

Readings for the lectures

Week 1: Valerie Hansen draft article, "The World in the Year 1000."

This draft is not for circulation or citation.

pdf, "2016 Sept 19 The World in the Year 1000." Read pp. 1-9 (the notes are optional).

Week 2: The Icelandic Sagas.

Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America*, New York: Penguin Books, 1965.

Greenlanders' Saga, chapter 7, "Karlsefni in Vinland," pp. 64-67;

Erik's Saga, chapter 11, "The Skraelings Attack," pp. 99-101, and Chapter 12, "Thorvald Eiriksson Dies," the final three paragraphs, starting with "They set sail before a southerly wind," on pp. 102-103.

Week 3: The Russian Primary Chronicle

Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (trans.) *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), pp. 96-97 (from "Vladimir was visited by Bulgars," to "Do you expect us to accept that fate also?"; pp. 110-111 (from "Vladimir summoned his boyars..." to "the decision rested with him."

Week 4: Marvazi's account of the Liao-dynasty envoy sent to Afghanistan by Emperor Shengzong in 1027.

V. Minorsky (trans.) *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), pp. 19-21, sections 21-24.

Optional: "Notes on Shengzong's letter," pp. 79-82.

Week 5: Zhao Rugua's description of the Indians.

Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua, his Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), chapter 20 "Baghdad (Da Qin 大秦)," pp. 102-104 (notes optional); Chapter 21 "India (Tianzhu 天竺)," pp. 110-111 (notes optional). Chapter 22 "The Arabs" (Dashi 大食), pp. 119 last paragraph only (notes optional). I have also included the Zhonghua shuju original of these passages for your reference.

Week 6: Valerie Hansen draft article, "The World in the Year 1000."

This draft is not for circulation or citation.

pdf, "2016 Sept 19 The World in the Year 1000." Review pp. 1-9; scan pp. 10-46; Read pp. 46-47 (the notes are optional).

Week 1 and Week 6

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The World in the Year 1000

When Globalization Began

The year 1000 marked the true beginning of globalization, not 1492 – when Columbus’s first voyage triggered the massive exchange of plants, animals, and human populations that initiated the Age of Discovery.¹ That is because in the year 1000 a number of expanding kingdoms and empires began to brush up against each other for the first time, causing goods, people, and ideas to move into new regions.² These

¹ The classic study is Alfred W. Crosby’s *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Greenwood Publishing Company, Westport, 1971).

² There is a genre of books, many conceived of or published around 2000, when interest in the previous millennium was high. This was when the editors of the *Wall Street Journal* did their brilliant mockup of the front page, complete with all the features of the modern WSJ; see <http://interactive.wsj.com/public/resources/documents/mill-1-1000.htm>. The original print version had more text and was decidedly Eurocentric; the e-version is a real improvement.

Two books from this time have very similar titles but show how differently historians thought about the world sixteen years ago, before historians became interested in global connectivity. Robert Lacey and Danny Danziger, *Year 1000: What Life was Like at the Turn of the First Millennium: an Englishman's World* (Little, Brown, 1999) focuses mostly on England, with some treatment of Western Europe. Describing the nitty gritty of life within a given month, each chapter does not address any larger issues. James Heitzman and Wolfgang Schenkluhn’s *The World in the Year 1000* (University Press of America, 2004) presents essays by specialists about individual regions in the year 1000, but they do not explore contacts across different regions.

The most interesting of these books is John Man’s *Atlas of the Year 1000* (Harvard University Press, 2001), which poses very similar questions to this book.

serendipitous and episodic contacts ultimately produced today's globalized world.

Figure #1: Map of the World's Major Regions in the Year 1000.

Consider an example: in 1000 CE Leif Erikson and his followers touched down on the northern tip of Newfoundland Island, having sailed across the north Atlantic from Greenland to Canada.³ Their landing was the first certain crossing into the Americas from Eurasia since the earliest settlers had traversed the Beringia icebridge from Siberia to Alaska at least 14,500 years before the present.⁴ Leif Erikson's arrival signaled the expansion of the Northern European region, the area defined by the range of Viking raids,

The book's atlas format, each page with a map and an accompanying description, gives it a discontinuous feel. Still, it is clearly a book that was ahead of its time.

³ This assertion combines archeological information from the site of L'Anse aux Meadows with textual evidence from the two Icelandic sagas that record the voyages: the Greenlanders' Saga and Eirik's Saga. All citations to these texts in this article are from: Magnus Magnusson and Hermann Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas: The Norse Discovery of America*, New York: Penguin Books, 1965. Information about dating on 24, 29-30. For archeology, see: Birgitta L. Wallace, Birgitta, *Westward Vikings: The Saga of L'Anse aux Meadows* (St. John's, Newfoundland, Canada: Historic Sites Association of Newfoundland and Labrador, 2006); Birgitta Wallace, "The Norse in Newfoundland: L'Anse aux Meadows and Vinland," *Newfoundland Studies* 19.1 (spring 2003): 5-43; William W. Fitzhugh and Elisabeth J. Ward, *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000).

⁴ American archeologists have all but abandoned the Clovis hypothesis, which proposed that the earliest settlers in the Americas were the peoples who made stone blades like those discovered at Clovis, New Mexico in 1929 and which date to 13,500 BP. Evidence from multiple sites has pushed back the date of the first humans to at least 14,500 cal BP, and possibly as early as 18,500 cal BP, the date of the level at the Chilean Site of Monte Verde with recognizable human footprints. It is possible that the first humans arrived even earlier, at the time of the layer just below, dating to 33,000 BP, but the evidence for human occupation at that time is less convincing. A recent find from Florida reinforces the date of 14,500 BP. Jessi J. Haligan, Michael R. Waters et al., "Pre-Clovis Occupation 14,550 years ago at the Page-Ladson Site, Florida, and the Peopling of the Americas," *Science Advances*. Accessed 6-14-16 at:

<http://advances.sciencemag.org/content/2/5/e1600375>; TD Dillehay, Ocampo C, Saavedra J, Sawakuchi AO, Vega RM, Pino M, et al. (2015) New Archaeological Evidence for an Early Human Presence at Monte Verde, Chile. *PLoS ONE* 10(11): e0141923. doi:10.1371/journal.pone.0141923; Thomas D. Dillehay, *The Settlement of the Americas: A New Prehistory* (New York: Basic Books, 2000).

all the way across the North Atlantic to North America, where Norsemen encountered indigenous Amerindians for the first time. As this article will show, similar instances of new cross-regional contacts occurred in eastern Europe, west Africa, Central Asia and North India, Northeast Asia, the Indian Ocean, and Mesoamerica.

Surprisingly, no new technology caused this burst of travel. The expansion of regions occurred simply because people walked, rode animals, or drove carts overland farther than they had gone before. Or they traversed water in canoes or sailboats with no navigational instruments, but simply by dead reckoning, using the stars and currents to find their way.

If there was no significant technological change, what spurred expansion? Leading up to the year 1000 the climate warmed slightly, as the medieval optimum continued (this was before the Little Ice Age started in 1300),⁵ and agricultural yields in Western Europe, India, and China increased markedly, freeing some from having to work the land full time. In these same regions population grew dramatically.⁶

The internal dynamics of warbands also contributed to the formation of broader territories in Eurasia because aspiring chieftains led their followers to seek new territory

⁵ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 18, 21-23; Astrid E. J. Ogilvie, L. K. Barlow and A. E. Jennings, "North Atlantic Climate ca. AD 1000: Millennial Reflections on the Viking discoveries of Iceland, Greenland, and North American," *Weather* 55.2 (2000): 34-45; G. H. Miller, et al. (2012), "Abrupt onset of the Little Ice Age triggered by volcanism and sustained by sea-ice/ocean feedbacks," *Geophys. Res. Lett.*, doi:10.1029/2011GL050168.

⁶ Eric L. Jones, *The European Miracle: Environments, Economies, and Geopolitics in the History of Europe and Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981, 1987); Robert M. Hartwell, "Demographic, Political, and Social Transformations of China," *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 42 (1982): 365-442; R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution, c. 970-1215* (Malden, MA: Blackwell, 2000).

away from already occupied areas.⁷ The career of Erik illustrates this nicely. In 980, after being found guilty of murder, Leif's father, Erik the Red, was exiled for three years from Iceland; already banned from Norway, he set off for new territory, in his case Greenland, which had been sighted sometime around 900.⁸ When his sentence was up, he led a group of Icelandic followers to the east coast of Greenland, where they established the Eastern Settlement.⁹

In 1000 his son Leif, acting on news of unsettled lands to the west, set sail in the hope of finding a base for himself and plunder to reward his men.¹⁰ The Vinland Sagas do not call Erik, Leif, or Leif's sister Freydis, chieftains or use the word "warbands" for their followers, but they make it clear that the three led their own retinues whose loyalty they rewarded with plunder.

Of course, the Icelandic sagas are not dry, factual chronicles. Storytellers shaped their accounts with specific goals in mind, usually glorifying the deeds of an ancestor.¹¹

⁷ Historians of different regions have analyzed the workings of warbands and how chieftains rewarded their followers; these bands existed across all of Eurasia at this time, in both sedentary and nomadic societies, as Jonathan Karam Skaff has shown in his pioneering reinterpretation of Max Weber's concept of patrimonialism. See his *Sui-Tang China and its Turko-Mongol Neighbors: Culture, Power, and Connections, 580-800* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2012), 12-15, 75-104. For Western and Northern Europe, see Timothy Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 5th ser., 35 (1985): 75-94; Anders Winroth, *The Conversion of Scandinavia: Vikings, Merchants, and Missionaries in the Remaking of Northern Europe* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2012), 10-11, 41-51.

⁸ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 16-17; Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 290.

⁹ In the introduction to *The Vinland Sagas*, the translators Magnusson and Palsson date Erik's trip to Greenland in 981 or 982; the *Íslendingabók* (Book of Icelanders) gives 986. *The Vinland Sagas* 17, 26.

¹⁰ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 51-56.

¹¹ Scholars of the Icelandic sagas have debated the relationship between the oral accounts and written versions as well as their veracity for more than a century. Theodore M. Andersson suggests seven types of anecdotes (for example, biographical accounts) were

Two sagas describe the Norse voyages to the Americas. Erik's Saga was composed in support of the canonization of Björn Gilsson (d. 1162), who was a descendant of Thorfinn Karlsefni and his wife Gudrid,¹² while the Greenlanders' Saga relates the discoveries of Leif and his siblings Thorvald, Thorstein, and Freydis.¹³ The sagas certainly contain later interpolations: for example, no one gives credence to the account in Erik's Saga that the king of Norway ordered Leif to convert Greenland to Christianity.¹⁴

Still, the sequence these two accounts give for the settlement of Iceland (874), Greenland (985), and Newfoundland (1000) matches the archeological record. Archeological evidence also confirms the social divisions between chieftains and followers as described in the sagas. Hall A at L'Anse aux Meadows¹⁵ has a special room for the chieftain and his wife, while his followers slept together in a communal room.¹⁶

Many different exchanges resulted when peoples from two previously unconnected regions came into contact. The sagas report that the Norse traded red cloth and fresh milk from their cows for furs and pelts from the residents of Vinland, the Norse

likely to have circulated orally and that authors could draw on them when they wrote their versions; *The Growth of the Medieval Icelandic Sagas* (1180-1280) (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006). See also Margaret Cormack, "Fact and Fiction in the Icelandic Sagas," *History Compass* 5.1 (2007): 201-217.

¹² Gudrid was the widow of Erik's son Thorstein and the wife of Thorfinn Karlsefni. See Nancy Marie Brown, *The Far Traveler: Voyages of a Viking Woman* (New York: Mariner Books, 2006); Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland," 10.

¹³ Composed in Iceland around 1200, Greenlanders' Saga survives in manuscripts dating to 1387. Erik's Saga, composed around 1264, was a rewrite of Greenlanders' Saga designed to glorify Thorfinn Karlsefni; a manuscript version dated between 1306 and 1308 has now been lost. See Erik Wahlgren, "Vinland Sagas," in *Medieval Scandinavia: An Encyclopedia* (New York: Garland Publishing, 1993), 704-705; Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 20.

¹⁴ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 85, for the king's order.

¹⁵ L'Anse aux Meadows is a corruption of the French name of the village, L'Anse aux Meduses, or Jellyfish Cove.

¹⁶ Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland," 13.

name for the place that is most likely modern Nova Scotia or Newfoundland. All over the world, goods exchanged overland were most often lightweight like feathers, small handicrafts, or medicines. Ships could carry heavier items like aromatic woods, incense, medicines, coins, gold, and silver. In the year 1000 all these objects traveled greater distances than they had in earlier times, with one important exception: after the turn of the Common Era, Roman trade networks had extended all the way to the west coast of southern India.¹⁷ But Rome's long-distance trade was limited to one region while the year 1000 saw the simultaneous expansion of trade networks all around the world.

These contacts had far greater impact than the simple exchange of a few unusual goods. Plants and animals moved into new regions with far-reaching effects. New technologies moved as well; paper, originally from China, entered Europe from Central Asia.¹⁸ Information about distant neighbors circulated first among geographers but then more widely.

Information about the religious beliefs of other societies had the greatest impact on the highest number of people at the time. Many new states formed around the year 1000, and to enhance their power, their rulers devoted considerable thought to the question of what religion to adopt for themselves and their subjects. In addition to the perceived benefits of affiliating with a powerful divinity and church, a ruler could also associate with other rulers who patronized the same faith. Records of decisions made around the year 1000 from the Volga, sub-Saharan Africa, central Asia, and Southeast Asia show how widely the knowledge of world religions and different states spread. By

¹⁷ Vimala Begley, "Arikamedu Reconsidered," *American Journal of Archaeology* 87. 4 (1983): 461-481.

¹⁸ Jonathan Bloom, *Paper Before Print: The History and Impact of Paper in the Islamic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2001).

the year 1000, most rulers in Afro-Eurasia knew about the belief systems of their neighbors and those living farther away.

When rulers chose to adopt a religion for their realm, they selected from an increasingly short list. Smaller religions, like Manichaeism or Turkic Shamanism, that had existed before the year 1000 died out because ambitious rulers abandoned them in favor of larger, more established regions. The decisions of new rulers seeking to increase their power explains the dramatic expansion of Christianity, Islam, Hinduism, and Buddhism at this time. Remarkably, no new world religions arose after the year 1000. There were a few exceptions like Mormonism, Bahai, and Sikhism, but even these combined elements of religions already firmly in place by 1000.

Sources

Written and archeological evidence as well as oral testimony permit the sketching of these incipient contacts around the world. In the literate cores, people drew up records in Icelandic, Latin, Arabic, Chinese, Tamil, and Sanskrit. Geographers and historians often relate information about distant places, with the accounts in Arabic providing the most detail about the residents, trade goods, routes, and customs of the largest number of places.

Archeological evidence is key to recognizing this incipient globalization. At the most basic level, if a distinctive rock, mineral, or shell known to be from one place surfaces somewhere else, we can reconstruct the route of the transported item to the new location. The discovery of a single bronze pin confirmed the identity of the Norsemen

who settled at the Canadian site of L'Anse aux Meadows.¹⁹ Similarly, across Scandinavia are hoards containing thousands of silver Abbasid coins with Arabic inscriptions – payment for the amber, fur, and slaves exported from northern Europe to modern Iraq and Iran in the period between 800 and 1000.²⁰

Baltic amber traveled even farther, all the way to north of Beijing, as chemical analysis of amber from Inner Mongolia demonstrates.²¹ In Southeast Asian waters, multiple shipwrecks contain the remnants of spices and fragrances exchanged for Chinese porcelains, while LiDAR (an archeological tool that works on the principle of radar but uses light from a laser) reveals the dimensions of ancient temples at Angkor Wat.²² And

¹⁹ This pin is the same as those in use in Ireland and Scotland between 920 and 1050 (Wallace, “Norse in Newfoundland,” 22). See the classic study of the original excavation: Helge Ingstad and Anne Stine Ingstad, *The Viking discovery of America: the Excavation of a Norse Settlement in L'Anse aux Meadows, Newfoundland* (St. John's, Newfoundland: Checkmark Books, 2001), photo of the pin on Fig. 24, page 160. Although the Ingstads always receive credit for the discovery, others had earlier proposed L'Anse aux Meadows as a likely Viking site on the basis of the descriptions in the Vinland Sagas. In 1914, a resident of Harbour Grace on Newfoundland suggested that the Vikings had landed at L'Anse aux Meadows, but he did no excavations. W. A Munn, *Wineland Voyages: Location of Helluland, Markland and Vinland*, (St. John's Newfoundland: Evening Telegram Limited, 1946 reprint of 1914 privately printed pamphlet). For those who proposed L'Anse aux Meadows as the Viking settlement between Munn and the Ingstads, see Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 29-30.

²⁰ Ross Samson, “Fighting with Silver: Rethinking Trading, Raiding, and Hoarding,” in *Social Approaches to Viking Studies*, edited by Ross Samson (Glasgow: Cruithne Press, 1991) 123-133.

²¹ Xu Xiaodong, “Multi-Cultural Characteristics of Liao Amber and the Source of Raw Material: Amber from the Tomb of Princess Chen and her Consort,” in: Aleksander Palavestra et al (ed.) *Amber in archaeology: proceedings of the fifth International Conference on Amber in Archaeology* (Belgrade : National Museum, 2009) 238-249, especially 242-243.

²² Michael Flecker, “Early Voyaging in the South China Sea: Implications on Territorial Claims,” *Nalanda-Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper Series* 19 (2015): 1-53, with a helpful chart of all known shipwrecks on p. 39; Roland Fletcher, Damian Evans, Christophe Pottier, and Chhay Rachna, “Angkor Wat: an introduction,” *Antiquity* 89 (2015): 1388-1401; Damian Evans and Roland Fletcher, “The Landscape of Angkor Wat Redefined,” *Antiquity* 89 (2015): 1402-1419.

metalworkers at Chichén Itzá worked gold for the first time, quite possibly using metal technology originating in the Andean region in South America.²³

This survey of the globe commences with the Norsemen because their arrival at L'Anse aux Meadows was a distinct event that occurred in the year 1000. Instances of trans-regional contact elsewhere in the world occurred more gradually. We proceed east, probing the various points of contact among previously unconnected regions, until we encounter the Vikings again, this time in a location not previously thought to be part of their ambit.²⁴

The Vikings Go West

When Leif Erikson set sail from Greenland, he knew his destination; the lands to the west first spotted by Bjarni Herjolfsson in 986. Blown off course when rounding the southern tip of Greenland, Bjarni had seen some “well wooded” lands “with low hills,” as he reported to the followers of Eric the Red when he finally arrived in Greenland later that year.²⁵ Atlantic winds routinely prevented Norse mariners from reaching their

²³ Jeffrey Quilter and John W. Hoopes, ed., *Gold and Power in Ancient Costa Rica, Panama, and Columbia* (Washington, D.C.: Dumbarton Oaks, 2003).

²⁴ A note about terminology: “Norse” and “Scandinavian” are the broader terms because they refer to the residents of Northern Europe, while “Viking” specifically denotes someone who engaged in a raid.

²⁵ As Birgitta Wallace notes, the Greenland Current, which is cold, encounters the much warmer Gulf Stream at Cape Farewell, the southern tip of Greenland, and the resultant fog and winds frequently blow boats off their intended course. “Norse in Newfoundland,” 8. Gwyn Jones, *A History of the Vikings* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968) 290 makes the same point about Erik the Red; he went to Greenland because of a reported sighting some fifty years earlier.

destinations.²⁶ Of the twenty-five ships that Erik had led to Greenland in the previous year, only fourteen arrived; “some were driven back, some were lost at sea,” laconically comments the *Greenlanders’ Saga*.²⁷ And, a few years later, on a summer on a voyage to Norway, unfavorable winds forced Leif’s boat to land on the Hebrides instead. As he waited for the winds to shift, he courted a noblewoman named Thorgunna, who married and joined him when he resumed his journey.²⁸

The Norse boats were famed for their flexible light-weight construction, speed, and ability to land in shallow waters. The builders used axes and wedges to hew planks from oak and pine tree trunks, overlapped them slightly, and then nailed them onto a rounded frame with small nails called “clinkers.” Because the Norse buried the dead in ships, multiple ships have been excavated from all over Scandinavia. No archeologist has found any evidence of any navigational tools used by the Norse anywhere in the world.²⁹ The earliest ships were rowboats with no sails, well-suited to travel within Scandinavia, but with the introduction of square sail in the late eighth century, the ships grew larger, some over 30 meters, and possibly even reaching 36 meters long around the year 1000. The ships had different purposes: warships were long and narrow, cargo ships, shorter and broader. When traveling inland on rivers, the Norse switched to lighter vessels suitable for overland portaging.³⁰

²⁶ Replicas of Viking ships have also failed to reach their destinations; Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 94.

²⁷ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 50-51.

²⁸ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 84.

²⁹ Although some authors claim that the Vikings used sunstones to navigate, the experts in the field reject these claims as unlikely: Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 94; Winroth, *Age of the Vikings*, 84-86.

³⁰ Anders Winroth, *The Age of the Vikings* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 73-75.

After buying Bjarni's ship, Leif and some thirty-five men set off to find the lands sighted by Bjarni.³¹ The ship must have had seats for some thirty rowers as well as a sail. After two stops at unsuitable locations (probably Baffin Island and Labrador), the Norse landed on an island with sweet grass, salmon, and longer days than "in either Greenland or Iceland." And when one of Leif's men, a German named Tyrkir the Southerner, reported finding "vines and grapes," Leif named the place Vinland.³²

What was the northernmost limit for wild grapes? Maine, or, if the climate was slightly warmer, possibly Nova Scotia. Definitely not Newfoundland. Just as the textual evidence suggests that the Norse went south of Newfoundland, so, too, does the archeological. The L'Anse aux Meadows site produced three butternuts and one butternut burl, whose northern limit was the St Lawrence River valley to the west of Baie St. Paul, hence they must have come from farther south.³³

L'Anse aux Meadows was probably not the main site occupied by the Norse, which the sagas call Leif's booths, (Leifsbudir; "booth" refers to four low walls that one could make into a temporary dwelling by covering them with a cloth).³⁴ The site appears to have been primarily a ship repair site. Unlike typical Norse settlements in Iceland and

³¹ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 53. Leif's purchase of the boat, 54. Longer days, 56.

³² The name Vinland has excited controversy. How could the Norse name a place Vinland if grapes did not grow there? One group of historians holds that the *vin* in Vinland has a short "i" vowel and means "wheat," not "grapes" (*vîn*, with a long "i" vowel), while the other cites the sequence of events in the sagas – sighting of grapes, subsequent naming of island – as definitive. Erik Wahlgren comes down hard and persuasively on the side of the long vowel; a generic name like "land of meadows" conveys nothing, while "land of grapes" entices. Wahlgren, "Fact and Fancy," in *Old Norse Literature and Mythology: A Symposium*, edited by Edgar C. Polomé (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969) 44, 52-53; Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 58n1; Ingstads, *Viking Discovery*, 105-109.

³³ The limit was 47 degrees north. Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland," 26.

³⁴ Erik Wahlgren, "Fact and Fancy," 56n63.

Greenland, it had no agricultural fields nearby and could not have sustained its residents.³⁵ Only 8 structures, which could sleep between 60 and 78 people, stood at the site.³⁶ In room VI of the F-G structure, which was a lean-to structure, archeologists found many fragments of iron nails and “impressions of some kind of irregular framing structure.” Not connected to the walls, this was most likely a boat-building frame like those in use in western Norway even today. The vessel under construction measured no more than 8 meters long, a typical length for boats used on inland waterways.³⁷ This small size of the L’Anse aux Meadows site, combined with the textual evidence of more southerly plants and fish, suggests that the Vikings’ main settlement lay somewhere to the south of L’Anse aux Meadows, but barring the discovery of new evidence, we do not know where.³⁸

On Leif’s initial voyage the Norse did not meet anyone, but when Leif’s brother Thorvald returned to Vinland the following year, he encountered indigenous peoples whom he called “Skraelings” (a term of contempt probably meaning “wretches”).³⁹ Thorvald also returned to Greenland after a single season, but the next voyager, Thorfinn Karlsefni, who had married Leif’s widowed sister Gudrid, planned to establish a colony.

As the sagas tell it, the Norse had mixed relations with the Skraelings. According to the Greenlanders’ Saga, they brought “furs and sables and pelts of all kinds,” which

³⁵ Wallace, “Norse in Newfoundland,” 11.

³⁶ For a detailed description of each structure, see Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 38-48; for an estimate of the population, 78.

³⁷ Wallace, “Norse in Newfoundland,” 18-19.

³⁸ A possible second Norse site at Point Rosee on southern Newfoundland has recently been identified. See the Nova program “Vikings Unearthed,” which aired April 4, 2016 on PBS and the accompanying website: <http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/nova/ancient/vikings-unearthed.html>.

³⁹ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 61n1.

they traded for milk from the Norse cows that they drank fresh on the spot.⁴⁰ Erik's Saga tells of a different encounter that began peacefully with the Norse trading red cloth for "pelts." As their supplies of the cloth began to run short, they cut smaller and smaller pieces, but the Skraelings still accepted them. The trading ended when one of the Norse bulls escaped, terrifying the Skraelings who scattered.

When the Skraelings next returned, they lobbed "a large sphere on a pole," at the Norse camp. "Karlsefni and his men had realized by now that although the land was excellent they could never live there in safety or freedom from fear, because of the native inhabitants," Erik's Saga succinctly explains the decision to leave because of the threat posed by the indigenous inhabitants.⁴¹ Most commentators agree: the Norse settled successfully in places like Greenland and Iceland that had no human inhabitants.⁴²

Who were the Skraelings? The peoples the Norse encountered used canoes made with skins, the sagas report, as was true of the peoples of the region who lived there later.⁴³ In a vivid reminder of the mix of fantasy and reality typical of the sagas, Erik's Saga describes a one-footed creature (unipeds were often thought to live in distant borderlands) who shoots and kills Erik's son Thorvald and then flees north.⁴⁴ The narrative then reports the Norse decision to depart after the third winter. Different indigenous groups occupied the area around the site before and after the Norse occupation, archaeologists have noted, but no evidence of Amerindian occupation in the

⁴⁰ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 65.

⁴¹ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 99-100.

⁴² Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland," 8.

⁴³ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 60.

⁴⁴ Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 102.

year 1000 CE has yet surfaced.⁴⁵ The peoples that the Norse encountered were most likely to have been Ancestral Beothuk (the residents of Newfoundland who died out in the early nineteenth century) or the Ancestral Innu peoples of Labrador, who left some artifacts at L'Anse aux Meadows from the 12th and 13th centuries.⁴⁶

The Norse left the L'Anse aux Meadows site in an orderly fashion, removing all items of value and leaving behind only a few items including the one cloak pin, presumably dropped by accident, and a stone lamp, which was maybe too heavy to carry.⁴⁷

Norse goods entered the trade networks of the Amerindians, we learn from a single penny found at the Goddard site, a large summer settlement in the town of Brooklin facing Penobscot Bay, Maine. It was mainly silver with some copper and lead⁴⁸

⁴⁵ Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland," 25 (list of different indigenous archaeological cultures).

⁴⁶ Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 87-88 shows the remains associated with the indigenous peoples at the site of L'Anse aux Meadows. See the Maps showing the presence of Dorset, Thule, Norse, Ancestral Beothuk, and Ancestral Innu in the years 900, 1100, 1300, 1500 in Fitzhugh and Ward, *North Atlantic Saga*, 198. See also: Ralph T. Pastore, "Archaeology, History, and the Beothuks," *Newfoundland Studies* 9.2 (1993): 260-278; Ralph Pastore, "The Collapse of the Beothuk World," *Acadiensis: Journal of the History of the Atlantic Region* 19.1 (1989): 52-71; Stephen Loring, "Keeping Things Whole: Nearly Two Thousand Years of Indian (Innu) Occupation in Northern Labrador," in C. S. Reid (ed.), *Boreal Forest and Sub-Arctic Archaeology* (London, Ontario: Ontario Archaeological Society, 1988), 156-182; William W. Fitzhugh, "Winter Cove 4 and the Point Revenge Occupation of the Central Labrador Coast," *Arctic Anthropology* 15.2 (1977): 146-174.

⁴⁷ Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland," 25.

⁴⁸ Gareth Williams, British Museum, email dated July 11, 2016. "The coin is nominally silver, which is to say that it is more silver than anything else, and would have been described as silver at the time. However, it may not have contained more than about 50% silver with the rest made up of base metals such as lead and copper. The mid-11th century saw a reduction in the supply of available silver within northern Europe, as a result of which a number of kingdoms, including Norway, debased their currencies from the very pure silver that they had previously used. Incidentally, I think that most of us in the field now accept the Maine penny as a genuine North American find, although the

and minted between 1065 and 1080. Archeologists conclude that the Norse penny must have been brought by the Norse to a northern site somewhere in Baffin Island, Labrador, or Newfoundland, and then trickle-traded by the locals until it arrived in Maine. No other Norse artifacts were found at Goddard, a clear indication that the penny was a trade good, not a sign of Norse occupation.⁴⁹

Figure 2: Norse Penny from *North Atlantic Saga*, 206. Caption: The penny (1.6 cm diameter) was not used as money; a hole drilled into it allowed it to be worn as necklace or sewn onto clothing and later caused part of the coin to break off. Source: Maine State Museum 30.42.01.

With an expansive view of the Atlantic coast, the Goddard Site lay at the center of a trade network whose nodes are indicated by the distinctive regional cherts found at the site. Chert, like flint, sparked easily and was used to make fire-starting tools. Thirty tools and several hundred flakes of Ramah chert, the distinctive translucent silicate whose source is the Ramah Bay in Labrador, link the Maine site with points farther north while other cherts came from the Great Lakes region and Pennsylvania. The presence of the Norse penny at the site suggests that some Viking goods may have been traded across this region.

The sagas mention only a few commodities from the Americas that Europeans desired. In Norway, Karlsefni was able to sell a carved boat “gable-head” made from an

circumstances of the find suggest that it is more likely to have made its way to Maine in native hands than through direct contact, although we will never know for certain.”

⁴⁹ Steven L. Cox, “A Norse Penny From Maine,” in William W. Fitzhugh and Elisabeth J. Ward, *Vikings: The North Atlantic Saga* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2000), 206-207. Note that none of the alleged Viking runestones found in Minnesota or elsewhere in America is genuine.

American wood (*mosuri*, possibly maple), to a man from Bremen, Germany.⁵⁰ And when Leif married Thorgunna (this before his trip to the Americas), he presented her with a gift of a gold ring, homespun cloth from Greenland, and a “belt of walrus ivory,” surely appealing because of the unusual material.⁵¹ Walrus ivory found a ready audience in northern Europe throughout medieval times, especially when supplies from Africa tapered off after 1000.⁵² Furs seldom survive in an archeological context, but archeologically excavated textiles from the Farm Beneath the Sand in Greenland contained the fur of five different animals: sheep, goat, oxen, brown bear, and bison. The first three lived on Greenland, but brown bear and bison do not, suggesting that skins of these animals must have been imported from North America.⁵³

The lack of valuable trade goods from the Americas suggests another reason the Norse chose not to stay: no North American good was sufficiently valuable to sustain a permanent colony, although lumber was the one American commodity for which demand held steady at least in the North Atlantic. As the sagas recount, the Norse frequently went on voyages in search of specific goods, often lumber for a chief who wanted to enlarge his own dwelling.⁵⁴ After the first winter, when Leif sailed home, he spotted some fifteen shipwrecked Norwegians on a reef near Greenland. After he had delivered them to safety

⁵⁰ Vinland Sagas, 71.

⁵¹ Vinland Sagas, 85.

⁵² Anabel Rodriguez, *American Museum of Natural History*, interview notes March 11, 2015.

⁵³ Joel Bergland, “The Farm Beneath the Sand,” in Fitzhugh and Ward, *The Atlantic Saga*, 295-303, especially 300; Winroth, *Age of the Vikings*, 65.

⁵⁴ Samson, “Fighting with Silver,” 125.

(gaining the nickname Leif the Lucky after the rescue), he returned to the reef to pick up the lumber that he had unloaded, a sure sign of the wood's value.⁵⁵

In contrast to Vinland, the European mainland offered manufactured goods, particularly swords, daggers, and other metallic objects, in addition to the all-important comestibles of flour and salt.⁵⁶ The Norse residing in Greenland and Iceland had to trade with Scandinavia in order to survive, but were not similarly dependent on mainland America.

Even after the Norse left Newfoundland, they returned to obtain lumber, always in short supply in Greenland and Iceland, until the mid-1300s when they began to abandon the settlements in Greenland, most likely because of the cooling climate.⁵⁷ The final record of occupation in Greenland is a wedding certificate from the Hvalsey church in 1408.

Word of the Norse landings in North America circulated in Europe for a few centuries. Sometime around 1076, Adam of Bremen recorded the Danish king's account of the Norse voyages to Vinland in his history of the bishopric at Bremen, which described the on-going Christianization of Scandinavia, Iceland, and Greenland. Adam's straightforward account includes some dubious nuggets: "the people there [in Greenland] are greenish from the salt water, whence, too, that region gets its name."⁵⁸ Yet even this statement is valuable, because it shows the kinds of tales circulating at the time. The king of the Danes, Sven Estridsen, "spoke also of yet another island of the many found in that

⁵⁵ *Vinland Sagas*, 59.

⁵⁶ Wallace, "Norse in Newfoundland", 32.

⁵⁷ Anders, *Conversion*, 55n5; Jones, *A History of the Vikings*, 295-303.

⁵⁸ Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, translated by Francis J. Tschan, introduction by Timothy Reuter (New York: Columbia University Press, 2002), 218.

ocean,” reports Adam. “It is called Vinland because vines producing excellent wine grow wild there. That unsown crops also abound on that island we have ascertained not from fabulous reports but from the trustworthy relation of the Danes. Beyond that island, he said, no habitable land is found in that ocean, but every place beyond it is full of impenetrable ice and intense darkness.”⁵⁹ A few other manuscripts in Icelandic, dated between 1121 and 1400, also mention Vinland.⁶⁰

Adam’s testimony offers a glimpse of how information about distant peoples was transmitted: he recorded what the king of Denmark told him about Vinland, but the account of Vinland received little notice in subsequent centuries. It was just another account of a dangerous place on the edge of the world, similar to so many others in medieval writings.⁶¹ When compared to other meetings around the year 1000, the encounter between the Norse and the Amerindians had little impact beyond the introduction of a few trade goods into existing trade networks and the continued export of lumber to Greenland. As far as the archeological record reveals, the Norse did not introduce any diseases or technologies to the indigenous peoples of North America perhaps their contacts were so fleeting.

The Vikings Go East

The Norse used a variety of boats, some quite long, others shorter and more portable, to travel east down the Volga, Dnieper, and smaller rivers of Eastern Europe,

⁵⁹ Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops of Hamburg-Bremen*, 219.

⁶⁰ Wallace, *Westward Vikings*, 20-21.

⁶¹ Roberta Frank, English Department, Yale University, interviewed in New Haven, July 12, 2016. There is a remote possibility that Columbus knew of the Viking voyages. See Magnusson and Palsson (trans.), *The Vinland Sagas*, 42-43..

seizing plunder whenever they could. Linking the Baltic with the Black and Caspian Seas, these rivers traversed relatively flat terrain, where it was easy to portage from the end of one river to the beginning of another.⁶² Starting around 800, these routes started to receive heavy use, as the emergence of the trading cities of Staraya Ladoga, Brika, and Hedeby all indicates. Russian-language sources refer to these traders as Rus', a term best understood as a label for merchants from Scandinavia, not a clear ethnic marker.⁶³ Wherever they went, the Rus' mixed with local peoples and were fully integrated within a few generations.⁶⁴

Like the Norse in Iceland, Greenland, and Vinland, the Rus' active in Eastern Europe followed the same social practices as in Scandinavia. Chieftains had large followings whom they fed, clothed, and rewarded with a share of the loot from raiding. This basic pattern in Scandinavian society began to change around the year 1000 as the first kings came to power. (Similar changes were occurring throughout Western Europe.) They rewarded their followers with land, not simply silver, and they shifted from plundering their enemies to collecting taxes from their subjects on a regular basis.

The changing composition of Viking hoards reflects these broader changes. The largest hoards date to the eighth or early ninth century and contain many silver arm rings, which chieftains used to reward their followers, and silver coins. The outstanding example is the Spillings hoard from the Swedish island of Gotland; buried after 870, it contains 486 armbands and 14,295 coins, many minted by the Abbasid caliphs.⁶⁵ Gradually silver coins came to displace armbands. Another hoard from Gotland, buried

⁶² Winroth, *Age of the Vikings*, 114-115.

⁶³ Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 96.

⁶⁴ John Fennell, *A History of the Russian Church to 1448* (New York: Longman, 1995) 4.

⁶⁵ Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 47, 67.

just after 991, included silver spirals but no armbands. It also held 1911 coins: 1298 with Arabic legends, 591 from Germany, 11 from Bulghār (the Volga emirate), 6 from England, 3 from Byzantium, and 2 from Bohemia.⁶⁶ By the year 1000, Danish hoards contain all coins and no silver objects. Another important change: Scandinavian monarchs begin to mint their own coins, a sign of their increased power within their realms.⁶⁷

As Abbasid coins flowed west, Scandinavian goods flowed east. The most visible export was slaves. Before the early 10th century, the united Abbasid empire, and later the Abbasid successor states imported high numbers of slaves from Scandinavia, Central Asia, and Africa.⁶⁸ In the 1070s Adam of Bremen commented on the gold stores on Zealand island, Denmark, which pirates had accumulated from trading slaves: these Vikings, Adam said, “have no faith in one another, and as soon as one of them catches another, he mercilessly sells him into slavery, either to one of his fellows or to a barbarian.”⁶⁹ Commentators writing in Arabic also document the Rus’ participation in the slave trade. Ibn Rusta, writing between 903 and 913, reports about the Rus’: “They treat their slaves well and dress them suitably, because for them they are an article of trade.”

He also commented on the importance of the fur trade. “They earn their living by

⁶⁶ Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 48, Fig. 5, caption.

⁶⁷ Philip Grierson, “Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959): 123-140; Samson, “Fighting with Silver: Rethinking Trading, Raiding, and Hoarding”; Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 85-101.

⁶⁸ Bernard Lewis, *Race and Slavery in the Middle East: an Historical Enquiry* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 11; Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 733-777.

⁶⁹ Adam of Bremen, *History of the Archbishops*, Book IV, 190; Winroth, *Age of the Vikings*, 117n34.

trading in sable, grey squirrel and other furs. They sell them for silver coins which they set in belts and wear around their waists,” confirming that the Rus’ did not use the coins as money at this point because if they had, they would have spent the coins, not made belts from them.⁷⁰ Writing between 985 and 990, Muqaddasī lists various goods exported by the country of Bulghār in the northern Volga River valley in addition to animal skins and slaves: wax, arrows, fish teeth [possibly walrus tusks], hazelnuts, falcons, swords and armor.⁷¹ His list provides no quantities and no additional information, but the swords and armor stand out as the rare manufactured goods on the list.

Others besides slaves voyaged east from Scandinavia and left visible traces. The Hagia Sophia contains at least two graffiti written in Old Norse runes, presumably written by members of the Byzantine emperor’s Varangian guard.⁷² In other locations runestones document the existence of Scandinavians who died in far-off places like the rapids of Dnieper River or Khwarazm (Khurāsān) in modern Iran.⁷³ Some were the companions of Ingvar the Far Traveler (1036-1041), who sailed down the Neva, Lovat, and Dnieper Rivers to the Black Sea, crossed it, switched back to river travel through the Caucasus before reaching the Caspian Sea.⁷⁴

⁷⁰ Ibn Fadlān, *Ibn Fadlān and the Land of Darkness: Arab Travellers in the Far North* (translated by Paul Lunde and Caroline Stone), New York: Penguin Books, 2012), 126.

⁷¹ Muqaddasī, Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, *The best divisions for knowledge of the regions: a translation of Ahsan al-taqasim fi ma’rifat al-aqalim*. Translated by Basil Anthony Collins (Reading, UK: Centre for Muslim Contribution to Civilization: Garnet Publishing, 1994). The English translation of this passage in Lunde and Stone (trans.), *Arab Travellers in the Far North*, 169-170 is not complete. The Arabic text continues for another line and mentions several different types of textiles that were also exports.

⁷² Krijnie N. Ciggaar, *Western Travellers to Constantinople, The West and Byzantium, 962-1204: Cultural and Political Relations* (New York: E. J. Brill, 1996), 126-127.

⁷³ Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 95-97, 97 Fig. 18.

⁷⁴ Gunilla Larson, “Early Contacts Between Scandinavia and the Orient,” *The Silk Road* 9 (2011): 122-142.

As the declining numbers of hoards after 1000 suggests, the links between Scandinavia and the Islamic world dwindled at the end of the tenth century, when a powerful state arose for the first time in Kiev.⁷⁵ The founder of the new state, Vladimir, was himself a Rus'. Originally based in Novgorod, where his father had installed him as ruler, Vladimir gained control of Kiev in the 980s after seizing power from his brothers and half-brothers.⁷⁶ Initially he patronized different deities worshipped by his Norse, Slavic, Finnish, and Iranian subjects, but Vladimir then decided to convert to a religion with a greater following.

In 985, Vladimir weighed the pros and cons of Judaism, Islam, Roman Christianity, and Eastern Orthodoxy, as the Russian Primary Chronicle recounts.⁷⁷ In 985, when Muslim emissaries from the Volga Bulgars urged him to convert, Vladimir rejected Islam because “drinking is the joy of the Rus. We cannot exist without that pleasure.” The “Germans,” or the Western European Christians, told him about God’s command to fast, but Vladimir rejected their unfamiliar teachings. He also decided against the Judaism of the Khazars because, “if God loved you and your faith, you would not be thus dispersed in foreign lands.”⁷⁸ The text then includes a long section on Christian teachings as recounted by a Greek (Byzantine) scholar. Known as the

⁷⁵ Winroth, *Conversion of Scandinavia*, 98; Janet Martin, *Medieval Russia, 980-1584* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁷⁶ For a succinct and accurate account of events, see Martin, *Medieval Russia*, 1-11.

⁷⁷ Completed in 1113, the *Primary Chronicle* contains a mix of myth and history. See the introduction in: Samuel Hazzard Cross and Olgerd P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (trans.) *The Russian Primary Chronicle: Laurentian Text* (Cambridge: The Mediaeval Academy of America, 1953), 3-50, especially 21.

⁷⁸ Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, 97.

Philosopher's Speech, this is clearly an interpolation.⁷⁹ Vladimir decided to wait before choosing a faith for this people.

In 987, the *Primary Chronicle* continues, Vladimir dispatched a team of advisors first to the Volga Emirate, then to Germany, and finally Constantinople (modern Istanbul). On their return, his advisors observed only “sorrow and a dreadful stench” among the Volga Emirate Muslims and “beheld no glory” among the Germans. But when they visited the Byzantine churches, they said: “We knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty.”⁸⁰ A year later, in 988, after assisting the Byzantines in battle, and receiving a Byzantine princess as his wife, Vladimir chose to convert to Eastern Orthodoxy and underwent baptism.

Of course, we cannot accept the report in the *Primary Chronicle* as accurate.⁸¹ The original account of Vladimir's conversion has been cut apart and awkwardly joined to the appropriate years of the annals. The inclusion of the Roman Christians in Germany is most likely to be a later interpolation, and the too-neat tripartite scheme of Orthodoxy, Islam, and Judaism also raises suspicions. But even if the entire account is an after-the-fact just-so story written to explain the inevitable – whose religion could Vladimir accept if not for that of his most powerful and immediate neighbor? – it still shows that the

⁷⁹ Alexander Pereswetoff-Morath, *Grin Without a Cat* (Lund: Lund University, 2002), 53-57.

⁸⁰ Cross, *Primary Chronicle*, 110-111.

⁸¹ Fennell, *History of the Russian Church*, 36-37; conversation with Paul Bushkovitch, History Department, at Yale, July 20, 2016.

Christian author of the chronicle knew about the different religions that neighboring states had converted to at least by the time of writing in 1113, if not earlier.

Vladimir was but one of many rulers choosing to convert to well-established religions around the year 1000.⁸² Multiple Scandinavian and Eastern European rulers embraced Christianity at this time, while rulers in North Africa and Central Asia often opted for Islam. Farther to the east in Asia, rulers chose between Buddhism and Hinduism. The expansion of regions around the year 1000 exposed rulers, often of new states in peripheral regions, to the different religions of their neighbors. The clustering of these conversions around the year 1000 was the direct result of the increased contacts at that time.

See Chart of Conversions (separate file)

Nestled Among the Norse, Byzantine, and Arabic-speaking Regions: Western Europe

Between 300 and 900 CE, Western Europe had extensive contacts with Byzantium, the Abbasid caliphate (750-1258), the Umayyads in Spain (756-1028), and the Scandinavians, as Michael McCormick has shown in his magisterial study.⁸³ The most plentiful export was slaves (slaves even traveled south across the Mediterranean from the Carolingian realm into Africa), and the Europeans also exported goods like swords (without handles so that their Norse users could craft their own), Baltic amber,

⁸² Andreas Kaplony categorizes the different types of conversion at this time, seeing Vladimir's as politically motivated; "The Conversion of the Turks of Central Asia to Islam as Seen by Arabic and Persian Geography: A Comparative Perspective," in *Islamisation de l'Asie Centrale: Processus locaux d'acculturation du VIIe au XIe siècle*, ed. Étienne de la Vaissière (Paris: Association pour l'Avancement des Études Iraniennes, 2008), 319–38.

⁸³ Michael McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy: Communications and Commerce AD 300-900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

wool, linen, canvas textiles, tin, and furs. Traveling in the opposite direction were relics, spices, silks, papyrus, incense, and citrus fruit.⁸⁴

McCormick draws a useful distinction between “virtual” items mentioned in texts and actual goods that have been recovered archeologically or transmitted over the generations. Texts do not always match archeological finds. Slavery, for example, leaves behind few traces in the archeological records – a few metal shackles – because so many of the restraints were made of perishable materials. The churches at Hildesheim offer a valuable snapshot of the type of goods coming into Europe around the year 1000, for example a stunning ivory plate of the crucifixion that is the centerpiece of the rebinding of the Small Bernward Gospel commissioned in the tenth century by Bernward of Hildesheim (bishop, 993-1022).⁸⁵ (In later centuries, Muslim craftsmen in Sicily carved similar objects from African ivory.)⁸⁶ Almost all the items held in the Hildesheim Cathedral Museum (some from St. Michael’s Church) are made from locally obtained materials, but the head of the wooden Jesus of the Ringelheim Crucifix, made before 1022, contained two stones from Jerusalem (with a parchment certificate of authenticity) and two bone relics, sourced either locally or from Rome.⁸⁷ This evidence supports McCormick’s conclusions about the importance of relics as a major import into Europe before 1000.

⁸⁴ McCormick, *Origins of the European Economy*, Map 25.1 “Main European Slave Exports, A.D. 700-900,” 762 (slaves), 732 (swords), 680 (European exports), 697 (European imports).

⁸⁵ Peter Barnet, Michael Brandt, and Gerhard Lutz, *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim* (New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2013), Object no. 1, plate on 20, description on 21.

⁸⁶ Barnet et al., *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, 57, 120.

⁸⁷ Barnet et al., *Medieval Treasures from Hildesheim*, Object no. 8, plate on 45, description on 44.

Given their proximity, it is not surprising that many of the changes taking place in Scandinavia around the year 1000 also occurred in Western Europe. The year 1000 has long been recognized as a turning point in European history: before it, chieftains like Charlemagne plundered their subjects to generate revenues, while after it, monarchs were far more likely to tax their subjects.⁸⁸ Sedentary agriculture became established in many regions after 1000, and the introduction of new farming techniques -- rotating crops, using iron plows, and shifting from oxen to horses -- gradually brought prosperity to Europe. After the year 1000 Europe's population began to grow steadily, fed by the many changes that R. I. Moore has so neatly summed up in the phrase, "cerealization."⁸⁹

These changes enabled the various powers of Western Europe to repel the Vikings, who had been so invincible in earlier centuries. The Age of the Vikings came to an end in 1066, European historians concur, with the invasion of England by the Norse William the Conqueror, the final successful invasion by a leader of Norse descent. Also, William's administration in England marked a new kind of state, in which rulers awarded their followers land, and the farming revenue from those lands made it possible for landowners to provide soldiers to the ruler and to pay taxes.⁹⁰

Many of the contacts the Europeans had with the Islamic world, occurred after 1095, the date of the First Crusade. Multiple technological innovations entered Europe, often through the Islamic portals of Sicily and Spain: windmills, from Iran, at the end of the twelfth century, Arabic numerals in 1202, paper from China in the thirteenth century,

⁸⁸ Georges Duby, *L'An Mil* (Paris: Gallimard/Julliard, 1980); Guy Bois, *The Transformation of the Year One Thousand* (New York: Manchester University Press, 1992); R. I. Moore, *The First European Revolution c. 970-1215* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers Inc., 2000), 1-2; Reuter, "Plunder and Tribute in the Carolingian Empire."

⁸⁹ Moore, *First European*, 40.

⁹⁰ Winroth, *Age of the Vikings*, 241-247.

the compass, also from China, by 1300, and skeleton-first shipbuilding techniques before 1400.⁹¹ In the year 1000 Europe's geographical position guaranteed it contact with the neighboring regions of Scandinavia, Byzantium, and West Asia, but those contacts would produce a discernable impact only several centuries later.

The Break-up of the Abbasid Caliphate

After the death of Muhammad, the rapid conquests of the caliphate created a large zone inhabited by Arabic speakers who accepted the authority of first the Rightly Guided caliphs (632-661), the Umayyad (661-750), and then the Abbasids (750-1258). The cultivation of tropical crops originally from Iran and India, transformed life throughout the Abbasid realm by prompting cultivators to work in the summer (which they had not previously done), and by the resulting increase in prosperity, as Andrew W. Watson demonstrated forty years ago.⁹² As large as the Abbasid territory was, it enjoyed a high degree of integration, because of the hajj pilgrimages, the shared language of Arabic, and the flourishing field of geography, whose practitioners produced multiple works usually in Arabic, less often in Persian, describing the different places within the empire.

⁹¹ Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy 1000-1700*, Third Edition (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 143 (windmills), 150 (paper), 144-145 (compass), 145 (ship-building techniques. For paper, see Bloom, *Paper Before Print*.

⁹² Paolo Squatriti has recently demonstrated that the original thesis has stood the test of time. Andrew M. Watson, "The Arab Agricultural Revolution and Its Diffusion, 700-1100," *Journal of Economic History* 34.1 (1974): 8-35; Watson, *Agricultural innovation in the early Islamic world :the diffusion of crops and farming techniques, 700-1100* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1983); Paolo Squatriti, "Of Seeds, Seasons, and Seas: Andrew Watson's Medieval Agrarian Revolution Forty Years Later," *Journal of Economic History* 74.4 (2014): 1205-1220.

The situation changed in the early 900s, when the empire broke into regional kingdoms, all of which continued to recognize the caliph as the head of the Islamic church but not as the head of state. As they expanded, these various successor states -- the Buyids in modern Iraq, the Almoravids and the Almohads in West Africa and Spain, the Fatimids in Egypt and North Africa, the Karakhanids in Central Asia, and the Ghaznavids in Afghanistan -- conquered cities previously on the periphery, enlarging the outer borders of the Islamic world.⁹³ Conversion did not always follow conquest; sometimes local people encountered Muslim traders or missionaries and chose to convert to Islam of their own volition.⁹⁴

One type of geographic writing in Arabic sheds considerable light on the expansion of world regions around the year 1000: the genre of itineraries and kingdoms that Ibn Khurdadhbih (820-912) launched, prompted by the demand from the postal service for itineraries with accurate distances from one point to another.⁹⁵ Books of this type listed the places along a given route and the distances among them, described merchandise produced or traded in a given town, the residents and any unusual customs,

⁹³ Compare “The Muslim World circa 287/900” with “The Muslim World circa 403/1100,” *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, Second edition, edited by Hugh Kennedy (Brill: Boston, 2002), 9-10. For the events causing these changes, see Chase F. Robinson, *The New Cambridge History of Islam* volume 1: *The Formation of the Islamic World Sixth to Eleventh Centuries* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Marshall Hodgson, *The Venture of Islam*, vol. II: *Expansion of Islam in the Middle Periods* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1974); and the excellent articles in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

⁹⁴ Richard W. Bulliet, *Conversion to Islam in the Medieval Period: An Essay in Quantitative History* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979).

⁹⁵ Also translated as *Routes and Realms*; the original Arabic is *al-Masālik wa 'l-Mamālik*. Marina A. Tolmacheva, “Geography,” in: *Medieval Islamic Civilization: An Encyclopedia* ed. Josef W. Meri (NY: Routledge 2006), volume I: 284-288.

and the nature of Islamic observance, and then moved onto to the next place on the itinerary.⁹⁶

The Expansion of Post-Abbasid States into Africa

These geographic sources are particularly informative about west Africa in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Caliphate armies had conquered the north coast of Africa between 641 and 708 CE, while the Sahara and sub-Saharan regions remained outside the caliphate's territory.⁹⁷ In succeeding centuries, the towns north and south of the Sahara, such as Sijilmasa north of the Sahara and Awdaghust and Tadmekka south of it gradually became predominantly Muslim. In 889, when Ya'qubi was writing about the Bilād al-Sūdān, "the land of the Black peoples," he had a vague sense that it comprised Ghana, Gao, and Kanem, but in 988, when Ibn Ḥawqal (fl. 943-977) revised his *Picture of the Earth*, he was more specific about the locations of multiple towns and cities.⁹⁸

Our most detailed description of early sub-Saharan Africa comes from a geographer based in Córdoba and Seville named Abū 'Ubayd al-Bakrī (d. 1094), who completed a book in the genre of itineraries and kingdoms in 1068. Little is known of al-Bakrī's life, but it is certain that he did not travel to the places that he wrote about. He acknowledges as a key source the now-lost writings of al-Warrāk (d. 973), and he must have spoken with returned travelers because some of his information dates to 1067 or

⁹⁶ Miquel, *Géographie Humaine*, 137.

⁹⁷ Map 7 "Early Muslim Conquests," *An Historical Atlas of Islam*, ed. Hugh Kennedy (Boston: Brill, 2002), 7.

⁹⁸ Nehemia Levtzion, "Islam in the Bilad al-Sudan to 1800," in Nehemia Levtzion and Randall L. Pouwels, *The History of Islam in Africa* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2000), 64; Miquel, *Géographie Humaine*, 137.

1068, the year he completed his book.⁹⁹ al-Bakrī's account, combined with those from other Muslim geographers, offers considerable detail about the spread of Islam across West Africa. Initially, north African Muslims traveled south of the Sahara to trade, primarily gold from the Bambuk mines between the Senegal and Faleme rivers and Bure on the Upper Niger. Eventually local traders whom they encountered gradually converted to Islam as well. Al-Bakrī does not divide the local population into Muslim migrants and non-Muslim locals; he refers to Muslims and those who follow the king's religion, indicating that some locals had already accepted Islam.¹⁰⁰

“The gold of Awdaghust is better and purer than that of any other people on earth,” al-Bakrī comments, and it was the main good traveling across the Sahara Desert to Sijilmāsa.¹⁰¹ Other goods traveled as well: giant blocks of salt from Tātantāl (possibly modern Taghāza¹⁰²), and, of course, slaves. Different towns south of the Sahara shipped other goods north: from Awdaghust came gum used to finish shiny brocades in Spain, shields made from the hide of different animals, red and blue robes, ambergris from the Atlantic, and worked copper.¹⁰³

Al-Bakrī pauses to describe a truly unusual good from the land of the Sūdān whose path into Eurasia illustrates the expansion of trade routes: a cloth woven from asbestos threads that could pass through flames without ever catching on fire: “A trustworthy person” tells al-Bakrī of a “merchant” who brought a “handkerchief made of this substance” to Ferdinand the ruler of the Galicians in northwest Spain, or Ferdinand,

⁹⁹ “Abū ‘Ubayd al-Bakrī,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 2nd edition, 1: 155-157.

¹⁰⁰ Nehemia Levtzion, *Ancient Ghana and Mali* (London: Methuen & Co Ltd, 1973), 187.

¹⁰¹ Al-Bakrī, *Corpus*, 67-69.

¹⁰² EI 2nd edition, entry for Taghāza.

¹⁰³ Al-Bakrī, *Corpus*, 67-69.

the king of Léon, in 1037-1065. Believing that it had “belonged to one of the Apostles,” Ferdinand presented it to the Byzantine emperor in Constantinople. Others, al-Bakrī reports, reported the existence of a different asbestos handkerchief in Baghdad, further evidence of African goods traveling to new locations in Europe and West Asia.¹⁰⁴

Although al-Bakrī, like the anonymous compiler of the Primary Chronicle, sees rulers as the primary actors in the conversion of different kingdoms to Islam, he presents a more variegated picture of how conversions occurred. In some instances, like Vladimir of Kiev, the ruler converted as did his subjects. But in others the rulers converted but their subjects did not -- or the subjects converted but the rulers did not. Historians of Africa and Russia all acknowledge that the sources privilege royal conversions and minimize the roles the less socially prominent; they also realize that conversion to a new religion took centuries before it was complete, and that many pre-conversion practices persisted for a long time. Even so, the reports of so many conversions around the year 1000 deserve our attention.

Ghana and also Gao, to the east, provide examples of towns where, even though the ruler did not convert to Islam, a sizable Muslim population resided.¹⁰⁵ In other towns, according to al-Bakrī, the ruler converted first. The kingdom of Malal, south of the Upper Senegal River, was suffering a long drought. Following the urging of a guest, “a Muslim who used to read the Koran and was acquainted with the Sunna,” the ruler converted to Islam. The visitor taught the king to recite “some easy passages” and to purify himself for

¹⁰⁴ Al-Bakrī, *Corpus*, 83-84.

¹⁰⁵ For an impassioned critique of the view that the Almoravid Conquest prompted the conversion of Ghana, see Pekka Masonen and Humphrey J. Fisher, “Not Quite Venus from the Waves: The Almoravid Conquest of Ghana in the Modern Historiography of Western Africa,” *History in Africa* 23 (1996): 197-232.

prayer. That Friday, the two men prayed side by side until dawn, when the rain came. Al-Bakrī ends the anecdote, saying: “He and his descendants after him as well as his nobles were sincerely attached to Islam, while the common people of his kingdom remained polytheists. Since then their rulers have been given the title of al-musulmānī [the Muslims].”¹⁰⁶

Conversion and trade slowly integrated the Saharan and sub-Saharan realms into the Mediterranean economy. Goods like weapons, cloth, and salt moved south across the Sahara while gold, ivory, and slaves went north and beyond. Merchants and missionaries traveled back and forth across the Sahara as a matter of course, and those going on the hajj went even further into West Asia. The previously separated regions of north and west Africa came into increasingly close contact in the years before and after 1000.

Post-Abbasid States in North India and Central Asia

As we move eastwards around the globe, we encounter two different states, both successors to the Sāmānids (819-999), that were responsible for the expansion of Islam into Central Asia and north India: the Karakhanids (before 950-1204) and the Ghaznavids (998-1040). Like the Sāmānids, the Ghaznavids were founded by a military leader who had been taken as a prisoner of war and became a ghūlam slave serving the ruler.¹⁰⁷

Sometime before 955, the leader of Karakhanids, Satuq Bughra Khan converted to Islam, which came into Central Asia much as it had come to north Africa, introduced by Muslim

¹⁰⁶ “Al-Bakrī,” N. Levtzion and J. F. P. Hopkins, *Corpus*, 82-83. This division between the religion of the ruler and his subjects prompted Robin Horton’s observation that rulers came into contact with outsiders and were more concerned with the Supreme Being while their subjects continued to worship local deities; “On the rationality of Conversation,” *Africa* 45.3-4 (1975): 219-35; 373-99.

¹⁰⁷ Peter Golden, “The Karakhanids and Early Islam,” in Denis Sinor (ed.) *Cambridge History of Early Inner Asia* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 343-370, especially 347 (rise of Sāmānids), 359 (ghūlams).

merchants and embraced by those locals who wanted to associate with them.¹⁰⁸ Two reports, one from Ibn Miskawaih (932-1030), the other from Ibn al-Athīr (1160-1233), observe that “200,000 tents of the Turks” converted to Islam.¹⁰⁹ The Karakhanids, a Turkic state located to the east, in the Xinjiang region of modern China, were their main rival. Based in Kashgar, the Karakhanids ordered the destruction of all non-Islamic temples, mostly Buddhist, in the areas they controlled.¹¹⁰ As Peter Golden notes, the Karakhanids were the first successful Islamic dynasty founded by Turkic speakers.¹¹¹

Coming to power in the late 990s in Afghanistan, Maḥmūd of Ghazna (r. 998-1030) exemplifies the social formation for which Joseph Fletcher coined the term “tanistry.”¹¹² Fletcher’s definition has several key points: rule by the most qualified member of the chiefly house of a nomadic society, who was often acclaimed at a group meeting after he had vanquished all of his competitors. That ruler rewarded his followers by giving them a share of the plunder whenever he conquered new territories.¹¹³ Because of this reward structure, the leader had a strong incentive to continue to conquer new territory. If he stopped, his followers could easily switch to a rival leader who offered

¹⁰⁸ Golden, “The Karakhanids and Early Islam,” 353; Jamal Qarshi (b. 1230-1231), “The Conversion to Islam of Satuq Bughra Khan,” in Scott C. Levi and Ron Sela, *Islamic Central Asia: An Anthology of Historical Sources* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2010), 73-76.

¹⁰⁹ Golden, “The Karakhanids and Early Islam,” 354.

¹¹⁰ As Maḥmūd al-Kāshgārī (d. 1102) wrote in a poem about the conquest of Khotan, “We tore down the idol-temples, We shat on the Buddha’s head!” Maḥmūd al-Kāshgārī, *Compendium of the Turkic Dialects*, ed. and trans. Robert Dankoff and James Kelly, vol. 1 (Duxbury, MA: Tekin, 1982), 270.

¹¹¹ Golden, “The Karakhanids and Early Islam,” 360.

¹¹² Joseph Fletcher, “The Mongols: Ecological and Social Perspectives,” *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 46.1 (1986): 1-56, explanation of tanistry on 17.

¹¹³ Clifford Edmund Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids: Their Empire in Afghanistan and Eastern Iran 994-1040* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1963), 38-39; Clifford Edmund Bosworth, “Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin,” *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Consulted Aug. 05, 2016.

them more. The pattern matches much of what we saw above for the Vikings, with the crucial difference that Fletcher derived his model from the Mongols. Following the classic pattern of tanistry, the Ghaznavid ruler Maḥmūd (r. 998-1030) conquered and looted different towns to support his armies and the Persian bureaucrats of his state. Although modern South Asian historians portray his conquests as anti-Hindu, the continuous need for plunder for his followers also underlay the conquests.¹¹⁴

Maḥmūd's model of governance included the patronage of prominent Muslim scholars, and the famous scholar al-Bīrūnī (973-after 1050) came to the capital at Ghazna in 1017 after the collapse of the Khwarazm khanate in Gurganj (also spelled Jurjān).¹¹⁵ al-Bīrūnī spent more than a decade studying Sanskrit and writing his *Description of India* (completed in 1030), a genuine monument of scholarship that displayed a profound understanding of his subject. The contact between Islam and Hinduism did not result simply in an increase of knowledge: thousands of prisoners-of-war were forced to move north and become slaves in Ghaznavid territory.

Sometimes allies, sometimes enemies, the Ghaznavids and Karakhanids connected Central Asia and north India, which had not previously been in contact with each other. Military alliances prompted other exchanges; when envoys traveled back and forth with gifts, they were bringing information as well. After several decades of fighting, the Ghaznavids and Karakhanids reached a temporary peace in 1025. When the two leaders met at Samarkand in April that year, they agreed to the marriage of the son of the

¹¹⁴ Bosworth, "Maḥmūd b. Sebūktigin," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Second Edition. Consulted Aug. 05, 2016.

¹¹⁵ Michio Yano, "al-Bīrūnī," *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Third Edition. Consulted online on Aug. 11, 2016.

Karakhanid leader, Qadīr Khan, to the daughter of Maḥmūd.¹¹⁶ And when the Karakhanids introduced their allies to the Ghaznavids, as they did at that time, to the Liao-dynasty rulers of north China, the newly formed connections spanned an even greater area.

Kitan Rule of North Asia

At the time of the marriage, the Karakhanids were already allied with the Kitan, a Mongolo-Turkic tribe who had gained control of the grasslands north of China during the tenth century.¹¹⁷ al-Marwāzī (fl.1056-1120) provides the fullest documentation about a diplomatic overture made by the Kitan emperor Shengzong (reigned 982-1031) in 1024 to Maḥmūd of Ghazna (now spelled Ghazni) in Afghanistan. Emperor Shengzong sent a representative to accompany an envoy from the Uighur khaganate (most likely at Ganzhou)¹¹⁸ to proceed to Ghazna in Afghanistan (150 km south of Kabul). The envoy, Qatilunka carried a letter, probably in Turkic, asking initiate diplomatic relations, but Maḥmūd rejected the overture on the grounds that Shengzong was not Muslim, saying “Peace and truce are possible only so far as to prevent war and fighting. This is no faith uniting us that we should be in close relations. Great distance creates security for both of us against any perfidy. I have no need of close relations with you until you accept Islam.

¹¹⁶ Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, 77; Golden, “The Karakhanids and Early Islam,” 362.

¹¹⁷ Denis Twitchett and Klaus-Peter Tietze, “The Liao,” in *The Cambridge History of China: Alien Regimes and border states, 907-1368* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1994) 43-153; Karl A. Wittfogel and Feng Chia-sheng, “History of Chinese Society: Liao (907-1125),” *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society* n.s. 36 (1946): 1-752.

¹¹⁸ Minorsky explains why he believes it was the Ganzhou Uighur kaghanate and not that at Turfan. See Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, 77.

And that is all.”¹¹⁹ Maḥmūd’s letter is significant because it shows that people at the time, and not just modern historians, understood the world in terms of regional blocs defined by religion.

Although Maḥmūd rejected the Liao overture, a series of archeological finds of royal tombs in today’s Inner Mongolia shows that goods produced over west Asia circulated within the Liao realm. Glass and bronze vessels from Egypt, Syria, and Iran were buried in 1018 in the joint burial of a Kitan princess and her husband.¹²⁰ The tomb also contained amber whose chemical signature indicates its Baltic origins, confirming the observation of al-Marwāzī (fl.1056-1120) that the Chinese, and presumably the Kitan, preferred “Slavonic” amber.¹²¹

Although many goods entered from west Asia, the core of the Kitan realm lay north of Beijing, in modern Inner Mongolia and Liaoning. Starting in the 900s, the Kitan had used their powerful cavalry to defeat many of the tribal leaders in the north Asian steppes who then accepted the Kitan as their overlords and submitted tribute to them. The Chinese-language dynastic history contains extensive lists of the gifts the Kitan received

¹¹⁹ This is the version Marwāzī records; Minorsky, *Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India*, 21. Maḥmūd’s letter also survives in a brief Persian version recorded by Gardizi. Gardizi’s version is slightly different: “We are Muslims and you are unbelievers, and it would be inappropriate for us to offer you our sisters or daughters. But if you become Muslims that can be arranged.” *The ornament of histories: a history of the Eastern Islamic lands AD 650-1041 [Zayn al-akhbār]: the original text of Abū Sa‘īd ‘Abd al-Ḥayy Gardīzī*. translated by C. E. Bosworth (London: I. B. Tauris, 2011), 97.

¹²⁰ See the very convenient Asia Society website: <http://sites.asiasociety.org/arts/liao/> (accessed 8/7/2010). Nei Menggu Zizhiqu wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo, Zhelimumeng bowuguan, *Liao Chenguo gongzhu mu* (Beijing : Wenwu chubanshe, 1993); Hsueh-man Shen (ed.), *Gilded Splendor: Treasures of China’s Liao Empire, 907-1125* (New York: Asia Society, 2006); Michal Biran, “Unearthing the Liao Dynasty’s Relations with the Muslim World: Migrations, Diplomacy, Commerce, and Mutual Perceptions,” *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 221-251, especially 234-243.

¹²¹ V. Minorsky (trans.) *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marvazī on China, the Turks, and India* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society, 1942), 1-5.

from these subject peoples: different types of furs, including ermine and gray mole, livestock like camels and cattle but most importantly horses, which were crucial to the strength of the Kitan cavalry.¹²² The tombs of Kitan nobility also contain items made from imported materials like agate, rhinoceros horn, coral, ivory, and amber. These goods were not only in the tombs of the wealthiest; tomb paintings from Xuanhua, a town to the northwest of modern Beijing that had a mixed Kitan and Chinese population, show that well-off officials painted similar items on their tomb walls in the hope that they would own them in the next world.¹²³

After nearly a century of fighting with the different Chinese states to the south and the Song dynasty, which reunified China in 960, the Kitan forces invaded north China, prompting the Song to sue for peace in 1004; the Liao and the Song signed the Treaty of Chanyuan with the Song dynasty in 1005. The Song agreed to pay 100,000 taels of silver and 200,000 bolts of silk, (later increased to 200,000 taels of silver and 300,000 bolts of silk in 1042). Most of the money came back to the Song, contributing to continuing Song prosperity through the twelfth century.¹²⁴

The Treaty of Chanyuan changed the balance of power in East Asia, establishing the Liao as the top military power. After it was signed, the neighboring countries of Japan, Korea, and the Karakhanids prioritized diplomatic relations with the Liao over the Song dynasty of China. Although some smuggling of Liao horses to the south, and Song

¹²²Valerie Hansen, "International Gifting and the Kitan World," *Journal of Song-Yuan Studies* 43 (2013): 273-302, especially 282-287.

¹²³ Hansen, "International Gifting and the Kitan World," 298-301.

¹²⁴ The Chinese tael (*liang*) weighed 37.3 metric grams, slightly more than an ounce in the English system of measurement, which is equal to 28 metric grams. See Shiba Yoshinobu, "Sung Foreign Trade: Its Scope and Organization," in *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and Its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries*, ed. Morris Rossabi (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983), 89-115.

books, maps, weapons, and coins occurred, the Treaty of Chanyuan established a new border between north Asia and Song China that lasted more than a century.¹²⁵ Because the Kitan dominated the trade to the north, the Song Chinese had to turn away and focus on Southeast Asia.

The Indian Ocean Trade

The trade route connecting the Chinese port of Guangzhou (Canton), the Persian Gulf port of Basra, and the East African coast, was the longest nautical route in regular use before Columbus.¹²⁶ Chinese coins and pottery shards dating to the 800s and 900s have surfaced at East African sites like Manda and Kilwa, and the evidence from the port city of Siraf on the Persian Gulf indicates that the trade between China and East Africa was already well underway around 800.¹²⁷ Handsewn dhows, like the Beilitung (830 CE)¹²⁸ and Intan (920-960)¹²⁹ shipwrecks, carried frankincense and myrrh, both costly aromatics sourced from the Arabian peninsula or the Horn of Africa, to China, where Islamic traders traded for the Chinese-manufactured ceramics and silk so coveted in their

¹²⁵ Shiba Yoshinobu, "Sung Foreign Trade: Its Scope and Organization," 98; Brian Thomas Vivier, "Chinese foreign trade, 960-1276," Yale Ph.D. 2008.

¹²⁶ George Fadlo Hourani and John Carswell, *Arab Seafaring in the Indian Ocean in Ancient and Early Medieval Times* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 61.

¹²⁷ Richard Hodges and David Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne and the Origins of Europe: Archaeology and the Pirenne Thesis* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1983), 133-149.

¹²⁸ Alison Effeny, *Shipwrecked: Tang Treasures and Monsoon Winds* (Washington, D.C.: Smithsonian Institution, 2010).

¹²⁹ Denis Twitchett and Janice Stargardt, "Chinese Silver Bullion in a Tenth-Century Indonesian Wreck, *Asia Major* 3rd series 15.1 (2002): 35-60.

homelands.¹³⁰ Before 1000, these dhow vessels, most made in the Arab world or India, dominated the Indian Ocean trade, and China imported goods largely from the Islamic world.¹³¹

Sometime after 1000, in 1003 or 1005, the Srivijaya ruler, based in modern Indonesia and Malaysia, financed a temple to his father in Nagapattinam, the most important port in the Chola realm in south India. These temples helped to create alliances among different rulers in distant locations while focusing power in one spot on the site of the temple, a new type of link among far-flung states.¹³² In 1025 the Chola rulers dispatched a naval fleet to Sumatra and the Malay Peninsula.¹³³ Most of the information about the Cholas comes from inscriptions in Indic languages, which record these voyages and the donations of rulers to different temples in Southeast Asia.

After 1000, due to technological advantages like the shipboard compass and watertight wooden compartments, Chinese ships began to displace Arab vessels in Asian waters.¹³⁴ The Angkor Wat temples of Cambodia, particularly the Bayon temple at Angkor Thom, built in the twelfth century, contain beautiful friezes documenting the presence of Indians, who had been influential for centuries, and Chinese, who were

¹³⁰ Michael Flecker, “Early Voyaging in the South China Sea: Implications on Territorial Claims,” Nalanda Sriwijaya Centre Working Paper No. 19, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, Singapore, 2015.

¹³¹ Derek Heng, *Sino-Malay Trade and Diplomacy from the Tenth through the Fourteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2009). This book has been particularly inspiring because of both its rich hypotheses and detailed, rigorous sourcing.

¹³² Meeting with David Ludden, NYU History department, Dec. 10, 2014.

¹³³ Hermann Kulke, “The Naval Expeditions of the Cholas in the Context of Asian History,” in Hermann Kulke, K Kesavapany, Vijay Sakhuja, *Nagapattinam to Suvarnadwipa: Reflections on the Chola Naval Expeditions to Southeast Asia* (Singapore: Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2009), 1-19. The other essays in this volume flesh out these relations.

¹³⁴ Heng, *Sino-Malay Trade*.

relative newcomers. On-going excavations of shipwrecks (fueled by PRC expansion into the South Seas) provide fresh materials for understanding China's export trade and its impact on local society. Chinese merchants dispatched ships as long as 80 feet to Southeast Asia to obtain a wide variety of goods, including incense and other fragrant woods, which were subject to government monopoly control.¹³⁵ During these centuries, Chinese consumers rubbed their bodies with fragrant imported substances like rose water while they burned vast quantities of incense and other fragrant woods to perfume the air in their homes.¹³⁶

Foreign trade was so common during the Song that mathematical textbooks included word problems asking students to calculate the division of profits among partners who bought shares in a single ship filled with trade goods from Southeast Asia. Qin Jiushao's *Mathematical Treatise in Nine Sections* (1247 AD) includes the following problem: "Assume that there is a sea-going junk which has been to the customs station and cleared off its obligations. Apart from the goods to be paid to the owner of the ship there remain 5,088 ounces of aquilaria agallocha [gharu-wood], 10,430 packets of 40 catties each of black pepper, and 212 pairs of elephant tusks. These have been brought by A, B, C, and D as the result of their joint capital (*heben*)." The rest of the problem

¹³⁵ Angela Schottenhammer, "Chinese Emergence as a Maritime Power," forthcoming chapter in *The Cambridge History of China*, volume 2 of the Song (thanks to Dr. Schottenhammer for providing a copy); Robert M. Hartwell, "Foreign Trade, Monetary Policy and Chinese 'Mercantilism,'" In Kinugawa Tsuyoshi (ed.), *Collected Studies on Sung History Dedicated to Professor James T. C. Liu in Celebration of his Seventieth Birthday* (Kyoto: Dohōsha, 1989) 453-488; the different essays in Morris Rossabi (ed.), *China among Equals: The Middle Kingdom and its Neighbors, 10th-14th Centuries* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1983),

¹³⁶ Paul Wheatley, "Geographical Names on some Commodities involved in Sung Maritime Trade," *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 32.2 (1961):5-140, map on 16-17.

concerns the calculation of each partner's share.¹³⁷ The problem features gharuwood because it – as Wheatley explains, “a pathologically diseased fragrant wood yielded by about half the trees comprising the genus *Aquilaria*” -- was the most common aromatic imported from Southeast Asia, where it grew on both the continent and the islands.¹³⁸

The Chinese port city of Quanzhou, in modern Fujian province, reflected China's increasing involvement in southeast Asia. The Song dynasty named the first Superintendent of Maritime Trade (*shibosi*) in Guangzhou in 971, Hangzhou in 989, Ningbo in 992, and Quanzhou in 1087.¹³⁹ These officials supervised all the ships entering their cities, inspecting cargo, setting aside the monopoly goods the Song government bought at a fixed rate, and then allowing the visiting merchants to sell the rest of their cargo. They also issued licenses to Chinese merchants leaving the port under their supervision. As the quantities of goods from Southeast Asia increased, a grading system gradually came into place. Derek Heng argues that the development of such a system had three preconditions: 1. quantities had to be sufficiently large that the quality varied; 2. those trading the good had to know its geographic origin; and 3. a central agency must have collated “the knowledge of foreign products.”¹⁴⁰

Foreign traders did not simply visit Quanzhou. They settled there, with Muslims building the first mosque 1009/10,¹⁴¹ and South Indians building a Buddhist temple between 984 and 988, as we learn from Zhao Rugua's 1225 *Description of Foreign*

¹³⁷ Translation in Shiba Yoshinobu, *Commerce and Society*, p. 32.

¹³⁸ Alternate names, eaglewood or aloewood, also spelled garuwood. Wheatley, “Song Maritime Trade,” 68-72.

¹³⁹ Wheatley, “Sung Maritime Trade,” 25-26.

¹⁴⁰ Heng, *Sino-Malay Trade*, 136.

¹⁴¹ Nancy Shatzman Steinhardt, *China's Early Mosques* (Edinburgh Studies in Islamic Art) (Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press, 2015).

Peoples.¹⁴² This important source, written by a member of the imperial household who also served as Imperial Trade Commissioner, Zhao Rugua (1170-1228), provides detailed information about all of Song China's trade partners, including those in east Africa and the Mediterranean.¹⁴³

Throughout this period, the main direction for Song expansion was south and then west. The Chinese did not venture east of the Philippines in the Pacific Ocean, which marked the end of the world known to them. As Zhao Rugua explains, "East [of Java] you come to the [Ocean]-Sea and to where the waters flow downward; there is the kingdom of women. Still farther east is the Weilü, the end of the habitable world."¹⁴⁴

But others were pushing eastwards. The Chinese did not know about it, but the settlement of the Pacific islands was occurring in the same centuries that they were active in Southeast Asia. It was a long-term process, taking more than 2,000 years. As finds of Lapita pottery on Macronesia and Polynesia indicate, Micronesians began to journey east by boat, in the direction of prevailing winds, around 1500 BCE, and reached New Zealand possibly in 900 CE (recent Carbon-14 dates have revised the widely accepted date of 1350 CE).¹⁴⁵ (Regular voyages between Southeast Asia and Australia, first settled 40,000 years ago, did not occur until around 1500, when Chinese demand for sea slugs

¹⁴² John Guy, "Tamil Merchant Guilds and the Quanzhou Trade," in (2001), *The Emporium of the World: Maritime Quanzhou 1000-1400*, edited by Angela Schottenhammer, (Boston: Brill, 2000), 294-308.

¹⁴³ Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua, his Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chi* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911).

¹⁴⁴ Firth and Rockhill, *Chau Ru-kua*, 75, 79n2.

¹⁴⁵ R. Walker R. (2004) *Ka Whawhai Tonu Matou: Struggle without End* 2nd edition (Auckland: Penguin, 2004); Bruce Biggs, "In the Beginning," in Keith Sinclair (Ed.) *The Oxford Illustrated History of New Zealand* (Melbourne: Oxford University Press, 1996), 1-17.

exhausted the Southeast Asian supply and prompted their harvesting on the north Australian coast.)¹⁴⁶

Archeologists vigorously debate whether anyone or anything from South America traveled in the opposite direction across the Pacific (the route taken by the sweet potato). Recent discoveries of Latin American weeds on Easter Island and the Galapagos suggest some movement between the Pacific Islands and Latin America, certainly by seeds or birds, less likely by mammals or humans. On-going DNA analysis should help resolve these debates. The most likely conclusion – at least right now – is that a manmade object or unusual shell could have made the voyage across the Pacific, but Asian voyagers did not journey east across the Pacific to South America until after 1492.

Mesoamerica

From ancient times, trade networks crisscrossing North and South America carried beautiful shells, brightly colored live birds, bird feathers, obsidian, and ramah chert, which was traded long before the turn of the Common Era. Because there are no written sources for the Americas in the year 1000 – the last Maya inscription is dated 910¹⁴⁷ and surviving sources in Nahuatl date to the time of the Spaniards¹⁴⁸ – the analyst

¹⁴⁶ Derek John Mulvaney, “Bêche-de-mer, Aborigines and Australian History,” *Journal of the Royal Society of Victoria* 79.2 (1966): 449-457. Wang Gungwu, whom I met at National University of Singapore on October 12, 2015, suggested that the Chinese may have harvested and dried sea cucumbers in Australia before 1500, perhaps even 1300, but probably not any earlier than that.

¹⁴⁷ Michael D. Coe and Stephen Houston, *The Maya*, 9th Edition (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2015), 175.

¹⁴⁸ Joyce Marcus, *Mesoamerican Writing Systems: Propaganda, Myth, and History in Four Ancient Civilizations* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1992), 46-57.

must depend entirely on archeological evidence to see the expansion of regions at this time.

The cultural zone with the broadest contacts across North and South America was that of the Maya, whose homeland was the Yucatan peninsula of Mexico. Archeologists see the period of their greatest dynamism occurring between 250 and 900 CE, or the Classic Period, when their urban settlements reached a large size, artistic output peaked, and they used their writing system to implement a sophisticated Venus-based calendar.¹⁴⁹

But the post-Classic period saw important innovations at the two centers of Tula and Chichén Itzá, and evidence of the spread of Maya cultural traits to places that had not been in contact prior to 1000. Ballcourts, so emblematic of Mayan society, spread to the north, and reached Wupatki, Arizona, sometime after 1100.¹⁵⁰ Traces of theobromine, the telltale signature of chocolate, found on the bottom of cylindrical vessels from Chaco Canyon in New Mexico substantiate the trade with the Maya.¹⁵¹ The Pueblo Bonito structure at Chaco produced fourteen carcasses of scarlet macaws, a bird that the Maya valued for their bright color feathers, and a sign of cultural influence on the Chaco residents¹⁵² Turquoise traveled in the opposite direction, to the Maya heartland from the southwest of the USA.

¹⁴⁹ Coe and Houston, *The Maya*, 93-130.

¹⁵⁰ David Grant Noble, *Ancient Ruins of the Southwest: An Archaeological Guide* Second Edition (Flagstaff: Northland Publishing, 2000), 36, 148-150, photograph of Wupatki ballcourt, 34.

¹⁵¹ Sophie D. Coe and Michael D. Coe, *The True History of Chocolate*, Third Edition (London: Thames & Hudson, 2013) 55, citing the work of Patricia Crown and W. Jeffrey Hurst of the Hershey Center for Health and Nutrition.

¹⁵² Blake De Pastino, "Bones of Exotic Macaws Reveal Early Rise of Trade, Hierarchy in Chaco Canyon," *Western Digs: Dispatches from the Ancient American West*, posted June 22, 2015; accessed September 16, 2016; <http://westerndigs.org/exotic-macaws-found-at-chaco-canyon-reveal-trade-hierarchy-ancestral-pueblo/>. The

Traditionally the Maya did not work gold or any other metal and valued jade instead. But the sacred cenote at Chichén Itzá contains the first gold artifacts in a Mayan context, suggesting contacts to the south as well. Metallurgical techniques traveled up the west coast of Latin America from the Andes to Panama, arriving sometime around 700, and from there to Chichén Itzá, sometime around 900.

Scholars have tended to assume that most Mayan trade was overland, but a new approach emphasizes the importance of water travel and the ocean.¹⁵³ The ocean provided the Maya with many valued commodities: shark's teeth, spondylus shells, and stingray spines, so important to ritual bloodletting.¹⁵⁴ An important eyewitness account from Christopher Columbus's son Ferdinand, written in 1502 at the island of Guanaja (off the coast of the northern Honduras), testifies to the size of a Maya canoe: "as long as a [Venetian] galley and eight feet wide." The canoes of the Taino people were even larger, carrying 70 or 80 people.¹⁵⁵ Voyages from the Yucatan to Cuba show that the Maya navigators did not simply hug the shore; they ventured out into open waters, too. Isla Cerritos, the port island for Chichén Itzá was on the coast of the Yucatan, 90 kilometers (56 miles) to the north. Some goods arrived from the west: obsidian from Veracruz and Hidalgo, shiny plumbate ceramics from western Guatemala, and turquoise

Salmon Ruins site in northwestern New Mexico also contained macaw burials (Tori L. Myers, "Salmon Ruins Trail Guide," publication #1719 (Bloomfield, New Mexico: Salmon Ruins Museum and Research Library, 2013), 15.

¹⁵³ Daniel Finamore and Stephen D. Houston, *Fiery Pool: The Maya and the Mystic Sea* (New Haven: Yale University Press and the Peabody Essex Museum, 2010).

¹⁵⁴ Mary E. Miller and Megan O'Neil, "The World of the Ancient Maya and the Worlds They Made," in Finamore and Houston, *Fiery Pool*, 28-29.

¹⁵⁵ Daniel Finamore, "Navigating the Maya World," in Finamore and Houston, *Fiery Pool*, 148-149, citing Samuel Eliot Morison, ed. and trans. *Journals and Other Documents of the Life and Voyages of Christopher Columbus* (New York: The Heritage Press, 1963), 326-327.

from the southwestern US. Others, like gold and an alloy of gold and copper called tumbaga originated in Costa Rica and Panama.¹⁵⁶

Visual evidence from Chichén Itzá suggests that different ships came from the far north. Murals from the Temple of the Warriors¹⁵⁷ (**Figures 3 and 4**) and the Las Monjas nunnery¹⁵⁸ (**Figure 5**) show boats with carved bows and blond-haired, blue-eyed captives that certainly resemble Norsemen. Even more suggestive is the boat shown in a mural from the Monjas nunnery, which distinctly has planks, the hallmark of the Viking clinker construction. These cannot be Amerindian boats because the Mayans and all the neighboring peoples used dugout canoes.¹⁵⁹ The timing is perfect: the Norsemen were in Newfoundland just at this time, and, as we have seen, multiple ships were blown off course. Apparently one must have landed on the Yucatan peninsula, which was some 4500 km (2800 miles) from Newfoundland, a long but still plausible distance for a ship blown into the Atlantic to cover.

Chichén Itzá provides the final link in the chain connecting the regions of the world for the first time circa 1000. Some of the connections are more certain than others. The Norse voyaged west to Newfoundland and as far east as Constantinople. Islamic envoys, travelers, missionaries, and soldiers reached West Africa, Central Asia, and

¹⁵⁶ Rafael Cobos, “The Maya Ports Isla Cerritos and Uaymil,” in Finamore and Houston, *Fiery Pool*, 164-165.

¹⁵⁷ Ann Axtell Morris, *The Temple of the Warriors at Chichén Itzá* (Washington, D. C.: Carnegie Institute of Washington, 1931), plates 146 and 147. Unfortunately, the original murals are so damaged that we must rely on watercolor copies painted by Ann Axtell Morris in the 1930s.

¹⁵⁸ Jean Charlot, “Watercolor in Room 22,” in John S. Bolles, *Las Monjas: a Major Pre-Mexican Architectural Complex at Chichén Itzá* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1977), 203.

¹⁵⁹ I owe the identification of the figures and boats in these murals as Norse to repeated conversations with Mary E. Miller, starting in fall 2013 and continuing through the summer of 2016, and Michael D. Coe, in the summer of 2016, both at Yale University.

North India. While the Kitan rulers of the north Asian grasslands received gifts from Muslim envoys and the northern peoples under their rule, the Song Chinese traded with countries in Southeast Asia, India, and east Africa. It seems unlikely that anyone made it across the Pacific from Asia to South America, but Polynesian voyagers may have reached New Zealand by 900.

Globalization in 1000 was a soft opening. Unlike 1492, there was no mass die-out of the native Americans, no large-scale movement of peoples from one continent to another, no abrupt Columbian exchange of plants and animals between the Americas and Afro-Eurasia (although some crops spread across Afro-Eurasia). Even so, the changes of the year 1000 deserve our attention because the world became more interconnected than it had been in previous centuries – and interconnected in ways that intensified in the centuries leading up to Columbus's arrival in the Americas.

Week2

my death, for I have now come to a happy place of repose. I have this to say to you, Gudrid: you will marry an Icelander and you will have a long life together and your progeny will be great and vigorous, bright and excellent, sweet and fragrant. You and your husband will go from Greenland to Norway and from there to Iceland, where you will make your home and live for a long time. You will survive your husband and go on a pilgrimage to Rome, then return to your farm in Iceland; a church will be built there and you will be ordained a nun and stay there until you die.'

Then Thorstein fell back. His body was laid out and taken to the ship.

Thorstein the Black fulfilled all the promises he had made to Gudrid. In the spring he sold up his farm and livestock, took Gudrid and all her possessions to the ship, made the ship ready, engaged a crew, and then sailed to Eiriksfiord. All the dead were buried at the church there.

Gudrid went to stay with her brother-in-law Leif Eiriksson at Brattahlid. Thorstein the Black made his home in Eiriksfiord and lived there for the rest of his life. He was considered a man of great spirit.

7

Karlsefni in Vinland

That same summer a ship arrived in Greenland from Norway. Her captain was a man called Thorfinn Karlsefni.¹ He was a man of considerable wealth. He spent the winter with Leif Eiriksson at Brattahlid.

Karlsefni quickly fell in love with Gudrid and proposed to her, but she asked Leif to answer on her behalf. She was betrothed to Karlsefni, and the wedding took place that same winter.

There was still the same talk about Vinland voyages as before, and everyone, including Gudrid, kept urging Karlsefni to make

1. *the son of Thord Horse-Head, the son of Snorri, the son of Thord of Hofdi.*

the voyage. In the end he decided to sail and gathered a company of sixty men and five women. He made an agreement with his crew that everyone should share equally in whatever profits the expedition might yield. They took livestock of all kinds, for they intended to make a permanent settlement there if possible.

Karlsefni asked Leif if he could have the houses in Vinland; Leif said that he was willing to lend them, but not to give them away.

They put to sea and arrived safe and sound at Leif's Houses and carried their hammocks ashore. Soon they had plenty of good supplies, for a fine big rorqual was driven ashore; they went down and cut it up, and so there was no shortage of food.

The livestock were put out to grass, and soon the male beasts became very frisky and difficult to manage. They had brought a bull with them.

Karlsefni ordered timber to be felled and cut into lengths for a cargo for the ship, and it was left out on a rock to season. They made use of all the natural resources of the country that were available, grapes and game of all kinds and other produce.

The first winter passed into summer, and then they had their first encounter with Skrælings, when a great number of them came out of the wood one day. The cattle were grazing near by and the bull began to bellow and roar with great vehemence. This terrified the Skrælings and they fled, carrying their packs which contained furs and sables and pelts of all kinds. They made for Karlsefni's houses and tried to get inside, but Karlsefni had the doors barred against them. Neither side could understand the other's language.

Then the Skrælings put down their packs and opened them up and offered their contents, preferably in exchange for weapons; but Karlsefni forbade his men to sell arms. Then he hit on the idea of telling the women to carry milk out to the Skrælings, and when the Skrælings saw the milk they wanted to buy nothing else. And so the outcome of their trading expedition was that the Skrælings carried their purchases away in their bellies, and left their packs and furs with Karlsefni and his men.

GRÆNLENDINGA SAGA

After that, Karlsefni ordered a strong wooden palisade to be erected round the houses, and they settled in.

About this time Karlsefni's wife, Gudrid, gave birth to a son, and he was named Snorri.

Early next winter the Skrælings returned, in much greater numbers this time, bringing with them the same kind of wares as before. Karlsefni told the women, 'You must carry out to them the same produce that was most in demand last time, and nothing else.'

As soon as the Skrælings saw it they threw their packs in over the palisade.

Gudrid was sitting in the doorway beside the cradle of her son Snorri when a shadow fell across the door and a woman entered wearing a black, close-fitting tunic; she was rather short and had a band round her chestnut-coloured hair. She was pale, and had the largest eyes that have ever been seen in any human head. She walked up to Gudrid and said, 'What is your name?'

'My name is Gudrid. What is yours?'

'My name is Gudrid,' the woman replied.

Then Gudrid, Karlsefni's wife, motioned to the woman to come and sit beside her; but at that very moment she heard a great crash and the woman vanished, and in the same instant a Skræling was killed by one of Karlsefni's men for trying to steal some weapons. The Skrælings fled as fast as they could, leaving their clothing and wares behind. No one had seen the woman except Gudrid.

'Now we must devise a plan,' said Karlsefni, 'for I expect they will pay us a third visit, and this time with hostility and in greater numbers. This is what we must do: ten men are to go out on the headland here and make themselves conspicuous, and the rest of us are to go into the wood and make a clearing there, where we can keep our cattle when the Skrælings come out of the forest. We shall take our bull and keep him to the fore.'

The place where they intended to have their encounter with the Skrælings had the lake on one side and the woods on the other.

FREYDIS IN VINLAND

Karlsefni's plan was put into effect, and the Skrælings came right to the place that Karlsefni had chosen for the battle. The fighting began, and many of the Skrælings were killed. There was one tall and handsome man among the Skrælings and Karlsefni reckoned that he must be their leader. One of the Skrælings had picked up an axe, and after examining it for a moment he swung it at a man standing beside him, who fell dead at once. The tall man then took hold of the axe, looked at it for a moment, and then threw it as far as he could out into the water. Then the Skrælings fled into the forest as fast as they could, and that was the end of the encounter.

Karlsefni and his men spent the whole winter there, but in the spring he announced that he had no wish to stay there any longer and wanted to return to Greenland. They made ready for the voyage and took with them much valuable produce, vines and grapes and pelts. They put to sea and reached Eiriksfiord safely and spent the winter there.

8

Freydis in Vinland

Now there was renewed talk of voyaging to Vinland, for these expeditions were considered a good source of fame and fortune.

In the summer that Karlsefni returned from Vinland a ship arrived in Greenland from Norway, commanded by two brothers called Helgi and Finnbogi. They spent the winter in Greenland. They were Icelanders by birth and came from the Eastfjords.

One day, Freydis Eirik's-daughter travelled from her home at Gardar to visit the brothers Helgi and Finnbogi. She asked them if they would join her with their ship on an expedition to Vinland, sharing equally with her all the profits that might be made from it. They agreed to this. Then she went to see her brother Leif and asked him to give her the houses he had built in Vinland; but Leif gave the same answer as before – that he was willing to lend them but not to give them away.

The two brothers and Freydis had an agreement that each

time and eventually came to a river that flowed down into a lake and from the lake into the sea. There were extensive sand-bars outside the river mouth, and ships could only enter it at high tide.

Karlsefni and his men sailed into the estuary and named the place *Hope* (Tidal Lake). Here they found wild wheat growing in fields on all the low ground and grape vines on all the higher ground. Every stream was teeming with fish. They dug trenches at the high-tide mark, and when the tide went out there were halibut trapped in the trenches. In the woods there was a great number of animals of all kinds.

They stayed there for a fortnight, enjoying themselves and noticing nothing untoward. They had their livestock with them. But early one morning as they looked around they caught sight of nine¹ skin-boats; the men in them were waving sticks which made a noise like flails, and the motion was sunwise.²

Karlsefni said, 'What can this signify?'

'It could well be a token of peace,' said Snorri. 'Let us take a white shield and go to meet them with it.'

They did so. The newcomers rowed towards them and stared at them in amazement as they came ashore. They were small³ and evil-looking, and their hair was coarse; they had large eyes and broad cheekbones. They stayed there for a while, marveling, and then rowed away south round the headland.

Karlsefni and his men had built their settlement on a slope by the lakeside; some of the houses were close to the lake, and others were farther away. They stayed there that winter. There was no snow at all, and all the livestock were able to fend for themselves.

1. H - a great number of.

2. Red Indians are known to have used rattle-sticks during various rituals, which may well be the explanation of this threshing sound the Norsemen could hear.

3. H - dark-coloured.

II

The Skrælings attack

Then, early one morning in spring, they saw a great horde of skin-boats approaching from the south round the headland, so dense that it looked as if the estuary were strewn with charcoal; and sticks were being waved from every boat. Karlsefni's men raised their shields and the two parties began to trade.

What the natives wanted most to buy was red cloth; they also wanted to buy swords and spears, but Karlsefni and Snorri forbade that. In exchange for the cloth they traded grey pelts. The natives took a span¹ of red cloth for each pelt, and tied the cloth round their heads. The trading went on like this for a while until the cloth began to run short; then Karlsefni and his men cut it up into pieces which were no more than a finger's breadth wide; but the Skrælings paid just as much or even more for it.

Then it so happened that a bull belonging to Karlsefni and his men came running out of the woods, bellowing furiously. The Skrælings were terrified and ran to their skin-boats and rowed away south round the headland.

After that there was no sign of the natives for three whole weeks. But then Karlsefni's men saw a huge number of boats coming from the south, pouring in like a torrent. This time all the sticks were being waved anti-clockwise and all the Skrælings were howling loudly. Karlsefni and his men now hoisted red shields and advanced towards them.

When they clashed there was a fierce battle and a hail of missiles came flying over, for the Skrælings were using catapults. Karlsefni and Snorri saw them hoist a large sphere on a pole;² it was dark blue in colour. It came flying in over the heads of Karlsefni's men and made an ugly din when it struck the ground.³ This terrified Karlsefni and his men so much that

1. About nine inches.

2. H adds: *it was the size of a sheep's stomach.*

3. This device has been compared with the ballista which ancient traditions of the Algonquin Indians describe.

EIRIK'S SAGA

their only thought was to flee, and they retreated farther up the river.¹ They did not halt until they reached some cliffs, where they prepared to make a resolute stand.

Freydis came out and saw the retreat. She shouted, 'Why do you flee from such pitiful wretches, brave men like you? You should be able to slaughter them like cattle. If I had weapons, I am sure I could fight better than any of you.'

The men paid no attention to what she was saying. Freydis tried to join them but she could not keep up with them because she was pregnant. She was following them into the woods when the Skrælings closed in on her. In front of her lay a dead man, Thorbrand Snorrason, with a flintstone buried in his head, and his sword beside him. She snatched up the sword and prepared to defend herself. When the Skrælings came rushing towards her she pulled one of her breasts out of her bodice and slapped it with the sword. The Skrælings were terrified at the sight of this and fled back to their boats and hastened away.

Karlsefni and his men came over to her and praised her courage. Two of their men had been killed, and four² of the Skrælings, even though Karlsefni and his men had been fighting against heavy odds.

They returned to their houses and pondered what force it was that had attacked them from inland; they then realized that the only attackers had been those who had come in the boats, and that the other force had just been a delusion.

The Skrælings found the other dead Norseman, with his axe lying beside him.³ One of them hacked at a rock with the axe, and the axe broke; and thinking it worthless now because it could not withstand stone, they threw it away.

Karlsefni and his men had realized by now that although the land was excellent they could never live there in safety or freedom from fear, because of the native inhabitants. So they made ready to leave the place and return home. They sailed off

1. H adds: *for they were sure that the Skrælings were attacking them from all sides.*

2. H - *a great many.*

3. H adds: *one of them picked it up and chopped at a tree with it, and then each one of them in turn tried it; they all thought it a wonderful find, because of its sharpness.*

THORVALD EIRIKSSON DIES

north along the coast. They came upon five Skrælings clad in skins, asleep; beside them were containers full of deer-marrow mixed with blood.¹ Karlsefni's men reckoned that these five must be outlaws, and killed them.

Then they came to a headland on which there were numerous deer; the headland looked like a huge cake of dung, for the animals used to spend the winters there.

Soon afterwards Karlsefni and his men arrived at Straumfjord, where they found plenty of everything.

According to some people, Bjarni Grimolfsson and Freydis² had stayed behind there with a hundred people and gone no farther while Karlsefni and Snorri had sailed south with forty men and, after spending barely two months at Hope, had returned that same summer.

Karlsefni set out with one ship in search of Thorhall the Hunter, while the rest of the company stayed behind. He sailed north past Kjalarness and then bore west, with the land on the port beam. It was a region of wild and desolate woodland; and when they had travelled a long way they came to a river which flowed from east to west into the sea. They steered into the river mouth and lay to by its southern bank.

I 2

Thorvald Eiriksson dies

One morning Karlsefni and his men saw something glittering on the far side of the clearing, and they shouted at it. It moved, and it proved to be a Uniped;³ it came bounding down towards

1. This food has been identified with the Red Indian food *pemmican* - cakes of dried meat mixed with marrow-grease, which they used as iron rations on hunting expeditions.

2. H - *Gudrid.*

3. This incongruous reference to Unipeds is symptomatic of the author's fondness for medieval learning (see p. 39). It is interesting to note that Unipeds figure in an Icelandic translation of a medieval geographical treatise (ultimately based on the works of the seventh-century scholar Isidore of Seville); the Icelandic version, which is considerably older than *Eirik's Saga*, is contained in *Hauksbók*. Unipeds were said to live in Africa (see p. 39).

EIRIK'S SAGA

where the ship lay. Thorvald, Eirik the Red's son, was sitting at the helm. The Uniped shot an arrow into his groin.

Thorvald pulled out the arrow and said, 'This is a rich country we have found; there is plenty of fat around my entrails.' Soon afterwards he died of the wound.

The Uniped ran off to the north. Karlsefni and his men gave chase, catching occasional glimpses of it as it fled. Then it disappeared into a creek and the pursuers turned back. One of the men uttered this stanza :

*'Yes, it's true
That our men chased
A Uniped
Down to the sea;
The weird creature
Ran like the wind
Over rough ground;
Hear that, Karlsefni.'*

Then they sailed away north and thought they could see Uniped-Land; but they decided not to risk the lives of the crew any further. They reckoned that the mountains they could see there roughly corresponded with those at Hope and were part of the same range, and they estimated that both regions were equidistant from Straumfjord.

They returned to Straumfjord and spent the third winter there. But now quarrels broke out frequently; those who were unmarried kept pestering the married men.

It was in the first autumn that Karlsefni's son, Snorri, was born; he was three years old when they left.

They set sail before a southerly wind and reached Markland, where they came upon five Skrælings – a bearded man, two women, and two children. Karlsefni and his men captured the two boys, but the others got away and sank down into the ground.

They took the boys with them and taught them the language, and baptized them. The boys said that their mother was called Vætild and their father Ovægir. They said that the land of the Skrælings was ruled by two kings, one of whom was called Avaldamon and the other Valdídida. They said that there were

BJARNI GRIMOLFSSON'S DEATH

no houses there and that people lived in caves or holes in the ground. They said that there was a country across from their own land where the people went about in white clothing and uttered loud cries and carried poles with patches of cloth attached. This is thought to have been *Hvítramannaland*.¹

Finally they reached Greenland, and spent the winter with Eirik the Red.

13

Bjarni Grimolfsson's death

Bjarni Grimolfsson's ship was blown into the Greenland Sea.² They found themselves in waters infested with maggots, and before they knew it the ship was riddled under them and had begun to sink.

They discussed what they should do. They had one ship's-boat which had been treated with tar made from seal-blubber; it is said that shell-maggots cannot penetrate timber which has been so treated. Most of the crew said that they should fill this boat with as many people as it would hold; but when this was tried they found that the boat would not hold more than half of them.

Then Bjarni said that the people who were to go should be chosen by lot, and not by rank.

But everyone tried to get into the boat. The boat, however, would not hold them all and so they agreed to this suggestion of drawing lots for places in it. When the lots were drawn it

1. Literally, 'White Men's Land'. H adds: *or Greater Ireland*. The concept of a country of White men (Albania-land) occurs in Icelandic versions of medieval European works of learning and was associated with Asia, somewhere to the north of India. In *Landnámabók*, however, there is a reference to a *Hvítramannaland* which was said to lie six days' sail west of Ireland. There may well be a connexion between this reference and the *Tír na bhFear bhFionn* (Land of the White Men) of Irish Legend, particularly in view of *Hauksbók's* alternative designation for it of 'Greater Ireland'.

2. H – *the sea west of Ireland*. This chapter was considerably condensed and re-written by Hauk Erlendsson in H.

Week 3

Ровест' vremennykh let (English)

The Russian Primary Chronicle

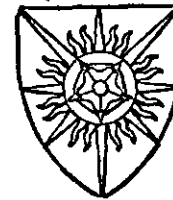
Laurentian Text

Translated and edited by

SAMUEL HAZZARD CROSS

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THE MEDIAEVAL ACADEMY OF AMERICA
CAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS

1953

But our gracious God desires not the death of sinners, and upon this hill now stands a church dedicated to St. Basil, as we shall later narrate.⁸¹

But let us return to our subject.

Vladimir had appointed his uncle Dobrynya to rule over Novgorod. When Dobrynya came to Novgorod, he set up an idol beside the river Volkhov, and the people of Novgorod offered sacrifice to it as if to God himself. Now Vladimir was overcome by lust for women. His lawful wife was Rogned, whom he settled on the (80) Lybed', where the village of Predslavino now stands.⁸² By her he had four sons: Izyaslav, Mstislav, Yaroslav, and Vsevolod, and two daughters. The Greek woman bore him Svyatopolk; by one Czech he had a son Vysheslav; by another, Svyatoslav and Mstislav; and by a Bulgarian woman, Boris and Gleb. He had three hundred concubines at Vyshgorod, three hundred at Belgorod, and two hundred at Berestovo in a village still called Berestovoe.⁸³ He was insatiable in vice. He even seduced married women and violated young girls, for he was a libertine like Solomon. For it is said that Solomon had seven hundred wives and three hundred concubines. He was wise, yet in the end he came to ruin. But Vladimir, though at first deluded, eventually found salvation. Great is the Lord, and great is his power, and of his wisdom there is no end.

The charm of woman is an evil thing. As Solomon in his repentance said of woman: "Listen not to an evil woman. Honey flows from the lips of a licentious woman, and for a time it delights thy palate. But in the end it will become bitterer than wormwood. They who cleave to her shall die in hell; for she walks not in the path of life, but unstable and foolish are her ways" (*Prov.*, v, 3-6). Thus spoke Solomon of adulteresses, but of a good woman he said, "More precious is she than jewels. Her husband rejoices in her, for she brings him blessedness (81) all the days of her life. She seeks wool and flax, she makes useful things with her hands. She is like a merchant ship that goes out for trade and collects great riches. She rises also while it is yet night, she gives food to the household and tasks to the servants. She considered a field and has bought it, with the fruit of her hands she has planted a vineyard. She has girded up her loins with strength, and has made firm her arm for labor. She has proved how good it is to labor, and her candle goes not out by night. She sets her hands to useful things, and her fingers work with the spindle. She stretches out her hand to the poor, and has given her wealth to the beggar. Her husband is not concerned with the household; wherever she may be, her family is

clothed. Double garments she makes for her husband, scarlet and purple are her robes. Her husband is distinguished within the gates when he sits in council with the elders and the inhabitants of the land. She has made garments and sold them. She has opened her lips with wisdom, she speaks fittingly with her tongue. She is clothed in strength and grace. Her almsgivings have raised and enriched her children, and her husband has commended her. For a wise woman is blessed; let her praise the fear of God. Give her the fruit of her lips, that they may praise her husband within the gates" (*Prov.*, xxxi, 10 ff.).

6489 (981). Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl', Cherven, and other towns, all of which are subject to Rus' even to this day.⁸⁴ In the same year, he conquered the Vyaticians, and imposed (82) upon them tribute according to the number of their ploughs, just as his father had done.⁸⁵

6490 (982). The Vyaticians went to war, but Vladimir attacked them and conquered them a second time.

6491 (983). Vladimir marched on the Yatvingians, conquered them, and seized their territory.⁸⁶ He returned to Kiev, and together with his people made sacrifice to the idols. The elders and the boyars then proposed that they should cast lots for a youth and a maiden, and sacrifice to the gods whomsoever the lot should fall upon.

Now there was a certain Varangian whose house was situated by the spot where now stands the Church of the Holy Virgin which Vladimir built. This Varangian had immigrated from Greece. He adhered to the Christian faith, and he had a son, fair in face and in heart, on whom, through the devil's hatred, the lot fell. For the devil, though he had dominion over all the rest, could not suffer this youth. He was like a thorn in the devil's heart, and the accursed one was eager to destroy him, and even aroused the people thereto. Messengers thus came and said to the father, "Since the lot has fallen upon your son, the gods have claimed him as their own. Let us therefore make sacrifice to the gods." But the Varangian replied, "These are not gods, but only idols of wood. Today it is, and tomorrow it will rot away. These gods do not eat, or drink, or speak; they are fashioned by hand out of wood. But the God whom the Greeks serve and worship is one; it is he who has made heaven and earth, the stars, the moon, the sun, and mankind, and has granted him life upon earth. But what have these gods created? They are themselves manufactured. (83) I will not give up my son to devils." So the messengers went back and reported to the people. The latter took up arms, marched against the Varangian and his son, and on breaking down the stockade about his house, found

him standing with his son upon the porch. They then called upon him to surrender his son that they might offer him to the gods. But he replied, "If they be gods, they will send one of their number to take my son. What need have you of him?" They straightway raised a shout, and broke up the structure under them. Thus the people killed them, and no one knows where they are buried.⁸⁷

For at this time the ~~Russes were ignorant pagans~~. The devil rejoiced thereat, for he did not know that his ruin was approaching. He was so eager to destroy the Christian people, yet he was expelled by the true cross even from these very lands. The accursed one thought to himself, "This is my habitation, a land where the apostles have not taught nor the prophets prophesied." He knew not that the Prophet had said, "I will call those my people who are not my people" (*Hosea*, ii, 23). Likewise it is written of the Apostles, "Their message has gone out into all the earth and their words to the end of the world" (*Ps.*, xix, 5). Though the Apostles have not been there in person, their teachings resound like trumpets in the churches throughout the world. Through their instruction we overcome the hostile adversary, and trample him under our feet. For likewise did the Holy Fathers trample upon him, and they have received the heavenly crown in company with the holy martyrs and the just.

6492 (984). Vladimir attacked the Radimichians. His general was named Wolf's Tail, and Vladimir sent him on ahead. He met the Radimichians by the river Pishchan', and overcame (84) them.⁸⁸ Therefore the Russes ridiculed the Radimichians, saying that the men on the Pishchan' fled in the presence of a wolf's tail. Now the Radimichians belong to the race of the Lyakhs. They had come and settled in these regions, and pay tribute to the Russes, an obligation which they maintain to the present day.

6493 (985). Accompanied by his uncle Dobrynya, Vladimir set out by boat to attack the Bulgars.⁸⁹ He also brought Torks⁹⁰ overland on horseback, and conquered the Bulgars. Dobrynya remarked to Vladimir, "I have seen the prisoners, who all wear boots. They will not pay us tribute. Let us rather look for foes with bast shoes." So Vladimir made peace with the Bulgars, and they confirmed it by oath. The Bulgars declared, "May peace prevail between us till stone floats and straw sinks." Then Vladimir returned to Kiev.

6494 (986). Vladimir was visited by Bulgars of Mohammedan faith,⁹¹ who said, "Though you are a wise and prudent prince, you have no religion. Adopt our faith, and revere Mahomet." Vladimir inquired what was the nature of their religion. They replied that they

believed in God, and that Mahomet instructed them to practice circumcision, to eat no pork, to drink no wine, and, after death, promised them complete fulfillment of their carnal desires. "Mahomet," they asserted, "will give each man seventy fair women. He may choose one fair one, and upon that woman will Mahomet confer the charms of them all, and she shall be his wife. Mahomet promises that one may then satisfy every desire, but whoever is poor in this world (85) will be no different in the next." They also spoke other false things which out of modesty may not be written down. Vladimir listened to them, for he was fond of women and indulgence, regarding which he heard with pleasure. But circumcision and abstinence from pork and wine were disagreeable to him. "Drinking," said he, "is the joy of the Russes. We cannot exist without that pleasure."

Then came the Germans, asserting that they were come as emissaries of the Pope.⁹² They added, "Thus says the Pope: 'Your country is like our country, but your faith is not as ours. For our faith is the light. We worship God, who has made heaven and earth, the stars, the moon, and every creature, while your gods are only wood.'" Vladimir inquired what their teaching was. They replied, "Fasting according to one's strength. But whatever one eats or drinks is all to the glory of God, as our teacher Paul has said." Then Vladimir answered, "Depart hence; our fathers accepted no such principle."

The Jewish Khazars heard of these missions, and came themselves saying, "We have learned that Bulgars and Christians came hither to instruct you in their faiths. The Christians believe in him whom we crucified, but we believe in the one God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob." Then Vladimir inquired what their religion was. They replied that its tenets included circumcision, not eating pork or hare, and observing the Sabbath. The Prince then asked where their native land was, and they replied that it was in Jerusalem. When Vladimir inquired where that was, they made answer, "God was angry (86) at our forefathers, and scattered us among the gentiles on account of our sins. Our land was then given to the Christians." The Prince then demanded, "How can you hope to teach others while you yourselves are cast out and scattered abroad by the hand of God? If God loved you and your faith, you would not be thus dispersed in foreign lands. Do you expect us to accept that fate also?"

Then the Greeks sent to Vladimir a scholar,⁹³ who spoke thus: "We have heard that the Bulgarians came and urged you to adopt their faith, which pollutes heaven and earth. They are accursed above all men, like Sodom and Gomorrah, upon which the Lord let fall

burning stones, and which he buried and submerged. The day of destruction likewise awaits these men, on which the Lord will come to judge the earth, and to destroy all those who do evil and abomination. For they moisten their excrement, and pour the water into their mouths, and anoint their beards with it, remembering Mahomet. The women also perform this same abomination, and even worse ones." Vladimir, upon hearing their statements, spat upon the earth, saying, "This is a vile thing."

Then the scholar said, "We have likewise heard how men came from Rome to convert you to their faith. It differs but little from ours, for they commune with wafers, called *oplatki*, which God did not give them, for he ordained that we should commune with bread. For when he had taken bread, the Lord gave it to his disciples, saying, 'This is my body broken (87) for you.' Likewise he took the cup, and said, 'This is my blood of the New Testament.' They do not so act, for they have modified the faith." Then Vladimir remarked that the Jews had come into his presence and had stated that the Germans and the Greeks believed in him whom they crucified. To this the scholar replied, "Of a truth we believe in him. For some of the prophets foretold that God should be incarnate, and others that he should be crucified and buried, but arise on the third day and ascend into heaven. "For the Jews killed the prophets, and still others they persecuted. When their prophecy was fulfilled, our Lord came down to earth, was crucified, arose again, and ascended into heaven. He awaited their repentance for forty-six years, but they did not repent, so that the Lord let loose the Romans upon them. Their cities were destroyed, and they were scattered among the gentiles, under whom they are now in servitude."

Vladimir then inquired why God should have descended to earth and should have endured such pain. The scholar then answered and said, "If you are desirous of hearing the story, I shall tell you from the beginning why God descended to earth." Vladimir replied, "Gladly would I hear it." Whereupon the scholar thus began his narrative:

"In the beginning, God created heaven and earth on the first day. Upon the second, he created the land which is in the midst of the water. Upon this same day, the waters were divided. A part of them was elevated above the land, and a part placed below it. On the third day, he created the sea, the rivers, the springs, and the seeds. On the fourth, God made the sun, the moon, and the stars, and thus adorned the heavens. When the foremost of the angels, the chief of the angelic host, beheld these works, he reflected and said, 'I shall descend to the

earth and seize upon it. (88) I shall then be like to God, and shall establish my throne upon the northern clouds.' But God cast him straightway out of heaven, and in his train fell the tenth order of the angels, who had been subject to him. The name of this adversary was Sathanael, in whose place God set Michael as chief, while Satan, after sinning in his devices and falling from the former glory, is now called the adversary of God.

"Subsequently, upon the fifth day, God created whales, fishes, reptiles, and feathered fowl. On the sixth, God created beasts, cattle, and terrestrial reptiles. He also created man. Upon the seventh day, which is the Sabbath, God rested from his labors. He set up Paradise at the east in Eden. There he placed man, whom he had created, and bade him eat of every tree save one, namely, the tree of the understanding of good and evil. Thus Adam was in Paradise beholding God, and glorified him when the angels glorified him.

"Now God cast a drowsiness upon Adam, and he slept. Then God took from him one rib, and made him a wife, whom he brought to Adam in Paradise. Then Adam said 'This is bone of my bone and flesh of my flesh,' and she was called woman. Adam gave names to the cattle and the birds, the beasts and the reptiles; to man and to woman an angel gave names. God subjected the beasts and the cattle to Adam's rule; he ruled over them and they obeyed his word.

"When the devil saw how God honored man, he hated him. Changing himself into a serpent, he approached Eve and inquired of her, 'Why do you not eat of the tree that stands in the middle of Paradise?' The woman made answer to the serpent, 'God has said: "Ye must not eat of it, or ye shall die the death."' Then the serpent said, 'You shall not die the death. God knew (89) that upon the day when you eat of it, your eyes be opened, and you shall be as God understanding good and evil.' Now the woman saw that the tree was good to eat, so she ate of it, and gave of it to her husband. They ate, and their eyes were opened, so that they realized that they were naked, and plaited for themselves girdles of fig-leaves.

"Then God said, 'The earth is accursed of your deeds, and ye shall live in sorrow all the days of your life. If ye stretch out your hand and pluck the fruit of the tree of life, ye will live forever.' So the Lord God drove Adam out of Paradise. He sat opposite the gate of Paradise weeping and tilling the soil, and Satan rejoiced that the earth was accursed. This was the first fall of man, and his bitter punishment, in that he lost the angelic life.

"Adam begot Cain and Abel. Cain was a plowman, and Abel a

shepherd. Now Cain offered God of the fruit of the earth, but God did not accept his gifts. But Abel brought him of his firstling lamb, and God accepted the offerings of Abel. Then Satan entered into Cain, and incited him to kill Abel. So Cain said to Abel, 'Let us go into the field.' When they had gone forth, Cain rose up and wished to kill his brother, but he did not know how to compass the deed. But Satan said, 'Take up a stone and smite him.' So Cain took a stone and killed him. Then God said to Cain. 'Where is thy brother?' and Cain replied, 'Am I my brother's keeper?' So God said, 'The blood of thy brother cries aloud to me; thou shalt groan and tremble unto thy life's end.'

"Adam and Eve wept, but the devil rejoiced, saying, (90) 'Behold, him whom God held in honor I have made to depart from God, and now sorrow has come upon him.' So they mourned Abel for thirty years. His body did not decompose, but they did not know how to bury him. Then, by God's command, two birds flew down, and one of them died. The other dug a trench, and placed the dead bird therein, and buried it. When Adam and Eve beheld this, they dug a trench, and placed Abel in it, and buried him thus with sorrow.

"When Adam was two hundred and thirty years old, he begot Seth and two daughters. Cain married one and Seth the other, and from them the race of men multiplied and increased throughout the earth. But they knew not their Creator, and were filled with every vice and uncleanness, with lust and with hatred, and they lived like cattle. Noah was the only just man in the whole race, and he begot three sons, Shem, Ham, and Japheth. God said, 'My spirit shall not abide among men; I will destroy what I have created, both man and beast.' Then the Lord God said to Noah, 'Build an ark three hundred cubits long and fifty cubits broad, and thirty cubits high (for a *sazhen* was called a cubit).' The ark was one hundred years building, but Noah foretold that there was to be a flood, and the people mocked him. When the ark was finished, the Lord said to Noah, 'Enter into it thyself and thy wife, and thy sons, and thy daughters-in-law. Take with thee two each of all beasts, birds, and reptiles.' So Noah led them into the ark as the Lord had enjoined him.

"Then God brought a flood upon the earth, and drowned all flesh, but the ark floated upon the water. When the waters had subsided, Noah and (91) his sons and his wife went forth, and by them the earth was peopled. There were many men with but one language, and they said one to another, 'Let us build a tower as high as heaven.' They even began to build it with Nimrod as their chief. But God said, 'Men

have multiplied, and their devices are vain.' Then God descended, and divided the nations into seventy-two peoples. But the tongue of Adam was not taken away from Eber, for he alone had not joined in their vanity, saying, 'If God had bidden men to build a tower as high as heaven, he would have ordained it with a word, even as he created the heavens, the earth, the sea, and all things visible and invisible.' Therefore Eber's language was unaltered, and from him are descended the Hebrews.

"The human race was thus divided into seventy-two nations and scattered throughout the world, each one having its own customs. Following the devil's instruction, they sacrificed to trees, springs, and rivers, and did not know God. Between Adam and the Flood, two thousand and forty years passed, and between the Flood and the division of the nations, five hundred and twenty-nine years. Subsequently, the devil cast mankind into yet greater error, so that they undertook to build idols, some of wood, some of brass, others of marble, and still others of gold and silver. They not only worshipped them, but even brought their sons and daughters and killed them before these images, so that all the earth was defiled.

"The author of idolatry was Serug, for he made idols in the name of dead men, kings, heroes, magicians, and evil women. Serug begot (92) Terah, and Terah begot three sons, Abraham, Nahor, and Haran. Terah built idols, having learned the art from his father. But Abraham, having come to reason, looked up to heaven, and upon observing the stars and the sky, said, 'In truth, that is God, and those that my brother makes only deceive men.' Then Abraham announced, 'I will test the gods of my father,' and he inquired, 'Father, why do you deceive men by making idols of wood? It is God who has made heaven and earth.' Abraham then set fire to the idols in the temple. When Haran, Abraham's brother, saw this act, in his zeal for the idols he endeavored to save them, and was himself consumed, so that he died before his father. For prior to that time, no son had passed away before his father, but the father had always died before his son; from this time forth, sons began to perish before their fathers.

"God loved Abraham, and said to him, 'Go forth out of the house of thy father into the land to which I shall guide thee. I shall make of thee a nation, and the generations of the earth shall bless thee.' And Abraham did as the Lord ordained. So Abraham took his nephew Lot (for Lot was both his brother-in-law and his nephew, since Abraham had married his brother's daughter Sarai); and he came to a high oak in the land of Canaan. God said to Abraham, 'To thy seed will

I give this land.' Then Abraham worshipped God. Now Abraham was seventy-five years old when he went out of Haran. But Sarai was barren, and since she was afflicted with her sterility, Sarai said to Abraham, 'Have intercourse with (93) my maid-servant.' So Sarai took Hagar and gave her to Abraham, who had intercourse with her. She conceived and bore a son, and Abraham called him Ishmael. Abraham was eighty-six years old when Ishmael was born. Afterward, Sarai conceived and bore a son, and called his name Isaac. Then God directed Abraham to circumcise the child, and he duly circumcised him on the eighth day. God loved Abraham and his race. He called them his people, and distinguished them from the Gentiles by calling them his own.

"When Isaac was grown up, Abraham, having lived one hundred and seventy years, died and was buried. When Isaac was sixty, he begot two sons, Esau and Jacob. Esau was crafty and Jacob truthful. Jacob served his uncle seven years for his younger daughter, but Laban did not give her to him, saying, 'Take the elder instead.' He thus gave him Leah, the elder, but for the younger demanded of him seven years' further service. So Jacob served seven more years for Rachel and married the two sisters. By them he begot eight sons: Reuben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, Zabulon and Asser. From these brothers the Jews are sprung.

"Jacob went to Egypt when he was one hundred and thirty years old, accompanied by his kin to the number of sixty-five souls. He lived in Egypt seventeen years before his death, and his race was in captivity four hundred years. During these years, the Jewish people increased and multiplied, (94) but the Egyptians crushed them with toil. At this time, Moses was born among the Jews, and the Egyptians informed the King a child was born among the Jews who should destroy Egypt. Then the King gave orders to cast the growing children of the Jews into the river. But Moses' mother, fearing his destruction, took the infant and laid him in a basket, and set him in the water.

"At this moment, Thermuthi, the daughter of Pharaoh, went down to bathe, and on seeing the child floating there, she rescued him and named him Moses, and brought him up. The child was fair, and was four years old when the daughter of Pharaoh brought him before her father. When Pharaoh saw Moses, he fancied the child. Moses seized him around the neck, knocked the crown from the King's head, and stamped upon it. A magician who beheld this act protested to the King, 'Oh King, destroy this child, for if you do not destroy him he

will ruin all Egypt.' The King heeded him not, but gave command that no more of the Jewish children be killed.

"When Moses grew to manhood, he was great in the house of Pharaoh. But when another King came to the throne, the nobles hated him. Then Moses, since he had killed an Egyptian who was persecuting a Jew, fled from Egypt, and came to the land of Midian. As he was making his way across the desert, he learned from the angel Gabriel about the nature of the whole world, of the first man, what happened after him, about the flood, the confusion of the tongues, the age of each man, the movement and the number of the stars, the dimensions of the earth, (95) and all wisdom. Thereafter God appeared to him in the burning bush, and said to him, 'I have seen the oppression of my people in Egypt, and have descended to take them from the hands of the Egyptians, and lead them forth from the land. Go therefore to Pharaoh, king of Egypt, and say unto him, "Set Israel free, that they may perform sacrifice to God for three days." If the King of Egypt heed thee not, I will smite him with all my wonders.'

"When Moses came before Pharaoh, the King did not heed him. Then God sent ten plagues upon him: rivers of blood, frogs, gnats, dogflies, cattle-plague, burning vesicles, hail, locusts, three days' darkness, and pestilence among the population. Ten plagues were thus visited upon Egyptians, because they drowned the children of the Jews for ten months. But when there was pestilence in Egypt, Pharaoh said to Moses and his brother Aaron, 'Depart hence quickly.' So Moses after gathering the Jews together, departed out of the land of Egypt.

"The Lord led them over the road through the desert to the Red Sea, preceding them by night as a fiery pillar, and by day as a cloud. When Pharaoh heard how the people were escaping, he pursued them, and overtook them by the seaside. When the Jews beheld this, they cried out against Moses, saying, 'Why have you led us out to certain death?' Then Moses called upon God, and the Lord said, 'Why callest thou upon me? Smite the sea with thy staff.' Moses did thus, and the water parted in twain, so that the children of Israel went down into the sea. When Pharaoh beheld this, (96) he pursued them, for the children of Israel were traveling on dry land. But when they reached the shore, the sea closed over Pharaoh and his warriors.

"God loved Israel, and they traveled three days from the sea, and arrived at Marah. There the water was bitter. The people murmured against God, but the Lord showed them a tree, and when Moses placed it in the water, the water was sweetened. Then they still murmured

against Moses and Aaron, saying, "It was better for us in Egypt, where we ate meat, onions, and bread till we were filled." The Lord then said to Moses, 'I have heard the complaint of the children of Israel,' and he gave them manna to eat. Afterward, the Lord revealed the law to them upon Mt. Sinai. But while Moses was with God upon the mountain, the people moulded a calf's head and bowed down before it as if before God himself, and Moses killed three thousand of them.

"Yet again they murmured against Moses and Aaron because there was no water, and the Lord said to Moses, 'Smite the rock with thy rod.' But Moses replied, 'How can water issue from it?' Then the Lord was angry at Moses because he did not glorify him, and for this reason, on account of these murmurings, he did not enter the Promised Land. But Moses died there on the mountain.

"Then Joshua, son of Nun, assumed the leadership. He entered the Promised Land, destroyed the Canaanites, and settled the children of Israel there in their stead. Then, when Joshua died, Judah was judge in his place. There were fourteen other judges. But in their time the people forgot (97) God, who had led them out of Egypt, and they began to serve devils. Then God was wroth, and delivered them over to the violence of the Gentiles. But when they repented, he had mercy upon them. When he had freed them, they returned nevertheless to the worship of devils.

"Next, Eli the priest was judge, and after him, Samuel the prophet. The people said to Samuel, 'Give us a King.' Then the Lord was angered against Israel, and set Saul over them as King. But Saul would not walk in the law of the Lord, so the Lord chose David, and appointed him King over Israel. Now David found favor with God, and to him God swore that a God should be born of his lineage. Thus David began to prophecy concerning the incarnation of God, saying, 'I bore thee from my loins before the morning star' (*Ps.*, xc, 3). He prophesied for forty years, and then died. After him, his son Solomon uttered prophecy. It was he who built a temple to God, and called it the Holy of Holies. He was a wise man, but in the end he fell from grace. He too reigned forty years and then died. After him reigned his son Rehoboam, and in his day the kingdom was divided into two parts, since the Jews lived partly in Jerusalem, and the other portion in Samaria.

"In Samaria reigned Rehoboam, son of Solomon, who made two golden calves, one of which he set up in Bethel on the hill, and the other in Dan, saying, 'These are your gods, oh Israel.' So the people worshiped them and forgot God. Likewise in Jerusalem they forgot

God, and began to worship Baal, called the god of war, who is Ares, and they forgot the God of their fathers. Then God began to send (98) them prophets, and the prophets rebuked them for their iniquities, but when they were rebuked by the prophets, they killed them. Then God was wroth against Israel, and said, 'I shall cast you from me, I shall call other peoples to serve. If they sin, I will not remember their iniquities.'

"So the Lord sent his prophets, saying to them, 'Prophecy of the rejection of the Jews and the calling of the Gentiles.' Hosea was thus the first to prophesy, saying, 'I will cause the kingdom of the house of Israel to cease, I will break the bow of Israel, and I will no more have compassion on the house of Israel. But I will cast them off and reject them, saith the Lord, and they shall be wanderers among the nations' (*Hos.*, i, 4-6; ix, 17). And Jeremiah said, 'If Samuel and Moses arise, I will not have mercy on them' (*Jer.*, xv, i). Further, Jeremiah said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I have sworn by my great name that my name shall no more be mentioned henceforth by the lips of the Jews"' (*Jer.*, xiv, 26). Likewise Ezekiel said, 'Thus saith the Lord Jehovah: "I will scatter thee and the whole remnant of thee to all the winds, for that thou hast defiled my sanctuaries with thine abominations; I will reject thee and have no more mercy upon thee"' (*Ezek.*, v, 10-11).

"Malachi said, 'I have no pleasure in you, saith Jehovah. From the east to the west my name shall be glorified among the Gentiles. In every place incense shall be offered unto my name, and a pure offering, for great is my name among the Gentiles. Wherefore I will deliver you into exile and to the scorn of all nations' (*Mal.*, i, 10-11; ii, 9). The great Isaiah said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will stretch out my hand against (99) thee, I will destroy thee and scatter thee, and restore thee no more"' (*Is.*, i, 25). And further, 'I have hated your feasts and your new moons; your Sabbaths I will not accept' (*Is.*, i, 13-14). Amos the prophet said, 'Hear the word of the Lord: "I will bring mourning upon you; the house of Israel has fallen and was not quick to arise"' (*Amos*, v, 1-2). Malachi said 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will send upon you a curse, and will curse your blessing; I will destroy it, and it shall not be among you"' (*Mal.*, ii, 2).

"Many prophesied of their rejection, and to such prophets God gave his commandment to foretell the calling of other nations in their stead. Thus Isaiah called upon them, saying, 'Law shall go forth from me, and my judgment is the light of nations. My justice approaches quickly; it shall go forth and in my arm shall the Gentiles hope' (*Is.*, li, 4-6). Jeremiah said, 'Thus saith the Lord: "I will establish a new covenant for the house of Judah. I will give laws for their understanding, and



write upon their hearts. I will be their God, and they shall be my people" (*Jer.*, xxi, 31-34). Isaiah said, "The old things are passed away, but I declare the new. Before their appearance, it has been revealed unto you. Sing unto the Lord a new song. Those who serve me shall be called by a new name, which shall be blessed throughout all the earth. My house shall be called a house of prayer for all nations" (*Is.*, xlii, 9-10; lvi, 5-7). Likewise Isaiah said, "The Lord will show his right arm before all nations, and all the ends of the earth shall see salvation from our God" (*Is.*, liii, 10). And David said, "Praise the Lord, all the nations, praise him, all ye people" (*Ps.*, cxviii, 1).

"Since God so loved his new people, he promised (100) to descend among them himself, and to appear as a man in the flesh, and to suffer for the sin of Adam. Thus men began to prophesy concerning the incarnation of God. First David said, "The Lord said unto my Lord: "Sit upon my right, until I shall set thine enemies as a footstool for thy feet" (*Ps.*, xc, 1). And again, "The Lord said unto me: "Thou art my son, this day have I begotten thee" (*Ps.*, ii, 7). And Isaiah said, "No ambassador nor messenger, but God himself shall come to save us" (*Is.*, lxiii, 9). And again, "A child is born to us in whose arm there is authority, and he shall be called the great counsellor of the angels. Great is his might, and of his peace there is no end" (*Is.*, ix, 6). And again, "Behold, a maiden shall conceive in the womb, and shall bear a son, and they shall call his name Emmanuel" (*Is.*, vii, 14). Micah said, "Thou, Bethlehem Ephrathah, art scarcely to be of slight account among the thousands of Jews. For out of thee shall come forth a ruler to be prince in Israel, and his going forth is from everlasting. Therefore he will scatter them till the time when the mother travails, and the rest of his brethren return to the sons of Israel" (*Mic.*, x, 2-3). Jeremiah thus said, "This is our God, and no other shall be compared with him, He has found all the way of wisdom, he has given it to Jacob his servant. Then he appeared on earth and lived among men" (*Baruch*, iii, 35-38). And again, "Man exists. But who shall know how God exists or how man dies?" (*Jer.*, xvii, 9). Zachariah said, "They have not heeded my son, and I will not give ear to them, said the Lord" (*Zach.*, vii, 13). Hosea said, "Thus saith the Lord: "My flesh is from them" (*Hos.*, ix, 12).

"Prophesies were likewise uttered also concerning his passion. (101) Thus Isaiah said, "Woe to their souls! For they have counselled evil counsel, saying, "Let us kill the just man" (*Is.*, iii, 9-10). Likewise he said, "Thus saith the Lord: "I will not resist them nor speak against them. I offered my back to wounds and my countenance to blows,

and I turned my face not away from shame and from spitting" (*Is.*, i, 5-6). Jeremiah said, "Come, let us destroy the tree with the fruit thereof, and cut him off from the land of the living" (*Jer.*, xii, 19). Moses said of his crucifixion, "Thy life shall hang in doubt before thee" (*Deut.*, xxviii, 66). David said, "Why are the nations stirred up" (*Ps.*, ii, 1). And Isaiah said, "He was led like a sheep to the slaughter" (*Is.*, liii, 7). And Esdras said, "Blessed be the Lord: he stretched out his hands and saved Jerusalem" (?) They spoke also of the resurrection. David said, "Rise up, oh Lord, judge the lands for thou shalt inherit all the nations" (*Ps.*, lxxviii, 8). And likewise, "Them the Lord awaked as one out of sleep" (*Ps.*, lxxviii, 65) and also, "Let God arise, let his enemies be scattered" (*Ps.*, lxviii, 1). Likewise, "Arise, oh Jehovah; oh God, lift up thy hand" (*Ps.*, x, 12). Isaiah said, "Ye who walk into the land and the shadow of death, upon you shall shine the light" (*Is.*, ix, 2). And Zachariah said, "In the blood of thy covenant thou hast freed the captives from the waterless pit" (*Zach.*, ix, 11). Many things were prophesied concerning him, all of which have been fulfilled."

Then Vladimir inquired, "When was this fulfilled? Has it happened or is it yet to occur?" The scholar answered him and said:

"All was accomplished when God was incarnate. (102). For as I said before, when the Jews killed the prophets and their kings transgressed against the law, he gave them over to destruction, and they were led into captivity into Assyria because of their sins. They labored there seventy years. Then they returned to their native land, but had no king. Thus the high priests ruled over them until the time of the foreigner Herod, who reigned over them. During his reign, in the year 5500, the Angel Gabriel was sent to Nazareth to the Virgin Mary, of the tribe of David. He said unto her, 'Rejoice, thou who art happy, the Lord is with thee.' In consequence of this Annunciation, she conceived the Word of God in her womb, and bore a son, and called his name Jesus.

"Now behold, wise men came from the east, saying, 'Where is he who is born king of the Jews? For we have seen his star in the east, and are come to worship him.' When King Herod heard this, he was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. And having called together the scribes and the elders of the people, he asked of them where the Christ should be born. They made reply, 'In Bethlehem of the Jews.' When Herod heard these words, he gave the command to slay all children under two years of age. So his soldiers went forth and killed the children. But in her fear, Mary hid the Child, and Joseph, together with Mary, took the Child and fled into Egypt, where they remained until

the death of Herod. In Egypt, the angel of the Lord appeared to Joseph, saying, 'Arise, take the Child and his mother, and return to the land of Israel.'

(103) "When he thus returned, he settled in Nazareth. After the Child grew up, and had reached the age of thirty years, he began to perform miracles, and to preach the kingdom of God. He chose twelve followers whom he called his disciples, and he began to work great marvels; to raise the dead, to cleanse lepers, to heal the lame, to give sight to the blind, and to perform many miracles, even as the prophets had foretold concerning him, saying, 'He healed our sicknesses and cured our diseases' (*Is.*, liii, 4). He was baptized by John in the Jordan, showing regeneration to mankind. When he was baptized, behold, the heavens were opened, and the Spirit descended upon him in the form of a dove, and a voice said, "This is my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased."

"He sent out his disciples to preach the kingdom of God and repentance for the remission of sins. Desirous of fulfilling the prophecy, he began to preach how the Son of Man should suffer, be crucified, and rise again on the third day. While he was teaching in the Temple, the high priests and the scribes, inspired by hatred, set out to kill him, and after taking him captive, they led him before Pilate, the governor. When Pilate discovered that they had arrested him without charge, he desired to release him, but they said, 'If you release this man, you cannot be a friend of Caesar.' Pilate then commanded that they should crucify him. So they led him to the Place of the Skull and crucified him there. And darkness was over all the earth from the sixth hour until the ninth, and at the ninth hour, Jesus gave up the ghost. The veil of the Temple was rent in twain, and many dead arose, whom (104) he bade depart to Paradise.

"When they took him from the Cross, they laid him in a tomb, and the Jews sealed the tomb with a seal, and stationed guards there, saying, 'Perhaps his disciples will steal him away.' Then, upon the third day, he arose, and having arisen from the dead, he appeared to his disciples, saying to them, 'Go among all the nations, and teach all the peoples baptism in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost.' He remained with them forty days, appearing to them after the resurrection. When the forty days had elapsed, he bade them go to the Mount of Olives, and there he appeared to them and blessed them, saying, 'Remain in the city of Jerusalem until I send the promise of my Father.' Having thus spoken, he ascended into heaven. They worshipped him, and returned to Jerusalem, where they gathered together

in the Temple. When fifty days were passed, the Holy Spirit descended upon the Apostles. After they had received the promise of the Holy Spirit, they separated throughout the world, teaching and baptizing with water."

Then Vladimir said, "Wherefore was he born of woman, and crucified on the tree, and baptized with water?" The scholar answered:

"Since the human race first sinned through woman, when the devil misled Adam through the agency of Eve so that he was deprived of Paradise, God for this reason avenged himself on the devil. Because of the first woman, victory fell to the devil's lot, for it was through woman that Adam fell from Paradise. God suffered pain upon the tree in order that the devil might be conquered by the tree, and that the righteous might taste of the tree of life. (105) As to the regeneration by water: since in the time of Noah, when sin multiplied among men, God brought the flood upon the earth and drowned mankind with its waters, God said, 'Inasmuch as I destroyed mankind with water because of their sins, I will now wash away the sins of man once more through the regeneration by water.' For the Jewish people were cleansed by the sea from the evil custom of the Egyptians, since water was in the beginning the primary element. For it is said 'The Spirit of God hovered over the face of the waters.' Thus men are now baptized with water and the Spirit.

"The first transfiguration was accomplished by means of water, as Gideon performed it. For when the angel came to him and bade him attack the Midianites, he laid a fleece upon the ground and to test God, Gideon said, 'Let there be dew on the whole earth, but let the fleece remain dry.' And it was so. This miracle signifies that the Gentiles were formerly dry, while the Jews were wet, and how afterward there was dew, that is, among the Gentiles, while dryness prevailed among the Jews. For the prophets had foretold that regeneration should be accomplished by means of water.

"Now that the Apostles have taught men throughout the world to believe in God, we Greeks have inherited their teaching, and the world believes therein. God hath appointed a day, in which he shall come from heaven to judge both the quick and the dead, and to render to each according to his deeds; to the righteous, the kingdom of heaven and ineffable beauty, bliss without end, and eternal life; but to sinners, the torments of hell and a worm that sleeps not, (106) and of their torments there shall be no end. Such shall be the penalties for those who do not believe in our Lord Jesus Christ. The unbaptized shall be tormented with fire."

As he spoke thus, he exhibited to Vladimir a canvas on which was depicted the Judgment Day of the Lord, and showed him, on the right, the righteous going to their bliss in Paradise, and on the left, the sinners on their way to torment. Then Vladimir sighed and said, "Happy are they upon the right, but woe to those upon the left!" The scholar replied, "If you desire to take your place upon the right with the just, then accept baptism! Vladimir took this counsel to heart, saying, "I shall wait yet a little longer," for he wished to inquire about all the faiths. Vladimir then gave the scholar many gifts, and dismissed him with great honor.

6495 (987). Vladimir summoned together his boyars and the city-elders, and said to them, "Behold, the Bulgars came before me urging me to accept their religion. Then came the Germans and praised their own faith; and after them came the Jews. Finally the Greeks appeared, criticizing all other faiths but commending their own, and they spoke at length, telling the history of the whole world from its beginning. Their words were artful, and it was wondrous to listen and pleasant to hear them. They preach the existence of another world. 'Whoever adopts our religion and then dies shall arise and live forever. But whosoever embraces another faith, shall be consumed with fire in the next world.' (107) What is your opinion on this subject, and what do you answer?" The boyars and the elders replied, "You know, oh Prince, that no man condemns his own possessions, but praises them instead. If you desire to make certain, you have servants at your disposal. Send them to inquire about the ritual of each and how he worships God."

Their counsel pleased the prince and all the people, so that they chose good and wise men to the number of ten, and directed them to go first among the Bulgars and inspect their faith. The emissaries went their way, and when they arrived at their destination they beheld the disgraceful actions of the Bulgars and their worship in the mosque; then they returned to their country. Vladimir then instructed them to go likewise among the Germans, and examine their faith, and finally to visit the Greeks. They thus went into Germany, and after viewing the German ceremonial, they proceeded to Tsar'grad, where they appeared before the Emperor. He inquired on what mission they had come, and they reported to him all that had occurred. When the Emperor heard their words, he rejoiced, and did them great honor on that very day.

On the morrow, the Emperor sent a message to the Patriarch to inform him that a Russian delegation had arrived to examine the Greek faith, and directed him to prepare the church and the clergy, and to

array himself in his sacerdotal robes, so that the Russes might behold the glory of the God of the Greeks. When the Patriarch received these commands, he bade the clergy assemble, and they performed the customary rites. They burned incense, and the choirs sang hymns. The Emperor accompanied the Russes to the church, and placed them in a wide space, calling their attention to the beauty of the edifice, the chanting, and the pontifical services and the ministry of the deacons, while he explained to them the worship of his God. The Russes were astonished, (108) and in their wonder praised the Greek ceremonial. Then the Emperors Basil and Constantine invited the envoys to their presence, and said, "Go hence to your native country," and dismissed them with valuable presents and great honor.

Thus they returned to their own country, and the Prince called together his boyars and the elders. Vladimir then announced the return of the envoys who had been sent out, and suggested that their report be heard. He thus commanded them to speak out before his retinue. The envoys reported, "When we journeyed among the Bulgars, we beheld how they worship in their temple, called a mosque, while they stand ungirt. The Bulgar bows, sits down, looks hither and thither like one possessed, and there is no happiness among them, but instead only sorrow and a dreadful stench. Their religion is not good. Then we went among the Germans, and saw them performing many ceremonies in their temples; but we beheld no glory there. Then we went to Greece, and the Greeks led us to the edifices where they worship their God, and we knew not whether we were in heaven or on earth. For on earth there is no such splendor or such beauty, and we are at a loss how to describe it. We only know that God dwells there among men, and their service is fairer than the ceremonies of other nations. For we cannot forget that beauty. Every man, after tasting something sweet, is afterward unwilling to accept that which is bitter, and therefore we cannot dwell longer here." Then the boyars spoke and said, "If the Greek faith were evil, it would not have been adopted by your grandmother Olga who was wiser than all other men." Vladimir then inquired where they should all accept baptism, and they replied that the decision rested with him.

(109) After a year had passed, in 6496 (988), Vladimir proceeded with an armed force against Kherson, a Greek city, and the people of Kherson barricaded themselves therein.⁹⁴ Vladimir halted at the farther side of the city beside the harbor, a bowshot from the town, and the inhabitants resisted energetically while Vladimir besieged the town. Eventually, however, they became exhausted, and Vladimir warned

them that if they did not surrender, he would remain on the spot for three years. When they failed to heed this threat, Vladimir marshalled his troops and ordered the construction of an earthwork in the direction of the city. While this work was under construction, the inhabitants dug a tunnel under the city-wall, stole the heaped-up earth, and carried it into the city, where they piled it up in the center of the town. But the soldiers kept on building, and Vladimir persisted. Then a man of Kherson, Anastasius by name, shot into the Russ camp an arrow on which he had written, "There are springs behind you to the east, from which water flows in pipes. Dig down and cut them off." When Vladimir received this information, he raised his eyes to heaven and vowed that if this hope was realized, he would be baptized. He gave orders straightway to dig down above the pipes, and the water-supply was thus cut off. The inhabitants were accordingly overcome by thirst, and surrendered.

Vladimir and his retinue entered the city, and he sent messages to the Emperors Basil and Constantine, saying, "Behold, I have captured your glorious city. I have also heard that you have an unwedded sister. Unless you give her to me to wife, (110) I shall deal with your own city as I have with Kherson." When the Emperors heard this message they were troubled, and replied, "It is not meet for Christians to give in marriage to pagans. If you are baptized, you shall have her to wife, inherit the kingdom of God, and be our companion in the faith. Unless you do so, however, we cannot give you our sister in marriage." When Vladimir learned their response, he directed the envoys of the Emperors to report to the latter that he was willing to accept baptism, having already given some study to their religion, and that the Greek faith and ritual, as described by the emissaries sent to examine it, had pleased him well. When the Emperors heard this report, they rejoiced, and persuaded their sister Anna to consent to the match. They then requested Vladimir to submit to baptism before they should send their sister to him, but Vladimir desired that the Princess should herself bring priests to baptize him. The Emperors complied with his request, and sent forth their sister, accompanied by some dignitaries and priests. Anna, however, departed with reluctance. "It is as if I were setting out into captivity," she lamented; "better were it for me to die at home." But her brothers protested, "Through your agency God turns the land of Rus' to repentance, and you will relieve Greece from the danger of grievous war. Do you not see how much harm the Russes have already brought upon the Greeks? If you do not set out, they may bring on us the same misfortunes." It was thus that they overcame her hesita-

tion only with great difficulty. The Princess embarked upon a ship, and after tearfully embracing her kinfolk, (111) she set forth across the sea and arrived at Kherson. The natives came forth to greet her, and conducted her into the city, where they settled her in the palace.

By divine agency, Vladimir was suffering at that moment from a disease of the eyes, and could see nothing, being in great distress. The Princess declared to him that if he desired to be relieved of this disease, he should be baptized with all speed, otherwise it could not be cured. When Vladimir heard her message, he said, "If this proves true, then of a surety is the God of the Christians great," and gave order that he should be baptized. The Bishop of Kherson, together with the Princess's priests, after announcing the tidings, baptized Vladimir, and as the Bishop laid his hand upon him, he straightway received his sight. Upon experiencing this miraculous cure, Vladimir glorified God, saying, "I have now perceived the one true God." When his followers beheld this miracle, many of them were also baptized.

Vladimir was baptized in the Church of St. Basil, which stands at Kherson upon a square in the center of the city, where the Khersonians trade.⁹⁵ The palace of Vladimir stands beside this church to this day, and the palace of the Princess is behind the altar. After his baptism, Vladimir took the Princess in marriage. Those who do not know the truth say he was baptized in Kiev, while others assert this event took place in Vasil'ev,⁹⁶ while still others mention other places.

After Vladimir was baptized, (112) the priests explained to him the tenets of the Christian faith, urging him to avoid the deceit of heretics by adhering to the following creeds:

- I believe in God, the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth; and also: I believe in one God the Father, who is unborn, and in the only Son, who is born, and in one Holy Ghost emanating therefrom: three complete and thinking Persons, divisible in number and personality, but not in divinity; for they are separated without distinction and united without confusion. God the Father Everlasting, abides in Fatherhood, unbegotten, without beginning, himself the beginning and the cause of all things. Because he is unbegotten, he is older than the Son and the Spirit. From him the Son was born before all worlds, and from him the Holy Ghost emanates intemporally and incorporeally. He is simultaneously Father, Son and Holy Ghost.

The Son, being like the Father, is distinguished from the Father and the Spirit in that he was born. The Spirit is Holy, like to the Father and the Son, and is everlasting. The Father possesses Fatherhood, and Son Sonship, and the Holy Ghost Emanation. For the Father

is not transformed into the Son or the Spirit, nor the Son to the Father and the Spirit, nor the Spirit to the Son and the Father, since their attributes are invariable. Not three Gods, but one God, since there is one divinity in three Persons.

In consequence of the desire of the Father and the Spirit to save his creation, he went out of the bosom of the Father, yet without leaving it, to the (113) pure womb of a Virgin, as the seed of God. Entering into her, he took on animated, vocal, and thinking flesh which had not previously existed, came forth God incarnate, and was ineffably born, while his Mother preserved her virginity immaculate. Suffering neither combination, nor confusion, nor alteration, he remained as he was, became what he was not, and assumed the aspect of a slave in truth, not in semblance, being similar to us in every respect except in sin.

Voluntarily he was born, voluntarily he suffered want, voluntarily he thirsted, voluntarily he endured, voluntarily he feared, voluntarily he died in truth and not in semblance. All these were genuine and unimpeachable human sufferings. He gave himself up to be crucified. Though immortal, he tasted death. He arose in the flesh without knowing corruption; he ascended into Heaven, and sat upon the right hand of the Father. And as he ascended in glory and in the flesh so shall he descend once more.

Moreover, I acknowledge one Baptism of water and the Spirit, I approach the Holy Mysteries, I believe in the True Body and Blood; I accept the traditions of the Church, and I venerate the sacred images. I revere the Holy Tree and every Cross, the sacred relics, and the sacred vessels.⁹⁷

Believe, also, they said, in the seven councils of the Church: the first at Nicaea, comprising three hundred and eighteen Fathers, who cursed Arius and proclaimed the immaculate and orthodox faith; the second at Constantinople, attended by one hundred and fifty Fathers, who anathematized Macedonius (who denied the Holy Spirit), and proclaimed the oneness of the Trinity; (114) the third at Ephesus, comprising two hundred Fathers, against Nestorius, whom they cursed, while they also proclaimed the dignity of the Mother of God; the fourth council of six hundred and thirty Fathers held at Chalcedon, to condemn Eutyches and Dioscorus, whom the Holy Fathers cursed after they had proclaimed the Perfect God and the Perfect Man, our Lord Jesus Christ; the fifth council of one hundred and sixty-five Fathers, held at Constantinople, which was directed against the teachings of Origen and Evagrius, whom the Fathers anathematized; the sixth council of one hundred and seventy Holy Fathers, likewise held

at Constantinople, which condemned Sergius and Cyrus, whom the Holy Fathers cursed; and the seventh council, comprising three hundred and fifty Holy Fathers, which was held at Nicaea, and cursed those who do not venerate images.

Do not accept the teachings of the Latins, whose instruction is vicious. For when they enter the church, they do not kneel before the images, but they stand upright before kneeling, and when they have knelt, they trace a cross upon the ground and then kiss it, but they stand upon it when they arise. Thus while prostrate they kiss it, and yet upon arising they trample it underfoot. Such is not the tradition of the Apostles. For the Apostles prescribed the kissing of an upright cross, and also prescribed the use of images: For the Evangelist Luke painted the first image and sent it to Rome. As Basil has said, the honor rendered to the image redounds to its original. Furthermore, they call the earth their mother. If the earth is their mother, then heaven is their father, for in the beginning God made heaven and earth. Yet they say, "Our Father which art in Heaven." If, according to their understanding, the earth is their mother, why do they spit upon (115) their mother, and pollute her whom they caress?

In earlier times, the Romans did not so act, but took part in all the councils, gathering together from Rome and all other Sees. At the first Council in Nicaea, directed against Arius, Silvester sent bishops and priests from Rome, as did Athanasius from Alexandria; and Metrophanes also despatched his bishops from Constantinople. Thus they corrected the faith. At the second council took part Damasus of Rome, Timotheus of Alexandria, Meletius of Antioch, Cyril of Jerusalem, and Gregory the Theologian. In the third council participated Coelestinus of Rome, Cyril of Alexandria, Juvenal of Jerusalem. At the fourth council participated Leo of Rome, Anatolius of Constantinople, and Juvenal of Jerusalem; and at the fifth, Vigilius of Rome, Eutychius of Constantinople, Apollinaris of Alexandria, and Domnus of Antioch. At the sixth council took part Agathon of Rome, Georgius of Constantinople, Theophanes of Antioch, and Peter the Monk of Alexandria; at the seventh, Adrian of Rome, Tarasius of Constantinople, Politian of Alexandria, Theodoret of Antioch, and Elias of Jerusalem. These Fathers with the assistance of the bishops, corrected the faith.

After the seventh council, Peter the Stammerer came with the others to Rome and corrupted the faith, seizing the Holy See. (116) He seceded from the Sees of Jerusalem, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Antioch. His partisans disturbed all Italy, disseminating their

teaching in various terms. For, some of these priests who conduct services are married to one wife, and others are married to seven. Avoid their doctrine; for they absolve sins against money payments, which is the worst abuse of all. God guard you from this evil, oh Prince!⁹⁸

Hereupon Vladimir took the Princess and Anastasius and the priests of Kherson, together with the relics of St. Clement and of Phoebus his disciple, and selected also sacred vessels and images for the service.⁹⁹ In Kherson he thus founded a church on the mound which had been heaped up in the midst of the city with the earth removed from his embankment; this church is standing at the present day. Vladimir also found and appropriated two bronze statues and four bronze horses, which now stand behind the Church of the Holy Virgin, and which the ignorant think are made of marble. As a wedding present for the Princess, he gave Kherson over to the Greeks again, and then departed for Kiev.

When the Prince arrived at his capital, he directed that the idols should be overthrown, and that some should be cut to pieces and others burned with fire. He thus ordered that Perun should be bound to a horse's tail and dragged down Borichev to the stream.¹⁰⁰ He appointed twelve men to beat the idol with sticks, not because he thought the wood was sensitive, but to affront the demon who had deceived man in this guise, (117) that he might receive chastisement at the hands of men. Great art thou, oh Lord, and marvelous are thy works! Yesterday he was honored of men, but today held in derision. While the idol was being dragged along the stream to the Dnieper, the unbelievers wept over it, for they had not yet received holy baptism. After they had thus dragged the idol along, they cast it into the Dnieper. But Vladimir had given this injunction "If it halts anywhere, then push it out from the bank, until it goes over the falls. Then let it loose." His command was duly obeyed. When the men let the idol go, and it passed through the rapids, the wind cast it out on the bank, which since that time has been called Perun's sandbank, a name that it bears to this very day.

Thereafter Vladimir sent heralds throughout the whole city to proclaim that if any inhabitants, rich or poor, did not betake himself to the river, he would risk the Prince's displeasure. When the people heard these words, they wept for joy, and exclaimed in their enthusiasm, "If this were not good, the Prince and his boyars would not have accepted it." On the morrow, the Prince went forth to the Dnieper with the priests of the Princess and those from Kherson, and a countless multitude assembled. They all went into the water: some stood up to

their necks, others to their breasts, and the younger near the bank, some of them holding children in their arms, while the adults waded farther out. The priests stood by and offered prayers.¹⁰¹ There was joy (118) in heaven and upon earth to behold so many souls saved. But the devil groaned, lamenting, "Woe is me! how am I driven out hence! For I thought to have my dwelling-place here, since the apostolic teachings do not abide in this land. Nor did this people know God, but I rejoiced in the service they rendered unto me. But now I am vanquished by the ignorant, not by apostles and martyrs, and my reign in these regions is at an end."

When the people were baptized, they returned each to his own abode. Vladimir, rejoicing that he and his subjects now knew God himself, looked up to heaven and said, "Oh God, who has created heaven and earth, look down, I beseech thee, on this thy new people, and grant them, oh Lord, to know thee as the true God, even as the other Christian nations have known thee. Confirm in them the true and inalterable faith, and aid me, oh Lord, against the hostile adversary, so that, hoping in thee and in thy might, I may overcome his malice." Having spoken thus, he ordained that wooden churches should be built and established where pagan idols had previously stood. He thus founded the Church of St. Basil on the hill where the idol of Perun and the other images had been set, and where the Prince and the people had offered their sacrifices.¹⁰² He began to found churches and to assign priests throughout the cities, and to invite the people to accept baptism in all the cities and towns.

- He took the children of the best families, and sent them for instruction (119) in book-learning. The mothers of these children wept bitterly over them, for they were not yet strong in faith, but mourned as for the dead. When these children were assigned for study, there was fulfilled in the land of Rus' the prophecy which says, "In those days, the deaf shall hear words of Scripture, and the voice of the stammerers shall be made plain" (*Is.*, xxix, 18). For these persons had not ere this heard words of Scripture, and now heard them only by the act of God, for in his mercy the Lord took pity upon them, even as the Prophet said, "I will be gracious to whom I will be gracious" (*Ex.*, xxxiii, 19).

He had mercy upon us in the baptism of life and the renewal of the spirit, following the will of God and not according to our deeds. Blessed be the Lord Jesus Christ, who loved his new people, the land of Rus', and illumined them with holy baptism. Thus we bend the knee before him saying, "Lord Jesus Christ, what reward shall we

return thee for all that thou hast given us, sinners that we are? We can not requite thy gifts, for great art thou, and marvelous are thy works. Of thy majesty there is no end. Generation after generation shall praise thy acts" (*Ps.*, cxlv, 4-5).

Thus I say with David, "Come, let us rejoice in the Lord, let us call upon God and our Savior. Let us come before his presence with thanksgiving, praising him because he is good, for his mercy endureth forever, since he hath saved us from our enemies, even from vain idols" (*Ps.*, xcvi, 1-2, cxxxvi, 1, 24). And let us once more say with David, "Sing unto the Lord a new song, sing unto the Lord, all the earth! Sing unto the Lord, praise his name: tell his salvation from day to day. Declare his glory among the heathen, his wonders among all nations" (*Ps.*, xcvi, 1-4). For the Lord is great and greatly praised, (120) and of his majesty there is no end" (*Ps.*, clv, 3). What joy! Not one or two only are saved. For the Lord said, "There is joy in heaven over one sinner that repenteth" (*Math.*, xv, 10). Here not merely one or two, but innumerable multitudes came to God, illumined by holy baptism. As the Prophet said, "I will sprinkle water upon you, and ye shall be purified of your idols and your sins" (*Ezek.*, xxxvi, 25). Another Prophet said likewise, "Who like to God taketh away sins and remiteth transgressions? For he is willingly merciful; he turneth his gaze upon us and sinketh our sins in the abyss" (*Mic.*, vii, 18-19). For Paul says, "Brethren, as many of us as were baptized in Jesus Christ were baptized in his death, and with him, through baptism, we were planted in death, in order that as Christ rose from the dead in the glory of the Father, we also might likewise walk in newness of life" (*Rom.*, vi, 3). And again, "The old things have passed away, and new are made" (*II Cor.*, v, 7); now hath approached our salvation, the night hath passed, the day is at hand" (*Rom.*, xiii, 12); "Thus we obtained access through faith into this grace of which we are proud and through which we exist" (*Rom.*, v, 2). "Now, being freed from sin, and having become servants of the Lord, ye have your fruit in holiness" (*Rom.*, vi, 20).

We are therefore bound to serve the Lord, rejoicing in him, for David said, "Serve the Lord with fear and rejoice in him with trembling" (*Ps.*, ii, 11). We call upon the Lord our God, saying "Blessed be the Lord, who gave us not as prey to their teeth. The net was broken, and we were freed from the crafts of the devil. His glory has perished noisily, but the Lord endures forever, glorified by the sons of Rus', and praised in the Trinity." But the demons (121) are accursed of pious men and righteous women, who have received baptism and repentance

for the remission of sins, and thus form a new Christian people, the elect of God.

Vladimir was enlightened, and his sons and his country with him. For he had twelve sons: Vysheslav, Izyaslav, Yaroslav, Svyatopolk, Vsevolod, Svyatoslav, Mstislav, Boris, Gleb, Stanislav, Pozvzd, and Sudislav. He set Vysheslav in Novgorod, Izyaslav in Polotsk, Svyatopolk in Turov, and Yaroslav in Rostov. When Vysheslav, the oldest, died in Novgorod, he set Yaroslav over Novgorod, Boris over Rostov, Gleb over Murom, Svyatoslav over Dereva, Vsevolod over Vladimir, and Mstislav over Tmutorakan'.¹⁰³ Then Vladimir reflected that it was not good that there were so few towns round about Kiev, so he founded forts on the Desna, the Oster', the Trubezh, the Sula, and the Stugna.¹⁰⁴ He gathered together the best men of the Slavs, and Krivichians, the Chuds, and the Vyatichians, and peopled these forts with them. For he was at war with the Pechenegs, and when he fought with them, he often overcame them.

6497 (989). After these events, Vladimir lived in the Christian faith. With the intention of building a church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, he sent and imported artisans from Greece. After he had begun to build, and the structure was completed, he adorned it with images, and entrusted it to Anastasius of Kherson. He appointed Khersonian priests (122) to serve in it, and bestowed upon this church all the images, vessels, and crosses which he had taken in that city.¹⁰⁵

6499 (991). Vladimir founded the city of Belgorod,¹⁰⁶ and peopled it from other towns, bringing to it many settlers. For he was extremely fond of this city.

6500 (992). Vladimir attacked the Croats.¹⁰⁷ When he had returned from the Croatian War, the Pechenegs arrived on the opposite side of the Dnieper from the direction of the Sula. Vladimir set forth against them, and encountered them on the banks of the Trubezh, where Pereyaslav' now stands. Vladimir took up his position on the near side, and the Pechenegs theirs on the other, and the Russes did not venture to the farther shore any more than their foes did to this side of the river. The Prince of the Pechenegs came down to the river bank, and calling to Vladimir, proposed to him, "Send one of your warriors, and I will detail one of mine, that they may do battle together. If your man conquers mine, let us not fight together for three years to come. But if our champion wins, let us fight three years in succession." Then each prince returned to his own force.

Vladimir returned to his camp, and sent heralds through it to inquire whether there was any man who would fight with the champion

Week 4

18. In ancient times all the districts of Transoxiana had belonged to the kingdom of China, with the district of Samarqand as its centre (*qaṣaba*). When Islam appeared and God delivered the said district to the Muslims, the Chinese migrated to their (original) centres, but there remained in Samarqand, as a vestige of them, the art of making good paper of high quality. And when they migrated to Eastern parts their lands became disjoined and their provinces divided and there was a king in China, and a king in Qitāy, and a king in Yughur with long stretches of territory between these kingdoms.

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

From Kāshghar to Yārkand	in	4 days (15a)
thence to Khotan	„	10 „
thence to K.rwyā (Keriya)	„	5 „
thence to Sājū (Sha-chou)	„	50 „

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

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

Beyond China there is a nation known as SH.RGHŪL, called by the Chinese S.NQŪ (*Sung-kuo), which is at a month's distance from *Qitāy, at the limit of inhabited lands, among water and thin mud. They are said to be those who are called Mājīn (*Māchīn) and the Indians call them Great China (i.e. Mahāchīna).

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

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

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

The circuit of Ūjam is about 2 farsakhs and this *mamlaka* ("kingdom, territory"?) is surrounded by (a fence of) sticks bent and driven into the ground at both ends, and here, at every two farsakhs, there are stationed guards who keep going on patrol and following footprints, and they kill anyone whom they discover to have gone out without

(lawful) business. And from it: (i.e. Ūjam) to the sea is a journey of seven days.

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

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

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

"Concerning [the] welfare [of the Khan]. To the amīr of Khorasan Maḥmūd Qarā-khān.¹

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

¹ Cf. on this title p. 56.

"And as there happened to be an alliance with Qadir-khan through a noble lady¹ from the bosom of my house who became married to his son *Chaghri-tegin, and (thus) both houses became united through her, we have ordered Qadir khan to open the road to our envoy to him (i.e. to Maḥmūd) and to his envoy to ourselves, chosen from among men of sound judgment, intelligent and serious, so that we may inform him of how things stand with us, and communicate with him on what there is in the world, while establishing the custom of mutual donations, in friendship with him.

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

Of souvenirs the (envoy) carried only:

- 2 suits of *khwādh*
- 1 suit of *zhūnkī*
- 1 suit of *k.nzī*
- 2 suits of *sh.k.rdi*, (each) of 2 pieces
- 15 suits of raw silk, (each) of 2 pieces
- furs of sable-marten (for) pelisse (**yāqū*)
- 200 sable martens
- 1000 grey squirrels
- 30 vesicles of musk
- 1 bow with 10 arrows

This letter was written in the year of the Mouse.

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

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

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

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

"Therefore the present envoy has been dispatched and, though the countries be far apart, our hearts are near to each other. We desire to devote the rest of our life to correspondence and mutual love so

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

that a good memory thereof may remain forever. If he wishes what we wish, let him write a letter and dispatch an envoy—to prepare the policy of friendship through him and to strengthen the position by his rank.

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

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

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

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

and then it goes back to the Mouse.

26. As regards the road to China by sea, the first sea port on the way to it is called Lūqīr (**Lūfīn*, Lung-pien), then the town of

ambassador could breathe so much contempt for the rival territory. The alternative name *Sh.rghūl* must be a K'itan term, very welcome in view of the meagreness of the K'itan vocabulary so far known. The variants offered by Biruni are *Sh.rghūd*, in the *Qanūn*, and *Sh.rghūr*¹ in the *Jawāhir*, 236: "it is reported that in *Sh.rghūr* there is a spring which is the personal property of its ruler the Khān. No one can approach it. The Khān sweeps (rakes?) it every year and extracts from it much gold." Biruni also refers (*ibid.*, Annex 7) to the "small sea" (*buhayra?*) of *Sh.rghūr* lying beyond China (*fauqa al-Ṣin*), which he takes for a branch of the Green sea, cf. *H.-'Ā.*, 179.

§§22-25. A record of an embassy from Qitā and Yughur to Sultan Maḥmūd is found in Gardīzī under the year 417/1026: "Ambassadors came from the Qitā-khan and the Yyghur-khan to Amīr Maḥmūd and brought good messages and reported the readiness (of the said kings?) to place themselves at his service. They prayed (saying) 'we want good relations between us.' Amīr Maḥmūd gave orders that they should be received honourably, but then he answered their messages saying: 'we are Muslims and you are unbelievers; it is not seemly that we give our sisters and daughters to you. If you become Muslims the matter will be considered,' and he dismissed the ambassadors honourably."²

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

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

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

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

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

or the unsettled condition of the roads to which the Yughur-khan refers. From the Yughur-khan's letter we only learn that it was written in the fifth month (**Beshinj ay?*) without indication of the year. The reference to Maḥmūd's conquests in India is naturally too vague, for his victorious campaigns extended over a period from A.D. 1000 to 1027. By 1024, at any rate, the rajas of Gwālior and Kālinjar had submitted and Maḥmūd's empire had reached its utmost limits. Another fact may have had considerable repercussions in Central Asia: after a long series of struggles with the Qara-khanids, Maḥmūd established peace with the representative of the Kāshghar branch, Qadīr khan, whom he met in person at Samarqand on 29th April, 1025, M. Nazim, *o.c.*, 55. To seal this friendship Maḥmūd betrothed his daughter to Qadīr's son, Yaghan tegin. The news must have been rapidly circulated in Chinese Turkestan and may have induced the opponents (v. i.) of the Qara-khanids to seek similar guarantees from the mighty Ghaznavid. Maḥmūd's answer (v.s. Gardīzī) leaves no doubt that some overtures in this sense were made to him by the infidel ambassadors.

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

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

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

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

³ See *H.-'Ā.*, 226, 271. The "Fair-haired Uyghurs" in the region of Tsaidam are mentioned for the first time towards A.D. 1081-3 (Haloun). Presumably the appellation was of a much older origin. On the term *Sa-li Wey-wu-rh* (Sarī Uyghur used in 1226, see Bretschneider, I, 263. Cf. also Chap. IX, §3 (*al-Shāriya*).

K'itans, but the latter seem to have attached more importance to the Kan-chou branch. When the founder of the dynasty pushed back the Khirkhiz from the Orkhon (A.D. 924), he invited the khan of Kan-chou to re-occupy his fathers' home,¹ but this proposal proved unacceptable. In 1009-10 the K'itan high commissioner attacked Kan-chou and subdued the khan Ye-la-li, although the Uyghurs soon recovered their rights. The position of the Yellow Uyghurs between their eastern neighbours of Tangut (Hsi-hsia) and the Muslim Qara-khanids in the west was precarious. In 1028 the Tangut occupied Kan-chou, Bretschneider, I, 243, and by 1035 had spread their domination² to Sha-chou (Haloun).

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

The original letters of the two khans must have been in Turkish. Says Kāshghari, I, 29: "The people of Māchīn and Chīn have a separate language. In spite of it, their natives excel in Turkish and their letters to us are written in Turkish (*bi-khatt al-turkiyya*)." As yet no specimen of royal or diplomatic correspondence in Turkish seems to be available, but the Arabic translation of the letters give some idea of the usage. Such expressions, as "upon the face of this wide earth" and the introductory formulas sound Turkish.

¹ The fact was referred to by Ye-lü Ta-shi when in 1123 he wished to secure the friendship of the khan of Kan-chou. The latter paid him homage and declared himself his vassal, Bretschneider, I, 214.

² Probably only their suzerainty, see above note.

³ See the text: "we have ordered Qadir-khan."

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

⁵ As against these considerations can be quoted that in §19B (as also in Biruni's *Canon*) Khocho is called "the city of the Yughur-khan," although it is possible that this part of the itinerary goes up to an earlier source (Jayhānī).

In comparison with the Uyghur '*an salāmātīnā*, the Qitay formula can hardly be '*an salāmīhi*. More likely it is to be read '*an salāmāti* (of so-and-so) and is meant to be completed by the name of the khan. Very probably the latter was separately inscribed at the top of the missive. The regular practice of Mongol and Timurid times was to insert in the text a "tick" as a reference to the king's name. See the decree of the ilkhān Abū-Sa'īd in Barthold, *Nadpis . . Manuche*, 1911, p. 5, and Timur's letter to Charles VI in S. de Sacy, *Mémoires de l'Acad. des Inscr.*, VI, 1822, 471, cf. Muḥammad Qazvīnī, *Bīst-maqāla*, Bombay, 1928, 44.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

§25. The explanation which Marvazi gives of the animal cycle of twelve years employed in Central Asia suggests that the system was little known at Ghaznī in 418/1027, and even under the Seljuks in the early part of the twelfth century A.D. Less astonishing was the need of explanations on the part of Kāshghari, I, 1076-7. Even in the fifteenth century, Sayyid Jamāl al-dīn Ibn Muhannā (d. 823/1425), in his Turkish and Mongolian lexicon,¹ refers to Marvazi: "Know that the Turks compute time by calling each year by the name of an animal, as will be mentioned, so that twelve years pass under (the names of) twelve animals. For example, when a child is born it is said that he was born in the year of such-and-such an animal, and when his life reaches that year again (i.e. a similarly named year) he has completed twelve years, and so forth. In the book *Kitāb al-hayawān*, composed by Sharaf al-Zamān al-Ṭabīb al-Marvazī, who described therein the countries of China and the Turks, he gives a translation of the letters (*asāmī*?, "names"), which the Lords of China (*Ṣīn*) and the Turks wrote to Sultan Maḥmūd in 418, the date being given as the fifth month of the year of the Mouse. He also records the order of years and animals in the following way:

The year of the	Mouse	Sichqan-yīlī
" "	Ox	Sighīr "
" "	Leopard	Pars "
	or Qaplan	" "
	or (Ar)slan	" "

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

The year of the	Hare	Tavishghan-yīlī
" "	Fish	Baligh "
" "	Snake	Yilan "
" "	Horse	At "
" "	Sheep	Qoyīn "
" "	Monkey	Bichin "
" "	Hen	Taquq "
" "	Dog	It "
" "	Hog	Donghuz "

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

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

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

sichghan	qulquna	mūsh	sichqan
ud	hūker	gāv	ud
bars	pars	yūz	bars
tavishghan	tulay	khargūsh	tushqan
nāk	luy	azhdarhā	luy
yīlan	mogha	mār	ilan
yund	morin	asp	yunt
qoy	qonin	gūsfand	qoy
bijin	bichin	būzina	pichi
taqaghu	daqiqu	murgh	takhaqu
it	noqay	sag	it
tonguz	qaqa	khūg	tonguz

The fifth year often embarrassed the translators, who used for "dragon" either Indian *nāga* or Chinese *luy* (which is the way the Turks in T'ang times pronounced the original *lung*; Chavannes, *Le cycle des douze animaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1900, 52). Kāshghari, I, 289, explains *nāk* as "a crocodile" (*al-timsāh*), and additionally, III, 116, as "a (large) snake" (*al-thu'bān*). Marvazi undoubtedly means some aquatic monster, though the form *l.bnāt al-mā'* is obviously wrong. By sacrificing the initial *l* we might read *banāt al-mā'* (*filiae aquae*). In a verse of al-Muthallim b. Riyāḥ al-Murri, *Ḥamāsa*, ed. Freitag, I, 187, II, 334, the clatter of lances in a battle is compared with "the clamour (*ṣiyāḥ*) of hungry *banāt al-mā'*."

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

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

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

§§26. The sea route to China was well known to Arab and Persian merchants from Baṣra and Sirāf, as attested by I. Khurdādhbih's list of ports of call, pp. 61-9. A thorough analysis of his report has been given by J. Kuwabara, On *P'u Shou-kéng*, in *Memoirs of the Toyo Bunko*, No. 2, Tokyo, 1928, 1-79 (an excellent general introduction in which recent investigation is summed up) and No. 7, 1935, 1-104. Lūqīn (or better, **Lū-fīn*) corresponds to Lung-Pien in Tonkin, 12 miles south-east of Hanoi, Kuwabara, 1928, 15. Khān-fū is now generally recognized as Canton, *ibid.*, 11. Muslim traders possessed a very good knowledge of the situation in this port. Sulaymān, p. 14, says that the king of China invested a Muslim with the administration of the colony of his co-religionists, a fact confirmed by Chinese sources, Kuwabara, 41. The interdiction of the export of Chinese slaves is differently formulated in §38, which suggests the existence of two separate reports.

§27 continues the description of Canton and contains more details than the other early sources. *Khutū*, "rhinoceros horn," had been mentioned above in §15. Here its Chinese name *bishān* is added, which Sulaymān, 31, takes for the name of the animal itself. Reinaud already recognized the identity of the term with Sanscrit *viśāna* "horn," which in Chinese sounds *p'i-sha-na*. In a Chinese-Cham vocabulary edited by E. D. Edwards and C. O. Blagden, *BSOS*, X/1, 68, it is said that the specific term for rhinoceros horn is *basan*. Should we read in Arabic **bashān*, this form may hail from Champa (in Arabic *Ṣanf*), i.e. the present-day Annam, where there existed a Muslim colony, see *H.-'Ā.*, 240.

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

¹ I.e. to open up trade, in Kuwabara's interpretation.

Week 5

rently been lost, but what may be an extract from it has been preserved in the T'ang shu, 43, where we find a number of itineraries and sailing directions to various parts of Asia. — A translation of Kia Tan's sailing directions from Canton to the Persian Gulf is given in the Introduction (supra, pp. 10—14). Pelliot, B. E. F. E. O., IV, 131 et seq., has translated and studied with great care those relating to S. E. Asia, and Chavannes has translated and annotated, with his usual learning, two itineraries of Kia Tan's referring to Central Asia, in his Documents sur les Tou-kioü occidentaux, 7—10.

14) Although P'üng-k'ü-lo suggests Bangala, Bengal, I am disposed to think it possible that the «kingdom of the Balhara (بَلْهَار)» of mediaeval Arab writers is meant. Elliot, Hist. of India, I, 358, says «the Tápti on the south, and the Aravalli mountains on the north, may perhaps represent an approximation to the real extent of the kingdom». The native products mentioned do not assist us in locating it; as to the name of the capital city, it remains unidentified. T'ou-lo is Sanskrit *tūla* «cotton».

15) This paragraph and all the subsequent passages-marked with brackets are quotations from the Ling-wai-tai-ta, 3, s. Nan-ni-hua-lo or Southern Ni-hua-lo is not mentioned in any other Chinese work, before or after Ch'ü and Chau. The fact that it was exposed to the raids of the light horsemen of the West and that it produced the best putchuk, incline me to believe it must have been in Sindh.

16) Fo in this case and in the next paragraph, is to be taken as meaning Brahma. Conf. supra p. 89.

17) The Ling-wai-tai-ta, after the words «offer flowers», has «the altars are also smeared with cow-dung».

18) Mohammedans were treated thus through caste prejudice, not to show them special honour.

19) *Su-lo*, literally «hard lo», and *ju-lo* — literally «milk lo», usually mean «butter» and «milk». There can be little doubt that, when used in connection with India or southern Asia, these words should be taken in their usual acceptations. When used in reference to Mongol and Turkish countries, *ju-lo* has often a different meaning — «dried sour milk». See infra, Ch. XXXII.

20) «Light horsemen of the West» may be a reference to the early Moslim invaders of Sindh in the latter part of the seventh and beginning of the eighth century.

20.

BAGHDAD.

Ta-ts'in (大秦).

«The country of Ta-ts'in», also called *Li-kién* (犁靛), «is the general mart of the natives of the Western Heaven, the place where the foreign merchants of the Ta-shi assemble»¹.

«Their king is styled Ma-lo-fu» (麻囉弗); «he rules in the city of An-tu (安都)»². «He wears a turban of silk with gold embroidered characters, and the throne he sits upon is covered with a silken rug»³.

«They have walled cities» and markets with wards and streets. «In the king's residence» they use crystal in making pillars, and «plaster in guise of

tiles. Wall-hangings abound. The circuit (of the wall) is pierced with seven gates, each guarded by thirty men⁴.

«Tribute bearers from other countries pay homage below the platform of the (palace) steps, whence they withdraw after having offered their congratulations».

*The inhabitants are tall and of a fine bright complexion, somewhat like the Chinese, which is the reason for their being called Ta-ts'in*⁵.

*They have keepers of official records, and in writing they use Hu (胡) characters. They trim their hair and wear embroidered gowns. They also have small carts with white tops, flags, etc. (Along the roads) there is a shed (亭) every ten li, and every thirty li there is a beacon-tower (埃). There are many lions in this country that interfere with travellers and are likely to devour them unless they go in caravans of an hundred well-armed men*⁶.

«Underneath the palace they have dug a tunnel through the ground communicating with the hall of worship (禮拜堂) at a distance of over a li. The king rarely goes out except to chant the liturgy (誦經) and worship (禮佛). On every seventh day he goes by way of the tunnel to the hall of worship for divine service (拜佛), being attended by a suite of over fifty men. But few amongst the people know the king's face. If he goes out he rides horseback, shaded by an umbrella; the head of his horse is ornamented with gold, jade, pearls and other jewels».

«There is among the kings of the Ta-shi country he who is styled *Su-tan* (素丹); every year he deposes men to send in tribute, and, if trouble is apprehended in the country, he orders the Ta-shi to use their military force to keep order».

«The food consists principally of cooked dishes, bread (餅) and meat. They do not drink wine; they make use of vessels of gold and silver, helping themselves to the contents with ladles. After meals they wash their hands in golden bowls full of water.

«The native products comprise opaque glass, coral, native gold (or gold bullion, 生金), brocades (or kincobs, 花錦), sarsenets (縵布), red cornelian and pearls»⁷; also (the precious stone called) *hié-ki-si* (駭雞犀) or *t'ing-t'ien-si* (通天犀)¹⁰.

In the beginning of the yen-hi period of the Han (A. D. 158—167)¹¹ the ruler of this country sent an embassy which, from outside the frontier of Ji-nan (日南), came to offer rhinoceros (horns), elephants' (tusks), and tortoise-shell;— this being the first direct communication with China. As the

presents comprised no other rarities, it may be suspected that the envoys kept them back.

During the t'ai-k'ang period of the Tsin (A. D. 280 — 289) tribute was again brought from there¹².

There is a saying that in the west of this country is the Jo-shui (弱水) and the Liu-sha (流沙), near the place where the Si-wang-mu (西王母) resides and almost where the sun goes down¹³.

Tu Huan (杜還) in the King-hing-ki (經行記) says: «The country of Fu-lin (拂菻) is in the west of the Chan (苫) country; it is also called Ta-ts'in. The inhabitants have red and white faces. The men wear plain clothes, but the women brocades set with pearls (珠錦). They like to drink wine and eat dry cakes (乾餅). They have many skilled artisans and are clever weavers of silk.

«The size of the country is a thousand li. The active army consists of over ten thousand men. It has to ward off the Ta-shū¹⁴.

«In the Western Sea there is a market where a (silent) agreement exists between buyer and seller that if one comes the other goes. The seller first spreads out his goods; afterwards the (would be) purchaser spreads out the equivalent (he offers), which must lie by the side of the articles for sale till taken by the seller, when the objects purchased may be carried off. This is called the 'Devil (or Spirit) market' (鬼市)¹⁵.

Notes.

1) The first part of this chapter is taken nearly literally from Ch'ou K'ü-fei's account of Ta-ts'in, 3,1. The work of this author, as stated in the Introduction (supra, p. 22.) appeared in A. D. 1178, and was the result of personal enquiries made by him on the subjects of which it treats, and nowise a compilation from previous works. It may be looked upon as containing chiefly contemporaneous matter. All other portions of this chapter are taken from the older Chinese historians; they are mentioned in the footnotes to this chapter.

To emphasize the additions made by Chau Ju-kua, all portions of this chapter occurring in previous records other than Ch'ou K'ü-fei's, are printed in italics. The first phrase of Chau Ju-kua's chapter on T'ien-chu (infra, p. 110) and another phrase in the same chapter (infra, p. 111) are the only passages of Ch'ou K'ü-fei's notes on Ta-ts'in omitted from this chapter.

The Ta-ts'in of the twelfth century, as represented in Ch'ou K'ü-fei's account, has all the characteristics of an ecclesiastical state. As in ancient times Ta-ts'in and Fu-lin may be looked upon as the representatives of the Christian world united under a spiritual chief, the Patriarch of Antioch, so the king of Ta-ts'in of the twelfth century must have been a patriarch, and, as is shown in a subsequent note, this king must have been the Nestorian patriarch of Baghdad, which city was indeed, at that time, the point of junction where all the great trade routes of Western Asia, and also called Li-kién, added here by Chau, are taken from the Hsin Han-shu, and refer to the Ta-ts'in of 40

of Antioch, who was indeed considered the spiritual head of all the Christians in Asia, certainly before the schism in 498 A. D., when the adherents of Nestorius († 440) established their own church in Chaldaea. According to the T'ang-shu, 198 (see Hirth, op. cit., 55 and 60) the king of Fu-lin called Po-to-li (波多力 Canton dialect and probable old sound: Po-to-lik), sent 5 ambassadors to the Chinese court in 643 A. D. This name lends itself admirably as a transcription of the Syriac form for «patriarch», viz. *batrik*. In Ch'ou K'ü-fei's account, as copied by Chau Ju-kua, the king of Ta-ts'in in the twelfth century is styled (號 i. e., he is addressed by the title of) Ma-lo-fu (麻羅弗 Canton dialect: Ma-lo-fat, probable old sound Ma-lo-pat, or Ma-lo-ba, since *fu* [弗] may stand for *bha* in Sanskrit transcriptions, see Julien, Méthode pour 10 déchiffrer, 104, № 309). This again is an excellent transcription for Mar Aba, one of the titles by which the Nestorian patriarch could be addressed. Mar is a title of honour given to learned devotees among the Syrian Christians, somewhat like our «Venerable» (Ducange, Glossarium, etc., ed. L. Favre, s. v. Mar). Aba means «father». Mar-Aba may thus be translated by «Venerable Father». Its Latin and Greek equivalent was Patricius (πατρις). (Assemani, Bibl. Orient., 15 III B, 92: «Quem enim Græci Latinique Patricium vocant, is dicitur Syriacè Aba, et præfixo Mar, seu Domini titulo, Mar-Aba»). In the Syriac portion of the Nestorian inscription of Si-an-fu the patriarch Hannanjesus II, who died in 778 A. D. three years before the erection of the monument in 781, is referred to under the title Abad Abalotha Mar Hanan Isua Qatholiqa Patrikris («Père des Pères, le Seigneur Hanan-Jésus, étant le Patriarche universel.» Pauthier, L'inscription de 20 Si-ngan-fou, Paris, 1858, 42). This does not exclude the possibility of all the patriarchs mentioned in Chinese records up to the time of Ch'ou K'ü-fei as kings of Ta-ts'in or Fu-lin being patriarchs of Antioch. Still we may entertain doubts as to whom the title should be applied in Ch'ou K'ü-fei's Ta-ts'in chapter, at the end of which it is stated that «T'ien-chu (India) is subordinate to Ta-ts'in» (天竺國其屬也), and that the sacred water by which the waves of the sea 25 can be stilled is found there (see infra, p. 111). It would seem that Chau Ju-kua has built up his account of T'ien-chu on little more than this information, which in Ch'ou K'ü-fei's original merely refers to the Indian Christians, and not to India generally, by adding all possible notes referring to non-Christian India from older records. Since we are in the possession of ample evidence showing that the Indian Christians of the St. Thomas church were Nestorians and that 30 their chiefs were appointed by the Chaldaean patriarch in Baghdad (see Assemani, op. cit., 485, et seqq.: Christiani S. Thomae in India), it must seem strange that, according to Ch'ou K'ü-fei at some time preceding the appearance of his book in 1178, it was the «king of Ta-ts'in», if this means the Patriarch of Antioch, who appointed the chief of T'ien-chu, i. e. the Indian Christians, and that this statement seems to correspond with that of a Byzantine author, the archimandrite 35 Nilos Doxopates, a notary in the service of the Patriarch of Constantinople, who wrote in 1143, for king Rogers II of Sicily, a short treatise on the patriarchal thrones (Krumbacher, Gesch. der byzantin. Litteratur, 2^d ed., München, 1897, 415 et seqq.). Doxopates says in unmistakable Greek that «the Patriarch of Antioch was in charge of all Asia and Antolia, and even India, whither he had sent a 'katholikos' ordained by himself, styled the one of Romogyris, and also of 40 Persia and Babylon, called Baghdad at his time, and that he had under him altogether thirteen metropolitans». (See Varia Sacra Stephani le Moine, Leiden, 1635, II, 211 et seqq.; cf. Renaudot, Ancient Accounts of India and China, London, 1733, 119). It seems to follow from this that, whatever the relations of the Nestorians in India were to their immediate chief on the patriarchal throne in Baghdad, the one of Antioch was looked upon as a still higher authority. Assemani 45 (III, 289) admits that the Melchite, Maronite and Jacobite Syrians gave their chiefs the title «Patriarch of Antioch», but he emphatically denies it for the Nestorians. For materials regarding this crux of patriarchal history, see Assemani, passim; W. Germann, Die Kirche der Thomaschristen, Güttersloh, 1877; Richter, Indische Missionsgeschichte, Güttersloh, 1900, where the Greek passage referred to is quoted on p. 163, note; and Charles Swanson, A memoir of the 50 Primitive Church of Malabar, or the Syrian Christians of the Arabian Thomas, etc., J. B. C.

due to the current tradition of these Christians, that the Apostle Thomas planted the seeds of the Gospel among them, so much may be considered established beyond contradiction, that they existed in Travancór as a flourishing people, connected with the Syrian church, from the first centuries of the Christian Era» (op. cit., II, 234); «their liturgy is that which was formerly read in the churches of the Patriarch of Antioch, and their language is the Syriac» (237); «they hold in the highest respect their Patriarch of Antioch, or Mosul, and make mention of him in their prayers» (239). These relations between Chau Ju-kua's India and his Ta-ts'in were first pointed out by Hirth, «Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography», in J. R. A. S., 1896, 496—499. Though the Antiochian patriarch is referred to in these records, the main fact to us is the position of the one of Baghdad as the immediate chief of the Indian Christians. It seems, therefore, that Chóu K'ü-fei's Ta-ts'in is not the ancient Ta-ts'in as far as its territory is concerned, and that Antioch or An-tu, though referred to by Chau Ju-kua as its capital on the ground of former statements, cannot be the place «where the foreign merchants of the Ta-shi assemble». This remark is much more likely to apply to Baghdad, in 1173 A. D. the seat of the Nestorian patriarch. Here indeed was «the point of junction where all the great trade-routes of Western Asia united» (von Kremer, Culturgesch. des Orients, II, 47), which in those days could not quite so well be said of Antioch. See also Hirth, The Mystery of Fu-lin, in J. A. O. S., XXX, 1—31.

3) «He wears a turban of silk with gold embroidered characters». According to Assemani III B, 389) the Nestorian patriarchs did not wear a mitre like other church dignitaries of this rank, but an embroidered turban, called *biruna* («Biruna, hoc est, Cidaris, phrygio opere ornata, qua caput tegitur, instar Amictus»). It appears, however, that scholars disagree as to the meaning of this word *biruna*, which according to some must have been a kind of burnoose rather than a turban, if not even a gown of considerable length. See infra, p. 107.

4) The first four words (in Chinese 有城) may also be rendered «there is a wall (around the city)». This reference to the use of plaster is not original with Chóu K'ü-fei, he found it in the Kiu T'ang-shu, 198 (see Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, 53). The reference to the use of crystal is taken from Hóu Han-shu, 118. (See Hirth, op. cit., 40, 44, 51). On the 'Seven gates', cf. Le Strange, Eastern Caliphate, 30, 31, his description of Baghdad.

5) Quotation from Hóu Han-shu, 118. See Hirth, op. cit., 40, 44, 50, 70, 78.

6) This paragraph is substantially a quotation from Wei-lió, 30, and Hóu Han-shu, 118. See Hirth, op. cit., 70 and 40, 55, 58. The custom of wearing short hair is referred to in the oldest Ta-ts'in texts. «Different from the custom both of the Greeks and the Egyptians, that of the Hebrews was to wear their hair generally short, and to check its growth by the application of scissors only». Kitto, Cyclopædia of Biblical Literature, s. v., 'Hair'.

7) Chóu K'ü-fei and our author make frequent use of Buddhist terms when speaking of other religions. See supra, p. 73, note 1, p. 93, et passim.

Benjamin of Tudela, who visited Baghdad in the middle of the twelfth century, says of the Caliph: «But in that Palace of the mightie king, there are buildings of an admirable greatness, the Pillars whereof are of silver and gold, and the inner parts of the houses are overlaid with these metals, and beautified with all kind of Precious stones and Pearles: out of the which Palace he goeth forth once only in the yeere, on that festival day or Easter, which they call Ramadan. And on that day, great multitudes of men from divers and remote Countries, flocke together to see his face. And he is carried upon a Mule, attired in princely garments, intermingled with gold and silver, having his head adorned with a Myter, shining with stones of incomparable price: but he weareth a blacke Handkerchiefe upon the Myter, ... But he commeth forth of his Palace to the great house (as they call it) of Prayer, built in the gate Bosra: for that is accounted their greatest home of Prayer. ... All that whole yeere after he is conteyned within the Palace, never to goe forth to any other places». And of the chief of the small Jewish community dwelling in Baghdad, the «Chief of the Captivity», as he was called, he says: «But when he commeth forth to visit the Great king, he is guarded with a great number of Horse-men, Jewes and gentiles accompanying him, a Cryer going before him. ... But he is carried upon an Horse clothed with silken and embroydered garments, he adorneth his head with a Miter, upon the Miter he weareth a white Shash, and upon the Shash a Chaines. Purchas, His Pilgrimes, VIII, 559—562. Conf.

M. N. Adler, The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela, London, 1907, 36 et seq. Such, it appears, was the style in which the minor rulers residing in Baghdad paid their state visits to the Caliph, who himself, as an Abbaside, wore a «black handkerchief upon his mitre». What we know about the official dress of the Nestorian patriarch seems to be quite compatible with Chóu K'ü-fei's account. Each patriarch, as we may conclude from Mar Amr's lives of the Nestorian patriarchs (quoted below), was at his coronation endowed with a pallium (*biruna*) of some particular colour peculiar to his government. This pallium is not clearly referred to in Chau Ju-kua's text, who contracts into one word *san* (傘), umbrella, Chóu K'ü-fei's words: «protected by a blue (or green) umbrella provided with threefold eaves» (打三簷青繖). This blue (or green) umbrella may have got into the text from a mistaken description of the sacred gown called *biruna*, the exact shape and use of which seems to be a matter in dispute. Assemani calls it a «pontifical gown» in one place and a «cidaris» in another. A Chaldean archbishop, consulted on the meaning of the term, also gives four different explanations, the second of which seems to be the most likely to answer, viz. «*biruna* vocatur indumentum exterius perlongum et amplum personam totam cooperiens, ad modum fere togæ senatoriæ aut purpuræ cardinalitiæ» (see Abbe loos and Lamy, Barhebraei Chronic. ecclesiast., I, 355, note 2); and since Assemani, in his last volume (III B, 683) distinguishes the *biruna* as a cidaris, i. e. a low turban, from the «paenula, quæ pluvialis formam repræsentat», it may have been a kind of hood, or cape, used primarily for protection against rain, thus corresponding to the sacred gown called *phaina* by the Jacobites and *maaphra* by the Nestorians. Assemani (op. cit., 674) describes the final act in the coronation of the Nestorian patriarch in such a way as to suggest that the two, the *maaphra* or *taphûla*, i. e. the rain cloak, and the *biruna*, i. e. the turban, have to be put on, before coronation can be pronounced to be complete. It seems that, whatever the two terms may mean, they practically belong to one another, which may have given rise to the confusion existing in their interpretation. It is quite possible that Chóu K'ü-fei, who was a native of Wón-chóu and, when he wrote his book, held the post of Assistant Sub-Prefect in Kuei-lin, the capital of Kuang-si, collected his notes in Canton, which place he had to pass on his way from his home to his official residence; and in Canton, as we know (see supra, pp. 14—16), there was then, and had been for centuries, a large foreign, mostly Mohammedan, settlement. Among these foreigners there may have been natives of Baghdad familiar with Nestorian institutions in that city, if not some merchants, or business friends, who happened to be Christians themselves. One of these may have supplied the information regarding the patriarch, and from his description of the «pluviale» forming part of his official dress, the Chinese writer may have misunderstood what was originally a rain cape, or cloak, to be an umbrella. Two years before the completion of Chóu K'ü-fei's book, in 1176 A. D., the contemporary patriarch, by the name of Elias III, was elected and ordained at Madain, «pallio amictus pistacini coloris (see Gismondi, Maris Amri et Slibae De Patriarchis Nestorianorum Commentaria, II, 64). This vest, whatever it may have been, of pistachio-green colour, the colour of the patriarch's personal reign, may have something to do with Chóu K'ü-fei's *ts'ing*, i. e. «green», or «blue, umbrella», since that word may cover both shades (see Hirth, Ancient Porcelain, 7 et seq.).

If Elias III be meant by Chóu K'ü-fei's «king of Ta-ts'in», the tunnel leading from his palace (*cella*) to the hall of worship (*ecclesia*) might be considered his work. For, we have two passages testifying to his love of architectural enterprise. Mar Amr says (l. c.) that, after his ordination at Madain, he proceeded to the patriarchal residence in the Christian quarter of Baghdad, and when he observed its being in a state of ruin began to rebuild it together with the church; that God favoured his ventures, and that by his exertions many benefices have been brought about («Inde ad cellam in aedibus Romæorum positam profectus, eandemque dirutam contemplatus, illam reedificare coepit unâ cum ecclesia: favitque eius conatibus Deus, operaque ipsius multa præstita sunt beneficiâ»). The other passage occurs in Barhebraeus' Chronicon (Abbe loos and Lamy, III, 370), where he is referred to as having built up the ruins of the patriarchal residence and made it habitable («Ipse ruinas cellae catholici instauravit et habitabilem fecit»). The two passages do not distinctly mention the subway, but it seems suggestive that just at this time both the palace, or cella, and the church of the patriarch were rebuilt. Jacobus

that «the Romans of the Eastern Empire had to ward off the Ta-shih. We have, therefore, to look for a different explanation of this statement. In 751, the year of Tu Huan's arrival in the West, the term Ta-shih, from his point of view, applied to that portion of the Arabs who had just gained that great victory over the Chinese under Kau Sién-chi, i. e. the Abbaside territory (see Chavannes, Documents sur les Tou-koué: Tures Occidentaux, 297). In his account of the Ta-shih (T'ung-tien, 193, 23) Tu Huan says: «the country of Chan (Shan, or Syria, of which Damascus was then the capital) is on the western boundary of the Ta-shih» (蕃國在大食西界)—which seems to show that to him the Ta-shih were the Abbaside Arabs and that their western neighbours, treated by him as a separate country, were the Syrians, then still fighting for their independence here and there against the overwhelming numbers of the Abbaside armies, which had already captured Damascus and driven the old Omaid rulers out of the country. This view is supported by Tu Huan's mentioning a city called by him A-kü-lo (亞俱羅) as the residence of the king of the Ta-shih. This can be none other than the city of Kufa, the residence of Abu'l-'Abbas, the Syriac name of which, according to Bar Hebraeus (Abbeloos and Lamy, III, 112: Cf. Assemani, op. cit., III B, 715) was Akula. Tu Huan had no knowledge of Baghdad, the foundation of which by the second Abbaside Caliph in 762 A. D. fell in the year of his return to China by a trading vessel bound for Canton.

15) Sin T'ang-shu, 221, has taken some of its statements concerning Ta-ts'in from Tu Huan's work, among others what he says of the people's fondness for wine and cakes, also the passage concerning the «Devil market». See Hirth, China and the Roman Orient, 58, 60, 279, 283. Ancient, mediaeval, and modern travellers mention such dumb trading in Asia and Africa. Cosmas Indicopleustes, Christian topography, 52 (Hakl. Soc. edit.) speaks of it as practised between the Ethiopians and the Barbarians—probably Somalis. Tavernier, Travels in India, II, 68 (Ball's edit.) refers to it as existing in his time in India, and Begbie (The Malayan Peninsula, 8) says it is used among the aborigines of the Malay Peninsula. Cf. also what Chau Ju-kua says 25 (infra, Ch. XL) on the trade between the natives of the Philippines (Ma-i) and the Chinese.

21.

INDIA.

T'ien-chu (天竺).

«The country of T'ien-chu is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in»; 30 its rulers are all selected by Ta-ts'in¹.

It is the custom of the people to plait their hair and to let it hang down, but the temples and the crown of the head are covered with a silken (帟) turban. In their dwellings they use plaster (石灰) instead of tiles. They have walled cities in which the people dwell.

The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral knot on the crown of his head; the rest of the hair is cut short. When holding his court in the morning he sits on a *t'ong* skin, — *t'ong* (登) being the name of an animal, — ornamented with representations of various objects painted in red wax; and his courtiers make obeisance to him and pray for 40

his life. When he goes forth he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold (烏金) and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords.

His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. 5 Once a year she shows herself in public, when considerable bounty is given to the poor.

«In this country there is holy-water (聖水) which can still the wind and waves. The foreign traders fill opaque glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get in a rough sea they still it by sprinkling this water on it»².

10 It is said that «during the reign of Siian-wu of the Posterior Wei dynasty (A. D., 500—515), T'ien-chu sent envoys with a present of swift horses (駿馬). It is said that their country produces (出) lions, sables, leopards, camels (羆), rhinoceros, elephants, tortoise-shell, gold, copper, iron, lead and tin, gold embroidered rugs (金縷織成金羆), *po-t'ie* (白疊) and *t'a-t'ong* (翫登). There is a stone like talc (雲母), but of a reddish colour; when split it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together the pieces look like silken gauze. There is the diamond (金剛石), which looks like fluor-spar (紫石英), but which will not melt, though exposed to the fire an hundred times». It can cut jade-stone³.

20 There is sandal-wood (旃檀) and other aromatic woods, sugar-cane, sugar (石蜜) and all kinds of fruits. They trade yearly with Ta-ts'in and Fu-nan (扶南). They use cowries as a medium of exchange. They are clever jugglers. They have bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying-ladders (飛梯), saps (地道), and also the contrivances called the «wooden-oxen» 25 and the «gliding-horses» (木牛流馬); yet they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and calculators of the calendar (算歷 or astrologers). They all study the Si-tan-chang-shu (悉曇章書) [Note: A gap of seven characters occurs here]. They use the leaves of the *pei-to* (貝多) as paper⁴.

30 In the periods *ch'ong-kuan* (A. D. 627—650) and *t'ien-shou* (690—692) of the T'ang (this country) sent envoys with tribute (to our Court). In the *zung-hi* period (of the Sung, A. D. 984—988) a priest, by name Lo-hu-na (囉護哪), arrived (in Ts'üan-chou) by sea; he called himself a native of T'ien-chu. The foreign traders (番商), considering that he was a foreign 35 priest (胡僧), vied with each other in presenting him gold, silks, jewels and precious stones, but the priest had no use for them himself. He bought a piece of ground and built a Buddhist shrine (佛刹) in the southern suburb of Ts'üan-chou; it is the Pau-lin-yüan (寶林院) of the present day⁵.

Notes.

1) The words in brackets are substantially a quotation from Ch'ou K'ü-fei's notes on Ta-ts'in. See supra p. 105. The rest of the paragraph seems original with our author. As in the account of Ta-ts'in, Chau Ju-kua has mixed up a good deal of information derived from earlier Chinese sources and applying to India (T'ien-chu) generally, with the India of the Ta-ts'in people, or Christians, regarding whose dependency on the «king of Ta-ts'in» (i. e., the patriarch of Antioch or Baghdad) see supra p. 105. The term T'ien-chu, as here used, is not to be taken in all cases in the broad acceptance in which other Chinese writers use it, for our author has described the principal divisions of India in other chapters. It appears that Chau's T'ien-chu was the coast of Madras, at least so far as the first three paragraphs of this chapter are concerned; in the rest of the chapter, derived nearly entirely from the T'ung-t'ien and other Chinese authorities, T'ien-chu must, I think, be understood in its broader meaning of India generally.

The manner in which the king, i. e., the head priest of the Christians, appointed by the king of Ta-ts'in, dressed his hair might be looked upon as a strange anomaly, considering his being deputed by the Syrian, or the Chaldaean, patriarch. But it appears that in India the Christian clergy followed the native custom in this respect. Assemani (III B, 337) quotes Josephus Indus (15 century?, Assemani, ib., 439), who says «de Christianis Malabaribus: Hi habent sacerdotes, levitas et hypodiconos. Sacerdotes vero non ferunt tonsuram, sed nonnihil capillorum in summa parte capitis habent: quod et faciunt Saraceni, Persae, Indi, Tartari et Sinenses.»

It might also appear strange that the metropolitan of the Christian church was allowed to have a wife at all; but the history of Nestorian patriarchs shows that opinions on the question of celibacy have changed a good deal. Certainly bishops could be married (Barhebraeus, op. cit., II, 64, 70, 80), and exceptions are even on record in the case of patriarchs, as in that of Babaeus (498—503 A. D.), who was married and had sons and who «sanxit, ut ecclesiae ministri universi nubere, nemine aut presbyterorum aut diaconorum sine uxore manente: haberentque singuli propriam uxorem palmam et publice secundum legis praescriptum: nec quisquam in posterum caelibatum in saeculari conversationi coleret, ut vitatur nempe peccandi periculum» (Mar Amr, op. cit., II, 21; cf. Assemani, II, 408). One of the early bishops of India, known as Thomas Cana, some time about the year 800 A. D., is even credited with having had two wives, one of whom was held to be merely a concubine. Assemani (III B, 441 et seqq.) fills several pages of his erudition with the account of this legend. Of the modern Christians of the church of St. Thomas, Captain Ch. Swanston says (J. R. A. S., II, 241): «The celibacy of the priests is with them rather a custom than a dogma: they admit, not only that it is not required by Scripture, but also its evil tendency and consequences; and in later years, some of them were induced to marry by the influence and persuasion of the British authorities in Travancör, and a marriage gift of four hundred rupees, presented by the sovereign of the country, to induce them to return to the ancient usage of their forefathers, and to enter the nuptial state. The feeling of the church is, however, against it.»

The Sung-shi, 490,3^b says that sometime between A. D. 984 and 988, there came to the capital of China an Indian priest (婆羅門僧) called Yung-shi (永世) in company with a Persian heretic called A-li-yen (阿里烟). Yung-shi said that his native land was called Li-tö (利得 Läta of Masudi, was situated on the gulf of Cambay and was a part of the kingdom of the Balhara). The sovereign of his country bore the family name of Ya-lo-wu-tö (牙羅五得), his personal name was A-no-ni (阿喏你). His clothes were yellow, his cap was of gold and covered with all kinds of jewels. When he went forth he rode on an elephant or in a small sedan-chair, preceded by a great throng of people and to the sound of conch shells and cymbals. When he visited the temples he made largess to the poor. His consort, whose name was Mahani (摩訶你), only appeared in public once a year, when she bestowed great bounty on the people.

The name of this Indian priest means «Time ever-lasting, eternity», and could never have 50

Malabar Christian, as may also have been the Persian «heretic» (外道) who accompanied him on his journey to China.

2) Quotation from Ch'ou K'ü-fei, in his notes on Ta-ts'in (see supra, p. 108, note 9). The holy water here referred to must be that taken from the well Zemzem at Mecca. Ming-shi, in its account of Mecca, says: «Behind the tomb of Ma-ha-ma (Mohammed) there is a well, the water of which is limpid and sweet. People who start on the sea voyage use to take along with them some water from this well, for it has the property of appeasing the waves in time of storm when sprinkled over the sea». Bretschneider, Med. Researches, II, 303. San-ts'ai-t'u-hui (Piên-i-t'ien, 68. Sec. T'ien-fang) attributes the same property to the water from the well of Ishmael (司麻烟), or Hagar's well, this is the well Zemzem, according to mohammedan tradition.

3) The portion of this paragraph in quotation marks is taken from Tu Yu's T'ung-t'ien (see supra, p. 103, note 14). H'ou Han-shu, 118,12^a, mentions among the products of India elephants, rhinoceros, tortoise-shell, gold, silver, copper, iron, lead and tin, sugar (石蜜), pepper, ginger, black salt, fine cloth, handsome rugs called t'a-t'ong — Liang-shu, 54,16^b says the usual exports from India were rhinoceros (horns), ivory, leopards (skins), marmot (? skins), tortoise-shell, huo-ts'i (火齊), gold, silver, gold embroidered skin rugs, fine hems (cloth?), po-t'ie (muslin), fine fur garments and t'a-t'ong (rugs). «Huo-ts'i, it adds, is like talc, its colour is like dark gold, it is brilliant. When cleaved it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together the pieces look like silver gauze». Huo-ts'i appears to be a foreign word; the substance referred to may be isinglass. According to Porter Smith, Contrib. mater. med., 129, it is lapis-lazuli.

4) This paragraph was compiled from a number of earlier Chinese writers, largely from T'ang-shu, 221A,17 et seqq. According to the Nan-fang-ts'au-mu-chuang, I, 4, shi-mi is cane-sugar. At the time that work was written, third century A. D., China got all her supply of sugar from Tongking and southern Indo-China, where the sugar-cane appears to have been indigenous. See de Candolle, Origine des plantes cultivées, 122—127. It was cultivated also in India as early as the first or second century of our era, as we have seen by the reference made to it in the H'ou Han-shu in the previous note. By the sixth century its use must have been general in Central Asia, for Sui-shu, 83, mentions that sugar came from various countries of Central Asia and of the Sassanian empire. In the first half of the seventh century the cane was cultivated in Central China, at Yang-ch'ou (揚州 in Kiang-su), but the Chinese did not know the process of making sugar. Somewhere about A. D. 637 the Emperor T'ai-tsung sent a mission to Magadha (i. e., Central India) to learn the method of boiling sugar, and called the attention of his people to the superiority of the Chinese cane. T'ang-shu, 221A,19^b.

At about the same time Hsüan-tsang mentioned among the articles of food of the people of India sha-t'ang (沙糖 «granulated sugar») and shi-mi. He also stated that Gandhāra had much sugar-cane (甘蔗) and produced (or exported) shi-mi. Si-yü-ki, 2,10^b, 15^a. — On sugar and sugar-cane in ancient India, see Lassen, Indische Alterthumsk., I, 317 et seqq.

Sui-shu, 83, makes mention of another kind of sugar, or product of sugar, called pan-mi (半蜜). I can find no explanation of this term which, literally translated, means «half-honey».

Concerning the remarks about the trade relations of T'ien-chu, H'ou Han-shu, 118,10^b already referred to its trade with Ta-ts'in, and Liang-shu, 54,17^a stated that Central T'ien-chu had much sea-trade with Ta-ts'in, An-si (Parthia), Fu-nan, Ji-nan and Kiau-chi (i. e., Indo-China generally). Our author quotes from T'ang-shu, 221A,17^b.

Cowries were not the only medium of exchange in India even in the first centuries of our era. H'ou Han-shu, 118,10^b states that the Indians used coins of gold and silver; the ratio was 10 to 1. Hsüan-tsang says «in the commerce of the country gold and silver coins, cowries and small pearls are the media of exchange». Watters, On Yuan-chuang's Travels, I, 178.

The «wooden ox» and the «gliding horse» were, according to San-kuo-chi (Shu, 5,13,15), contrivances for facilitating the transport of provisions of armies, and were invented in the third century by the great Chinese general Chu-ko Liang. Conf. Mayers, Chinese Reader's Manual, 50
s. y. Chu-ko Liang. I can find no explanation of the

Si-tan chang-shu appears to mean the «Siddhānta Book of Rules», and the work was probably one on astronomy. Alberuni says in his *India* (Sachau's translation, I, 153) «The book known among Muslims as *Sindhind* is called by them [the Hindus] *Siddhāntā*, i. e., straight, not crooked nor changing. By this name they call every standard book on astronomy, even such books as, according to our opinions, do not come up to the mark of our so-called *Zij*, i. e., hand-⁵books as, according to our opinions, do not come up to the mark of our so-called *Zij*, i. e., hand-books of mathematical astronomy. They have five *Siddhāntas*». See also Lassen, *Indische Alterthumsk.* IV, 621. On the usual, or orthodox, Buddhist sense of the word *si-tan*, i. e., a syllabary, see Watters, *On Yuan-chwang's Travels*, I, 155—159 and Eitel, *Handbook*, 152. The text is a quotation from T'ang-shu 221A, 25^b, the characters missing in our text can be supplied from it. The passage reads as follows 善步曆學悉曇章妄曰梵天法.¹⁰ «They are able astronomers and they study (the work called) *Si-tan-chang*, erroneously called (by the Chinese) *Fan t'ien-fa* (i. e., Indian Astronomy)».

The Hóu Han-shu, 118, 12^a and Liang-shu, 54, 16^b remarked on the Indians' cowardice and weakness.

Pei-to (in Sanskrit *patra*, «a leaf») are the leaves of the borassus flabelliformis. Yu-yang-tsa-tsu, 18, 7^a says there are three kinds of *pei-to* tree in Magadha (Central India), the largest is called *to-lo-p'o li-ch'a pei-to* (多羅婆力叉貝多) which is in Sanskrit *tāla rjksa patra* «leaf of the tāla tree».

5) The name of this priest, probably a transcription of Rāhula, has often been used by Buddhist monks; it was the name of the son of the Buddha Gautama. The term *ku*, rendered «foreign», is sometimes applied to Indians (see Pei-wōn yūn-fu, 70A s. v. 天竺胡), though usually used to designate the people of Western Asia.

Sung-shi, 490, 8^b has it that in the *yung-hi* period (A. D. 984—988, the same in which Lo-hu-na came to Ts'ian-chóu), Tz'i-huan (辭濟), a priest of Wei-chóu (衛州), came back to China from the Western Regions with a foreign priest (胡僧) by the name of Mi-tan-lo (密坦羅). They presented to the Emperor letters from the Prince of Northern India, and also from Na-lan-t'o (那爛陀), Prince of the Diamond Throne (金剛坐王 i. e., Vajrasana, Buddhgaya). *Mi-tan-lo* is a transcription of *Mitra*, a common termination of Indian Buddhist names.

22.

THE ARABS.

Ta-shī (大食).

«The Ta-shī¹ are to the west and north (or north-west) of Ts'ian-chóu at a very great distance from it, so that the foreign ships (番船) find it difficult to make the voyage there direct. After these ships have left Ts'ian-chóu they come in some forty days to Lan-li (藍里), where they trade. The following year they go to sea again, when with the aid of the regular wind (順風) they take some sixty days to make the journey».

The products of the country are for the most part brought to Sanfo-ts'i, where they are sold to merchants who forward them to China².

«This country of the Ta-shī is powerful and warlike. Its extent is very great, and its inhabitants are pre-eminent among all foreigners for their distinguished bearing».

«The climate throughout a large part of it is cold», snow falling to a depth of two or three feet; consequently rugs are much prized.

The capital of the country, called Mi-sü-li (蜜徐窩) (Note: Some make it to be Ma-lo-pa 麻羅拔), is an important centre for the trade of foreign peoples³. «The king wears a turban of silk brocade and foreign cotton stuff (buckram). On each new moon and full moon he puts on an eight-sided flat-topped headdress of pure gold, set with the most precious jewels in the world. His robe is of silk brocade and is bound around him with a jade girdle. On his feet he wears golden shoes. In his residence the pillars are of cornelian stone, the walls of *li-kan* stone (綠甘) (Note: It is as transparent as crystal), the tiles of rock-crystal, the bricks of green stone (礫石 jasper?), and the mortar of *huo* stone (活石). The curtains and screens are of brocade with rich designs woven in all kinds of colour in silk and pure gold thread⁴».

The king's throne is set with pearls and precious stones, and the steps of the throne are covered with pure gold. The various vessels and utensils around the throne are of gold or silver, and precious pearls are knotted in the screen behind it. In great court ceremonies the king sits behind this screen, and on either side, protecting him, «the ministers of state surround him» bearing golden bucklers and helmets and armed with precious swords.

His other «officers are called *T'ai-wei* (太尉); each of them has the command of some twenty thousand horsemen. The horses are seven feet high and are shod with iron. His army is brave and excels in all military exercises».

The streets (of the capital) are more than fifty feet broad; in the middle is a roadway twenty feet broad and four feet high for the use of camels, horses, and oxen carrying goods about. On either side, for the convenience of pedestrians' business, there are sidewalks paved with green and black (or blueish black, 青黑) flagstones of surpassing beauty.

«The dwellings of the people are like those of the Chinese, with this difference that here thin flagstones (slates?) are used instead of tiles⁵».

The food consists of rice and other cereals; mutton stewed with fine strips of dough is considered a delicacy. The poor live on fish, vegetables and fruits only; sweet dishes are preferred to sour (實皆甜無酸). Wine is made out of the juice of grapes, and there is also the drink (called) *ss'i* (思酥酒), a decoction of sugar and spices. By mixing of honey and

spices they make a drink (called) *mēi-ssī-ta-hua* (眉思打華酒), which is very heating⁶.

Very rich persons use a measure (量) instead of scales in business transactions in gold or silver. «The markets» are noisy and bustling, and «are filled with great store of gold and silver damasks, brocades, and such like wares. The artisans have the true artistic spirit» (工匠技術咸精其能).

The king, the officials and the people all serve (or revere 事) Heaven. They have also a Buddha by the name of *Ma-hia-wu* (麻霞勿)⁷. Every seven days they cut their hair and clip their finger nails. At the New Year for a whole month they fast and chant prayers (清齋念經一月). Daily they pray to Heaven five times.

The peasants work their fields without fear of inundations or droughts; a sufficiency of water for irrigation is supplied by a river whose source is not known. During the season when no cultivation is in progress, the level of the river remains even with the banks; with the beginning of cultivation it rises day by day. Then it is that an official is appointed to watch the river and to await the highest water level, when he summons the people, who then plough and sow their fields. When they have had enough water, the river returns to its former level⁸.

There is a great harbour (or anchorage 大港) in this country, over two hundred feet deep, which opens to the south-east on the sea, and has branches (支) connecting with all quarters of the country (流達於諸路)⁹. On either bank of the harbour (港) the people have their dwellings and here daily are held fairs (墟市), where crowd (輻湊) boats and wagons, all loaded with hemp, wheat, millet, beans, sugar, meal, oil, tirewood, fowls, sheep, geese, ducks, fish, shrimps, date-cakes (棗圈), grapes and other fruits.

The products of the country (of the *Ta-shī*)¹⁰ consist in pearls, ivory, rhinoceros horns, frankincense, ambergris, putchuck, cloves, nutmegs, benzoin (*an-si hiang*), aloes, myrrh, dragon's-blood, *asa-foetida*, *wu-na-ts'ü*, borax, opaque and transparent glass, *ch'ō-k'ü* shell, coral, cat's-eyes, gardenia flowers, rose-water, nut-galls, yellow wax, soft gold brocades, camel's-hair cloth, *tōu-lo* cottonades (兜羅綿) and foreign satins (異緞).

The foreign traders (番商) who deal in these merchandise, bring them to *San-fo-ts'ü* and to *Fo-lo-an* to barter.

The following countries are dependencies of this country (of the *Ta-shī*):
Ma-lo-mò (麻羅抹)¹¹ *Nu-fa* (奴發)

⁵ *Lo-ssī-meī* (囉施美)

Mu-kū-lan (木俱蘭)

K'íe-li-ki (伽力吉)

P'í-no-yé (毗喏耶)¹²

⁵ *I-lu* (伊祿)

¹⁰ *Pai-ta* (白達)

Ssī-lién (思蓮)

Pai-lién (白蓮)

Tsi-ki (積吉)

¹⁰ *Kan-meī* (甘眉)

¹⁵ *P'u-hua-lo* (蒲花羅)

Ts'ōng-pa (層拔)

Pi-p'a-lo (彌琶羅)

Wu-pa (勿拔)

Wōng-li (甕箇)

²⁰ *Ki-shī* (記施)

Ma-kiā (麻嘉)

Pi-ssī-lo 弼斯羅)

Ki-tz'ü-ni (吉咨尼)

Wu-ssī-li (勿斯離)¹³.

This country (or people) was originally a branch of the Persians (波斯). In the *ta-yé* period of the Sui dynasty (A. D. 605—617) there lived a high-minded and wise man among the Persians who found deep down in a hole a stone bearing an inscription, and this he took for a good omen. So he called the people together, took by force the things necessary (for arming men) and enrolled followers, who gradually increased in number till he became powerful enough to make himself king, and then he took possession of the western portion of *Po-ssī*.

Since the *ying-hui* period of the T'ang dynasty (A. D. 650—656) the *Ta-shī* have come repeatedly to our Court to present tribute. Before the time of their king *P'ōn-ni-mo-huan* (盆泥末換 *Beni Merwán*) they were called «White-robed *Ta-shī*»; after *A-p'o-lo-pa* (阿婆羅拔 *Abu'l 'Abbás*) they were called «Black-robed *Ta-shī*»¹⁴.

In the fourth year of the *k'ien-tō* period of the reigning dynasty (A. D. 966) the bouze *Hing-k'in* (行勤) journeyed to the Western Regions; on this occasion an (Imperial) letter to their king was granted to enlist his sympathy¹⁵.

In the first year of the *k'ai-pau* period (A. D. 968) they sent envoys with tribute to our Court, and in the fourth year (A. D. 971) they sent presents with *Chan-ch'ōng* and *Shō-p'o* to *Li Yü* (李煜) in *Kiang-nan*¹⁶. *Yü* did not venture to accept them, so the envoys submitted the matter to the Court, and an Order in Council was issued forbidding that tribute presents should henceforth be brought¹⁷.

In the fourth year of the *shun-hua* period (A. D. 993) they sent tribute through the Assistant Envoy *Li-a-wu* (李亞勿) who stated, at an audience granted him in the *Ch'ung-chōng* Audience Hall (of the Palace), that his country bordered on *Ta-ts'in*, and that it produced ivory and rhinoceros

captured. He replied, «To capture elephants, we use decoy elephants to get so near them that we can catch them with a big lasso. To capture a rhinoceros, a man with a bow and arrow climbs a big tree, where he watches for the animal until he can shoot and kill it. The young (rhinoceros) are not shot as they can be caught».

The envoy was presented with a court dress, a hat and girdle, and, besides these, with as much gold as the tribute presents were worth¹⁸.

In the third year of the *yung-hi* period (A. D. 986) envoys of the Ta-shi came to Court with a mission from the Pin-t'ung-lung country¹⁹.

In the sixth year *hién-p'ing* (A. D. 1003) they sent Ma-ni and others (麻尼等) with tribute of pearls and a request that return presents should not be made them. Although the Emperor Ch'ön-tsung did not want to disregard their wish, when the envoys started on their homeward journey they were dismissed with extraordinary honours²⁰.

In the first year *king-tö* (A. D. 1004) the (Arab) envoy remained behind at the capital, together with the envoys from San-fo-ts'i and P'u-kan, to celebrate the Feast of Lanterns, on which occasion they were treated to their heart's content with money and wine (賜錢縱飲)²¹.

In the fourth year (A. D. 1007) they accompanied a tribute mission from Chan-ch'öng, and were on this occasion entertained with most particular attention, and also allowed to visit the Buddhist and Tauist temples and the Imperial gardens and parks (苑囿)²².

During the *ta-chung siang-fu* period (A. D. 1008—1017), while the Emperor was absent in the eastern part of the Empire for sacrificial purposes, the chief T'o-p'o-li (隋婆離) expressed the wish to be allowed to present his tribute presents in person (to the Emperor) on the T'ai-shan (where he had gone to sacrifice). He was allowed to do so²³.

In the fourth year (of the same period, i. e., 1011), while the Emperor had gone to F'ön-yiu (汾陰) to make sacrifices, the envoy (T'o-p'o-li) came again, and was ordered by the Emperor to follow the Court²⁴.

According to an old tradition told in Kuang-ch'ou (Canton), there was a man from the Ta-shi country by the name of Wu-si-hu-lu-hua (無西忽盧華), who had attained to the age of an hundred and thirty years. He had double ear-beadings and an extraordinarily imposing aspect. He himself stated that long ago, impelled by his high regard for the civilization of the Empire, he had embarked on a ship of the Ku-lo (古邏) country and had made the journey to China. The Emperor presented him with a brocade gown and a silver girdle, to which he added a piece of silk²⁵.

In both the *yüan-yü* period (A. D. 1086—1094) and the *k'ai-hi* period (A. D. 1205—1208) the Ta-shi sent missions to Court with tribute²⁶.

A foreign trader (番商) by the name of Shi-na-wei (施那偉), a Ta-shi by birth, established himself in the southern suburb of Ts'üan-ch'ou. Disdaining wealth, but charitable and filled with the spirit of his western home, he built a charnel house (叢塚) in the south-western corner of the suburb (or outside the city in the south-west direction) as a last resting-place for the abandoned bodies (遺骸) of foreign traders²⁷. The Customs Inspector Lin Chi-k'i (林之奇) has recorded this fact²⁸.

Notes.

- 1) The name Ta-shi applied by the Chinese to the Arabs, and, as in the present work, to the Mohammedan world, is the name Tazi or Tay of western Asiatic writers. See Bretschneider, The knowledge possessed by the ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies, G. Among the earliest mentions of it in Chinese works is that of the pilgrim I-tsing, who, in the middle of the seventh century, speaks of the To-shi (多氏) as interfering with travel on the road to Kapiça. Chavannes, Religieux éminents, 25. Another still earlier reference as far as facts are concerned, occurs in the T'ung-tien (193,22^b) and the two T'ang-shu, where the first Arab embassy to the Chinese court is recorded under the year 651 A. D. In the Kiu T'ang-shu (198,22^b) the king's name is given as Ta-shi, i. e. Ta-shi was his «tribal» name (其姓大食氏), his personal name being Han-mi-mo-mo-ni, probably a corruption for Emir-al-Mumenin, the title of the caliph, at that time Othman. According to the T'ang-shu (221 B, 19), the ambassadors «said themselves that their king belonged to the Ta-shi tribe» (自言王大食氏). It appears from this that, whatever the origin of the Persian *tasi* may be, the king's tribal name, or his surname, was stated by some of his own subjects to be Ta-shi, though there may be a misunderstanding about that. The real meaning of the term, which appears as *Tazi* in Persian and Uiguric (Vambéry, Kudatku bilik, 234), *Tadjik* or *Tazik* with the Armenians, Turks and Mongols, and *Tayi*, *Ta-i*, *Tayoyè* with the Syrians according to d'Ohsson (Histoire des Mongols, I, 217, note), and which Dionysius, Patriarch of Antioch, in his history of the world (eighth century A. D.) refers to under the year 637 as *Taj* (*Tajos* vacat Dionysius, Assemani II, 109), is apparently quite uncertain, so much so that we could not even say with absolute confidence that they are all derived from the same root. Among the several forms in which the name appears *Tadjik*, or *Tazik*, is the most likely to be represented by the Chinese Ta-shi, pronounced Tai-shik in Canton. But Ta-i as the ancient sound of 大食 is not quite impossible. The *shī* of Ta-shi being ranged with the group of characters anciently read *shik*, or *chik*, may be due to a guess made by the compilers of K'ang-hi's Dictionary. The reading *i*, though not the usual one, is certainly backed by old sound authorities (K'ang-hi, s. v. 食 ad finem: 羊吏切音異), so that Ta-shi may possibly stand for Ta-i. Bretschneider (Medieval Researches, I, 268, note) says «that d'Ohsson is wrong in stating that the Mongols called the Mohammedans *Tadjik*; that, in early times [query: how early?] the Persians were called *Tadjik*, and even now-a-days this name is applied in Turkestan and Transoxiana to the aboriginal Iranian population there».

- 2) This and the preceding paragraph are partly taken from Ch'ou K'u-fei (3,2). Conf. supra, p. 89, lines 3—6 and p. 120, n. 5; our author has attempted to edit the text of the Ling-wai-tai-ta, but with no success. Ch'ou says: «The name Ta-shi (大食者諸國) is a collective appellation for several countries. There are fully a thousand and more countries, but of those of which we know the names there are only these few.
- «There is the country of Ma-li-pa (麻離拔 or 羅拔); ships leaving Kuang-

láu during or after the eleventh moon (December) and sailing with a northerly wind, can make the country called Lan-li (藍里 i. e., N. W. Sumatra) in forty days. Here they trade, buying rapan-wood, tin, and long white rattans. The following year, in winter, they set to sea again and, with a north-easterly wind favouring them, they make the voyage to this country of Ma-li-pa, i. e., the Hadramaut coast of Arabia) in some sixty days.

«The products (of Ma-li-pa) are frankincense, ambergris, pearls, opaque glass, rhinoceros horns, ivory, coral, patchuk, myrrh, dragon's-blood, asa-fetida, liquid storax, oak-galls and rose-water, to trade in all of which the countries of the Ta-shi resort to this place». See for the remainder of Chóu's description of Ma-li-pa, infra p. 121, note 11. The other countries of the Ta-shi mentioned by Chóu K'ü-fei are Ma-kia, Pai-ta, Ki-tz'i-ni, Mei-lu-ku-tun and Wu-ssi-li; his remarks on them are translated in subsequent notes to this work.

3) Mi-sa-li is the Mizraim of the Hebrews, our Egypt. The Arabic Misr, derived from the Hebrew, was applied by the Arabs to the capital of Egypt. In another chapter (XXXVI), derived in all likelihood from different sources, our author writes the name Wu-ssi-li (勿斯里 in Cantonese Mat-ssi-li). In the Yuan period the Chinese wrote the name Mi-ssi-li (迷思里). See Bretschneider, J. C. B. R. A. S., X, 295, and Mediaeval Researches, I, 141, II, 135. In another passage (Ch. XXXVI) our author calls the capital of Egypt Kie-yé, which is al-Kábirah, the name given the new city founded in 973 A. D. The popular Arabic name of Cairo is Misr al-kábirah. Chau evidently thought that Mi-sa-li and Ma-lo-pa were the same place. He got his more or less original information and that derived from Chóu K'ü-fei badly jumbled. Chóu's notes only referred to Ma-li-pa.

4) This description of the king's dress and of his palace resembles what he tells us elsewhere of those of the king of Ta-tsin. Conf. also infra, Ch. XXXVI. *Lü-kan*, Canton dialect *luk-kóm*, is apparently a transcription of Arabic and Persian *rukham*, «marble», or «alabaster». *Huo-shi*, literally «live stone», may stand for *hua-shi*, 滑石, soap-stone, of which it is an equivalent, according to Geerts, Les produits de la nature Japonaise et Chinoise, 434 seq. Porter Smith, Contributions towards the materia medica, etc., of China, 205, distinguishes it as «steatite», which he says «differs from lardstone in containing magnesia, having the composition of a silicate of magnesia and alumina», and (180) he says of *k'uai-huo-shi* (塊活石) that it entered into the composition of some of the old Chinese pottery of the best kind». Cf. Julien, 30 Histoire et fabrication de la porcelaine Chinoise, 76, 256 et seqq.

5) This paragraph and also the preceding ones of this chapter, when in quotation marks, as well as lines 4—5 on p. 116, are substantially taken from the statements made to the Chinese court by Arabs who came there in the *chóng-ho* period of the Sung (A. D. 1111—1118). They did not mention the name of the capital of their country, hence our author's uncertainty concerning it. See Sung-shi, 490, 14. One is inclined to think that our author is describing some other city than Cairo, possibly Baghdad or Damascus; but it is more likely that this picture of the capital of the Ta-shi is, like many of those of Chau Ju-kua, a composite one.

6) Most of this paragraph is taken from Ling-wai-tai-ta; see infra, p. 121, n. 11. The drink called *ssi* is probably Persian *sherbet*, *sharāb* or draught, drink, wine. *Mei*, *ssi-ta* and *hua* may have to be distinguished, the two first as transcriptions, the latter as a generic term, meaning «flower wine», the term *hua-tsiu*, 花酒, being backed by a number of passages quoted in the Pién-tzi-lei-pien, 203, 17. In another passage (infra, p. 127, n. 4) three kinds of drinks are mentioned, *mei*, *sha* and *hua*; it seems probable that we should likewise distinguish three here; *mei*, *ssi-ta* and *hua*. Both transcriptions represent the same original forms, whatever they may be. Yu-yang-tsa-tsu, 4, 3^b says that in Po-ssi, Fu-lin and adjacent countries they ferment rice or seed of some kind in meat juice. When, after some days, it has become wine, it is an intoxicating drink.

... Prophet Mohammed. The fast referred to is, of course,

8) Confer what our author says here of the Nile with his other account of it in Ch. XXX. Chóu K'ü-fei did not know of the Nile; our author, so far as we are aware, is the earliest Chinese author to refer to it.

9) This may be a reference to Kolzum on the Red Sea, the Glyma of late classical writers, and to the canal re-opened by Amru somewhere about A. D. 642 between the Nile and the Red Sea, and which appears to have followed very closely the line of the Fresh-water Canal of the present day. After its re-opening by Amru it remained navigable for eighty years, when, choked with sand, it was again abandoned. Muir, Annals of the early Caliphate, 244. Another possible and more probable explanation is that it refers to Obollah and Basra, a district famous for its canals, which, according to Ibn Haukal, exceeded 100,000 in number, and of these 20,000 were navigable for boats. Le Strange, Land of the Eastern Caliphate, 46.

10) The list of products here given includes the most important ones brought to China by the Arabs from various countries of the West; more detailed descriptions of them are given in Part II of this work.

11) The last character is certainly an error, it should be *pa* (拔). In another passage (Pt. II, Ch. XXXVI) our author, however, writes the name Ma-lo-mo (馬羅抹). As shown in a previous note (supra, p. 25 note 3) the country referred to is Mirbat (ميربات) on the Hadramaut coast of Arabia. Chóu K'ü-fei says of it (3, 2, continuing the passage quoted supra, pp. 119—120): «The king of the country, the officers and the people all worship Heaven (i. e. are Moslems). The gentry wear turbans of white silk falling down the back; they have designs in gold thread in them. Their clothes are made of white *yüé-no* stuff with golden characters in it, or else of broades of sundry kinds. They wear red leather boots. They live in five-storied houses. They eat wheaten cakes, meat and milk. The poor eat fish and vegetables. The soil does not produce rice. The fruits they produce are more sweet than sour. They make wine from grapes. There is also the drink (called) *ssi* (思酥酒) which is a decoction of sugar and spices. Mixing honey and spices they make drinks (called) *mei*, *ssi-ta*, *hua* (眉思打華), which are heating and stimulating. Their coins are of both gold and silver. (It is a place) where big ships and wealthy traders congregate (巨船富商皆聚焉). In the third year *yüan-yu* of Chü-tung (1088 A. D.) in the eleventh moon, people sent by the Ta-shi of Ma-lo-pa presented tribute to our Court. Now this Ma-lo-pa is the same as Ma-li-pa (麻離拔). Sung-shi makes sundry mentions of the country of Ma-lo-pa of the Ta-shi. It records (17, 3) the coming of the mission of 1088, spoken of by Chóu K'ü-fei, and also (17, 13) that of missions from the same country in 1089 and in 1091.

12) *Shi-ho* is Shehr, another port on the Hadramaut coast, of considerable importance in mediaeval times; it is the Esher (or Soer) of Marco Polo, see Yule's, Marco Polo (2^d edit.), II, 324, 439 and Heyd, Hist. du Commerce, II, 500. See also infra, Pt. II, Ch. XXV.

Nu-fa is Zufar, the modern Dhofar (ذوفار), the Dufar of Polo, about 400 miles E. of Shehr. Yule, op. cit., II, 441—442; Heyd, op. cit., II, 615. Ming-shi, 326, calls it *Tsu-fa-ir* (祖法兒). *Ya-ssi-pau-hien*, in Amoy dialect A-su-pau-han, is Ispahan or Isfahan. In the Yuan period we find the name written *I-ssi-fa-lang* (亦思法杭). Bretschneider, J. C. B. A. S., X, See also infra, Pt. II, Ch. IX.

Lo-shi-meí in Cantonese *Lo-shi-mi*, appears to be a truncated transcription of Khwārizm, the country south of the sea of Aral; *Lo-shi-meí* probably representing the sound *rizm*. See also infra, Pt. II, Ch. IX. It is called *Ho-li-si-mi-kia* (貨利習彌迦) by Huan-tsang (Julien, III, 283), and is probably first referred to (Ts'ien Han-shu, 96A, 176) as one of the dependencies of K'ang-k'u (Sogdiana) under the name of Au-kién (奧鞏), the old sound of which characters, according to Yen Shi-ku, was *Uk-keu*, which may be connected with the name of the present city of Kuhne, (Old) Urgendj, the Gorgāniya of the Middle Ages. In the commentary on this passage (see Han-shu Si-yü-chuan-pu-chü, 1, 31) Au-kién is identified with Huan-tsang's *Ho-li-si-mi-kia*, and the abbreviated names (appearing in T'ang-shu, 221 B, s) of *Huo-sün* (火尋) and *Kuo-li* (過利), which the T'ang-shu says correspond with the site of the ancient city of Au-kién. The description

Ma-kü-lan, in Cantonese Muk-kü-lan, is the Makrân province; there is another reference to it in Pt. II, Ch. XXIX.

K'î-li-ki, in Cantonese K'ê-li-kat, is presumably Kalhât, the Calatu of Marco Polo II, 448). It carried on a lively trade with India in mediaeval times. It was subject to the prince of Hormuz.

P'i-no-yé, in Amoy dialect P'i-lok-ya, is a transcription of Arabic Ifrikiya, Africa, but applied by the Arabs to that part of it which included the present Tunis and Tripoli. See Hirth, Die Länder des Islam, 27, note 6 and infra, Pt. II, Ch. XXXI.

13) I-lu, appears to be the province of Irâk. There is no other reference to it.

Pai-ta is Baghdad, see infra, Ch. XXX.

Ssi-liên, may very likely be Siraf (سیراف) on the Persian Gulf, which in the ninth and tenth centuries was the starting-point of the Arab ships engaged in the Indian and Chinese trade. It may, however, be Shirâz. Our author makes no other reference to it.

Pai-liên, the island of Bahrein in the Persian Gulf. This is the only reference to it.

Tsi-ki, in Cantonese Tsik-kat, possibly the port of Tiz on the Makrân coast and in 15 mediaeval times its chief commercial centre. See Holdich, The Gates of India, 298—301. The name does not occur elsewhere in this or other Chinese works of the time.

Kan-meî, in Cantonese Kôm-mui, in Amoy dialect Kam-bi. The name suggests the Comoro islands. It does not occur in any other passage of this work. It is hardly likely to be Cambay, which our author refers to under the name of Kan-pa-i (supra, p. 88).

P'u-hua-lo, is Bokhara. See Bretschneider, J. C. B. R. A. S., X, 240.

Ts'ong-pa, probably the Zauzibar coast; see infra, Ch. XXIV.

Pi-p'a-lo, is the Berbera coast, see infra, Chs. XXV and XXVII.

Wu-pa, possibly Sohar (سحر) on the Persian Gulf; see infra, Ch. XXVI.

W'ong-li, is an error for W'ong-(or Yung-)man, Oman; see infra, Ch. XXVIII.

Ki-shî, is the island of Kish (Kêis), in the Persian Gulf; see infra, Ch. XXIX.

Ma-kiâ, is Mecca; see infra, Ch. XXIII.

Pi-ssi-lo, is Basra, at the head of the Persian Gulf; see infra, Ch. XXXI.

Ki-tz'i-ni possibly Ghazni; see infra, Ch. XXXII.

Wu-ssi-li, in Cantonese Mat-ssi-li, is Mosul or Misr; see infra, Chs. XXXIII and XXXVI. 30

14) This and the preceding paragraph are based on T'ang-shu, 221^b. See Bretschneider, Ancient Chinese and Arabs, 7, p. The Sung-shî, 490, 1a quotes these two paragraphs textually. It seems extraordinary that the Chinese should have had such a very vague notion of the Prophet's history and of the rise of Arab power. The Omayyad Merwân II, the last Caliph of the house of Omayya, was killed in A. D. 750. Abu'l-Abbâs, the first of the Abbâsîd Caliphs («Black-robed 35 Ta-shî»), was proclaimed Caliph the same year at Kufa. Mohammed's Call was in A. D. 609 or 610; this may be the event referred to in our text.

15) Sung-shî, 2, 3, says that on this occasion 157 persons were sent forth by the Emperor to visit the Western regions, to each of whom was given 30,000 cash. In book 490, 1a, this paragraph of our text is reproduced with only slight changes. 40

16) Li Yü, Prince of the Southern T'ang, after making his submission to the first Emperor of the Sung in A. D. 972, rebelled three years later and held Nanking against the imperial forces under Ts'au Pin. The city was taken by storm and the principality incorporated in the Empire. Ma cgo wan, History of China, 365—366. Mayers, Chinese Reader's Manual, 231.

17) Ta-shî continued, however, to come to the Court of the Sung. Sung-shî, 2, 3, and 4, 45 make mention of their presence there in 973, 974, 975, 976, etc. In 976, the Ta-shî seem to have formed an official mission, the only one recorded down to that of 1019. In connexion with the mission of 976, Sung-shî, 3, 10^b says the Prince of the Ta-shî was called K'o-li-fu (珂黎拂 Caliph) and the envoy's name was P'u-hi-mi (蒲希密 or Pu-lo-hai 不囉海 in another passage (490, 1a^b), both forms transcribing probably Abu-Hamid). Sung-shî, 490, 1a^b mentions 50 a Li-a-wu, who in 1008 sent presents to Court; he is called «ship-master» (船主). See infra, note 23. A mission under an Arab came from P'o-ni (Borneo) in 977. See, infra, p. 157.

18) The «Court Chronicle» of the Sung-shî does not mention any visit of the Ta-shî in 993, though there is one recorded in 994. A mission which came to the court in 993, is referred to in some detail in Sung-shî, 490, 1a^b et seqq. The head of the mission was again the one mentioned before as P'u-hi-mi (Abu-Hamid), aliàs Pu-lo-hai. He is described as the master of 5 an Arab vessel, but being too old and sick to proceed to court himself, he sent his assistant captain Li-a-wu with his credentials, in which he addresses the Emperor on his own behalf, thanking him for past favours bestowed on him and the foreign trade at Canton, while explaining the reasons for his not submitting his tribute in person. Then again in 995 a tribute mission arrived under the «ship-master» P'u-ya-t'o-li (蒲押陞黎), who deputed P'u- 10 hi-mi (Abu-Hamid) again to offer his tribute at court. During the audience the emperor enquired about his country, when he stated, among other details, that «it was conterminous with Ta-ts'in, which, being a dependency, was now governed by his native country» (與大秦國相 鄰爲其統屬今本國所管之). Then follows the account of the elephant and rhinoceros hunting. It will be seen that Chau Ju-kua differs by two years as to the date 15 of the audience. In 988 P'u-ya-t'o-li came again as envoy from San-fo-ts'i.

19) Sung-shî, 5, 24 records a visit to the Court of China of Ta-shî and people from Pin-t'ung-lung in the third year *ch'i-tau* (A. D. 997), but none in the third year *yung-hi*; the *niên-hau* only differing. See also Sung-shî, 490, 15^b and supra, p. 52, note 3.

20) Between the visit of 997 and that of 1003, Sung-shî, 6, 8, records the coming in 999 of 20 «South-western barbarians, people of Chan-ch'ong and Ta-shin. The following year it notes (6, 11) the coming of people from Ta-shî, Korea, and Kau-ch'ou (高州) aborigines. Concerning the mission of 1003, two references are made to it, in the first (7, 2) it is simply stated that in the sixth year *hiên-p'ing* San-fo-ts'i and the Ta-shî came with presents. In the second reference (490, 1a^b) it is said that in the sixth year *hiên-p'ing* the Ta-shî sent as envoys «P'o-lo-k'in, San-ma-ni and 25 others» (婆羅欽三摩尼等) with tribute. «Ma-ni and the others were received in audience in the Chung-ch'ong tien (hall), etc.» Bretschneider, Ancient Chinese and Arabs, 15, referring to this mission (he puts it in 1004, and gives the name of the envoy as Po-kin-lo-sa-mo-ni), is of opinion that the last three sounds of this name indicate an allusion to the Arabian 30 dynasty of the Samanides, who reigned till the beginning of the eleventh century in the East and had their capital in Bokhara. Chavannes, Le Nestorianisme, 38, 40—41, says of the word Ma-(or Mo-)ni (摩尼 also written 末泥) that it was used solely to designate Mohammedans. He refers to this mission of 1003 as a proof that the Mani were Moslim. According to Broomhall, Islam in China, 95, n. 2, *Mo-ni* has been sometimes used, erroneously, by the Chinese to transcribe the word *Mullah*. He gives an example of this in the K'ien-lung inscription 35 of 1764 in the Peking mosque on the Ch'ang-an-ta-chiêh. Devéria, Musulmans et Manichéens chinois (Journ. Asiat., 1897, X, 477) looks upon the words P'o-lo-k'in-san-ma-ni as an Arabic name, such as Balkin Samâni, or Balkin-es-Samâni. But this seems improbable. Samâni is wrong, and Devéria confounded Samâni (سامانى) and Sam'âni (سبعانى); furthermore Balkin cannot be an Arabic word.

21) Sung-shî, 490, 1a^b referring to this mission, uses the same language as our author, but, 40 instead of the last four characters used by Chau, it has 賜錢縱其宴飲.

22) Conf. Sung-shî, 7, 14^b and 490, 1a^b.

23) According to Sung-shî, 7, 19, T'o-p'o-li came to Court in 1008, with people from San-fo-ts'i and «south-western barbarians». In another passage (490, 1a^b) it is said that in the third 45 year *hiên-p'ing* (A. D. 1000) «the ship-master (船主) T'o-p'o-li sent as his messenger Mu-ki-pi (穆吉鼻) with presents to the Emperor; when Mu-ki-pi went back the Emperor sent to T'o-p'o-li a letter and also vessels (of porcelain), clothes, a saddle and a horse....» In the tenth moon of the first year *ta-chung siang-fu* (A. D. 1008), while the Emperor was absent 50 in the eastern part of the Empire for sacrificial purposes, T'o-p'o-li asked to be allowed to go to the T'ai-shan to there offer his presents to the Emperor. He was allowed to do so. (The same year) the ship-master Li-a-wu (see supra, p. 117, line 35) sent a messenger Ma-(hia-)wu (麻勿 Mohammed) by name, who presented to the Emperor a jade—stone badge (玉圭) of great

beauty ... » These references are of great interest as showing the closeness of the commercial relations existing between the Arab traders and the Court of China. The Sung-shi contains frequent references to these Arab ship-owners and their visits to the court of the Sung emperors. T'o-p'o-li was apparently given a Chinese title on the occasion of his visit of 1008, for in 1011 he is called «General who has returned to virtue» (歸德將軍). He was again at 5 Court in 1019. Similar titles were conferred on other Arabs on subsequent occasions.

24) Fên-yin, is the present Wan-ch'üan (萬泉) in P'u-ch'ou-fu in southern Shan-si. Playfair, Cities and Towns, № 7901. Conf. Sung-shi, 8, 1 and 490, 1^a, where the list of presents is given; T'o-p'o-li is there spoken of as «K'ni-tö tsiang-kün T'o-p'o-li».

25) Sung-shi, 490, 10^a reproduces this story with a slight variant; it begins by saying: «In 1012 it was said in Kuang-ch'ou that the Ta-shi Wu-si-hu-lu-bua had lived to the age of 130», etc. It is also given in the Tung-si-yang-k'au, 4, 5^a; the hero of the story is there said to have come from Acheen in Sumatra (亞齊), «which was formerly a Ta-shi country», from which we may infer that, in the Ming period, Ku-lo was supposed to have been on the Sumatra coast. Conf. supra, p. 76.

26) Sung-shi, 17, 13, says that in 1094 people from Mau-li (貌黎 a country otherwise unknown, but which may be the same as the Mo-lai of the Tang period, i. e., Kulam-Malé), Ma-lo-pa (麻羅拔 or 跋 Mirbät) and Arals (Ta-shi) brought presents to Court. No visit is recorded during the Kai-hi period (Sung-shi, 38, 8-10).

27) Ts'üan-ch'ou-fu-chi, as quoted in T'u-shu-tsi-ch'üang (Sect. VI, Ch. 1045), says that on 20 the Ling-shau, or «Hill of souls», in the south-eastern part of Ts'üan-ch'ou were the Mohammedan tombs or the «tombs of the Medina-men» as they were called. We have shown in a preceding note (supra, p. 14, n. 4) that there is some evidence that Islam was brought to Ts'üan-ch'ou in the early part of the seventh century. T'u-shu-tsi-ch'üang (Sec. VI, Ch. 1500), quoting local chronicles, says that a mosque called the Ch'ing-ching-ssü, was built by Moslems (Hu-jön) during 25 the period 1131 to 1163.

28) Sung-shi, 334, 10 gives a biography of Lin Chi-k'i; he is there called Customs Inspector of Min (Fu-kién). He died in 1176. He wrote a number of works, one called Tau-shan-ki-wön (道山記聞) is possibly that referred to. See Hirth, Länder des Islam, 33.

23.

MECCA.

Ma-kiä (麻嘉).

The country of Ma-kiä is reached if one travels from the country of Ma-lo-pa for eighty days westward by land.

This is the place where the Buddha Ma-hia-wu (麻霞勿) was born. 35 In the House of the Buddha the walls are made of jade stone (or precious stones) of every colour. Every year, when the anniversary of the death of the Buddha comes round, the people from all the countries of the Ta-shi assemble here when they vie with each other in bringing presents of gold, silver,

jewels and precious stones. Then also is the House adorned anew with silk brocade.

Farther off there is the tomb of the Buddha. Continually by day and night there is at this place such a brilliant refulgence (霞光) that no one 5 can approach it; he who does loses his sight.

Whosoever in the hour of his death rubs his breast with dirt taken from this tomb, will, they say, be restored to life again by the power of the Buddha.

Note.

10 The journey from Mirbät, on the Hadramaut coast, through the Tehama (south-west coast of Arabia) to Mecca was the old trade-route of the Sabæans, it is presumably the one referred to in our text.

The whole of this chapter is taken from Ch'ou K'ü-fei (3, 2^b). He says: «There is the country of Ma-kiä, which is reached if one journeys for eighty days and more westward by land from the country of Ma-li-pa. It is the place where the Buddha Ma-hia-wu (Mohammed) was born. In the House (居方丈) of the Buddha, the facings of the walls of the rooms are of precious stones (玉) of every colour. Every year, when the anniversary of the Buddha's death comes round, all the princes of the Ta-shi send people bearing presents of jewels, gold and silver, and they cover 20 Ta-shi) come here to visit the House and to offer prayers. Furthermore the high officials of these countries are not deterred by a journey of a myriad li; they all assemble to worship the House.

«Farther off (literally, «behind» 後) there is the tomb of the Buddha, where day and night there is such a brilliant refulgence that no one can approach it, those who do shut their eyes (合眼) and run by. It is said that if a man is dying and takes some dirt from off this 25 tomb and smears it on his breast, he is restored to life, so great is the power of this Buddha!»

Ch'ou K'ü-fei is, so far as I am aware, the first Chinese author who wrote of Mecca. The T'ang-shu (221^b, 23) speaks of Mohammed (摩訶末) and of Medina (摩地那), of the Black Stone of the Kaaba, but not of Mecca. It gives, however, some interesting information about Islam which our author might with advantage have incorporated in his work. Among other 30 things, it speaks of the five daily prayers to the «Spirit of Heaven» (天神), and of the mosques, which it calls li-t'ang (禮堂), and which can hold many hundreds of people. «Here every seven days the king from a high seat speaks to those below saying: «Those who die fighting shall be born in Heaven; those who kill an enemy shall receive happiness».

The «House of the Buddha» of Ch'ou's text is not the Prophet's birthplace (Maulid el Naby) 35 in Mecca, but the «House of Allah» (Bayt Ullah), better known as the Kaaba or «cube house»; the Chinese name (方丈) has the same sense. In the Yüan and Ming periods Mecca was called «The Heavenly square» (天方), an abbreviation of the earlier name.

Burton, Pilgrimage to El Medinah and Meccah, II, 278 says that the birthday of the Prophet (twelfth of the month Rabi' el Auwal) is celebrated in Mecca with great festivities, feasts, 40 prayers and perusals of the Koran.

On the brilliant light which is said to emanate from the tomb of the Prophet, conf. what Barthezma, who was in Medina in 1503, says of it in his travels (Purchas, His Pilgrimes, IX, 66). When visiting the tomb of the Prophet, the Elders who accompanied him and the Captain of his party suddenly cried out; «we asked what was the cause of that exclamation. The Elders 45 answered: Saw you not the lightning which shone out of the Sepulchre of the Prophet Mahumet. Our Captain answered, that he saw nothing; and we also being demanded, answered in like manner It is therefore to be understood, that none other shining came out of the Sepulchre, than a certain flame which the Priests caused to come out of the place of the Tower spoken of here before, whereby they would have deceived us».

Burton, op. cit., I, 309, n. 311, n., says that there is a superstitious story connected with the tomb of the Prophet (Masjid El Nabawi or «Prophet's Mosque») in Medina, that when the eunuchs who have charge of the tomb enter the baldaquin to place over the tomb a new kiswah, they guard their eyes with veils against the supernatural splendours which pour from the tomb. These eunuchs say that anyone who ventures to approach the tomb would be at once blinded by the supernatural light.

24.

ZANGUEBAR.

Ts'ong-pa (層拔).

The Ts'ong-pa country is on an island of the sea south of Hu-ch'a-la. 10
To the west it reaches to a great mountain!

The inhabitants are of Ta-shi stock and follow the Ta-shi religion. They wrap themselves in blue foreign cotton stuffs (纏青番布) and wear red leather shoes. Their daily food consists of meal, baked cakes (燒餅) and mutton².

There are many villages, and a succession of wooded hills and terraced rocks³ (鄉村山林多障岫層疊).

The climate is warm, and there is no cold season.

The products of the country consist of elephants' tusks, native gold, ambergris and yellow sandal-wood.

Every year Hu-ch'a-la and the Ta-shi localities along the sea-coast send ships to this country with white cotton cloth, porcelain, copper, and red cotton⁴ (紅吉貝) to trade.

Notes.

1) Ts'ong-pa, in Cantonese Tsang-pat, is Zango-bār or Zanzibar «the region of the Blacks» which, according to Masudi (Prairies d'or, III, 7), extended along the east coast of Africa «from the channel issuing from the upper Nile» (presumably the River Jubb) to the land of Sofala and of the Wakwak. Marco Polo regarded the coast of Zanzibar as belonging to a great island like Madagascar. Yule & Burnell, Glossary, 746. Masudi (op. cit., III, 31) included in the land of the Zanj the islands along their coast, including that of Kanbalu (presumably Pemba) in which he tells us (op. cit., I, 292) there lived a population of Mohammedans and Zanj idolaters. See infra, Ch. XXXVIII. 2.

The mention of a great mountain on the western border of the Ts'ong-pa country is very interesting; can it be Kilimanjaro? The placing of Ts'ong-pa to the south of Guzerat is readily explained by the fact that junks going from Guzerat to the east coast of Africa would have to sail a general southerly course. See supra, p. 79, line 26 et seq.

2) These Ta-shi lived probably in some town, Quilon perhaps, on the coast. Ibn Batuta, II, 192 says that Culua (Quilon) was a great city whose inhabitants were for the most part Zanj of very dark complexion. Masudi (op. cit., III, 6, 30—31) says that the Zanj were of the same

stock as the Abyssinians, they had no religion, but each man worshipped whatsoever he pleased, a plant, an animal, a stone.

3) Masudi, op. cit., III, 7—8, says that the country of the Zanj was 700 parasang long and as many wide. It was «cut by valleys and mountains and sandy deserts».

4) Masudi, op. cit., III, 7—8, says the land of the Zanj abounded in elephants; also that the ivory was shipped to Oman and thence to India and China. See also infra. Pt. II. Chs. XXXVI, XXXVII. Marco Polo (II, 404) says that on the island of Madagascar «they had many trees of red sanders of excellent quality; in fact, all their forests consist of it». See also infra, Pt. II, Ch. XII. Marco Polo, II, 416 says of Zenghibar: «the staple trade of the Island is in elephant's teeth, which are very abundant; and they have also much ambergris, as whales are plentiful». The reference to sandal-wood as a product of Ts'ong-pa is interesting, it was probably brought there from Madagascar, which seems vaguely referred to in Ch. XXXVIII, 2.

Chinese porcelain of the Sung dynasty has been found in Zanzibar. Dr. S. W. Bushell says (North China Daily News, May 9, 1888): «Sir John Kirk during his residence as Consul General at Zanzibar, made a collection of ancient Chinese céladon porcelain... Some of it was dug up, I believe from ruins, mixed with Chinese cash of the Sung dynasty...» See also Hirth, J. A. O. S., XXX, 55—57 and S. W. Bushell. Description of Chinese pottery and porcelain, XVI.

Theo. Bent found among the ruins in the fort of Gibleah on the island of Babrein, numerous fragments of «fine Nankin and Céladon china, attesting to the ubiquity and commerce of the former owners...» Southern Arabia, 18.

Sung-shi, 490, 20^a—21^a, contains a short description of a country called Ts'ong-t'an (層檀) which we are disposed to think is practically the same as the Ts'ong-pa of our author, or some place in it, though the second character of the name is puzzling. It reads as follows:

25 «Ts'ong-t'an is on the Southern Ocean. The town is twenty li from the sea-coast. In the fourth year hi-ning (A. D. 1071) it brought presents to our Court for the first time. Travelling by sea, and with a favourable wind (the monsoon), the envoy took a hundred and sixty days. He passed by Wu-sün (勿巡 presumably some place near Maskat), Ku-lin (古林 Quilon) and San-fo-ts'i (Palenbang), and came to Kuang-chou. The ruler of the country was named A-mei-lo A-mei-lau (亞美羅

亞眉蘭 [Pers. *amir-i-amirân*]). They (the A-mei-lo) had ruled the country for five hundred years (during which time there had been) ten generations. The language sounds like that of the Arabs (Ta-shi). The climate (of Ts'ong-t'an) is warm all the year. The wealthy people wear turbans of yüé-(no) stuff and clothes of flowered brocade, or of *po-tié* cloth. They go forth riding elephants or on horseback. They have official salaries. According to their laws light offenses are punished 35 with the bamboo, serious crimes with death.

«Of cereals, they have rice, millet and wheat. For food they eat fish. Of animals they have sheep (綿羊), goats, buffalo (沙牛), water-buffalo, camels, horses, rhinoceros and elephants. Of drugs they have putchuck, dragon's-blood, myrrh, borax, asa-foetida, frankincense. Of products, pearls, glass (*po-ti*), and three kinds of drinks called *mi* (密 Persian, *mei*, «wine») 40 *sha* (沙 Arab-Persian, *sharāb*, *sherbet*) and *hua* (華?). In commercial transactions they use coins made by the Government only; three parts are of gold and copper in equal proportion, the fourth of silver. The people are forbidden coining them themselves.

«In the sixth year yüan-fōng (A. D. 1083) the envoy Pau-shun-lang-tsiang Ts'ong-k'ie-ni (保順郎將層伽尼) the last three characters may mean «the Zanj» came again to 45 Court. The Emperor Shōn-tsung, considering the very great distance he had come, besides giving him the same presents which had been formerly bestowed on him, added thereto 2,000 ounces of silver».

(10) 達麼 或作達磨、菩提達磨(Bodhidharma)，爲禪宗二十八祖，南天竺國香至王第三子，本名菩提多羅。佛二十七祖般若多羅(Prajñātāra)至其國，見之謂曰：“汝於諸法已得通量。雖得法，未可遠游，且止南天，待吾滅後六十七載，當往震旦設大法藥……。”後王爲具大舟，實以珍寶，泛重溟，三周寒暑，於梁普通元年(公元五二〇年)九月二十一日達於南海。廣州刺史蕭昂具主禮迎接表聞。武帝覽表，遣使迎請，次年十月一日至建康。又北度屈洛陽，時北魏孝明正光二年(公元五二一年)也，寓止嵩山少林寺，誨以禪教，傳法救迷情。卒後葬於嵩山之熊耳山。

(11) 西天鵬茄囉國 夏德、柔克義譯注云即中世紀阿拉伯人所云 Balhara，擬在古吉拉特邦東部達布蒂河(Tapti R.) 流域與阿拉瓦利山脈(Arāvalli)間。而馮氏考爲今之孟加拉(Bangala)。案馮氏所考爲是。此國《島夷誌略》作朋加刺，《瀛涯勝覽》作榜葛刺。本書云其國都號茶那咭，殆即古城洛義漫伐底(Lakshmanwati)，自六世紀起即爲此國都城。後迭經遷都，於十二世紀末仍都此城，洛義漫伐底波斯語作 Shahr-i-nao，義爲新城，“咭”乃“唔”之譌。茶那唔殆波斯語 Shahr-i-nao 之對音。其遺址在今郭里(Guar)。

(12) 西天南尼華囉國 乃胡茶辣之都城名，《大唐西域記》作毘羅摩羅(Virāmalā)，遺址在今卡提阿瓦半島(Kathiawar Pen.)之索拉什特拉(Saurashtra)以北帕坦城(Patan)。

大秦國

大秦國一名犁軒⁽¹⁾，西天諸國之都會，大食番商所萃之地也。其王號麻囉弗，理安都城⁽²⁾，以帛織出金字纏頭，所坐之物則織以絲罽。有城市里巷，王所居舍，以水精爲柱，以石灰代瓦，多設簾幃，四圍開七門，置守者各三十人。有他國進貢者，拜於堦庑之下，祝壽而退。其人長大美皙，頗類中國，故謂之大秦。有官曹簿領，而文字習胡。人皆髻頭，而衣文繡，亦有白蓋小車旌旗之屬，及十里一亭，三十里一墩。地多獅子，遮害行旅，不百人持兵器偕行，易爲所食⁽³⁾。宮室下鑿地道通禮拜堂一里許。王少出，惟誦經禮佛，遇七日卽由地道往禮拜堂拜佛，從者五十餘人。國人罕識王面。若出遊則騎馬，用傘，馬之頭頂皆飾以金玉珠寶。遞年大食國王有號素丹者⁽⁴⁾，遣人進貢。如國內有警，卽令大食措置兵甲撫定。所食之物，多飯餅肉，不飲酒，用金銀器以匙挑之，食已卽以金盤貯水濯手。土產琉璃、珊瑚、生金、花錦、縵布、紅瑪瑙、真珠，又出駭雞犀，駭雞犀卽通天犀也。漢延嘉初⁽⁵⁾，其國主遣使自日南徼外來獻犀、象、瑇瑁，始通中國，所供無他珍異，或疑使人隱之。晉太康中又來貢。或云其國西有弱水、流

沙，近西王母⁽⁶⁾，幾於日所入也。按杜還⁽⁷⁾《經行記》云：“拂桑國在苦國西⁽⁸⁾，亦名大秦。其人顏色紅白，男子悉著素衣，婦人皆服珠錦。好飲酒，尚乾餅，多工巧，善織絡。地方千里，勝兵萬餘，與大食相禦。西海中有市，客主同和，我往則彼去，彼來則我歸。賣者陳之於前，買者酬之於後，皆以其直置諸物旁，待領直然後收物，名曰‘鬼市’。”

注釋：

(1)大秦國 原注曰：一名犁軒。《史記·大宛列傳》作黎軒，《漢書·西域傳》作黎軒，《張騫傳》作犁軒，《後漢書》作犁鞬。黎軒之名由張騫輩傳入，而大秦之名由班勇傳入。案我國史籍所載大秦，因時代不同而其疆域、範圍各異。《後漢書》卷八八“大秦傳”：“大秦國一名犁鞬，以在海西，亦云海西國。地方數千里，有四百餘城。小國役屬者數十。”此當為我國史籍最早記錄大秦國者，其範圍應指羅馬帝國，如“桓帝延熹九年（公元一六六年），大秦王安敦遣使自日南徼外獻象牙、犀角、瑇瑁，始一通也。”證以《羅馬史》，其王確係 Marcus Aurelius Antoninus 之音譯。《魏略·西戎傳》云：“大秦國一號犁軒，在安息、條支西，大海之西，從安息界安谷城乘船，直截海西，……”亦應指羅馬帝國及其東方屬地。《魏書·大秦傳》云：“大秦國一名黎軒，都安都城。從條支西渡海曲一萬里。”安都城 (Antioch) 即安谷城，為敘利亞省首府，在小亞細亞 (Asia Minor) 之海曲。條支為阿拉伯在唐以前稱謂。故此

之大秦國，乃指東羅馬東方屬地敘利亞省。至唐後，如新、舊《唐書》稱之拂菻，《大唐西域記》作拂懷，慧超《往五天竺國傳》作拂廬，並指敘利亞省 (Syria)。至於本書所云：“西天諸國之都會，大食番商所萃之地也。”似為敘利亞之安都城（今之土耳其安塔利亞 (Antalya)）。然本書所言之大秦、黎軒，似厭混淆，誠如馮氏所指：一曰錄自《嶺外代答》之文；二曰雜採諸史大秦國之篇；三曰以胡賈所聞。故亦未能拘泥以釋之也。

(2) 其王號麻囉弗理安都城 夏德譯注云：大秦國都安都城，始見《魏書》卷一〇二《大秦傳》，則所謂大秦王，蓋指公元四九八年教會分離後，總管亞細亞基督教（案：指景教）務之安提阿城 (Antioch) 主教也。《舊唐書》卷一九八貞觀十七（公元六四三）年入貢之拂菻王波多力 (Potriarch)，恰合西利亞 (Syria) 語 Batric 之對音，此言總主教（即大總管）。本書稱其王號麻囉弗，乃為西利亞教徒所稱景教 (Nestorius) 總主教之一尊號，即原文作 Mar Aba，此言‘主父’者是也。案波多力、麻囉弗，本係一音之轉異譯，實總主教原文 Mar Aba 之尊稱。似以夏德之考為是，非人名而為敘利亞景教大總管之銜。基督教之組織制度，自羅馬教皇 (Pope) 下設大總管 (Patriarch) 與紅衣主教 (Cardinal)，下又有總主教 (Archbishop)、主教 (Bishop)、神父、教士等。景教原係基督教中支派，創始人聶思脫里 (Nestorius)，公元四三一年以弗所 (Ephesus) 召開會議，被東羅馬皇帝判處異端，聶本人奔竄異鄉，窮死他國，而景教却在東方盛行，與天主教分庭抗禮，自有大總管執行教皇事權，管轄各地景教徒，委派總主教、主教等事。大總管之地位

權力，等同教皇。大總管至宋時已遷居報達 (Bagdad)。

(3) 易馬所食 以上雜鈔《魏略·西戎傳》之文，其中有望文生義者，如“其人長大美皙，頗類中國，故謂之大秦。”有與羅馬帝國奧古斯都時代相符者，如“十里一亭，三十里一墩。”所述情況，時代迥異，與宋時殊不相合。

(4) 大食國王有號素丹者 夏德譯注云：“公元一〇〇二年吉慈尼 (Ghazni) 王馬哈茂德 (Mahmud) 始有素丹 (Sultan) 之稱。其後塞爾柱克 (Seldjuk) 諸朝王皆受黑衣大食哈里發 (Caliph) 封為素丹。”案夏德所考殆得正鵠。素丹之稱，義為“權威”，為伊斯蘭教崇高稱號。實非吉慈尼 (今圖作加慈尼 Ghazni)，在今阿富汗喀布爾城之西南之始稱。當塞爾柱克王朝之興起，哈里發帝國已幾乎完全被瓜分，國家權力已剩為影子。塞爾柱克王突格里勒向呼羅珊 (Khorasan) 推進，又奪取吉慈尼之木鹿 (Maru) 城、內沙布爾 (Nesabur)、巴里黑 (Balkh)、花刺子模 (Khwarism)、哈馬丹 (Hamadān) 及亦思法抗 (Ispahan) 等地，阿拔斯王朝 (Abbassides) 名存實亡。突格里勒任帝國攝政王，官銜為素丹。本書所言“大食國王有號素丹者”，殆指此也。

(5) 漢延嘉初 後漢無“延嘉”年號，乃延熹之譌，已詳注釋(1)。

(6) 近西王母處 以上所述，原本《史記·大宛列傳》之文，後殆為《後漢書》著錄之。西王母為傳說中之國家和人物，不足據也。

(7) 杜還 “還”應作“環”，據《通典》卷一九一《邊防》七

云：“族子環，隨鎮西節度使高仙芝西征，天寶十載 (公元七五一年) 至西海。寶應初 (公元七六二年) 因賈商船舶自廣州回，著《經行記》。”《通典》作者杜佑，環為其族子也。

(8) 拂桑國在苦國西……名曰鬼市 此乃《經行記》原文。“拂桑”為“拂菻”之譌。苦殆 Sham 之對音，乃今敘利亞之古稱，亦可指為大馬士革 (Damascus) 城。“勝兵萬餘”，《經行記》作“勝兵約有百萬”，疑是。“常與大食相禦”，似指公元六七二至六七三年，大將軍摩拽 (為摩維亞 Moawiah 之省譯) 圍攻君士坦丁堡 (Constantinopolis) 之後，兩國間小規模之衝突。至於貿易賣買之“鬼市”，《佛國記》、《東京夢華錄》中皆有類同之記載，諒為齊東野語之談，不足信也。

天竺國

天竺國隸大秦國⁽¹⁾，所立國主悉由大秦選擇。俗皆辮髮，垂下兩鬢及頂，以帛纏頭。所居以石灰代瓦，有城郭居民。王服錦罽，為螺髻於頂，餘髮剪之使短。晨出坐氍毹⁽²⁾，氍毹乃獸名。用朱蠟飾之，畫雜物於其上，羣下皆禮拜祝壽。出則騎馬，鞍轡皆以烏金銀闌裝，從者三百人，執矛劍之屬。妃衣大袖鏤金紅衣，歲一出，多所賑施。國有聖水⁽³⁾，能止風濤，番商用琉璃餅盛貯，猝遇海駭波，以水灑之則止。後魏宣武時，嘗遣使

獻駿馬，云其國出獅子、貂、豹、麋、犀、象、瑇瑁、金、銅、鐵、鉛、錫、金縷織成金罽、白疊、氈毼，有石如雲母而色紫，裂之則薄如蟬翼，積之則如紗，穀有金剛石，似紫石英，百鍊不銷，可以切玉，又有旃檀等香，甘蔗、石蜜諸果。歲與大秦、扶南貿易，以齒貝為貨。俗工幻化。有弓箭甲稍飛梯地道及木牛流馬之法，而怯於戰鬥。善天文算曆之術，皆學《悉曇章》書⁽⁴⁾，以下闕七字。以貝多樹葉為紙⁽⁵⁾。唐貞觀、天授中，嘗遣使人貢。雍熙間有僧囉護哪航海而至，自言天竺國人，番商以其胡僧，競持金繒珍寶以施，僧一不有，買隙地建佛刹于泉之城南，今寶林院是也⁽⁶⁾。

注釋：

(1) 天竺國隸大秦國 遼釋希麟《音義》卷三《新譯十地經》一云：“天竺，古云身毒，或云賢豆，新云印度，皆訛轉也。正云印特伽羅，此翻為月也。月有千名，斯其一也。”案天竺為印度通稱。往時印度，統一時促而分立時久，故我國史籍往往謂之五印度也。本書所言之天竺國，未明所指何國？或係耳食傳聞，或為承襲諸史，如“天竺國隸大秦國，所立國主悉由大秦選擇。”純屬絲毫無據之傳聞傳會之語，天竺未嘗隸大秦，更毋庸說“所立國主悉由大秦選擇”。如“後魏宣武時”至“以貝多樹葉為紙”止，乃雜採《通典》卷一九三《邊防》九“天竺”條之文。其實本書誌印度國家者如南毗、故臨、胡荼辣、麻囉華、注鞞、鵬茄羅等，又何必画蛇添足而另立天竺國耶！

(2) 毼皮 原注曰：毼乃獸名。《後漢書》卷八八《西域傳》云：“(天竺國)出細布、好毼毼……。”李賢注曰：《埤蒼》曰：“毛席也。”《釋名》曰：“施之承大牀前小榻上，登以上牀也。”“毛席”乃織毛為席，殆本書所謂“毼皮”也。

(3) 聖水 我國載籍於“聖水”之記錄有三，一見於《嶺外代答》卷三“大秦國”(所載與本書同)。二見於《事林廣記》卷五“默伽國”(Mekka, 今圖作麥加)云：“大食國祖師名蒲囉吽，(馮氏考為Abraham, Abraham為希伯來人之始祖，見《舊約·創世記》)自幼有異狀，長娶妻，在荒野生一男子，無水可洗，弃之於地，母走尋水，不獲。及回見其子以腳擦地，湧出一泉，水清甚。此子立，名司麻煙(Ismaël)，砌成大井，逢旱不乾，泛海遇風濤，以此水洒之，則應手而止。”三見於《瀛涯勝覽·天方國》云：“又往西行一日，到一城名蔣底納(Medina, 今圖作麥地那)，其馬哈麻(Muhammad)聖人陵寢正在城內，至今墓頂豪光，日夜侵雲而起，墓後有一井，泉水清甜，名阿必穆穆(Zamzam)，下番之人取其水藏於船邊，海倘遇颶風，即以此水洒之，風浪頓息。案《天方典禮》卷八云：“昔易卜刺聖(Abraham)、聖后哈哲姆(Hagar)氏初生易司馬(即司麻煙)不得水，覓於兩墩之間，奔趨往復七次，終不得，乃歸，見流水自儀(司麻煙又譯稱司馬儀)足下湧出，即今滲滲泉也。”此井至今猶存於默伽城中，亦為城中之一聖蹟。然中外所記，大同而小異，實乃著史者神化歷史人物之筆，不足為信史也。

(4) 悉曇章書 原注云：“下闕七字。”悉曇章乃梵語Siddham之對音，亦作悉檀、悉談，義為成就。玄應《一切經

音義》卷二《大般涅槃經》八“文字品”云：“西域悉曇章，本是婆羅賀磨天（Brahmadeva）所作，自古迄今，更無異書，但點畫之間微有不同耳。悉曇此云成就，論中悉檀者，亦悉曇也。”案本書所云“善天文算曆之術，皆學‘悉曇章’書，以貝多樹葉爲紙。”《新唐書·天竺傳》云：“有文字，善步曆，學‘悉曇章’，妄曰梵天（即大梵天 Brahman）法，書貝多葉以記事”等語（《舊唐書》同）。婆羅賀磨天即梵天也。故《大唐西域記》卷二“文字”云：“詳其文字，梵天所製。”其梵字之原始及生字，爲幼兒學習之課本，謂之悉曇章焉。並疑所闕數字當爲“妄曰梵天法”者等字。

(5) 貝多樹葉 爲貝多羅樹之葉，梵名作 Pattra，或曰貝者爲葉之義，多羅（Tala）樹之葉，謂之貝多羅。玄應《一切經音義》卷二《大般涅槃經》一“多羅”云：“《西域記》云：其樹形如樓欄，極高者七八十尺，果熟則赤，如大石榴，人多食之，東印度界其樹最多。”其葉長廣，其色光潤，印度佛教經典書寫，全用此葉。《西陽雜俎》前集卷一八“貝多”條云：“其樹出摩伽陀國（Magadha），長六七丈，經冬不凋。此樹有三種，一者多羅婆力叉貝多……”本書所云即此樹也。

(6) 寶林院 雍熙（公元九八四至九八八年）間，天竺僧囉護哪（Louhuna）僑居泉州城南，以募化所得，購地建院，名曰寶林。案宋時於泉州、廣州兩地設外人居留地，除天竺國僧外，尚有南毗國蕃商時羅巴、智力干父子居於泉之城南。

大食國

大食（1）在泉之西北，去泉州最遠。番舶艱於直達，自泉發船四十餘日，至藍里（2）博易住冬，次年再發，順風六十餘日方至其國。本國所產，多運載與三佛齊貿易，賈轉販以至中國。其國雄壯，其地廣袤。民俗侈麗，甲於諸番，天氣多寒，雪厚二三尺（3），故貴氈毯。國都號蜜徐篤（4），或作麻囉拔。據諸蕃衝要。王頭纏織錦番布，朔望則戴八面純金平頂冠，極天下珍寶，皆施其上。衣錦衣，繫玉帶，躡金履。其居以瑪瑙爲柱，以綠甘石之透明如水晶者爲壁，以水晶爲瓦，以碌石爲磚，以活石爲灰。帷幕之屬，悉用百花錦，其錦以真金線夾五色絲織成。檯榻飾以珠寶。塔砌包以純金。器皿鼎竈雜用金銀，結真珠爲簾。每出朝坐於簾後。官有丞相，披金甲，戴兜鍪，持寶劍，擁衛左右。餘官曰太尉，各領兵馬二萬餘人，馬高七尺，用鐵爲鞋，士卒驍勇，武藝冠倫。街闊五丈餘，就中鑿二丈深四尺，以備駱駝馬牛馱負物貨，左右鋪砌青黑石板，尤極精緻，以便來往。民居屋宇與中國同，但瓦則以薄石爲之。民食專仰米穀，好嗜細麵蒸羊，貧者食魚菜菓實，皆甜無酸，取葡萄汁爲酒，或用糖煮香藥爲思酥酒，又

用蜜和香藥作眉思打華酒，其酒大煖。巨富之家博易金銀以量爲秤。市肆諠譁，金銀綾錦之類種種萃聚。工匠技術咸精其能。王與官民皆事天，有佛名麻霞勿⁽⁵⁾。七日一削髮翦甲，歲首清齋念經一月，每日五次拜天。農民耕種無水旱之憂，有溪澗之水足以灌溉，其源不知從出，當農隙時，其水止平兩岸，及農務將興，漸漸汎溢，日增一日，差官一員視水候至廣行勸集齊時，耕種足用之後，水退如初⁽⁶⁾。國有大港，深二十餘丈，東南瀕海，支流達於諸路⁽⁷⁾。港之兩岸皆民居，日爲墟市，舟車輻湊，麻、麥、粟、豆、糖、麪、油、柴、鷄、羊、鵝、鴨、魚、蝦、棗圈、蒲萄、雜菓皆萃焉。土地所出，真珠、象牙、犀角、乳香、龍涎、木香、丁香、肉荳蔻、安息香、蘆薈、沒藥、血竭、阿魏、膻臍、鵬砂、琉璃、玻璃、碑磬、珊瑚樹、貓兒睛、梔子花、薔薇水、沒石子、黃蠟、織金軟錦、駝毛布、兜羅綿、異緞等。番商興販，係就三佛齊、佛囉安等國轉易，麻囉抹⁽⁸⁾、施曷⁽⁹⁾、奴發⁽¹⁰⁾、啞四包閑⁽¹¹⁾、囉施美⁽¹²⁾、木俱蘭⁽¹³⁾、伽力吉⁽¹⁴⁾、毗喏耶⁽¹⁵⁾、伊祿⁽¹⁶⁾、白達⁽¹⁷⁾、思蓮⁽¹⁸⁾、白蓮⁽¹⁹⁾、積吉⁽²⁰⁾、甘眉⁽²¹⁾、蒲花羅⁽²²⁾、層拔⁽²³⁾、弼琶囉⁽²⁴⁾、勿拔⁽²⁵⁾、甕箇⁽²⁶⁾、記施⁽²⁷⁾、麻嘉⁽²⁸⁾、弼斯羅⁽²⁹⁾、吉甕尼⁽³⁰⁾、勿斯窩⁽³¹⁾皆其屬國也。其國本波斯之別種。隋大業中有波斯之桀黠者，探穴得文石以爲瑞，乃糾合其衆，剽略資貨，聚徒浸盛，遂自立爲王，據有波斯國之西境。唐

永徽以後，屢來朝貢。其王盆尼末換之前，謂之白衣大食⁽³²⁾。阿婆羅拔之後，謂之黑衣大食⁽³³⁾。皇朝乾德四年，僧行勤游西域⁽³⁴⁾，因賜其王書，以招懷之。開寶元年，遣使來朝貢。四年，同占城、闍婆致禮物于江南李煜，煜不敢受，遣使上其狀，因詔自今勿以爲獻。淳化四年，遣副使李亞勿來貢，引對於崇政殿，稱其國與大秦國爲鄰，土出象牙、犀角。太宗問取犀象何法？對曰：“象用象媒，誘至漸近，以大繩羈縻之耳；犀則使人升大樹，操弓矢伺其至，射而殺之，其小者不用弓矢亦可捕獲。”賜以襲衣冠帶，仍賜黃金，準其所貢之直。雍熙三年，同賓隴龍國來朝。咸平六年，又遣麻尼等貢真珠，乞不給回賜。真宗不欲違其意，俟其還，優加恩禮。景德元年，其使與三佛齊、蒲甘使同在京師，留上元觀燈，皆賜錢縱飲。四年，偕占城來貢，優加館餼，許覽寺觀苑囿。大中祥符車駕東封，其主陁婆離上言，願執方物赴泰山，從之。四年祀汾陰，又來。詔令陪位。舊傳廣州言大食國人無西忽盧華，百三十歲，耳有重輪，貌甚偉異，自言遠慕皇化，附古邏國舶船而來，詔賜錦袍銀帶，加束帛⁽³⁵⁾。元祐、開禧間各遣使入貢。有番商曰施那幢⁽³⁶⁾，大食人也。躋寓泉南，輕財樂施，有西土氣習，作叢塚於城外之東南隅，以掩胡賈之遺骸。提舶林之奇⁽³⁷⁾記其實。

注釋：

(1)大食 即《史記·大宛列傳》及《漢書·西域傳》之條枝，《後漢書·西域傳》作條支，《大唐西域求法高僧傳·玄照傳》作多氏，慧超《往五天竺傳》作大寔，《經行記》、新舊《唐書》稱大食，皆為 Tajik 或 Tazi 之音譯，為波斯人昔時對阿拉伯人之稱，其地原止阿拉伯半島，多數乃游牧之貝杜因人(Bedouins)，少數在半島綠洲上從事農業和商業，尤其半島西南角之也門、阿西爾(Asir)，水源充足，土地比較肥沃，為宜於種植之農耕區域。而沿紅海之希賈茲(Al-Hijāz 我國載籍稱為漢志者)為亞非歐之間當時之主要商路，故此路上貿易繁榮，建有不少有名城市。在伊斯蘭教興起前，半島之北、中、南各部，已建立不少小國，至穆罕默德(公元六二二至六三二在位)創建伊斯蘭教後開始統一半島，至第二任哈里發艾卜·伯克爾(Abu Bekr 公元六三二至六三四在位)方向外擴張，先後征服波斯、希拉(Hira)及埃及、敘利亞之新月地區，僅三年時間，穆斯林帝國就從中亞之烏嚮水(Oxus R.)，伸展至北非之小流沙(Maghrib)，已成為橫跨亞、非兩洲之大國。七世紀中期後，漸趨分立，先後分立為以大馬士革為都城之倭馬亞(Umayyad)王朝(公元六六一年)，及建都於白達之阿拔斯(Abbasid)王朝(公元七六二年)。本書所指之大食，乃當時建都於開羅之法提瑪(Fatimides)王朝(公元九一〇年以後)。

(2)藍里 即藍無里，見本書前專條。

(3)雪厚二三尺 此處疑傳聞失實。案阿拉伯半島氣

候，為世界最干燥、最炎熱地區之一，其地東臨波斯灣、阿曼灣，南面為阿拉伯海，西頻紅海、亞丁灣，即使其屬國，亦在熱帶區域，更不能有積“雪厚二三尺”之氣候。

(4)蜜徐鶯 原注云：或作麻囉拔。夏德、柔克義譯注考為埃及之都城開羅(Cairo)之阿拉伯語 Misr Al-Atiqah 之舊稱，所考為是，詳見本書勿斯里條。

(5)有佛名麻霞勿 麻霞勿為 Muhammad 之省譯，《嶺外代答》卷三“大食諸國”條云：“有白達國(Bagdad)係大食諸國之京師也，其國王則佛麻霞勿之子孫也。”麻霞勿今譯作穆罕默德也。

(6)水退如初 以上所述，乃尼羅河(Nile R.)之自然環境也。尼羅河每年自七月中旬開始泛濫，河水溢出，“止平兩岸”，至十一月後，開始退落，水退時遺留之淤泥水草和礦物渣滓，如在土地上施肥，然後播種，故收穫豐盛，農業發達。

(7)國有大港……支流達於諸路 此港當係紅海西岸之庫賽爾(Kosseir)是也。宋時正當法提瑪王朝時期，而中世紀時，此港殆為法提瑪對東方貿易之重要門戶。托勒密(Ptolemée)時代尚有道路自尼羅河通至老庫賽爾，其地距今庫賽爾三英里，殘迹猶在。

(8)麻囉抹 為 Murbat 之對音，夏德與柔克義譯注以為即今阿拉伯半島哈德拉茅(Hadramaut)海岸之穆爾巴特(Mirbat)。然本書卷下《志物》“沒藥”條云：“沒藥出大食麻囉抹。”而此海岸雖以盛產乳香聞名於世，未聞盛產沒藥，又此海岸阿拉伯地理學家常稱之為 Shihir，乃古南部阿拉伯語，義為

“海岸”，即今之席赫爾。案宋時阿拉伯與非洲、印度以東國家貿易之主要港口為亞丁(Aden)港，但亞丁灣以北海上航行甚感困難，故賽伯伊(Sabaen)人乃另闢也門與敘利亞之間陸路交通，沿半島西岸北行商路，經麥加、佩特拉(Petra)等地販運香料等物。一以埃及為終點，一以敘利亞為目的地，一以達美索不達米亞。而此三路之始發地，則為賽伯伊之首都馬里卜(Marib)。因馬里卜實為乳香、沒藥聚集之處，故有“沒藥出大食麻囉抹”之語，疑麻囉抹或即馬里卜之異譯。

(9)施曷 為 Shihr 之省譯，馬可波羅作愛舍兒(Es-cier, Es-Cher)亦在哈德拉海岸，是乳香著名產地及貿易中心。今圖作席赫爾者。

(10)奴發 為 Zufar 之對音，其地在今阿曼(Oman)境內，今圖作佐法兒(Dhofar)，為希木葉(Simaye)之首都，亦係古代阿拉伯香料之一大集市。

(11)啞四包閑 為 Isfahan, Isbahan 之對音，即《元史·地理志》“西北地附錄”之亦思法抗，其地在今伊朗之伊斯法罕(Ispahan)省之首府。

(12)囉施美 為 Khwarizm, Khorezm 之音譯，夏德、柔克義譯注考為即《西域記》卷一作貨利習彌迦。《新唐書·西域傳》作火尋，沙畹《西突厥史料》同。據《西域傳》云：“火尋，或曰貨利習彌，曰過利，居烏澹水(Qxus, 今圖作阿母河)之陽。……乃康居小王奧鞞城(Ureganj 在烏茲別克斯坦境內)之故地，至元時名之花刺子模(Khwarizm)。在今阿母河(Amudarya)下游之基發(Khiva)即其地也。

(13)木俱蘭 為 Makran 之音譯，馬可波羅作 Mekan, 今圖作莫克蘭，在巴基斯坦(Pakistan)近伊朗處。

(14)伽力吉 譯注以為 Kalhat 之對音，馬可波羅作 Calatu (哈刺圖)，為甕蠻灣內之古城。此城為阿拉伯一大城市，後毀於地震，遺址尚存。

(15)毗喏耶 譯注認為乃阿拉伯 Ifrikyā 之異譯。原為羅馬帝國北非屬地，迦太基(Carthage)故址，阿拉伯人名為 Maghrib, 義為極西。即今之摩洛哥(Morocco)、阿爾及利亞(Algeria)、突尼斯(Tunis)及黎波里(Tripoli, Tripolitania)等國家及地區。

(16)伊祿 為 Iraq 之對音，今圖作伊拉克，為古波斯語義為“低地”，相當於阿拉伯語之 Sawad(黑地)，與阿拉伯沙漠相映對照。今為兩河流域之國家。

(17)白達 為 Bagdad 之省譯，本書後有專條。

(18)思蓮 夏德、柔克義疑為撒那威(Siraf)，然又疑指設拉子(Shiraz, 在法爾斯省中)。案思蓮似以撒那威(今圖作塔黑里)為是，此港在唐宋時期，為我國與阿拉伯、印度間主要通商港口，即蘇萊曼《東遊記》中之戶羅夫(Siraf)。我國載籍《程史》卷十一中之戶羅圍，本節下之施那韓(實非人名見注釋(36))，元時吳鑒《清淨寺記》之撒那威，《拙齋文集》卷十六《泉州東坡叢蕃商記》之試那圍，皆思蓮之異譯。

(19)白蓮 為 Bahrain 之異譯，譯注考為巴林，所考殆得正鵠。案本書既以思蓮、白蓮並舉，不無緣故，因塔黑里正與巴林遙遙相對，而巴林島古稱迪勒孟(Dilmun)，轉譯成白

蓮。故思蓮爲今之塔黑里，則白蓮正爲巴林島。

(20) 積吉 夏德、柔克義譯注以爲莫克蘭(Makran)海岸之迪濟(Tiz)，恐非。案積吉疑爲是 Mashhad 之省譯，當指今伊朗之馬什哈德，因其地有阿里(Ali-ibn-Abi-Talib)之墳墓所在地，Mashhad 阿拉伯語義爲“陵廟”，疑積吉或其省譯。

(21) 甘眉 夏德、柔克義考爲科摩羅(Comoro)島，疑非。甘眉當指忽魯模斯(Harmuz)，然此名波斯語異寫頗多，有 Hermosa、Formose、Qrmuz 等，古寫本《馬可波羅行記》中亦有多種，其中有作 Charmusa，甘眉殆其省譯。其城原在伊朗大陸上米納卜河(Minâb)口東面之港名，元末明初因波斯東部戰事而移遷至海上，即今之霍爾木茲。

(22) 蒲花羅 夏德、柔克義以爲 Bukhara 之對音，即《隋書》之安國，《大唐西域記》卷一之捕喝國。沙畹亦以爲然，《西突厥史料》引《新唐書》卷二二一下云：“安者，一曰布豁，又曰捕喝，元魏謂忸蜜者。東北至東安(Khargham)，西南至畢，皆百里，所西瀕烏澗水。”其地在今阿母河之布哈拉(Bukhara)也。

(23) 層拔 本書下有專條。

(24) 弼琶囉 即今之索馬里(Somalia)柏培拉(Berbera)，本書有專條。

(25) 勿拔 本書下有專條詳釋。

(26) 甕篋 “篋”爲“蠻”之譌，本書後有專條。

(27) 記施 爲 Kisk, Kais 之對音，本書有專條。

(28) 麻嘉 爲 Mekka 之對音，本書有專條。

(29) 弼斯羅 爲 Basra 之對音，本書有專條。

(30) 吉菴尼 見前大秦國注釋(4)，及本書後之專條。

(31) 勿斯离 “离”應作“離”，爲 Mosul 之對音，本書有專條。

(32) 白衣大食 此處文字，雜錄新、舊《唐書·大食傳》之文。白衣大食指倭馬亞(Omayyad)王朝，公元六六一至七四九年都於敘利亞之大馬士革，共歷十四哈里發。其王盆尼末換則指麥爾旺二世(Marwan II 公元七四四至七五〇年在位)，於公元七五〇年八月五日，在埃及艾卜綏爾(Abusir)城之一所基督教教堂外，兵敗被捕殺。至於《新唐書·大食傳》之永徽二年(公元六五一年)，王繖蜜莫末賦係 Amir Al-mu' minin 之異譯，其義爲“信士們之長官”。其時大食建國已三十四年，當哈里發阿布·伯爾克時也。

(33) 黑衣大食 指阿拔斯(Abbasid)王朝，公元七四九至一二五八年，都於白達，凡歷三十七哈里發。既爲阿拉伯帝國極盛時期，又是瓦解開始。阿婆羅拔，當指阿拔斯王朝之創始人艾卜勒·阿拔斯(Abbās Abu-Al 之省譯)也。

(34) 僧行勤遊西域 《宋史·太祖紀》及《續資治通鑑長編》卷七云：“(乾德四年三月)僧行勤等一百五十七人各賜錢三萬遊西域(《長編》作一百五十人)。”即錄此文也。

(35) 詔賜錦袍銀帶加束帛 以上自開寶、淳化、雍熙、咸平、景德及大中祥符等皆同《宋史·大食傳》，乃《宋史》所採錄本書也。

(36) 有番商曰施那韓 施那韓爲 Shilave 之音譯，即

注釋⁽¹⁸⁾思蓮者，或譯作撒那威。《蘇萊曼東遊記》作尸羅圍。此之施那韓原係地名而作人名，猶言尸羅圍籍之商人。伊斯蘭教國習俗，往往以居住地為其人名之稱也。

(37)林之奇 字少穎，號拙齋，福州侯官人，中紹興二十一年進士第，調莆田簿。後由宗正丞提舉閩舶。《宋史·儒林傳》三有傳。淳熙三年卒，年六十五歲，著有《拙齋文集》、《道山記聞》等書行於世。

麻 嘉 國

麻嘉國⁽¹⁾自麻囉拔國西去，陸行八十餘程方到，乃佛麻霞勿所生之處，佛居用五色玉甃成。每歲遇佛忌辰，大食諸國皆至瞻禮⁽²⁾，爭持金銀珍寶以施，仍用錦綺覆其居。後有佛墓⁽³⁾，晝夜常有霞光，人莫能近，過則合眼。若人臨命終時，摸取墓上土塗曾，云可乘佛力超生。

注 釋：

(1)麻嘉 為Mecca之對音，《嶺外代答》同作麻嘉，《事林廣記》作默伽，《宋會要》“蕃夷”七作摩迦，劉郁《西使記》作天房(Bait-Allah)，《島夷誌略》又作天堂，今稱麥加。天房、天堂由麥加城聖廟阿白(Kābah今譯作克而白)而得名，愷阿白廟即本書所云“佛居”(參見《瀛涯勝覽》“天方國”)。因愷阿

白阿拉伯語義為“立方體”，聖寺內石殿是方形，故有“天房”、“天堂”之稱。該聖寺原是一簡單樸素之建築，而無房頂，牆上安置一塊黑色隕石(Hajar al-Aswad)，被當作神物崇拜。據伊斯蘭教之傳說，愷阿白廟乃阿丹依照天上原型而建築，洪水泛濫後，易卜拉欣(Ibrahim)與易司馬儀所重建(見馬堅譯《古蘭經》中國社會科學版十三頁)。而我國載籍記有麻嘉，當以《嶺外代答》為最早。本書所紀主要轉錄於《嶺外代答》。穆罕默德德出生於麻嘉，故本書有云“乃佛麻霞勿所生之處”也。

(2)大食諸國皆至瞻禮 按伊斯蘭教之五大綱領(arkan 舊譯作五功)中之第五個綱領，每個穆斯林不分男女，如身體康健，旅途安全，能自備旅費，在家屬生活不受影響之情況下，平生必須至麻嘉(麥加)朝聖(Hadji, Hajja 哈只)。朝聖分大朝(哈只)、小朝(unrah)二類。大朝者以受戒者之身份進入聖地，先繞愷阿白廟行七周，然後在附近之賽法(Safa)、麥而瓦(Maleva)兩丘陵之間奔走七趟。朝覲之主要功課(活動)是進駐阿拉法特(Arafat)，於回曆十二月初九日舉行。是日白天在阿拉法特停留，晚上在木茲德里法(Mustelifa)停留，初十日早晨在米那(Mina)停留。這幾處地方皆在麻嘉東郊聖地。從初九日至初十日前往米那山谷途中，於哲麥拉特·阿格伯(Jamrat al-Aqabah)投擲小石子。初十日在米那宰牲，宰一駱駝或牛或羊(《古蘭經》二五五頁34—37)。這即是世界穆斯林普天同慶之古爾班節，至此，朝聖儀式全畢。小朝者隨時都可舉行，個人也能舉行。

(3)後有佛墓 在麻嘉城聖廟殿左之佛墓，乃阿拉伯族