans to the opinion that Equina is a translation of *asparak*, the *asp* of which is the Persian for horse. This, however, seems to me somewhat strained, as Rubruquis is always very careful to give the native names for places, and not a translated name of this kind without the original. Mr. Howorth would make Equina *It-kichin*, the 'dog's ford,' on the right bank of the Kurgaty,

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ten miles above its junction with the Tcha. Its name is indeed somewhat similar, but it is impossible in any way to reconcile this identification with the topography of Babraqia. The next day after leaving Equina, certain other Alps were crossed, which branch off from the mountains from the south, which must be the high lands through which the post road now runs, going from the station of Ili towards Kopal. He then had the high mountains of the Ala-Tau on his right hand, and Balkash on his left, and soon came to the town of Kayalik, which Colonel Yule is probably right in placing near Kopal (*ibid.* p. cxxiii). This land, he says, was called Orgasum. This name, as Colonel Yule says (*ibid.* p. 522), is probably derived from that of the Princess Regent Organa (Orgasah), widow of Kara Hulagu, grandson and successor of Jagatai, then reigning in Almalyk, and was probably given to the country through some misapprehension of Babraqia. His derivation of the name is, of course, utter nonsense. The description of Lake Ala Kul, which Babraqia apparently and very easily mistook for a part of Lake Balkash, seems to be very excellent and accurate. From here he went northward towards the present Tchugatchak, across the mountains north-eastward toward the Black Irtysh—the country of the Naimes, and where they even now live—turned in the direction of Lake Kyryl Bash, and came out on the plain to the south of that lake, and probably ascended the river Ulungur or Urugur.

### 8. KING HETHUM.

<sup>1</sup> Hethum, King of Armenia, very faithful and a friend of Christ, reigning at Sis, in the regions of Cilicia, had previously sent his brother, the General Sembat (Sempad), with presents and offerings to Ging (Knyak) Khan, who received him honourably, and sent him home with confirmatory letters.

<sup>2</sup> When Mangu Khan became sovereign, the great Generalissimo Batu, bearing the title of 'Royally Descended,' residing in the north with his innumerable legions, on the banks of the great and deep river Ezel (Volga), which falls into the Caspian Sea, requested for himself and Mangu Khan a visit from King Hethum. This prince, who feared Batu, left secretly in disguise, for fear of being recognized by his neighbours, the Turks, and their Sultan, Ala-Eddin of Roum, who mortally hated him for his friendly relations with the Tartars. Having quickly traversed the Turkish dominions, in twelve days he arrived at Kara, where he saw Batcha-Nuin, commander of the Tartar army in the East, as well as other lords, who treated him honourably. He stopped at the village of Vardenia, in the district of Aragatsfa, and opposite Mount Arzi, in the house

of Prince Kurd, of Armenian race, and in religion a Christian. Here he remained until he received from home the things intended for presents and offerings. These things were sent to him by his father Prince Constantine, already an old man. . . . Accompanied by them the King went through Agovanie (Albania), and by the Gates of Derbert, *i.e.*, the fortress of Tchör, to Batu, and his son Sartakh, a Christian. They welcomed him with honour and affection, and fitted him out for his long journey to Mangu Khan, beyond the Caspian Sea.

'Having set out on the 6th of the month of *Mareri*, or May 13, the King and his suite crossed the great river *Aiekh* (the Yaik or Ural), and arrived at *Or* (the river Or, or a town on it), midway between the camp of Batu and Mangu Khan.

'After crossing the river *Ertitch* (Irtysh), they arrived in the country of the Naiman, thence among the *Karakhitai*, and reached *Tataristan* on the 4th of the month *Hori*, September 13, and on the festival of the elevation of the Holy Cross, were presented to Mangu Khan, who was sitting in all the greatness of his fame.

'King Hethnm offered him his presents, and was treated with due respect, and remained in the Horde fifty days. Mangu Khan gave him a special rescript, forbidding any one to disturb him or his states, as well as an order granting liberty to all churches.

'Starting thence on the fiftieth day, the 23rd of *Sahmi* (November 1), in thirty days he reached *Gumagur*, then went to *Berbalikh* and to *Beshbalikh* (Bishbalik), and to the sandy countries where live savage men who are quite naked with the exception of the hair on their heads; the breasts of their women are long and enormous. They are quite dumb. Here there are also wild horses with yellow and black skins, and white or black mules, much larger than horses or asses, as well as camels with two humps.

'Thence they went to *Arlekh* (or *Lekh*), to *Kulluk*, *Enkakh*, *Janbalekh* (Tchangbalik, see in Tch'ang Tch'un), *Khutapai*, and *Ankibalekh* (Yangybalik). Thence they entered into Turkistan, and came to *Ekoprak*, *Tingabalekh*, and *Pulad*.

'Crossing the *Sut-Kul* or Milky Lake (*Sairam Nor*), they came to *Alualekh* (Almalik) and *Ilan-balekh* (serpent town). Passing over the river *Ilan-nu* (the Ili), and crossing an arm of Mount Taurus, arrived at *Talas*, and came to *Hulavu* (*Hulagu*), the brother of Mangu Khan, who had taken for his share the countries of the East.

'After that, turning to the north-west, they came to *Kutuktchin*, *Berkent*, *Sukulkhan*, *Urusokan*, *Kaikand*, *Khuzakh* (*Suzak* ?), *Kamolz*, *Khendakhuir*, and *Segnakh* (*Saganak*), or the Mountains of *Khur-tchukh* (a river near Turkistan), whence come the *Seldjukides*, and

which begin at the Taurus, and reach to *Partchin* (Barchin), where they end.

'Thence they came to *Sartakh*, son of *Batn*, who was going to *Mangu Khan*. Then they went to *Sengakh* (var. *Sengan*, *Ongan*), *Savran* (Sauran), which is extremely large, *Kharatchukh*, *Ason* (Yassy, Turkistan), *Sori* (or *Savri*, Sauran), *Otrar*, *Zurnukh* (on the left bank of the *Syr Darya*), *Dizakh* (Jizakh), and thence in thirty days to *Samarkand*, *Saripul*, *Krman* (Kermineh), and *Bukhara*.

'After crossing the great river *Jaihun* (Oxus), they went to *Mrmn*, *Sarashk*, *Tus*, situated opposite to *Khorasan*, or *Bokastan*. Then they entered into *Masanderan*, and then came to *Bestan*, then to the country of *Erak* (Iraq), on the frontiers of the *Mulhids* (the assassins), to *Damgan*, the large town of *Rei*, to *Kazuin*, *Asher*, *Zongian*, *Miana*, and in twelve days to *Tauris*.

'Twenty-six days after they traversed the *Erashk* (Araxes), and went to *Sisian*, to *Batchu-Nuin*, chief of the Tartar army, who sent them on to *Hodja-Nuin*, to whom he had entrusted the command of his army, while he himself with the other chiefs went to meet *Hulavu* (*Hulaga*), brother of *Mangu Khan*, who was going to the East (i.e. Persia and Armenia). . . .

'The King related to us with regard to barbarous peoples, marvellous and unknown things which he had seen, or of which he had heard. There is, he said, beyond the *Khatai*, a country where the women have the shape of human beings, and are gifted with speech, while the men have that of dogs, and are dumb, large, and hairy. These dogs allow no one to penetrate into the country, and hunt beasts; with which they feed themselves as well as the women. When the dogs lie with the women, the males are born in the shape of dogs, and the females like women.

'There is also a sandy island, where there grows like a tree a kind of precious bone, called the "fish's tooth," and when it is cut, it sprouts again like a stag's horns.

'In another country there are numbers of idolators, worshipping very large idols of clay, called *Shakmunia* (*Shakya-Munya*, or *Buddha*), which they say has been a god 3,040 years, and is yet to live 87 *tumans* of years, of 10,000 each. At the end of this time his divinity will be taken away by another god, called *Madrin* (*Maidari*, the future successor of *Buddha*), in honour of whom they have erected clay statues of an immense size, and have placed them in five temples. These people, including their women and children, are all priests; they are called *Toins*. They shave off their hair and their beards, wear yellow *filons* like christians, not on the back, but round the neck. They are temperate in eating, and with

regard to marriage. Taking a woman of twenty, they lie with her until she be thirty years old, three times a week; until forty, three times a month; until fifty, three times a year; after the fiftieth year they touch them no more.

'The wise King related about barbarians many other things, which I omit, that I may not be taxed with exaggeration. He entered Armenia eight months after leaving Mangu Khan. This was in the year 704 of the Armenian Era (1255-1256).'

The King Hethum, whose journey to Mongolia I have just given, was Hethum or Hayton, the Armenian form of the name which is in Arabic *Hatem*, who reigned over Cilicia, or, as it was called in the Middle Ages, Little Armenia, from 1226 to 1270. This journey constitutes the fifty-ninth chapter of the 'History of Armenia,' by Kirakoz of Gantzak, the whole of which is translated by Brosset in his 'Deux Historiens Arméniens.' This chapter also previously appeared in a Russian translation in the 'Siberian Messenger,' vol. xix., St. Petersburg, 1822, and subsequently in a French translation from that edited by Klaproth, in the 'Journal Asiatique' for October 1833. It has also been translated into French by N. Emin as an appendix to his translation of the 'History of Vardan the Great,' Moscow, 1861, and by K. P. Patkanof, in the 'History of the Mongols from Armenian sources,' St. Petersburg, 1874. I have chiefly followed Patkanof, who has given much care to the correct orthography of the proper names.

Hethum had been obliged to deliver up to the Mongols the mother, wife, and daughter of the Turkish Sultan of Iconium, who had sought refuge in his dominions, and had in this way gained the favour of the Mongols, but had become hated by the Turks, and, as an ally of the Mongols, was also distressed by attacks from the Sultans of Egypt, which finally put an end to this little Christian kingdom. He had previously, as stated in the text, sent to Kuyuk Khan his brother Sembat, the constable of Armenia, but the Khan commanded that Hethum should himself come. It was in consequence of his terror of the Turks, that he disguised himself and went *incognito* through the Turkish country in the suite of his own ambassador. Two years after his return, he told the historian Abul Faradj that he was not recognised until he came to Arzengan; but that there a man who had lived some time in Cilicia, exclaimed, 'If these be my eyes, this is the King of Sis.' On hearing this, the ambassador, whom he was accompanying, struck him, and said, 'Thou most abject little man, art thou like a king?' 'But I,' he says, 'patiently bore the blow to turn from me his correct suspicion.'

Rubruquis, on his way back from Karakorum, passed Hethum, and on arriving at the Horde of Batu, learned that Hethum, during



his stay there, had rendered assistance to the men whom he had left there, who had been badly off. Hethum gives few details of his outward journey, and appears to have gone directly east until he crossed the Irtysh. The Or, which he describes as being half way, is probably so in point of time, and not of distance; so that it is probably, not as Klaproth suggested in Jungaria, but the river Or, from which both Orenburg and Orsk derive their names. On returning, he arrived in a month at Gumagur, Gumsgur, or Kumakur, which Patkanof suggests may be a corrupted form of Karakum, then at Berbalik, which Klaproth thinks is the modern Barkul, then at Urumtsi, then keeping along the rocky highway skirting the northern slope of the Tian Shan, and south of Lake Ebi Nor to Lake Sairam Nor and Kuldja, and then through Semiretch to Aulié-ata. From this point Hethum turned southwards to Samarkand, and returned home by the way of Khorassan and Persia.

Among the wondrous tales told by King Hethum of the strange people that he had seen is one about the race of dogs and women. Plano Carpini speaks of the same story. According to Klaproth there is also a story of the 'Keou koue,' or Kingdom of Dogs, in the Chinese books of that epoch. The Chinese Encyclopædia, 'Santsai thou hoëi' ('Affairs of Man'), in book xii., folio 27, says that 'In the Kingdom of dogs the men have the bodies of dogs. Their heads are covered with long hair, they are not dressed, and their language resembles the barking of dogs. Their women are of the human race, and understand the Chinese language. Their clothes are made of sables' skins. These people live in caverns. The men eat raw food, but the women cook it. They contract marriages with these dogs. Formerly a Chinaman lived in this country, and the women, who desired to run away, gave him little sticks, and asked him when he returned to his country to drop one of these sticks every ten ¼. The dogs, then seeing that their dwellings were deserted, set out in pursuit of this man, but could not catch him. To go from Nankin to this country requires two years and two months.'

In reading these stories one is struck with their resemblance to the legend of the origin of the Kara-Kirghiz from forty maidens and a red dog, and it seems probable that both Hethum and Carpini during their travels heard of these and similar legends, which they converted into actual present facts.

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The moral of all this is very simple. In all countries where there are inhabitants there are roads or tracks, or lines of communication; and travellers in general journey by those roads, and do

not go across the open country. Where the country is shut in by a mountain range with a limited number of passes, it is comparatively easy to ascertain where those roads must run.

Now we know that in ancient times there were from Peking three roads to India, full descriptions of which are given in writers of the Thang dynasty, as well as in others. One, the southern road, went through China itself to the coast; the second, the middle road, went through Central China to Kashgar and Thibet; the northern road, with which we have concern, after leaving China at the extreme north-western corner of the empire, skirted the great mountain ranges, and near the present Ak-su divided into two branches, one of which went on to Kashgar, and the other going through the Muzart Pass along the shore of Lake Issyk Kul, came into the valley of the Tchu, then went along the northern side of the Alexandrofsky range to Talas, and then southward to Tashkent, Samarkand, Balkh, and Kabul; in fact, was almost exactly the present post and caravan road. This was the route taken by Hionen Thsang, and the description of it given by the writers of the Thang dynasty in some respects supplements his account, and in others is almost exactly coincident with it. Tchinghiz Khan, after defeating the Naimans, who lived in the Upper Irtysh, descended into Central Asia from the neighbourhood of Lake Nor Zaisan; but immediately after his conquest a new road was built, or perhaps an old one was improved, which left the old northern road at Bishbalik or Urumtsi, went close to the mountains to Lake Sairam Nor, then through them by the Talki Pass, where many bridges had been constructed to Almalyk in the valley of the Ili, then down that valley towards the modern Vierny and Tokmak. That road was from the time of the Mongols until the late Dungan insurrection maintained as one of the great Imperial Chinese post-roads, and even now in the Talki Pass but slight repairs would be required to make it perfectly available. At the same time another road was in frequent use, which has been maintained until recent times; and which, deflecting northwards before reaching Urumtsi, followed the River Urungur to Lake Kyzyl Bash, and then went by the Irtysh to Lake Nor Zaisan. South of Lake Nor Zaisan, near Lake Ala Kul there was a province, the capital of which, Imil, was situated near the present Tchugutchak, and there was a road going south connecting this with Almalyk. What seems strange is that anyone going to Central Asia should choose this northern road in preference to the more direct one from Urumtsi to Sairam Nor, and then turn south from Imil to Almalyk, instead of going directly on and joining the main road further west, as Tch'ang Te seems to have done. Still this may have been caused by reasons of state

which have been omitted in the short form in which the account has come down to us.

For travellers going to Central Asia from the West the case is somewhat different. Here there are no mountain passes to concentrate the roads in particular places, and nothing but fresh water and pastures to tempt travellers in one direction more than another out of the direct road. Apparently, we may judge not only from travellers but from accounts of campaigns, that the road from the Volga was much what it would be now had Orenburg not been built, that is, by the old caravan road from the neighbourhood of Astrakhan to the northern shore of the Sea of Aral, and then up the Syr-Darya as far as Tchimkent, where the road turned, as at present, southward for Central Asia proper, and north-east by the way of Aulié-ata for China and Mongolia. Different seasons of the year naturally made differences in the routes pursued, and for that reason we find Rubruquis, who started late in the year, took a much more northerly route than others, for there probably he found much better forage, and afterwards, there being snow on the ground, the want of water did not trouble him.

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