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# Ancient Tibet and its Frontagers.

By Thos. W. Kingsmill, Esq.

In my former paper on "The Mantsees and the Golden Chersonese" I made an attempt to trace these Mantse tribes through the province of Yunnan, and well into Ssech'wen, where they established amongst others the ancient kingdom of Derge. This state, then extending far east of its present position on the Drechu or upper Kinsha, was the original seat of what afterwards, under the rule of the last descendants of the later Han, came to be called the kingdom of Shuh. Geographically Derge formed part of an extensive district once known as Kandar or Gandar, which stretched far into Annam, and to the N.W. reached to Ningyuen fu in Ssech'wen, where the name still survives in a somewhat mutilated form in that of the fertile valley of Kiench'ang, the Caidu of Marco Polo. Although in these regions, as we learn from the semi-mythical story of the *Heo Han Shu*, quoted in the former paper, there was already a considerable admixture of Tibetan (Böd) blood, the Mans were up till medieval times the predominant factor in the population.

Mantse blood, in fact, stretched in early times far into the Hukwang, and traces of it are to be found in the local nomenclature of all the lower Yangtse provinces: this is, however, beyond the scope of the present article. Our earliest historical notices of these regions are mainly

to be found in the *Shiki* or Book of History, a work composed by Ssema T'sien towards the end of the second century B.C. Various rhythmical ballads have, however, been preserved in the *Shu King* or Historical Classic, and of these from a geographical point of view the metrical portion of the so-called *Yukung* is undoubtedly the most valuable. I have already referred to the description of Liang, *i.e.* Derge :—

Min and Po came under civilisation ;  
 Along the courses of the T'o and T'sim.  
 The T'sai-mung were planted :  
 The Ho (Hor) tribes brought under.

Not less interesting are the lines referring to the land called in the gloss Yu Cheo 豫州. Here the form of the written character indicates that at one time it was homophonous with *siang* 象 (elephant) as well as with *shu* 舒 (loose, unfold), and so was originally pronounced *Sar* or *Ser*. Now we can trace T'sin 秦 and its homologues to a similar ancient pronunciation, *Ser* or *Sir*; so that Yu Cheo was in reality the land of the Sers or Sirs, in other words the *Seres*, under which name the peoples inhabiting what is now China came to be known in Europe in the Augustine age. Virgil wrote his *Georgics* most probably about B.C. 35, when the memory of the great conqueror T'sin Shihwangti had not yet died out, and in the second *Georgic* [v. 120] he thus addresses Augustus :—  
 “What, great Cæsar shall I tell thee?”

Velleraque ut foliis depectant tenuia Seres?

How from the leaves the Seres comb their fleeces fine?

The silk referred to here was clearly not that of the carefully nurtured *Bombyx mori*, but that of the more robust *Antheræa Pernji*, from which in all the northern provinces the Chinese gather the so-called wild silk, from which the

natives weave their pongees. Anyone who has seen the *Antheraea* spinning her cocoon in an oak copse in eastern Shantung cannot but be struck with the correctness of the poet's description.

In connection with this land the ballad proceeds :—

The I (or rather Sa), the Lok, the Ch'in and Kau

Joined the Ho.

Yungpo was embanked,

The Ko and Mang marshes put in order.

The only one of these capable of identification is the Lok, but it and the others were certainly connected with the complex of lofty mountains between Ssech'wen and the Wei valley in Shensi. The text, however, is hopelessly corrupt, and besides the land has seemingly undergone much superficial change. It is interesting to notice from the early gloss that in addition to varnish, hemp and grass-cloth, the country produced silk.

Now the little we know of these T'sins would rather connect them with the Mans in the south than with the Chinese in the north, and the *Tso Chwen* seems to indicate that there was a difference in language as well as in habits from the latter, while it once or twice refers to friendly feelings as existing with the southern tribes in Ssech'wen. The account of their origin given in the *Shiki* does not help us much, but is curious. A dark coloured bird dropped an egg, and the grand-daughter of the "emperor Chwenhu" swallowed it and afterwards gave birth to a son, who in time became a great chieftain. He married the daughter of Shao-tien 少興 [which, it seems to me, may be a synonym for T'saidam], who gave birth to Ta-fei 大費 (Taföt). Now these old genealogical stories have generally their origin in some topical tradition; and this is easily read as indicating a belief that the Böd tribes were in some way

connected with T'saidam, a sufficiently probable contingency. This Taföt, seemingly an older rendering of Taböt, *i.e.* Tibet, the same authority informs us, was likewise known as the Payik 伯益 *i.e.* Lord of Yik, which in my former notes I have shown was a synonym for Derge, then reaching far towards the east of Ssech'wen. Of Böt 番, the oldest name we find for modern Tibet in Indian and Chinese lore alike, I shall have much to say lower down.

In many of their customs, more especially those connected with burial, as also in their troglodytic habits, the inhabitants of the land of T'sin show affinity with those of northern and eastern Ssech'wen. According to the *Tso-chuen* we find a fraternal feeling existing between T'sin and Pa (eastern Ssech'wen) as early as the 7th century B.C., and in the wars at the close of the 4th century B.C., when T'sin and Chu, the then most powerful state in central China, were waging bloody wars for the lordship of the Empire, we find that Pa, apparently without a struggle, threw in its lot with T'sin, and permitted the passage of T'sin Shihwang's troops through its territory; with the result that the old kingdom of Chu was, for T'sin Shihwang's time at least, extinguished. More curiously still, the same tie of affinity finally helped Liu Pang in founding his empire of Han. Liu Pang was the champion of the last descendant of the house of Chu, and it was in the rôle of avenging his murder that he claimed the assistance of the Mantse states, and finally received from Shihwangti's feeble heir the Imperial Emblems.

Pa in eastern Ssech'wen was conterminous with, on the S.E., the ancient state of K'ienchung. This latter comprised the knot of mountainous country in the extreme west of Hupeh, forming the prefecture of Shinan and adjoining districts. Even now, speaking from personal experience, the

people here are of different type from their neighbours in the rest of Hupeh. Their complexion is distinctly lighter, their heads longer, their hair finer and in many cases of a decided brown and disposed towards waviness, and their eyes of lighter colour and wanting in most cases the characteristic fold of the upper eyelid. All these are Mantse characteristics, and indicate the people allied with their purer Mantse brethren of the Kiench'ang valley. The name in modern Chinese is K'ienchung 黔中, or rather, as pronounced in the north, Ch'ienchung, but in the older dialects of the south it is still K'imchung, or, according to its phonetic, K'amchung.

This affords another instance of the prevailing modern drift of the aboriginal tribes westward in Ssech'wen and the adjacent provinces. The name still survives, but it is to be found along the eastern flank of Tibet proper, where it reappears in the Khamdo of the maps. Lieut.-Col. Waddell, in his *Lhasa and its Mysteries*, speaks of the people of these districts as "the upstanding athletic Khams from the east with the fine physique and free carriage," and records their independence of character. All these are still marked traits of the people about Shinan fu as well; a portrait that he gives of one of these Khams might equally well answer for one of the ordinary dwellers in the Shipan district.

Of the T'sins, unfortunately, our knowledge is entirely derived from Chinese, and therefore unfriendly, sources, and we are left completely in the dark as to their original seats and their western and northern frontagers. We can, however, by diligent search, learn something. About 770 B.C. the Turkish tribe afterwards known as the Hiung Nu attacked and took the capital town of the kingdom of Cheo in the valley of the Wei in Shensi, and killed the king himself. His heir appealed for help to the T'sins, then apparently seated to the south-west, who responded



to the call and drove away the invaders. But the T'sins having taken the country, and finding it good, had no intention of retiring, and in consequence Cheo had to move eastward to the valley of the Lok, and there found a new home. Not many years after we find T'sin establishing a new capital at or near the present Fengt'siang fu in the rich Wei valley, and this would seem to indicate that the original position of the tribe must have been the elevated plateau north and north-east of Ch'engt'u, forming the boundary lands of Ssech'wen and Kansu. Till within the last century this land still continued to be occupied by Mantsees, and it is only within the last hundred years that they have been assimilated, or forced to take up their residence in the highlands.

The chief town of these districts is officially called Sungp'wan, and it and the country round is mainly occupied by a (so-called) Tibetan tribe, the Sifan 西番 of the Chinese, but who, according to Rockhill, call themselves Sharba or Sharbar. The three words Sharbar, Sifan 西番 and Sungp'wan 松潘 are, however, identical, the two latter being only slightly varying Chinese transcripts of the former, which cannot be more nearly represented in Chinese characters. Very curiously the phonetic element in *fan* 番 is also in some cases to be read as *p'ò*, as in 鄱陽, the P'ò-yang Lake, and this has led to immense confusion. Following certain Chinese authors, modern writers have divided these Fans into two, nomadic and agricultural, the former being the Sifan 西番 and the latter the T'ufan 土番, and looking at the characters as written such an interpretation doubtless looks natural enough; the *Si* and *T'u* are, however, merely phonetic, and the second character is to be read in the one case *fan* and in the other *p'ò*,—Sifan (Sharbar) and *T'up'ò* (Tibet). This agrees with what we learn from

the accounts of the British expedition; thus we read [Percival Landon, vol. ii. p. 376]:—"The origin of the name Tibet is phonetically curious. The inhabitants of the country spell its name 'Böd.' This, in accordance with the recognised rules of Tibetan pronunciation, they pronounce 'Peu' (as in French, but with a phantom 'd'). Upper in Tibetan is 'Stod,' which for similar reasons is pronounced 'teu.' Upper Tibet, as opposed to the lower districts to the north, east and west of Lhasa, is about conterminous with what we regard as Central Tibet. The pronunciation of 'Teu-peu(d)' was crisped on the Darjeeling frontier into Tibet, and thus became known to Europeans in this form."

From the fifth or sixth centuries these characters with the sound T'up'ö have been used to represent Tibet. Töböd is then the name for the high-lying portion of Tibet which adjoins Kashmir and Ladak, the country generally being known as Böd, or rather Böd-yul. Sharbar, the Chinese Sifan, in Tibetan again simply means "Eastern people." The latter part of the word "Bar," the "people," was the name of the eastern part of what is now Ssech'wen, in contrast with Shuk, or Derge, the western. Pa, represented by the purely phonetic character 巴, still survives in the sub-prefecture of Pacheo 巴州, and in Pabien 巴縣, the district of which Chungk'ing is the prefectural capital, as well as in many other place names in this country.

Before leaving the Mantse country, one other of the tribes deserves consideration as still forming an important element in that strange ethnic conglomeration, the modern Tibetan. This tribe, or rather people, known as the Horbas, or Horbar, still survives as a separate entity about Kanze, on the upper waters of the Yalung; but although they have for the most part ceased to exist as separate communities, the type is very persistent all through Tibet, being in strong

contrast with the aboriginal type misnamed *Mongol*, and wrongly presumed to have come originally from the north. This people first come into our purview in the *Shiki* [chap. cxvi], where we find them called K'wen, or K'wenming, the latter syllable standing here for *bar*. They were associated with Kiüneh'ang 君長, in which we can recognise the Carajan of Marco Polo, the Kandar of the Mohammedan Rashiduddin, of whom I spoke in my former notice. In the old name of modern Ch'engkiang fu (K'wen-cheo), in that of Yunnan fu (K'wenming) and in that of Tali fu (K'wenmi) we can trace the original seats of the tribe across Yunnan. Ethnologically these Horbar belonged to the larger division of the Mantse.

Speaking of this element in the Tibetan people, Lieut.-Col. Waddell [l.c. p. 346] says :—

“The physical type of the Tibetans I find here (Hlassa), as elsewhere from Gyantse onwards, is of two well marked and almost equally prevalent kinds, the one round-headed, flat-faced, and oblique-eyed, approximating to the pure Mongol from the Steppes (Sok), the other longer-headed with nearly regular features, a fairly shapely long nose with a good bridge and little of the “Kalmuk” eye, approximating to the Tartars of Turkestan and the nomads of the great northern plateau (Hor). It was noticeable that a large number of the nobility and higher officials, the Jongpons and others, belonged to this longer-headed and longer-nosed group, which seemed also to comprise many of the Mahomedan Balti coolies who had come with us to Lhasa by way of India, from their country bordering the Pamirs. The latter are indeed scarcely distinguishable from the long-headed Tibetans. Several recent migrations of these nomad Hor Tartars have taken place, I am told, far into south-western Tibet, to the east of the Yamdok Lake near the borders of Bhotan.”

The meaning of this will be explained lower down in the paper. Again, speaking of Kanze, referred to above, Mr. Rockhill tells us :—

“ Kanze is the chief city of the Horba states, locally called Horsé K'a nga, ‘ the five Horba Clans ’; their names are Kangsar, Mazar, Berim, Chuwo and Chango. This region is, after Derge, the most populous and wealthy of eastern Tibet. . . . The people are among the best looking I have seen in Tibet, and have less heavy features ; aquiline noses, hazel eyes, and curly or wavy hair are not uncommon. The women especially are good-looking, and the natural comeliness of the people is not a little increased by their bright coloured attire and gold and silver ornaments.”

Horse racing, singing and dancing are favourite amusements of these people, and it is worthy of note that the double flute, long since disused in China, and the three-stringed lute, the *sansien* of the Chinese, still survive amongst them.

It seems to me open to doubt whether all this blond element in Tibet is Mantse ; we shall lower down see that a good deal has to be classed as Kiang, or rather Kuru. The original Mantses or Maurya peoples were, however, not far removed in blood, and we may therefore feel ourselves quite justified in classing both Mantses and Kiang under the general heading of Turanians, the full meaning of which I shall explain lower down. The Mantse element the Chinese themselves trace up to the Maurya family of Central India, and the evidences on the spot are not inconsistent with this origin.

There is, however, another and far more obscure element in these populations, which seemingly we must look on as the aboriginal. Col. Waddell would trace it to the Mongols on the northern frontier ; but though there has been for many centuries a considerable admixture of this so-called Mongolic

element, I do not think that we are justified in considering it fundamental, and would rather expect to find the true aboriginal element in the Böd peoples who have left their name indelibly associated with the country. As in the former case so in this, these Böd people belong to the same wide-spreading family as the aboriginal races who once occupied the north and east of Asia prior to the advent of the blond peoples. Our earliest knowledge of these Böd tribes is curiously not derived from Chinese but from outside sources. In a former paper, the "Serica of Ptolemy and its Inhabitants" [Trans. XIX. 44], I translated the portions of the *Geographica* relating to these districts; I may make a few extracts. Speaking of the mountains bounding Serica, by which term he referred to Eastern Turkestan, he mentions on the south:—"The eastern portion of those called the Emodon and Seric, extending to long. 165°, lat. 36°, and the range called the Otterokorras, whose extremities lie in long. 160°, lat. 36°. Ptolemy's longitudes, for reasons explained in the paper, are of course of little account, but his latitudes, considering the time and the untrustworthy authorities with whom he had to deal with regard to these distant and almost unknown lands, are wonderful approximations to the truth. We can have no difficulty in placing these mountain ranges as, respectively, the Karakorum range of the Himayalas, the Altyn Tagh and the Burkan Buddha. Here also are two rivers, the Œkhardes and the Bautisos: the former is plainly the Arang or Upper Jaxartes, the Arg Rut of the Bundehish; the latter is of especial interest in this connection. It is plainly the Bhadra of the Buddhist writers, which in their mythical geography is made to rise on the northern summit of Mount Meru and flow through Uttara-Kuru, the Otterokorras of Ptolemy, into the Northern Sea. Bhadra in Sanscrit means auspicious, but is here merely an euphrasis for Bhotta or Bhotiya, *Tibetan*, a

name which at once brings it into line with Ptolemy's *Bautisos*, while its connection with the Lop basin explains Ptolemy's position for the people whom he calls *Batæ*, and places south of the *Aspakaræ* (Horse-riders) but north of the *Ottorokorras*. The *Bautisos*, then, which Ptolemy describes as having sources in the Kasian (T'ien-shan) Mountains, and in the *Ottorokorras*, and bending towards the *Emodan*, can be no other than the *Tarim* of to-day, with its tributary the *Cherchen Darya*, once a far more important river than at present.

With the exception of a single passing allusion in Pliny [vi. 20] to a tribe of *Attacori*, *apricis ab omni noxiæ afflatu seclusa collibus*, I know of but one other allusion to these dwellers on the northern flank of the great Himalayan range in the classic writers, and that is in *Ammianus* [xiii. 6. 65,66]. Speaking of the basin of Lake Lop, he says:—

“This plain, broken at times by rising grounds and extensive flats, is watered by two streams of well known names, flowing through it with gentle current;—the *Œchardes* (*Arg Rut*) and the *Bautis*. The district varies in nature—here open, there interspersed with rising grounds; it produces fruit in abundance; affording as well pasturage for herds of cattle, and bearing extensive forests.

“The fertile lands are inhabited by many tribes, of which we may mention the *Alitrophagi* (Curd-eaters), the *Annibi* (? *Abii* of *Arrian*, *i.e.* *Wusuns*), the *Sizyges* (? *Salars*), and the *Chardi* (? *Kaoch'e*): these are settled in the northern regions and exposed to the frosts of winter. Then there are the *Rabannæ* (Chinese *Hwanyas* 渾邪), the *Asmiræ* (*Ashmardans*, the *Shemotana* of *Yuen Chwang*, who lived in what is now the *Takla Makan* desert west of *Cherchen*), and the *Essedones* (a *Getic* tribe, placed here by mistake, and whose proper place was on the *Upper Jaxartes*), the most illustrious of all. To these on the west adjoin the *Athagoræ*

(the Ithaguri of Ptolemy, of whom I shall speak lower down), and the Aspacaræ (? equestrian Kurus or simply Horse-riders): and finally, the Betæ (Böds) resting on the southern summits of the mountains.”

Leaving out of account here the more northerly tribes, regarding whom he is hopelessly confused, Ammianus seems to have had some definite information, however crude, respecting the more southern peoples along the northern flank of the Kwenlun range, more especially the three whom he calls respectively the Asmiræ, the Athagoræ and the Betæ. The Betæ of Ammianus must of course be identified with the Bâtæ of Ptolemy, and these with the native Böd, the Bhotiya people of the Indian writers, to whose connections I shall return later on. The Asmiræ are, however, worthy of separate mention, as at one time they occupied a prominent position in the history of Eastern Asia. They are mentioned in the *Han Shu* [chap. xcvi] as Chemöt:—

“Chemöt 且末 lay 720 li to the west of Shenshen (Cherchen); it is a dependent state under a marquis assisted by a right and left general. On the north-west it reaches to Tuhu (Tangut), from which its capital is 2,258 li distant: northward it extends to Weili and south to lesser Yarkand, which is about three days’ journey distant. It produces grapes and other fruits, and westwards communicates with Tsing-tsüt (Dardistan) distant some 2,000 li.”

According to the monk Yuen Chwang the Sanscrit name of the place was Che-mo-t’o-na 折摩馱那, which we may transcribe as Akshwardana, but locally it seems to have been known as Ashmar or Ashmarda, whence the Asmiræa of Ptolemy, the Asmiræ of Ammianus, and the Chemöt of the *Han Shu*. In the version which Julien translated we read:—

“Leaving Tuholo (Sorghul) we travel about 600 li towards the east and arrive at the country of Akshwardana, otherwise known as Nimo.”

So says Julien, but there is apparently a typographical error in the text, simple enough but which has rendered the passage impossible to recognise in the light of recent travels. The transcriber used the characters 湟末, which Julien rendered Ni-mo; but these I take it were intended for the very similar 淖末 *i.e.* Che(k)-möt, so that we arrive at the identical sound which appears in the *Han Shu*. The walls of the city, he tells us, were very high, but even in his days it was deserted. The place was clearly that known to the Persians as Machin, which afterwards the Mohammedan writers came to confound with China (Chin). A late author, Sadik Isfahani, who lived after the Yuen dynasty thus referred to it:—

“Machin, a considerable region near Chin; it derives its name from Machin the son of Japhet, the son of Noah, on whom be peace! The chief city of Machin is called Tanktash, *i.e.* ‘Place of stones,’ and this country is situated in the first and second climates.”

Passing Ashmarda and going towards the north-east the monk arrived at the old kingdom of Napopo, plainly intended for Navapur (“Newtown”) the Sanscrit name of the place formerly known as the country of Leolan. As there is no question about Leolan being represented by the site of the present Cherchen, we may confidently place Ashmarda somewhat more northerly than Khoten on the bank of the Keriya river, and it is noteworthy that in this very position Dr. Aurel Stein in his excavations amidst the ancient cities of this district [*Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan*, chap. xx] discovered the sites of one or more towns, exhibiting in their ruins the traces of a highly advanced civilisation during the early centuries of the present era.



The last of these three peoples, to whom I have specially alluded, are the Athagoræ of Ammianus, in whom we cannot fail to see the Ithaguri of Ptolemy and the Attacori of Pliny. Ptolemy's Ithaguri and Ottorokorræ fall thus into line : they are simply the Greek renderings of the Adhara-Kurus and Uttara-Kurus respectively—the Lower and Upper Kurus of the Indian Sanscrit writers. Ptolemy says of them [vi. 16] :—

“ By these up to the Kasian Mountains (T'ien Shan) are the Issedons, a powerful tribe, and more easterly the Throani (people of Shenshen or Cherchen), and then beside them the Ithaguri.”

There can be but little doubt from this short description in fixing the position of these Lower Kurus as ranging from Cherchen eastwards along the northern flanks of the Altyn Tagh eastwards to Shacheo and its neighbourhood ; and here the *Heo-Ian Shu* places contemporaneously the Si Kiang. According to the genius of the old language we must see in the final *ng* the remains of an older *r*, and recognise the identity of the two—Kiangs and Kurus. The initial syllable *Si* we shall see in another and more easily recognisable form lower down.

These Kiang or Kurus in both Indian and Chinese lore have a long history, which in both cases goes far back into the ages of Myth. By most historians and ethnographers who have essayed to write about these regions, these Kiang of the Chinese authors have been classed as Tibetans ; this is really putting the cart before the horse. It is true that the Tibetans of modern times are largely of Kiang strain, but prior to the fourth century the two peoples existed independently, and are of absolutely different family, and their erroneous classification under the one head has placed almost insurmountable difficulties in the way of a proper comprehension of both Chinese and Tibetan history. There has, it is true, been a large admixture of blood, but even in modern times the main element in the people of Tibet is not Kiang but Böd.

According to the Indian myth, supported by persistent tradition, the Kurus belonged to the Lunar Race, and their earliest seat was the country of Uttara-Kuru beyond the northernmost range of the Himalayas. This formed one of the "Nine Continents" of primitive Indian tradition, and is described as a realm of eternal bliss: through it flowed the Bhadra, the sacred river, which, rising on the summit of the holy mountain of Meru, flowed through Uttara-Kuru into the great Northern Ocean. This legend, of course, lay at the foundation of Ptolemy's geography of Serica, and largely affected the medieval conceptions of Central Asia. The Indian name of the river—Bhadra (the "Auspicious")—has generally been accepted as a euphemism for Bhotiya, the Böd River, agreeing thus with Ptolemy's name of the Bautisos, Bhotta being the ordinary Sanscrit appellation of the country.

According to the ancient Indian myth these Kurus were not Aryas, that is to say were not descendants of Airya, and so did not belong to the Solar Race. In the old Iranian cosmogony Feridun (Thraêtaona, the Vedic Traitona) had three sons, respectively Çairima, Tuirya and Airya, the eponyms of the Çairimyans (Sauromats), Tuiryans (Turanians), *i.e.* the ancient inhabitants of the Pamirs and the basin of Eastern Turkestan, and the Aryans (these last forming, however, only one of the many families comprised by modern ethnologists under the general term Aryan). As Feridun is always in the Iranian legend the "Athwyan," *i.e.* the descendant of Athwya, I have suggested the term Athwyan to cover the entire of that section of the blond race now roughly known as Aryan, and would reserve the latter term for the first stream of the immigrants into India some eighteen centuries B.C. and their immediate relations, especially the Iranians and the Salyans or Hellenes. We find then a

definite place for the Turanians,\* as Kurus, Yâdavâs, etc., whose former home was along the eastern flanks of the Pamirs, where, too, many of them survived well into the historical epoch.

Strabo calls one of the satrapies taken from Eukratides Toriwa, *Τοριουα*, and we find the same elements in the name given to Yarkand in the *Shiki*,—Tayuen (*i.e.* Toyar). The old Chinese histories give the names of many other peoples in this region, and the greater number of these we can identify with names handed down from other sources, Indian and Greek:—the Wusun (Greek Asii or Asiâni, later known as “White Huns” in contradistinction to the Hunni, Hunns par excellence); the Tahia (Tokhari of Strabo); the Hukri(t)s of the *Shiki* (afterwards known as Wigurs), etc. So popular tradition quoted by Yule made Tashkurgan to have been founded by Afrasyab himself, the king of Turan; and here in the old story, after his great defeat at the hands of the hero Sam, he consented to confine his people. In Indian lore these folk, whose original home was in what is to-day called Eastern Turkestan, bore, in contrast to their brethren of supposed purer blood the Solar, the distinguishing title of Chandra Vança, or the Lunar Race. Of this strain the two most distinguished eponyms were Kuru, the ancestor of the Kauravas, and Pandu, father of the Pândavas, whose internecine wars form the main subject of the great Indian epic poem, the Mahâbhârata. In it Yayati, the fifth in descent from Soma (the Moon), had two sons, Yadu and Puru, and these became respectively the eponymic ancestors of the two great “Lunar” races, the Yâdavâs and the Pauravas. Of the former line the most distinguished descendant was Krishna, the early Indian god of agriculture. Of the line of the latter come first Kuru, whose descendants

\* By most ethnologists the Turanians have been confounded with the Turks. The Turks, as their legends, when analysed, will show, were only on one side Turanian, the other element being really Oghuz.

occupied the plain of the Jumna river, called after him Eurukshetra (the "Field of the Kurus"). The crown was in direct descent to have passed to Pandu, a distant descendant, but he being considered disqualified it was given to his brother Dhritarastra. Pandu accepted the position, but after his death his sons claimed the kingdom, and this claim brought about the great war which forms the burden of the Great Epic of India. With the Indian story we are not concerned, but these tribes occupy in ancient Chinese lore a very important position. Curiously enough, in the characters used by Ssema Ts'ien in his great history, the *Shiki*, to represent the original branch of the Yâdavâs who did not join in the Indian Immigration, the Yueh-ti ("Moon-Family") we have the exact reproduction of the Indian term Chandra-Vañça, while the pronunciation of the name "Yueh-ti" is as exact a travesty of the pronunciation of the Indian name of Yâdava as the Chinese language was capable of.

This is, however, not the only connection we find with these Yâdavâs in ancient Chinese literature. In the *Shi King* [III. i. 7] we find them attacking the Immigrants of Cheo on their long and weary road to China. They are here called Mats, or more correctly Madhs, a name closely associated with these same Yâdavâs in India, no less than three of the chiefs of the line bearing the name Madhu. Madhu in Sanscrit means *honey*, and curiously enough the Chinese 密, in Cantonese still pronounced *mat*, has the same meaning. The ballad proceeds:—

Thus spake the Gods on High "Wau wang!  
 Fear not to grasp the work; nor quail;  
 Let not your pity spare; be strong;  
 Strive each the goal to scale!  
 The Madhs their disobedience prove,  
 And daring our bright arms oppose,  
 On Yuan their hostile forces move."

Fierce in his wrath our king uprose,  
 Quickly his armies raised, and now  
 In vain his arms the foes withstand.  
 Thus he from ruin saved our Cheo,  
 And honour brought our sacred land.

The succeeding stanza describes the siege and capture of the great stronghold of the Madhs; in the old ballad it is called Ts'ung-yung, which we can have little difficulty in identifying with the Leo-lan of the *Shiki*, afterwards rendered by the characters 善善 Shen-shen in the *Iteo Han Shu*. There is little doubt that the name must therefore have been Dardar, or something closely akin. From all the indications the site must have been that of the modern village of Cherchen on the Cherchen Darya. Now and then some object of antiquity turns up to mark the site as once occupied by an important city, but it is now at best an oasis in the middle of the howling desert of the Takla makan.

On Ts'ungyung's walls our engines ply—  
 Ts'ungyung the fair—the wide renowned  
 Worst and wan its burghers fly,  
 Or captives sad in fetters bound,  
 Gracing our solemn feast appear.  
 Crushed 'neath our arms in deadly fray,  
 No haughty challenge meets our ear;  
 Nobly our king has won the day,  
 Nor recreant foes his will gainsay.

In the *Tso chwen* attached to the *Ch'un t'siu* [XI. iv] the name is given more at length than in the *Shi* as Mat-su, the latter syllable standing probably for *dal*, so that the full name of the tribe seems to have been Madhal, and this will account for the name as known to the Byzantine Greeks of Hephthal or Ἐφθαλίται which appears in Procopius.

Whatever the cause, we hear but little for centuries of Madh; there is a story of a quarrel between King Kung of Chao about 1000 B.C. with the ruler of Madh over three ladies, the result of which was that Madh was "extinguished." The story is, however, entirely apochryphal: in the 8th century B.C. Cheo itself was captured and destroyed at the hands of the Hiung Nu, and its people forced to remove to the east—to Lok in Honan—so that intercourse with the

states of Turkestan was completely cut off, and till the time of the early Hans the history of these regions is a perfect blank. One doubtful allusion to these people seems to occur in the minor Ballads. *Shi* [I. iv. 4] sings [the translation is free]:—

Whither away my winsome lad?  
 To pluck you cherries down by Madh.  
 But tell me, youth, why challenge fate;  
 What charmer tempts to danger's gate?  
 'Tis Mang, of Kiang's clan the pride;  
 To-day we meet by Sangchung's side.  
 With her no treach'rous foe I fear,  
 As K'i's steep banks we deftly clear.

As we shall see afterwards, the Yâdavas in Indian as well as Chinese lore had the reputation of being a beautiful as well as pleasure-loving race.

With the accession of the house of Han and the commencement of the struggle for empire with the Turkish Hiung Nu, we find frequent allusions to these Yâdavas, now known under the name of Yueh-ti, literally the "Lunar Race," and so bearing out the Indian myth. About 209 B.C. the Shenyu Maotun (probably to be pronounced Mughur), the greatest of his race, had established his rule from Sughd to the confines of Kansu. He found occupying the then comparatively fertile country of Eastern Turkestan several tribes of cognate race, standing on a high level of civilisation, well featured and light complexioned: I quote from the CXth chapter of the *Shi Ki*:—

"At this period the Tunghu were formidable and the Yuehti numerous. The Shenyu of the Hiung Nu was named T'eoman (Demur or Timur): this latter having met with a reverse at the hands of T'sin fled northwards, but a few years after, T'sin's great general having died and the conquered states rising in rebellion, China was thrown into a state of confusion, and the garrisons left by T'sin all disappeared. The Hiung

Nu, finding no opposition, gradually encroached and again crossed the Ho advancing up to the Stockades." . . . After some time Teoman died, and was succeeded by Maotun, the greatest of the race, under whom the Hiung empire grew apace . . . He subjugated," the story goes on to relate, "the Fanyu 渾庾, who occupied the territory, now desert, between Lake Lop and Shacheo; the Kütshe (whom I am unable to trace), the Tinglings 丁靈 (who still under the name of Salars survive, but far removed from their original seats, in the neighbourhood of Sining), and the Lukwen 鬲昆 and Sinlai 薪犁 (neither of whom I can identify).

The empire of the Hiung Nu seems at this period to have stretched from the Upper Jaxartes to the north of Shansi and from Karashahr to the slopes of the Altai; but their Shenyu was dreaming of still further conquests. Accordingly in the year 178 B.C. he addressed a letter to China:—

"The Supreme Shenyu, by the Grace of Heaven, to the Hwangti; sends greeting:—Formerly there existed between us a treaty of peace, and our people have lived in harmony. Some time since the officers in charge of the Marches have encroached and used insulting language towards the Right Yen Wang, which he bore without rejoinder. More recently it has become a matter of anxious deliberation between him and Nansse, Marquess of Lu, how best a breach of the peace can be avoided and the fraternal intercourse of the two peoples preserved, and on more than one occasion letters have passed with Your Majesty. Lately I despatched an envoy, but he has not returned nor have I received any communication; while some of the lower officials have committed breaches of the agreement, and attacking the Right Yen Wang have forced him into the western regions, where he was attacked by the Yuehti.

“Heaven, however, was propitious to our arms; our forces were well found, our cavalry brave and powerful, and in the end we totally defeated the Yuehti, carrying fire and sword through their lands and pacifying the country up to Leolan.

“[In consequence of our success] the Wusun 烏孫, the Huk‘(r)it 吁揭 and the neighbouring peoples, to the number of six and twenty, have joined our confederacy and all the bow-bearing nations are now united as one family.

“Having now pacified all the northern regions, it is our earnest wish that an end should be put to hostilities and that there should be no more quarrelings, so that we may send our horses to pasture, and enjoy peace at home as in the old times;—that our young men may grow up to manhood, our old may live in peace, and ease and harmony prevail from age to age.”

Such is the only contemporary, or nearly contemporary, record we possess of one of those remarkable ethnic migrations which have left their permanent records on the modern history of Asia, and whose echoes are still to be heard even in far distant Europe. So complete was the defeat that the Yuehti broke up their homes and emigrated in mass; the larger section crossed the watershed between the Lop basin and the Oxus and poured into Bactria, then under the rule of the successors of Diodotus, while the rest in small bodies made their way to the highlands of northern Tibet, with the older inhabitants of which they in time became intermingled,—a strain which shows itself to the present day.

Strabo [XI. viii. 2] almost incidentally mentions this movement as an event so well known that it only required to be alluded to. “Most of the Skythians beginning from the Caspian Sea are called Dahæ Skythæ, and those situated more towards the east Massagetæ and Sacæ.” There is a



good deal more in this short sentence than meets the eye at the first glance. First with regard to the people called here Dahæ, there seems in my mind little doubt that they are the same as the Daci of the Romans, and perhaps the Tokhari of our author. Strabo states truly that the Massagetæ and Sakæ (more correctly Çakæ, the difference being important), were eastern tribes: but I have shown elsewhere that these eastern tribes were Getic, and so belonged to the "Platt" type, so that the Dakhæ of the more western people naturally became the Tokhars of the eastern. The Massa-Getæ in this case stand for Gothic Midya-Getæ, and through Persian influence, they having a habit of sibilating their gutturals, Getæ turned into Çakæ: the Greek Skyth seems to be only a modification of the same word.

This slight explanation will enable us to better understand Strabo's next sentence:—"The best known tribes are those who deprived the Greeks of Baktriana, the Asii (or) Pasiani, the Tokhari, and the Sakarauli, who came from the country on the other side of the Jaxartes opposite the Çakæ and S(Ç)ogdiani." All these tribes were well known to the Chinese, and all are described at length in the Han historians. There is little doubt that Strabo intended to write Asii or Pasiani, the initial *p* standing for *v*, and the people meant being the Getic tribe called by the Chinese Wusun 烏孫. The Tokhars must equally plainly be identified with the Tahia 大夏, whom the Yuehti actually met on the Upper Oxus. The S(Ç)akarauli we may identify safely with the Ægle of Herodotus [III, 92], and these with the Huk(r)its of Ssema T'sien, of whom I have spoken above: these last later on became the Wigurs of the Wei and subsequent dynasties. The facts of the migration are simple, but have been sadly misinterpreted by the French writers of the eighteenth century, with whom, I am sorry to add, in this instance I

have to associate Julien. All we learn from Ssema is that having crossed the mountains (apparently by Tashkurgan) the Yuehti met with a cognate race, the Tabia ('Tokhars) whom they defeated; as immediately afterwards we find the two living in amity, the Yuehti assuming the lead, we may conclude that the two recognised the claims of kindred: at all events Ssema tells us that all the peoples hereabouts spoke cognate languages and were mutually intelligible.

The result of this movement was that the tribes established a new empire. According to the scant notices which occur in the *Heo Han Shu* these immigrants were divided into five separate tribes, and amongst these there seems to have been some fighting. At all events one of the tribes who called themselves the Kwei Shwang, or Kweisiang 貴霜, overcame the other four, and established themselves at what nowadays is known as Shahr-i-sebz (City of Greenery) but which formerly was called Kesh, in the basin of the Upper Oxus, south of Samarkand. From the name of the city, or more likely that of the tribe, the kingdom came to be called Koshano, under which name it appears on the so-called Indo-Skythic coins. According to the Chinese author the king's name was Kitolo, and as Yule in his introduction to *Wood's Journey*, speaks of an Ephthalite called Katulphus, we may presume that it was something like Cædwulf or Cædhlef Gothic Gutleaf. At all events, he took the opportunity of a disturbance in Afghanistan to cross the Hindukush, and pour down on Kao-fu (Kabul), where he established a powerful empire, which under the name of the Ephthalite, or Indo-Skythic Kingdom, endured till the latter half of the 6th century.

But alongside these Yuehti or Yâdavas, who, as we have seen, really played no inconsiderable part in the history of the world, occurred another tribe, also belonging to the Lunar

Race, and of whom I have already spoken [see p. 34]. To the Indians this people was known as the Kurus, to the Chinese as Kiang, both, however, at one time of identical pronunciation. They enter largely into ancient Chinese myth.

The *Shuntien* [*Shu*, II. i. 12] sings :—

“He (Shun) consigned the Kung-kung (Karkotas ?) to the Dark Land ;  
Enclosed Hwan-teo (Vritra) in the T'sung Shan ;  
Shut up the Sammiao (Çambars) in Sam-wei (Çambu-Dwipa ?) ;  
Confined the K'wan (Ghauris ?) to Yü Shan (mountains of Dardistan ?)”

In the *Ta Yu Mu* [*Shu*, II. ii. 20] we are told :—

“The Gods said : ‘See, Yu !  
There remains Miao.  
Assemble the princes ;  
Order out the armies,  
Draw up the troops,  
So each hear Our command’—  
Restless are these Miao ;  
Unsettled, regardless of authority ;  
Insolent, self-vaunting ;  
False and without honour.”

The rhythmical portion of the *Yu Kung* [*Shu*, I. iii. 78] makes but one allusion to these tribes : but it is important, as it connects them clearly with the extreme West and the Lop Nor basin :—

Sam-wei was settled, (and)  
The Sammiao ordered.

In the older lore of the Chinese these Sammiao always are made to be the direct ancestors of the Kiang tribes, who in turn become the predecessors of the Tanguts of later history. In the *Shi-ki* [chap. xxvi, the *Li Shu* 歷書] they are called the 九黎 Kiuli (Can. Kaulai), which points unmistakably to Kuru. The LXXVIIIth chapter of the *Heo Han Shu* begins :—“The Si Kiang originally sprung from the Sammiao ; their surname was 姜 Kiang, and their country was situated in the Nan-Yok (Southern Mountain,

the Altyn Tagh of Prejevalsky). When Shun drove away the four evil-doers they escaped to Sam-wei (Çambu-dwipa?). The land of the Kiangs lies S.W. of Hokwan and adjoins Siehchi 賜支." This was somewhere west of Shacheo in the basin of Lop Nor.

Hardly more tangible are the glimpses we obtain of these ancient tribes in Indian lore. Here too Samvarna is the father of Kuru, himself the tribal eponym, but Samvarna is hardly more than a name; he was driven from his home and took refuge amongst the reeds of the Indus, and this possibly is a faint recollection of the Immigration of the Kurus into India, where they settled on the plain of the Jumna, which after them came to be called the Kurukshetra ("Field of Kuru"). So a faint echo of the same movement is preserved in the myth of Çambara, the Daitya, enemy to gods and men, the demon of drought and the special opponent of Indra, who destroyed his castles and who was eventually killed by Kama. The connection with drought is evidently but a last faint memory of the rainless country north of the Himalayas, which once formed the home of the Çambaras. The same name scarcely altered we find as Çavaras, applied to one of the wilder tribes of the Himalayas, not improbably one of the branches of those Miaos driven by the early Chinese to the mountains.

But we are here in the land of myth, pure and simple. In Hwangti's time, says the story [*Li Shu*, l.c.], "The common people had faith; the spirits, intelligence and ability. Spirits and men were each perfect in their several spheres, each respecting the other without interference; evil and misfortune did not trouble them. But when Shaohao succeeded misfortunes arose; the Kaulai introduced confusion, and the relations of spirits and people were confused." So when in Indian lore the Çavaras become with the demon

Vritra (Hwanteo), the two dogs of Yama, we are in face of the wide Central-Asian myth of the gates of Hades guarded by its two dogs, who in the far distant Greece become respectively Kerberos and Orthros.

We have few records of what happened in the far west of China during the following centuries, but when, as above related, the great Khan Maotun had driven out the Yuehti, the Kiang took refuge in the new territory of Lungsi, comprising the districts between the present Lancheo and Shacheo. On the accession of the emperor Wu [140 B.C.] he proceeded to develop this country and intersect it with roads in order to carry out of his great scheme of opening out to China the commerce of the the west, and this eventually led to hostilities. The Kiang then, the *Ieo Han Shu* tells us, on the south came up to Shuk (Ssech'wan) and China, and were limitrophes of the Outer Man-I ; to their north-west lay Shenshen (Cherchen) and Kusse (Gash). They have seldom fixed abodes and little cultivated land, rearing cattle and wandering about as grass and water serve. The father has only his personal name, but the children for ten or twelve generations adopt the mother's clan name. Marriage amongst them is by mutual consent, and if the father die his eldest brother takes over and marries the wife ; so, adds the book, there are no widows nor orphans. Their chiefs are elected from certain families ; they are early accustomed to hardships and are very jealous of their personal rights.

Although these tribes were thus distinctly nomadic they belonged to the same race as their settled neighbours in Shenshen and Ashmardan and apparently spoke the same language ; indeed Yuehti and Kiang fade into one another by almost imperceptible degrees. Continually made the sport of circumstances, and exposed on either side to hostile attacks from their two great enemies, China and the Hiung Nu, they

became gradually lower and lower in the scale of civilisation, and lost practically all the culture that they once possessed; physically too these races had deteriorated through admixture of blood, and we hear no more from the Chinese historians of any indication that they differed in personal appearance or in their stage of culture from the surrounding peoples.

The second Han Empire [A. D. 25-220] never rose to the same power nor attained the same stage of civilisation as its predecessor; and, except partially during the lifetime of its great captain, Panch'ao, never recovered its former position in the western states. Under these conditions the Kiang peoples gradually increased in power: and when finally the Empire fell to pieces and China reverted to the position of a loose congeries of petty kingdoms, the time came for the expansion of these Kiang, who now became under various tribal names the preponderating power in the Lop Nor countries, their influence extending as far as the Yellow River, including the Ordos country. This brought them in contact with another of the great ethnic divisions of Eastern Asia, the Sienpi, or Ushwar, under which we must include many of the tribes loosely denominated Tungusic.

We meet with this people very early in Chinese history as Tung Hu, or Eastern Hu, a name but doubtfully connected with that of Tunguz, principally favoured by Russian ethnographers. There was in the early days of the Hans a great feud between them and the Turkish people on their western flank known as the Hiung Nu. Though the great Shenyu of the latter, Maotun, inflicted on them many defeats, he never succeeded in more than temporarily occupying their territory, and never broke up their solidarity. This territory in the main consisted in the two great districts called by the Chinese Liao, East and West, but which by themselves seems to have been known as Sira, and which reached west to the

Hingan mountains and the eastern flanks of the Yin shan. In earlier times the tribes must have extended still further to the west, and in 660 B.C. we find the state of Tsin, roughly Shansi, raising a large army to get rid of these people, then occupying a considerable space between Shansi and Pechili. The particular tribe is denominated Kaolok 皋落, apparently Karlok, and to be found still existing in the Goloks, a robber tribe who wander about the upper waters of the Yellow River south of Tsaidam, and who are a source of continual danger to caravans passing from Sungp'an to Tibet. The tribe was then so powerful that more cautious councils prevailed, and subsequently on its having made an attack itself and been defeated, the general in command feared to follow up his victory lest it should lead to a general rising of the tribes. Towards the end of the Ts'in dynasty these tribes, by a process in all ages usual in Asia, seem to have thrown in their lot with the rising power of Maotun, and to have adopted the general name of Jung, *Nirun*, and become amalgamated with the Hiung Nu, now the most prominent power in Eastern Asia. This association continued till, with the rise of the Kiangs in the third century, we find a new amalgamation, and no less than 150 tribes in Tibet and along its frontier classed as belonging to the Kiang, besides a large number in the Alashan districts, called in the *Wei Shu* the T'angch'ang, *i.e.* Dsung gar, Kiang. These last afterwards came to be known as the Tanghiang 宕項 or T'anghiang 黨項, and this name with the addition of the Mongol plural was transformed into the Tangut of Marco Polo, the native name of the state called in Chinese Si Hya.

Another people, also belonging to the same Ushwar, or Sienpi race, we find rising into prominence about the same period, called in the *Wei Shu* [chap. ci] the T'ukuhwan, or T'ukufan 吐谷渾, who early in the fourth century,

passing along the flanks of the Yin shan, established themselves about the Kokonor, where we find them in constant hostilities with the Kiangs. Apparently pressed by these, some of the Kiang tribes occupying the eastern slopes of Tibet were forced on to the aboriginal peoples, still paramount in the valley of the Tsangpu or Upper Brahmaputra, about the middle of the sixth century. These they easily conquered, and their chief adopted the title, in Chinese, of Dzan-pu.—So it is written by Klapproth, who is my authority for this translation from the *T'ang Shu*.—This was the foundation of the first Tibetan Kingdom. The word rendered Dzan-pu is seemingly the Tibetan Gyalpo, *king*, still surviving in the titles of the Dalai Lama. The new king fixed his capital on the banks of the K'i-pu ch'wan, otherwise the Losa ch'wan, the Kyi chu of to-day. Towards the end of the century, under his successor, called in the Chinese Lundzan-so Lungdzan, the frontiers were advanced up to the borders of Kashmir, and an opportunity presented of communicating with the heads of the Buddhist Church there established; this opportunity was availed of by his successor, called in Chinese Yidzund Lungdzan, who on his succession found himself sovereign of a compact and respected state, but one still lacking the prescription of ancient tradition. Thus was founded the Tibetan kingdom.

We must dismiss as utterly unfounded the statements made by some of the early writers on Chinese history of the early development of a Tibetan power, and its supposed wars with China; the cause of the blunder will be explained lower down, and I only allude to it here as an instance of the besetting sin of nearly all our supposed authorities on China and Chinese affairs of invariably copying from their predecessors without taking the trouble of verifying for themselves their statements of supposed facts. An ancient



legend still current amongst the Tibetans themselves ascribes their origin to the marriage of a monkey with a female demon of the mountains, and even so well-informed an authority as Lieut.-Col. Waddell sees in this belief an occasion for merriment. It is really one of the numerous animal myths current in Asia, highly prized by the people themselves, and useful to the ethnologist as throwing light, otherwise unattainable, on their early history and connections. One of the most marked of these is the wolf legend of the Getic tribes, which we can trace wherever that race has left its remains; in Hyrkania, the Iranian Vehr-kâna, or Wolf country, as well as in the style of the regal race of the Parthians, Arsakes for Vehr-k-isk-a, etc.

The ancient Wusuns, as well as the modern Tibetans, had the same legend of their monkey descent, and in their case it is known to have had its origin in their faces, well covered with tawny beards, which in the eyes of the beardless nations around seemed to betoken relationship with the long-haired tawny apes who still exist in numbers on the flanks of the Tibetan highlands. Now the Kiangs who overran Tibet, and who still form a not inconsiderable element in the population [*vid.* p. 49 *sup.*] were originally closely related to these Wusuns, so that the myth thus explains itself, and simply implies what we have been able to gather from other sources, that the Tibetan is of mixed parentage, partly Kiang and partly descended from the oboriginal Bûds, a fact remarked by all competent observers, [*see* Rockhill's *Land of Lamas*, p. 243 and Waddell's *Hlassa and its Mysteries*, p. 346].

But to return to our immediate history, the sovereign called in the Chinese history Yidzung Lungdzan is in the Mongol account designated Srongdzangambyo, the form acknowledged by modern writers on Tibet. According to

the Chinese story he sent an envoy to China acknowledging the suzerainty of the Empire, and presenting "tribute"; the emperor was so flattered that he sent an embassy in return bearing presents: Srongdzan Gambyo then demanded a Chinese princess in marriage, which was at first refused, but after a show of hostilities finally agreed to. The princess must have found her new husband already favourably disposed towards Buddhism politically, and threw in her influence personally, with the result that he himself became a pious student of the religion; a Nepalese lady whom he also married threw in her influence in the same cause. Notwithstanding his acceptance of the Doctrine we find him still carrying on wars with his neighbours north and south, in both cases apparently to his advantage.

His grandson and successor, called by the Chinese Kilipabu?, recalling the ancient grudge of his ancestors against that people, made war on the T'ukuhwans and utterly defeated them, compelling their chief to take refuge in China, after which we hear no more of them as a power. This success inflamed his ambition, and entering into an alliance with Khotan he attacked the king of Kuchar, a petty state lying near the north bank of the Tarim. The allies took the town of Puhwan, probably Aksu, and pretended to a general overlordship over the Tarim countries. This excited the jealousy of China, who in consequence sent into these regions a viceroy charged to take under his protection the four military districts of Kweitse (Kuchar), Yutien (Khotan), Yenki (Karashahr), and Shuli (the ancient Sulak, northern Pamir); making the usual Chinese tactical blunder, common in all ages, the Chinese commanders divided their forces, and the Tibetans falling on them in the Kokonor district easily defeated them. These were the days of the Khalifs, and we need not be surprised that the encroaching

Mohammedans made overtures to the puissant Tibetans ; little, however, came of these victories, which were little more than raids, and practically, notwithstanding the asseverations of half-informed historians, the Tibetans never acquired a foothold in the Tarim basin. On the Chinese frontier the Tibetans were for a time more successful, and actually occupied portions of the empire. On one occasion [in 763] they actually captured the Capital (Changan) and burnt the palace : on the approach of a Chinese army they, however, retired. This war continued for many years longer, but at last, in 821 or 793, both sides being utterly exhausted, they determined to make peace : China yielded up all territory west of the Tao and Min rivers, but otherwise things remained as they were. This treaty is recorded on a tablet still in existence in Hlassa in front of the great Buddhist cathedral of the Jokang.

As it is not my object to write a history of Tibet further than has been necessary to explain its very complicated ethnology, I have confined myself to a very brief outline, and only so far so as was necessary for the purpose.

I have already [p. 50] spoken of the female demon of the mountains, who according to the Tibetans themselves represented the Böd (or aboriginal) element in the population. These Böds are apparently sprung from the more ancient stock of the Indo-Chinese peninsula, to whom elsewhere I have given the name of Pareæan, a strain which besides forms the understratum of the Chinese themselves. The overlying races in Tibet, in contradistinction to China, where they are Aryas, are rather Turanian, using these two terms as I have explained earlier [p. 36]. The distinction probably accounts in some measure for the different characters of the two peoples. At all events the history of the two countries up to the period of the Chinese ascendancy was quite

distinct and separate, and the characters and instincts of the two peoples utterly unlike and in most particulars almost contrary the one to the other.

Before closing this paper I must point out that there is no foundation in fact for Klaproth's use of the word Tibetan as an ethnic term. Tibetan is no doubt a well marked language, distinct on the one side from the peculiarly monosyllabic speech of China and on the other from the inflected polysyllabic Sanscritic languages of India. The time has, probably, not arrived to more precisely define it ; but on a somewhat superficial examination it does not bear the impress of being of any great antiquity, and will probably be found, like the people themselves, to owe its peculiarities to many different sources. Klaproth was the first who attempted to place these theories of a Tibetan race on any scientific basis. He thus [*Tableaux Historiques de l'Asie*, p. 130] introduces the subject :—

“According to the few notices we find in ancient Chinese works, it appears that the Tibetans occupied in high antiquity the western part of China bounded on the south by the Nanling (Altyn Tagh), which separates the southern provinces from the rest of the Empire. Others stretched to the east up to the Siang, which flows through the Hukwang and falls into the Tungt'ing Lake. Some tribes of similar origin were to be found even in the mountains of Honan ; and it was on the banks of this river that the Tibetan people called the three Miao had their homes some thirty centuries B.C., or at the period of the arrival of the first Chinese colonies who descended from the Kwenlun mountains.”

I have given this extract literally and at some length because with the usual habit with Chinese scholars of always repeating the statements of their predecessors, however false and unfounded, it has been repeated so frequently as to have

become practically an article of faith. As a fact, Klaproth's Geography and Ethnography here were both at fault, and the result has been an entire falsification of not only the early history of Tibet but an entire misconception of the story of Eastern Asia, especially with regard to the Turanian inhabitants. I have explained above the story of the Cammiao and their connection with the Kiang or Kurus ; it was these Kurus who many centuries afterwards, in fact in the fifth century of the present era, for the first time came in contact with the native tribes inhabiting Tibet. These they conquered, and as a result established at Hlassa the first Tibetan state. It was not Tibet nor Tibetans, then, but the Turanian tribe of the Kiang or Kuru who in the early centuries of our era proved so formidable competitors with the Hans for the possession of the empire of Eastern Asia. The error is akin to attributing to the ancient Britons the French wars of Edward III and Henry V.