13.D.16

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HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

FROM THE 9TH TO THE 19TH CENTURY

PART IV

SUPPLEMENT AND INDICES

By

THE LATE SIR HENRY H. HOWORTH,

K.C.I.E., D.C.L., F.R.S., F.S.A.,

Sometime President of the Royal Archæological Institute and a Trustee of the British Museum.

AUTHOR of:

"THE MAMMOTH AND THE FLOOD," "THE GLACIAL NIGHTMARE,"
"THE LIVES OF POPE GREGORY THE GREAT AND AUGUSTINE THE MISSIONARY,"
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ETC., ETC., ETC.

LONGMANS, GREEN, AND CO.,
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PREFACE

NEARLY fifty years have elapsed since the publication of the *History of the Mongols*, during which period a vast store of fresh knowledge and new material has accumulated on the subject matter covered by the four volumes of that work. Some years prior to his death our father determined upon a revision of the book, intending to incorporate in the new edition the fruits of recent scholarship and research in the wide fields to which he himself had devoted thirty years of his active life.

In the Preface to *Russia Mongolia and China*, Mr. J. F. Baddeley observes: "In acknowledging the frequent use I have made of the *History of the Mongols*, I say emphatically that a new edition of that great work is urgently called for and has only to be issued with amendments and Index to establish it permanently as the chief authority on the subject in our language."

No one realized more keenly than the author the need for the preparation of a fresh edition (particularly of Part I, which for some years has been out of print). While the intervention of the Great War and other pressing calls on his time, combined with growing physical weakness, rendered impracticable the realization of his full hopes, he had written and passed the proofs of certain introductory chapters for Part I. We believe that the publication of this material would fulfil our father's wishes, and it is accordingly reproduced on pages 1–214 of this volume, substantially in the form in which he left it. We assume full responsibility for any errors and shortcomings which these chapters may contain.

The author always regretted that the *History of the Mongols* was originally published without an index and he fully shared the view that an index would add greatly to the value and usefulness of the work by making its contents more readily accessible to the student and the general reader. After careful consideration it was thought best to prepare separate indices of Part I and the Supplement; Part II, Divisions I and II, and Part III. These indices are included in the present book.

The difficulties of indexing a work of this character must always be very substantial, and no doubt it will be possible to find in the indices various errors and mis-readings, but it is hoped that any shortcomings in these and other respects will be overlooked in view of the fact that the work could not be checked and corrected by the author himself and that very detailed specialist investigation must have resulted in considerable delay in the publication of the volume.

We desire to record our deep gratitude to Mr. W. Perceval Yetts, O.B.E., for his generous assistance and advice in the preparation of this volume. Mr. Yetts has not only read the proofs and supervised the construction of the indices, but he has throughout spared neither time nor trouble and has freely contributed from his store of Chinese scholarship to the work.

We are specially indebted to Sir E. Denison Ross, C.I.E., for invaluable help and guidance with regard to the index of Part III. Sir Denison has also been good enough to prepare a list of the commoner proper names found in Part III with their more usual variant spellings, this list is appended to the index of Part III.

The laborious task of compiling the indices has been performed in a very careful, conscientious, and efficient manner by Mrs. Maud Davis, to whom our best thanks are due.

H. G. H.
R. B. H.
H. N. H.

March, 1927.

HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS.

CHAPTER I.

A GENERAL VIEW OF THE GEOGRAPHY, ETHNOGRAPHY, AND BIOLOGY OF CENTRAL ASIA.

THE great continent of Asia may be conveniently divided into three zones, peopled by men and women leading very different lives and having very different histories. First a zone stretching from Lapland to Berings Straits, and itself divisible into two parts—a northern one consisting of a treeless waste, bounded by a southern one which comprises almost continuous forests. The former consists partly of low flat plains and partly of a rolling country with eminences rising to 300 feet above the plains, all covered by mosses, scanty rough grass, and marshes. Where the former, says Reclus, are covered with *Polytrichum* they are a dirty yellow, and where by reindeer moss a faded white; occasionally there are also patches of rough grass. These tundras are covered with snow for half the year, and coloured with gay flowers and crowded with migratory birds, which go there to feed, in the other half. The forest section of the northern zone separates it from the steppes further south, and consists almost entirely of larch-trees (*Larix Daurica Sibirica*). The northern limit of the forest vegetation follows a meandering line which is parallel with that of the coastline further north. It crosses the Yenissei about 70° N. latitude.

Long before reaching its extreme limit forest vegetation everywhere becomes dwarfed. Beyond lat. 60° no trees occur with stems more than 4 feet thick, beyond the 61st they scarcely average 12 to 14 inches, and near the tundra shrink to half a foot. The last struggling larches are unable to put forth true branches, throwing off nothing but a few hard, almost thorny, limbs and shoots. Beyond these larches, which still stand erect, there come others which trail along the ground, half hidden by their mossy mantles (Reclus, op. cit., vi, 310–11).

The *taiga* or forest zone extends in a dense mass from the Urals to Kamchatka, and is interrupted only by rivers, a few natural glades, peat bogs and marshes. Everywhere the *taiga* is the same dreary forest, without grass, birds, or insects, gloomy, lifeless, and noiseless but for the soughing of the wind and crackling of the branches. It consists chiefly of conifers—all the species

common to Europe, besides the *Pinus pichta* peculiar to Siberia and the Siberian cedar, *Pinus cembra*. Besides these also occur in the Siberian highlands the linden or lime, alder, juniper, service, aspen, poplar, birch, and apricot, and notably the shrub called the alnaster. The native flora is extremely rich in berries of every kind, supplying food for men and animals (ib. 314).

In this monotonous land of moss and forest a very scanty population of fisherfolk and hunters lives. Some of them have domesticated the reindeer and keep large herds of them. Others similarly employ dogs.

Except in one isolated district on the lower Lena, the capital of which is Yakutsk, and which is occupied by a colony of Turkish race called Yakuts, they have neither flocks nor herds, nor do they till the land. They have no fixed dwellings, but live in movable yurts or tents, according to the seasons and the necessities of their occupation. They belong to several stocks. Beginning with Lappland we have the Lapps, the Finns, and their close allies the Ugrian races gathered about the Ural Mountains, the Ostiaks, Samoyedes, Jukagirs, Chukhchi, and Koriaks. Their customs, superstitions, and organizations are much alike, the outcome of the same conditions, but they differ considerably in language. It would seem that some of them had ancestors who lived under better conditions, and they have either been driven north by more powerful neighbours or the climate has become more severe since they entered the country. They do not immediately concern us in this work.

South of this zone is a second one, which rises to a much higher level and forms a high plateau which constitutes the watershed of the great Siberian rivers, the Obi, the Yenissei, and Lena and their tributaries, which flow into the Arctic sea. They consist partly of sandy and stony wastes, partly of undulating prairies and pastures of rich grass, partly of huge forests of trees similar to those above described, and partly of rugged mountains enclosing lakes, some of them brackish or salt and some fresh.

The races occupying this vast area, which stretches from the Hungarian plain to the borders of Manchuria, are quite different in their habits and history from those last named. They are nomadic herdsmen, keeping large flocks of camels, horses, oxen, and sheep. They have, for the most part, no settled homes, but live in tents or yurts, and have biennial migrations between their winter and summer quarters; the former they spend in the river valleys and low-lying steppes where water is found, and the latter in the alps or mountain pasture, being constrained to thus change by the

exigencies and the necessities of their herds. They are a healthy, tough, brave people, and have often stamped their hard feet on their neighbours. We shall return to them presently.

Thirdly, and bordering on the previous zone on the south and east, we have another one, also partially occupied by sandy and stony deserts, partially by highlands, and partly by fertile, alluvial lands and river valleys, inviting cultivation and the home of settled races. This third zone is sharply contrasted with the two former by being in a large part peopled by races who are tillers of the soil or sedentary herdsmen. For the most part they have fixed dwellings and live largely in cities and towns. Less warlike than their northern neighbours, they are more skilled in the arts of life and more cultivated, and much the greater part of the world's wealth of invention, progress, and knowledge in early times was their handiwork.

The great masses of the Himalayas and the plateaux of Tibet sharply divide and isolate the more or less cultivated parts of Eastern Asia into two sections. First is the very old community of the Chinese, with its cultural satellites Japan and Corea. Secondly, the Indian peninsula, which the great mountains guard and protect from the north. Both of these long-settled areas are thus cut off, and always have been so until later times, from a continuous intercourse with the complementary communities of South-Western Asia and their culture, and notably from that of Persia. North-Eastern Persia and China form, in fact, two strong buttresses against the nomads, on the flanks of the Himalayan uplift. They have both suffered greatly at the hands of the steppe men at different times, but have continually revived again.

Since the beginning of recorded history there has been an internecine struggle between the nomadic shepherds of the great Central Asiatic zone and their settled neighbours to the south-east and south-west, partly due to the predatory instinct which induces the strong, rough races whose wealth and luxuries are few to rob and plunder those beyond their borders, who are more fortunate in these respects, while causes of quarrel are easy enough to find, partly also from the fact that as the population of the settled districts has a natural tendency to grow bigger, and in fact to outgrow its resources, it has to spread over and occupy wider areas and thus to encroach on the limitless pastures of the shepherds, to whom hedges and boundaries and private ownership are as much anathema as are towns and houses.

The fight has been inevitable in Asia as in North America, and has been governed by similar causes, while it seems plain from the trend of history that the ultimate result must mean the subjugation

buttresses against the nomads, on the flanks of the Himalayan uplift. They have both suffered greatly at the hands of the steppe men at different times, but have continually revived again.

Since the beginning of recorded history there has been an internecine struggle between the nomadic shepherds of the great

of the strong, sturdy nomad by the weaker but more intellectually acute dweller in towns.

The struggle has necessarily been prolonged, bitter and bloody, and at times the world's movement towards a higher culture has been paralysed and stopped for centuries, while the horses' hoofs of the shepherds have trampled out the paradise which human art had created over wide spaces.

It is the history of the most famous and far-reaching of these tragical episodes and its consequences that has occupied many years of my life in the telling. I propose in this volume to partially re-examine it with new materials. The nomads have had a huge stage on which to play their part, which included Hungary in the west and as far as the great chain of mountains separating Manchuria from Mongolia and known as the Khingan range in the east. This vast extent of country was inhabited until a few centuries ago by a continuous series of nomadic tribes, united not only by their physical features but also by their religion, by their manners and customs, and also by their languages.

In none of these respects were they, however, quite homogeneous over this very wide area. They have been divided into two great sections by the Chinese, who are not expert ethnographers, and in such cases have been generally guided by geographical and political considerations rather than by ethnological ones. These two divisions they call the Tung hu or Eastern barbarians and the Si hu or Western barbarians. The former answer very largely to the combined Mongols and Tungus of European writers, and the latter to the Turks and their neighbours of Ugrian or Finnish blood.

In both of these divisions a considerable section of the quondam nomads have abandoned their old homes and their nomadic life, and have long settled down as agriculturists and townsfolk. Those of the Tungus (properly so called) who remain in their old haunts, namely, the tribes now living in Dauria, east of Lake Baikal and north of the Amoor, have retained their old characteristics within their old homes, but the colonies they sent into the country now called Manchuria became cultivators of the land, built cities, and formed a settled civilized race which has given two dynasties to China under the names of the Kin or Golden Tartars and the Manchu Tartars. This has been the story in the Far East. In the west the Turks have, as is very familiar, done the same. They still largely remain in their old haunts; most typical specimens of a nomadic people (notably in the districts of Persia and Turkey occupied by Turcomans), but in India, Persia, and Turkey they have abandoned their pastoral life and become, like the peoples among whom they settled, agriculturists and traders and townsfolk.

With these settled elements we have nothing to do at present. It is with the still nomadic sections of the races just mentioned we are alone concerned.

The physical features of all these nomads, as we shall see, agree closely (though not so completely as has been supposed) with those of the Chinese and Burmese, Coreans and Japanese; and Blumenbach, the first naturalist who classified the human race, put them all into one of his main divisions, and selecting what he deemed a typical form of the whole stock, namely the race calling itself Mongol, and gave it the latter name. He discriminated the type by a yellow skin, high cheek-bones, a flat, broad face, black wavy hair, and slanting eyes, and named it Mongol or Mongolic.

Blumenbach's classification was based entirely on physical qualities and ignored psychological, linguistic, and æsthetic ones as well as differences of religion and custom. All of these, however, are of prime importance in classifying so specialized a creature as man, especially if our purpose is to trace the various human families to their original types or sources and to follow their history.

Language is especially useful for this purpose. Although it is true, and has often been said by pure biologists, that men can change their language (and sometimes quickly) as they can their clothes, while the change in their physical qualities only takes place very slowly, in the long run both are liable to change. A change from one language to another, however, involving the adopting of an entirely different syntax and vocabulary, has been very rare and local, and when not due to grafting or to conquest by strangers but to inward growth it is very slow. Nearly all languages retain boulders and relics of earlier stages and ingredients by which their history can be traced. It is plain that it has taken a very long period to cause the vast difference that really exists in human speech. This is notably the case when we compare the Chinese and Burmese languages with their monosyllabic words, so-called tones, and absence of inflection or grammar with the entirely differently constructed languages of the Turks, Mongols, Tungus, Coreans, and Japanese, who are so like them physically and were classed with them by Blumenbach. This shows that these latter races are much closer akin in some respects to one another than any of them is to Chinese and its monosyllabic relatives.

They are united together by a common feature in their syntax, namely, in forming their words, or rather phrases, by agglutination. This and the so-called process of harmonious change in consonants and vowels, together with a considerable similarity in the vocabulary, prove that they belong to one linguistic family. Two of the five peoples just named, which have

had very special histories and founded long-enduring empires, are, however, largely outside our present survey. They have long ceased to be nomads, and both are probably mixed in blood. I mean the Japanese and Coreans. In regard to the languages of the rest, namely, the Turks, Mongols, and Tungus, who largely retain their nomadic habits, there are, if not so great, still marked differences, especially in the vocabulary, showing that the linguistic streams have flowed through different channels for a long time. They have nevertheless sufficient common ties to make it impossible to ignore any one of the three classes when treating of the history of another.

For the present we will take it for granted that the zone now or lately occupied by the Central Asiatic nomads can be reasonably divided into three sections, those peopled by the Turks in the west, the Tungus in the east, and the true Mongols in the centre.

Of these the Mongols are the special subject-matter of this work, but we shall not understand it unless we also keep in view the other sections just named, and notably the Turks, whose story, so far as we know, begins considerably earlier. The Turks in the last thirteen centuries have been the frontagers of the northern provinces of Persia, which they have mercilessly wasted, but it is most important to remember that they were not always there. They had predecessors in the western part of their later haunts, who were very different from them and belonged to a very different race. They were, in fact, Iranians or Aryans, and had a wide range. In Europe they occupied the whole steppe country north of the Black Sea and also Hungary, where in early times they were known as Scyths and Scoloti, and in later times as Alans, Roxolani, Getæ, and Dacians. In Asia they extended across the steppes of the modern Kirghiz Kazaks and occupied the borderlands of the Jaxartes or Sihun and of the Oxus or Jihun, and were there known as Sakæ and Juts. Thence they invaded Northern India and destroyed the Bactrian Empire. They were practically of the same race as the Parthians, who again were merely nomad Parsis or Persians. The famous horseman Persius was, in fact, their eponymos. It was only with the destruction or expulsion of these Aryan nomads from their old land that the Turks took their place, having come from their original homeland in the Altai Mountains and beyond. This movement of the Turks probably began in the first century B.C., and the intervention of the Tokhari in Central Asiatic politics was finally completed by the Huns, who had large numbers of them in their armies. The great thing to remember is that once upon a time a large section of the nomadic borderers of Asia

The nationality of the Huns of European writers has been much discussed. That they came from the east and crossed the Volga into Europe is well ascertained. That they were typical nomads and horsemen seems also clear. On the other hand, the speech of the modern Hungarians or Magyars, who have some claims to represent them, is not Turkish, but essentially a language of the Uralic or Finnic branch, with certain Turkish elements incorporated in it. It is possible, perhaps even probable, that such tribes as the Khazars, Bulgars, Magyars, and Ungars or Unnugurs, who came from the country of the middle Volga, were largely Ugrian in blood and language, but were led and ruled by a Turkish caste, namely the Huns, and formed a mixed race only now extant in Hungary. In Bulgaria the stock largely remains but has adopted a Slavic language. Since their old homeland was the steppe lands of the unaltered Ukraine of the lower Volga and Ural they must have been nomads.

This seems to me to be the best solution of a difficult question, for no member of a purely Ugrian race now leads a nomadic life, while the Huns were typical nomads. It would, in fact, seem fairly certain that the Hiungnu or Hiunnu, who in the later centuries of the pre-Christian era dominated the whole of Tartary and were in constant conflict with the Chinese, were Turks. This seems proved by the remains of their language and the statements of the Chinese annalists. It was when the Huing Nu power broke down in the Far East that the Huns are first found in Western writers. The power of the Hiungnu was broken in the third and early fourth century A.D., and after their long lease the hegemony of Tartary passed to another race known to the Chinese as the Yuen Yuen or Yen Yen, who were possibly of true Mongol and not of Turkish blood. In a monograph I wrote on the Avars in the *Ethnological Journal* long ago, I ventured to equate these two names as representing the same race, and to this view I still adhere as the most probable. It is, at all events, notable that just as the Huns appeared in Europe soon after the Hiungnu were broken to pieces in China, so the Avars appeared there soon after the Yuen Yuen were defeated in the Far East.

It would appear that during the domination of the latter over Tartary their actual habitat was largely limited to Mongolia or portions of it, while in the west the Turks properly so called occupied the Altaic region and the steppes and deserts of the Kirghiz Kazaks, subject doubtless to the hegemony of their eastern neighbours.

The latter's domination was, in fact, succeeded by that of the Turks, who now appear for the first time in the Chinese books.

The Chinese, having no letter *r* in their language, naturally corrupted the native name of the Turks, and they refer to them as Thiukiu or Tukiu. That the two names must be equated with each other has been placed beyond doubt by the discovery of several inscriptions left by these Turks of the fifth and sixth centuries and written in their own language, in which the same Royal names and the same events are referred to as the Chinese attribute to the Thiukiu. The true Turks may have been the same people whom the Greeks called Tokhari, and who took part in the revolutions which followed the break up of the Græco-Bactrian kingdom.

These Western Turks were infused with a considerable share of Aryan or Iranian blood, which is evidenced in their less pronounced Mongolian features; their often possessing short beards, and otherwise; and at the time when they conquered the Yuen Yuen and planted their capital in the lands near the Orkhon (which afterwards became the focus and centre of the Mongolian Empire), they brought with them some notable arts which they doubtless had learnt from their old Iranian neighbours. They built towns, they set up inscribed monuments in stone, borrowed an alphabet from the Aramæans or Syrians and wrote their inscriptions in it, and they apparently also largely adopted the Zoroastrian and the Manichæan religions and rituals, and in later times were converted largely to Nestorianism, which had spread eastwards to China, and which had bishoprics scattered over a wide area in Central Asia.

Presently there was again a fresh orientation in the affairs of Central Asia, and the true or Western Turks lost the hegemony of Tartary, which once more passed to the Eastern Turks, formerly called, as we have seen, Hiungnu, and who had largely remained in their old quarters in Mongolia and its borders, and now appeared again under a new and more famous name, i.e. that of Uighurs, or as the Chinese call them the Hoeihoei. They developed the culture which the true Turks had planted in Northern Mongolia, and their capital of Bishbaligh became in turn a famous entrepôt of trade. It is to the Uighurs that we owe a large part of the literature written in the early Turki language, and they became the teachers of most of their neighbours, including especially the Mongols.

They dominated Tartary at the time when the Nestorians had planted numerous Christian sees in various parts of Central and Eastern Asia as far as China, while Buddhism under the influence of a fresh afflatus made its way from China and appropriated Tibet and also made great conquests in China, Japan, and Corea, and very largely also among the Uighur Turks themselves, especially those living on the Tibetan frontier and in the towns of Eastern Turkestan, Kashgar, Khotan, etc., etc. While the intellectual

influence of the Uighurs continued, the actual power of the Uighurian Empire presently began to break into fragments, which was natural in a country with such a widespread and diverse geographical facies as Central Asia. This disintegrating process was emphasized by the entry of Muhammedanism into Central Asia and the conversion of a large number of the Western Turks, including the Turcomans and the Empire of the Seljuks, which the latter founded in Persia and Asia Minor. More influential, in so far as the fortunes of Central Asia were concerned, was the conversion of Eastern Turkestan to Islam. Concurrently with this, or rather at an earlier date, was the resuscitation of the power of the rude, nomadic, and warlike steppe Turks known as Kazaks, or, as the Chinese call them, Hakas, who supplanted the Uighurs of Bishbalig.

We have now reached the point when the Mongols first appear by that name. The reason for this preliminary survey is to emphasize the fact that what we know as Mongolia (which became in later times and still remains the homeland of the true Mongols) was for many centuries not occupied by Mongols but by Turks, that it was only after they had conquered these Turks of the later Mongolia that the Mongols began their campaigns of world conquest, and that we cannot therefore understand the early history of the Mongols at all without continual reference to the Turks. To this we shall return presently, and will now turn to a survey of the geographical and biological features of Mongolia in its wider and more modern sense. At present we are interested only in the very large area known to geographers as Mongolia, which lies between Siberia in the north and China in the south, and is bounded on the west by the Sailughem range of the great Altai Mountains and on the east by the Khingan range. This great area is grouped about a very large barren waste known as the Desert of Gobi to the Mongols, and the Shamo or Sandy Sea to the Chinese, which forms its most remarkable feature. In the eyes of most people, in fact, Mongolia is a synonym for a desolate desert.

In the sense in which it is here used, however, namely as the homeland of the true Mongols, the larger portion of the country is far from being a desert and very far also from being homogeneous, either geologically or biologically.

We will turn to the notices of it given by recent explorers, and especially those who made it their residence for many years. Kuropatkin describes the greater part of Mongolia in this sense as forming "a huge plateau comprising two great terraces, a higher one and a lower one. The former constitutes what is known as North-West Mongolia, and is a high plain from 3,000 to 4,200 feet in altitude, which penetrates from the south-east, in a north-western

direction between the Ektag Altai and the Khangai Mountains. It has, he says, a true Mongolian character, i.e. is covered with gravel and presents the appearance of a dry prairie devoid of forests. The same character is also exhibited by the bottoms of the broad valleys, while the more elevated and hilly portions of the country, especially on their northern slopes, are covered with larch, cedar, pine, and deciduous trees belonging to the Siberian flora. When the forests fail they are marshy, or assume the character of Alpine meadows, e.g. the Khangai, the Tannula, and the slopes of the border ridges. The whole of this region is covered by excellent pastures. The forests decrease as we travel southwards; for instance, while both slopes of the Sayans are covered with forests, the Tannula and the Khangai Mountains have woods on their northern faces only, and the Ektag is quite devoid of woods, even on its northern side" (*Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed., pp. 808–9).

The lower terrace of the great plateau is occupied by the great desert called Gobi by the Mongols and Shamo by the Chinese (both meaning a stony or sandy desert, devoid of water and pasturage). It is bounded on the north-west by the slopes of the Kentei range and on the east and south-east by the great Khingan Mountains, from which it is separated, however, by a borderland about 100 miles wide and belonging to the foot-hills of the latter range. Kuropatkin, like other observers, has protested, however, against the notion that the Gobi is a mere sand desert. Nowhere, he says, does it contain such sand deserts as are found in the Trans-caspian territory, but everywhere presents the characteristics of an open, flat, or undulating plain covered with a hard coating of gravel, from which the wind has swept the lighter and minuter particles of mud or sand, and from beneath which the hills and mountains protrude, littered with fragments of rocks much as islands protrude from the sea.

Richthofen proposed a Chinese name for it, namely Hanhai (dry sea), having concluded that it was once the bed of a now desiccated Asiatic Mediterranean sea which he dated in Tertiary times, but he admits that after traversing some 20,000 miles of the Mongolian plateau the professional geologists Bogdanovitch and Obrucheff only discovered one fossil on the so-called red Gobi or Hanhai deposits, namely the enamel of the teeth of a rhinoceros, which points to their having been of freshwater origin.

"The total absence of marine deposits of the secondary and tertiary ages on the Mongolian plateau is more striking from the fact that deposits of these two epochs have been found everywhere on the outer slopes of the plateau" (ib. 809). "The Gobi proper is really the deeper part of the trough extending over the lower terrace

of the Mongolian plateau for over 1,000 miles from south-west to north-east, with a width of from 450 to 550 or 600 miles in its south-western portion. The plateau is built up of granites, gneisses, and a variety of crystalline schists and slates, with limestones on its periphery, the youngest being Carboniferous, while considerable beds of basalt and other volcanic formations occur in the border ridges. . . . The wind has been active in destroying the softer 'red Gobi deposits' and in sweeping the finer particles of mud and sand clean off the superficial gravels. Clouds of dust envelope the slopes of the great Khingan, and aerial agencies have unquestionably been at work in the deposit of the thick loess deposits which line the foot of the plateau and fill the valleys of Turkestan, but water must also have played a part in the laying down of these deposits, for usually they contain strata of pebbles in their lower parts. . . . The surface of the Gobi lies at altitudes of 2,700 to 3,000 feet, slightly increasing towards the Khingan Mountains. The lowest elevation hitherto determined on this plateau is 2,700 feet, but its surface is by no means level; it is diversified by ranges of hills from 200 to 1,000 feet above the general level of the plateau, and occasionally more (Khanula is 6,400 feet high). Perfectly flat plains are of limited extent, as are also sandy plains, the surface being undulating as a rule and intersected by small ravines and protruding rocky areas. In the central parts of the Gobi there are no rivers. They only flow on its outward margin. Such are the Onon, the Kerulon, the Khalagol; a few small rivers flow from the Khingan Mountains, but dry up as soon as they reach the Gobi" (ib. 809–10).

There are two great outliers of the desert which are notable for their connexion with Mongol history and their surroundings. First, the Ordus region, called Hotao by the Chinese. It is enclosed by a great loop of the Yellow River, and bounded by the Lahuang Mountains on the south. It is a gently sloping table-land, rising from 3,300 feet in the north, and near the Yellow River to 4,400 feet in the middle. It is mostly covered with sand, with wide depressions (tsaidam in Mongolian), the basins of desiccated lakes.

The other outlier is the so-called Alashan range. It stretches from N.N.W. to S.S.W. for about 160 miles, with a width of about 16 miles, runs up to a height of 5,000 or 7,000 feet from the adjoining plateau, and reaches the actual height above sea-level of 10,000 to 11,000 feet in the only two passes that cross it. It does not reach the limit of perpetual snow, but is extremely stony and wild. This range separates a vast district called Alashan, situated in Southern Mongolia, its northern

frontier corresponding with latitude 42°, and its southern with the Nan-shan highlands, having on the west those of Beishan, and on the east the Ordus. It is alse a plateau covered with a network of hills, its lowest parts being from 3,500 to 4,000 feet high, while the rest is from 4,000 to 5,000 feet. Its chief river is the Edzin or Etsina.

Notable lakes in the Mongolian land are the Dalai Nor on its eastern side, Ayar Nor and Ebi Nor in Sungaria, and Sogo Nor in the Etzina valley. These are salt lakes. Freshwater ones are the Charatai Dabuson in Alashan and the Dabasana Nor in the Ortus country. There are few springs in the desert, and these are chiefly impregnated with salt or other minerals, while the few streams are shallow and often banked with salt or calcareous matter.

Dr. Persis has quite recently graphically described the different kinds of surface in the steppes. He says they consist of fine drift sand, which the driving storm wind forms into sickle-shaped shifting dunes (*barkham*). The loose drift sand is waterless, and for the most part without vegetation; the *barkham*, however, here and there display a few poor saxaul and other shrubs. Human life is impossible.

The gravel deserts, also very extensive, which form the transition between the sand deserts and the steppes, have a sparse vegetation, and serve the nomads as grazing-grounds in their wanderings to and fro from winter quarters and summer pasture.

The adjoining salt steppes, consisting of loam and sand, are so impregnated with salt that the latter settles down on the surface like rime. In spring they bear a scanty vegetation, which on account of its saline nature affords excellent pasture for numerous flocks of sheep.

The lower steppes, consisting of loess mixed with much sand, are covered with luxurious pasture and myriads of wild flowers, especially tulips, and on the drier ground with camel thorns (*Alhagi camelorum*), without which the camel could not exist for any length of time. These last steppes form the real pasture of the nomads. As a rule the rocky mountains are quite bare; they consist of black gleaming stone, cracked by frost and heat, and are waterless (*Cambridge Med. Hist.*, vol. i, 323–4).

Gilmore, who lived so long in Mongolia and has described its different places so well, has some graphic notes about the Gobi. Thus he says: "I saw Gobi under very disadvantageous circumstances. No rain had fallen, no grass had grown, there was nothing but sand and stones with last year's grass dried and brown, and very little of that. Here and there were the ghost-like remnants of last

year's growth of spear-grass, scorched with the sun and bleached with the weather, and the desolation was enhanced by the black rocks which cropped up on perpendicular layers" (ib. 73).

"We rode from one scene of desolation to another more desolate if possible," he says, "and hour after hour we seemed to come no nearer to an end. From the grassless gravel and sand glared up a fierce light and heat. Stretch after stretch was passed without wells, tents, or inhabitants. At length we left all traces of man and beast, left the road even, and entered on fresh scenes of fresh desolation, passing among rough and black rocks that broke through the ground in all directions. Then came a stretch of ground almost covered with the famous stones of Gobi, of a misty, half-transparent, white colour, like arrowroot, among which were stones of various colours" (ib. 73–4).

"Mongolia," he says again, "is supposed to be a waterless country. Wells, however, are fairly abundant, and water can generally be found near the surface. In the country of sandhills, water can sometimes be found by merely digging out a few spade-fuls of sand, while in some districts both lakes and rivers abound. All along the travelled routes there are wells and water in abundance for the most part, at intervals of several miles; a traveller in entering Mongolia must be provided with buckets to carry water, but it is an exceptional case if on the journey he suffers much from want of water."

Again, the Mongolian land is often supposed to be trackless. "On the contrary," says Gilmour, "there are great broad roads running through it in many directions, roads not made by the hands of man, but may be, by camels' and horses' feet, and they are so well marked that a foreigner and a native, neither of whom had been that way before, followed one of them for two weeks and only left it at the very end. In fact, between the principal plains there are double tracks, one for camels and the other for oxen. The latter travel slower and need more pasture and water than the former, and have to be accommodated. It is only in the sandy parts of the country where the winds blow the sand away that the path becomes obscure."

South-Eastern Mongolia lies on the eastern slopes of the great Khingan range, entering like a wedge between the Rivers Nonni and Sungari. Although its altitude is much lower than that of Mongolia proper its physical characteristics are similar. On the other hand, it is much better watered (ib. 810).

Carruthers, in his *Unknown Mongolia*, speaks of this zone as coming under the climatic influences of the Pacific, and being in consequence a pasture-land well named by the Chinese "The

Land of High Grass". This was formerly Mongol, but is now rapidly becoming Chinese; instead of tents and nomads and innumerable flocks, there are now farmers and colonists, who are rapidly breaking the soil and building settlements, and Southern Mongolia will soon be Chinese in all but name.

As above mentioned, the great winds have stripped the surface of its fine sand and mud and have exposed large surfaces of bare rock and boulders and accumulated vast sand-hills of so-called loess on its eastern and southern margins, which are dotted with lakes and form a buttress to the splendid pastoral country behind, reaching to the hills beyond. It is only on reaching these zones that water abounds in many rivers, and it is in them that the Mongol encampments are to be found, and there the pasture is excellent. The grass plains, when the traveller leaves the stony and gravelly desert and nears the Khingan Hills, are thus described by Mr. Kidston in his report: "The country immediately beyond the great sand-hill track is of volcanic formation, for we saw fragments of black honeycombed lava lying among the grass. A day or two later we passed through hills with outcrops of broken limestone rocks, but with these two exceptions the plain presented nothing but an endless sweep of grass, burnt almost white by the summer sun without a tree or bush to its surface. Sometimes we passed through rolling grassy hills or across great billows of grass that rose and fell so gradually that they were almost imperceptible to the eye, but as a rule the plain swept out in one dead level to the horizon, which on every side presented a clean-cut edge without a wrinkle . . . there is no actual beauty in the plain itself, though the sense of unbounded freedom given by the limitless expanse that seems to stretch into eternity has a charm of its own that goes far to compensate the lack of actual beauty" (Kidston, *Report*, 6–7).

It is in the more attractive girdle of everlasting pastures and prairies which enclose the huge and terrible and virtually uninhabited wastes of the Gobi desert that the nomad Mongol tribes have their chief home and where they spend very useful and contented lives. Their most potent enemies, perhaps, are the vicissitudes and the severity of the climate. "The temperature on the high tableland," says the same writer, "is extraordinarily variable, and when the wind blows from the north-west the cold is paralyzing, in spite of brilliant sunshine."

In the north-east and south-east, where the rain is more plentiful, the land is more fertile. This rain is brought by north-east winds from the Polar seas, which are largely drained of their water by the frontier mountains. From the south-east also come damp winds from the Chinese sea and with the south-east monsoon. A great

characteristic of the climate is its variation and its extremes of temperature and of dryness.

In the 42nd degree of latitude the temperature in South-East Mongolia falls at night to $-37^{\circ}\ 7'$, and continues more or less during the winter, while in summer in the same place the heat is quite tropical. This is intensified by the absence of forests and the great dryness of the air, and there is a range of 50° to 60° in summer to $-26^{\circ}\ 5'$ and more in winter; and in spring and autumn the passage from one extreme to the other is very abrupt and induces most violent storms and hurricanes.

In winter the weather becomes savage, and is marked by blizzards lasting several days. Relating his experiences Mr. Kidston says: "The snow was driven in a horizontal cloud which blotted out everything within a few yards and stung one's eyeballs like needles. To windward both we and our ponies were coated with a sheet of ice; hair, moustache, beard, and eyebrows being converted into one solid mass, while even our eyelashes on that side were tipped with little balls of ice. The side that did not catch the wind was quite dry, and the ponies, half white and half brown, looked like some new freak of nature" (ib. 14). Presently, when the cold had become almost Arctic, our author speaks of his provisions being frozen through and through. "Potatoes," he says, "were like lumps of ice, meat had to be broken rather than cut, and some eggs which we had brought with us were frozen so hard that in spite of a preliminary thawing the yolks were still solid lumps of ice when the whites were perfectly fried," etc., etc. (ib. 21).

Timkofski suggests that the excessive cold is caused by the *horedju* or sulphate of nitre mixed with the nitre with which the steppes are in many places covered (op. cit. ii, 287).

Mongolia is essentially a cold country. Summer is long in coming and soon goes. As late as May water frequently freezes in the basins, and in August ice may be seen again on the drinking troughs (ib. 196), and in winter the cold is said to sometimes reach 58 degrees below zero (ib. 197). The force of the wind is so great that it dislodges the gravel and sends it hurrying downwards in a noisy current, and it is so powerful that it is almost impossible to face it (ib. 185).

The contrast between winter and summer is remarkable; the average temperature at Si-van-tse for January is 2° and for July 67°, while the air is very dry; the annual rainfall at the same place being 18 inches, while only 1° of saturation was observed. These characteristics of the climate no doubt have much to do with the yellow, parchment-like skin of the natives, and perhaps also with the development of the angular squint in the eyes.

Friar William, long ago, speaking of the climate of Mongolia, says the cold in these regions is most intense, and from the time it begins to freeze it never ceases till May; even in the month of May there was frost every morning, though during the day the sun's rays melted it. But in winter it never thawed, but with every wind it continued to freeze; if the wind in winter had been as strong as with us nothing could live, but the atmosphere is always calm till April, then the wind arises. And when we were there the cold that comes on with the wind about Easter killed an infinite number of animals (Rockhill, op. cit., p. 170). Carpini, speaking of Northern Mongolia, says the climate there is much unsettled in the middle of summer, when in other countries it is usually very hot. There is plenty of thunder and lightning, by which many people are killed. At the same season there falls snow in great quantity, and they have also violent tempests there of extremely cold winds, so that sometimes men can hardly keep in the saddle. It never rains there in winter, but often in summer, but so little that it ofttimes hardly moistens the dust and roots of the grass. Hail also falls of great size. In summer there is suddenly a great heat, followed immediately by great cold; and the snow in winter is very abundant in some parts, but not in others (ib., note).

The strands of ancient lake beds, Carruthers argues, prove the increasing desiccation of Mongolia, and he argues that a wide zone of country situated between the true Gobi and the mountain borderlands have been affected by this decrease in the rainfall, and this has largely diminished the available pasture-land, at altitudes of 4,000 to 6,000 feet (op. cit. 307).

The result of the aridity and severe climate of the central parts of the Great Gobi is a notable poverty of vegetable life. It consists chiefly of a small growth of hard grasses and salt plants. Trees do not occur except in very limited sheltered places.

The Sungarian desert is a typical area, showing the poverty of the vegetation of these Asiatic wastes where sand and gravel and clay mixed with flints afford small sustenance for plants. When salt also occurs in the ground the conditions become still harsher. There are no trees and only miserable shrubs such as the saxaul (*Halochyla ammodendron*), *Ephedra* and *Reaumuria Songarica*, which specially characterize the stony ground, but also occur occasionally on sandy and loose soil; the salt plants *Nitraria Schoberia*, the Kharmyk, *Karagana pygmala*, the *Zygophyllum xanthoxylon*, *Atraphaxis compacta*; also, among the grasses the salt species *Kalidium*, *Suaeda*, etc., are prominent. Near the rare springs grows the derisun. In spring there grow in a sickly

way the *Zygophyllum macropterum, Phelipæa salsa, Cynomarum coccineum, Rheum leucorrhizum,* and the small *Tulipa uniflora.*

The most widely distributed of these plants, since they are found all the way from China to the Caspian Sea, are the saxaul and the derisun, and they are both very useful in the economy of Mongolian life. The former is leafless like the so-called shave-grass. The Mongols call it sal. It grows in the fashion of a tree, and reaches a height of 360 centimetres, and its stem near the junction of the root is 15 to 23 centimetres in circumference. It grows most profusely on the northern slopes of the Alashan. Its appearance in the open desert region is rather woeful, and it is generally found growing in rows on the hillocks. Although leafless it affords some shade. It is used both as firewood and as food for the camels. The wood is very hard and solid, and so brittle that it is quite easy to split the thickest stems, but it is useless for building purposes. Its bark is juicy. Nevertheless its twigs burn readily, even when fresh. It burns fiercely, and only glows for a short time. In May the saxaul bears small yellow flowers, and it has small seeds in September. Another desert plant most useful to the Mongols is the derisun (*Lasiagrostis splendens*), which affords shelter to many hares and crows. It is the only plant near the salt lakes. When the ground passes from sand to gravel the plant ceases to grow, the ears springing directly from the root. They are given to the cattle, and the poor collect the seed to make a kind of gruel. Elms grow in the clefts of the rocks in the same country.

The derisun is found in all Central Asia from 47¼° N. latitude, and near the Ulungur Lake as far as 63¼°, where it occurs at a height of 4,000 metres. It is found chiefly in Alashan, the desert of Gobi, Sungaria, and Turkestan, but only occasionally in Tibet. For some reason it does not occur at Lob Nor. When it occurs it is found in thick bushes, and gives good shelter to wolves and foxes; the black-tailed antelope, wild camel, and the Sungarian hare chiefly feed on them. Innumerable desert mice (*Meriones*) make them their homes and feed on their sap, a substitute for water.

It belongs to the grass section of plants, but grows to the colossal height of 210–70 centimetres. Like the saxaul it grows in all Central Asia from the 36th to the 48th parallel. It flourishes greatly in the Ordus country and especially near the Yellow River, but only sporadically in Lob Nor and Tsaidam, and hardly at all in North Tibet and the Tarim valley, and thrives best in saline soils. A full-grown man in the midst of a growth of derisun cannot see over the top of it, and easily loses himself. The plant is a greenish-grey in colour, with long flower plumes of a brown

colour. The growth of derisun beds affords excellent shelter for wolves, foxes, badgers, etc., and nesting-places for pheasants, quails, larks, and partridges. The Kirghiz use it largely as fodder for their cattle, and make cordage of it to fasten the felts on their yurts. The Chinese make summer huts and mats out of it (Prschewalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 21–3).

Southern Mongolia, says Mr. Sowerby, is absolutely destitute of trees. Only in the Ordus country did we see any trees at all, and then they were but stunted willows (op. cit., 228). In his journey from Kalgan to Urga, 450 miles, Pumpelly only saw two stunted trees. Withered plants are uprooted by the terrible storms and scattered about the steppe like patches of foam on the sea. This reminds us that among the notable features of the Gobi mentioned by travellers are the whirlwinds and mirages. The former rise up like columns of smoke, which are whirled across the desert. One form is like an inverted cone, the point touching the ground and the base raised towards the sky, with a long nucleus coming out of it like the pistil of a flower. The desert-mirage represents lakes dotted with islands, marshes covered with reeds, and seas with promontories. Kuropatkin, speaking of the poverty of the vegetation of the true Gobi, says that the derisun, the steppe acacia (*Caragana*), and the fistulas are the commonest plants, with a number of Salsolaceæ (*Nitraria*), Ephedra, and poplars. *Populus diversifolia*, a crooked tree, attains a height of 25 to 35 feet, with an almost invariably hollow trunk from 1 to 3 feet thick, along the rivers. Except in a small district south of the Golbye Gobi, Prschewalski met only with some elms (*Ulmus campestris*). The grass was very sparse. In the Tarim depression the *Asclepias*, and the *Halimodendron argenteum* (jonquil) abound; the poplar and *elæagnus* (which bears a fruit like an olive) also grow there, but not at Lob Nor.

"It would be difficult," says Prschewalski, "to picture to oneself a more desolate landscape, the poplar woods, with their bare soil and covered only in autumn with fallen leaves parched and shrivelled with the dry heat, withered branches and prostrate trees encumbering the ground, cane-brakes, crackling under foot and saline dust ready to envelope you from every bough that you brush away in your path. The poplars are so saturated with salt that on breaking a bough a saline incrustation may be seen in the wood. Now, again, you come to acres of dead poplars, with broken boughs shorn of their bark, lifeless trunks never decaying, but crumbling away by degrees to be hidden in layers of sand. The neighbouring desert is even more dreary. While not a bird, not an animal, nothing but the occasional tracks of the timid gazelle

can be seen, but neither are there any meadows, grass, or flowers." (*Travels to Lob Nor*, translated by Morgan, i, 60.)

In the north, in the vast and hilly plain near the Orkhon, we have the mangrelia or wild garlic (*Allium scorodoprasum*), and wild flax (*Lilium perenne*). It is very like cultivated flax, but differs from it in shooting up fresh every year from its root. It has a grassy and rather salt and bitter taste. It easily becomes soft, and the water from it is good for wounds. Wild flax grows in all uncultivated parts of Siberia, and also in the Government of Petersburg (ib. i, 33).

Perhaps the most interesting and important plant which thrives in Mongolia and its border lands is the so-called Turkey rhubarb, the ginseng of the Chinese. Marco Polo speaks especially of its growing over all the mountains of Tangut (in Northern Tibet), and says that merchants go thither to buy it and carry it the world over. The Mongols use it medicinally for animals, as do the Chinese, but not often for themselves. The Mongols also use it sometimes for a dye (Rockhill, *Journey of Rubruck*, 192, note).

Among the most useful products of Mongolia are the reeds, which grow in such quantities along the rivers and in the marshes and valleys. They afford shelter for their camping grounds in winter, and are used for the manufacture of mats and many other useful articles. They sometimes form a difficult barrier in crossing the marshes. Thus, Prschewalski says, it is impossible to cleave a passage even for the smallest carts along the lower Tarim through the dense growth of canes growing to a height of 20 feet and upwards in some places and measuring an inch in the diameter of the stems. Here monster canes fringe in one continuous alley the banks of the Tarim itself, while in shallow and more stagnant places grows the water asparagus (*Hippuris*). Besides the cane-brakes all over Lob Nor are found the cat's-tail (*Trypha*) and water gladiolus (*Kuldja and Lob Nor*, translated by Morgan, 101).

An interesting feature of parts of the desert where the severest cold exists is the way some of the plants become acclimatized to it and acquire the toughness and capacity for facing hard conditions. Prschewalski said he had seen in the Kansuh Mountains yellow Alpine poppies (*Papaver alpinum*) dug out of such hard frozen ground that it could hardly be cut out with a knife, and yet it bravely put out flowers. The local distribution is also difficult to understand.

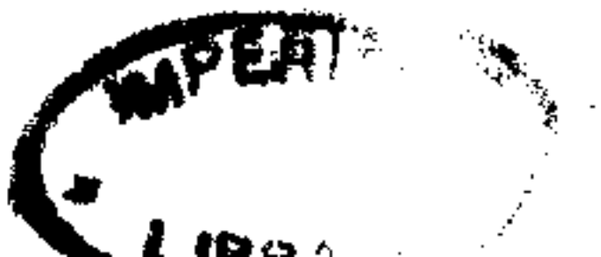
The variety of climate and contour of Mongolia, its mountains, forests, savannahs, or grassy plains, and its sandy and stony wastes and deserts necessarily induce a similar variety in its animal no less than its vegetable life. The most interesting district in many ways in regard to its fauna is the most barren and unattractive wild part,

where the absence of water and fodder make it practically uninhabitable by man, especially when it is accompanied by the immense swarms of insects which worry the lives of domestic animals. This kind of country is chiefly found in Alashan and the steppes of the Ordus and in the land about Lob Nor and parts of Sungaria.

Among the animals found in these desolate lands, and practically there alone, are four which are very notable since their habitat has shrunk from a much wider one. In regard to three of them, it extended in palæolithic times westward into France and Britain. I propose to speak at some length about these four animals, and shall begin with the one which was always limited, so far as we know, to the Mongolian area, namely, the wild, two-humped camel. As is also the case with the wild horse, questions have arisen as to whether this animal is really wild or only feral, that is, descended from tame examples, which have strayed away and become wild, or been given their freedom under the influence of Lamaism. The balance of opinion is in favour of their being truly wild. Anyhow, if feral like most mammals which have changed and have sported under the influence of domestication, they have reverted to the homogeneous stock from which they sprang. Prschewalski argues that the camels are really wild, since the tame ones cannot copulate nor deliver their young without human help, but the wild ones can. He thinks they may have descended from true wild ones, which have been crossed with tame ones.

Wild camels live in large numbers in North-Western Tsaidam, and also in the districts of Karlyk and Syrtyn Makhai. They are found in herds of five to ten and only occasionally of twenty, but never in greater bodies. In outward appearance they differ considerably from the tame ones. The Mongols of Western Tsaidam hunt them for their flesh, especially in the late autumn, when they are fat. When on this chase they take a quantity of ice to supply themselves with water in the waterless wastes where the camels live. They are not very wary, so that they can be killed with matchlocks. The Mongols say they have an excellent power of smell, which helps them more at a distance than near by. Their rutting season is in February, and at that time they show great courage and will come up to the caravans on their way from Tsaidam to the town of An si chshönech, and the tame camels will on such occasions sometimes go off with the wild ones and not return again.

Twenty years ago they abounded in Lob Nor, as well as along the foot of the Altyntagh and in the range itself. A hunter told Prschewalski he had killed more than a hundred in his time with a flint and steel musket. They have diminished with the increase



of population; but are still found in Lob Nor, but not commonly. Sometimes years pass without one having been seen. In others the native hunters get five or six. They migrate from and return to the Kumtagh deserts, which are quite inaccessible to man from the absence of water—at least none of the Lob Nor men had been there. In the very hot summer time they go to the higher valleys of the Altyntagh as far as a height of 11,000 feet, and even higher, for they cross it and are found on the other side.

Here the camel's thorn (*Calitrium*) abounds, and also the favourite but less plentiful *Hedysarum*. In the winter they keep in the lower and warmer desert. Their senses are much more acute than those of the tame ones, and they fly directly danger is scented.

"A camel I fired at," says our author, "went twenty versts without stopping, as I could see by its traces. We often saw their droppings and tracks in the narrowest gorges, where these tracks are mixed with those of the mountain sheep (*pseudo-nahoor*) and the arkari (*Ovis poli*). Their pace is very swift, and they generally trot. The camel is, however, not strong, and drops directly it is hit. It pairs in winter from mid-January to the end of February. At this time the old males collect the females in troops and jealously guard them from their rivals, and even drive them into some secluded glen and keep them in it as long as the rutting season lasts. Frequent fights take place between the rivals, in which they are often killed. An old male will crunch the skull of a young one with his teeth. Females have young every three years, gestation lasting a year, and they never have more than one at a time. When caught the young camels are easily tamed and taught to carry a pack. Their voice, which is rarely heard, is a deep lowing sound, with which they call their young. The males utter no sound, even in the rutting season, but find their consorts by scent. A hunter once reported a camel whose teeth had been quite worn down, showing they sometimes live to a good age. In hunting, the Lob Nor people do not pursue them, but lie in wait for them at the watering-places." It is curious that Marco Polo makes no mention of the wild camel, which perhaps points to their being really feral. They are first mentioned by Shah Rukh's envoys (see *Cathay and the way thither*, ch. i, 66). The difference between wild and tame ones is as follows. They have more slender bodies and more pointed nozzles. They have no corns on the forelegs, and the humps are half the size. A seven-year-old camel from Tarim had humps only 7 inches high, while domestic ones have them as much as 1½ feet. The hair on the top of the hump is short. The male has no crest or a very small one. The wild ones are all of one colour, namely, a reddish sandy shade. This is rare

with tame ones; the muzzle is more grizzled and shorter, the ears are also shorter.

Let us now turn to the wild horse. The existence of wild horses in the Eastern Russian steppes, between the Dnieper and the Caspian, has been reported by several naturalists, and notably by Pallas in earlier times and Poliakof in later ones. They are called tarpans by the natives, who do not doubt that they are really wild and who hunt them in the spring. The herds are composed of small numbers led by a stallion, which are sometimes recruited by run-away tame ones. Pallas thought they were feral, and descended from horses which were turned out to provide for themselves after the siege of Azof at the end of the seventeenth century.

Gmelin says of them, the largest of the wild horses is scarcely to be compared with the smallest of domesticated ones. The head is very large in proportion to the rest of the body; the ears are pointed and either of the same size as those of the domesticated animal or long and pendulous like those of the ass; the mane is very short and curly; the tail is in some instances thick, in others scanty, and always shorter than in the tame horse. The colour is invariably that of the mouse, with an ashy shade underneath the belly, while the legs from the knee downwards are black; the coat is long and thick, more like fur to the touch than horse-hair. They also have round obtuse noses (*Travels*, 254).

"A striking resemblance has been noticed between the tarpan and the extinct horse of the caves of Solutrê (near Macon), particularly in regard to the size of the body, head, etc."

The general view is that the tarpans, while closely resembling the original wild horse, have been somewhat sophisticated by being mixed with tame mares.

A more unequivocal form of the original species from which the horses sprang is the one which in late years has been rediscovered in Mongolia. When Prschewalski made one of his journeys thither he received the present of a skin from which Poliakof described his *Equus Prschewalski*, which he discriminated as a separate geographical race from the tarpans. Since then we have learnt more about these Mongolian wild horses, and specimens have even been imported into England by the Duke of Bedford. They are called dserlik adu, i.e. wild herds, by the natives. They are rare in Western Tsaidam, but are abundant about Lob Nor. They live in herds, and are very shy and wary. They apparently unite some of the qualities of the horse and wild ass. Thus they possess the four callosities on the legs; on the other hand, their tails are only partially covered with hair and they are destitute of a forelock. Their colour is uniformly bay, with black and long tails reaching down to the ground.

They are about the same size as the Asiatic wild asses, and like them have a long head but shorter ears. In colour they are dun, with a yellow tinge shading into white on the belly. Their hair is long and wavy, and red on the head and nasal bones, while the end of the nose is covered with white hair, but they have no stripe along the back like all the Asiatic asses (*Riverside Nat. Hist.*, v, 256).

Father Gerbillon speaks of the killing of a wild horse some 25 miles north of Lake Kulun in Eastern Mongolia, but none of the Mongols I met, says Campbell, knew of such a beast, and it probably no longer exists in East Mongolia.

The wild ass (kulang, *Asinus kiangi*) is the most remarkable animal of the steppe of Kuku Nor. In size and form it is like a mule. The upper part of its body is dark brown ; its lower part white, to the mouth and throat and breast. Its head is big, so are the ears, which stand upright, and it has big brown eyes. It has a long tail and a short mane. Its hair is woolly and bushy ; the outside of the ears is dark, the inside white. It is spread over the woodless mountains of Kansu, and in Kuku Nor, Tsaidam, and Northern Tibet. The steppe is not the only habitat of the kulang. It does not avoid the mountains where good food and water are to be had, and Prschewalski says he often found troops of them in Northern Tibet. They generally live in herds from ten to fifty individuals. Herds of 100 or more are only seen in the Kuku Nor district, but this is seldom. The herds consist of mares, led by a stallion. Full-grown and vigorous stallions have as many as fifty mares in their harems, while young ones have from five to ten. If an intruder comes, the leader of the herd at once attacks him with hoof and mouth. This is especially in the rutting season, which begins in September and lasts a month. The foals are born in May, and apparently form separate sexual herds, as only a few young foals were seen by Prschewalski with their mothers. They have a wonderful sight and smell, and it requires great skill in the hunter to kill one, especially as they are very tough even when hit. They are most easily overcome at their drinking-places.

" The natives are very fond of their flesh, especially in autumn, when they are fat. The frightened kulang always runs against the wind, with its big ugly head held aloft and its tail stretched out. In its flight the herd follows its leader, forming a line. After running for some hundreds of paces they collect together in a bunch, halt, and turn towards the object which has scared them and stop a few minutes, during which the stallion advances a little to explore, and then the whole withdraw again for some hundreds of paces. The cry of the stallion, Prschewalski says, he only heard twice, once when

summoning a number of mares which had strayed and the second one when challenging another stallion. It consists of a dull, moderately long neigh, and is accompanied by snorting" (op. cit. 359–60).

Besides the three very typical steppe animals just named there is a fourth, the habitat of which was once much wider. It is a curious and bizarre form of antelope, which also existed in Western Europe in palæolithic times and has been long extinct there, namely, the so-called Saiga antelope or water-buck. It differs from the other members of the group in its sheep-like face; especially is this so in the female, but the erect anuculated horns of the male take away the resemblance to a sheep. The nostrils at the end of its much-prolonged snout are very capacious. A thick tuft of long hair beneath the eye overhangs the cheek, and a similar one depends from the ear. It also resembles the sheep in discarding its fleece *en masse*, in jumping, and in butting with its horns (*Riverside Valley Nat. Hist.*, v, 332–3). Its bones have been found in caves in the Carpathians, together with stone implements, and in the Volga Valley, near Sarepta. Not longer ago than the last century it was very numerous in Western Siberia, and Pallas mentions having seen herds of it on the Irtish, below Semipalatinsk, where it has now been completely forgotten. It is also now rare near Lake Balkhash, where it recently was as common as the kulang. In Rytchkof's time it roamed near the Jaik. It is now limited, as I have said, to the most barren wastes of Mongolia, where it lives with the wild camel, horse, and ass.

A widespread and characteristic wild animal of the districts occupied by the Mongols is the gazelle, which exists in two closely allied forms, one being widely spread all over the Gobi, but they are not found together. They are named *G. gutturosa* (doeren) and *subgutturosa* respectively. The chief characteristic of the latter is its long black tail, whence it is called khara sultai, or black tail, by the Mongols and huang yang, or yellow sheep, by the Chinese. It is assiduously hunted by the Mongols, and is often named in their sagas and legends. Mr. Sowerby says of it, "It is called the goitred antelope on account of the enormously distended larynx." The reason for this is not very clear, since it does not seem to possess a voice. Its sight and smell are phenomenal, and so is its speed. The female is hornless, while the horns of the male, though not large, are well shaped and graceful. It lives in the Ordus country, the Gobi, and as far north as 45°. In the south in Alashan, Kuku Nor, and Tsaidam, and thrives in the wildest and most barren parts of the desert, and as far from man as possible. Prschewalski remarks that it is an unsolved problem how

it drinks, for it is found hundreds of kilometres from any brook or spring. He suggests that it gets what it wants from the sap of the plants growing in the salt marshes. It is found singly or in pairs, or three to seven together, and in winter from fifteen to twenty, but no more. It does not mix with the other antelope, the *G. gutturosa*. It is remarkable for its good sight, hearing, and smelling, and its acute baffling of the hunters. It feeds in the early morning and evening only, and lies down the rest of the day, and its colour is so like the loam and sand of the desert that it is well protected. It loves, however, to stand as much as a whole hour or more on a high hillock, where it is conspicuous to the hunter, but, of course, can survey the country better.

Two other animals are very characteristic of the Mongolian steppes, one of them especially, namely, the hamster or malik (*Cricetulus*), the Pharaoh's rat of Marco Polo, who speaks of the Mongols eating it, and says there were great numbers in the burrows on the plains (book i, ch. 52). Colonel Yule, in his note, has confused it with the Alactaga or jumping mouse (vol. i, p. 246, note 3); in a later page M. Polo speaks of the multitudes of them, on which the people live all the summer-time (ib., book iv, ch. 20). Its burrows are innumerable in some parts, and notably in the Chakhar country. Its noticeable feature is the possession of highly developed cheek pouches. The hamsters are about 10 inches long, with a hairy tail about 2½ inches. They are a yellowish-brown in colour, with black, reddish, and yellowish marks on the head and the under parts, while most of the limbs are black. The maliks hoard up stores of food in their underground galleries, have a long hibernation, and on reviving in spring pair and produce their young in May and again in summer, and have a numerous progeny. They have already cut their teeth when born, soon open their eyes, and shift for themselves in a couple of weeks (*Riverside Nat. Hist.*, v, 113–14).

The marmot takes the hamster's place on the more hilly districts of Uchimuchin and the Khalkhas, and its flesh and fur cause it to be perpetually pursued. The Mongols use its fur as trimming for the sleeves of their robes and for their winter caps. They abound about Urga, apparently on account of the abundance of the wild rhubarb there, on the roots and leaves of which they feed (Timkofski, ii, 425).

Bell, in his famous voyage, speaks of the number of the marmots and also of the abundance of rhubarb in the environs of Urga, and says: "In those places where there are only a dozen tufts of rhubarb, burrows covered with leaves are constantly found at short distances. It is probable that the marmots feed on the roots and

leaves of this plant, while their digging propensities tend to propagate the seeds."

Mr. J. H. Miller has a few breezy words about them. He says that as he rode along the springy turf the shrill whistle of the marmots resounded on every hand. By the autumn these jolly animals have amassed such quantities of fat, preparatory to their winter sleep, that they present a most comical appearance. Their short legs are almost invisible, and as they make for their holes they look just like large muffs rolling down the hillside (op. cit. 341–2).

They are chased with dogs or shot with guns. In the late autumn when the marmots return to their winter quarters, and before the ground is hard frozen, they are often dug out of their holes in large numbers. Mr. Miller describes two methods of hunting the marmot among the Mongols. One is merely to make a low breastwork of reeds within 30 yards or so of a well-used burrow, and to lie patiently behind it till a beast appears. In the other the hunter, on locating the marmot outside his hole, advances boldly towards it at a rapid walk, carrying his gun in his right hand and incessantly waving a bunch of white sheep's wool attached to a stick or a fox's brush in his left. This unusual sight so excites the curiosity of the marmot that he will often sit bolt upright at the entrance to his hole and allow the hunter to approach close enough for a hurried shot (Carruthers, op. cit., p. 342). In valleys where there is plenty of water, rivulets are taken from a stream to the mouths of the marmots' holes, and thus they are driven out or drowned (ib. 19). The *Alactaga*, or jumping mouse, is also very frequent in these steppes of Mongolia. Its name has really been taken over from the Mongols, who call it allactahai; the Chinese name it t'iao t'u tzu, meaning jumping hare. The Mongols have a superstition that it sucks their cows. It is semi-diurnal in its habits, and skips about in the twilight in an uncanny way, and refuses to enter a trap or take a bait (Sowerby, op. cit., p. 203).

On the sandhills of the Kesikten district in the east of Mongolia roe deer (*Cervus pyrargus*) occur in small numbers, and, says Campbell, near the Kentei Mountains I heard of elk and saw some horns, which were used by the Chinese as medicine. They are called hautchar by the traders, and we gather from the pages of Du Halde, two centuries ago, that they then had a wider range in the forest regions of Northern Mongolia.

In the north-western wooded country the Mongols hunt the red stag or maral, which as we might expect from the climate is more akin to the Canadian variety or wapiti than the European. Their horns are easily sold to the Chinese, who use them as medicine.

An unexpected animal found in Western Mongolia, as it is in Manchuria, and which we associate with very tropical conditions, is the tiger. In those northern regions it does not attain the great size it has in India, but is considerably smaller, and its pelage becomes thick and woolly.

The wolf is common, and exists in two sharply contrasted varieties of colour, a small breed of a yellow and the other, big and fierce, of a blue-grey colour. They are prominent elements in the Mongol folk-tales as in those of other nations, and the Mongols suffer much from their predatory raids on their cattle and sheep. Bears do not occur in Mongolia proper.

In the Ordus country and Alashan there are two wild sheep (*Ovis argalis* and *O. ãarwini*). In the mountains of Alashan and Khara narun ula, the Siberian goat (only in the Mts. Khurkhu) *Lagomys ogotona*, the wolf, fox, the izel (*Erinaceus auratus*), *Meriones anceps*, and the golden hedgehog, but curiously the bear does not occur. This abounds, however, on the Thian Shan range (Prschewalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 252).

Marco Polo has a sentence about the animals pursued by the Mongols in his day in this district. "You find in their country," he says, "immense bears entirely white and more than 20 palms in length. There are also large black foxes, wild asses, and abundance of sables—the creatures, he says, from the skins of which they make those precious robes that cost 1,000 bezants each. There are also ermines in great numbers, and Pharaoh's rats." The country, he says, is very wild and trackless (ib., book iv, ch. 20). The mention of the white bears shows that Marco Polo's survey here extended as far as Siberia.

In North Mongolia foxes (*Canis corsac*), raccoon dogs (*Canis procyonides*), hares (*Lepus tolai*) (which abound in the long grass) and lagoons, badgers, moles, and hedgehogs are numerous, and colonies of hamsters and field-mice abound (Campbell, op. cit., 28).

The only Mongols regularly addicted to hunting are the Uriangkai or forest men. The forests of the Altai and the Yenissei, in which they live, abound with game, and they hunt stags, bears, otters, sables, martens, foxes, wolves, marmots, and elks. Sables, foxes, and wolves they generally catch in traps which they obtain from the Russians. The other beasts here named they shoot with guns. As they are often short of lead they kill the bears and stags with round pebbles covered with wood. They make their own very indifferent powder from saltpetre and sulphur supplied by the Russians.

Among the birds of the country the mention of a few must suffice. Pallas' sand-grouse (*Syrrhaptes Pallasii*) abound everywhere (chiefly in the Kentei Valley). (This seems to be clearly the barguerlan of

Marco Polo, on which he says the falcons fed.) It will be remembered that in 1859 and subsequent years this bird made its way in considerable flocks to Britain, especially to Yorkshire (see Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, 364–5). The grey partridge and the quail (*Colurius japonicus*) abound, while the bustard is not infrequent. Eagles, ospreys, hawks, kites, and owls are common. Of water and marsh birds on the rivers and lakes the number is legion: cranes of two kinds, plovers, sandpipers, godwits, snipe, herons, coots, swans, geese, ducks, innumerable cormorants, terns, and gulls.

In regard to the birds of the Gobi, Prschewalski tells us that 291 have been recorded. Only a few of these are permanent dwellers there, however. The great bulk are migratory, and the natives almost all nest in the hills or by the lakes and streams. Characteristic of the residents are the sand-grouse above-named, *Corvus corax*, *Athene plumipes*, *Podoces Hendersoni*, *P. Biddulphi*, the latter only occurring in the Tarim country, *Passer ammodendri*, and *P. timidus*, the former in Sungaria and the latter wherever the saxaul is found. The *Otocoris albigula* occurs chiefly on the Tarim, the *Erythrospiza Mongolica* (in low meadows), and the *Pyrgelanda Davidiana*, *Melanocorypha Mongolica*, and the small *Alaudicha Cheleensis* on barren ground. Of the migrants which breed there, the chief are *Milvus melanotis*, *Upupas epops*, *Saxicola atrogularis*, *S. Isabellina*, *Lanius arenarius* and *phœnicurus*, and seldom *Grus virgo*, and on the salt lakes *Talorna cornota* and *Casarca rutila*.

The crossing of the steppe by the migrating birds induces a great mortality from the want of water and food. There begin to pass over in August great flocks of geese and ducks, which drop down in very indifferent puddles, and the smaller birds can be caught by the hand (ib. 49). Hume, the famous ornithologist who so greatly enriched the British Museum's collection of bird skins, has an interesting passage about the migration of the birds across this repelling country. He says the "highest" ranges oppose no invincible obstacle to the periodical migration, of even the tiniest and most feeble-winged of our songsters. It is startling to think of birds like the *Phylloscopi*, ill-adapted as they are to prolonged flights, and when not migrating, rarely flying more than a few yards at a time, yearly travelling from Yarkand to Southern India and back again. How these butterfly-like mites brave in safety the vast mountains and almost Arctic deserts absolutely devoid of vegetation, where the thermometer habitually varies 50° in twenty-four hours and a breeze springing up sends the mercury down below zero, is verily a mystery (*Lahore to Yarkand*, pp. 190 et seq.).

The great feature of the bird fauna of Mongolia is the incredible number of water-fowl which visit it in the breeding season: gulls,

swans, geese, and various kinds of ducks, accompanied by a great flight of waders. For days together, says Prschewalski, they speed onwards from the W.S.W. towards the east in search of open water before the great mass of the pools are thawed. Their favourite haunts being the flat mudbanks overgrown with low saline bushes, vast flocks of them would congregate, making a noise like a hurricane when rising. It would be no exaggeration to say there were as many as two, three, or even five thousand together. The flocks followed each other incessantly, and they must need a prodigious quantity of food to feed them. Not a bird flew directly from the south, showing that the migrating birds and especially the water-fowl do not venture to cross the lofty and cold Tibetan mountains on their journey from the trans-Himalayan country, but pass over the difficult country at its narrowest part (op. cit., ed. Morgan, pp. 117–18).

Of reptiles there are two kinds of lizards (*Podarces* and *Phrynocephalus*) and eight kinds of snakes, of which the most common are *Lamenis spinalis* and *Trigno cephalus*. In the Ordus country is a tortoise (*Trionyx sinensis*) and two frogs (*Rana temporalis* and *esculenta*). Frogs do not occur elsewhere in Mongolia, but there are two toads, *Bufo viridis* in the west and *Raddei* in the east. (Prschewalski, *Tibet*, 253.)

There is abundance of fish in the larger sheets of water, the chief being two kinds of carp, the Marena (*Coregonus Mareñia*), and another of the genus; the former the natives of Lob Nor call *balik*, i.e. fish in general, and the latter, with a spotted back, they call *tazel*.

The Mongols since their conversion to Buddhism have almost entirely ceased to kill or eat either birds or fish, no doubt because they are afraid of exasperating the spirits of the air and water embodied in these flying and swimming animals.

CHAPTER II.

THE CHARACTER, HOME LIFE, AND SURROUNDINGS OF THE MONGOLS.

IT has often been remarked as strange that the Mongol race, which once nearly overwhelmed the world and became proverbial for its martial virtues, its cruelty and truculence, its indomitable courage and hardness, should in our day have so entirely altered in all these respects. Probably no race in history has been so entirely changed in real essentials, in character and disposition, and in some very important other respects, by a change in its religion, while retaining so much of its ordinary domestic surroundings and habits as the Mongols have. My friend Mr. C. W. Campbell has well described the changes in his Government Report entitled *Journal in Mongolia*, 33–5.

"Before," he says, "the Mongols, under Jinghiz Khan, began campaigning against the world, they were addicted to the species of internecine squabbles which we associate with the civilization of the American Indian. They were predatory and aggressive, and perforce worked off superabundant energy in intertribal conflicts until they waxed strong enough to undertake distant forays against external societies. This combative activity remained a characteristic long after the decline of the Mongol dominion in Asia and, so far as Mongolia proper is concerned, its subsidence synchronizes roughly with the rise of the Manchus in China. The Mongol of to-day, if not a thoroughly peaceful creature, has lost the old fierce predatory instinct, and the fight in his blood finds sufficient vent in horse-races and wrestling matches."

"If a Mongol of the twelfth century was resurrected he would find among his countrymen that the religious *milieu* was widely different from that in which he had grown up. Instead of a few Shaman sorcerers, who were probably no more numerous relatively than priests are in our communities, he would find that at least one-third of the race have devoted themselves to spiritual things; and are living a form of life in magnificent buildings and undergoing a mental discipline which to him would have been surpassingly strange. These monks, he would notice, acted with a solidarity and astuteness which made them virtually the only social authorities in the land; and this powerful organization, however unsuccessful it might be, in serving its own material interests, preached a religion of lenity and piety, of arrest of passion and submission to fate, as different in essentials from the religion of his

day as light from darkness. This dominant ecclesiasticism is the great social factor which distinguishes the old Mongol society from the modern. It was not home-grown. It came from Tibet in the declining period of the Ming dynasty of China, and its influence was already notable by the time the Manchus came to deal with Mongolia."

The Manchus, indeed, probably had a great deal to do with the widespreading of this new faith in Mongolia, and had excellent political reasons for encouraging it. "They saw at once," as Mr. Campbell says, "that it was the only organization which was not limited by tribal divisions; that its whole teaching was peace; that the weight of its influence must lean to peace; that the celibacy and monkish life of so large a proportion of the young and strong part of the male population must increase the pressure for existence and make for peace, since the working population would be diminished. They moulded their policy accordingly. The Lamaistic Church has been recognized, supported, and when necessary, controlled with a solicitude quite foreign to the methods in China proper, and the result of this has been a curious equilibrium of the social forces and a change of the natural disposition which seems to have removed the Mongols from the list of aggressive nations" (ib. 34). This great mass of idle men has no doubt greatly affected the economic condition of the country. Their herds have diminished, and so has the birth-rate. Carruthers very properly contrasts the modern Mongol with his neighbour, the Kirghiz, whose mode of life is very like his own, but who has retained his vigour and masculine virility, his enterprise and his prosperity, because he has escaped the benumbing influence of Buddhist teaching and practice.

I will postpone an account of the changes introduced in the Mongol polity and life by the change of religion to a later page, and first describe those features of the race which show little or no change since the earliest notices of them which we possess. In regard to their physique, the most unmixed type is to be found among those of them who live north of the desert, namely, the so-called Khalkhas, who have broad, flat, lean faces, with prominent cheekbones; the upper part of the nose is flat, the chin small, broad fleshy lips, and the teeth sound till old age. They have small, almond-shaped, sparkling bright eyes, with brown pupils, but not distinctly slanting like the Chinese, big ears which stand out from the head, and round skulls. They have black wiry hair, which they shave over the forehead and let it hang behind in a plaited pig-tail, scanty beards (which are made more so by the practice of plucking out the hairs or shaving it), dark,

sunburnt, yellow skins, and thick-set sturdy bodies, and many of them are over the average size. From continually riding with short stirrups they are all bow-legged.

Pallas says the bodies and faces of the Kalmuks are naturally of a light colour, and the young people are specially so. Their habit of letting their children go naked and exposed to the hot sun in summer and the smoke of the yurts in winter, while the older ones often take off their nether clothes, especially at night, turns their skin to a yellow colour. The women often have very white bodies, and among the upper classes especially so, which contrast with their black hair (Pallas, *Mong. Volk.*, 98).

On the south-east frontier, and notably among the Chakhar tribe, the Mongols are much mixed with Chinese blood, and resemble the latter in having less high cheekbones and more regular profiles, and like them also they shave their heads entirely, only leaving enough to make a pig-tail. These Southern Mongols have also largely adopted Chinese costumes and Chinese food. In the south-west of Mongolia there has been a similar intermixture of blood with the Tibetans, while the Kalmuks have been affected by the Turks and the Buriats by the Tungus. The Lamas entirely shave their heads, using Chinese knives as razors, having previously softened the hair with hot water, and they wear neither beard nor moustache.

Carpini describes the Mongol appearance as "differing from the rest of mankind by the greater breadth between the eyes and cheeks, with their cheekbones standing out a good deal from the jaws, flat, small noses, with small eyes with lids drawn up to the eyebrows. Nearly all of them are of short stature, and small in the waist. Nearly all have very little beard; a few have some hairs on their upper lips, and a beard which they never shave. They wear crowns of hair on the tops of their heads like clerks (among us), while they shave the rest from one ear to the other for a width of three fingers, and right round the crown. On their foreheads they also shave a space of two fingers, and let the hair grow longer off either side than in front. The rest of their hair they let grow like women, making two plaits of it, and tying them behind the ear. They also have small feet".

Vincent of Beauvais describes the shaving of part of the hair in greater detail. He says they cut it across the head and both temples to the ears, so that the shaved part of the head is shaped like a horse-shoe. They also shave the back of the head. The rest of the hair they wear long, and made into plaits behind the ears. "Albericus Trium Fontium," in his *Chronicon*, writing in 1239 describes the Mongol appearance from one who had seen them as having a big head, a short neck, a very big chest, big arms, little

legs, and as being wonderfully strong (Rockhill, *Travels of Rubruk*, xiii, note).

The language of the true Mongols is separated into a number of dialects which have been affected by the speech of their neighbours in different places, but only moderately. There are more marked differences between Mongol and its two principal outliers, namely, the Kalmuks and Buriats, which are sufficient to make it difficult to readily understand each other, who have been geographically separated from the true Mongols for a long time.

Julg says of the Mongol language: "It is divided into three main dialects—East Mongolian, West Mongolian or Kalmuk, and Buriat. They are closely related when we examine their roots, inflection, and grammatical structure. The difference between them is so slight that whoever understands one of them understands all. Phonetically a characteristic of all is the harmony of vowels, which are divided into two chief classes, the hard, *a*, *o*, *u*, and the soft, *e*, *o*, *u*, between which *i* is in the middle. All vowels of the same word must necessarily belong to the same class, so that the nature of the first or root vowel determines the nature of the other or inflection vowels. The consonants preceding the vowels are equally under their influence. Mongol and Kalmuk do not differ much in the spoken language, but the Kalmuks write according to their pronunciation, while the Mongols do not. The chief difference is in the pronunciation of some letters. Thus East Mongolian *ds* is in Kalmuk soft *s*. In Kalmuk the soft guttural *g* is omitted between two vowels, while the latter are united into a long vowel. Thus Mongol *khagan*, ruler, becomes *khan*; M. *dagan*, voice, sound, K. *dan*, *dun*; M. *dologan*, seven, K. *dolon*; M. *ogola*, mountain, K. *ala*, *ula*; M. *nagor*, lake, K. *nor*, *nur*; M. *ulagan*, red, K. *ulan*; M. *dabagan*, mountain range, K. *daban*; M. *baragon*, eight, K. *baron burun*; M. *chilagon*, stone, K. *chelon* or *chulun*; M. *jirgogan*, six, K. *surgan*; M. *dsegan*, left, K. *son*; In these peculiarities Buriat resembles East Mongol.

"The noun in Mongol is declined by means of appended particles, some of which are independent postpositions, viz., gen. *yin*, *u*, *un*; dat. *dur*, *a*; acc. *yi*, *i*; abl. *etse*; instr. *ber*, *yer*; associative, *luga*, *luge*. The dative and accusative have also special forms, which have at the same time a possessive sense, viz., dat. *dagan*, *degen*; acc. *ben*, *yen*. The plural is expressed by affixes (*nar*, *ner*, *od*, *ss*, and *d*), or frequently by words of plurality such as 'all', 'many', e.g. *kumun*, *nagal* (man, many men). The oblique cases have the same endings in singular and plural. Gender is not indicated. The adjective is uninflected, both as attribute and predicate. There is no comparative form, this idea being expressed

by the construction or by the use of certain particles. The personal pronouns are *bi*, I; *tchi*, thou; *bida*, we; *ta*, ye; these genitives serve as possessives. The demonstratives are *ens*, *tere* (this, that, plural *ede*, *tede*); interrogative, *ken*, who. The relative is lacking and its place is supplied by circumlocutions. The numerals are: 1 *nigen*, 2 *khagar*, 3 *gurban*, 4 *dörben*, 5 *tabun*, 6 *jirgugan*, 7 *dologan*, 8 *naiman*, 9 *yisun*, 10 *arban*, 100 *dsagan*, 1,000 *minggan*. The ordinals are formed by appending *tügar*, *tugar*. The theme of the verb is seen in the imperative as *bara*, grasp. The conjugation is rich in forms for mood and tense, but person and number are, with few exceptions, unexpressed. The present is formed from the theme by adding *mui* (*bariumui*), the preterite by *bai* or *luga* (*baribai* or *bariluga*), the future by *sugai* or *su* (*barissugai* or *barissu*). The preterite has also in the 3rd person the terminations *dsugui* and *run*, the future has in the 3rd person *yu*, and in the 1st *ya*. The conditional ends in *bassu* (*baribassu*); the precative in *tugai* or *tugei*; the potential in *sa* (*barimuisa*); the imperative plural in *ktun*; the gerund in the present in *n*, *dsu*, (*burin baridzu*), or *tala*, 'while, till' (*baritala*, *inter capiendum*), in the preterite it is formed in *gad* (*barigad*), the present participle has *ktchi* (*barihtchi*), the past participle *kssan* (*barikssan*); the supine ends in *ra*, the infinitive in *khu* (*barikhu*, or when used substantially *barikhui*). There is but one perfectly regular conjugation, and derivative forms, derived from the theme by infixes, are conjugated on the same scheme. Thus the passive has infixed *ta* or *kda* (*barikdakhu*, to be grasped), the causative *gul* (*barigulkhu*, to cause to grasp), the co-operative or sociative *ltsa* or *ida* (*bariltsakhu*), to grasp together.

"There are no prepositions, only postpositions. Adverbs are either simple particles (affirmative, negative, interrogative, modal, etc.) or are formed by suffixes from other parts of speech. There are very few conjunctions; the relations of clauses and sentences are mainly indicated by the verbal forms (past, supine, conditional), but mainly by the gerund.

"The order of words and sentences in construction is pretty much the opposite of that we follow. In a simple sentence the indication of time and place, whether given by an adverb or a substantive with a postposition, always comes first; then comes the subject, always preceded by its adjective or genitive; then the object and other cases depending on the verb; last of all the verb itself, preceded by any adverbs that belong to it, so in the structure of a period all causal, hypothetical, concessive clauses, which can be conceived as preceding the main predication in point of time, or even as contemporary with it, or as in any way modifying it, must come first; the finite verb appears only at the end of the main

predication or apodosis. The periods are longer than in other languages ; a single one may fill several pages." (Julg, *Ency. Brit.*, 9th ed., vol. xvi, 750–1.)

Turning to the dress of the Mongols, the summer under-garment consists of a short skirt (daba) made of cotton nankeen of a grey or bright blue colour, with small openings on the sides, and of trousers made of the same stuff. In winter they wear trousers lined with wool or made of sheepskin. The upper garment is a long wide gown (kalat), either blue or brown. The Lamas wear yellow or red cotton gowns. Among the well-to-do the collars, borders, hems, and cuffs of the sleeves are made of plush. The kalat or robe opens on the right side, and is buttoned with round metal buttons. There are slits in the skirts on both sides to make it more comfortable to sit in the saddle. The gown is fastened by a coloured girdle ornamented with coral and discs of different shapes of metal, from which hang small thongs or chains. On the latter are suspended a knife in its sheath and a fire striker. Behind the girdle is put the tobacco pipe. The gown has no pockets. Small objects, like the snuffbox and tobacco pouch, and the bowl from which they both eat and drink, are put in their boots or stuffed into the breast of the gown. In winter they also wear furs or sheepskins. For travelling in very cold weather they also wear a dokha, i.e. a garment lined on both sides with fur. The women also wear close-fitting gowns, with long sleeves puffed out at the shoulders. In sunny weather they have mantles of felt ; the rich wear red ones and the poor, black ones. The chief local difference in the costume is in the caps, which vary in shape in different parts.

The women's gowns open down the middle, and are also furnished with a number of metal buttons. Over the gown the women wear a short jacket without sleeves. The hair of the married women hangs down in two locks, which pass over the shoulders on to the breast. The young ones plait themselves quite a number of plaits (Ivanofski says in one case he counted as many as eighty-three), and smear them with size. The ends of the two plaits just named are fastened together by two metal buckles, and ornamented with small plates of metal beads and ribbons. On their heads they wear a small cap with three wings on the margin, and an opening in the middle of the top. In their ears they wear massive three-cornered ear-rings, with pendants attached, on their arms bracelets, and round their necks strings of coral and glass beads, and the young women have a full-dress head-covering, ornamented with corals, turquoises, and pearls, and surmounted with a gold embroidered cap. Men and women both wear wide

leather boots, without heels, padded with lambs' wool, with thick soles made of felt, which are sown with cobbler's thread or laces. The women's dresses are decorated with silk in the Tibetan fashion. The rich of both sexes wear silk robes, but as they eat their food with their fingers and wipe them on their boots or on the floor they rapidly get soiled. In winter they further wear felt stockings. The head covering of the men and women is alike, a conical cap of quilted material or cloth with outward turned-up brim, decorated with fox, wolf, or lynx-skin or with plush. In very cold weather in winter the rims are turned down so that the forehead, ears, and back of the neck are protected. From behind there hang down two red ribbons about 45 centimetres in length. In the heat of summer they bind a cloth round their heads, which is tied together behind. The chief contrast in the costumes of the different tribes of Mongols is in their caps, which differ in various small ways. The Derbets and Uriankhai differ from all the rest by their round flat-topped caps and the thick texture of the rims of their hats. Among the Tanguts the cap is cylindrical in shape (Ivanofski, *Die Mongolia*, p. 11).

The officials wear a belt varying in colour with their rank, with a Manchu dress-coat and hat. Only the princes have a ceremonial dress.

The richer class have naturally a richer attire. Atkinson describes a Kalmuk chief of a small body of Kalmuks he met with as dressed in a horse-skin cloak, fastened round his waist with a broad red scarf. When the weather was warm his arms were drawn from the sleeves, which were then tucked into his girdle, and the cloak hung round him in folds. This gave full effect to his herculean figure and manly bearing. Another chief he met was dressed in a long dark-blue silk kalat buttoned across his chest, with a leather girdle round his waist fastened with a silver buckle, in which hung his knife, flint, and steel. His cap was helmet-shaped, made of black silk trimmed with black velvet, with two broad red ribbons hanging down his back. A pair of high-heeled madder-coloured boots completed his costume. One woman had a red and green silk kalat, the other a black velvet robe, and both were tied round the waist with broad red sashes. They also had similar caps. The hair of the young ones was braided and hung over their shoulders in a hundred small plaits, some of them ornamented with red coral beads. They wore short, high-heeled boots of red leather, which prevented their walking with ease and comfort. The children were not overloaded with clothing, but to compensate for this deficiency they had been rolling on the bank of a muddy pool that had covered them with reddish ochre, which contrasted with their locks of black hair (*Siberia*, 447).

We may compare this account of the present Mongol dress with that given by the thirteenth century travellers. Friar William Rubruk says " the Mongols get from China and Persia and other regions close by, their silken and golden stuffs and cotton cloth which they wear in summer. From Russia, Moxel (i.e. the land of the Mordvins), Bulgaria, and Bashkiria (which he says is greater Hungary, which is thickly forested and under their jurisdiction) they got many costly furs, which they wore in cold weather. In winter they had at least two fur gowns, one with the fur in contact with them and the other with the fur outside exposed to the wind and snow. The latter was generally made of the skins of wolves and foxes or of monkeys and badgers. While they were sitting in their dwelling they usually wore a lighter one. The poor made theirs of dog and goat skins ".

They also had breeches made of fur (in modern times they are made of sheep or lamb skins with the wool inside). The rich, says Friar William, made their clothing with silk stuffing, which is very soft, light, and warm. The poor lined their clothes with cotton cloth or with the fine wool they were able to pick out of the coarse. With the coarser wool they made felts, with which to cover their houses and coffers, and also for bedding. With wool mixed with a third of horse-hair they made rope; this was to prevent it stretching when wet or kinkling (op. cit., ed. Rockhill, 72, note I). They also made covers, saddle-cloths, and cloaks with felt.

Carpini says the clothes of the men and women were of one pattern. They did not wear capes, cloaks, hoods, or skins (*pellibus*), but tunics of buckram (a light, cotton-like muslin), " purple " or baldachin; D'Avezac explains these names reasonably by silk and gold stuff and cloth of cotton. They were open from top to bottom, and doubled over the breast; on the left side they were fastened with a tape, and on the right with hair. On the left side, again, they were open to the armpit. The outside fur-gown was open behind, with a tail down to the knees (Rockhill, op. cit., 71, note).

On the day after their wedding the young women shaved the upper part of their heads and put on a tunic " as wide as a man's gown ", but larger and longer, open below, and tied on the right side. Friar William says that in this they differed from the Turks, who tied their gowns on the left and not the right side, and thus resembled the Chinese, Tibetans, and Japanese, " They also wore a headdress, which they called bocca, made of bark or some other light material, as wide as a hand can span across, a cubit or more high, and square like the capital of a column. This bocca they covered with costly silk, and it was hollow inside. On the top of this square capital they put a tuft of quills or light canes, or also

a cubit or more in height, decked with feathers from a mallard's tail and with precious stones. These were worn by the grand ladies, who stuffed their hair inside, gathering it together on the back of their heads in a kind of knot and put it in the bocca, tying up the whole. . When several ladies thus dressed were riding together they looked as if wearing soldiers' helmets on their heads and lances erect. The women all sat their horses a-straddle like men, and they tied their gowns with a piece of blue stuff at the waist and wrapped another round their breast, while a piece of white colour hung below the eyes down to the breast. This, as with the Kirghiz women, was doubtless to protect the face from the cold wind when riding. The women were wonderfully fat, and those with the least nose were deemed the most beautiful. They disfigured themselves greatly by painting their faces." Elsewhere, the friar says, they rubbed their faces with a black unguent to protect the skin from the wind.

In regard to the bizarre head-dresses just mentioned Carpini says married women wore a very full gown, open in front down to the ground. On their heads they wore a round erection (*instrumentum*) made of twigs or bark; it was an ell in height, and fastened on a felt cap reaching to the shoulder, and the whole was covered with buckram, "purple" or "baldachin", and they never went before men without it, and by it they could be distinguished from other women. The maidens and young women were distinguished from the men with difficulty, for in all respects they were dressed like them.

Rockhill compares this gala head-dress of the women with that worn by the Votiak women of Kazan, and described by Pallas (v, 33). The latter is doubtless of Mongol origin.

In reading these accounts of the Mongols in the thirteenth century we have to continually remember that, as a race, they were richer than their descendants. They had plundered a large part of the civilized world of its wealth, and their surroundings, especially their dress and ornaments, must have been more showy than anything existing now among them, while they possessed a greater number of dependants, whom they carried off as prisoners, many of whom were skilled craftsmen.

Let us now consider shortly their disposition and character. The conversion of the Mongols to Lamaism has greatly softened their manners and humanized them. They are described as gentle, good-hearted, and as a whole hospitable and honest. One never hears of their ill-treatment of their wives and children, and they abhor all kinds of violence, are good and kind fathers, and if one of them gets anything that can be divided he shares it with the household.

Among the specially amiable qualities of the Mongol is his unbounded devotion to his family and his friends, and his constant efforts to be on good terms with his neighbours.

The older members of the family are held in high respect, and their advice or wish is punctiliously followed. They are naturally impetuous, but not revengeful, very stubborn, but easily cajoled. They are also very talkative, and in a judicial interrogatory they do not generally give direct answers. The volubility of speech of the good-natured nomades often succeeds in carrying the day by its impetuous flow. Their indolence has been made a reproach to them by many travellers. It cannot, however, be denied that it is only in the time of enforced idleness that they are thus slothful. In the season when the caravans are travelling the men work long hours and indefatigably. Their store of knowledge outside their occupation is small, but they are correspondingly sharp and shrewd in matters relating to their limited occupations and outlook, and keen observers; thus, in foretelling a storm and in telling where a spring may be found. With slight indications a Mongol can tell where a strayed horse or camel may be traced, etc., and his senses of smell, hearing, and especially his sight are very acute. He can distinguish between the dust raised by cattle and by horsemen at a great distance, and in such matters he surprises the traveller by his quickness; but outside the round of his daily life he has only indifferent gifts, which is not to be wondered at, for the life he is forced to lead is very monotonous.

The inquisitiveness of the race is very great, and when the approach of a caravan is announced they collect from all sides, greet the travellers with friendly phrases, and then proceed to question them vigorously about whence they came, whither they are bound, what merchandise they have with them, whether they have anything to sell, where and at what price they have bought their camels, etc. On the arrival of a caravan it is especially after the camels have been loosened and the tents pitched that the strangers crowd in. Prschewalski gives a picturesque account of their entering his yurt and examining every article he had and begging for presents (Prschewalski, *Reisen in Tibet*, 34).

It must be said that the camels, cattle, and horses do not need much looking after, and the actual shepherding is done by a very humble class, who are all virtually slaves, but the animals ramble about the desert without supervision, and only go once a day in summer to the brook to drink. The camels are generally tied together in large numbers and graze together. The supervision of the cattle and sheep at home, exclusive of the camels and horses, is entirely in the hands of the women, who do the milking, make

the butter, etc., while the men spend the day on horseback, going from one camp to another to drink tea or gossip with their neighbours, or lie down in the sun.

The Mongols have hardly anything that does not decay. A tribe of Mongols who inhabit any district, on abandoning the locality, would leave few traces behind. Immediately after their departure there would be scraps of felt, of skin, and cotton cloths, odds and ends of tent wood, smouldering fuel, the crudest cattle pens, at first barren, then luxuriant, a heap or two of ashes, and a well. Twenty years later there might be a remnant of ashes, and a slight depression where the well had been. The only impression made on a landscape that is lasting is the horse enclosure, a circular earthern wall which is sometimes thrown up to confine horses at night.

Their main occupations in olden days, which accounted for their virility and indomitable vigour, were military exercises and fighting, and on the other hand hunting and hawking. These have almost disappeared from Mongolia under the influence of the Buddhist teaching, which puts the shedding of blood, either of men or animals, among the chief of crimes. This has greatly limited the possible occupations of the men in those parts of the year when the great caravan traffic is not taking place, when they are busy enough, as we shall see. At other times their main occupation is the shifting of their movable dwellings and their contents from one camping-ground to another. A large part of their necessities they obtain from the Chinese and Russians.

Among the things which the latter receive in exchange from the Mongols, cattle, horses, camels, and sheep form an important element, also marmot-skins and various furs, chiefly used for making winter caps, and dressed leather. The marmot-skins are of two kinds, white and black, the former being the most valuable. Among the other furs the chief are sable, martin, and fox skins, which come chiefly from the Uriangkai on the Yenissei and the Torguts on the Volga and Ural. In addition they deal in wool, horse-hair, and stag's horns (Ivanofski, 26). Salt, which is found abundantly among them in many desiccated salt lakes, is another of their valuable assets. From their neighbours they get in exchange iron and copper utensils, cutlery, clothes, especially the richer clothes and jewellery used by their women, and materials for making their pipes; tobacco, tea, and various farinaceous grains like millet, etc. Their own manufacturers were probably considerably more abundant in former days, when they were not so easily undersold by their more skilful neighbours. Among them is the making of the lattice-work for the framework of their yurts or tents; the felt with

which they cover the latter is dressed by the women. They can also make rough carts, guns, saddles, stirrups, and bridles, bows and arrows, rough hair, materials, and silver ornaments. They dress sheep-skins and leather, make ropes from camel's hair or sheep's wool, leather straps and boots, which are chiefly made from the skins of horses, leathern bottles and other vessels, wooden bowls, boxes, and other carpentry. They also look after the camels and horses and do their milking; the women undertaking the cattle and sheep, work the churns, and do the distilling of the arrack or spirit. They are specially skilful in making big jars from cow-hides. Pallas says that these hides are first smoked, and after being in the smoke a few days they become as translucent as horn (ib. 77, note).

He adds that the Kalmuk women tan skins with the residuum of milk left after distillation of airak, mixed with salt. Sometimes they use a mixture of ashes and salt; when dressed the skins are rubbed with a mixture of the putrid liver of oxen or sheep and milk. The Mongols and Tibetans, who are good Buddhists, prefer to soften their skins with sour cream. P. Carpini tells us that in his day they dressed them with a mixture of ewes' milk and salt.

There is a certain amount of agriculture practised in Mongolia in those localities where it is possible, as in the south-western and north-eastern corners, and they grow wheat, barley, millet, sharabuda, and oats, but chiefly millet. Two kinds of plough are used, one the improved Chinese plough in the former district, and the indigenous plough in the former, or hook plough. It consists of a wooden handle with a bend at the end like a man's leg, with the foot attached. At the end of the bend is fastened an iron slipper (aubyssyn). At the top end of the handle is a hole with which to fasten the yoke (kotylwyr), to which two oxen are fastened. Among the Torguts they also use a small wooden shovel, with which they dig the ground. Where needful and possible, irrigation has been applied in some cases, but in the south-eastern corner of Mongolia, which is reached by the wet monsoon rains, this is not necessary. The ripe grain in the north-west and among the Khalkhas is either pulled up or cut with a crooked knife, shaped like a sickle. The grain is thrashed either with sticks or by driving horses over the straws. It is ground either in wooden mortars or between stones. In Southern Mongolia these simple methods have been supplanted by Chinese ones.

Carpini long ago commented on the want of occupation of the Mongol men, and says that in his day they did little to tend the cattle, and were chiefly busy with looking after their weapons. At that time they were no doubt supplied with an ample number of

slaves from their successful wars. As I have said, however, during one season of the year they are now very far from idle, and this occupation was not available in olden times. It has resulted from the large increase in the notable modern trade across the desert on the part of the two great neighbours of the Mongols, namely, the Chinese and the Russians.

This portage is carried on in early springtime, when the Mongols work hard. They do most of the transport with their camels. The chief things these carry are tea and provisions for the Chinese towns of Uliassutai and Kobdo, while one-third of the camels carry salt, the product of the Mongolian salt lakes. This transport service ceases in April, when the camels return to the steppe and the men resume their listless existence. Their continual life on horse-back makes the Mongols bow-legged. They have such a grip on the saddles with their legs that they seem to be fastened to them. The wildest steppe-horse fails to throw a Mongol, and he loves to gallop like the wind, and never walks and seldom trots, but he treats his horse kindly. By nature robust and accustomed to exposure from their youth, the Mongols generally enjoy good health. In the season when the caravans travel they face for days a cold of 30 degrees, which is made more piercing by a bitter north-west wind, and yet they travel for fifteen hours a day without dismounting. Their journeys out and home on these occasions cover as much as 5,000 kilometres. When they, however, turn to an unaccustomed occupation they become soft and fatigued with a ride of 20 or 30 kilometres, and when they pass the night on wet ground they suffer from cold like tender town men, and they curse their fate if they are two or three days without tea (ib. 52). A Mongol thus lacks the elastic spirit of the European who can change his occupation and mode of life without inconvenience, and is a true Asiatic in his conservative and apathetic temperament when he has to face difficulties and unexpected situations. Another characteristic of the modern Mongol in which he differs so much from his ancestors is his cowardice. His ancient prowess has been systematically broken down by the Chinese. The Mongols showed this quality greatly in the Chinese war with the Dungans, when at the cry of "Khoi Khoi!" they would get into a panic and flee.

Turning to the women, they are described as hardy and of a ruddy complexion, otherwise they are very like the men except that they have, as is often the case, traces of belonging to an earlier type.

The Mongol woman is universally described as dirty and smoke-begrimed, her hands are mud-caked and filthy, her hair is uncombed and tousled, her speech uncouth. She is middle-aged at 30, old and wrinkled at 40, while at 50 or when she becomes a widow she

shaves her head as bare as a monk's and sets up as a family Lama. Cleanliness is, in fact, unknown to the Mongols; the men seldom wash, the women never. In summer they change their linen once a month, in winter not at all.

A woman works hard and is hardly treated. Her place in the tent is next the door and on the right-hand side, and the felt she sleeps on is the thinnest and poorest. She does the milking and drudgery generally, and when she sits in the tent usually has nothing better than a worn cow-hide to protect her from the damp and cold of the ground. She jumps into the saddle, however, and rides over the plain as recklessly as a man. She takes little care of herself, and has little care bestowed on her. Almost every woman who has passed the age of girlhood has some chronic malady or suffering. As a rule the women suffer more, age sooner, and die younger than the men (Gilmour, *Among the Mongols*, 178–9). Feminine qualities are not fostered by the nomadic life. "There is nothing radiant about the Mongol woman; with rare exceptions she is withered and slattern or young and slattern. Not even the daughters of princes can be said to exist beautifully."

The Mongol women make good mothers and housewives, but their frailty is universal, not only among the married but the unmarried. This is not deemed a serious offence, however. The Lamas who are professedly celibates, are great offenders in this way; and as the number of women is considerably greater than that of men who can marry, this may help to keep the population from extinction.

Of beauty, in one sense there is little among the women. The climate, the hard, exposed life, the uncleanliness all add to the racial features in making most of the women unattractive. Occasionally, however, there are exceptions, and Prschewalski gives a photograph of a decidedly nice-looking young woman of the race. The Mongol woman, in fact, works like a Trojan. Up before the sun, she never rests till her menfolk have curled themselves up in sleep. It is she who sweeps out the hut, carries the water from the well, gathers the fuel in baskets from the manure stack, lights the fire, prepares the food, tends the cattle, feeds the dogs, rears the children—and, in fact, does anything and everything that one can imagine as necessary for the working of a Mongol household. Nothing varies the monotony of her life. She is born, married, bears sons, does her work, and dies. An occasional resort to a temple theatre is her only change, and this is often denied her (ib. 243, etc.). One of her principal occupations is to make and mend the clothes, and she greatly excels in embroidery, as well in execution as in taste.

Mr. Gilmour describes a Mongol woman engaged in making thread from the hamstrings of cattle. The tendon was buried

awhile, then taken up, and pounded, after which it separates into fine shreds and can be twisted into one long thread. With it they sew the skins, boots, socks, and clothing. They never wash clothes, since they say God would punish them for polluting the water, nor do they hang them up to dry in order not to pollute the air, and they believe it would thunder if they did so to show God's displeasure. The chronicler Rashid-ud-din says they believed any liquor spilt in the tent or wet boots put to dry in the sun would attract lightning. Thunder they fear very much. The Mongols of the present day, says Rockhill, still have the same superstition.

The movements and actions of the women are, from the character of their life, completely untrammelled by the conventions to which we are accustomed, women and girls making journeys on horseback or in carts alone or in the company of men not their kinsmen.

Our tents were visited, says Campbell, by merry wives and maids eager to inspect the strangers' belongings, and they sat down as a matter of course in the midst of our Mongol henchmen, and were in no way preoccupied with their own innocence. Husbands and fathers are constantly absent from their tents for long periods, leaving their wives and daughters to look after themselves. Marriages are dissoluble at the instance of either party. While monogamy is the ideal basis of the family, says Campbell, polygamous experiments are made when the means to indulge in them are not wanting (op. cit. 33).

The women and maidens rode and raced, like the men, in old days as now, so says Carpini. He says that he also saw them using bows and arrows. They can stay on horseback a long time, and they ride with very short stirrups. They take great care of their horses, he adds, as they do of all things. All the writers of the old days state that the women accompanied the men into battle, and proved themselves expert archers (Rockhill, op. cit. 75, note I).

The daily life in a Mongol yurt is very monotonous. At sunrise the women milk the cows, and then send them in charge of a girl or boy to pasture. The herdsmen and shepherds and young women then set out on horseback to look after the flocks. Meanwhile the housewife attends to the cooking or sewing. The women do most of the work. They milk, they make the butter and cheese, look after the new-born calves, make and mend the clothes, etc., while the men only bestir themselves occasionally. Except in times of pressure the men spend most of the day unemployed sitting by the hearth and smoking or pay visits to their neighbours, which they always do on horseback when the journey is more than a hundred paces. These visits are generally made in summer, when the kumiss is made and the spirit distilled. At

this time they make large parties and go from camp to camp, but they do not drink to excess. On festival days they assemble at the monasteries, and engage in wrestling, racing, and archery, at which times they gather in very large numbers. During the season when the caravans travel, i.e. from August to April, the Mongols who nomadize along the great routes are kept busy. When a caravan is seen approaching they set out on horseback to greet the travellers, and then begins an endless entertainment and talking and questions, and thus they often find themselves far from home.

We will now turn to the Mongol dwellings. These and their contents have hardly altered for many centuries. They were doubtless invented by the Scyths, a very different race physically, but leading necessarily nomadic lives in homes very like those of the Mongols, and are mentioned by Æschylus, whose lines are neatly translated thus by Colonel Yule. In later times wandering Scyths who dwelt therein poured in everywhere (*Prometheus Vinctus*, 709–10; Yule's *Marco Polo*, i, 245).

Strabo's description of the Scyths might, in fact, be applied to the old Mongols. He says: The tents of the nomads are made of felt and fixed on carts, and in these they live; all round them are their flocks, which supply them with the milk and cheese on which they feed. They follow them in their pasturages, always moving to find new places with grass. In winter they live on the marshes near the Mæotis and on the steppes (op. cit., vii, 3).

The Mongol dwellings are quite ideal houses for those engaged in nomadizing on the steppes, where fixed buildings are not feasible, and where men have to take their herds to fresh pastures far removed from each other at different seasons, where the climatic vicissitudes are very great, and where it is impossible to gather and pile up fodder. The houses they use serve them equally well in summer and winter; they are called kibitkas by the Russians and yurts by the Kirghiz, while the Mongols themselves call them gár or gyrg. The special features of these kibitkas is that, unlike those of the Turks and Tunguses, they are not pointed at the top, but have hemispherical roofs which do not catch the wind, are not easily overturned even in wild gales, and are comparatively warm in winter and cool in summer. They look like upturned bowls planted on circular walls of felt.

This felt is fastened to a framework composed of trellised wooden staves fastened very neatly together by thongs of hide. They can be separated into three lengths for easier portage, and they fold together like what we call a lazy-tongs. The framework of the roof is like a Chinese umbrella, a number of radiating ribs being attached at the top to a central iron ring, which forms the hole by

which the smoke escapes, by which light can enter in the day-time, and which can be closed by drawing a flap of felt over it. The door is a small aperture about 3 feet high, which can be also closed by a piece of felt or a board enclosed in a frame, in the former case being often embroidered with stitching. The door when open helps to ventilate the building and also admits light. The whole of the framework just described is covered, as I have said, by pieces of felt, often doubled or trebled in winter. The walls are generally about 5 feet high up to the eaves, while an additional 5 feet takes us to the crest of the roof. The yurts are in some case 15 to 20 feet in diameter.

"The furniture and appointments of the yurt of a wealthy man differs only in quality from those of the most ragged herdsman. In the former the utensils are of silver-mounted copper instead of wood, and come, no doubt, from China or Tibet. Metal-work is, in fact, almost entirely supplied by Chinese handicraftsmen at Dolon Nor and other frontier towns. This includes bronze figures in large numbers for temples and shrines, silver ornaments for the women, who wear a different elaborate head-dress in each tribe. Silver vessels for the temple are often of fine and curious workmanship. Besides these luxuries, simpler wants are met by the manufacture of copper jugs and buckets. The mats on the floor are made of woven stuff instead of felt. The floor is the bare earth, and in the middle stands an iron brazier for the fire of dried dung, which is virtually the only fuel in the desert. Round it are spread mats on which inhabitants and visitors sit or sleep. Opposite the door stands a chest, which serves alike for a store cupboard for the family treasures and the family altar. On it is sometimes placed a sacred image with a row of lamps, and small brass bowls filled with butter. Round the walls of the ruder tents are a few boxes containing the family wardrobe and a small store of millet. A big iron cooking-pot, some copper jugs and buckets for milk, a hollowed tree trunk by the door for water, a few small wooden stools on which to set bowls for food and a wooden mortar for pounding brick tea complete the whole furniture of the establishment" (Kidston, *Journey in Mongolia*, 17, 18). Prschewalski enumerates at greater length the utensils in a yurt as an iron saucepan for boiling the food in, a teapot, a skimmer, a leathern skin or wooden tub to hold water or milk, and a wooden trough to serve the meat in, an iron fire-dog tongs to handle the argals or pieces of dried dung and occasionally a Chinese axe (op. cit., Eng. ed., i, 52, note). In early times we may be sure that all the utensils save, perhaps, an iron kettle, a knife or two, and certain weapons were home-made of wood. At present almost everything a Mongol wears and nearly all

his metal utensils come from China and Siberia. Mongol blacksmiths and silversmiths exist, but their work is of the rudest, and though most Mongols can handle the few tools necessary for the construction of tent frames and country carts, none seem to have the slightest notion of building, which is all done by Chinamen. Even the sheepskins for winter robes are now cured by itinerant Chinese tanners, and Chinese dyers ply their craft by passing from tent to tent for hundreds of miles (Campbell, op. cit., 34).

Sowerby says: A Mongol hut, the owner's property, is surrounded by a wall about 2 feet high, outside of which is a ditch and a well about 6 feet deep supplying men and their animals with water, that of the lagoons being too brackish. Outside the gate of the enclosure is a long pole stuck into an immense wicker basket filled with sand. From a cross-piece at the top hang several pieces of white and red calico, while the end is adorned with a tuft of grass, a sort of totem pole. One of these poles is outside every Mongol hut or tent (op. cit. 21).

"I was called sharply to book," says Gilmour, "when I sat on the coping of the mud fireplace; so was my driver who attempted to cross the threshold of the house. It was insulting the fire demon, when his mules with bells tried to cross the low wall. Their bells were removed as a child had been lately born, and it was thought the evil spirits would be frightened."

It is interesting to compare the condition of the movable dwellings of the living Mongols with those they lived in in the thirteenth century. William of Rubruk thus describes the yurts he saw. "Nowhere, have they fixed dwelling-places, nor do they know where their next halt will be. They have divided among themselves Cithia [i.e. Scythia], which extendeth from the Danube to the rising of the sun, and every captain according as he hath more or less under him knows the limit of his pasture lands, and where to graze in winter and summer, spring and autumn. In winter they go down to warmer regions in the south; in summer they go up to cooler ones towards the north, for the pasture-lands they graze over in winter when there is snow serveth them as water. They set up the dwellings in which they sleep on a circular frame of interlaced staves or rods converging into a little round hoop on the top, from above which projects a collar as a chimney, and the collar they cover over with white felt. Frequently they coat the felt with chalk, white clay, or powdered bone to make it appear whiter, and sometimes also they make the felt black. The felt around the collar on the top they decorate with various pretty designs. Before the entry they also suspend felt ornamented with various embroidered patterns in colour, representing rivers and

trees, birds and beasts, and their houses are so large that they are sometimes 30 feet in width. Rubruk says he once measured one over the width of what was between the wheel-tracks of a cart which was 20 feet across, and when the house was on the cart it projected beyond the wheels on either side 5 feet at least. He adds that he had counted as many as twenty-two oxen drawing one house, eleven abreast across the width of the cart, and the other eleven before them. The axle of the cart was as large as the mast of a ship, and one man stood in the entry of the house driving the oxen." Carpini, who wrote a little earlier, gives a shorter account, but adds a few details. Thus he says, of the hole at the top to let out the smoke, that the Mongols kept the fire in the centre always alight. He also speaks of the large and small tents. "Some of them," he says, "can be taken down and put up in a moment, and are always carried on pack animals, while others cannot be taken apart and are carried on carts; one ox can draw the smaller one, but it requires three or four or more to draw the larger one." It is notable that the transport of their yurts on carts has apparently been disused, and the general use of carts for carrying the yurts intact has apparently been largely discontinued. It was maintained until lately, however, among the Nogais of Southern Russia, and the practice still exists in some cases in Mongolia. He says he met a couple of ox-carts removing a Mongol yurt. The first cart carried the yurt itself, and the second was not overloaded with the entire family furniture.

In regard to the furniture of the tents, Friar Rubruk says: "They weave light twigs into squares of the size of a large chest, and over them from one end to the other they put a turtleback-shaped cover made also of twigs, and in front make a little doorway, and they cover the little coffer or house with black felt coated with tallow or cow's milk so that the rain cannot penetrate it, and they also decorate it with embroidery work, and in these coffers they put all their bedding and valuables and they tie them tightly on high carts drawn by camels, so that they can cross rivers without getting wet. Such coffers they never take off the cart."

Our author continues: "When they have set down their house, they always turn the door to the south, and after that they place the carts and coffers on either side near the house at half a stone's throw distant, so that the dwelling stands between two rows of carts as between two walls." The Mongols make the framework of the yurts themselves, as well as the felt, which is put together from sheep's wool wetted and beaten with sticks, then pressed and finished by tying the strips of rough felt to the grazing ponies and letting them drag them across the smooth grass surface of the plain to give them the needed finish. Over the whole framework sheets of felt

are laid and tied in places by horsehair ropes. These felts can resist the very worst tempestuous weather.

"The floors are of beaten cow-dung strewn with sand. For older people carpets of felt with patterns embroidered on them are set out, while the richer people use carpets from Persia and Turkestan. The floors are usually raised in the centre, where an open iron stove holds the charcoal or smouldering argols, i.e. dried dung. Round the sides of the yurt are neatly placed cupboards and red lacquer boxes in which the household belongings are kept, while on the walls hang guns and powder-horns, whips, leathern bottles, and other articles of daily use. The walls always get black from the smoke, which on fine days is allowed to pass through the hole in the roof. The inmates sleep round the fire on skins or felts" (ib. 167). The larger yurts of the wealthy are spacious and lofty, so that you can walk about without stooping, and sometimes two or three are joined together.

The Mongols generally place the doors of their tents towards the south to shelter themselves from the north and west winds, which in winter are colder than the south wind (ib. 251); but Rockhill says he had seen them in certain places planted facing the east and south-east (op. cit. 56, note).

Among the rich especially, the yurts are hung with cotton or silk hangings. These are well adapted to keep out the winter cold and the summer heat, and the same yurt generally serves both as a summer and a winter dwelling.

Very occasionally in winter, when the Mongols are more sedentary, the felt yurt is accompanied by a small low hut built of a mixture of loam and gravel, with two or three very small windows which scarcely admit any light, and is used as a kitchen. The oven is built up of loam without any chimney, so that the smoke, as in the yurt, escapes by a hole in the roof. The shelter afforded by such a hut in very cold weather is so attractive that at night when they go to sleep three-fourths of the household crowd into it. Meanwhile the other fourth compensate themselves by creeping close to the calves and lambs in the yurt. The result is that the atmosphere becomes most nauseous, while a mass of parasites, fleas and lice, the result of the unclean habits of the people, make the place intolerable. To counteract these troubles the men and women lie naked on sheepskins or other furs and cover themselves with others (Ivanofski, 9–10). Prschewalski says gravely that insects form the flooring of the tent. Gilmour mentions other great pests from which he suffered. These were like bugs in shape, and he fancied at first they came from his Mongol friends, but they were, in fact, a kind of tick which lives in the grass (ib. 21–2).

Before the introduction of Buddhism the head of the house had his seat opposite the door. Now the place is occupied by the house-altar, and the master has moved to the right side of the door. Near him his wife and children have a place. The whole back of the yurt is called khoimor. The left side is that of the house master (segon khoimor, the left khoimor). The other side the right khoimor (baraghon khoimor) is the most honourable part of the dwelling. To enter the khoimor without invitation is deemed a great solecism. It is reserved for certain people only. The humblest place is on the left near the door, where the women generally sit. The interior disposition of the different parts of the yurts obtains in all Mongolia, and also in the dwellings of the chiefs. Radloff, in his work on Siberia (i, 170), gives a picture of such an interior, which has been copied by Rockhill in his *Travels of Rubruk* (p. 58, note). Friar William says the couch of the master was on the north side, while the side for the women was on the east, that is, on the left of the seat of the master, when sitting on his couch, with his face turned to the south. The side for the men was the west, that is, on the right. Those coming into the house would never think of hanging up their bows on the side of the women (ib. 58).

As I have said, the altar now immediately faces the door. It is in the form of a small cabinet, on which are placed the Burkhans or figures of the Lamaist and Shamanist gods or their representations, made of hair or paper or cloth. In front of these are a number of metal saucers called tokso containing water, a little corn, cheese, cream, and some Tibetan incense, etc. On the right of the shrine is a broad low bed with a felt mattress and a cylindrical cushion. At the foot of the bed is a cupboard to contain the small vessels; on the left wall of the yurt is a wooden rail or trestle on which are hung the leathern vessels containing kumiss, sour milk, and butter. Against the walls, again, are placed the chests (abdea) containing the family wardrobe. There are no chairs, and the occupants sit cross-legged. In winter the small calves and lambs also find shelter in the yurt. In the middle of the latter there burns a perpetual fire. The fuel used consists of pieces of dry dung of cattle (argols), which the Mongols prefer to that of horses, because it gives more heat.

It is sometimes thought that it is difficult to find materials for fire in Mongolia. This is not so. " Argols " are plentiful and can be bought anywhere. This fuel is again supposed to have a disagreeable smell, whereas it has no offensive smell at all. Its inconvenience is that it gets damp easily, gives out much smoke, and soon burns away; but it is clean to handle, easy to light, and very good to cook with.

Carpini attributes the use of argols for fuel as a consequence of a lack of wood among the Mongols. Gombayef says that this reason would not apply to the Buriats, who live in a wooded country. He attributes it to the notion that the smoke of an argol fire is a cure for rheumatism. Another reason is that the fire lasts longer and burns more quietly, without sparks, and with a less corrosive smoke. The argols are diligently collected and packed outside the hut. When a visitor arrives at a yurt the most acceptable gift to his host consists of the droppings he has collected, which pay for his evening fare. Over the fire stands an iron tripod from which hangs a cauldron in which to boil the food. Besides the cauldron each yurt contains an iron shovel, an axe and a knife, a copper jug with a long wooden handle, a skimmer, a scoop made of plaited osiers to hold corn or *derissun*, a brush with which to clean the utensils, some flat dishes, some wooden or porcelain cups to drink tea with, a trough into which to put the boiled meat, a wooden mortar in which to triturate the millet, and " brick tea ", and baskets in which to dry the argols, wooden buckets, etc.

Such is the monotonous and limited garniture of the Mongol dwellings. As Hyacinthe says, it is all that is needed for a nomadic life, and supplies all that is necessary to make it comfortable. The only real drawback, and that the natives do not mind, is the general uncleanliness of the place and the swarms of vermin which carpet the floors.

A pleasant picture from a Mongol yurt is reported by Gilmour. " Leaving," he says, "' the Mongols and a Russian soldier filling their wooden cups from the pot which had just been lifted from the grate, I retired to my cart for the night. Next morning when the sun was high in the heavens, the Mongols were sitting round the fire watching the same pot I had left them engaged with last night, this time filled, not with rice, but with tea, the furious boiling of which they were moderating by taking it up and pouring it back again from a height; the camels were dispersed at no great distance grazing among the profusion of vegetation and flowers that covered the plain. This idyllic picture reminds one of the rule about offering hospitality to travellers and strangers, and how it is customary on such occasions as at their own feasts to have singing and music. A little way off were Mongol tents, behind was the fine range of hills; before the open plain over which we were to start to-morrow. It was the middle of August, and the plain was in all its glory " (*Among the Mongols*, 3).

Let us now turn to the ordinary food of the Mongols. It is popularly thought that they and their kin are entirely or almost entirely carnivorous, and live almost entirely on flesh. This is far from

being the case. It used doubtless to be more so in old days before Buddhism had introduced stringent ideas on taking away life. Apart from this, however, the killing of expensive and valuable animals like camels, horses, and cows for food, must always have been a luxury of the well-to-do, except in the case of animals dying a natural death; and among humbler folk sheep and goats provide the chief flesh-meat, and even then it is those that have died from natural causes which are alone available for the poorer people. The use of flesh-meat by everybody, however, is largely limited to the winter season, when the rigour of the weather makes it a necessity, and the supply of milk and milk products is scanty.

Campbell has a graphic paragraph on this subject. He says all manner of flesh, including carrion, is eaten on occasion, but the staple meat is mutton; horse or camel flesh is not thought of until the animals are moribund, unless under the pressure of exceptional circumstances. Poultry never appears in the bill of fare, fish almost never. I met with ichthyophagous Mongols on the north side of Bur Nor only, wild-fowl or feathered game never, although the ponds and lakes throng with them in season, and North Mongolia swarms with sand-grouse. The favourite meat when it can be got is the antelope, while the marmot is pursued relentlessly for food, but the hare is despised. Vegetables, fruit, sweets, and spices are unknown in the native cuisine; jujubes, Tibet raisins, candy, and Chinese confectionery occur only among the rich (op. cit. 34).

Among the Kalmuks, who are more conservative of old ways, all kinds of wild animals are eaten—marmots, beavers, badgers, otters, lynxes, and even dogs, wolves, and foxes, antelopes, roe-deer, and wild swine, and all the bigger wild-fowl. A special titbit is a marmot seethed in sour milk (Pallas, op. cit., 128).

Even in winter there is very little meat eaten among the poor people. They are limited almost entirely to the flesh of animals which have died a natural death or been killed by wild animals or by accident. These victims are exceedingly numerous when very severe weather or overwork or disease claims its victims. When an animal dies from any cause it is deemed a joyful event, and although Buddhism is very stringent, ways are easily discovered of evading its rigid injunctions at other times by the well-to-do.

When a camel, a horse, or a cow is killed or dies in summer, its skin is taken off and the flesh is cut up into pieces and dried in the sun for use in winter. Guests bidden or unbidden are still welcome, as in old times, to share the meal. It is deemed an insult not to welcome a guest and not to give him an equal portion with the rest

of the family. It is even deemed rude to ask a guest if he will eat. It is taken for granted he will.

In regard to the cannibalism attributed to the Mongols in old days, Haithon tells us how a certain Musalman, who had been charged with treason against Abaka Khan, was taken and cut in two while orders were issued that in all the food eaten by the Khakhan there should be put a portion of the traitor's flesh. Of this Abaka ate, and caused all his barons to partake. "And this," he adds, "was in accordance with the custom of the Tartars." Friar Ricold, in reporting the same story, says the Tartar ladies and women begged that the traitor might be made over to them, and having got hold of him boiled him alive and cut his body up into mincemeat and gave it to eat to the whole army as an example to others. Vincent of Beauvais also says that the Mongols were accustomed to eat their bitterest enemies and to suck their blood (Yule's *Marco Polo*, vol. i, p. 30). Carpini says that in one of the Mongol sieges in China, when the army was without food, one man in ten of their own force was sacrificed to feed the rest (ib. 30).

Friar William says that in his days there was always a guitar-player near the skin of kumiss in a big yurt. He adds that they also had many instruments not known among us. Bergmann says the Kalmuks use the drum, a kind of zither, the flute, and a violin. Clarke says the commonest instrument among the latter is a two-stringed lute (batalarka). Gilmour describes the Mongol fiddles as rude and primitive. In one instance he speaks of one which belonged to a lama who had made it himself; the main part was made of a hollow box about a foot square and two or three inches deep, covered with sheepskin, with a stick about three feet long stuck through its sides. It only had two strings, consisting of a few hairs from a horse's tail, and lengthened at the ends by bits of string. The bow was a bent and whittled branch of some shrub fitted with a few horsehairs tied on quite loosely; the necessary tension was caused by the pressure of the hand of the performer. The lama presently took it up and tuned it, producing from his purse a small particle of resin, of which he applied the smallest possible quantity to the hairs of the bow and proceeded to play the Mongol air "Pinglangyeh". Gilmour says the strains of the fiddle were soft and low and pleasing in the extreme, and compared very favourably with the high *skirling* tones of many Chinese and Mongol instruments (*Among the Mongols*, 266–7). When the master begins to drink, one of the attendants cries with a loud voice "Ha!" and the guitarist strikes his guitar, and when they have a great feast those present all clap their hands and also dance about to the sound of the guitar, the men

before the master and the women before the mistress. When the master has drunk the guitarist stops. Then they all drink and get very boisterous, and challenge each other to drink. Gombayef says it is still customary among the Mongols to sing when bringing a guest wine. Now, as in old times, they are both gluttonous and drunken at their feasts (op. cit. 62–3).

Timkofski gives some specimens of Mongol songs, of which he publishes translations (*Travels*, 297, etc.). I shall give only a few which afford some good samples of different types :—

I. Tsongkhapa,[1] the prince of the Law, is the powerful king of all that exists. O happy people born in the country of the Gods! We beg you to carry us beyond the great sun that our souls may freely turn towards the abode of Utai Khan.[2] And you perverse men, who trouble the repose of your fellow-creatures, know that there is a judge for good and evil; the equitable Sertok Nomun Khan.[3] The lamas teach us the dogmas of faith, our parents good manners; let us endeavour to profit by their lessons; for, wandering at random in an obscure valley, we cannot walk securely, or penetrate the thoughts of the man who lives with us; but if the intercession of the Dalai Lama is favourable to us we shall escape the snare of our enemies and our secret faults will be pardoned by the three Bogdas.[4]

II. A troop of warriors is going to issue from the territory of the Tsetzen Khan; it is composed of 3,000 warriors with the brave Tsebden beile at its head. Among the horsemen of the court, Kunkun Laodze has been chosen; the valiant Bala Dordji Djonom and Bambu Bonior Nom, guided by their own inclination, will soon join their companions. The extraordinary valour of these heroes has already been felt by the enemy in the sanguinary battles on Mount Rangan; and when this august master in his clemency shall have put an end to our labours we will pass, on our return to our own country, by Enkitala, the thick and verdant grass of which will serve as food to our excellent coursers (ib. 300).

III. Bay courser, with the proud step! thou who addest beauty of colour to a magnificent figure, when thou sportest among the herd, how much more beautiful dost thou appear among thy fellows! But that young beauty, whom fate has thrown into a foreign land,

[1] Tsongkhapa Lobdyang dyakha, the Dalai Lama of the first generation and founder of the Yellow Sect of Tibetan Lamas. He passes for an incarnation of the divinity Manjusri and built the temple called Galdan at Lhasa; see next chapter.

[2] This was a famous mountain in China with a temple of Buddha.

[3] The God of Hell.

[4] The august three, i.e. the Dalai Lama, the Banchen Erdeni, and the Kutuktu Ghegen at Urga.

languishes far from her country; she incessantly turns her eyes towards those parts. Alas! did not Mount Kalgan rise between us, I could see thee every moment; but in vain we would live for love; and fate separated us (ib. 301).

IV. As the shrubs on the white snow bend when struck by impetuous winds, so is the strength of man bent in the vigour of his age by excess of liquor. A young horse which has chanced to stray amongst a strange herd always regrets the companions of his youth. A princess whom marriage has led into a distant country, surrounded by an importunate throng who cannot please her, laments and sighs. She sees nothing but misfortune in all that surrounds her. If a cloud obscure the horizon it is to her the approach of a storm; if she sometimes sees the dust rise on the road she says, "It is my friend who is coming soon," and undismayed she sighs more deeply (ib.).

V. What a delicious beverage is the generous airak, the gift of the Emperor! It is as sweet to us as honey; let us drink it, then, in our social meetings. The immoderate use of it causes stupidity, but he who drinks of it in moderation enjoys supreme pleasure. Hail to health, strength, and youth! As chance seldom unites us let us enjoy together the delicious beverage; a banquet among brethren is the greatest of pleasures.

The same customs of the table and the kind of food there eaten existed in the thirteenth century. Thus, Friar William says, they eat all their dead animals without distinction, but in summer when they have their kumiss they eat little meat; and if an ox or a horse dies they dry its flesh by cutting it into thin strips and hang it in the sun and wind, where it becomes dry without any evil smell, although they use no salt as a preservative. This is still the practice among the Mongols, but they now use salt with their meat when eating. Ibn Batuta describes how at a feast he attended at the court of the Khan Batu, a silver ladle containing salt and water was placed before each guest. Rockhill says this is still the practice.

Carpini gives a lurid account of the coarse feeding habits of the Mongols of his time. He says they ate dogs, wolves, foxes, rats, and horses, and when pushed by necessity even human flesh. Friar William says that the Mongols ate both rats and "mice with short tails", i.e. hamsters, but not those with long ones (ib. 69). They have become apparently more prejudiced against certain kinds of animal food in later times. Timkofski says he never saw a Mongol eat any kind of game, except antelope and wild swine, nor did they eat birds or fish. This last had probably something to do with the sanctity of the water and air and their contents.

They seemed, however, to make an exception in the case of wild swans. They also ate *ablutiones quæ egrediuntur de immiscuis cum pullis*, and adds that he had also seen them eat lice, saying: "Why should I not eat those that eat my son's flesh and drink his blood." He says they ate neither bread nor oil nor vegetables, and used no tablecloths or napkins, and when they got their hands covered with grease and had finished eating most of them wiped them on their boots or the grass, though the more refined among them had little bits of cloth which they used for the purpose. An attendant takes the food out of the kettle, and another takes the pieces of meat from him on the point of a knife and gives it to each one; to some more than others when he wishes to show them honour. Rockhill says it is usual among them now when they have finished eating to lick the bone and then put it in the folds of their gown. The Russian Archbishop Peter reported the fact in 1244 at the Council of Florence. Joinville tells us how they carried their uncooked meat between their saddles and their horse blankets, which at least warmed the food. The same thing is reported of the Huns. Pallas says they have a great aversion to the flesh of wolves and other carnivorous animals (Rockhill, op. cit., 14, note). The most honoured guest receives the brisket or the tail of the sheep, which is deemed the titbit. It was, and still is, wrong to waste food, and if any is left it is either given to the bystanders or stowed away in a bag or in the guest's gown. Not even a bone was given to the dogs until the marrow had been abstracted.

Flesh-meat, however, was distinctly considered a treat by those who were not well off, and was made to go a long way. The flesh of a single sheep would be given to 50 or 100 men. Treating it as a dainty, it was cut into small bits and dipped in salt and water. They used a special knife and fork for the purpose, "like that," says our friar, "in use for eating coddled pears or apples." The master first took what he wanted, and then a bit was given to each bystander, who, if he did not want to eat it immediately, put it in a square bag (captargac) which they carried to put such things in, and in which the Mongols stored bones when they had not time to gnaw them, so that they could gnaw them later.

The appetite of a Mongol is astounding, and when it is to be had he can eat as much as 5 kilogrammes of mutton at a feast; a quarter of a sheep is considered a day's ration. They can, however, betimes go several days without eating.

Prschewalski says that in winter, when the mutton is hard frozen, the Mongols on a journey eat it half raw. They cut off a piece from the joint, and then let the rest go on cooking. When a traveller is in a hurry, however, he places it underneath him on the saddle to

prevent it getting frozen and eats it as it is, clogged with camel's hair and with a tainted smell. The broth from boiled mutton is often drunk instead of tea; white millet is carried in the form of dough.

The Mongols eat all their food with their hands, however dirty they are. A large piece is stuffed into the mouth, and then cut off with a knife, while all the flesh is gnawed off the bones. The shoulder-blades of the sheep are always broken when they have been stripped of flesh. To leave them whole is thought a great offence. The lamas will not eat horse or camel flesh like the lay folk do, but they will eat cattle or sheep which have died a natural death.

In regard to the cooking of the food Campbell says they have no notion of it. "That tea shall boil and meat shall at least be heated through are the two simple rules of the Mongol housewife. Mutton is eaten as soon as it is killed, except in winter. You will hear adverse comments if a sheep is small, but none on its toughness. The Mongol wields a strong jaw and good teeth, and he hurries over his meat, which is usually hard as leather, and perforce bolts it" (op. cit. 34).

Gilmour, describing the primitive cooking, says "at dawn the serving lama lit the fire. As soon as it had warmed the tent the other inmates got up and dressed. Meantime the servant put the pot on the fire, and placed in it a block of ice or a pyramid of snow. The former is generally brought from some lake, and is cleaner than the latter; outside the hut was piled a great supply of ice. When this had melted the scum and sediment were removed and the water thus purged was put on to boil, a handful of powdered brick tea being thrown on the surface. After ten or fifteen minutes' hard boiling the tea was poured into a pail, the cup was swept out with a wisp of hair from a horse's tail, a little fat was melted in it, enough millet was then added to make the compound into a kind of porridge, together with some salt and milk or cream. After a time more meal was added and stirred till the mass was brown and dry, then the tea was poured in and whole mixture was boiled. The additions to the tea were partly to supply the lack of milk, due to there being no cows available." After the platter had been cleared each one licked his own and then put it on a shelf on the wall or in his bosom (see Hyacinthe, ed. Borg., 128).

This was the only meal taken by the Mongols till sunset. For the evening meal the servant went out of the tent, where there was a strong dog-proof cage into which had been put the whole winter's stock of beef, mutton, and tripe. It needed no salt to keep it fresh. It was frozen so hard that it had to be cut with a hatchet. A piece was now cut off and boiled, and then fished out with the fire tongs and put into a basin or on a board. Some

millet was then thrown into the pot and boiled, and formed the second course. The servants had a huge mess of tripe wrapped up in the stomach of a sheep and frozen solid; a piece of this was also cut off with a hatchet and boiled. This was the servants' only portion. The food was always very hot, so was the fire, and the natives perspired profusely at dinner.

The actual cooking of the food is very simple. It is placed in the kettle without any garnishing of vegetables or salt, and then taken out half raw. Each man puts the piece he is eating into salt water as he does so. The Mongols regard fully cooked meat as very poor and indigestible. The flesh of marmots is cooked in a different way. When the animal is killed and the stomach emptied of its contents, the inside is filled with heated stones, the whole is put in a hole in the ground and covered in with earth, and a fire is then lighted over the place until the flesh is cooked. The smoking of meat is much practised among the Kirghizes, but does not seem to be known among the Mongols.

Having discussed the winter diet of the Mongols and their attitude towards animal food, we will now turn to their diet in other parts of the year, when they are largely dependent upon milk drawn from cows, mares, and sheep, and from different products which they derive from milk. The most famous and important of these is kumiss (in Mongol chigan or guniarik), which is made from mare's milk. It is now well known in Europe from the place it fills in our pharmacopœia. From the milk of cows and sheep is made sour milk, cheese, and butter. They first take fresh cows' milk and convert it into sour milk. The products of milk just named are kept in leathern skins or bottles (kogkur), which are hung in a special rack in the yurt. The kumiss is prepared in the same way by the Mongols and Kirghiz (Ivanofski, op. cit., 11).

Mare's milk is thicker than cow's, and has a sour taste, even when quite fresh. It is as if some citron had been put into ordinary milk, but it is much more nutritious, and it is possible for a man to subsist on it entirely, at the same time doing an arduous day's work. The Mongol cavalrymen when on service use mares, and can live entirely on their milk. And this seems to explain how the ancient Mongols used to manage their commissariat when on their great campaigns. They are quite conscious of what they owe to their horses for their food and clothing and as porters of themselves and their goods, and they treat them kindly.

Among the most prevalent diseases of the Mongols are itch and rheumatism, from the latter of which men, women, and boys all suffer (Gilmour, 174–5). Other diseases of the Mongols are syphilis, cutaneous eruptions, complaints of the stomach, wounds, etc. For

these they prescribe the most absurd remedies. There was a case of syphilis which had attacked a man's nose. Prschewalski was told the man had a worm on his nose which he must eradicate. A woman who suffered from pains of the stomach due to overfeasting on " dsamba " declared that a plug or twig was growing in it. Another who suffered from bad eyes declared she had been bewitched by an evil eye. They do not content themselves, however, with these childish theories, but also use medicines which have perhaps been imported from elsewhere, *inter alia*, are Epsom salts, peppermint drops, soda and magnesia. The last is deemed a remedy for cataract. (Prsch. 384). Eye diseases are caused by the glare of the sun on the snow in winter and the withered white grass in summer (177). The smoke has no offensive smell, but is trying to the eyes, and ophthalmia is a frequent result. Spring is a great time for sickness both among men and beasts ; the cold winds, enhanced by the thaw, are the cause (177-8). Drinking the Mongolian spirit causes a disease called nairy, and many people die of it.

Friar William describes how the kumiss was made in his day. He says " they fasten a rope to two stakes in the ground, to which about the third hour, they tie the colts ; they then proceed to milk the mothers, which in such a case allow themselves to be milked quietly. When they have a great quantity of milk they pour it into a large skin or bottle, and then churn it with a big stick made for the purpose, which is as big as a man's head at its lower extremity and hollowed out. Presently, when beaten sharply, the milk begins to ferment or run, and they go on till they have extracted all the butter, and presently when the liquor is mildly pungent they drink it." It tastes, he says, like rape wine, and leaves a flavour of milk of almonds on the tongue. It also intoxicates weak heads. They also make what they call black kumiss for the use of the lords. Mare's milk does not curdle. They churn the milk until the thicker parts go to the bottom, leaving the pure parts which are like whey at the top. The dregs are given to the slaves and promote sleep, while the lords drink the clear liquor. These dregs are called bassa by the Kalmuks, and are also used for tanning. So much for kumiss made from mare's milk.

In regard to cow's milk they first extract the butter, in Mongol kossa, which they boil until it is perfectly dry, after which they put it away in sheep's paunches which they keep for the purpose. They put no salt in it. The boiling does away with the necessity for this preservative, and thus they keep it for the winter. After the butter is removed they let what remains get as sour as it will, and then boil it so that it curdles. They then dry the curd in the sun until it becomes as hard as iron slag, and put this away also for the winter.

The sour curd they call grut (the kurut of the Kirghiz Kazaks). They put it in a skin and churn it vigorously till it dissolves in the water, which is thus turned sour, and this they drink instead of milk. They are most careful not to drink pure water (op. cit. 67–8).

Marco Polo adds some further details to this account. He says fresh mare's milk is put in a well-seasoned bottle-necked vessel of horse-skin; a little kurut or some sour cow's milk is added, and when acetous fermentation is commencing it is violently churned with a peculiar staff which constantly stands in the vessel. This interrupts fermentation and introduces a quantity of air into the liquid. It is usual for visitors who come in to give a turn or two at the churn stick (Yule's *Marco Polo*, I, ch. lii, 2). The tribes using kumiss are said to be remarkably free from pulmonary disease. The intoxicating power of kumiss varies according to the brew. The more advanced the fermentation, the less is the taste, and the more it sparkles. The effect, however, is always slight and transitory, and leaves no unpleasant sensation, while it produces a strong tendency to sleep. The kara or black kumiss of Rubruk and Wassaf seems to have been strained and clarified (*Pall. Saml.*, i, 132 et seq.).

Turning from the products of mare's milk to that of cows and sheep; when soured they distil a spirit from it which bears two names, airak and arran. There seems to be this difference between them—airak being made from cow's milk and airan from sheep's. The Mongolian sour milk, which is not boiled like that of the Kirghiz, is whiter and more sour. The cheese is of two kinds, pislyk or bisslyk, i.e. young cheese, and kurut or arul, i.e. old cheese.

In winter, says Friar William, they make an excellent drink of rice, millet, and honey; it is clear as wine. Real wine was also carried to them from remote parts. He calls it cervoise (beer) of rice (i.e. the Chinese rice-wine), terracina, cervoise of millet and boal. These, Rockhill says, were importations probably from China or Persia or the Kipchak in South Russia, and not made by the Mongols themselves.

Tea is now a universal drink in Mongolia among both rich and poor. It is used in two ways, either as a drink or as food. In the first kind only tea is put in the hot water, while in the second, roasted millet, salt, and butter are mixed with it. Spirit is distilled by the Mongols from corn, and is called taran arki, or from cow's milk, when it is called malyn arki. The latter is made in great quantities in spring, the former in winter and autumn. They never drink fresh water, but always use tea, a habit which they have copied from the Chinese, and the tea-kettle is on the fire all day long, so that any one can drink at any time. They often use salt water in

making tea, or put a little salt in it. They also add a handful of roasted millet or butter or raw fat from a sheep's tail. They drink it in great quantities, and each one carries his own basin to drink out of, the princes using silver ones.

When on a distant expedition a Mongol only takes two leathern bottles for milk, a little earthenware pot to cook his meal in, and a little tent to shelter him from rain. In times of great urgency they will ride for ten days without lighting a fire, and will sustain themselves on the blood of their horses, opening a vein for the purpose and then stanching it. They also dry milk into a kind of paste to take with them, and put a little of it in water and beat it up till it dissolves and then drink it. They also boil the milk, and when the rich part floats on the top they skim it into another vessel and make butter of it, for the milk will not become solid till this is removed. They then put the milk in the sun to dry. When on an expedition a man takes about ten pounds of the dried milk with him, and in a morning he will put half a pound of it in a leathern bottle with as much water as he pleases, and as he rides along the whole becomes churned together into a kind of pap on which he dines (ib. 254).

As far back as the time of Friar William the Mongols supplemented their meat and kumiss by the use of some kind of grain. Thus, he says, the great lords have villages in the south from which millet and flour are brought to them for the winter. The poor get the same by bartering for them with sheep and skins. The slaves have to be content with refuse water. Millet of two kinds, buckwheat-flour and oatmeal, are used largely to make a kind of porridge with tea, while the rich, especially at festivals, also use wheat and rice. All these grains they mainly get from the Chinese, but they also grow some themselves. They also use the seeds of certain wild plants, such as *Agriophyllum arenarius*, *Teloxis aristata*, etc., and the roots of *Polygonum viviparum*, which they call myakir in Mongolian (Ivanofski, 12).

Having examined the home life of the Mongols we must now turn to what is really the great occupation of their lives and their greatest source of wealth, as it is of all pastoral people, namely, the care of their flocks and herds.

The most important of these to the Mongol in his domestic life is his horse, as it was the greater helper in the mighty deeds of his ancestors when he swept like a hurricane over so much of the old world. As Mr. Campbell says, he is the commonest of his possessions, the everyday means of communication, and the staple topic of conversation. The Mongol who walks must be indeed poor, for he must be friendless as well as moneyless. ' A man who

does not own a pony is rarely refused the use of one from a neighbour's drove, and a comparative stranger will ask for the loan of a mount in much the same way as a European will turn to a passer-by for a match to light his pipe with.

From early childhood the Mongol acquires the habit of scrambling on the back of the nearest pony to cover any distance over a few yards, and anyone who has tried a Mongol boot for pedestrian purposes will understand his reluctance to walk a step when he can be carried. The outdoor life of both sexes and of all ages is spent on horseback.

A good specimen of the Mongol pony is perhaps the best of his size in the world for general use. The head and shoulders are too heavy for elegance, the eyes none too full, loins and legs are good, the barrel deep and long, and there is no deficiency of bone. They have a long tail and ears. Reared on the open steppe, with little or no human care, they are accustomed to great extremes of weather and thrive on the coarsest forage. The size and character vary with the locality. The commonest colour is grey, chestnut follows, and then come bay and sorrel. The stallions are selected, but not the mares, and no special pains is taken anywhere to improve the breed.

Along the Chinese border the ponies are undersized, 12 to 13 hands, the result of the incessant demands of the China markets for all the larger bones. As one travels northwards the horseflesh improves, and the best specimens of the Mongol pony are found in the Valley of the Kerulon (Campbell, op. cit., 34 and 35).

All the ponies are branded with their owner's mark, and we are told that a traveller in Mongolia when his horse is tired simply goes to the first herd that he meets, lassos any animal which he fancies, and leaves his tired beast with the herd. This custom seems to be universal, and the animals seem always to get back somehow to their rightful owner, whose brand they bear. The saddles are high with broad high pommels. The massive stirrups, with broad tread, hang so high that the rider's legs are bent at a right-angle (Ivanofski, 17).

Instead of a lariat or lasso, the Mongol in catching his ponies uses a 20 ft. long rod, little thicker than a fishing-rod, at the end of which is a looped thong of raw hide. With this he is very dexterous, and can soon catch the fastest pony. Slipping the loop over the pony's head when riding at full speed, the rider gives it a twist so as to prevent it slipping. Then he jumps on to his own pony's crupper, bracing his thighs against the back of the saddle. His pace at once slows down, and he must be a strong animal which when thus caught, can continue to drag his captor about or break the raw-hide thong.

Pallas gives a graphic account of the horses used by the Kalmuks. He says they are smaller than those of the Kirghises, partly because of the better feeding among the latter and partly because of the raids of the Turcomans, who carry off the finer ones. They are very tough and hardy, will gallop for an hour without stopping, and last out a journey of 48 miles without drinking. They have small, hard hoofs, and can be ridden all the year round (Pallas, *Saml. Hist. Nach.*, 110).

Branding and saddling are simple processes, and done without throwing the pony. Often a pony shows a great fight when being broken, and being small with a very short neck, is very hard to manage (ib. 164-5). In order to get the horsehair they need for making ropes the Mongols cut off the manes of the foals in the first year, and then every spring, except from the stallions and mares (Ivanofski, 53 and 54).

Like other people of Central Asia the Mongols prefer to ride mares. In the north the breed is larger, but the best ponies of all come from the Gobi (Timkofski, ii, 289).

We will now turn to the other domestic animals of the Mongols.

Next to the pony in importance to the Mongol comes the camel, which is of the two-humped species often called the Bactrian camel, It is larger than the Arabian camel, accustomed to extremes of weather, and to the coarsest and scantiest provender. Large feet and equal broad toes are the characteristics of the more useful camels, and when in condition the humps are always upright, fat, and firm.

Campbell says the average load of a camel is over 300 lb., and he tells us how his camels covered 1,270 miles in sixty-two marching days, with no serious alteration in condition. The Mongol caravan journey is mostly made at night, to avoid the heat of the day, and because camels will not feed in the dark. I know, he adds, no animal which can eat so voraciously and so quickly as the camel, and he refuses nothing that he can masticate. He prefers objectionable water, especially if it has a strong dash of soda in it, and greatly enjoys the wild onion.

In Central Mongolia and the Gobi, there are many routes which only camels can take without risk, because of the inability of other animals to travel three days without water (ib. 36). There are two kinds of pack-saddles, called khornan and bambai; the first consists of six or seven layers of felt with which the back and humps are first carefully packed. On this wooden boards are then placed to carry the load. In the latter they use two cushions made of felt.

The camel species in general is styled tyma, the male burun, the gelding atan, and the female inga. The points of a good camel are

a compact thick-set body, broad feet, broad but not rough hinder-quarters, and high and straight, soft humps, the space between which should be ample. The best camels are bred among the Khalkas. Those of Alashan and Kukunor are smaller and more delicate. Those of the latter district have a shorter and more truncated muzzle, while those of Alashan have darker hair. Prschewalski suggests that they are of a different species to those in the north. The camel is most at home and most happy when in the Gobi steppe. It is used by the Chinese for the transport of coal and other merchandise, but is generally sent to recruit in summer to Mongolia. The camel is in some respects a unique animal. It thrives best on the hard tasteless fare of the desert, and our author says he has noticed that when supplied with good food elsewhere it gets thinner daily. This is confirmed by the drivers who take charge of the caravans. Their favourite food is the leek (*Allium*) and budurgana (*Kalidium gracile*), then the derisun (*Lassagrostis splendens*), the wormwood, the saxaul (*Haloxylon*), and the kharmyk (*Nitraria shoberi*), especially when the berries of the saline plants are ripe and plentiful. In all cases salt is a necessity for the camel, and they eat the efflorescence on the surface of the ground, which is so common in Mongolia, with the greatest gusto. When they cannot get salt naturally, they have to be supplied with it twice or three times a month regularly, and they begin to grow thin if they are deprived of it, especially if they are too well fed. Apart from this their natural food, they readily eat some very incongruous substances (Prschewalski, *Reisen in der Mongolei*, 105).

The camel will traverse districts twice as high above the sea as the Khalka country, and return hearty and well after a sojourn on the saline plants growing about the lakes. The camels in summer spend all the day in the steppe, returning only in the evening to drink. When on a caravan journey they lie down in a row close to their master's tents, while the packs are laid in a row beside them. In the winter cold the drivers lie down among their camels for warmth. On the march they are tied loosely together by their *burundaks* or leading ropes.

In addition to carrying burdens and being used for riding, camels are also employed for drawing carriages. They never gallop, but walk or trot. When trotting they can keep up with a galloping horse. They can travel 100 kilometres a day for several days (ib. 113).

Camel's milk is very thick like cream, very sweet, and has a disagreeable taste. The butter made from it is very like softened tallow. From camel's hair the Mongols make ropes, and also use it for spinning into thread for sewing, and a good deal of it is woven into carpets or rugs. Most of the wool, however, drops off in the

desert. This is because the camel is a delicate animal, and if he loses his coat he suffers much from cold, and a cold day may come any part of the year, and a camel has neither shelter nor stable. To prevent the cold from injuring the camel the saddle is rarely moved in winter, nor till after two or three days after the journey is finished. It consists of two wide pieces of wood, six pieces of felt, and a camel's hair rope. Two felts are padded round in front of the fore hump, two are folded behind the hind hump, one on each side is doubled up and laid against the ridge between the hump, the two wide side pieces are put over outside of this again, and the whole pulled as tight as a man can bring it by pulling. It takes two men to saddle a camel in this way (206–14).

They are very timid and very awkward and restless, but not vicious. Very few of them bite except the males during the rutting season, and they seldom kick. Spitting is a bad habit with them. If you pass in front of them when chewing the cud you will hear a grunt and receive a queer shower of half-masticated vegetable matter. It seems to be the camel's only defence.

The voice of the camel is very impressive and peculiar (ib. 215–25).

Before the caravans start on their autumn journeys the camels are kept without food for a period of ten days without drink.

Although so robust and strong when on their native steppe, camels are very susceptible to damp, and catch cold easily when they have to sleep on wet ground. The chief disease from which the camels suffer is the mange, under the persecution of which they groan, lose their hair, have foul-smelling wounds, and presently die. They also suffer from glanders. For the former complaint the Mongols make broth from goat's flesh, which they pour down their throat. They dress the wounds with burnt vitriol and tobacco, snuff or powder. At Kukunor all the ailments of camels and other animals are treated with Turkey rhubarb. In persistent wet weather camels get coughs which the Mongols cure by the leaves of the tamarisk (ib. 114).

When the camels have travelled for some days over the rough stones of the desert the sides of their feet become sore. The animal is then thrown on its side, his feet are put up on a low stool, and the tender part covered by a patch of leather, which is held in its place by three thongs drawn through the adjacent callosities of the foot (Gilmour, 72).

Every year for one month in spring the camel casts its coat. When thus moulting no animal could be uglier. My "old pony", says the writer, "is afraid of the camels."

Especially when hunger pinches, they readily gnaw weathered bones, eat meat or fish, and will chew gloves and leather, pack-

saddles stuffed with straw, straps, etc. When grazing they eat for two or three hours, and then lie down to rest or else wander about the steppe.

The Mongolian camel can live without food for eight or ten days.

The cattle of the nomadic Mongols, says Campbell, resemble our Highland breed, and though the coat is not so shaggy they are equally hardy, but their condition is generally poor. They are used for draught purposes all over the country, are out in the open all the year round, and live on grass and hay only. In winter when the snow is thick on the ground the Mongols choose their winter's quarter where some shelter can be had from the blizzard by reed coverts or willow-trees or between the "larchams" (? hillocks). In order to get at the grass in winter they first drive a herd of horses into a space, which scatter the snow with their hoofs, and thus disclose the last year's grass upon which they feed. The cattle are then driven over the same ground, and lastly the sheep. It is only for the camels that a small provision of hay or reeds is put aside, since their feet are too soft to trample out the hard snow. The frozen crust is sometimes a very serious hindrance, and becomes so hard that the cattle cannot destroy it, and many thousands of them die of cold. In the mountains the cattle often get lost, and also die in large numbers together, by rushing into hollows filled with snow.

The yak (*Bos grunniens*), called sarlok by the Mongols, is, says Campbell, kept the place of cattle to a large extent in the mountainous country of North Mongolia. On the Kerulon he is used for draught purposes. Hybrids with common cattle are frequent, and their milk is much esteemed (op. cit. 3), but the flesh is poor. The hybrid is called khailyk or khainyk, and is short-lived (Ivanofski, 17).

Ivanofski calculates the number of domestic animals in Mongolia roughly as 30,000,000 sheep, 13,000,000 horses, 800,000 cattle, and 5,000,000 camels.

The sheep, which have no horns and long ears, are very like those of the Kirghiz, are all of the fat-tailed variety, and their number is legion—there is scarcely a family without a drove. Without their wool, skins, and flesh it is hard to imagine how the Mongol could get through the steppe winters. Their wool is white, but they have black ears and a great black spot on their foreheads. While the tail of the Kirghiz variety often reach 20 lb. in weight, that of the Mongols is not more than 10 lb." Their skins make good furs. They have goats, but in relatively small numbers, and use their skins for mending "the Dokha" (Ivanofski, 17).

Rockhill says that in his journey to Kukunor he bought a sheep with four horns, and he saw in the little flock from which it was taken

several with the same deformity. Six horns are not uncommon, but the Mongols try to kill off such freaks (*Mongolia and Tibet*, 140).

"One day," says Gilmour, "I watched a shepherd tending his sheep in Mongol fashion on horseback. On his back he had a large felt bag in which he put the newly born lamb." A Mongol's boots are large, ill-fitting, clumsy, and ill-adapted for walking, and his overcoat has to be warm enough to keep out the fierce cold and is too heavy and cumbersome to walk in. Unlike the Chinese, therefore, he does his shepherding on horseback (ib. 19 and 20).

Curds made from sheep's milk are called chura (Rockhill, 176). He quotes Rubruquis for its use in his days (ib. 229).

Of the domestic animals kept by the Mongols the sheep require the most care. They will not stay at home, nor will they return home after being away. The cows and camels have their calves kept near the camp during the day, and as night comes on, whole herds of oxen and camels may be seen coming up the horizon of the plain. They never fail to come. The mares are kept from wandering too far by tethering the foals, and will betimes stand for half a day whisking their tails, refusing to eat till the young ones are set at liberty, but the sheep go and leave their lambs and have to be fetched home. They won't even go and search for their food unless looked after (ib. 314). All the sheep are white and have black tails.

The fat-tailed sheep occurs in most of Mongolia, but among the Ordus and in Alashhan it is replaced by the broad-tailed kind, while in Kukunor is a breed with horns a foot and a half long and screw-shaped. The sheep are driven with long whips with heavy thongs, sometimes wielded with both hands.

Neither pigs nor poultry are kept by the Mongols, but the former are kept in small numbers by the Chinese colonists in Mongolia.

The Mongol hunting dogs are big and long, and except that they have long hair, they are like our greyhounds, and quite unlike the house dogs, and are well trained. Each month they meet for three days' hunt, and sometimes 1,000 men thus assemble. They chase the frightened hares at a gallop, flinging, when within reach, a club at them about 2 feet long and heavily weighted with lead at the curved end, and rarely missing (ib. 296).

A few words must now be said about the vehicles made and used by the Mongols for their wives and children to travel in, and for the portage of other things not easily packed on camels.

Friar William says the matrons make themselves most beautiful carts, and a single rich Mongol had quite a hundred or two such carts with coffers.

The Mongol carts generally have only two wheels, which turn

round with the axle. The wheel is formed of two small squared blocks of wood, fastened together in the shape of a cross, and the interval filled up with rounded wedges instead of felloes; the axle-tree is fixed in the centre so as not to project beyond the wheels (ib. 45), which are fastened to the wooden axle and revolve with it. Each cart is generally drawn by an ox, and can carry a load of 600 or 700 lb.

Campbell, speaking of these primitive carts used in Mongolia, says a little ring of cast-iron bushing inserted in the nose of the axle to work on is the only bit of metal used in their construction. Every *ail*, every tent has its carts; special water-carts, travelling carts roofed in with felt, and open carts for collecting argols or dried dung for firing. Oxen are the usual draught animals, and the drivers in short excursions were invariably women (op. cit. 20).

Marco Polo speaks of the carts of the Mongols, in which the women travelled, drawn by horses and camels, as covered with black felt, so that no rain could penetrate them.

Carpini describes how the Mongols crossed rivers, even large ones. He says the chiefs have a round light skin, around the top of which they have loopholes very close together, through which they pass a cord, and they stretch it so that it bellies out, and this they fill with clothes and other things and then bind it down very tightly. They also put their saddles and other hard things on it, and the men also sit on it. They then tie the boat thus made to the tail of a horse and a man swims on ahead leading it, or they sometimes have two oars with which they row it across the river: The poorer people have a leather pouch, well sewn, each man having one, and in this pouch or sack they put their clothes and all their things, and tie the mouth of the sack tightly and tie it again to the tail of a horse, and themselves swim across holding the horse's head. The Khitans used to cross rivers the same way (Rockhill, *Friar William*, xvi, note), and it seems to have been a widespread method.

Matthew Paris, another contemporary, says their boats were made of ox-hide; ten or twelve of them were owned in common, and thus crossed the largest rivers (op. cit., ch. iii, 487).

Having dealt with the individual yurt of the Mongols and its appendages, a few words may now be said about the aggregations of such dwellings.

The word ordu is used among other senses for a collection of tents or the separate palace of the Khan or chief, which is the sense in which Carpini uses it, and the Chinese translate it as "movable palace". In the Jihun Kushai we are told the Mongols used the word yurt to designate a camp or a dwelling (Rockhill, *Travel of Rubruk*, 57 and note).

Campbell gives us a picture of a Mongol encampment of the more important type, namely, that of the Eastern Khochids. The camp, he says, faced the south-east, the usual orientation of Mongol tents. (I found by experience that it was the best for all weathers.) In front of it was planted a 20 ft. pole, coloured red, with a turned top gilt; a few paces in rear of this were two similar poles to right and left, bearing a lace of pink and white pénnons, and 15 yards behind was pitched the first tent. It was of the finest dull white; the circular top covering was embroidered and stitched, and it was surmounted by a gilt knob of turned wood, and only seen on the abodes of the chiefs of " banners ". The old prince had died a few months before, and the son, an intelligent-looking youth of 18, kept the chief's tent closed during the period of mourning and pending his investiture by the Court of Peking; in any case it could be used only on occasions of much ceremony. Close behind it there were two tents in a line, one large and new-looking, and these were also untenanted in consequence of mourning. Further in the rear, in one row, were four tents, in which the young prince and his family were living, and behind these again were three tents, for servitors and dependants. Ponies were tethered and picketed on the left front, from the living tents to the large droves and herds which were cropping the short grass of the steppe, and to the lamasery and the prince's temples. I called on the young prince (the first foreigner he had seen), and was ushered into one of the five tents, evidently set apart for visitors. It was carpeted with felts, which were hemmed and stitched, and over them were laid square woollen rugs, on which we sat (op. cit. 19).

The chief amusements of the Mongols of our day are pony-racing and wrestling. Racing, says Campbell, is in the main a warm-weather sport, and from May to August such races are the attraction of the temple festivals and fairs. The ponies are specially trained. Every prince has a racing-stud. The most renowned of such studs belongs to the Tsetzen Khan, and, says one author, "I observed tethered in two long lines in the open steppe some forty ponies, of all ages from two years old upwards. Prizes are given to the winners, but only of small value. In the Chakhar country the stakes are usually an ounce or two of silver for a race of 10 miles, but sometimes a grandee offers something more tempting, as cattle, sheep, or ponies, silks or clothes. The races are never for less than 10 miles, but ' the Derby ' of the steppe, which takes place at Urga under the patronage of ' the Bogdo ', is a contest over 30 miles of rough steppe. The winners of this race are presented to the Bogdo, who provides for them for the rest of their lives."

Campbell also describes a race meeting he attended at a temple at

Kalatai in the Chakhar country. He says a line of eleven large blue tents crested a wave of the plain, a short way east of the temple ; they belonged to Chakhar officials and local notables, most of whom were interested in the horse-race. These tents were ranged some 100 yards or more behind a square blue pavilion, which sheltered a cushioned dais for the reception of the local *gegen* (i.e. high lama). To the right and left of the dais were rows of tíny tables and cushions spread on the ground. In front of the pavilion, again, three tents were set up so as to enclose a lozenge of turf some 60 yards square, the wrestling plot. The space between the line of tents and the pavilion swarmed with lamas and " black men ", i.e. laymen, in official garb . . ..while the ponies stood tethered or knee-tethered a few paces from the tent doors. We were invited into one of the largest tents by the owner . . . it was roomy and cosy, was floored with a layer of rush matting, strips of felt, and woollen cushions of the bright reds and yellows so much loved by the Mongols. A crescent of cushioned seats faced the entrance, and I was shown to the place of honour. . . . Pressed curds, the mildest forms of cheese, and refreshing Chinese tea were served to us. Soon two lamas from a neighbouring monastery called, and our host changed " snuff-chatties " with them, bowed repeatedly, and pushed them all the while into seats above him, to which they offered the conventional resistance before sitting and sipped some tea.

" Presently the gegen's cavalcade came from the monastery. He was seated in a Chinese springless cart, upholstered in a quiet and superior style, which was drawn by two sedate, well-groomed mules, and escorted by mounted lamas clothed and hatted in glittering yellow satin. A knot of lay understrappers and a body of police in sombre plum robes and gilt- or white-buttoned hats were in close attendance to push off the curious . . . The gegen was a cheery youth of eleven, who kept his eyes roving intelligently, laughing intently and pleasantly whenever amused, but never speaking although often spoken to. Bands of servitors brought tray-tables and dishes of cakes daubed with carmine (a lucky colour). Presently arrived a succession of the prominent men at the gathering who donned official robes to make their bow to 'his grandeur'. The lamas gathered in two rows on the left of the pavilion, while the lay-folk went to the right. The racing-ponies now paraded before the gegen's pavilion, which was both the starting and winning post. The field consisted of twelve ponies ; their manes were decorated with strips of coloured silk, the long tails were bound in the middle by half a dozen coils of red cord, and the bridles, which were single snaffles, with raw-hide reins, were embellished by a round disc of burnished silver attached to the

head-band. The jockeys were the smallest boys capable of riding the distance whom the owners could secure . . . the biggest boy could not have scaled more than 80 or 85 lb. Some had jackets of red, or blue silk or chintz, but colours were not obligatory. No saddle or seat-aid was allowed. The jockeys simply rolled up their loose cotton trousers as high as they could and clutched the ponies' ribs with bare legs. All carried long whips. The course was not marked in any way, but was supposed to be a direct line of 6 miles out and 6 miles home, a certain telegraph post being the furthest point. The ponies were all walked thither, and at the turning-point they were brought into line and returned at a gallop. The first pony won by 300 yards, and it took 2½ hours to compass the whole distance of 12 miles.

" While the race was in progress wrestlers in pairs struggled in the lozenge in front of the gegen's tent. It was always a lama against a layman . . . the wrestlers stripped stark naked in the tents right and left of the gegens, the lamas in one and the black men in the other, and drew on a stout pair of cotton drawers and a curious garment consisting of back and sleeves only, and many of them kept their long leather boots on, adding a covering of felt to protect the shins. Kicking was in order, and most of the wrestling was a mere exhibition of power, but now and then a dexterous trick showed long practice or great quickness. In the majority of cases the bout began by an orthodox grip neck to neck and shoulder to shoulder, and ended by a trip or a violent throw. The most amusing part of the performance was the preliminary challenge. Each as he emerged from the dressing-tent and came on the right of the gegen brought himself by a series of standing jumps to the position, sprang as high in the air as he could, bowed low with a smack of the hands to the ground, followed this by a couple of high springs, turned round and leaped into a minatory position into the centre of the plot, where he waited until his adversary had accomplished a similar performance . . . The tournament generally ended in an easy victory for the Church, the lamas being by far the greater adepts " (op. cit. 36-8).

The Mongol community is divided into three classes: first, the Taidjis, Taishis,[1] or princes, consisting of those of royal descent; they alone have political power; secondly, the lamas; and thirdly, the peasants or freemen, who are known as Black Mongols.

The Taidjis are divided into five classes according to their status. Three of the classes bear Chinese titles, i.e. Tsin wang, Tsiun wan

[1] Taidji is a Mongol word meaning a person of princely rank and must not be confounded with the word Taisha, derived from the Chinese Chai shi, meaning a vizier or high minister.

(the two highest in rank), and Hun. The lowest of the five, Boila and Boisa, are Manchu titles, and represent the third and fourth grades (Borg's *Hyacinthe*, pp. 120–1, note).

The Taidji, who rules over an ulus, independent tribe or community, is always of the male sex, and the succession is hereditary, and in the male line, and he is addressed by all the members of the princely family or princes related to it as Noyan, or Lord. The most powerful of the Mongol and Kalmuk princes have also received from the Dalai Lama and also from their Russian and Chinese neighbours the title of Khan. While that of Khungtaishi, i.e. the Swan prince, says Pallas, had been given to the rulers of the Sungars, and Khoshotes among the Kalmuks, and some of the Mongol princes.

Each prince is succeeded by his eldest son. The rest of his sons are given small appanages consisting of a certain number of families who obey them and who are also hereditary.

Certain other families besides the princely ones are entitled to be called Noyan, and rule over their own appanages, but are deemed vassals of the head of the Ulus and follow him in war and help him in peace time.

The Taidjis or Noyans have a dominant authority over their subjects. They can make or unmake their fortunes; can have them bastinadoed or have their noses or ears or hands cut off, but they seldom put them to death (except secretly), since that is contrary to the Lama religion. The amount of the tribute that his appanage must pay its prince is ruled by his will, but the clergy and the individuals who have been specially exempted by the Dalai Lama or other high ecclesiastics, or by former princes and the members of the princely family (the white bones, as the Kalmuks call them), are exempt (Pallas, op. cit., i, 185–8).

Their power, however, is exercised reasonably, and it is only the chiefs who are poor or naturally cruel who are exacting and tyrannical. The only remedy for the sufferers is for their dependents to leave them and to join some other tribe. In many cases in later years the more benevolent chiefs have secured an equitable treatment for their dependents by special enactment.

They are succeeded by their sons or grandsons in a regular order. If the elder line fails the senior person in the next line succeeds, and if none of these are forthcoming his place can be filled by the adoption of an illegitimate son. If none of these exist, then the eldest representative of a parallel line succeeds. The promotion of princes or Taidjis to the inheritance and their deposition is the prerogative of the Emperor of China, who is assisted by a special college. This choice, however, is not made arbitrarily, but the selection is made from the same stock and

from those entered in the Mongol list at Peking. It often happens that the rule is broken by the ursurpation of some unruly member of the family, and this has been the cause of a great deal of strife among the Mongols and Kalmuks.

The second class above named, i.e. the lamas, cannot, of course, have legitimate children, and therefore do not form an hereditary caste. In spite of their loose moral character, they have secured a great number of privileges, and their influence over the people is very great. The lamas have a hierarchy of their own (see next chapter) under the control of a central college at Peking and are admirably organized (*Hyacinthe*, 119–20).

The third class consists of the peasants and soldiers, who are organized as a militia force in a semi-military way, are liable to military service, and have a kind of feudal tenure.

Besides these three classes, there are the unfree or slaves, consisting of prisoners of war, etc., who with their families have been reduced to this condition by poverty or been captured in the north, and form the herdsmen, shepherds, etc., under freemen, but are not classed as belonging to the Mongol community.

The power of the nobles is implicitly recognized by their dependants and their orders strictly obeyed, and on meeting a noble a peasant will go down on his knees to do him honour. Their intercourse otherwise is, however, perfectly friendly. On rising from their knees the ordinary Mongols will sit down beside their chief, discuss affairs with him, and smoke their pipes together (ib. 61). The chief, however, can appropriate their sheep or beat them without there being any appeal to a higher chief.

Carpini says it was unusual in his time to refer to the Khan by his name, and they used the appellative Khan with the meaning King or Emperor or His Magnificence. "The modern Mongols," says Gombayef, " similarly do not address an older person or one of higher station by his name when in his presence, but do so in his absence, unless they are old people or those of considerable distinction. Under no circumstances do the women mention the names of the older relations of their husbands, and as frequently there occur words embodied in the name, such words have to be avoided by the user and other words substituted. This occurs often in such words as white, silver, fire, which in such cases are tabooed."

When one of his subjects approaches a prince he must uncover his head, bow very low, and with both hands linked together, touch the left hem of his gown, a greeting which the prince returns with a magnanimous tap on the shoulder. The greatest proof of the deference of an ordinary Mongol for his superior is shown when he

touches his own head with the hem of the gown of his patron. The lamas are freed from all such acts of submission, as well as the giving of presents, while the prince makes the profoundest bow to his chief lama in order to receive his prayers.

When the common people among the Mongols sit down in the presence of a chief or a grandee, they do not, as in the greater part of the East, sit with their legs crossed, but kneeling forward they sit down on their heels. To remove the head-covering is only usual when speaking to the Khan, to his own princes, or to a lama. When offering something or acknowledging a favour they salute like our soldiers do, but with their thumb and first finger joined together.

When they meet, the Kalmuks greet each other with the word *mendu* (i.e. I wish you well), without bowing to or touching each other. The upper class, especially those who are well-bred, use some polite phrase wishing good health or a good journey. When two old friends who have not met for a long time meet they shake hands, and if effusive, use both hands. Only on the first morning of the great annual festival, called Tsaghan, do they embrace one another (ib. 228–9).

The administrative and executive regulations which govern the Mongols are wonderfully adapted to a pastoral people, and show a surprising amount of skill and practical wisdom. They are revised and regulated by regular meetings, at which the princes, the higher lamas, and the local administrators, known as Saissans and Siumas, take part, as well as the friends of the Khan, whom he can nominate to help him. At these meetings the Khan or superior chief presides. The pay of the members is prescribed by ancient regulations. The meetings are held in a special large yurt, in which the code of laws is kept. The meeting not only regulates the affairs of the whole tribe or an independent portion of it, but also of its various sections. Its decisions are attested by the signature of the Khan or by being stamped with his seal (*tamgha*), which is in the keeping of his most youthful Saissán and which gives a black or red impression.

The carrying out of its provisions is under the supervision of the chiefs, but any of the princes may be nominated to represent him, whose pay is regulated by the Khan or Taidji, when he is compelled to be absent. At the court of justice one of the higher lamas, (Sargachef), has the right to preside, as he is presumed to have a knowledge of the law and to be trained in equitable proceedings. He is supported by the more responsible Saissans and princes, who are nominated by the Khan.

The necessity of finding fresh pasturage for their herds necessitates

breaking up the larger communities into smaller ones, each of which is presided over by a Saissan, who is styled Akh-kha, while his special charge is called an aimak. This is again broken up into lesser sections, such as an orke, consisting of 300 kibitkas or more.

The smallest of these gatherings of yurts which are generally composed of those who pasture their herds together, are formed of ten or twelve families, and are called khotton or khottun, meaning a "circle" or hamlet. The oldest person in the khottun is called the Khottun Asha, and has the general control of it.

Each Saissan has under him a Siuma, who, when the prince's Daruga or agent arrives, has to collect the tax from each hearth. This generally means a tithe of the cattle. A portion goes to the Saissan and his council, but the greatest part goes to the prince. On special occasions when the prince is put to extraordinary expenses, such as the great annual feast, when a marriage takes place in his family, or on the death of a great personage, and when in order to obtain their prayers, gifts have to be made to the lamas, a special levy of cattle, milk, butter, and other victuals is made, but on these occasions the poor people share in the scraps at the banquet, while a fund, called the princesses fund, is devoted to sending food to the sick and music to entertain them.

In some cases the authority of the Saissans is hereditary, but if he likes, the prince can displace them by his own favourites, and thus the Saissan families are often very poor.

Beside collecting the tax and seeing to the administration of justice in his aimak a Saissan has to see the Khan's orders carried out. When anything important happens in his district he has to report it to headquarters. He himself settles lesser difficulties, and especially takes care that those in his charge are not too much scattered about, for he has to bear the blame for robberies and thefts that take place in his aimak and to pursue the footsteps of the offenders. To support his authority he can inflict moderate corporal punishment and can, in a reasonable way, exact obedience from all those in his charge.

The aimak is bound to collect for, and furnish the Saissan with flesh, milk, and other provisions. When his armour and weapons are worn out he has to replace them, and if he has not sufficient means they have to supply them. By the favour of the Chief the Saissans are paid a certain income out of the revenues of the aimak. The most important and faithful Saissans among the Kalmuks are styled Darkhan and have precedence over the rest (Pallas, op. cit., i, 192).

When an orda or horde of Mongols has to move to a fresh camping-ground on account of the exhaustion of the food supply, which

generally happens every four, six, or eight days, certain persons are sent ahead to select the best place for the tent of the prince, that of the lama, and that containing the gods. When this has been announced by heralds the whole camp hastens away and takes up new quarters according to their choice. The evening before they start, the camels and steers are packed with the various worldly goods, and if the weather is fine the yurts are partly taken to pieces. The trellises are packed together and the poles for the roof bound into several bundles, the ends being covered with felt to protect them from being injured by the cattle. A yurt of four lattices can thus be packed away on two oxen or one camel; a bigger one requires two or more camels. The men collect the cattle on the morning of the departure, near the yurt, while the women saddle the needful horses, and pack the rest of the furniture on them with the help of the men and children.

The felts are placed at the bottom of the load of the sumpter beasts. Then the frames are hung on to either side and on the top of all are placed all the household utensils and furniture. The iron smoke ring is put on a camel by itself. The more valuable goods of the richer people are covered with felts and rugs and all nicely packed, and small bells are hung on the sumpter beasts. On the march the camels are coupled together, but the oxen are driven in a bunch. On these journeys the wives and maidens put on their best gowns and rouge themselves. They and the boys have to drive the cattle, and amuse themselves with singing. Very small children are carried by their mothers on horseback, while the bigger ones are hung in panniers on each side of the camels and oxen, but as soon as they are able to ride they are themselves put on horses. The richer ones are put on special saddles made with four horn-shaped arms which support a canopy made of silken stuff and lined with pillows, so that the children shall not fall out. A very tame horse is chosen to carry them, which is led by the mother or a servant with a rein. When the weather is fine the men only remain with their people until the procession is in its camping-ground, and then go off to amuse themselves with hunting or take a walk on the grassy steppe, pipe in hand. When it is wet and stormy they remain with their families, and it is their duty when the cattle are bogged or fall down to help to rescue them. They also help to unpack the burdens and to set up the yurt, clean the wells when they are dirty, and collect the fuel. Meanwhile the wives milk the cows, make the tea, cook the meal, and set the house in order.

The sumpter beasts can make a day's journey of 22 to 25 versts, while a day's ride on horseback may well be 50 to 70 versts.

In addition to the common law prevailing among the Mongols,

the chiefs have, at different times, since the days of Jinghiz Khan, promulgated written codes based on equitable principles.

The old Mongols were far more free than the peoples whom they subdued, and even than their own descendants. According to the Yassak or "Code" they gathered together annually for the *Hai*, or great feast, when their princes appeared before the assembled multitude to be questioned, reproved, and even deposed for wrongs done. A minister of Jinghiz Khan is said to have even dared to remind him that a kingdom can be conquered on horseback but not governed on horseback. The Mongol rulers displayed a high sense of justice in adjudicating between their own people and foreigners of all races and languages, and all were allowed to own lands, and were also shown great religious toleration. Christians and Muhammedans were among the advisers of the Khans, and such names as John, Nicholas, George, and Mark recur among the Imperial magnates (ib. 106). Prisoners of war, however, were made slaves of, the power of life and death was claimed over them, and they tended the flocks of the Khans. Their wide-reaching pasture lands, however, were normally free to all, and have never been divided among individual owners, and so with the waters of their lakes and rivers (ib. 107).

The oldest law book, says Pallas, is called Zaachin Bichik. He says he had not been able to get a copy, but that it must contain many curious provisions, among others those dealing with the unchastity of the priesthood, and with their concubinage, which they practise with almost impunity. In a case of adultery with a princess the lama has only to pay a goat or a young ram as a penalty, since the law-book declares that he could not well have had such a connexion unless he were invited. In the case of an ordinary person, the offender has to pay a four-year-old horse to the husband and a three-year-old one to the judge. When a stranger surprises a female slave her owner may take a horse, money, or other thing from him without being punished.

When a young man reaches maturity he no longer remains under his father's authority, and can, when he wishes, take a part of his father's herd and become an immediate subject of the prince. Again, when there is a scuffle between two men and one of them drags the other by the pigtail or plucks it out it is considered a great offence, since the pigtail belongs to the prince or rather is the symbol of a man being a subject of the prince. If a man, however, has not acquired a pigtail, but wears his hair loose, the offence does not arise, since the chief has no authority over the loose hair.

The wife's place in the yurt is specially fixed as on the right of the entrance behind the fireplace at the foot of the master

of the house. This is her privileged seat, and if any one occupies it she has the right to chastise him with a stick or some piece of furniture. When a woman goes to a prince and asks for the release of herself or some one belonging to her, from punishment, we are told the smaller punishments are generally remitted and the bigger ones reduced to one-half out of regard for the other sex (ib., i, 194).

The traditional etiquette which governs the life inside the tent is in essence a form of common law. Carpini says that it was obligatory for everyone to enter a yurt from the east, whence rises the sun, and no one but the emperor could enter it from the west. The Mongols still preserve these rules about the economy of the yurt. The tent must still be entered from the east, like the sun. If a person is near the door, but on the west side of it, he must go round the yurt if he is to act with decency. He must also open the door with his left hand, and enter from the left side (ib. 666).

In regard to the taking of oaths the Kalmuks in ordinary times have several methods of swearing. Thus they will hold an unsheathed sword to their throat, kiss the mouth of a flint musket, or put an arrow with its point to the tongue, or the edge of a knife on it, cut the nail of the right thumb and at the same time express the hope that the man who swears may be wiped out in the same way if he is unfaithful. Pallas adds that the explanation of this last act is that the thumb-nail is the deadly tool which a man uses to kill the lice which plague him, and implies that he will be similarly treated in the next world. Beside these emblematic acts the person swearing invokes the vengeance of the gods on himself, his flocks, his wife and children, or that the prince may be angry with him or that he may not be born again in any animal (i.e. that he may be extinguished) if he should be faithless.

The solemn oath taken by a person in court (Skhakhan) is accompanied among the Kalmuks by the following ceremonies. While the injured man declares the accused thief or robber to be an incorrigible liar and incapable of swearing a true oath a neighbour or near relative who knows his character must act as his bail or guarantor. Some days must then elapse for inquiry into the truth of the accusation. When the day comes for his trial and the defendant is found to be guilty, he proceeds to exculpate himself by ordeal in the following manner.

In the open fields there are planted a number of poles in the form of a pyramid and covered with a sheet of felt, forming a kind of tent under which is placed a table on which is burning a butter lamp (Sulla) with a wick of cotton wool or a stalk of grass and over it is the figure of one of the terrible gods (Naiman dekshin) or a figure

of the chief of the good gods Sakyamuni. The person swearing must stand before the image and declare loudly that the charge is a false one, and prostrate himself three times before the gods, blow out the light on the lamps and plant the foot of the Burkhan on his forehead, which is the usual way of showing reverence to a God. In the case of well-known offenders the last appeal is the trial by fire *Andahar*, and the Kalmuks have a proverb that the trial by fire is the last refuge of a thief. It is carried out thus : an arrow-head of iron is put on the fire until it glows, when it is taken up with the tongs and laid on two stirrups with their upper part on the ground. The offender must then take the burning arrow-head in his fingers and place it in a hole two steps away. If he fails to do this and lets it fall, he may try again until he has tried it three times. The man's sleeve is then sown up so that no medicine can be applied to the burnt hand. In three or four days it is examined by the Court. If the wound is sufficiently healed, then the man is released ; if not, he is deemed guilty. Pallas says that those who had tried the experiment found that iron at a white heat did not burn so severely as that which was red (Pallas, op. cit., 220).

"According to the Mongols," says Friar William, "when two men are fighting no one dares interfere, not even the man's father, but the worsted man may appeal to the court of the lord, and if any one touches him after this appeal he is put to death." He adds "that capital punishment is not otherwise inflicted on any one unless he is taken in the act or confesses". When a man was accused by a number of persons it was permissible to apply torture to make him confess. Carpini says capital punishment was inflicted for adultery, brigandages, and open larceny; Friar William adds homicide or cohabiting with another man's wife unless the man was his slave, for, he adds, "a man may do what he likes with his slave." They also punished grand larceny with death, but for petty larceny like stealing a sheep, unless a man had been guilty of repeated offences they beat him cruelly, and if they inflicted a hundred blows they must use a hundred sticks. This was in case a man was beaten by authority; men who falsely pretended to be envoys were also put to death, so likewise sorcerers or wizards.

Speaking of the punishments for offences among the Mongols Marco Polo says for a petty theft they give one, or if under order of authority 7 or 17, 27 or 37 or 47 blows with a stick, and even running up to 107, according to the offence. The number was always an odd one (ib., note 1). Under this beating they sometimes died. If the offence was horse-stealing or some other great matter they cut the offender in two with a sword, unless he was able to ransom himself by paying nine times the value of the thing stolen. All the animals

belonging to the lords were branded with a special mark and grazed over the plain without any keeper; they all got mixed up together, but were eventually sorted by their brands, except the sheep and goats, for which they had shepherds (op. cit., ch. lv).

The cudgel was in use among the Mongols not only for thieves but for military and state offences, and even princes were liable to it without it being thought a fatal disgrace (M. Polo, ch. lv, note).

Turning again to the amenities of life among the Mongols. "From whatever side," says Gilmour, "the tent is approached be sure to ride up to it from the front. If you come upon it from behind, ride round it at some distance so as to come up in front. If on foot it is more important still to observe this rule. When within a short distance (say speaking distance) of the tent stop and shout *nohoi* (dog). This is meant to warn the people in the tent to come out to restrain the dogs. The Mongol dogs are very savage, and it would be rash and dangerous to attempt to advance. At the cry of *nohoi* or *nohoi hurae* the people in the tent are bound by law to come out and protect the traveller. Until they receive this protection travellers remain in the saddle; foot travellers keep the dogs off as best they can with a couple of sticks, so that when one is laid hold of by the dog there is another one to lay about him with. Two or three women or children probably come out and scold off the tamer animals and sit down on the fiercer ones, while the traveller hurries in. He must, however, leave his stick or his whip outside. This rule is seldom or never violated by Mongols. . . . As the traveller enters the low doorway he may say *mendu* to those inside and proceed to sit down on the left side of the fireplace, about half-way between the door and the back of the tent. If nothing is said he may stay there, but if asked to go higher he can either accept the honour or decline it as he chooses. It is not usual to take off the hat on entering, but most roadside Mongols are used to the foreign custom of uncovering and it does not shock them. If the hat is taken off it should be placed higher, that is, further up towards the back of the tent than the traveller himself, or on one of the chests, but in no case should it be put near the door. The traveller should sit cross-legged, but if he cannot do this he must stretch his legs towards the door. The feet pointed inwards towards the back of the tent would be thought insulting. When he is seated an exchange of snuff-bottles takes place. A Mongol visitor offers his, first to his host and his family, and then receives theirs. The bottle should be received in the palm of the right hand and carried deferentially towards the nose. The stopper should be raised a little, then a sniff be taken, the stopper readjusted, and the bottle handed slowly and deferentially back to the owner. The visitor

first uses some polite phrases and makes inquiries about the cattle and his hosts' family. The hostess then hands him a cup of tea, which he must take with both hands, and hand it back when he has drunk it for a fresh supply if he wants it. Meanwhile a plate of white food is offered him with both hands. This is not expected to be eaten, but must be tasted; a crumb is enough. On leaving, the usual greeting is a bow and smile outside the door, but no adieus (Gilmour, *Among the Mongols*, 108–10).

We will now turn to the military equipment and tactics of the Mongols, and will first report what the older travellers have to say about it.

The spies of Muhammed, the Sultan of Khuarezm, on returning from visiting the Mongols reported of them "that they took no rest, that flight or retreat was unknown to them, and that they were matchless for courage, obedience, and endurance. On their expeditions they were accompanied by oxen, sheep, camels, and horses, and their meat or milk sufficed for their needs. The horses scratched the earth with their hoofs and fed on the roots and grasses they dug up, so that they needed neither straw nor oats. They made no distinction between clean and unclean animals, and ate the flesh of all kinds, even of dogs, swine, and bears".

In victory they left neither great nor small alive, they cut up women great with child, and if they came to a great river, as they knew nothing of boats, they stitched all their goods together, tied the bundle to their horses, mounted with a hard grip on the mane, and swam over. (Yule's *Marco Polo*, ch. liv, note 6.)

Carpini says a Mongol must have at least the following arms: two or three bows, at least one good one, three big quivers full of arrows, an axe, and ropes to pull machines with. Their helmets were made of iron or steel on the top, but that portion which went round the neck and throat was of leather; some of them had spears, and at the lower end of the heads was a hook to pull people out of their saddles. Their arrows were 2 feet 1 palm and 2 fingers long; their heads were very sharp, and they always carried files to sharpen them with. They also had shields made of wicker-work, but, he adds, "I don't think they carried them except when in camp and when on guard over the Emperor and the princes, and then only at night." The arrows, says Rockhill, which Strabo (vii, 3, 254) says the Scythians carried were practically the same. He says that they used raw ox-hide helmets and cuirasses, wicker shields, spears, bows and arrows. This is very interesting, for it shows how nearly all the familiar weapons and garniture of the Mongols, as of the Eastern Turks, may be traced to their Scythian predecessors.

Friar William speaks of meeting two Mongols in the Caucasus

wearing haubergeons (i.e. chain armour); on asking whence they got them they replied they got them from the Alans (now called Orssetes), but the real armour-makers were the neighbours of the Alans, now known as Kubetshis, who are still skilled armourers, and live in the Caucasus. Only the officers and picked men used body-armour, the remaining men who came with them had only bows and arrows and fur gowns. Rubruk adds that he saw armour made with iron plates and iron caps, which they got from Persia, and he saw men who went to visit the great Khan, who were armed with jackets made of convex pieces of hard leather which were most unwieldy. All contemporary writers, says Rockhill, speak of the leather armour of the Mongols. Vincent of Beauvais says: "When the archers let fly their arrows they entirely withdrew their right arm from their armour, and put it back when the shaft had left the bow, but only the barons and military leaders or the standard-bearers and the constables wore armour, and it was thought that not more than a tenth of them did so, and few of them had lances."

Their bows were sometimes very strong, and it took two men to string them; the arrows sometimes had silver heads full of holes, which whistled like a pipe when they were shot. The Turks in the sixth century already used such arrows, and Rockhill says the Mongols and Manchus still use them. The Chinese call them Hsiang Shien, i.e. signal arrows (Rockhill, W. of R., 180, n. 1).

Marco Polo speaks of the bow as the principal weapon of the Mongols, and of their being excellent archers. On their backs, he says, they wore armour made of *cuir bouilli* or softened leather. If need be they could go for a month without any food except the milk of their mares and such game as they could shoot. Their horses also could subsist on the grass of the plains, without their having to carry straw or oats for them. They were very docile towards their riders.

"They called a corps of 100,000 men a tuk, one of 10,000 a toman, that of a thousand mingan, of a hundred, don, and of 10 arban. When on the march with an army they sent 2,000 men well mounted, two marches in advance to reconnoitre, and a similar body in the rear, and on either flank."

Matthew Paris also describes their warriors as dressed in cow-hides, armed with plates of iron; they had their backs unprotected, and their breasts alone covered with armour. This was explained as being to prevent their running away (op. cit., iii, 687). He says they mounted their horses by means of three steps on account of the shortness of their thighs.

Haithon, in describing their tactics, says: They will run away, but always keep their companies together, and it is very dangerous

to give them chase, for as they flee they shoot back over their heads and do much execution upon their pursuers. They keep very close ranks, so that you would not take them for half their real numbers. Baber, who, although a Mongol by descent, hated them, says: "Their uniform practice was, if they defeated the enemy, to instantly seize the booty. If they were defeated they plundered and dismounted their own allies and, came what might, they carried off the spoil" (op. cit. 258).

In regard to the organization of the Kalmuks in the time of Pallas, they were divided into corps or banners (ottok). In time of war the oldest dependents of the Khan who might be considered his special subjects formed the right wing (baaron [*sic*] ottok). The others, who joined rather as allies, formed the left wing (suun [*sic*] ottok) (Pallas, 221).

The Mongols of the lower class (who were known as black men, khara koon) were enrolled as soldiers, and had to have their horses and weapons in readiness in case their chief called upon them to join him, and when he marched they all had to go to the chief camp with provisions to last for a while. Each subordinate chief had to furnish his proper contingent. When the whole were assembled the old and infirm were sorted out. The rest were then divided into three divisions. Those with muskets formed the first corps, which was called Buchin; those with bows and arrows, the second, called Sobetshin; and those with only lances or swords, the third, Shoshutshin. This last included the poorest of the people. A special body were furnished with armour. The divisions were divided into squadrons of fifty or companies of a hundred; the commander of the former was styled Tabini Yassul, and of the latter Suni Yassul. The commander of the whole army was called Zerregin Yassul, and if of royal blood Zerregin Noyon. When the Khan himself took part in the war one of his principal officers carried the standard or Tuk. On this the god of war, Daöchin Tanggri, was represented with all his attributes given emblematically. His power by lions and tigers, dogs represented his fidelity and vigilance, apes and serpents his artifice and agility in war, falcons his speed, etc., etc. These standards were presents sent by the Grand Lama of Tibet, and were deemed specially sacred.

Before engaging in a less important struggle the Kalmuks played the following game, called shilla, as a foretaste of victory. A Mongol dressed in full panoply entered the camp (where the army was assembled) riding on horseback as if he was a spy. The guards thereupon pursued him and shot at him with harmless weapons and brought him in as a prisoner, bound him, and discussed whether to put him to death. They then inquired about the condition

and strength of the enemy, and the probability of a successful expedition, and when it was decided that all would go well the prisoner was released.

Before indulging in a really serious struggle other ceremonies were gone through. A great figure of a man was made of hay or grass and planted on the steppe outside the camp. It was dressed in black felt and fully armed. Against this "war fiend" the whole army went out in full array. The Lama priesthood marched in the middle with drums and music, with the men bearing firearms on the flanks. The lamas were accompanied by a great standard with the figure of the war-god on it, fastened to a lance. When the army came near the hay-giant the music of the lamas burst out, while a loud shout came from the soldiery, who fired a volley at the image, which was also assailed with the lance of the war-god. The hay-god was thus overthrown, torn in pieces and burnt, while the flag of the war-god was planted on the spot where it had stood (ib. 223 and 224).

The real battle took place as follows: First the men with muskets dismounted, leaving their horses behind the last hillock, and advanced with ardour against the enemy in platoons of fifty men until they were near enough, and they strove to keep together until they reached the enemy. Thereupon the greater number, as in hunting, crept on their stomachs, and thus reached their goal. If the musketeers failed to drive back the enemy, the archers followed them up and fired flights of arrows till the supply began to fail, when they detached some of their body to pick up the arrows sticking in the ground. Then came those armed with swords and lances, and lastly the prince and his bodyguard. This doubtless represents very closely the Mongol tactics in much earlier times.

In the rear of the armies were placed the prince, the horses of the dismounted musketeers, the badly equipped men, and the baggage. When the archers could no longer fight effectively (having exhausted their arrows?) they joined the ordinary infantry, who carried swords and lances; scattered among whom were those who wore armour and those who were picked men and possessed swords. The archers showed their skill best when retreating, when they were very adroit. If the retreat continued near to their own camp the prince first saw to the safety of the baggage and badly armed men, while the best cavalry held up the enemy.

Marco Polo says that in their fights the Mongols never got into a regular melée, but kept perpetually riding round and shooting at the enemy, and as they did not count it any shame to run away in battle, they would sometimes pretend to do so and meanwhile turn round in their saddles and shoot hard and strong at the foe,

and so make great havoc. Their horses were trained so perfectly that they would double hither and thither, just like dogs. When they saw that they had killed and wounded a good many horses and men they wheeled round bodily and returned to the charge in perfect order and with loud cries, and thus routed their enemy.

With the army went the provision-carts drawn by oxen, and also the milch cows and mares, while each man took with him a small provision of cheese, meat, etc. When the force was considerable, and especially in winter, they also took with them field-tents for shelter, which were carried on camels. These tents were from 40 to 54 feet long, the skeleton being made of pointed rods 7 or 8 feet long fastened with thongs and united at the top, forming a conical roof. The smaller tents were arranged in a circle, and covered with a light felt covering. They were only lightly built. In them they collected the prisoners whom they captured; if they wanted to be specially watchful they put them for the night under a big felt and themselves kept guard on the outside. On the march, to prevent their escape, they tied the prisoners' legs under the horse's bellies.

In these fights those of the enemy whom they killed they deprived of their gall bladders and removed a portion of the fat as trophies of their courage and as a medicine, and also for curing wounds with. They also cut off the ears of the dead horses as trophies (ib. 225–7).

This graphic picture given by the great Russian traveller and naturalist doubtless represents very clearly the tactics pursued by the ancient Mongols. We will now turn to another feature in Mongol life.

As a unit of time-measure the Mongols, like the Chinese, take the day, which they divide into twelve sections, each consisting of two hours. The day begins with them at 11 o'clock at night of our reckoning. Their month they measure from midnight to midnight of two successive new moons, so that all the months are not the same length, some of them having twenty-nine days and some thirty. The year is made up of twelve months, which does not equate with a period of complete revolution of the earth round the sun, but leaves thirteen days over. This is provided for by an intercalary month every leap year. The interpolation of the thirteenth month is accomplished so that in each cycle of nineteen years there are twelve ordinary and seven leap years. The extra month has no special name, and is a mere doubling of one of the ordinary months, and is inserted sometimes in winter and sometimes in summer or in spring, and is fixed by the Peking astrologers. The new year begins with the great day of Chaghan Zara, i.e. the White Month, which extends from the 1st of February to March 3.

The length of a long journey is measured by the time it takes to

cover the distance, and is calculated according to whether it is a camel or a horse journey. The average day's journey for a pack-camel is 45 and of a horse from 70 to 80 kilometres. A good camel can march 4 to 5 kilometres an hour when loaded, and 5½ to 7 when unloaded. Distance is measured among both Mongols and Kalmuks in a curious way, namely, by the time which the sound of a whistle will reach the distance. This averages the length of a Russian verst, and is called *Nägdimäsyr* by the Mongols.

Calculation is done with the aid of the fingers, in this manner—the first joints of the fingers represent the units, the second joints represent the tens, and the knuckles the hundreds. A thousand is denoted by a mark on a piece of wood.

The Mongols know the multiplication table by heart up to six only. Beyond that point multiplication is performed with the help of the fingers, as follows : the left hand is the multiplier and the right the multiplicand. In the case given the little finger (*chikcha*) represents on either hand six, the ring finger (*narecha-shurshun*) represents seven, the middle finger (*dunt-chuchun*), eight, the index-finger (*chumga*), nine, and the thumb (*aerka*), ten.

Suppose that a Mongol wishes to multiply eight by eight. The middle finger represents eight, so on each hand he bends three fingers towards the palm. The number of the bent fingers represents the number of the tens in the product required (in our case, six tens), while the numbers of the fingers remaining unbent on either hand (in our example, two on each hand) are multiplied together ($2 \times 2 = 4$), and the product added to the number of tens already obtaining, the total being thus sixty-four.

If e.g. 9 is to be multiplied by 9, four fingers on each hand are bent (giving a total of eight times) ; the two remaining fingers are multiplied together ($1 \times 1 = 1$), the latter number is added to the tens, and the required product, i.e. 81, is obtained. In unravelling this tangle I have had the assistance of my gifted friend Mr. Lindsay.

The Mongols have no words for right and left, but always speak of east and west. As their sacred land is in the south the terms are used in reference to that fact. But the east is what we call the left, and the west the right.

Their months are lunar ones, one of twenty-nine days and the rest of thirty. The first day of the year is the first of the month called *Logan-sai*, i.e. the White Month, which month answers to a part of our January and February. From it the spring is calculated. The White Month is treated as a perpetual feast by the devotees of Lamaism, and the 1st, 8th, and 15th of each month are also treated as feast days (called *Zertyan*).

The Mongols derived their early alphabet and literary culture from the Uïghurs. To the same source they doubtless owed their famous chronological system, which it will not be unprofitable to describe here. The system of chronology used by the Mongols is founded on a double cycle. One of these consists of twelve years, to each of which is attached the name of an animal, in the following order :—

1. Khulughana, the mouse.
2. Uker, the ox.
3. Bars, the tiger or panther.
4. Taolai, the hare.
5. Lu, the dragon.
6. Moghai, the serpent.
7. Morin, the horse.
8. Khonin, the sheep.
9. Bechin or Mechin, the monkey.
10. Takia, the hen.
11. Nokhia, the dog.
12. Gakhai, the pig.

These names are applied to the years in succession in a recurring cycle of twelve years, but as this is too short for practical chronology, it has been combined with a second cycle of ten. This second cycle of ten is constituted in two different ways. In one of them the cycle is named after the five elements : Modun, wood ; Ghal, fire ; Shiroi, earth ; Timur, iron ; and Ussun, water ; which, by attaching the masculine and feminine particle *ere* and *eme* to each respectively, makes the full cycle of ten. This is the method usually employed. The second system is similarly named after the five colours : köke, blue ; ulaghan, red ; shira, yellow ; tsaghan, white ; and khara, black ; which in the feminine are respectively kökekchin, ulaghakchin, shirakchin, tsaghakchin, and kharakchin. This system is mainly used for the calendar. A third system has adopted the Chinese names Kia, Y, Ping, Ting, Wu, Ki, Keng, Sin, Shin, Kuei ; or, as the names occur in their Mongol transcription, Ga, Yi, Bing, Ting, U, Ki, King, Sin, Shim, and Kui. This third mode Schmidt says he had only found used by Ssanang Setzen in his chronicle. Schmidt has compared the three systems in a useful table, as follows :—

Ere Modun	Koke	Ga
Eme Modun	Kökekchin	Yi
Ere Ghal	Ulaghan	Bing
Eme Ghal	Ulaghakchin	Ting
Ere Shiroi	Shira	U
Eme Shiroi	Shirakchin	Ki
Ere Temur	Tsaghan	King
Eme Temur	Tsaghakchin	Sin
Ere Ussun	Khara	Shim
Eme Ussun	Kharakchin	Kui

By a combination of the twelve animals' names and these ten names, which always follow one another in the same order, we get a cycle of sixty years, each sixty years beginning with the same name. Schmidt has arranged the years of the last century from 1804 to 1863 according to the Mongol system. It will suffice here to give a few as a sample of the rest :—

Ga, mouse year . .	1804	Sin, sheep . . .	1811
Yi, ox	1805	Shim, monkey . .	1812
Bing, panther . .	1806	Kin, hen . . .	1813
Ting, hare . . .	1807	Ga, dog . . .	1814
U, dragon . . .	1808	Yi, pig . . .	1815
Ki, serpent . . .	1809	Bing, mouse . .	1816
King, horse . . .	1810	etc., etc.	

It will be seen that every twelve years each animal is found linked with a companion from which it was two places distant at the earlier occurrence ; and it is this, of course, which constitutes it a cycle of sixty years. If the names are followed out it will be seen that in 1864 we again get to a year which has to be named Ga-mouse year.

Having explained the system, we will now say a few words about its origin, and we may take it that the third method above named, in which Chinese words are used, is a comparatively modern innovation due to Chinese influences. The real systems found in the older Mongol literature are the two earlier ones.

Ulugh Beg, the famous prince astronomer, has recorded for us the names used by the Uïghurs in their twelve years cycle, and they are as follows : The mouse *keshu*, the ox *uth*, the tiger *bars*, the hare *thawshk'an*, the dragon *lui*, the serpent *yilan*, the horse *yunad*, the sheep *ko'i*, the monkey *pichin*, the hen *dak'uk*, the dog *it*, the pig *thoughus* ; all these names as Klaproth states are Turkish, except the second, fifth, seventh, and ninth. Of the second and seventh he gives no explanation ; the fifth is from the Chinese *ling*, while the ninth is derived from the Persian *pusineh*.[1]

It will be seen that the animals forming the twelve-year Uïghur cycle are precisely the same as those used by the Mongols, while it is most clear that the ape or monkey which could not be known to the Mongols as anything but a foreign animal, must have come to the Mongols from Persia by the intervention of some Turkish tribe like the Uïghurs, while the names in the Mongol cycle for panther and hen, *bars* and *takia*, seem almost certainly to be taken from the Turkish.

[1] Klaproth, *Beleuchtung und Widerlegung der Forschungen*, des Herrn J. J. Schmidt, pp. 10 and 11.

There is every probability, therefore, that the Mongols derived their method of chronological computation, as they did their letters, from the Uïghurs.

It was probably no invention of the latter, however, for we find it in use among the Kirghises during the domination of the Tang dynasty in China. Thus we read in the *Tang shi*, in the article on the Kirghises: "They call the beginning of the year *Meu-sze-ghai*, and three *ghais* make a season with them. They name the year after twelve beasts and they call the year *In* (i.e. the year called *In* in the Chinese duodenary cycle) the year [1] of the tiger." [2] Schott, Rémusat, and others have argued in consequence of this notice that the Kirghises were the real originators of the animal names used in this cycle.

The latter urges that the cycle itself was borrowed from the very ancient duodenary cycle of the Chinese. After arguing that the use of the twelve animals' names cannot be traced elsewhere than to the Turkish races of Central Asia, he says the Mongols, Tibetans, Japanese, Persians, and Manchus have translated it into their own languages, preserving strictly the same order of the names. The cycle is also exceedingly useful in checking other systems of chronology. Rémusat has pointed out that Petis de la Croix, in synchronizing its dates with those of the Christian era, is always one year behind. During the reign of Jinghiz Khān the year of the mouse corresponds, as de la Croix makes it, to the years 1156, 1168, 1180, 1192, 1204, and 1216, and not to 1155, 1167, 1179, 1191, 1203, and 1215.[3]

The following table, which I take from Klaproth,[4] gives the cycle in the languages of the several races who use it:—

	Chinese.	*Japanese.*	*Tibetan.*	*Uïghur or Turk.*	*Mongol.*	*Kalmuk.*	*Manchu.*
1. Rat	shu	ni	ʃdji	kesku	khluguna	khluguna	singgeri
2. Ox	nieou	ushi	ɬlang	uth	uker	uker	ikhan
3. Tiger	hu	tora	stak	bars	bars	bars	taskha
4. Hare	thu	u	yoi	tawshkan	toolai	tolai	gulmakhun
5. Dragon	lung	tats	ɔbruk	lui	loo	lui	muduri
6. Serpent	shi	mi	sbrul	ilan	mokhoi	mogoi	meikhë
7. Horse	ma	uma	rda	yunad	morin	morin	morin
8. Sheep	yang	fitsuji	luk	k'oï	khoin	khoin	?khonin
9. Monkey	heou	sârn	spre-u	pichin	mechin	mechin	boniu
10. Fowl	ki	tori	tsa lu	dak'uk	takiya	taka	choko
11. Dog	keou	inu	chi	it	nokhai	nokoi	indakhun
12. Pig	hai	i	p'hak	tonguz	khakai	gakhai	ulghiyan

[1] I.e. the 3rd year in the Chinese duodenary cycle.

[2] Schott, *Die ächten Kirgisen*, 433; Visdelou, supp. to D'Herbelot's *Bibliothek*, 174.

[3] Klaproth, *Tableaux Historiques*, p. 169.

[4] Ib., p. 114.

CHAPTER III.

THE RELIGION, RITUAL AND MAGICAL PRACTICES OF THE MONGOLS.

I. SHAMANISM.

HAVING followed one side of the life-history of the Mongols in their homes and tried to track some of the changes which have occurred in it during the last seven centuries, we must now turn to another aspect of it which is more difficult to explore and where our results are necessarily more uncertain, namely, their religious ideas and practices. Like those of all the races we call uncivilized, the religious customs and ritual of the Mongols are difficult to understand, partly because they are so remote from our own, partly because of our lack of information on a subject in which there is naturally great secretiveness and reticence on the part of those who know most about it and in many cases find it difficult to give a rational explanation of what their ancestors fashioned and they have inherited.

In the case of the Mongols the difficulty is vastly increased by the fact that there has been during the last four centuries not only a great change in their faith and worship, but an entire reconstruction of both, built on different premises and overshadowed by esoteric notions, many of them dealing with abstractions. Prima facie these would have been deemed impossible in a race so void of education, especially in matters of religion, as the Mongols were before this great revolution. It was not a unique event, however. Among the Turkish tribes of Central Asia there had been a similar change at an earlier time.

Among the Turks of Central Asia, however, the matter was further complicated by the fact that there were two such changes, one of them due to the importation of Buddhism and the other to the considerable displacement of that faith by the religion of Islam, which involved a still greater revolution.

When the larger part of the Mongols were, in the sixteenth century, converted to Lamaism (i.e. the northern type of Buddhism which prevailed in Tibet), a portion of the race still remained attached to its early faith and notably a section of the Buriats. This religious system, which was once so widely spread in Northern Asia, it is convenient to refer to as Shamanism. It was once shared by all the so-called Altaic races, i.e. the Turks of different stocks, and by

the Ugrians, i.e. the Finns of different sorts living in North Russia, including also Lapland and the tribes occupying the Arctic borderlands of Asia and the banks of its great rivers, and the Tungus, of whom the most conspicuous section were the Manchus who conquered China. A related form of the cult also prevailed widely among the Indians of North America.

As in other races when a vast change has occurred in religion and worship, the effect was chiefly felt among the higher ranks, the wealthy and the highly placed. It formed only a more or less thin veneer covering the real creed and practices of the humble and the poor, and it was, in fact, constrained to assimilate and incorporate a great deal of what had been there before in order to make it acceptable or even tolerable to large numbers of the masses of the people who led isolated lives and were largely dominated there, as elsewhere, by the innate conservatism of the women in such matters. The same thing, as we all now know, was the case with Christianity, which was very largely in its ethical ideals, if not in its ritual and practices, a veneer covering a kernel of paganism. It still remains so in places like Sicily, Mexico, and parts of Spain and Brittany, and among the uneducated classes elsewhere, who still cultivate a belief in witches and fairies, etc., even in highly cultivated communities.

It is plain, therefore, that if we are to recover the creed and ritual of the Mongols as they were in the thirteenth century, we must search for it partly in the works of the travellers of that period, who were not always the most critical of men, and who were often too orthodox to report things faithfully, or else to look for what we need among the few Mongols still remaining untainted by Lamaism and also among other peoples than the true Mongols who have preserved the old common faith in a less adulterated form. To do this thoroughly would be a great task, and is beyond my present purpose and resources. It is necessary, however, to do it in some detail. I shall reserve the account of Lamaism as it is practised in Mongolia to a later page. We will begin with the more superficial aspects of the changes which have been so enormous and have so altered the landscape in hundreds of places, as well as the personnel of the race. Among the Shamanists there were no temples, no monasteries, and no monks. These are now the most conspicuous features in every description of Mongolia, and it is as difficult to imagine it without them as it would have been for the contemporaries of Jinghiz Khan, in some cases, to recognize their old land if they returned to it. We shall have more to say of them presently. Secondly, the domestic shrines or domestic altars which form by far the most conspicuous feature of virtually every Mongol yurt in our

day, were represented by a very different looking garniture and very different looking gods.

The only erections answering to religious constructions we should find anywhere were what still exist, and are known as oboes. They are found almost everywhere, have resisted all attempts to supersede them, and have, in fact, been adopted by the Lamaists themselves as conspicuous features of their cult. They consist of great piles of stones erected on the summits of high hills, or near conspicuous natural objects, on which are placed various offerings to the deity supposed to dwell in the mountain, river, great tree, or other notable object, or rather to be its living counterpart or spirit.

The obo is really a cairn of stones, sticks, branches, bones, rags, sometimes sacred scarves with images or prayers on them. It is formed as follows. The first comer collects a heap of stones on a mountain-top, or near some notable object, and every passerby throws a stone or anything that comes to hand on it, meanwhile invoking the deity supposed to haunt the spot. A regular pyramid presently accumulates as high as some 10 feet; the passers-by meanwhile utter prayers and throw stones on the obo, stretching out their hands towards it to ask protection on their journey.

Every Mongol who passes such an obo deems it right to add an additional stone to the heap and to make an offering, however small, even a rag or a camel's hair. The bigger oboes are specially visited by the lamas in summer, who hold services and collect crowds round them.

In former times it was usual, when an ox, sheep, or goat was sacrificed, for the worshipper to offer the heart and hair of the animal at the obo, upon which he hung them up as an offering, and then wrapped it, with strips of the skin. All Buddhists deem blood-shedding a sin. This practice of sacrificing animals has been in consequence largely abolished, and they only now offer bloodless offerings to their Gods. These are in almost all cases merely worthless things like a stone, a bunch of hair or a rag, while the lama offers pieces of paper or cloth with prayers and petitions written on them in Tibetan.

The most famous of these oboes is perhaps that on the summit of the most sacred mountain in Mongolia, called Burkhan Khaldun by the Mongols and Kentei by the Chinese, where there is also a very large burial mound where the remains of Jinghiz Khan probably lie. Mr. Campbell, who visited it, says of it: "Thither every autumn there came the Amban or representative of the Chinese from Urga and a great body of lamas with a retinue of magnates to make their offerings. On his arrival the Amban knelt in front of the obo, before which a large earthenware cauldron full of *airak* was planted.

The lama who accompanied the Amban stirred the spirit with a pole and produced from the depths remains of *kadakhs* (i.e. sacred scarves), walnuts, and tea-leaves. Close by the cauldron I noticed on the top of a small stone pile some clay masks, open-jawed, of conspicuously evil expression. The ground was covered with walnuts, cheese, kadakhs, and Tibetan prayers, written on calico and on paper. The lama prostrated himself thrice at full length before the obo and added a rag to it; the Chinese guard contented himself with one prostration and an offering of a piece of bread, which he put at the foot of the tree."

It is not only to the great oboes that such offerings as are here referred to are attached, but to large trees or other bizarre objects. Thus we read of another mountain known as the pine mountain, which is so called from a very large pine upon its summit, which is highly venerated by the Mongols. The tree is decorated with pieces of cloth, rosaries, and similar offerings (ib. 60).

Let us now turn from the oboes to the gods worshipped by the Mongols in days before Lamaism became so widely prevalent. These were housed and cultivated, not in great temples, but in the yurts in which the nomads lived, and consisted partly of the deities which were supposed to dwell in all natural objects, and notably in those which display activities, beneficent or the reverse, and partly of household gods and sanctified ancestors. Let us turn to what the early travellers have to say of them.

Father Piano de Carpini, in describing the religion of the Mongols, says: "They believe in one god, who they say is the maker of all things visible and invisible, as well as the author of all blessings in the world and of all punishments, but they don't worship him with any prayers." Marco Polo says much the same thing, but remarks that they prayed only for health of body. He adds that they call their great god "The most high God of heaven", upon which Palladius says this is clearly the Tengri of the modern Mongols, the highest object of their worship whom they also call Khormuzda, who is identified by Schmidt with Hormuzda the Persian god. The Buddhists have renamed him Indra (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, i, 249, note). They used to apply to him the qualifying terms *Dore* (supreme) and *Munke* (eternal). The cosmological ideas of the Mongol Shamans were, says Radloff, very like those of the Chinese. The Shamans teach that before heaven and earth were made, all was water, the earth was not, heaven existed not, the sun and moon were not. Then *Tengri Kavin Khan*, the highest of the gods, the beginning of all creation, the father and mother of the human race, created in the first place a being like himself and called

him *Kishi* or man. This reads as if the story had passed through a Christian conduit pipe.

Carpini alone refers to their notions of a future life, and says they believed in another world, and that when there, they will increase their flocks, eat and drink, and do everything else that is done by living beings in this world. These phrases point to the account having been written by the worthy friar, partially with what the Germans call a *tendenz*.

"Over the place where the master of the house sits," says Friar Rubruk, "is always placed an image of felt, like a doll or a statuette, which they call the brother of the master; another is over the head of the mistress, which they call the brother of the mistress. These are attached to the wall. Higher up, between the two, is a little lank one, who is, as it were, the guardian of the whole dwelling. The place of the mistress," he says, "is in the right-hand side of the yurt. In a conspicuous place at the foot of her couch is a little statuette looking in the direction of the attendants and the women, and beside it a goat-skin full of wool or other stuff, and near the entry on the women's side is yet another image, with a cow's teat for the women who milk the cows, for it is the duty of the women to milk them. On the other side of the entry towards the men is another statue with a mare's teat. The men milk the mares and camels, but not the cows and sheep (*Travels of Rubruk*, 59).

Carpini gives us additional details. He says they have certain images made of felt in the image of a man, and these they place on either side of the entrance of the house, and above them they place things made of felt in the shape of teats, and these they believe to be the guardians of their flocks, and that they ensure them increase of milk and young animals. They also make others out of rich stuffs, and these they honour greatly. Some of them they put in a handsomely covered cart before the door of their dwelling, and anyone who steals anything from the cart is mercilessly put to death. When they want to make new idols all the noble ladies in the camp meet together and make them with reverence, and when they have made them they kill a sheep and eat it and the bones they burn in the fire, and when any child falls ill they make a similar idol and tie it over its couch. The chiefs, chiliarchs, and centurions have always an idol shaped like a he-goat in their dwellings. To these idols they offer the first milk of every flock and of every herd of mares, and before they begin these meals they first offer them of their meat and drink, and when they kill any animal they offer the heart in a bowl to the idol in the cart and leave it there till the morrow, and then they take it away and cook it and eat it.

They also make an idol of their first emperor, which they place

in a cart in the place of honour before the dwelling ; " as I saw," he says, " before the *orda* (i.e. the great tent) of the Emperor Kuyuk Khan, and they offer it many gifts and also horses, which no one may ride till their death." They also offer other animals, and if they kill any animal in order to eat it they never break their bones but burn them in the fire, and they bow to the fire while facing the south as to a god.

Again returning to Rubruk, we read that when the Mongols have come together to drink they first sprinkle with some of the liquor the image over the master's head, and then the other images in order. Then an attendant goes out of the dwelling with a cup and liquor and sprinkles it three times to the south, each time bending the knee. This is to do reverence to the fire ; then to the east to do reverence to the air, then to the west to do reverence to the water, while they sprinkle to the north for the dead. When the master takes the cup to drink he first pours a portion on the ground. If he drinks on horseback he first pours a little on the neck or mane of the horse. When the attendant has sprinkled towards the four quarters of the world he returns to the house, where two others with two cups and a platter are ready to carry drink to the master and to the wife sitting beside him on the couch (ib. 60 and 61).

Rockhill says the custom of making oblations towards the cardinal points, the zenith, and the nadir is still adhered to by many Mongols. Carpini says they specially reverenced and worshipped the sun, moon, fire, water, and earth. Usually they made their libations in the morning (ib. 61, note).

Marco Polo writes : " The Tartars say there is a most High God of heaven whom they worship daily with thurible and incense, but they pray to him only for health of mind and body. They have a certain other god called Natigay, who they say is the god of the earth, who watches over their children, cattle, and crops. Every man has a figure of him in his house made of felt and cloth, and they also make in the same manner images of his wife and children. The wife they put on the left-hand and the children in front, and when they eat they take the fat of the meat and grease the god's mouth with it, as well as the mouths of his wife and children. Then they take of the broth and sprinkle it before the door of the house, and thus deem that the god and his family have had their share of the dinner " (op. cit., i, ch. liii).

So much for the reports of the early writers. The evidence seems to be consistent that the worship of the Mongols in early times was Nature worship, and that they were devoted to various tutelary deities which were appealed to for special protection or help in the various occupations of life and also as guardians of

themselves, their flocks, and other property, and that in addition (as Carpini says), they worshipped the sun and moon and the elements. "They style the moon the great Emperor and bow the knee to it, and say the sun is the mother of the moon" (Pallas, 246). This latter cult had probably been considerably influenced, as Pallas urges, by the Iranians, who had great influence in early times in Central Asia, and whose God Hormuzda, as we have seen, they will worship. The fear of demons and of angry gods seems to have continually pursued them, and it was rather to appease their gods than out of any feelings of reverence or affection that they offered them gifts. The Shamans, too, were chiefly engaged in inventing and in selling new artifices and processes meant to frustrate the actions of the evil gods. This was done by various forms of magic, which was supposed to be able to effectively paralyse the evil actions of the gods as well as those of men.

Let us now turn to the accounts of modern travellers.

In regard to the names of the Shaman gods among the Buriats, the one in the middle of the yurt and also the most important is called Dsaiagachi, and is supposed to bring general good luck. He has been appropriated by the Lamarists. The one at the door (called Immegiljin) specially cherishes the cattle and young animals and also the sheep.

Another of the gods is Chandorghata, meaning he who owns a white hare, a name derived from his being dressed in the skin of a white hare; other and more costly skins are hung round him. He is specially the patron of hunting and apparently also of war and is generally planted outside the yurt. Other gods are called Shayaghanana, who has his place at the side wall of the yurt; and Nachartu, to whom dogs were offered and Bars-Ebugen, "the hoary tiger" (i.e. the devourer or destroyer). Gombeief, who was a native Buriat, says that Buddhism has largely displaced these gods, retaining only Dsaiagachi, with the style of Tengri or heaven-dweller.

As if the lamas had not enough gods of their own, however, they have also adopted a number of the Shaman house gods, especially those which are supposed to bring good luck to the women and their special charge, the cows and sheep. These the Kalmuks call Ongoi and they are cultivated both by Shamans and Lamas. They are formed of lappets of felt, and are supposed to preserve the inmates of the yurt from the colic and other misfortunes and to bring good luck to the home, and they conciliate them by lighting two lamps made of dough and containing butter and placing a basin of water before them. There are also four other lappets made of red wool. The longest of these is

deemed the highest, and the rest are arranged in a series of steps. Beside them is the figure of a man also made of felt and representing him clothed. Over the highest of these gods hang four bands or ribbons, and above them a number of white and red ones, made of floss silk of the length of the bigger lappets below.

A similar god is the one called Immegiljin by the Buriats and Mongols and those who are attached to Lamaism. It is cultivated as the protector of the sheep and other cattle, and consists of two human figures joined together, of which one represents the wife of the god. The two figures are not oblong-shaped like the rest, but are cut on two round circles of felt, and sewn on a cushion bordered by a piece of long sheepskin, on which are represented the eyes, nose, two nipples on the breast, and a navel, all marked by bits of leather sewn on to it. The male figure usually has on the belt a representation of the thong used when a horse is grazing, and by which the hinder foot and the fore feet are hobbled. On the female figure, which is sometimes accompanied by a number of small ones representing her children, there hang a medley of ornaments and sewing requisites. These figures are placed in the most honoured part of the yurt and are periodically greased. When Buddhist figures occur they are placed near these lappets and both Shamans and Lamas are called on to perform the ceremonies before them. "These were," Pallas says, "the only gods cultivated by the Buriats, and were fashioned by them in the same way as in old times."

Let us now return to the Shamans or Kams as the old travellers called them. Friar William Rubruk has an interesting paragraph about what he calls the Mongol diviners. He says, "Whatever they command must be done without delay. They are very numerous, and always have a captain like a pontiff, whose house is planted in front of that of the Emperor Mangu Khan, at about a stone's throw distant. Under his custody are the carts on which the idols are placed and carried. The others are planted in other parts of the Orda. People came to consult them from various parts." He adds that they knew something of astronomy. Rockhill suggests they got this from the Chinese, and it virtually meant crude astronomical and astrological notions. They professed to foretell eclipses of the sun and moon, and when one was going to take place the people collected food in their dwellings, for they were not allowed to go out while it lasted, and they beat drums and instruments and made a great noise during its continuance. After it was over they gave themselves up to feasting. The Shamans also predicted lucky and unlucky days for the undertaking of all affairs. "The Mongols," he says, "never assemble an army nor go to war without the consent of these diviners. They believed that the eclipses were brought about

by a dragon or some other monster attempting to swallow the sun or moon, and that the dragon might be driven away by a great noise."

He also describes from his own observation how one of the Khan's concubines was ill and languished for a long time, and thereupon the Shaman said incantations over one of her German female slaves, who went to sleep for three days, and when she recovered they asked her what she had seen; she replied she had seen a great many persons who would soon die, but had not seen her mistress among them, so they declared she would not die of her complaint. "I saw the girl," he says, "who still had a good deal of pain in her head from her sleep." Rockhill adds that the mode of divining and fortune-telling by hypnotic sleep is very commonly used by savage and barbarous tribes (ib. 245-6).

Friar William further adds that some of these sorcerers evoked devils as oracles and assembled at night those who wanted to have answers from the devil, and placed cooked meat in the centre of the yurt where they gathered. The Shaman then began his incantations and struck the ground violently with his drum, and finally entered into a frenzy and allowed himself to be bound. Then came the devil in the dark and was given meat to eat, and he answered such questions as were put to him. This, says Rockhill, is a very accurate description of these well-known demon ceremonies. The male Shamans are called *boh* and the female *udugun*.

The dress of a modern Shaman is thus described: a leather coat over which were hung hundreds of strips of leather and tassels on the breast. Round his waist he had a girdle with brass balls on the back and scraps of iron on the front, producing a jingling sound. His cap was of crimson velvet, with brass beads and glass drops hanging on his forehead, and feathers from the tail of the crane at the back. (Atkinson, *Oriental and Western Siberia*, 383-4.)

Pallas, in his *Travels*, n.ed., vol. v, p. 363, has given a description of a Buriat female Shaman and her dress and performances, which, he says, differs very little from those found elsewhere where Shamanism prevails in Northern Asia. She was called Labantsiksa, and was accompanied by her husband and two other Buriats, each of whom had a magical tambourine.

She said that the number of her conductors was not complete, since it required nine drums in order to go through her performance with due solemnity. She held in her hands two *sorbis* or croziers garnished like the scabbard of a cavalry sword, and ornamented on the top with a horse's head, a small bell, and an abundance of small open scissors (*kholbuga*). Her leather coat was decked with them. There fell down from her shoulder and reaching the ground about thirty interlaced serpents (*nuchal*), made of black and white furs and strips

of sable skin and of red stoat. One of them was divided into three at the extremity. She called it Mogoir, and said that the dress of a Shamaness was incomplete without it. Her cap was covered with an iron helmet, with horns having their points like those of a roebuck.

Pallas says she did not hesitate to go through her performances in the open air, and seemed very skilful. She moved her body about and jumped in the air and her movements became faster and faster, while she sang and uttered various imprecations and cries which were accompanied by the beating of the tambourines. These imprecations were taken up by the Buriats, who stood round in a circle. Presently she was seized with excited convulsive transports, fell down in a syncope, and passed her hands over her face. After the first songs she set off running as if she wished to escape from the tent, whereupon two Buriats planted themselves at the door to prevent her doing so. She made other grimaces and ran towards the three Buriats, who were playing the tambours and who were seated on the left of the yurt, presenting her head to them like a bull when fighting. She then took the two croziers in one hand and jumped up several times in the chimney, as if she wished thus to catch the spirits of the air and make them enter the tent. She then adopted a cheerful tone and asked the bystanders to put questions to her. She replied singing and waddling about, and asked me, says Pallas, to give her some brandy, assuring me that I should have a happy life and make great voyages by sea, and thus the performance ended.

On another occasion Pallas met another Shamaness who was still young and only a novice. In her dress she was exactly like the one last named, but her croziers or crutches instead of being straight were curved in the shape of a sabre and were not like those previously named, ornamented with pieces of iron and little bells (ib. 351–2).

When all the efforts of the orthodox lamas by prayer and incantations to bring relief fail, the poorer folk still have recourse to their Shamans. They still continue the practice of *galtaikho*, i.e. of sacrificing animals, which, in spite of their prejudices the lamas have adopted from the Shamans in order to conciliate the people. On the other hand the Shamanists have taken over from the Lamaists the latter's notion about transmigration (Pallas, op. cit., 343).

Pallas says he once witnessed one of the sacrifices which are practised by them. In this case it was a female Shaman (or Udugun) who presided, and the motive for it was the illness of the mistress of the house and the bad luck of the master. She first selected a fortunate day. A sheep was then put to death by an attendant in the presence of the Shamaness. The breast-bone with all the

fat and blood, the lower jaw with the tongue, and the larynx and gullet were removed; the lungs and heart were also taken away, carefully washed, and then put in the cauldron. The sheep was then cut in two halves, and the front half was again split in two. The hinder part, with the fat tail (as the titbit), was cooked whole, and then cut in small pieces and put in the kettle; the rest of the animal's flesh except the right shoulder-blade was also cooked. The latter was left raw. The feet with the wrist or ankle-bones was put aside. The breast-bone with its detached skin was cut into strips, arranged in the form of a triangle, and laid on the rest of the contents of the kettle.

By this time night had come on, which was the favourite time for the Shamans to do their hocus-pocus. First an astragalus bone of the sheep, called *shagai* by the Kalmuks, was fastened to a red silk cord, which the master of the house had to tie to the cross-piece over the smoke-hole of the yurt. The cauldron was then removed from the fire and planted opposite the door of the tent where the Shamaness was. She took a figure of Sakyamuni, put it on a box, made a lamp of dough, and put it before the god. The boiled flesh of the sheep was next put into a great cauldron by two Kalmuks, who placed it near the door and then hung it over the fire, before the owner of the house, who sat beside the Shamaness. Thereupon the best part of the flesh, the ears, the feet (from which the hoofs had been removed), and also a part of the skin and the so-called "pluck" were all put into a sack and the heart was laid on the top. This sack was placed near the sorceress, and some of the fat of the offering, which was near the sick hostess, was put on the tripod on the fire. Meantime the host distributed spirit made from milk. The coarser flesh was then given to him and the choicer parts were given to the sorceress, the sick hostess, and the most distinguished guests and eaten by them. What was left was given to the poorer Kalmuks, and the broth mixed with the blood was drunk by them; partly out of the cauldron with their hands, or with cups. Two of the relatives raised aloft some of the bones and flesh, while the greater part of the animal was consumed. Some more fat was put on the fire, and a fresh offering of *airak* or spirit was made. The embers on the fire were then arranged in a four-cornered heap, and lamps made of dough were placed on the tripod on the fire, one of them near the door. From the sheep's wool a loose cord was made with which the cooked breast-bone was again bound, and then the fat from the kidneys was put on the fire, with the cleaned head and the lower jaws, as well as the breast-bone, the still united leg bones, and the small ribs, on which some of the flesh remained. Lastly, some scraps of fat were placed on the fire, and

the sick lady made a special offering, first of airak which was poured out on the fire, then milk, then sugar and raisins, and lastly two great pieces of mixed butter and fat, while the host laid a branch of sandalwood (*arza*) and a piece of wood from the same tree on it (ib. 343–4).

Thereupon the Shamaness rose, planted the host near the door, put a bowl holding flesh and broth in his right hand, and in his left the uncooked shoulder-blade and the end of the red cord which hung from the smoke-hole. She also took the sack with flesh and each of the three lamps and waved them over the fire as if she wished to show them to the spirits of the air, whom she apostrophized several times with the words " Khuru, khuru ! "

She then approached the host laughing, and offered him the heart which projected from the sack, of which he, as well as his son and wife, had to take a bite. This was repeated two or three times till there was only a small bit of it left. Thereupon the sorceress turned from the sack and the host from the raw meat, while the sick woman offered the midriff or caul as an offering, which was laid on the fire with a copper coin wrapped in paper by the assistant. The Shamaness then took a bell in her left hand and a whip in her right one, and waved them to and fro before the gods with appealing cries, moving her body, arms, and head with frantic gestures so that her cap fell off several times. During these mad capers she held up her laughing roguish and wily assistant under her arm, while meantime she censed her with burning incense. In the course of a quarter of an hour the sorceress had worked herself into a great perspiration, and was sufficiently excited to be able to prophesy. First she announced his coming good fortune to the host, she then did the same for several Kalmuks who were present and who had taken part in the offering. The message of the Shamaness was conveyed to them by her assistant, or else she screamed it to them, whereupon they received it with greeting and responded with suitable gifts. Her delirium lasted for one hour, when she put the whip away and continued her incantations with two bells, and pleaded personally with two other spirits, one of which was called Dai Khatūn (the goddess of the lake or sea), and Okin Tengry (heaven's maiden). This concluded the performance. The contents of the sack were eaten in common by those present, and the feast lasted till midnight, when they separated. The Shamaness then took two white cloths, in each of which nine pieces of money had been wrapped in paper. They were given to her as her remuneration. Some of the Kalmuk Shamans, we are told, in their performances make a muttering noise (*tummer khur*) (ib. 344–5).

Atkinson graphically describes a sacrifice made to their god by

the still pagan Kalmuks at which he was present. He says they offered these sacrifices in the spring, the rich gave horses, those who were poor gave sheep or goats. Pallas says of one of them: A ram was led up by the owner, who wished for a large increase to his herds and flocks. It was handed to an assistant of the Shaman, who killed it in the usual manner. His superior stood near, looking to the east, and began chanting a prayer and beating on his large tambourine to raise up his god, and then made his request for large flocks of sheep and cattle. When the operation was completed the skin of the animal was put on a pole raised above on a framework, and placed with its head to the east. Meanwhile, the tambourine thundered forth its sound and the performer continued his wild chant. The flesh was thereafter cooked in a large cauldron, and the tribe held a festival.

Among other religious practices dating from an early time Pallas reports one resembling that of the scape goat. "The rich Kalmuks," he says, "select from their flock a ram for dedication which gets the name of Tengri toksho, Heaven's or the God's ram. It should be a white one with a yellow head. It is never to be shorn or sold, but when it gets old and the owner wishes to dedicate a fresh one, the old one must be sacrificed. This is generally done in the autumn, when the sheep are fattest. The neighbours are called together to eat the sacrifice. A fortunate day is selected, and the ram is slaughtered amid the cries of the sorcerer directed towards the sunrise, and the sprinkling of milk for the benefit of the spirits of the air. The flesh is eaten, but the skeleton with a part of the fat are burnt on a turf altar raised on four pillars an ell and a half high, and the skin with the head and the feet are then hung up in the way practised by the Buriats." (Pallas, *Mong. Volker. Saml.*, etc., ii, 346; Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1st ed., i, 209–10.)

The most interesting magical practice of the lamas, which they no doubt derived from the Shamans, and which is of very ancient date, is the so-called weather conjuring (Saddar Barina). This is practised not only by the humbler lamas, but also by the learned lay Kalmuks who have also learnt the art. They not only profess to regulate the weather on certain days beforehand, but also to bring in dry weather, to make it rain over a wide area, to cause clouds to appear in severe weather and a cool breeze in hot, and to cause wind in still weather and mist in clear weather. They also claim to be able to drive away the clouds produced by rival conjurors. These they recognize as very small specks on the horizon. The weather magic, says Pallas, was accompanied by certain fixed formulæ which included certain mysterious phrases (*tarni*), which were addressed to the gods by the weather-maker (*saaduchi*), who must have a believing heart and

deep devotion. When rain was needed the request was addressed to the god Otshirbani, with a particular formula.

To bring clouds another formula was addressed to Mansushiri Burchan; to bring fog another to the Burchan Nagansana; to secure cool weather another to the Burchan Radnasambowa. To drive heat away the appeal was made to the previous four Burchans and also addressed to Khonjin boddi zado. To bring on a storm the formula was addressed to Khonjin boddisatvo. These formulæ are all given by Pallas (see *Samlungen*, etc., ii, 349).

The appeals were made kneeling, and when praying for rain a bowl was filled with water, and at the end of the prayer certain pieces of stone were put in it, and with the water they were thrown out towards the part of the sky from which the rain cloud was expected. When a storm was wanted, dust or sand was thrown in the direction whence the trouble was to come. The stone specially used they called Saadan Cholon, which they reported was sometimes found in the earth and sometimes in the stomach of animals. It was doubtless the well-known *yu* stone of the Chinese, i.e. jade called Yadaklash or Yadak by the Turks, the use of which for this purpose is so widely spread.

In working the incantations the stone is rotated in the water, so that it is made to bubble as if boiling. We are told that if the appeal is answered a sudden downpour follows without fail.

In order to succeed in weather conjuring the Kalmuks affirm the conjuror must have a firm faith in the potency of the gods to whom they attribute the invention of the formulæ, and must not be content with one appeal but go on with others and if need be a hundred-thousand times in succession, and repeat it kneeling, sitting, and standing, and in full faith. There is another condition imposed. In the first place the rain-making must not be made in winter when the flocks are in poor condition, and when it is deemed wicked to practise the art. Even in summer it is not thought right to conjure for rain or storms too often, since noxious worms and insects may thus be produced. (Pallas, op. cit., 349–50.)

Among the Shamanist magicians' arts one which prevails both among the Mongols and the Kirghiz is that of foretelling what will happen in the course of the next few days from the appearance of the streaks and small fissures on the burnt blades of the shoulder-bones of animals. These marks affect different forms and shapes for the interpretation of which a most elaborate key has been elaborated, of which Pallas gives the details and some explanatory figures. This form of magic is no doubt very old, and has been taken over from the Shamanists by the Lamas. These shoulder-blades are called Dalla Tullié by the Kalmuks and the operator is called

the Dallaji. The shoulder-blades of the sheep, the saiga antelope, the roe-deer, and the reindeer are deemed the best for the purpose, and of these the most valued are those which belonged to sacrificed animals, and when the person on whose behalf the investigation is made is not present some thing belonging to him has to be there to represent him.

In the process the bones are kept on the embers of the fire until the rifts or marks become plain. On their position, proportion, or arrangement depends the success of the prophecy of some event or of some piece of good or ill-luck to the living or dead. "What is wonderful is," says Pallas, "that these prophecies so often come true whence the credit they retain among the rough people of Asia."

Notwithstanding the variety of the rifts which occur across the bone, which are caused by the varying heat of the fire and the draught, there are some which may be styled principal lines to each of which a special meaning and name is attached. These are set out with their names by Pallas (ib. 352-4).

Another form of necromancy is more elaborate, and its rules and methods are set out in the preface to a small work called Belgen Bictuk. In this nine long cords are employed, to one of which is attached a piece of coral. These cords are taken up by the Shaman between the thumb and forefinger of his left hand, while with the right one he twists them in a confused mass and then draws a cord at haphazard. The interpretation of the process depends largely on whether the cord with the coral comes out first or second or third, etc., and its meaning is determined by the code in the manual.

Still more intricate is the conjuring by means of astrological tablets, or dice, which have cut on them, on each face separate Indian characters that give the key or disclose the explanation of the combinations of the tablets. There are many kinds of tablets used in this form of necromancy, each of which requires a different manipulation. This form of magic apparently came from Tibet, and is called Sohi by the Mongol and Tibetan Lamas (id. 355).

Timkofski says the bodies of dead Shamans are buried by other Shamans, who conjure the evil spirits not to disturb the soul of the deceased. Their bodies are generally buried on elevated places or in the crossways, that they may be more easily able to do mischief to those who pass by if so inclined. They often predict to those with whom they have been on bad terms that their ghost will come and require sacrifices from them, which it will be difficult to make. The Mongols, says our author, believe that the soul of a Shaman cannot go to God, but remains on earth in the shape of an evil spirit, doing mischief to mankind and they avail themselves of this belief to demand marks of respect and sacrifices.

It was the custom among the nations of antiquity, and still survives among certain races, to treat white animals as in a measure sacred, and they were in consequence generally selected for sacrifices. This was the case in former times with the Mongols. Father William says that in the month of May they got together all the white horses of the herds and consecrated them. Pallas mentions the practice of sacrificing white horses as still in vogue in his day among the Tartars of Kachinzi and other idolatrous Tartars, at which a Sháman is present who blesses the horse to be used as a holocaust, which was then called *izik*. For this purpose he says they use one of an isabelline or else an iron grey colour. The magician chooses it, and Pallas says they always choose a mare. The ceremony only takes place when the Shaman orders it for the good of the herds. When a horse has become *izik* they renew the ceremony of consecration every year with him in the great annual feast. They wash him with milk or a decoction of absinthe and perfume him with this plant. They plait strips of red and white stuff into his mane and tail, and leave him in complete liberty. His master may only mount him when the snow has fallen. Carpini says the Mongols offered horses to their deceased emperors that no one dared mount as long as they live (Rubruk, ed. Rockhill, 241 and 242, note).

Speaking of the herds of white horses belonging to the Great Khan, Marco Polo says no one was to presume to pass until the mares had gone by; he must either tarry where he was or go a half day's journey round so as not to come nigh them. "The milk of all these mares was taken and sprinkled on the ground. And this was done on the injunction of the Idolaters and Idol-priests, who said that it was an excellent thing to sprinkle that milk on the ground every August the 28th, so that the earth and the air and the false gods should have their share of it, and the spirits likewise that inhabit the air and the earth. And thus those beings would protect and bless the Kaan and his children, his wives and his folk and his gear, and his cattle and his horses, his corn, and all that is his. After this is done the Emperor is off and away."

If a person is ill the Mongols, who are not quite orthodox, go to the Shaman to consult him on the cause of the disease. The Shaman never fails to attribute it to some evil spirit who demands a sacrifice. He conjures the malignant spirit who has been appeased by an offering to leave the patient, and receives some recompense for his trouble. (*Timkofski*, ii, 312 and 313.) He professes to extract the cause of internal diseases in the shape of stones, splinters, worms, bits of rag, etc., and also to make camels and horses talk. If his hocus pocus fails, the Shaman does not scruple to attribute the failure to the evil influence of some person, who is punished accordingly.

The Shamans are naturally on very bad terms with the Lamas. In 1819 and 1820 a very distinguished Lama who lived in the Khoshun of Mergen Wang opposed the pretensions of the Shamans so effectually that he succeeded in expelling them from the country of the Khalkas. This was soon after followed by the Buriats in the district of Selenginsk, and by a part of the Khorintzi Buriats, and their utensils and apparel were buried. (ib.)

Lamaism.

Having described, so far as our imperfect materials permit, the old faith and ritual of former Mongols which still survives in certain localities and in the nether ranks of the race, I propose to give an account of the religious revolution which has so changed and sophisticated the whole people and altered its character since the old days with which we are chiefly concerned in this work. It is necessary to do so in some detail if the extent of this change is to be understood at all, and it is important to fully recognize how great a gap exists in many important ways between the Mongols who once devastated the world and their present descendants.

This great change has taken place in modern times, and has been due to their conversion to another faith, which had its birth in India, and which had in the course of two millenniums greatly altered its external form and substance in certain countries. The whole story is much too long, intricate, and difficult to be told in detail here, even if the necessary data for a final conclusion were available. On the other hand, the new faith in question has so permeated the whole community which dominates the Mongolian desert, and so changed its character and habits, that it is not possible to do justice to our subject without a survey of it which shall cover considerable ground.

India was the primitive home of metaphysical and transcendental psychology, and (as I believe and have urged elsewhere) the speculations of the Greeks in this field were probably originally a graft from the Indian stock. The Indian priests developed two forms of faith about the origin of men and things and the control of the universe, which they taught and practised, one suited as they deemed to the masses and the other the special province of learned men, and which may be crudely divided into religion and philosophy. The former is a complicated and intricate scheme of anthromorphic polytheism comprising benevolent and malevolent deities, who form the hierarchy of heaven and hell and have to be conciliated or rendered innocuous by endless magical processes by offerings and by prayers. Such was the religion which they taught the masses, and which was believed implicitly by them.

As in other cases in other climates (Babylonia, Egypt, and Greece, to wit), the priesthood developed the mythology, framed the ritual and superintended the sacrifices which constituted the religious system of the crowd. Apart from this they early cultivated a more abstract faith and fashioned a more or less systematic scheme, in which various forms of psychology were devised to explain the mysteries of life and being, the nature, cause, and purposes of things, and the government of the universe, in the course of which the gods were transformed into more and more human and anthropomorphic beings, and the crude mythology of the crowd was rationalized, or as the Greeks called it euhemerized.

Like the Greeks and the learned men of the European renaissance, they kept their religion and their philosophy in two separate compartments of their minds, and thus accommodated their consciences to serving two masters. Among the Hindus the greatest subtlety was exercised in dealing with the really insoluble problems of the Infinite and the Absolute. They were divided into several schools. It was among these surroundings that the founder of Buddhism was born, about 560 B.C., at a place called Kapilavastu, a city in the north-east of Oude, about 130 miles north of the city of Benares (Rhys Davids, *Buddhism*, 25).

Our oldest authorities for the beginnings of this faith are preserved in certain works written in Pali, the language of the country where its founder lived. They are found in the three so-called Pitakas or "collections", which with the commentary are known as the Canonical books, and have only in later years been translated. It will be noted that as in the case of the Christian Gospels these Pitakas were not reduced to writing for a considerable time after the death of the founder of the faith, and were preserved orally.

Suddhodana, styled the Sakyan, was a petty rajah in the army of the Sakyas, or Sacas, a tribe occupying Nepaul and its borders in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C. They are probably to be identified with a branch of the Scythian tribe called Sacæ by the classical writers. He was the father of Siddharta Gautama, styled Sakyamuni, who became "the Buddha", and who claimed to belong to the Ishraki or Solar race and to be a Kshatriya by caste. A Rajput clan is still called Gautama. (See Rockhill, *Life of the Buddha*, 37.)

In the Birdpur State, near the boundaries of the British and Nepaul Kingdoms, there was discovered a few years ago a stupa or cairn, professedly erected by the Sakyas over their share of the ashes from the cremation pyre of Sakyamuni Buddha. About 12 miles to the east of this has been found an inscribed pillar put up by the famous King Asoka as a record of his visit to the Lumbini Garden, where Sakya was traditionally born. North-west of this another

pillar has been discovered recording Asoka's gift to the cairn erected by the Sakyas over the remains of Konāgamana, whose follower Gautama Buddha claimed to have been. This shows, as Rhys Davids says, that the clan must have spread 30 miles or more southward over the plains (*Ency. Britt.*, vol. iv, 1902, p. 433). It would seem, therefore, that the Buddha was by origin a Scyth, and not a Hindu. There has been much discussion as to the date of his death. The actual date upon which it depends is that of the coronation of King Asoka, which according to the best sources took place between 262 and 259 B.C. Sakyamuni, we are told, died 218 years before that event, i.e. between 480 and 477 B.C. As he is alleged to have reached the age of 80 when he died, this puts his birth between the years 567–560. That is the date approximately as accepted by most inquirers. It is interesting to remember that his life covers the reigns of Cyrus and Darius the First, Kings of Persia, the last of whom, among other successes, secured a notable one in India, a portion at least of which is mentioned by Herodotus among his Satrapies. Inasmuch as he was also master of Asia Minor and its maritime towns, we can hardly doubt that in his time there was considerable mingling of the various races which occupied the area from the Ægean to the Ganges. Darius was assuredly also dominant in the nomadic camping-grounds and frontier districts where the Parthians and Scyths or Sacæ lived. There must have been a large interchange of blood and of ideas between different parts of his vast empire, with the resulting consequence that a great renaissance in men's thoughts and conduct no doubt took place, as it has always done elsewhere in other parts of the world under similar conditions, and many fresh ideas thus germinated in both religion and philosophy. In Greece a very new departure then took place under the teaching of Pythagoras, who, as I tried to show many years ago, was apparently the first preacher of Metempsychosis there, and almost certainly derived his inspiration from Indian thought, as also in all probability did the contemporary Eleatic school of transcendental philosophers.

An especially extraordinary new departure was initiated by Sakyamuni; so remarkable that it seems difficult to believe that he had no predecessors, and the Asoka inscription, above quoted, written within little more than two centuries of the Sage's death, shows that in his time it was certainly believed that he had a Master whose teaching he followed.. There are strong and growing reasons for believing that Jainism, which has many elements in common with Buddhism, preceded it, as Colebrooke and my old friends Edward Thomas and Vincent Smith always urged, and that in fact Buddhism was a reformed sect of Jainism.

It is a mistake to speak of the original and unadulterated Buddhism, as propounded by Sakyamuni, as a religion or a system of theology. The aim and purpose of "the Master", as the Buddhists called their founder, was not merely to found a new speculative school of philosophy. It was much more practical than that. Having concluded, as the great Jewish preacher found, that life is largely vanity and vexation of spirit, in which disappointment, pain, and suffering, mental and bodily, are the chief ingredients, he claimed to have also found a remedy for it which he wished to impart to his fellows, who were mostly Epicureans and seekers of pleasure, namely in a system of rigid asceticism, such as was practised later by St. Anthony and his brethren and by many communities of monks who also withdrew from the world. It is one of the great riddles of history how such a solution should have attracted so many followers, and we can hardly doubt that it was the example of a life pervaded by goodness and thought for others, rather than his speculations that had most to do with it.

It virtually ignored all gods, it had no temples or priests or sacrifices, and was essentially a largely agnostic idealism which threw away ritual and sacerdotalism altogether (Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 7): a system of supersensual abstraction coupled with an altruistic and ideal ethical teaching. Sakyamuni was, in fact, a kind of Socrates, who left his disciples a great number of aphorisms on conduct and morals, and also, like the earlier Greek philosophers, such as those of the school of Velia, ignored or spoke slightingly of the popular gods and applied transcendental methods and reasoning to the fundamental problems of ontology and morals.

It was after discussion with the professors of other Hindu systems (as the tradition states), that he found them all wanting, and eventually determined to renounce his home, his young wife and his child, and all his worldly prospects and wealth, to adopt the life of an ascetic, to converge his thoughts on the great riddle of life and to try and solve it by detaching himself from worldly things and directing his concentrated thoughts on the possibility of vanquishing human frailty and pain, mental and physical, by introspection and self-contemplation, and untrammelled directly by any dogmatic religious faith. He thus placed himself in sharp antagonism with popular sentiment and a very powerful priesthood on a most critical matter. His view was sharply contrasted also with that of the Brahmins in their ultimate aims. The latter taught a most exclusive egoism. Like the earlier Christian monks, they worked and prayed for their own salvation only, while the Buddhists had in view the salvation of others. This was not all. In addition to his mystical metaphysics based on self-contemplation, Sakyamuni

promulgated a very practical system of ethics based on the far-reaching postulate of the universal brotherhood of men, with a code of morals and conduct infinitely surpassing anything of the kind previously published and very largely forestalling what has been widely deemed the product of Christianity. In one very notable respect he put himself in direct opposition to very widespread prejudices both in the East and West. He insisted among his followers on the extinction of all castes and other barriers between different men and communities, and extorted from them the concession that all Buddhists (whatever their previous worldly status) were equal. This was the very opposite of the Brahmins, whose policy was founded on a separation of men into castes with a special exaltation of the priestly one. It will be remembered that the latter taught that the Sudras (as the Vedanta and Sutras proclaimed), were entirely excluded from participation in the benefits promised in the Vedas. This was five centuries before the same doctrine was preached in Palestine by another great teacher. It was a splendid thought to have been evolved in the world as it was then constituted, but only practicable where races were more nearly akin in blood and perhaps more equal in numbers than they were in India at that time, where the overwhelming of the white man by the dark one was inevitable unless protected by such barriers as the denial of the connubium and the stringent separation of classes. This was more easy because Buddha insisted, as we shall see, on his followers being celibates.

Sakyamuni apparently accepted certain postulates which were held by other schemes of philosophy then existing. He accepted the doctrines of the immortality of other living beings, as well as of the human soul, and it thus became a mortal sin to wilfully destroy life in animals as in man. He apparently also took over from Hinduism the notion of the transmigration of souls, by which death (as he understood it), meant, not extinction, but the passage of the soul into the body of other men or of animals, according to a man's conduct in the world; a form, in fact, of purgatory, by which the soul could be purified and made more and more ideal until it reached the final goal of the good and wise, namely, to rid itself of all the frailties and troubles and cares of humanity and to reach the home of everlasting peace.

His proposed object as a teacher was to rescue mankind from the pains and penalties of life, and he bases his scheme on what he styled the four great Truths: (1) The existence of suffering. (2) The cause of suffering. This he declared to be Desire, which is never satisfied but ever growing more and more. (3) The suppression of desire,

which he claimed to be possible and to involve an end to all pain and suffering. (4) The way by which desire can be suppressed.

This "way" involved four conditions: (1) The knowledge of and obedience to the "Good Law" and the precepts it propounded. (2) The acceptance of the practice and discipline of Buddhism and of its scheme of morality. (3) Good language. (4) Good actions. The result he declared would be for those who had deserved and won it, the attainment of Nirvana, while persistent ill-doers were doomed to oblivion or degradation.

The meaning of Nirvana has been a subject of contention since Buddhism was first discussed in the West.

The one thing it certainly meant was that it was the term and end of the long chain of metempsychosis which each individual had to pass along in the course of his existence and the final extinction of all human endowments, gifts, and passions. Hence, by many it has been treated as the final extinction of life and being. This is not what the Buddhist teachers, however, imply. It has led to much discussion, and, in fact, invokes a very evasive metaphysical paradox. It is defined as a condition in which the person who enters it has lost all human attributes and predicates. It has been equated with the Absolute of German Transcendentalism, while others have defined it as a Universal Negation or Nothingness; others, again, have protested that this is not what Buddha meant, and that one positive predicate at all events remains in his teaching about it. Thus we read that when the King of Sagala asked the sage Nagasana if Buddha really existed, he replied, "The most meritorious does exist. The great King Nirvana *is*." As Barth says: "Les pelèrins Chinois Fa hian et Hiouen Thsang, qui visitèrent l'Inde au cinquième et au septième siècles, qui étaient des croyants orthodoxes au Nirvana complet de Buddha, relatent pourtant de lui des miracles et même des apparitions comme s'il n'avant pas cessé d'exister, et il est incontestible que, pour beaucoup de Bouddhists d'autrefois, le Nirvana n'a été que que ce qu'il est pour la plupart de ceux d'aujourd'hui une sorte de repos éternel, de béatitude negative" (*Religions de l'Inde*, 69). The issue created a great division among the Indian Buddhists, and presently Nagarjuna, who lived in the thirteenth or fourteenth century, made an attempt to reconcile them by proclaiming that it is not possible to know which contention is right. By a sophistic nihilism he dissolved every problem into theses and antitheses, and denied both as existent or non-existent and declared that the predicate of "being" admits of no definition or formula (Waddell, 126). Nagarjuna thus forestalled some of Hegel's antinomies many centuries before him.

This being the final goal of the good and faithful, it would seem

that for the evil and wicked the only bourne was a succession of more and more degraded lives, with final oblivion or extinction. Having worked out and accepted this scheme of life Sakyamuni entirely discarded, or rather ignored, as I have said, the pantheon of gods and devils, both of the Vedaic religion and of the other Indian faiths, discarded all ritual implying their existence and substituted for them a great ethical code, by obedience or disobedience to which a man could become the master of his own fate. In this he partially resembles Confucius, who was a great ethical teacher and virtually substituted ethics for religion.

His ethics were assuredly of a very high standard, especially so considering that they were published five centuries before Christ. Goodness, he proclaimed, consisted in good intention, purity of heart, benevolence and kindly feeling, and in acting, with pity, patience, and unselfishness towards all men; and he sums up the essence of his teaching in the phrase, "Do no evil, do good and purify thyself." The whole level of his standards are as lofty as any that human endeavour has hitherto reached.

Instead of the Hindu gods, whom he virtually ignores, he propounded the cult and reverence of the good and wise, i.e. of the saints of former times, and especially of those who had received everlasting peace by the route he had pointed out, and which he had travelled, and instructions for which he left behind a full exposition in his teaching. This was not written down for a long time but presented orally, and like the Christian teaching was rapidly overlaid by glosses and supplements.

It is perfectly plain that however attractive his ethics (which may be looked upon as equating with the ultimate foundation of our own standards) in his philosophy Sakyamuni was soaring far beyond the reach and comprehension of the great mass of the ignorant and simple men and women about him, who could not grasp abstractions, and could only follow very concrete thoughts. As he left it, his system could not become a world-religion, nor, indeed, did he so far as we can see address himself to the world at large, but only to the body of learned scholars who had accepted and then practised his maxims and precepts, and had led (not solitary lives like the other Indian ascetics) but had lived in communities. He, in fact, invented a form of monkery in which men took vows and practised asceticism together, which was again a great anticipation of Christianity.

On his scholars he further imposed among other things the duties of absolute chastity, the living by alms, the sacrifice of all their passions and perpetually doing good. He thus antedated by many centuries the methods which the Christian monks afterwards

adopted. It was these Buddhist monks who, like the followers of Columbanus and the Dominican and Franciscan friars among the Christians became the most effective and popular instruments of propaganda, especially assisted as they were by their democratic theories, their avowed poverty, their humility and untiring zeal. They travelled far afield, much farther than is generally thought.

It was especially to his brotherhood of monks that he addressed himself in his teaching. The way was in theory open to all, but it was only when they had reached certain high stages that they came at all near winning the prize, and it was imperative that the first of these later stages should be the entry into the brotherhood, "the Church" of Buddhism. He did not deny that the journey was difficult, any more than Christ did when He spoke of the narrow way and the fewness of those who found it. Those who had found it were in Buddhist's scheme known as Arhats, venerables, or saints; they were held to have arrived at the penultimate stage of their manifold mortal pilgrimage.

The last steps towards Arhatship, we are expressly told, were only attainable by those who first became celibate monks or nuns and involved four stages, each of which might last for many metempsychoses. Into these last stages the only means of entry is by meditation (*dhyani*). The first step of the final stage was named Srotapatti or entering the stream, and referred to his having become a convert to Buddhism, whence he was styled Sotapanro, "one who has entered the stream," after which he can only be reborn as a man of God and not as an animal, although his metempsychoses may yet last countless ages. In the second stage he is called Sakrid Agamin, meaning one who will return again to earth but has freed himself from the first five fetters. The third stage is An-agamai, that is, one who will not come back to earth and can only be born in a Brahma heaven, where he passes into Nirvana. An Arhat having concluded his earthly life passed into Nirvana.

The Arhats are also known to the Jains. In after times the number of recognized Arhats became greater and greater, and they are much cultivated in China, where great numbers of them are represented in the temples. Among these the five hundred disciples Sakyamuni has an honoured place.

After the master died his organization was carried further by his scholars, *inter alia*, by the creation of a method of corporate government and discipline, involving the appointment of a series of patriarchs who succeeded himself and each other after his death. Presently his teaching was modified and matters of importance to the whole order were discussed at certain great gatherings or councils of his followers; another anticipation of Christianity. A great event in

the history of Buddhism, was the conversion of the great Indian king and conqueror Asoka, who belonged to the Maurya dynasty and who lived about 250 years B.C. He became a devoted promulgator of Buddhism. His wide conquests enabled him to spread the new faith very widely over the Indian peninsula and even to Ceylon, where he had sent his son, and from whence it presently passed to Burmah and Siam, while in the north it extended beyond the borders of India to Afghanistan, Bactria, and Kashmir.

Asoka's memorial stones with their famous inscriptions in Pali are found in a large part of India, and have been supposed to witness to a very great extension of Buddhism among the indigenous races there. This seems to me incredible. Pali could only be read in a large part of the country where Asoka's pillars occur, by a select class of monks.

I cannot help thinking that the effect of Asoka's influence in converting the natives both in the Southern Dravidian countries and also in the greater part of Hindustan was very local and confined largely to the inmates of the monasteries. Except in the district in which Pali was the vernacular dialect it was no doubt limited to small colonies and settlements, while the great mass of the population remained attached to their old crude faith. Presently these colonies in large parts of India were absorbed by the more attractive Hinduism. As the evidence shows, this was not caused by a persecuting movement on the part of the Brahmins, but by simple absorption into the older faiths which were themselves partially modified by it.

It survived in two widely separated districts, Ceylon and its Buddhist colonies in Burmah and Siam and on the Himalayan frontier, especially in Kashmir, and the lands west of the Indus and in Bengal and its borders in the north. The isolation of these widely separated areas led, as I have said, to considerable variations in the interpretation of the master's teaching and of adaptations to local conditions, which were met by the assembling of great councils, the precursors of the Christian councils of later days, which kept up a certain unity for a while.

In regard to the disappearance of Buddhism from other parts of India where it has left large traces, Barth puts the case very clearly: "Tout tend à prouver que le Bouddhisme est mort d'épaissement. . . . Il est incontestable qu'il a été frappé d'une décrépitude précoce. . . . Il ne peut réclamer une part appréciable ni dans la poésie ni dans la science Hindoue; nulle part il n'a créer une littérature nationale ni s'elever au dessus du conte populaire et de la chronique. Bien des causes ont pu contribuer à reduire le Bouddhisme à cette monotone et incurable médiocrité. Il ne serait pas difficile d'en découvrir dans la doctrine même de Çâkyamuni, dans son aversion

pour le surnaturel, dans ses conceptions trop abstraites pour un peuple sensuel et d'un imagination exubérante, dans sa façon malsaine, surtout de poser et de résoudre le problème de la vie . . . l'ardeur conquérante des premiers siècles sassoupi peu et peur sous l'influence du quiétisme et de la discipline . . . toute originalité de la pensée finit par disparaître . . . les intelligences s'usérent dans la scholastique où s'endormirent dans lé routine, et le temps arriva ou il ne se produisit même plus d'hérésies. Le Bouddhisme de Ceylon n'a plus guère changé depuis l'époque de Buddhaghosa [fifth century], et celui de Nepaul ou plutot de l'Hindoustan n'a rien trouvé de mieux pour vivre que d'en arriver à une sorte de fusion avec le Çivaism. C'est dans cet état d'apathie que le Bouddhisme eut à subir la concurrence des sects Neo-Brahmaniques qui elles se renouvelaient sans cesse, et à chaque transformation rentraient dans l'arène avec l'ardeur des néophytes. La plupart de ces sectes préchaient comme lui, l'égalité religieuse de tous les hommes, qu'a figure de Bouddha elles opposaient les figures, moins parfaites sans doute, mais tous aussi personelles tous aussi capables de provoquer une dévotion passionnée de leurs dieux à biographie de Mahâdeva, de Krishna, de Rama pour ne rien dire de leurs déesses. Elles savaient aussi bien que lui parler aux yeux avec leurs temples, leurs images, leurs fêtes pompeuses et théatrales, qu'elles possédaient de plus une fable splendide, tendis qu'il n'avait réussi qu'a s'affubler d'une mythologie abstraite et factice ; enfin qu'elles avaient à leurs têtes les Brâhmanes et à leur service la poésie populaire que leurs croyances faisaient corps avec la légende nationale et rappelaient tous les souvenirs de gloire et d'héroisme de l'ancienne épopée on put comprendre que le Bouddhisme elevait succomber. Pour vivre il lui eut fallu avoir de les apôtres des anciens jours, et il n'avait plus que les bonzes" (op. cit. 82).

It was inevitable that there should arise in a community with such a neighbour as Hinduism and consisting of so many detached monasteries occupied by many thousands of monks, all more or less devoting a large part of their lives to abstract thoughts and investigations on ontology and the ultimate aims of life, there should arise great differences within the community separating it into different schools. Notably the great question of all, the ultimate bourne of the human soul after death, upon which "the master" had left very little teaching that was positive, however much he had written about the method of reaching it. The history of Christianity offers us a very useful parallel on the subject. Those who have not examined the literature hardly realize how various and profound and really-impassable were the gulfs that separated the teaching of various Christian teachers on the most critical

matters, and which all the efforts of councils and of revised creeds could not efface. It was easier to excommunicate and punish heretics than to exterminate heresies; in many cases the heretics initiated a new departure, which was accepted by the orthodox. Both orthodox and heretics were, in fact, dealing with issues which were impossible of final solution and ended in antinomies. The origin of evil; the freedom of the human will; the unity or discreetness of things; the existence of matter apart from phenomena, and of an objective world apart from a subjective one, etc. It was such transcendental issues (and there were many of them) that pursued the mediaeval Christian philosophers ranged in the irreconcilable armies of the Realists and Nominalists; that separated Augustine's fatalism, of which Calvin's was the legitimate heir, from the great crowds who remained Pelagians, which we all are now, but who were then treated like other dissidents as heretical outcasts. Among Christians the problem was solved, not by answering the heretics who would not concur in forms of mere words, but by burning them and thus crushing out inquiry and causing the paralysis of thought which followed the victory of those who formulated the shibboleths of orthodoxy. Among the Buddhists the sword and the stake were not employed to enforce orthodoxy, but only a very acute and subtle rhetoric which only the highly trained could follow.

As time went on the Buddhist monks became more and more venturesome and daring in their flights of imagination, and in their attempts to find some rational key to the puzzles that faced them. In the earlier days when their numbers were fewer and they were poorer, and their adhesion to the master's authority more exacting, they were largely content to devote their teaching to ethical subjects, to regulating their lives according to his rules and adhering as closely as possible to his ascetic standards, and largely neglected the more trying problems of ontology and metaphysics. As they became more numerous and wealthier and had more leisure and learning they were not content with such simple thoughts and lives, any more than the scholars of Anselm and Bernard and Aquinas and Ockham and their brethren were, with the teaching of the Gospels. The two tendencies among the Buddhists were grouped under two famous schools. The older and more conservative with a simpler ritual and a more ascetic discipline styled their teaching Hinayana, generally translated the Lesser Vehicle or narrow way, while their rivals called theirs Mahayana or the Greater Vehicle, i.e. the broad way. These great schools were again divided into a number of lesser ones, each with a name and distinguished by the pursuit of some particular theory or cult or some special ritual practices. The

Hinayana sect comprised the conservatives who followed Buddha's teaching more closely, and was contained in the Canon written in Pali, while their rivals followed the much enlarged Canon contained in the Sanscrit translation.

The Mahayana growth, says Waddell, seems to have first developed within the Mahasanghika sect or " Great Congregation ", a heretical sect which arose among the monks of Vaisali at the Council held in that place about a hundred years after Sakyamuni's death. Avagosha, who probably lived at the end of the first century A.D., wrote a work entitled *On Raising of the Faith of Mahayana.* Its great propounder, however, was Nagargurva, probably a pupil of Asvaghosha, who succeeded the latter in the Patriarchate (Waddell, 9). As I have said, it made great concessions to the simple and superstitious, and addressed itself not only to the few, like primitive Buddhism, but extended its promises to a much wider circle, hence its name. The struggle between the adherents of the Little and the Great Vehicle was long and protracted, but eventually the champions of laxity won the day. It was accepted as orthodox at the Council summoned by Kanishka, *vide infra* and became dominant throughout the greater part of Northern India and notably in Peshawur and Udyana, and in part also affected the Buddhism of Ceylon itself and its satellite Indo-China.

The same change had taken place in the primitive religion of the Aryans, namely Vedaism, when it also adopted a large infusion from the primitive faith of the aborigines of India and was transmogrified into Hinduism. In Hinduism itself similar changes were induced, as may be recognized in the transformation of the earlier type of Krishna and the earlier form of Shiva into later and more humane forms, and in a modified ethical teaching probably derived from Buddhism. A similar change to that in Buddhism also took place in the early centuries of Christianity, when the simple message and ritual of the Gospels was sophisticated by great accessions from Paganism and eventually blossomed into the faith and practice of mediaeval Europe. A second example of the same process was when the Jesuit missionaries in China in the eighteenth century, to the scandal of many people, made large compromises with the religion of the country in order to gain recruits.

I will now give a short notice of some of the changes induced by the Mahayana teaching.

These started as early as the first century, and were built up into a portentous structure of great intricacy out of the simple, original story of the Buddha. They were chiefly notable for the extension of the metaphysical machinery by which Sakyamuni's modest postulates

were much increased in number and complexity. It was held that after the lapse of long periods of time new Buddhas, with special gifts and qualifications, gifted with omniscience, were required to develop the teaching of the older one and to adapt it. It was further held that such a coming Buddha was actually in existence, not on earth but in heaven, awaiting the last stage of his development as a Buddha. Such an inchoate Buddha was called a Bodhisatva. In this case he was known as Amitabha or Manjusri, and was held to be living in a special heaven in the west, to which all the suns hasten. This became the Happy Land sought by the great body of the Buddhists of Tibet, Mongolia, China, and Japan, where there is no birth or death, no change or suffering. Quite a number of Bodhisatvas were presently postulated, some of whom had lived as a kind of supermen on earth and others lived in heaven in absolute and imperishable existence, to whom special names were given (Waddell, 132).

Presently the Buddha Sakyamuni was quintupled by the addition of four other former Buddhas. This, says Waddell, was to adapt him to other mystical groups of five. Presently to the number of the former Buddhas was added a series of Heroic Buddhas or Tathagathas numbering seven or even nine, while in the preface to the Jataka stories they are increased to twenty-six, all of them save Sakyamuni metaphysical creations of a later time, to whom and in whom were supposed to be enbodied certain abstract virtues. In keeping with their imaginary character they are given extravagant size and length of earthly life. Over these Celestial Buddhas was, in these later times, placed another metaphysical creation answering to a First Cause and known as the Adi Buddha, while other series of Buddhas, i.e. the Buddhas of Confession and Medical or Æsculapian Buddhas, were invented.

The number of heavenly Bodhisatvas was similarly increased virtually without limit and they also were made the embodiments and patrons of certain virtues, and overseers of various parts of creation. In later times, as we shall see, these Bodhisats were paired with female Bodhisats or female energies, all except Manjusri, the sweet-voiced, the God of Wisdom, who was strictly celibate. He is the only Bodhisat known to primitive Buddhism and the only one recognized in Southern Buddhism. These Celestial Bodhisats may, says Waddell, be considered as the active reflexes from the relatively impassive Buddhas, and in this way they are the opposite of the other class of Buddhist saints, the Arhats.

To obtain the intelligence (Bodhi) of a Bodhisatva sufficiently endowed to assist in the salvation of all living beings the transcendental virtues of charity, morality, patience, industry,

meditation, and wisdom, to which are sometimes added method, prayer, fortitude, and foretelling, must be practised (Waddell, 138).

No woman, eunuch or hermaphrodite, nor yet a layman who was not a monk, could become a human Bodhisatva, and he had to pass through many lives in the inchoate state of such a future potentially Buddha or Bodhisatva before he could attain Buddhahood. Thus Sakyamuni's former lives, as depicted in the Jatakas, refer to his careers as a Bodhisatva, during which he is represented as having formerly been incarnate in many famous beings. They are enumerated in the preface to the Jataka stories.[1] It was by the discipline he practised and wisdom he acquired by this passage through so many famous ancestors in the flesh, ranging over many cycles of years, that Sakyamuni became the miraculously endowed person he was claimed to be. It was after his existence as King Vassantara that he ended his earthly series of lives and was born again in the Tushita heaven some time after. While he was still living there as the future Buddha the Gods called *Loka byuhas*, who lived in a heaven of sensual pleasure, realized that another cycle of 1,000 years was upon them, and that a Buddha was to be born in the world. The gods of the ten thousand worlds thereupon came together in one place, and ascertained after omens had appeared confirming their choice that he fulfilled all the requisites, and prayed him to be the Buddha. Thereupon all came together in one world, with the Catum Maharajahs and the Sakka, the Suyama, the Santusita, the Paranimmita, Vasarati, and the Maha Brahmas of each several world, and approached the future Buddha saying: "'It was not to acquire the glory of a Sakka, a Māra, a Brahma or a Universal Monarch that you fulfilled the ten perfections, but it was to gain omniscience in order to save the world. The time for your Buddhaship has arrived.' Having assented to their wish Sakyamuni said that Buddhas had only been born hitherto in the warrior caste or the Brahman caste, and as the warrior caste were then the most thought of, he would select to be born again on earth in that caste and also that King Suddhodana should be his father, while his mother should be Queen Maha Maya, who had fulfilled the perfections through a hundred thousand cycles and kept the five precepts from the day of her birth. He continued to live with the

[1] i.e. the Brahmin Akitti, the Brahmin Samkha, King Dhananjaya, Maha Sudassina, Maha Govinda, King Nimi, Prince Canda, Visayha the treasurer, King Sivi, King Vessantara, as the Elephant King Silava, the Snake King Campeyya, the Snake King Bhüridatta, the Elephant King Chadanta, Prince Alinaisatu son of King Jayaddisa, Prince Somanassa, Prince Hatthiefale, the Pandit Ayoghasa, the Pandit Vidhura, the Pandit Maha Govinda, the Pandit Kuddala, the Pandit Araka, the wandering ascetic Bodhi, the Pandit Maha Sandha, the Pandit Sanaka, etc., etc. Warren, *Buddhism in Translations*, 35, 37, 39, etc., etc.

gods of the Tushita heaven for a while, when he dismissed them he entered the Nandaria grove of the Tushita heaven, "for in each of the heavens there is a Nandaria garden grove and it was while living there that he was conceived in the womb of Queen Maha Maya" (ib. 42).

Such is a sample of the fabulous and fantastic stories, of which there are about 550 in existence. At least one of them was translated into Greek and adopted by the Christians as a bona fide saint's life under the title of "Barlaam and Josaphat". I quote this as a sample only to show how under the Mahayana teaching the simple story of Buddha, the great teacher, had been entirely sophisticated and buried under a mass of accretions including the postulate of myriads of Gods quite inconsistent with what we know of him and his teaching from the earliest and most reputable materials. It was after it had been thus sophisticated that Buddhism was presently adopted by the Mongols, and we cannot understand or appreciate the national faith of the latter without having the fact continually before us.

This development took place almost entirely in the northern districts where Buddhism flourished, although it could not help, in a slight manner comparatively, also affecting the southern and eastern Buddhists. It received a great impetus when the famous Scythic king Kanishka became the ruler of Northern India and set out as it would seem to convert the special cult of a monastic Buddhism into a world-religion and patronized changes which made it more acceptable to the crowd.

The changes involved in the acceptance of the Mahayana system into Northern Buddhism were, in fact, though not in name, a reintroduction of a form of polytheism with the substitution of Sakyamuni and his more famous disciples for the older gods by converting them into quasi deities who were worshipped. As Waddell says, its deification of Buddha and his attributes led to the creation of metaphysical Buddhas and celestial Bodhisatvas or potential Buddhas and to the introduction of innumerable demons and deities as objects of worship with their attendant idolatry and sacerdotalism, both of which Buddha had expressly condemned and to the growth of myth and legend and of various theistic developments. Thus as early as the first century Buddha is treated as having existed from all eternity and as having been without beginning.

One of the earliest forms given to the greatest of these creatures, the metaphysical Buddhas, was, as we have seen, Amitabha, the coming Buddha or Buddha of Boundless Light, who lived in a specially attractive heaven. It evidently incorporated a sun myth, as was indeed to be expected when the chief patrons of the early Mahayana

Buddhism, the Scythians and Indo-Persians, were a race of sun-worshippers. The representation of the divine Buddha in human form seems to date from this period, namely, about four or five centuries after Buddha's death, and was followed by a variety of other polytheistic inventions, the creation of which was probably facilitated by the Greek influences then prevalent in Northern India, which also doubtless imported anthropomorphic ideas into the Divine beings. At this time also were invented the various sagas or stories reporting the life history and adventures of Sakyamuni in his various lives as a Bodhisatva during metempsychosis, and were known as Jataka stories, in which wonderful myths and fantastic events were reported. Different forms of Sakyamuni's image originally intended to represent different epochs in his life, as told in these Jataka stories, were afterwards idealized into various celestial Buddhas, from whom the human Buddhas were held to be derived as material reflexes (Waddell, 12–13).

This view of Mr. Waddell has been confirmed and much amplified in the fine work of Foucher recently published. M. Foucher, in his admirable dissection of the earlier sculptures of the Buddhists, has pointed out very clearly that while these sculptures represent the different stages in the life history of Sakhyamuni, as long as he was living a mundane life and passing through his various stages of metempsychosis, and which are described in the so-called Jataka stories; there are no incidents represented after he reached Nirvana. The former compares the practice of the early Christians with that of the earliest Buddhists in representing their great teacher after he had reached Nirvana during some centuries by symbols only and not by a human figure. In the Christian catacombs of the three first centuries we find only symbols such as the fish, the lamb, the dove, etc., of Christ. The first anthromorphic figure of Christ occurs in the catacombs of St. Calixtus and is dated in 313.

'At a famous council held at Jalandhar in Northern India at the end of the first century A.D., which adopted the teaching of the Mahayana School, under the auspices of king Kanishka, a far-reaching change took place in the Buddhist faith in those parts of Northern India ruled by this great king, and notably in Kashmir and the lands west of the Indus. This led to the translation of the Buddhist's scriptures (which had only hitherto existed in Pali) into Sanscrit, thus making them accessible to the Hindu priesthood and the educated classes out of the Pali area. This meant a greater change than might appear, since Pali was deemed a sacred language by the early Buddhists, having been that of its founder. Kanishka himself (as we can see from the

Pantheon of Iranian and Hindu gods on his coins, among whom Buddha takes his place), no doubt favoured a syncretic amalgamation of the gods of different subject-peoples with a common Pantheon like that of the early Roman emperors did at the same time. Meanwhile fresh colonies were sent out by the evangelizing monks, who in this matter also, forestalled the Christian missionaries, and *inter alia* Buddhism spread to China, which it definitely reached about the year A.D. 61,[1] and apparently also spread widely among the Scyths and even further west. Meanwhile the break between the north and south continued, and was intensified by the translation of the Buddhist Scriptures just named.

It was at this time that Buddhism like Hinduism was largely metamorphosed. Sakyamuni the monk and rigid ascetic became more and more assimilated to a real deity, and the whole metaphysical machinery which forms such an important part of later Buddhism was developed by crowds of monks seeking for light in further transcendentalism and abstractions. Hence arose quite a galaxy of divine beings corresponding more nearly to Christian saints than to the gods hitherto worshipped in India, and which, except in name, were really beneficent gods. This in effect meant the reinstatement of polytheism, the very antithesis of the original Buddhism, which was in essence a system of agnostic ethics. At first, as we have seen, it was not a faith adapted to the many but to the few; and only to be won by those who could follow the master's difficult road, who could alone reach his goal, which could only be reached by the extinction of human passions and pains in mystical self-hypnotism and contemplation. If it was to spread further and become a world-religion (as the Germans say) and continue to live, it was necessary to attract to itself the crowd to which Sakyamuni had not directly preached. It was necessary to have a double religion, one for the instructed and one for the uninstructed. One for a caste of monks, who alone could understand it, and which

[1] It will be opportune to insert here a short notice of the earliest introduction of Buddhism into China. According to the legend among the Chinese Buddhists, it was first preached to them by an Avatara of the great Bodhisatva Manjusri on the mountain of U Tai Shan in the present province of Shansi. The legend was probably an old one, for already in the fifth century an Emperor of the second Wei dynasty, who controlled the country about Lake Baikal and was probably nearly related to the Mongols, built a monastery on this mountain, which was restored in the thirteenth century by the Mongol emperor. Already in 217 B.C. a "Sramana" from India appeared in the province of Shensi, and it would seem clear that about the year Anno Domini there were Buddhists on the frontier. The first patronage of the faith by an Emperor was in the year 64. It was then called by the Chinese Shi kiao or Foe kiao, the cult of Shi or Foe. Among the Japanese and Europeans the Buddhist missionaries are called Bonzes, which is derived according to Schott from the Chinese Fan-seng, meaning a monk from India (Schott, *Der Buddhism in Hochasien und in China*, p. 19).

often meant the rationalizing of old popular superstitions; the other a religion mixed with a great deal of materialism, with very materialized gods and devils, heaven and hell, and therefore apprehended by the crowd, which had imbibed this kind of religion for many generations. This was a special necessity, because of the sharp competition continually going on by Hinduism, the privileges of whose priesthood were threatened by the new faith as was the caste system on which they rested.

Hence in the north there arose a closer and closer alliance of Buddhism with the old cosmogony and the old polytheism, which eventually entirely changed its outward aspects and its ritual and put in the background the moral teaching and the ontology of the great teacher. The same thing has occurred among other civilized nations, in Egypt and Mesopotamia and China, in Greece and Rome and in the Mediaeval Christian Church, which all adapted and incorporated large sections of pagan teaching and ritual not their own and in regard to the last converted the simple teaching and simple ritual of the Church of Bethlehem into the pomp and materialism of the Church of St. Peter's with its myriads of saints, echoes of the old gods, its fantastic hell, and its almost as fantastic heaven.

Buddhism, like the original religion of the Aryans, namely that of the Vedas, had, in fact, to make a compromise with the older popular religion of the crowd. It was more easy for Vedaism to make this change than for Buddhism. It was itself based on a polytheistic nucleus, while primitive Buddhism entirely discarded the old gods and was agnostic. Hinduism eventually won the day in a large part of India and its borders, as we have seen, because its rival was too abstract and difficult and unattractive for the crowd. In parts of Bengal, along the flanks of the Himalayas, and in Kashmir and its neighbourhood it lived on and greatly flourished, but in a largely altered form. Meanwhile, it remained in much the old shape in Ceylon, Burmah, Siam, China, and Corea, and was transported in the seventh century to Japan, but even there it absorbed a good deal of " the Great Vehicle " (*vide infra*).

About A.D. 500 Asaga, the brother of Vasubandhu, a monk of Gandhara (Peshawur), imported the notion of the pantheistic cult of Yoga into Buddhism. It had been introduced into Hinduism in 150 B.C. by Patanjali. (Waddell, op. cit., 15.)

This meant that by a process of self-hypnotizing and the use of mantras or magical spells, formulæ and charms a man could secure the eight powers called Siddhi, i.e. make his body lighter, heavier, smaller, or larger than anything in the world, take any shape and reach any place, and thus control natural laws. This power

Asaga claimed he had learnt from " the Coming Buddha ", whom he had visited in the Tushita heaven.

About the end of the sixth century A.D. Tantrism or Shivaistic mysticism with its worship of female energies, spouses of the Hindu god Shiva, began to corrupt both Buddhism and Hinduism. Consorts were allotted to the several Bodhisatvas and most of the gods and demons Buddhism had absorbed were given wild and terrible forms and sometimes monstrous aspects, representing the supposed different moods of each divinity at different times. It brought with it organized worship, litanies, and pompous ritual. In the middle of the seventh century A.D. India contained many images of divine Buddhas and Bodhisatvas with their female energies and other Buddhist gods and demons, as we know from the narrative of the Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang. It was in this latter utterly sophisticated form that Buddhism eventually made its way to Tibet. Tibet (the navel of the earth as its inhabitants call it), is formed of the great mountain ranges and plateaux which separate India from the steppes of Central Asia, and is often referred to by the Mongols as " the land of snow " and contrasted with their own " land of grass ". Its name was first known in the west through the Arabs, and was probably derived by them from the Turks and Mongols, by whom it is known as Tibet or Tobbat. Marco Polo calls it Thebett. It is probably derived from the indigenous name for its inhabitants, i.e. Bod or Bodpa. The primitive religion of the country, which was displaced in a great measure by Buddhism, was largely a system of sorcery and of methods of exorcising spirits closely akin to Shamanism and known to the natives as Bon. Some have supposed it akin to the early Chinese religion of Taoism, which is possible.

The general notion is that Buddhism was first introduced into Tibet by fugitives from Kashmir, Transoxiana, Bukharia, and Caubul, who had been driven out from those countries by the Muhammedan Arabs. This is not the native tradition. The latter attributes the introduction to the famous Tibetan king, Srong Tsang Gampo, who was born in A.D. 617, five years before the flight of Muhammed. He became a convert in consequence of marrying two devoted Buddhist princesses from Nepaul and China, and his minister, Sami Bhota, invented the Tibetan writing and translated certain of the Indian religious books into that language. His alphabet was a fantastic copy of that then prevailing in North India (Waddell, 22). During the reign of Srong Tsang's successors the Tibetans had a successful war with China, and advanced as far as the middle of the Yellow River, and in 763 captured the capital of China, Si Ngan fu, and, on the other hand, advanced as far as Samarkand

and subjected Khotan, Kashgar, Aksu, and Kharashar. It was then that the Buddhists planted themselves firmly in the country, and especially under Thi Srong Detsan, who reigned from 740 to 786. A large number of Indian "doctors" on his invitation entered the country, and notably the Bodhisatva Santa Rakshi; other companions came from the land of Sakhora, which, according to Ksoma and Schmidt, was a town in Bengal. A more famous person whom the King specially invited, and who was a noted exorcist, was called Padma Sambhava, who came from Udyana. Under his direction and in 749 the great temple at Sanyas was built. It is described as a wonderful building of mingled Indian and Chinese styles. It still remains one or the largest temples in Tibet, and is situated two or three days' journey from Lhasa. Ssanang Setzen calls it the temple of Bema, doubtless Bhima, the wife of Shiva is meant. It was the first Tibetan monastery in the country and was modelled after the Indian Odanpura at Magadha. The king was helped in this by his family priest, the Indian monk, Santa rakshita, who had advised him to invite Padma Sambhava, who personally instituted the order of Lamas there, of which he became the first abbot. "Lama," says Waddell, "is a Tibetan word meaning the 'superior one', and corresponds to the Sanskrit Uttara." It was first restricted to the Abbot and highest dignitaries, and afterwards extended to all other monks. It was under the influence of these famous men that a number of Indian Buddhist works were imported.

He was, says Waddell, a clever member of the popular Tantra Yogacarya sect and a resident of the great college of Nalanda, the Oxford of Buddhist India. He went to Tibet in A.D. 747 on the invitation of Thi Srong Devtsan, whose mother was a Chinese princess and a Buddhist, and became the founder of Lamaism. He is now deified and is almost as celebrated in Lamaism as Buddha himself, and among certain sects even more so. The Tibetans call him Guru Rimbochi (i.e. the precious Guru, the Sanskrit for teacher). Udyana, the country whence he came, lay, says Colonel Yule, to the north of Peshawur on the Swat River, and probably extended over the whole hill district south of the Hindu Kush from Chitral to the Indus (Marco Polo I, 157). Hiuen Thsang reports that its people were greatly given to sorcery and witchcraft. Marco Polo says the same of the people of Kashmir, which he calls the very original source from which idolatry had spread abroad. He tells us its people had an astonishing acquaintance with the devilries of witchcraft and that they could make their idols speak. The Guru was greatly welcomed by the Tibetans, and according to report proceeded to drive out the malignant devils who tormented them, and we are further told he used the thunderbolt

of India, i.e. the dor-je, and spells from the Mahayana gospels in the work.

The Guru's teaching was no doubt that still followed by the unreformed Red Lamaists, who were in fact his special disciples, Waddell says, "it is evident it was the extremely Tantrik and Magical form of Mahayana Buddhism as then practised in Udyana and Kashmir, to which was added a portion of the ritual and most of the witchery and cult of Mantras or spells of the indigenous Bon pa religion, and it may be described as a priestly mixture of Shivaite mysticism, magic, and Indo-Tibetan demonolatry." The new doctrine of Karma or ethical retribution especially appealed to the people, who were great fatalists. The Guru's patron, the King, founded other monasteries, but Lamaism was strongly opposed by the champions of the Bon pa or Taouist sect, who were now forbidden to make human and other bloody sacrifices, whence has arisen the practice of offering images of men and animals made of dough (ib. 24–31).

It was also opposed by a Chinese orthodox Buddhist of the more primitive type named Hwa Shang, who protested against what he deemed heretical teaching and practice, but he is reported to have been defeated in argument by the Indian monk, Kamalavilla, and expelled from the country. Works by the two protagonists are preserved in the famous encyclopædia, the Tanjur.

Padma Sambhava, says Waddell, notwithstanding his grotesque charlatanism and uncelibate life, was deified and worshipped as the "second Buddha", and his image under the eight worshipful forms is found in every Tibetan temple of the old Red Sect. He left twenty-five disciples, to each of whom is attributed a specially potent magical gift in the black art known as Dharani. They are enumerated by Ssanang Setzen, the Mongol historian. I shall omit their names, and merely enumerate their alleged gifts.

Mounted the sunbeams.
Drove iron bolts into rocks.
Changed his own head into a horse's and neighed thrice.
Revived the slain.
Overcame three fiendesses.
Enslaved demons, nymphs, and genii.
Obtained the five heavenly eyes of knowledge.
Attained Samadhi.
Acquired divine knowledge.
Worked miracles.
Travelled invisibly as the wind.
Visited the fairy world.
Ensnared ferocious beasts.

Soared in the sky.
Killed his enemies by signs.
Had a perfect memory.
Perceived the thoughts of others.
Made water run upwards.
Caught flying birds.
Raised ghosts and converted corpses into gold.
Tamed wild yaks of the northern desert.
Dived into water like a fish.
Crushed adamant to powder and ate it like meat.
Passed through rocks and mountains.
Wielded and repelled thunderbolts.
Sat cross-legged in the air.

WADDELL, 31; SSANANG SETZEN, 42.

Such were the wonders supposed to be performed by the disciples of Padma Sambhava. The official magicians in the reformed Lamaist monasteries still belong to this Red Sect and follow the prescriptions of these old teachers and this sect still prevails in North British Ladakh as well as in certain places in Southern Tibet. It is divided into several schools, named after special masters.

The famous Guru, as it is reported, having finished his work in Tibet, determined to visit the districts bordering it on a missionary journey, and accordingly went to Bhotan and Sikkim. We read that when he said good-bye to his old friends, with the king at their head, who went to see him off, he mounted a celestial car and flew away through the sky escorted by fairies, heavenly music and showers of flowers.

The devotion of King Ralpachan, the grandson of Thi Srong Devtsan above mentioned, to the Buddhists apparently led to his murder about the year 890 by his younger brother, Lan Darma, who Waddell calls the " Julian " of Lamaism, and who made a savage onslaught on the new religion and tried to uproot it, desecrated the temples and burnt the sacred books. It was in Ralpachan's reign that a larger pact of the Buddhist scriptures and the more important commentaries were translated into Tibetan; Lan Darma was in turn assassinated by a lama. A great renaissance now took place. It was, in fact, time that this should be attempted for, as Waddell says, in the tenth century the Tantric phase of Buddhism had developed in North India, Kashmir, and Nepaul into the monstrous and poly-demoniacal doctrine, the Kala Sakra, with its demon Buddhas, which incorporated the Mantrayana or spell vehicle and other similar practices and called itself the Vajnaygana or Thunderbolt Vehicle, and named themselves the Vajra carya, or followers of the Thunderbolt (op. cit. 15).

In the beginning of the eleventh century many Indian and Kashmiri monks went to Tibet. Among these was Atisa, the first important reformer of Lamaism, who went there in 1038. He was nearly 60 years old on his arrival and proceeded at once with his reforms and wrote many books. "While clinging to Yoga and to Tantrism he began his reform on the lines of the purer Mahayana system by enforcing celibacy and high morality and deprecating the general features of the diabolical arts" (Waddell, 34 and 54).

He founded a sect of Reformers called Kah dam pa, which, as we shall see (three centuries and a half later) under Tsong Kapa became more ascetic and highly ritualistic under the title and style of the Virtuous or Gelugpa sect. Atisa's chief disciple, Dom ton, or Bromton-bakshi, built the monastery of Radeng, north-east of Llasa, in 1058. This was followed by the foundation of other lamasaries, of which Waddell gives a detailed account. They chiefly differed in patronizing minor doctrinal and metaphysical issues, and do not concern us here.

We now approach the time when the Mongols were first heard of in connexion with Buddhism. It was during the dominance of the red and largely unreformed Buddhist that their first intercourse with it took place.

Jinghiz Khan, the first great Mongol ruler, practised "Indifferentism" towards the various religions he came in contact with, and it was part of his policy to be on friendly terms with their professors. While he laid a very heavy hand on all who opposed him politically he was not given to religious persecution, except when his authority on other matters was resisted. His last campaign overwhelmed the kingdom of Tangut, the *Si hai* of the Chinese, by which some have thought Tibet was meant, but this is an entire mistake. Tibet proper was not invaded by him, Tangut was really the district of Kuku Nor.

According to Mongol tradition he had a friendly correspondence with a Tibetan lama, and his son Ogotai, on the invitation of a lama, paid a visit to the famous monastery of Saskya, then the centre of Tibetan Lamaism. The first of the Mongol princes to make offerings in the Buddhist fashion, however, was Ogotai's son, Godan, who being very ill and getting no relief from the Shamans appealed to the most distinguished of the living lamas (Sakya Pandita) to go and cure him. The story goes that although very old the latter set out, taking three years for the journey. Having cured the prince of his bodily ailment, he converted him to Lamaism, to which he remained attached till his death. He thus initiated the connexion of the Mongols with that faith.

The Chinese authorities tell us the two Buddhist priests Watochi and Namo, who were brothers, went from Kashmir to visit the two Mongol Emperors Kuyuk and Mangu, by whom they were held in high esteem, and Namo was given the title of Tiszu, teacher of the Khan and head of the Buddhist religion in his kingdom. Koeppen suggests he was the same person as the Garma of the Lamaist writers (Koeppen, *Der Lamaische Hierarchie und Kirche*, 91–4 and notes).

The abbot of Saskya was looked upon by the Lamaists of Tibet at this time (who were, it will be remembered, of the Red sect) as then temporal as well as spiritual head.

Sakya Pandita was succeeded in his dignity by his nephew, who was considered as a prodigy of learning, and who, it is said, could read the sacred books when he was only seven years old, and was known by the Hindu title he took in the monastery, namely, Mati Dhvaja, or "the standard of wisdom". When the great Mongol Khan Khubilai succeeded to the throne he appointed him head of the Lamaist priesthood and also tributary ruler of Tibet, with three subordinates to administer its three provinces. He was widely known by his Tibetan title, namely, Phags pa, i.e. "the highly venerable" (ib. 97 and 98).

Phags pa thus became a kind of Pope-king, and was, in fact, the prototype of the later Dalai lamas. He was much courted by Khubilai, who with his relations apparently adopted Lamaism as their family and domestic religion. On ordinary occasions he was given a throne equal in dignity to that of the Great Khan and his wife, and when he was performing his priestly functions he had one still higher (ib. 98). This does not mean, of course, that Buddhism became the State religion of the Empire, but that it was doubtless deeply cultivated by the Court.

Among other things, Khubilai deputed Phags pa to construct a special alphabet for the Mongols, based on that of the square characters of the Tibetans, consisting of a thousand characters. In an edict dated 1269 it was ordered that all State documents should be written in this script instead of those of the Chinese and Uighurs. It was found, however, to be too cumbrous and difficult, especially in copying out the sacred books, notably the "Kanjur". The latter was a vast corpus of Lamaist theology. It was translated into Mongol from a collation of the Tibetan, Chinese Uighur, and Sanskrit writings, and was carried out by twenty-five scholars learned in those tongues.

To facilitate the printing of the work a new alphabet was put together during the reigns of Khubilai's successors by the new Saskya Lama—Chos Kya Odser. To the forty-four Uighurian

characters used in the alphabet above named were added fifty-six more, while for the transcription of certain Tibetan and Sanscrit words and names ideograms called Galik were used. This still remains in use. It consists of a syllabary in which the consonants are united to the seven vowels respectively. Thus *ba, be, bi, bo, bu, bö, bü, ra, re, ri, ru, rö, rü,* etc. In this way the seven vowels were combined with fourteen consonants, making ninety-eight syllables; besides these there were also used the four characters for *ch, gh, k,* and *g*. *n* was only united with *a, e,* and *i*.

The chief defect of these Mongolian characters which are still in vogue is that in certain cases vowels such as *o* and *u* were not distinguished, similarly with *ö* and *ü, oi* and *ui*. *a* and *e* are only distinguished at the beginning of words and not in the middle or end, and so with the dipthongs *ai* and *ei*, so *k* and *g* in the beginning and middle and *j* and *s* in the beginning of words which causes confusion. The Mongolian script is written from left to right.

With the new alphabet the printing of the Mongol translation of the Kanjur into Mongolian proceeded more rapidly, but it took from 1283 to 1306 to complete. Meanwhile under the patronage of the Emperor Khubilai monasteries multiplied. Among them was the famous temple of "the exalted place and of the great and holy life" at Peking, where the translation of the Buddhist scriptures was carried out, and another one mentioned by Marco Polo near Khubilai's summer palace in Southern Mongolia. That emperor also restored the very old temple built by the Topa Tartars in the fifth century. It was situated in the province of Shansi, and was one of the most famous of these establishments both on account of its age and importance, and it still remains one of the most important resorts of pilgrims in the Mongol world. Khubilai made over the palace of the Sung emperors to the monks as a residence, and endowed it with relics and sacred statues, for which he sent to India and even to Ceylon (see Koeppen, op. cit., 101–2). The holy alms dish of Buddha himself, two of his teeth, and a wonderful portrait-statue of him were specially reserved for China. Under the ægis of Khubilai's successor Uljaitu, otherwise called Timur, the Buddhists, both of the older sect, who had been in China many centuries, and the Lamas, greatly flourished; the number of their recruits increased greatly, and in some provinces it reached the figure of 100,000.

We read in a dispatch of an official dated in 1326—that is, in the reign of Yissun-Timur and sent from the province of Shensi that the lamas were accused of being the authors of the destitution that then prevailed in China, and further that they traversed the western provinces on horseback, each with his paizah or official tablet written in golden letters, in his girdle; they spread over the

towns, lived in the hostels, and planted themselves in private houses, drove away their owners, and appropriated their wives, and not only led licentious lives but robbed the people of their money. They did this the more easily because they had so many friends in high quarters. The Chinese censors and historians at this time enlarge greatly on the various portents which were occurring, such as eclipses, earthquakes, floods, etc., and attributing them to the general licentiousness. It is quite certain that among the causes which led to the expulsion of the Mongol dynasty from China and its supersession by a native dynasty (i.e. that of the Ming emperors) was the general revolt against the Buddhist priesthood.

In 1368 the last emperor of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty (although he had previously expelled the chief Lama) was obliged to withdraw from China.

At this time information about Tibet and the doings there, greatly fails us, but Marco Polo's narrative shows how the people had, under the Lamaist teaching, become very dissolute.

It seems pretty certain that the descendants of Phags pa, the abbots of the great Saskya Monastery, continued to be the heads of the Lamaist community, and also tributary princes of Tibet, and lived at Lhasa. This is stated by Odoric of Udine. We have a list of the names of these chief patriarchs of the Lamas until the beginning of the Ming dynasty. They are given by Ssanang Setzen, p. 121. They all, of course, belonged to the Red or Unreformed order.

It would seem that during the earlier rule of the Ming Emperor the Emperors of the Yuen dynasty (although expelled from China) continued to live in their fine palaces and parks on the western flanks of the Khingan range. They with their courtiers and officials, and probably with the higher ranks of the army, continued also to cultivate the lamas whose monasteries abounded in this district. Meanwhile the Mongols, in their old homes on the rivers Onon, Tula, and Kerulon, who had not adopted the new faith, continued to adhere to Shamanism. Presently, when the Mongols were finally driven away from the district west of the Khingan range and the palaces and temples there were destroyed, they returned once more to their old country north of the desert and again resumed their nomadic life. There the princes, as well as the common people, seem to have entirely discarded their Buddhism and resumed the old Shamanism they had practised before the days of Khubilai Khan.

There they were not for some time molested by the Ming authorities. The latter interfered, however, with the affairs of Tibet, and in order to keep a tighter hold on the hierarchy which controlled both the religious and the temporal affairs of that country, they deprived the abbots of Saskya of their Popedom and divided

the community into seven coequal patriarchates, of which the Abbot of Saskya held one. This was done in the year 1373, in the reign of Hong vu, the first of the Ming Emperors. In that of the Emperor Yonglo, 1403–25, eight such patriarchs are mentioned. The eight patriarchs were also secular rulers, and each was styled Wang, i.e. King (Koeppen, op. cit., 106–8).

At this time we reach a great revolution in the history of Lamaism which had the effect of introducing notable reforms and doing away with many of the corruptions which had hitherto prevailed. The reforms did not extend to all parts of the country, but the older ceremonial and ritual of the so-called Red Lamas continued and continues still in some parts of Tibet.

We will now turn to this reformed Lamaism which is alone professed by the modern Mongols. It was founded by the famous doctor and Saint, Tsong-kha pa (Baddeley, i, 125, says the Mongols and Russians call him Gungara). In Tibet, and among the Mongols and Kalmuks he is held in almost equal reverence with Buddha himself. According to the most probable account he was born in Amdo, south-east of the Kuku Nor, or Blue Sea, about the year 1355 or 1357, in the monastery of Kubum or Kunbum, that is the hundred thousand images, a few days journey south of Si ning fu (Koeppen, op. cit., 108 and 109). He claimed to be of supernatural birth. The legend reported that his mother, who was a virgin and the wife of a poor man, was swallowing a mouthful of water when she fainted and fell down senseless on a stone on which was an inscription in praise of Buddha Sakyamuni. When she got up she found herself pregnant, and in nine months gave birth to a son. This was at the foot of a mountain called Tsong Kha pa, from which he got his name. He was born, according to the legend, with a white beard, and from his early days expressed himself clearly and plainly, and was well informed in religious matters, and at his third year he resolved to renounce the world. His mother thereupon cut off his beautiful long hair, and where it fell on the ground there grew a wonderful tree, which is still to be found in the lamasery of Kubum, and on the leaves of which are inscribed one or more supposed Tibetan characters. Thenceforward he lived in the deepest retirement on mountains or in caverns, engaged in prayers and contemplation. "When he was there, a learned lama from the western country who had a long nose and sparkling eyes came and settled in the country of Amdo for some years and became his teacher." (This looks like the description of a Nestorian monk.) On his death Tsong Khapa repaired to Tibet, which was then the centre of learning. He went as far as the Chinese province of Yunnan, and then along the Tsang po Chu River to near Lhasa, where, we are told, he was bidden to stop by a god.

There he began a more profound study of Buddhism, and soon realized the necessity for a great reform, especially in its ritual and discipline, apparently basing his changes largely on the practice of the Nestorians. He duly adopted the rôle of a reformer, and speedily a crowd of scholars gathered round him whose distinguishing mark was the yellow caps they wore.

It is obvious that the rôle of a reformer in the Lamaist Church, with its old and crystallized traditions was necessarily a limited one, as it has always been the case in the west. Tsong Khapa set out to reform the ritual and discipline of the monks, and thus to return more or less to the practices of early times. It was much more difficult to restore the Buddhist teaching on other matters to its primitive character, and especially to discard the accretions it had received from the popular mythology and necromancy. This, as we have seen, had been imported into it from other sources in order to make Buddhism palatable to the crowd, who could not be made to understand pure abstractions in such matters. Tsong Khapa had no doubt to do his pruning with a very gentle hand. His difficulties began early. We are told that he received a visit from the Sas kya Lama, who was the head of the then dominant Red sect. He went on a visit to remonstrate with "the small Lama of Amdo" (as he called him), and went dressed in all his panoply to bring back the troublesome reformer to the right path. On the way, we are told, his tall red hat fell to the ground. This was accepted as an omen that the red lamas were about to be superseded by the Reformers. Meanwhile, Tsong Khapa sat still with his legs crossed rolling his beads through his fingers. In answer to the arguments of the Red Lama, he challenged him thus: "Wretched one, I hear the groans of the creatures whom thou hast murdered." This rebuke, directed against the taking of life, was found unanswerable by the Red Lama, whose people were wont to kill animals for food and sacrifices, in spite of the first commandment of the Buddhist decalogue, which denounces the shedding of blood as a great sin. Thereupon the Red Lama crouched at the feet of the little doctor, and admitted that he was right. We are told that in future Tsong Khapa met with little or no opposition. Such is the legendary story as reported by Huc.

The more genuine historical records enable us to add some further facts to this Saga. We are told he pursued his studies not only at Lhasa but also at Saskya, Dri Kung, and other centres of Lamaist learning, and became imbued with its various branches of philosophy, scholasticism, etc., and also with a knowledge of medicine, astrology, and magic, which were part of the curriculum at the big monasteries. He passed through all the faculties of the highest grade, and in this way he, *inter alia*, spent eight years at

Dugas pa or Sikhim in Southern Tibet. Returning to Lhasa he undertook the role of reforming the language and writing of the sacred books, as well as abolishing the various corruptions. His fame gathered round him a thousand pupils, and in 1407 or 1409 he founded the monastery of Gahdan, i.e. "the delight of heaven", on a mountain near Lhasa, where he took up his residence and which became the metropolitan monastery of the Yellow Sect. Of it he became the first abbot, and as it was insufficient to accomodate his followers, he or his successors founded two other converts near Lhasa, namely, that of Brepung (crowd of travellers) and that of Se ra (i.e. the Golden). In these three great establishments were accommodated 30,000 of his monks. Tsong Khapa died, or, as his followers say, went to heaven in 1419; in memory of which journey an annual torchlight procession is held. His body was deposited at Gahdan, and, like the corpse of Muhammed at Medina, it is said to be preserved intact and fresh. There also is his bed, while impressions of his hands and feet are preserved in butter. According to others these latter relics are now kept at Potala, the residence of the present Dalai lama. He was canonized as an incarnation of Manjusri, or, as others said, of Amitabha or Vajrapani (Waddell, 59).

He collected the scattered members of the Kah-dam-pa sect and housed them in monasteries. The great doctor wrote many voluminous works, which formed the Canon of the Reformed Canonical faith. The most famous of them is called the *Lamrim chehen po*, "the great ladder to perfection," and is divided into three parts—"the way of the child," of "the young man", and of "the full-grown person". Another of his famous works is the *Sumbum*, i.e. the hundred thousand headlines. He succeeded to the traditions of the Kah-dam-pa sect derived from the Lama Ch'os Skyabs bzan po, the seventy-eighth abbot in succession to Dom ton (Waddell, 59).

Tsong Khapa thus became the founder of a new community which called itself Gelug pa, i.e. the virtuous sect, or Gahdan pa, so called from its founder's monastery. His monks were chiefly distinguished, as I have said, by their yellow caps. In regard to this yellow colour, the legends say that Tsong Khapa having at one time determined to renounce the rôle of a monk, decked out his cap with flowers of different colours. All of them faded except the yellow one. It is more likely that he adopted the yellow caps and gowns of his followers in imitation of the Buddha himself, thus returning to the older custom. Among the most important of his reforms was the insistent injunction of celibacy for his monks. The Red Lamas following the rules of Padma Sambhava and Saskya Pandita, permitted marriages in certain cases, and followed the Brahminical rule which permitted such marriages to subsist until a first-born

arrived or until the monk had grown grey, or until he had seen his son's son.

In this Tsong Khapa also doubtless reverted to Sakyamuni's practice, which did not permit marriage to his ascetics, but did so to lay brothers and sisters, Upasakas and Upasikas. He also greatly limited the practice of sorcery. Buddhism, as we have seen, was already impregnated with Shivaism in India before it migrated to Tibet, and it had become increasingly so by contact with the Bonpa sect in Tibet, and also with the Shamanism that prevailed there. Tsong Khapa did not entirely forbid magic, but taught his scholars that it was only to be permitted in the way it was allowed in the old Buddhist scriptures. According to Koeppen he distinguished between the so-called white and black magic. The former consisted of the practices for which authority existed in the old books, while black magic was that derived from the Shamans. He strictly forbade, for instance, the practice of necromancy, and specially that of witchcraft and so-called "filthy cookery" and tricks like swallowing knives, spitting out fire, etc. The Red lamas still practise all these acts with assiduity, while the leaders of the Yellow Sect discountenance them. To supply the forms of magic which the Yellow Sect does not approve, but which the people insist on having, all the monasteries have a special official of the Bon pa sect, styled Ch'os Kyong, who occupies a particular part of the building. He is dressed in the fashion of one of the sorcerers, and is also married. His function, as I have said, is to supply what the rules of the Yellow order will not allow them to do themselves.

Tsong Khapa ordered his scholars to hold periodical gatherings for religious exercises. To him was probably also due the still used arrangement of the *Monlam*, or great collection of prayers, which is recited in the first month of the Lamaist year, and especially in the first fifteen days of it. At this celebration all the lamas in the province of U-Tsang repair to Lhasa. Similar assemblies for discussion and dividing the alms were held in India at the introduction of Buddhism. At his first assembly of this kind held by Tsong Khapa there mustered as many as 12,000 monks. Meanwhile with the growth both in numbers and reputation of the Yellow lamas, the number of the Red monks declined.

By the Gelugpa sect the statue of Tsong Khapa is given the highest place in the temples, higher than those of Padma and Atisa, and between those of the dual grand lamas the Dalai and Banchen, and like them is given the title of Gyal ma (i.e. the Jina or Victor). His image is also worn as a charm in amulet boxes. He insisted on his followers rigidly obeying the 235 Vinaya rules, whence they were

called Vinaya keepers, and he made them carry a begging bowl, an anardha chuna, or crescent-shaped cape, a prayer carpet, and patched robes of a yellow colour after the fashion of the Indian mendicants (Waddell, 60).

All the travellers, old and young, who have witnessed Lamaist services of the Yellow sect, have been impressed by the resemblance they offer to those of mediaeval Christianity. The resemblance extends to the ceremonies, to the vestments of the priests, the musical instruments employed, and the methods of artificial singing, etc. In olden days this was attributed to the inspiration of the Devil by the Franciscans and other Christian missionaries who visited Mongolia and its borders. The *Ape God* they declared had created a caricature of Christianity and of the Church when he introduced Lamaism.

The Capuchin friars of the thirteenth century put Manes, the founder of Manichæism, whom they confounded with Buddha, in the place of the Devil. The later missionaries of the propaganda, who repaired to Lhasa, on the other hand attributed the resemblances in question, including the existence of a Pontiff, the celibacy of the clergy, the veneration of saints, confession, fasting, processions, etc., and in addition the practice of exorcism, of using holy water, of bells, rosaries, mitres, crooks, etc., to direct imitations of Christian models by Tsong Khapa, who, as we have seen, was reputed to have studied when young under a Western Lama with a long nose, who was in fact no doubt one of the many Christian missionaries who in the thirteenth and fourteenth century and down to the time of Timur travelled in Central Asia.

It is not improbable that certain of the resemblances in question are due to adaptations from Christian originals, but it is equally clear that all of them were not so, and that certain of them, such as celibacy, confession, and fasting, are older than Christianity.

His eleventh century predecessor, Brom Bakshi, the first hierarch of the Ka-dam pah sect, had also imported corruptions from the Sutras and the Tantras into Northern Buddhism. This Tsong Khapa strongly opposed, but he also sought at the same time to bring all the different schools of Northern Buddhists into the fold of the Yellow Lamas. The method he employed in his propaganda was at first very peaceable, namely, by teaching, preaching, by writings and disputation, and his wide learning and knowledge of the sacred books gave him a great advantage over his opponents of the other sect. He, in fact, greatly diminished the coarsest, filthiest, and most loathsome practices of the necromancers and wizards. He also enforced strict celibacy on his monks. The fight against him on the part of the conservatives was, however, a pertinacious

one, especially on the part of the schools of Padma Sambhava, who commanded the great monasteries of Saskya and Breg pung (Koeppen, op. cit., 116–18).

Some time after his death Tsong Khapa was canonized. He was generally deemed to have been an incarnation or avatar of Amitabha. This was not, however, universally accepted. Others deemed him an avatar of Manjusri, Vajrapani, and even of Mahakala himself. His image occurs in all the monasteries of the Yellow Sect, in which he is represented holding two lotus blooms, one in either hand, one containing a light in its cup or calyx, and the other a book. His saintly and divine name in Tibetan is Lobsang tag pa, i.e. "the famous wise man or philosopher"; in Sanscrit, Sumati kirti. The highest of these sublimated saints were the three great Bodhisats, so-called chakvates, namely, Avalokitesvara, Manjusri, and Vajarapani.

In order to govern and regulate his community Tsong Khapa appointed eight subordinates from among his followers, and it was to these eight hierarchs the Ming Emperor Yong lo (1304–1414) gave the titles of kings. In 1426 they were given the more special title of *Ta pao fa wang*, "Kings of the great lordly law."

The successor of Tsong Khapa at Lhasa was styled *Geden dub* (i.e. the consummate ecclesiastic). He was probably his nephew. He was born in 1389 or 1391, and passed away in 1473–6, having had an energetic career of fifty years. During the rule of the Emperor of the Ming dynasty, Ching hoa, the Dalai Lama and his colleague, the Banchen Lama, were given special diplomas and seals and constituted metropolitans of the eight *Wangs* already named (ib. 132).

As we have seen, Tsong Khapa subdivided his authority among a number of subordinates who may be styled patriarchs, two of whom from the monasteries they ruled had pre-eminent authority. One of them was his own successor at Lhasa, namely, his nephew, Geden dub, already named, who was installed in 1439. The other was the first who ruled over the great monastery, Tashi Lhun po, i.e. the mountain of honour near Digarchi in Further Tibet. This was in 1445. He was known in Europe as the Teshen Lama and Banchen, and also as the Bogdo Gegen and the Bogdo Lama, and his special title in full was Dschu Tsun pan chen rin po che. When Tsong Khapa died he seems to have intended that the successors of these two patriarchs should continue to rule the order with co-ordinate authority, but he did not provide for the method of succession after they had passed away.

His stringent exaction of the principle of celibacy had introduced a difficulty, since neither of the two positions could be hereditary, like that of the Head of the Red Lamas was, in the Abbots of the

Saskya Monastery, who were allowed to marry. In order to meet it a great innovation in the theory of transmigration was inaugurated. To explain this we must make a short digression. From the earliest times the Indian Buddhists, like the Brahmins, taught a doctrine of transmigration, according to which it was held that the souls of men were purified by passing through a series of carnal bodies either of men or animals according to their conduct in this world.

The cycle of these changes was closed when the soul had been completely purified by the purgatory of transmigration, and should then have been finally separated from its body with all its passions and troubles, and attain the condition called Nirvana. The older European writers, as we have seen, explained this as annihilation, misinterpreting the metaphysical notion. According to the Northern Buddhists, the personality of the purified soul was not destroyed on attaining Nirvana, but could be revived again by a process of rebirth in a specially selected human vehicle, namely, a child marked out by certain signs who was called in to get over the difficulty.

Before being finally selected the child used to be subjected to a solemn test by a Court composed of the chief Tibetan Kubilghans or incarnate Lamas, the great lay officers of state, and the Chinese minister or Anban, and the choice was made by an elaborate process (see Waddell, 216–51). The infants were confronted with a duplicated collection of rosaries, dorjes, etc., and the one who recognized the objects which had belonged to the deceased Grand Lama was deemed to be his real re-embodiment. The infant was then taken to Lhasa, and this at such an early age that his mother, who might belong to the poorer peasant class, had necessarily to accompany him, but being debarred by her sex from entering the sacred precincts of Potala, she was assigned lodgings outside at the monastic palace of the Ri Gyal Phodan, where she could see her child between the hours of 9 a.m. and 4 p.m. With her husband she was given an official residence for life, and the father was given the Chinese title of Kung (Waddell, op. cit., 251).

At the age of 4 the child assumed the monkish garb and tonsure, and a religious name, and was duly installed at Potala in great state and under Chinese auspices (see the details, ib. 212). He was then admitted as a novice to the Nam Gyal Monastery of Potala, and his instruction was entrusted to a special preceptor and assistants. At the age of 8 he was ordained a full monk, made abbot of the Nam Gyal Monastery, and head of the Lama Church.

It was presently found very inconvenient to leave the choice to such an ambiguous decision, since the Dalai Lama was a person of great influence, and it was decided by the Chinese authorities that the choice of the child should be left to the Oracle at Nachen near

Peking. Otherwise the details of his preparation and education remained as they were.

On his death Geden dub was succeeded after ten months by one who also became a notable person and who was styled Geden Yamtso i.e. the Spiritual Ocean. He was born in 1474–6, and lived till 1540 or 1542. He was the first of the reincarnate successors of Tsong Khapa and apparently appeared in the monastery of Brepung, near Lhasa, and was at first only recognized there and in the monasteries of Gahdan and Sera. During his long reign he founded many monasteries, and to fill them and also to protect and enlarge his power he collected many lay-folk from all parts of Tibet and put them in the religious communities of the lamas. He also improved the organization of his church, and separated the administration of the religious from the lay functions of the hierarchs. Over the former he set certain ecclesiastics (answering to bishops) who were called Khutuktus, and who, like himself, all had had the privilege of being incarnations of former saintly people. Koeppen assigns to his reign another considerable innovation in the development of the Dalai Lama as now recognized, namely, the notion of rebirth in him of the most famous beatified saints of old days, and who had been held to have secured eternal repose in heaven. To get over this difficulty it was postulated that these sublimated Buddhist saints still retained one human function, namely, their will, which they could exercise if it was their wish to become reincarnate again.

This extension of the doctrine of rebirth must not be treated as merely another step in the ordinary process of metempsychosis. The old notion, as Koeppen says, was deemed a perfectly natural growth imposed by Nature, the new one was a supernatural result of the exercise of a superhuman will. It was introduced into the scheme of Northern Buddhism in order to give a special prestige to the higher hierarchy of Lamaism, namely, the Dalai Lama, the Banchen Lama, and the Khutuktus.

The idea was not entirely a new one. Something like it existed in the polity of the Brahmins when the god Vishnu became incarnate in several human forms with varying attributes which were called Avataras. Among the Buddhists, according to Koeppen, the first recorded case of the rebirth of one of the saints who had reached the rank of Bodhisatva or potential Buddha is mentioned by the famous Buddhist traveller Hiuen Tsang, who claimed that the writer of the Yogashastra, called in the preface Aryasangha, was an incarnation of the Bodhisatva Maitreya (op. cit. 125, note).

This notion was now extended to all the higher clergy, the two great Pontiffs, the Dalai Lama and the Banchen Lama, and also

to the Khutuktus, all of whom thus attained a kind of divine status which was known as Pridpa or Telfer to the Tibetans and Kubilghan to the Mongols.

An echo of a similar practice far away is the theory of episcopal succession held by the Roman Catholics, who deem that the laying-on of hands on certain priests by Bishops conveys to them a special spiritual gift in endless succession.

The change thus enacted entirely transformed the original form and essence of Buddhism. By it the simple and saintly monk, Sakyamuni Buddha, the dispenser of glad tidings, the high example and exalted teacher among his brethren the monks, became an object of actual divine adoration and worship, and the old saints became really a pantheon of incarnate divinities.

Let us now return to the famous Grand Lama, Geden Yamtso. For the ordering of the worldly affairs, and especially the finances of the lay people of Tibet, he assigned to an official, a kind of major-domo, the Dheba or Tipa, with a number of assistants.

The Grand Lama himself last mentioned was summoned to Peking by the Manchus emperor Vutsong, who reigned from 1505 to 1521. This invitation was refused by the great dignitary, and the army which was sent to compel him was defeated.

The next occupant of the Grand Lama's seat was called Sod Nam Yamtso (i.e. the Virtuous Sea). He succeeded in 1543. He was, perhaps, the first Dalai Lama properly so called, the earlier ones having been given the title posthumously. It was during his reign and by his efforts that the Mongols were largely converted to Buddhism. To this notable event we will now turn.

In the year 1565 Khutuktai Setzen Khungtaishi, of the Ordus tribe, who lived in the sandy wastes north of the Yellow River, made an attack on Tibet and carried off a number of Lamas. A few years later Altan Khagan, the uncle of the Ordus chief just named and the powerful ruler of " the Seven Tumeds ", after seeking peace with the Chinese, whose borders he so often attacked, made a raid on Tibet and also carried off a number of prisoners. Among them was the Arik or Ashik Lama, who is still considered the first apostle of the Buddhist faith among the Mongols. He tried to persuade the Khagan to accept the faith once held by his forefathers. He instructed him in the mystery of transmigration, taught him the famous formula of six syllables (*Om mani padma hum*) and the use of the rosary. His uncle and nephew were both converted, and the former, at the instance of the Khungtaiji, sent an embassy to Tibet to greet the Grand Lama and " avatar " of the famous Bodhisatva—Avalokitesvara.

It was reported that at this time a miracle happened. Altan

Khan suffered from the gout. The Shamans recommended that a man's body should be cut open and his feet placed in the warm interior of the corpse, and that this should be repeated on the evening of the New Moon. When the Khagan did this, there appeared a white apparition who reproved him for the dreadful sin he had committed, while the Lama's presence assured him that the apparition he had seen was no other than *Avalokitesvara*.

Koeppen suggests that Altan Khagan was largely moved by the ambition of renewing the Emperor Khubilai's domination over Tibet. The embassy duly set out and presented their letter and gifts, and the Grand Lama expressed his intention to pay a visit to Mongolia.

In the year 1577 he accordingly set out. Near Lake Kukunor, where there was a temple, he was met by a deputation of the Mongol grandees. At Ulaghan Muren (the Red River), a northern affluent of the Yellow River, there came a second one. A third one was headed by the Khungtaishi, who brought a great store of rich stuffs, gold, silver, camels, and horses. Lastly came a great number of people, headed by the Khagan himself. It was reported that on the way " the all-wise " one had performed quite a number of miracles. He had caused the Red River to run backwards, and made a spring rise in a sterile district. He provided all the dragons, the Maras and Kamas or Buddhist devils, and the Onggods in the district with the heads of camels, horses, men, swine, sheep, cats, hawks, and wolves, and banished them by his spells.

The hoof-marks of his brown horse on the hard rocks contained, we are told, the six mystical syllables. He himself appeared in the guise of " Khonshim Bodhisatva with four hands ", of which two were perpetually folded on the breast. The Mongols were all greatly impressed with these wonders.

In his conversation with the Khagan he pointed out the Khubilghana descent of them both. Just as he himself had had several previous births, so had the Khagan, who was descended from Jinghiz Khagan and Khubilai, with the latter of whom his own predecessor, Mati Dhvadsha Phagspa, had had intercourse and had received a costly seal and a yellow diploma constituting him head of the clergy.

When the temple at Kukunor was completed a great festival was prepared for its inauguration, at which the Mongols subject to Altan Khagan and his allies adopted the Lamaist faith. At the celebration Setzen Khungtaishi, of the Ordus, rose and made the following speech. "As in old days, we see here the Lama as the real object of our adoration and the Khagan as Lord of our Alms; like the sun and moon in the blue sky. By the command of the God (Tengri) Khormuzda (i.e. Indra) our ancestor Sutri Bogda Jinghiz Khagan

subjected the five colours of his own people and the four allied nations of his empire, his two grandsons the Khubilgan and Bodhisatva Godan Khan and the chakra-wheel-turning. Khubilai Setzen Khaghan appointed the explorer of the depths of all wisdom, Sa kia Pandita, and put the Light of the Faith of the breath of reality the King of the doctrine, Phags pa Lama, at the head of the spiritual organization. Thereafter from the time of Ushaghatu Setzen Khagan (i.e. Toghan Timur, the last member of the dynasty) until now both the style of religion and administration of justice have faded away. Wickedness and crime have prevailed. We have drunk blood and eaten the flesh of living beings. Now from this good-fortune-bringing time the joy shall be that the piled-up billows of the great blood-stream have been changed into a deep quiet sea of milk. Now the betrothal of the Khagan and the Lama following in the footsteps of their fathers, can bring only good to us." It is especially said in the speech just reported that Sakyamuni lived on in the guise of one of his Bodhisatvas as Khormuzada did in that of the Khagan (op. cit. 137–8).

This notable pronouncement was remarkable in two ways. It meant in the first place the eventual union of the Mongolian race with the most civilizing form of religion (except Christianity) which the world has seen, and, secondly, the entire change in their life, by which they were turned from a fighting, truculent community of nomads into a singularly gentle one. This was coincident with their giving up their devotion to hunting and hawking and continual internal wars, and (be it said also) to their forsaking the martial and masculine qualities of their race in favour of submission to a regime of monkish effeminacy.

When the cuckoo, says Koeppen, heralded the first summer month, the Khagan and the great Lama held a great gathering of a hundred thousand people, where they issued a new code of laws. Until then, as among the ancient Mongols, it was customary to sacrifice men at funerals of great people, and also on the death of a great one to kill a number of his camels and horses and bury them with him. It was now provided that cattle should be substituted in the same proportion and given to the lamas. It became obligatory also to celebrate the annual and monthly fasts and prayer days. On the monthly fast days the killing of cattle and hunting were entirely forbidden. The lamas were now divided like the lay-people into four classes, namely, the Choijes, the Rabshans, the Gelongs, and Ubashis. All four classes of Lamas were exempted from paying taxes, from service in the army, and other burdens, and if a lama broke his vow of chastity he was punished in some ignominious way and deprived of his " orders ".

These and other regulations about the lamas, which were in vogue in Tibet and in the time of the old Mongol emperors, were re-enacted in a work entitled the *Code regulating the Ten Meritorious Works* (ib. 129).

After the ceremony the Khagan gave the Great Lama the title of Vadshradhara Dalai Lama, i.e. the diamond sceptre-holding ocean-priest, and he in turn gave the Khagan the style of the thousand-golden-wheels-twining Chakravarta.

Other titles and honours were at the same time distributed among the upper secular and priestly classes, and many undertakings in favour of their new religion were given by the princes and nobles. It seems very probable that the Grand Lama here described was the first to bear the title of Dalai, as he was the first to be so called by the Europeans. This seems to be proved by the fact that Dalai is a Mongol word, meaning ocean, and Lama is Tibetan and the equivalent of priest. In order to spread the new faith more firmly, the Dalai Lama journeyed through the district of Kukunor, the Ordus country, and later through that of the Tumeds, performing miracles, building temples, and erecting images.

He also founded the first Patriarchal see in Mongolia. When the Khan took his departure he was accompanied by the Mansjusri Khutuktu as his deputy. The latter fixed his seat at the Altan Khan's chief town of Kuku Khoto on the Turguen, in the country of the Western Tumeds, east of the land of the Ordus and which is still the finest city of Southern Mongolia. His successor still lives there, but has for many years occupied the second place and become subordinate to the Khutuktu living among the powerful Khalkhas in the North.

Altan Khan did not long survive his conversion. He died in 1583. Thereupon the Dalai Lama made another progress through Southern Mongolia to strengthen the Buddhist cause there, and thence sent a letter of greeting to the Ming Emperor, who reciprocated his good wishes and gave him the same title which Khubilai Khan had given to the Phagspa lama. It was while he was still in Mongolia that the Dalai Lama died at the age of 47 years. He was reborn as a child, not in Tibet, but in Mongolia, and was brought up by Dara Khatun, the wife of a grandson of Altan Khagan, and bore the title of Yon tan Yamtso. He remained in Mongolia till his 14th year, when he went to Tibet and was ordained and installed as Dalai Lama by the Banchen Lama Rin po chi, and he died when he was 28 years old. In 1604, two years after his enthronization, he appointed a second Khutuktu for the Northern Mongols, whom he made his Vicar over the whole of Mongolia. He was called Sam pu Yamtso (The ocean of thought). He took up his residence in tents among the Khalkhas,

and eventually removed to the great monastery of Kuren, near Urga. He is the best known to all Europeans since his residence is in the main route from Kiachta to Peking. His successors rank next to the Dalai Lama and the Banchen Lama.

The Khutuktus, of whom there are now three in Mongolia, three in China, and several others in Tibet, are, as I have said, like the two Great Lamas, all deemed to be regenerate Buddhas and inspired with a divine afflatus. They act as Vicars to the two latter, answering to the Metropolitans among the Roman Catholics. The two Great Lamas and the Khutuktus do not comprise all the reborn (Khubilghans as the Mongols call them). There are a considerable number of the latter outside these positions, and most of the bigger monasteries have one or two in them, the fact being that (as among the Roman Catholics, who employ the relics of dead saints for the purpose) they attract pilgrims and other profitable visitors.

The Khutuktu who specially presides over the Mongol branch of the Church at Urga is called Cheghen Khutuktu. The Dalai Lama used to designate the children into whose body the soul of the Khutuktu was to migrate or had already migrated. This prerogative, however, has long been qualified by the fact that the selection in reality, though not so much in form, requires the sanction and approval of the Chinese Court, which takes care that he shall not be born in too powerful a family. He is generally chosen from a distinguished family, however, and suitably educated.

The Khutuktu at Urga has a large private estate or dependency which extends over a considerable district round Urga and comprises 30,000 families, on whom he levies taxes beside exacting personal service in the cultivation of the land and looking after his flocks, the produces of which are employed in his maintenance and that of his Court (op. cit. i, 29).

When Timkofski visited the Khalkas they told him their Khutuktu had seen sixteen generations, and claimed that his physiognomy changed with the phases of the moon. At new moon he had the appearance of a youth, at full moon of a man in his prime, while he looked quite old during the last quarter (Timk. i, 25).

The exalted position filled by the Khutuktu may be measured by the ceremonial followed at the inauguration of a new one. Timkofski has given an account of that which occurred in 1729.

I propose to repeat his account. The day fixed was June 23 after sunrise. The principal temple of Urga was duly decorated for the fête. Opposite the entrance was placed the statue of the Burkhan Ariestan, to whom the lamas address prayers for long life. On the left was a throne decked with precious stones and rich stuffs for the new Khutuktu, while wooden seats for the lamas were placed

in the temple. Among the great people who were present were the sister of the deceased Khutuktu, a representative sent by the Chinese Emperor Yung Ching (who wore a peacock's feather in his cap), the father of the new Khutuktu, the three Khans of the Khalkas, and several other Mongols of distinction. The number of lamas present was about 26,000, and that of the people about 100,000. After the chief people had assembled, two hundred lances with gilt points and adorned with figures of wild beasts in bronze were brought out and placed in two rows before the door; at the same time a line of 200 Mongols was formed, with drums and large copper trumpets. Six lamas then came out of the temple, bearing in an arm-chair the sister of the late Khutuktu, who was followed by the Khans, the Anban, and other distinguished persons in splendid costumes. The procession went in silence to the tent of the new Khutuktu, who lived a short distance from the temple with his father Dárkhanchin Ching Yang, who had married a daughter of the Chinese Emperor Yung Ching. An hour later the regenerated Khutuktu arrived, conducted by the principal Mongol nobles and the senior lama, who held him by the hand and under the arms. They placed him on a horse magnificently caparisoned; the bridle being held on one side by a Kubilghan, who was a lama of high rank, and on the other by the Ta Lama or head of the lamas, nephew of the Yang Durchin.

As the Khutuktu left his tent the lamas chanted hymns in his honour, accompanied by instruments, while the nobles and people bowed profoundly and raised their hands towards heaven. The Khutuktu rode slowly towards the temple, and was followed by his predecessor's sister, whom he also styled sister and who sat in a sedan chair. Then came the senior lama, Nomin Khan, the deputy of the Dalai Lama, the Chinese Anban, and all the other lamas and the Mongols of distinction, the people accompanying them on both sides.

Within the enclosed space before the temple were six yurts or tents adorned on the top with gilding and paint in which hung rich stuffs of various colours. There the procession halted; the Khutuktu descended from his horse, with the help of the lamas nearest to him, and led him in by the south gate. After remaining there half an hour, the elder lamas took him into the temple, followed by the rest of the party. He was placed on the throne by the envoy of the Dalai Lama, while the Anban or imperial representative announced the Chinese Emperor's order that they were all to pay the new Khutuktu the honours due to his rank.

Thereupon the whole assembly prostrated themselves three times, after which they placed several silver bells on a table, which the

lamas made use of in their religious ceremonies. The bell he had himself used before his regeneration was withheld so that they might see whether he recognized it or not. He noticed its absence and asked that it might be brought. Thereupon the much-believing Khans, the lamas, and all the people exclaimed, " It is our real high priest, our Khutuktu."

His sister first approached him to receive his benediction, followed by the other great personages. They all then retired, except the Khutuktu, who remained alone in the temple till the evening to give his benediction to the other lamas and people.

On the following day, an hour after midnight, the Anban and other great officers returned into the temple, round which people were already gathered. At 3 a.m. the Khutuktu arrived and seated himself on the throne, and the Anban offered presents from the Emperor, namely a plateau of gold weighing about 28 lb., in the middle of which eight precious stones were enclosed. On the plateau were costly " Khadaks ", i.e. scarves, worth 2,000 silver roubles, and eighty-one pieces of gold and silver cloth. A note written on each of them stated that the cost of making it had been 600 roubles. Lastly, the Anban presented eighty-one dishes containing confectionery and other things. He accompanied the gift with felicitations from his master, asking a blessing for himself and for the same protection for the Empire which he had given in his father's lifetime. The Kutuktu duly accepted the gifts, and vicariously gave his blessing to the Emperor by laying both his hands on the head of the Anban, and then blessing the lamas and people.

In the afternoon four large yurts and a multitude of small ones were erected at half a verst distance from the temple. The larger ones for the Khans and other great people, a large space being left in the middle for the wrestling matches, the general accompaniment of all festivals.

The combatants, who numbered 268 on each side, entered from each side. The combats continued till evening, the names of the victors were proclaimed, and the vanquished had to withdraw. At length 35 remained. Two days after the wrestling began again. The heat was great and they perspired greatly, and the Khans asked the lamas to cause rain. In about an hour the sky became cloudy, says Timkofski, a few drops fell, which were duly attributed to the lamas.

Meantime the Mongols again went to the temple to pay their devotions and again welcome the Khutuktu and the Jassaktu Khan and the Wang Tsetsen made offerings of gold plate, silks, Khadaks, and tea. One common Mongol gave 300 horses. The Chinese

merchants from Urga on a later day gave 350 pieces of satin and 400 bricks of tea. The nobles and people with the 35 victors repaired to the banks of the Orkhon, about 50 versts from Urga, where horse-racing took place. The course was 18 versts; 1,800 horses ran together, of which 100 were declared the best. They were all given distinguished names, and their masters received presents and some of them privileges. Other races took place on other days. All the 3,732 horses which had competed belonged to the Khalkas. After the racing the 35 wrestlers in two parties struggled again on behalf of the Jassaktu and the Tushetu Khans, and the seven conquerors were taken back to Urga, where a contest took place among the archers. Eventually a Mongol named Babei Ikedzan, the "shining elephant", was declared the chief winner; he belonged to the Kochun of Tsetsen Khan.

At length a meeting was held in the great tent of the Khutuktu, where it was decided what titles should be given to the victorious wrestlers. These were generally taken from wild beasts or birds. In addition the first wrestler secured a fowling-piece, a cuirass, 15 oxen and cows, 15 horses, 100 sheep, a camel, 1,000 bricks of tea, some pieces of satin, and fox-skins, and each of the others corresponding gifts; the last archer and wrestler got 2 cows and two sheep each (Timkofski, i, 96–107).

Having followed the vicissitudes of Buddhism from the time of its founder and shown how it has been almost entirely metamorphosed, and been changed from a simple agnostic system of morals of a very high standard into a most intricate and largely debased system of mixed polytheism, I deem it convenient and useful to set out an epitome of the various gods, demons, and saints which compose its northern type and which are represented by the denizens of the temples of Tibet and Mongolia. In this I have followed Koeppen, Rockhill, and others, but especially Waddell, whose admirable picture of Northern Buddhism is an encyclopædia of what is known about it. I have not scrupled to use it freely, with, I hope, due acknowledgment. The intricacy of the system can only be imperfectly described in such an epitome as I have alone been able to give, and those who wish for more complete and detailed knowledge I must remit to the work just named.

The Pantheon of Lamaism, as Waddell says, is the largest in the world. It is peopled by a bizarre crowd of aboriginal gods and hydra-headed demons, with their Buddhist rivals and counterfeits. The mythology is chiefly of Indian origin. Primitive Buddhism knows no god in the sense of a creator or absolute being, but the earliest form of the religion gives the Hindu gods a very prominent place, and they occur on all the principal carved monuments.

Even in Ceylon, where the faith is purest, the chief Indian gods are worshipped, while devil-worship and astrology prevail. Rhys Davids says that in the courtyard of nearly all the viharas or monasteries in Ceylon there is a small gods' temple, in which the Brahminical deities are worshipped. Every Buddhist believes that the coming Buddha is at present in the Tushita heaven of the gods. Buddha himself was popularly deified very early, and he is now worshipped in many forms, and the Mahayana school created innumerable metaphysical Buddhas and Bodhisatvas, whom it speedily reduced from ideal abstractions to idolatrous forms, while it promoted to immortal rank many of the demons of the Shivaist pantheon, besides many other fresh creations, and also incorporated most of the local gods and demons. The majority of the lamas and almost all the laity worship the images as a sort of fetish, holy in themselves and not merely symbolically. This, again, is a complementary fashion to that of mediaeval Christianity. Waddell separates the innumerable members of the Lamaist pantheon into seven classes: (1) Buddhas, celestial and human; (2) Bodhisats, celestial and human, including Indian saints and apotheosized lamas; (3) Tutelaries, mostly demoniacal; (4) defenders of the faith and witches (Dakkini); (5) Indian Brahminical gods, godlings, and genii; (6) country gods, guardians, and local gods; (7) personal gods or familiars. Different moods of the same god are personified by different images with different attributes, some mild and some fierce. For ample details about them I must refer to Waddell, op. cit., chapter xiv. Some notes on the most striking of them must alone suffice here. The typical Buddha is a well-known figure to us all, and represents the saint as a man of perfect form and beauty. The face is usually of Aryan type and unbearded, and wears a placid and benign expression. The head is bare and the hair roughly tonsured and curly, with a protuberance on the crown, on which is sometimes represented a diadem. He is clad in mendicant's dress, without any jewellery. The shawl usually leaves the right shoulder bare, except when he is represented preaching or walking about in public.* He sits under the pepul-tree, the tree of wisdom, on a cushion of lotus flowers set on a throne covered by a mat supported by lions or other animals, and the throne is sometimes surmounted by a framework bearing at the sides the figure of a rampant lion trampling on an elephant and surmounted by a water-lily topped by a garuda bird. Endless variations and attitudes with different attributes represent the "God" in the various stages of his progression through the phases of his metempsychosis, or allusively and symbolically picture his transcendental characteristics (op. cit. 244).

Sakyamuni is represented with a yellow face and curly hair, and often attended by his two chief disciples, Mandgalayana on his left and Sariputra on his right, each with a staff and begging-bowl.

In the temples of the Red or unreformed lamas Padma Sambhava and his two wives are given special prominence, and many of their images are regarded as self-sprung.

Frequently in temples of the yellow sect Tsong Khapa is given the first place, while in those of the Nin Ma Pa or red sect it is given to "the Gurn", which is justified by his own statement that he was a second Buddha sent by Sakyamuni to Tibet and Sikhim, as the latter had no leisure to go there himself. Sometimes the image of Sakya himself is replaced by that of the Buddha of infinite light, Amitabha, or by Amitayas, "the infinite life." While many of the other sects give their founder the chief place.

Besides Sakyamuni himself we also have figures of later imaginary predecessors, known as the Seven Heroic Buddhas of the Past or Tathagatas, who are represented as of enormous size and as having a supernatural extension of life. The most famous of them isDipamkara the Luminous, who is held by some to have been Sakya's teacher in one of the latter's former births. Beside the terrestrial Buddhas there are also the five celestial ones invented in the earlier stages of Buddhism. The first of these and most famous was Amitabha, or "the boundless light", who has been treated as a Persian Fire-god, and thought to embody a sun myth. He is given a Paradise in the west where all the suns hasten and disappear, and Waddell urges that he arose among the Northern Buddhists under the patronage of Indo-Scythic converts. He was afterwards quintupled to adapt him to the theory of the five earthly Buddhas, the coming one and the four that are past. Presently a movement took place towards a first great "Cause" by the positing of a primordial or Adi Buddha, who was placed above the five Buddhas just named as their spiritual father and creator. To this rank was promoted the first and central one of the metaphysical Buddhas, namelyVairochana, the omnipresent, or his reflex; Samantabhadra, "the All Good." He is figured of a blue colour and often naked, sitting in Buddha fashion with his hands in meditative pose. Among other presentations of the manifold Buddhas, Waddell describes the five celestial victors or Jinas, and five other celestial Tantrik Buddhas, formed from the last by adorning them with a crown, silks, and jewels, like a kingly Bodhisat of the mild type. Of these the best known arc Amitayus Vajradhara and Vajrasatva. Next we have the demoniacal Buddhas, the thirty-five Buddhas of Confession, the medical Tathagatas, the images of whom are worshipped almost as fetishes and effect cures by sympathetic magic. Such is the galaxy

of Buddhas of various kinds evolved by the ingenuity of thousands of meditating ascetics out of their mystical thoughts and metaphysics. It is curious that some celebrated Europeans have come to be regarded as Buddhas. "The common dinner-plates of the Tibetans, when they use any," says Baker, "are of tin, stamped in the centre with an effigy of some European celebrity. In those which I examined I recognized the third Napoleon, the Prince and Princess of Wales, and Mr. Gladstone, all supposed by the natives to represent Buddhas of more or less sanctity" (Supp. Papers, Roy. Geog. Soc., p. 209).

So much for the Buddhas. The Bodhisatvas, or potential Buddhas, are divided into two classes, the celestial impassive ones, and the incarnate or saints who are the active ones; the former have the higher rank, but the latter are considered of higher grade than the Gods adopted from the Brahmins. The highest of them, according to the Lamas, is the Metaphysical Bodhisat of Wisdom, or Buddhist Apollo, Manjusri, the sweet-voiced, a creation of the Mahayana sect. He is the impersonation of wisdom, the dispeller of ignorance, and presides over the law, and with his bright word of divine knowledge cuts all knotty points, and is further the patron of astrology and carries in his left hand the Bible of transcendental wisdom, the Prajna-paramita, which is placed upon a lotus flower. He is treated as strictly celibate, and is allotted no female energy. He is given several modes, and each country among the Northern Buddhists claims one of its own. He was not the first Bodhisat to be recognized, however. That distinction belongs to Maitreya, "the coming Buddha," or Messiah, who is the only Bodhisat known to the Southern Buddhists of the present day.

The Mahayana form of Buddhism, which really supplanted all others in the north, introduced two other mythical Buddhas in addition to Manjusri, whom they have made the defenders of the faith of Lamaism, namely, Vajrapani and Avalokita. The former is styled the wielder of the thunderbolt. He is usually deemed a metamorphosis of Indra, or the Indian Jupiter, and the spiritual son of the celestial Buddha, Akshobhya. He is treated as a fierce, fiend-like type, black or dark blue in colour, and wielding a vajra, or thunderbolt, in his uplifted right hand, while in his left he holds a bell or some other implement, according to his various types. Of these there are fifteen or more. Hiouen-tsang mentions his worship in India when he was there.

Avalokita or Mahakaruna, the keen-seeing lord, the lord of mercy and pity, is the spiritual son of the celestial Buddha, Amitabha, and is deemed the most powerful as he is the most popular of the Bodhisatvas, and the Dalai Lamas have decreed themselves to be his

incarnations. There are several forms of him, such as the lotus-banded, the roaring lion, etc. Waddell says his oldest image known to him from India, dating from the sixth century, shows he was modelled on the Hindu creator, Brahma, and his images generally bear Brahminic insignia such as the lotus and rosary, and often the vase and book.

The most common forms he has in Tibet are the four-handed ones, in which he is represented as a prince with the thirteen ornaments. He has a white complexion, and is figured with legs crossed and his lower hands joined in devotional attitude, often holding a jewel. The right upper one holds a crystal rosary, and the left one a long-stemmed lotus flower which opens on the level of his ear.

A second form is a concrete and compound one, with eleven heads, and is usually represented standing. He has several pairs of hands carrying weapons to defend its votaries, and represents Amitabha when his head split to pieces in grief at seeing the deplorable state of fallen humanity. It also seems based on the many-headed Brahma. The eleven heads are generally arranged in the shape of a cone in five series from below, the topmost one being that of Amitabha, his spiritual father. The heads looking forward have a benevolent aspect, the left ones extreme anger at the faults of men, and the right ones either smile at man's good deeds or frown at his evil ones. He is generally given a thousand eyes, expressive of multitude. Unlike the thousand-eyed god of Brahminic mythology, Indra, Avalokita's extra eyes are on his extra hands, which are symbolical of peace, and most of the hands are stretched forward to save the wretched and the lost. The eye which is ever on the look-out to perceive distress carries with it a helping hand, which Waddell justly remarks is a most poetic piece of symbolism. Besides Avalokita, there are a number of other celestial Bodhisats, which are of less importance and need not detain us.

The principal and most active of the female Bodhisats or energies are Tara and Marici. Tara the saviour is the consort of Avalokita, and is the most popular deity in Tibet, both with lamas and lay people. She corresponds to the goddess of mercy and queen of heaven (Kwanvyin) of the Chinese. She has several analogies with " the Virgin " of Christianity, but is essentially Indian in origin and form. Her usual colour in Tibet is green, but she is also (especially among the Mongols) painted white, and has many forms. The green Tara is represented as a comely and bejewelled Indian lady with uncovered head, seated on a lotus and holding a long-stemmed lotus flower in her left hand, with her left leg pendant. The white one has seven eyes, one in her forehead, one in each palm, and one

on each side. She is believed by the Mongols to be incarnate in the White Tzar, i.e. the Russian Emperor. Another Tara has a frowning brow. There are numerous other Taras, marked by different attributes.

Marici, the resplendent. She was originally the queen of heaven, a Buddhist Ushas, a goddess of the dawn. Some of her attributes are very bizarre, e.g. as a metamorphosis of the sun as the centre of energy, curiously coupled with the Oriental myth of the primaeval productive pig. In another aspect she is a sort of Proserpine, the spouse of Yama, the Hindu Pluto, while in her fiercest mood she is the consort of the demon-general, the horse-headed Tamdin, a sort of demoniacal centaur. In another she is the adamantine sow, who is supposed to be incarnate in the abbess of the convent on the great Palti Lake. In her ordinary form she has three faces and eight hands, of which the left face is that of a sow. The hands hold various weapons, including an araju axe and a snare. She sits upon a lotus throne, drawn by seven swine (Waddell, op. cit. 354–61).

Among the other gods added to the Buddhist pantheon in later times a prominent plane is occupied by the so-called Tutelary deities, who play an important part in the life of the community. These are the great demon kings, and some of the inferior fiends who have been promoted to diabolic rank for their services to Buddhism, and are valued in proportion to their activities in combating the minor malignant devils. They are repulsive monsters of the type of the Hindu Shiva. They are, says Waddell, morbid creations of the later Tantrism, and may be considered fiendish metamorphoses of the supernatural Buddhas. Each of them has a consort, generally more malignant than her spouse. There are several of these ferocious many-armed monsters, and each sect has its own patron, whom it deems omnipotent. The Yellow Sect has Vajra bhairava, or the fearful thunderbolt, and represents Shiva as the destroyer of the king of the dead; he has several heads, of which the lowest central one is that of a bull. His arms and legs are innumerable. In his hands he carries weapons, and with his feet he tramples on the enemies of the Gelugpa or Yellow Sect. The writhing victims are represented in the four classes of ancient beings, i.e. gods, men, quadrupeds, and birds (ib. 361–3).

Another series of divinities are the so-called Defenders of the Faith, who are treated as the executive officers of the Tutelaries, each commanding a horde of demons. They are of the fiercest type of deity, and the females are metamorphoses of the Hindu fiendess Kala Devi.

They are represented in many different forms, the chief one having a horse's head and neck; another important one is Yamamari, the slayer of the death king, who is held to be incarnate in the Dalai Lama, as the controller of metempsychosis. The great She Devil, or Queen of the warring weapons, like the Durga of Brahmanism, is perhaps the most malignant and powerful of all the demons, and *inter alia* she lets loose the demons of disease. She is scarcely ever mentioned, and then only with bated breath as the great Queen Maharani, and is represented surrounded by flames, riding on a white-faced mule upon a saddle made of her own son's skin flayed by herself. She is clad in human skins, eating human brains and blood from a skull, and waves a trident rod in her right hand. She has several attendant queens riding upon different animals and is publicly worshipped for seven days by the lamas of all sects, and to the cakes offered to her are added the fat of a black goat, blood, wine, dough, and butter, which are placed in a bowl made from a human skull (ib. 364–5).

Lastly came the Familiars, answering to the demons or familiar spirits of the Greeks. In addition to the two Buddhist angels which every Tibetan carries on his shoulders, prompting him to good deeds or sin, he has a dablha, or enemy-god, on his right shoulder. Each of the local and personal gods has a special season, when he is popularly worshipped.

It will be seen from this resumé what a multitudinous assemblage of divinities and deities, most of them unfriendly and all exacting, have to be conciliated by the much harassed cultivators of Lamaism, and how, as in Greece and Rome, the native pantheon was recruited from every source. Apparently every foreign deity within the scope of observation of the lamas found a ready welcome among them, and was by them transported into Tibet and Mongolia.

Besides the foreign and native gods with which the old simple faith of Sakyamuni has been sophisticated, there are also the innumerable saints who cultivated them. These saints, says Waddell, may be divided into the Indian and Tibetan classes, inclusive of a few Chinese and Mongolian ones. They are usually figured with a halo round their heads, and when attended by disciples are represented of much larger size, and in the case of reincarnate lamas are surrounded by a few scenes of their former existence in other bodies.

After the gods come the saints. The chief Indian saints recognized by the lamas are the ten favourite disciples of Buddha. The principal of these are his so-called right- and left-hand disciples, Sariputra, and Maha Maugdalyayana, generally represented standing, carrying a begging-bowl and alarm staff, or with

their hands joined in adoration of Sakyamuni. After them the best-known are Maha Kasyapa, the president of the first Council; the first " patriarchs ", Upali, Subhuti, and Buddha's cousin and favourite attendant, Ananda (ib. 376).

Then come the sixteen most famous Sthavira, or chief apostles and missionaries of Buddhism. The Chinese and Japanese call them the sixteen Rahan or Lohan. In Sanscrit they are called Arhats. Several of them lived after Buddha's day, while latterly, and notably in China two additional ones have been added, bringing the number up to eighteen.

Each Arhat is figured in a fixed attitude, and each has his distinctive symbol or badge, like the Christian Apostles. They are described with their symbols by Waddell (op. cit. 377).

The two additional Arhats are Dharmatrata and Hwa Shang; the former was born in Gandhara, and was apparently the uncle of Vasumitra. He holds a vase and fly-whisk, and carries on his back a bundle of books and gazes at a small image of Buddha Amitabha. Being only a lay devotee he wears long hair.

The second one is deemed to be the last incarnation of Maitreya before he was transferred to the Tushita heavens, where he sits enthroned. He is represented with a sash and a rosary in his right hand, and a pearl in his left, while little urchins or goblins play around him. In the entrance to all the larger temples in China we find a colossal statue of this big-bellied, laughing, Maitreya, surrounded by the four kings of the universe. Other Indian saints of the Mahayana school who are worshipped by the lamas are enumerated by Waddell.

To complete the picture we must say a few words about the sanctified priests and teachers of the Tantric form of Shivaism, who have been deified, and who are usually represented with long untonsured locks and almost naked. The most famous of the group is Padma Sambhava, whom we have already spoken of and who was the actual founder of Lamaism. " He receives," says Waddell, " more active worship than any of the others, and has been deified. He sits dressed as a native of Udyana, holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a bowl made of a skull containing blood in the other, and carrying in his left arm-pit the trident of the King of Death." With this trident he transfixes a freshly decapitated human head, a wizened head, and a skull, and the saint is attended by his two wives offering him libations of blood and wine in skull-cups, while before him are set offerings of portions of human corpses. He is given seven other forms, wild or demoniacal. These with their different attributes and representing him in his different characters are enumerated and described by Waddell (op. cit. 379).

It is clear from this summary that no country in the world is burdened with such a multitude of gods and demons, who pursue the credulous inhabitants with such fears and anxious thoughts, as Tibet and its spiritual daughter, Mongolia, and none are more heavily taxed by the momentary provision which has to be made to conciliate those who are amiable and to disconcert those who are malignant and hurtful. To meet the difficulty a corresponding machinery has been invented in the shape of endless charms and magical objects of different kinds. The forms of these talismans and amulets are innumerable, and different diseases, accidents, and misfortunes have their special kinds. Written charms with magical phrases and spells in them are not only kept and read, but the paper with the writing on it is eaten, and they are used for every kind of disease and mental and bodily trouble, against snakes or scorpions, against bullets and weapons, etc., and also to bring some evil upon one's enemies. Sorcery, necromancy, divination, exorcism, in fact all the manifold methods of baffling or circumventing or paralysing the powers of evil, are practised.

To show how far Buddhism has travelled from its original standpoint we have only to compare how the original Buddhist Trinity, i.e. Buddha, His Word, and the Assembly of the Church, has been extended so as to comprise the vast host of deities, demons, and deified saints of Tibet, as well as many of those of the Indian Mahayana and Yogacarya sect. Side by side with this huge change, a similar change has passed over the company of monks who were organized by Sakyamuni to help him in teaching the world wisdom and goodness, and to help themselves to a happier future by ecstatic self-contemplation. They have now become a diligent priesthood, engaged in continual sacerdotal functions, and standing between the hosts of heaven and hell, whom Buddha ignored, and their poor human victims.

The Tibetan and other more un-Indian canonized saints, the products of Tantrism, may generally be recognized by their un-Indian style of dress, and even when they are bareheaded and clad in the orthodox Buddhist robes they always wear an inner garment, which was not the Indian fashion. The different Tibetan sects give a different status to the various saints, each one having its special patron, who is generally its founder. Thus the established church gives its chief place to Tsong Khapa and the chief pupils of Atisa; the Kargyu sect to Mila raspa, the Sakyapa to Sakya Pandita, and each has canonized its own particular saint. The innumerable lamas, who now pose as reincarnations of deceased monks, also receive homage as saints, and on their decease have their images duly installed and worshipped;

the ghosts of many deceased lamas are also worshipped in the belief that they have become malignant spirits who may wreak their wrath on their former associates and pupils unless conciliated.

Among the many lamas thus canonized, Tanton Gyual po deserves a special notice. He lived in the first half of the fifteenth century, and is celebrated for having built eight iron chain suspension bridges over the great rivers of Central Tibet; the one over the Yaru Tsan po, the central river of Tibet, and several others still subsist. In regard to his image in the Cathedral at Lhasa, the sacristan related the following legend. Before being last born he feared the miseries of the world very much, having inhabited it in a former existence. He accordingly contrived to remain sixty years in his mother's womb. There he sat in profound meditation, concentrating his mind most earnestly on the well-being of all living creatures. At the end of sixty years he began to realize that while meditating for the good of others, he was neglecting the rather prolonged sufferings of his mother. So he forthwith quitted the womb and came into the world, already provided with grey hair, and straightway began preaching (ib. 385 and note).

Besides the various transformations into which the transcendental native Buddhist mental creations have been metamorphosed, we have the foreign and imported elements such as the Dakkinis or Furies, which were apparently adopted from the indigenous Bon pa sect. They are chiefly the consorts of the demoniacal tutelaries, one of the most popular being represented lion-faced. They need not delay us. Then come what Waddell calls the Godlings, divinities which have been metamorphosed from Aryan and Hindu mythology, but have been reduced to this rank from their having been included in the wheel of metempsychosis and being employed only partially in Buddhist duties. They take rank below all the Buddhas, Bodhisatvas, and Buddhist saints are placed in the lowest heaven, and have not reached Nirvana, but are living still in the world of lust and desire. The first class comprises the thirty-three Vedic gods, the Nagas or serpent demi-gods (Nagis), genii (Yakshas), angels (Gandharas), Titans (Asuras), the Phœnix (Garuda), celestial musicians (Kinnara), and great reptiles (Maharagas). The second class consists of the great Indian gods Indra (i.e. Jupiter) and Brahma, Yama (Pluto), Varuna (Uranus), and Kuvera or Vulcan, Agni or the Fire-god (Ignis), and Me lha or Soma, the Moon or Bacchus, the goblins (Uririti), the Maruts or Storm-gods, Isa, and Ananta or Mother Earth. Each one is assigned its position in space north, south, east, or west of the zenith.

Indra and Brahma are represented as attending on Buddha at all periods of his life; the former, who has an extra eye in his

forehead; acts as his umbrella-carrier, and the latter, four-headed and four-handed, is carrying the vase of life, containing ambrosia. The Brahminical gods Vishnu and Yama, the Indian Pluto (called Erlikkhan by the Mongols), the judge of the dead, the most dreaded of divinities, is represented in the wheel of life as the central figure in hell, where, however, he also has to suffer torment. His special emblem is a bull.

According to the legend he became the Lord of the Dead at the instance of Sakyamuni, having previously caused great iniquities in previous ages of the world. The Buddhists claim, however, that he had shown contrition and was in consequence nominated judge of the dead. He represents Shiva, the Avenger, in his most terrible form, and everything that can exert and terrify the imagination of a simple people has been accumulated by the priesthood in designing his figure. Over the head of an ox, which has a wreath of skulls round it, towers up ordinarily a wrathful three-eyed human head, also decked with a diadem of skulls. He has a number of arms. Each of these has in its hand a weapon, an emblem of victory, an instrument of torture, a noose or snare or string or two limbs of men. His girdle is a serpent bound with dead men's heads. Under his feet he crushes a crowd of men and other creatures, and is surrounded with flames of fire. Similar to him are the representations of Mahakala (the Yeke Kharra of the Mongols), i.e. the great black ones, a well-known name of Shiva and other Shivaist monstrosities. Yama himself (i.e. Shiva) is represented under his eight terrifying forms, and more seldom also Vaisravana or Mongol Bisman Tengri, the prince of the Yakchas and God of Wealth, one of the four Giant Genii who keep guard at the gates of the temples (Koeppen, op. cit. ii, 298).

The most popular of the godlings is Jambhata. He has a portly form, like the Hindu Ganesa, his relative. In his right hand he has a bag of jewels, money, or grain, symbolic of riches, and in his left a mongoose as a conqueror of snakes.

The Nagas are the mermen and mermaids of Hindu mythology and the demons of drought. They are of four kinds: (1) celestial beings guarding the mansions of the gods; (2) aerial ones causing wind or rain for human benefit; (3) earthly ones marking out the courses of the rivers and streams; (4) guardians of hidden treasures, hidden from mortals. They are represented as snakes or dragons.

The so-called country-gods have been adopted by the Lamaists from the indigenes of Tibet. They are divided into eight classes. The greatest of them are the spirits of the larger mountains and the ghosts of heroes and ancestors. The former are figured as fierce

forms of Vaisravana as the god of wealth, clad in Tibetan costumes and riding on lions, etc.

The ghosts of deified heroes or defeated rivals are generally represented in anthropomorphic form and dressed in Tibetan fashion, but some also of monstrous aspect.

Besides these country gods are others of a purely local character or *genii loci*. They are located in special places and are mostly Caliban-like spirits, and are generally spiteful and ill-tempered, or demoniacal. They infest trees, rocks, and springs. In every monastery or temple the special god of the locality has a place within the outer doorway, and is worshipped with wine or sometimes a bloody sacrifice.

The house-god of the Tibetans seems to be the same as the kitchen god of the Chinese, who is believed to be of Taouist origin, and is also very like the door-god of the Shamans (*vide supra*). He is represented with a man's head and flowing robes, is of a roving disposition, and occupies different parts of the house at different seasons. No object is allowed to invade or occupy the place where he has planted himself, nor may it be swept without incurring his wrath. It thus happens that if an uninvited visitor, entering a Tibetan house and seeing a vacant place, puts his hat down unwittingly there, it is at once removed with the remark that the god is there.

The household regulate their own movements, however, in the same regular and known way as the god does, at different seasons. Waddell enumerates the different positions the god thus occupies at different times, and which cause much worry to his hosts, sometimes inside and sometimes in the eaves or the verandah. He is generally outside in hot weather and at the fire in cold. Thus, when he is in the middle of the house the fire-grate must not be put there, but removed to a corner of the room, and no dead body must be deposited there. While if he is at the door no bride or bridegroom may come in or go out. If in such a case it is not possible to enter by the chimney or by a window, and the entry is urgent, then the images of a horse or a yak must be made of earth and wheaten flour, on each of which must be put some of the skin or hair of the animal. Tea and beer are then offered to the god, who is invited to sit on the images thus provided for him. The door is then unhinged and carried outside, while the bride, bridegroom, or corpse is passed in, after which, as a general precaution, once every year and at extra times whenever any suspicion arises that the god may have been displeased, the lamas are sent for to propitiate him, and the door is restored to its place.

Having given this short conspectus of the mythology of Lamaism,

we will now turn to the temples in which these gods are worshipped, and will begin with an excellent description by Waddell of a typical Tibetan temple. The main door is approached, he says, by a short flight of steps leading to the entrance, which is often screened by a large curtain of yak-hair hung from the upper balcony, and which serves to keep out rain and snow from the frescoes in the vestibule. The gateway of the vestibule is guarded by several repulsive figures. These are generally (1) a tutelary deity, usually a red devil, Tsān, a brawny-limbed creature of elaborate ugliness, armed with various weapons and clad in skins; (2) specially vicious demons of a lower order of a more or less local character. Thus, at Pemiongchi, is the Gyal po Shuk dén, with a brown face and seated on a white elephant. He was once the learned Lama Sodnams Grags pa, who was deposed for licentious practises, and who on his death took this malignant form and now wreaks his wrath on those who do not worship him. (3) and (4) a pair of hideous imps, one on either side; of a red and bluish-black colour, named Semba and Marnak, who butcher their victims. Here also are sometimes portrayed the twelve Tan ma, the female devils of Tibet, who sow disease and were subjugated by Padma above named (ib. 288–9).

Facing the visitor in the vestibule are images or frescoes of the four kings of the four quarters, who protect the heavens and the universe against the Titans and other demons. They are clad in full armour, and have a defiant look. Sometimes the guardian of the south is painted green and that of the north yellow. They are worshipped as beneficent deities, bringing good luck and defending men from the evil spirits.

In the vestibule or verandah are also sometimes displayed as frescoes the wheel of life and scenes from the Jatakas or stories of the adventures of the Buddha Sakyamuni during his earlier existence, and also the sixteen great saints or Sthavira (*Arhats* or *Rahans*).

In the smaller temples which have no detached chapels for larger prayer barrels, one or two immense ones are set up at each end of the vestibule and mechanically turned by lay devotees, each revolution being announced by a lever striking a bell. The bells being of different tones and struck alternately, form at times a not unpleasant chime. Each barrel contains one or more written prayer or invocations, and every turn of the cylinder counts as a prayer read or recited.

The door is a massive one, and sometimes rudely carved and ornamented with brazen bosses. It opens in two halves and thus gives access to the temple.

The interior of an ordinary temple is divided by pillars into a

nave and aisle, and the nave is terminated by the altar. The whole of the interior is a mass of rich colour, the walls on the right and left being decorated with figures of deities, saints, and demons, mostly of life size, but in no regular order, and the beams are mostly painted red, picked out with lotus rosettes and other emblems; the colours, which are very bright, are toned down by the deep gloom of the temple, which is only dimly lit by the entrance door.

Above the altar are three colossal gilt figures in a sitting attitude, "the three rarest ones," as the Buddhists call their trinity. The choice of the particular images forming the trinity depends on the sect to which the temple belongs. Sakyamuni is often the central one with a saint, Tsong Khapa or Padma Sambhava, on the left of the spectator and Avalokita on the right.

To the left of the door is a table, on which is set the tea and soup which is served out by the boy candidates for the priesthood, during the intervals of worship.

At the right front of the altar stands the Chief Lama's table, one foot in height and often elaborately carved and painted with lotuses and other sacred symbols. Behind it is a cushion upon which is spread a yellow or blue woollen rug, or a piece of tiger's or leopard's skin, upon which the lama sits. On the table of the Abbot are the following objects: (1) Magic rice-offering of the universe, (2) a saucer with loose rice for throwing upon the sacrifices, (3) a small hand-drum, (4) a bell, (5) a dorji or sceptre, (6) a vase for holy water.

The other two monks who are allowed tables in the temple are the chief chorister and the provost-marshal. The chief chorister's altar table contains only a holy water vase, bell, dorji, and the large cymbals; that of the provost has on it an incense-goblet, a bell, and a dorji. At a certain spot is placed the lay figure of the corpse whose spirit is to be withdrawn by the Abbot. At another place in the temples of Sikhim is set the throne of the king or of the incarnate lama, only to be used when either of them visits the temple. On each pillar of the colonnade is hung a small silk banner with five flaps. Others of similar shape are hung from the roof and on each side of the altar is one of circular form (op. cit. 294).

The altar itself stands at the end of the nave, of which it occupies the larger part, and on its centre is placed the chief image; above it is hung a large silk parasol, the oriental symbol of royalty, which is slightly revolved in one or other direction by the ascending currents of warm air from the lamps. Over all is stretched a canopy called the sky, on which are depicted the thunder dragons of the sky.

The altar should have two tiers; on the lower and narrow outer one are placed offerings of water, rice, cakes, flowers, and lamps. On

the high one extending up to the images are put the musical instruments and other utensils for worship. In front of the altar, and sometimes upon it, stands the temple lamp, a short bowl, with a pedestal, into the socket of the centre of which is thrust a cotton wick, which is fed by melted butter. Its size depends on the means and number of the temple votaries, as it is deemed an act of piety to add butter to the lamp. The butter in the bowl solidifies, so that it forms a kind of candle. One lamp is necessary, but two or more are desirable, and on special occasions from 108 to 1,000 small lamps are offered on the altars (op. cit. 296).

Beside the altar stand the large spouted water-jug for filling the smaller water-vessels with, a dish to hold grain for offerings, an incense-holder, and a pair of flower-vases. On the right is a small stool or table, on which is the magical rice-offering with its three tiers of vessels, made up and arranged by the temple attendants.

The ordinary water- and rice-offerings are set in shallow brazen bowls composed of a brittle alloy of brass, silver, gold, and pounded precious stones. They are five or seven in number, two contain rice heaped up into a small cone. Another food offering is a high conical cake of dough, butter, and sugar, variously coloured, called " the holy food ". It is placed on a metal tray supported by a tripod. To save expense a painted dummy cake is sometimes substituted. On the top of the altar are usually placed the following objects :—

1. A miniature funeral monument (ch'orten).
2. One or two sacred books on each side of the altar.
3. The Lamaist sceptre or *dorje*, typical of the thunderbolt of Indra and a bell. The dorje is the counterpart of the bell, and when applied to the shoulders of the latter should be exactly the same length as the bell handle.
4. The holy water vase with a metal mirror hanging from its spout. The water is tinged with saffron, and sprinkled by a long sprinkler surmounted by a fan of peacock's feathers and the holy *kusa* grass. Another form is surmounted by a chaplet.
5. The divining arrow, bound with five coloured silk ribbons, called *dhadar*, for demoniacal worship.
6. A large metal mirror to reflect the images of the spirits.
7. Two pairs of cymbals. Those used in the worship of Buddha and the higher divinities are about twelve or more inches in diameter, with very small central bosses. They are held one over the other when in use, and beaten gently. Those used for the worship of the lesser deities are smaller, but with larger bosses, and are held horizontally in the hands and clanged forcibly together with great clamour. Chinese gongs are also used.

8. A conch shell trumpet often mounted with bronze or silver, so as to prolong the valves of the shell and deepen its note; it is used with the cymbals (ib. 297–8).

9. A pair of copper flageolets.

10. A pair of long telescopic copper horns in three pieces, often 6 feet long.

11. A pair of human thigh-bone trumpets. These are sometimes encased in brass, with a wide copper flanged extremity, on which are figured the three eyes and nose of a demon, the oval open extremity representing his mouth. Bones of criminals or of those who have died by violence are generally used for making these thigh-bone trumpets, and an elaborate incantation is gone through when they are made, part of which consists in the lama eating a portion of the covering of the bone, otherwise it is thought its blast would not be sufficient to summon the demons.

12. A pair of tiger's thigh-bone trumpets; these are not always present. The three last instruments are only used for the worship of the lower gods and demons.

13. Drums. These are of three kinds: (*a*) A small rattle hand-drum, like a large double egg-cup. Between its two faces are attached a pair of pendant leather knobs and a long-headed flap as a handle. When the drum is held by the cloth handle and jerked alternately to right and left, the knobs strike the faces of the drum. This is used daily to mark the pauses between the different parts of the service. (*b*) The big drum, called the religious drum, is of two kinds, one suspended in a frame and only used occasionally in the worship of Buddha. The others are carried in the hand by a stem pushed through its curved border. They are beaten with drum-sticks, with either straight or curved handles. (*c*) A drum made from a human skull, otherwise like (*a*).

14. Libation jugs.

Waddell supplements this excellent account of a typical Lamaist temple by some notes on the greatest of all north Buddhist temples, the centre of the Lamaist world and a great trysting-place for Mongol pilgrims. I will take a few sentences from this supplement. The temple in question is called Jo-wo K'an, or the Lord's House. It is the oldest existing Buddhist temple in Tibet, having been founded in the seventh century by Sron Tsan Gam po, and stands in the middle of Lhasa. Before the entrance is a flagstaff, about 40 feet high, with the tails and horns of yaks and horns of sheep tied to its base. The temple itself is three stories high, and is alleged to be roofed with golden plates. In the centre of the hall is a swing-door decorated on the inside with bronze plates and outside with iron ones. The light comes from above from the middle of the nave, where a translucent

oil-cloth serves instead of glass, and there are no side windows. On the north and south sides respectively is a row of side chapels. The two cross aisles are separated from the nave by silver lattice-work.

From the west cross aisle a staircase leads to the Holy of Holies. On the left of this are fifteen plates of massive silver covered with thousands of precious stones and representations of Buddhist dogmatism and mysticism, such as "the Buddhist system of the world", "the circle of metempsychosis", etc. At the west end of the sanctuary in a quadrangular niche stands the figure of Sakyamuni. Before the entrance is the throne of the Dalai Lamas, very high, richly decorated, and covered with the five pillows of the Grand Lamas. Beside this is the similar statue of the Panchen or Banchen Grand Lama. Then follow in rotation the statues of other regenerate Lamas. The high altar is several steps high. On the top one are small statues of gods and saints made of massive gold and silver. Behind a silver gilt screen is the gigantic, richly gilded image of Buddha Sakyamuni, wreathed with a jewelled necklace made up of native offerings.

It represents Buddha as a young prince in the sixteenth year of his age, and is said to have been made at Magadha in India, and to have been sent by the King of Magadha to the Chinese Emperor and by him given as a marriage gift to his daughter when she married the Tibetan king. Flowers are showered on it daily. Beside this, the temple contains innumerable idols; for instance, in a special room is the image of the goddess Sri Devi (Pal-ldan Lha-mo), also a famous figure of Avalokita, "the self-created pentad." There are also images of famous persons who had done great service to religion, such as the early King Sron Tsan Gam po and his two Chinese wives (named on an earlier page), and of the ambassador he sent to India for holy books and pictures.

In this temple are contained innumerable precious things and holy relics, consecrated presents, gold and silver vessels, etc., which are exhibited at the beginning of the third Chinese month. Round about are many copper prayer machines. The whole is surrounded with a wall with several Buddhist towers, covered with gold plates. No woman is allowed to remain within the walls during the night (ib. 303–4).

Koeppen, referring to a typical Tibetan temple, adds some details. He says it forms an oblong with three appurtenant additions or chapels, giving the building a certain look of a Gothic church. The outside is generally covered with trellis-work which is continuous with the roof hanging over the screens on the side wall. There are generally three entrances, the principal one being in front. There is never a door at the back. The interior consists of three principal

parts, the porch, the nave or chief hall, and the sanctuary. The ordinary form of the porch is that of a small room in which are planted the four great kings (Maharajas) of the spirits, who stand there as guardians of the temple or are painted on the walls or hung in detached pictures. Close by them are ranged the prayer machines or cylinders. A door gives access from the porch to the nave, which occupies by far the largest part of the site. It is separated from two aisles by columns as in a western church. In the middle of the nave a kind of dome lets light into the building. In the great hall are recesses to hold the sacred books and the vessels, etc., used in the services. At the north side of the Mongol temples, and the west of the Tibetan ones, is attached the sanctuary, a kind of niche or chapel, which is only separated from the nave by a curtain. Here sits eastward the great figure of Buddha Sakyamuni under a baldachino and in the midst other saintly figures or the whole trinity. In front stands the altar or a bowl of offerings (Koeppen, op. cit. 299–300).

The great lama temples at Peking differ little from those last described, except that they are kept scrupulously clean. Inside are fine altar vessels and gilded shrines of Buddha of pure Indian design. In each temple are two large stuffed tigers. They are mounted on small wheels and have movable eyes, which roll in a fine frenzy when they are carried in religious processions. The enclosures in which these once formidable animals are stalled are covered from floor to ceiling with votive offerings, mostly bows and arrows.

Having described the temples of Tibet, the mother country of Lamaism, let us now turn to those of its religious daughter Mongolia. The most important Lamaist shrine in Mongolia is known as Erdeni Tsu. It is also the oldest one established in the Khalkha Khanates, having been planted in 1586. It was on the site, according to Mongol records (translated by Podzneyef), of the residence of Jinghiz Khan's son Ogotai. Although overshadowed in size by Urga (which name is a corruption of Oerge, meaning a big house or palace), it is still the most venerated of Mongolian holy places, and is really a collection of temples and shrines enclosed by a square of mud walls 500 yards on each side and 15 feet high. The walls, as usual, face the cardinal points. The principal front faces the north, while in Tibet it generally faces the east. There is a large gate in the centre of each and white dagobas (*ch'ortens* or *caityas*, the Indian stupas or topes) planted at intervals of 20 to 25 yards, which take the place of bastions. There are also a number of old monumental stones with inscriptions in Chinese, Turkish, and Mongol (Campbell, 31).

Timkofski, in describing the temples at Urga, the metropolis of Mongolia (and the little he was permitted to see of the residence of the Khutuktu), says: the enclosure is so high that he was unable to distinguish the style of architecture of the buildings. The temples there stand north and south and have roofs painted green, and round the top of one of them is a splendid gilt lattice. The Khutuktu lives outside the enclosure, in a separate felt yurt, according to the custom of the nomads. Some distance from the temples is a large wooden building, in which the lamas teach their pupils to read Tibetan books and to play on the wind instruments used in the temples (ib. 44). These students are called black lamas. Behind the school is a building where they cook the scholars' food. About a thousand of the latter are maintained there at the expense of the Khutuktu. North-east of the temples are several yurts, in which the Khutuktu's marshal lives, near which is the great dignitary's treasury. It is covered with earth, and looks like a farmhouse. To the north-west are the magazines, and near the gate is an enclosed space for the horses, camels, and sheep presented to the Khutuktu. The temples stand in a large open space. Before the principal doors, which are turned to the south, there is a small spot enclosed with rails painted red. It is here the lamas perform their ceremonies.

On all holidays prayers are chanted and incense burnt upon a small wooden platform placed towards the south. On the sides of the large space are little courts surrounded with palisades, in each of which is a large tent raised upon beams and covered with white calico. These are the private temples of the Khans of the Khalkas. The inhabitants of Urga, ecclesiastics as well as laymen, live in tents. Some are shaded by willows, which grow in the courtyards. The streets are so narrow that two horsemen can hardly ride abreast.

Opposite the temples on the left bank of the Tula rises the Khan Ula, or Imperial Mountain. On one side of it are inscriptions of colossal dimensions, formed of large white stones written in Mongol, Manchu, Chinese, and Tibetan, expressing the delight of the Khalkas at the rebirth of the latest Khutuktu, the extent of which joy was marked by the size of the letters in the dedicatory inscriptions; the summit of the mountain is covered with forests.

In the clefts of the rock are erected the kibitkas of the guards, who are stationed there to prevent any person from approaching the spot sacred to the living God (i.e. the Gheghen or Khutuktu). A great festival is held there every three years. It is then that the census of the population is made, useful regulations are enacted, and private quarrels and differences settled.

Describing the temple of Sumé in the Khalkha country, Timkofski says: On entering the principal gate into the vestibule, there were

four wooden idols of gigantic size representing warriors in full armour. The first had a red face and held a twined serpent in his hand. The face of the second was white, and he held a parasol in his hand, the third had a blue face and bore a sword, and the fourth, who had a yellow face, was playing a lute. These demons, or gods, says Timkofski, were called Yulkursun, Pachibu, Chemidzan, and Nomtosseré. They are believed to have lived over 2,500 years, and are 20 fathoms in height. They preside over the four regions of Mount Sumer, which is the idealized centre of the universe and the supposed abode of guardian angels who preside over the temporal happiness of mortals. This celestial transendental mountain has seven gilded summits, and extends 100,000 versts towards each quarter of the globe.

Having crossed the courtyard, paved with bricks, travellers enter the principal enclosure, where the lamas meet to pray in summer, but not in winter, because of the cold. Above the wooden pillars inside are standards, drums, and kadaks, or sacred kerchiefs. The walls are hung with silk, on which are represented the noted Buddhist saints. Opposite the door are large copper or brass idols. Near them are seats for the elder lamas, like arm-chairs, with cushions covered with yellow satin. Carpets of felt are spread out on the floor for the inferior lamas, and everything is kept very neat and tidy. Behind the temple is a small building, against the north wall of which stands the gilt image of Buddha. A large dish full of butter and millet stands before the idol, and beside it are several cups of gilt-copper filled with iced water and tea, a dish of millet, and near the table a fan of peacock's feathers.

In the temple at Peitzu, where Kidston was entertained to brick tea and cakes, there is a great pavilion. A service was being held in a hall surrounded to the ceiling by hundreds of small gilded Buddhas in niches, and the monks were chanting in the deep low tone which is peculiar to them. In another building hard by another service was going on accompanied by the clashing of cymbals, the beating of drums mounted on long poles, and the blowing of silver-mounted copper trumpets, at least 15 feet long, which rested on wooden supports on the floor. There was also a great quantity of metal-work altar vessels, human skulls mounted in silver, silver basins, bells, etc. (Kidston 12).

The temple of Ta nir sen is a curious medley of architectural styles. Its most striking feature is a large artificial mound or hill crowned with four square towers. The front of this hill is cut away, presenting a flat surface on which are displayed three huge clay bas-reliefs of Buddhist divinities. These, like most Mongol images, are Indian in character.

The temple itself is in the Tibetan style, rectangular, with a flat roof and square windows with simple cross frames. The porch and several outlying buildings, however, are purely Chinese, with curved roofs and gaudily painted woodwork. But the most wonderful building of all is the great prayer hall, which is shaped and painted to represent a gigantic Mongol yurt. It has Tibetan windows and a Chinese pagoda-like lantern rising from the centre of the roof, where the smoke-hole ought to be.

In addition to all these religious buildings there are yurts, mud hovels, and wooden shanties for about 1,000 lamas, flung about everywhere in no sort of order and interspersed with huge praying wheels under boarded shelters (op. cit. 21).

The inner walls of the temples, especially the big ones, are either covered with paintings or hung with tapestries, and with carved and moulded or painted images, portraits of famous Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, benevolent saints, canonized and incarnate lamas, and pictures from Jataka stories representing scenes from the legends and life-stories of the founder of their faith, notably his early experiences when incarnate in animals, his twelve famous acts in the different routes and stations of his soul's wandering, scenes in heaven and in hell, and others symbolical of the Mystical Unity of Pantheism, also dogmatic and metaphysical symbolical pictures of the innumerable good qualities of a Buddha.

In a third building, at the farther end of the court, is preserved in wooden repositories the famous work called Gandjur, an encyclopædia of Northern Buddhism in 108 volumes, 54 ranged on the right side and 54 on the left side of the temple, each volume containing about 1,000 pages. Near the great copper idol is another work called the Jen, in sixteen volumes. Both the books are written in Tibetan and richly bound. The chief priest of this temple was a young Khubilghan living at Urga for his education (op. cit. 193–6).

Gilmour speaks of the lamas at a temple he went to as being educated men engaged in copying sacred books in letters of gold on blue cardboard. The Mongols believe that to write out a sacred book in black ink brings much merit, to write it in red ink brings more, and in gold most of all.

In the temples are numbers of gold and silver jewels and other ornaments, carpets, banners, scarves, etc. Tibet is the land of banners and scarves, and they hang both outside and inside the temples. There are also bouquets of flowers, ribbons, pyramids, inscriptions, etc. The whole interior, including the floor, is a mass of various colour, gilding, and rich display, bizarre and crude betimes, but as a background to the imposing services, having a wonderful effect and is an astounding contrast to the low stage of civilization reached by

the Mongols in other matters. While the paintings show no knowledge of perspective, and are overladen with allegories and with bizarre Indian creation and monstrosities, there is much at times to attract the artist, both in colour and execution in these works. The skill shown in the mechanical processes of casting, modelling, and carving (arts much practised in the larger monasteries of Tibet), is really wonderful, and in no way inferior to European work; the Nepalese are the most skilled metal workers of all the East (Waddell, op. cit. 300–1).

Among the entirely nomadic Mongols and Kalmuks, the temple consists of a yurt specially used as a home of the Gods, the sacred books and the lamps, dishes for offerings, etc. The yurt in question is notable for its size and is made of white felt, the trunks in which the Gods and the other contents are packed are also covered with white felt. When being removed they are carried on special two-wheeled carts, also covered with white felt, and drawn by white camels. The yurt itself is also packed on the back of a white camel; the packing and unpacking is done by lamas. Near the actual God's house is another big yurt made of white felt, where the services are held. Opposite the entrance is the stage or scaffold on which are placed the Gods, hung with yellow cloth hangings. On both sides of the roof there hang silken hangings of the five sacred colours, white, red, yellow, green, and blue.

Let us now turn from the temples to the monks. The Lamaists, like the primitive Buddhists, recognize two classes of people who take vows answering to the lay brothers and professed monks of the Catholic church. The lay brothers are called Upashakas by the Hindus. They wear a secular dress and are only expected to avoid the five great sins and to be more careful about their dress and habits than ordinary laymen. They use a red girdle as a distinguishing mark, but do not shave their heads, and can marry and live at home in the bosom of their families (op. cit. ii, 304).

Passing on to the consecrated Lamas or Sramanas of the Buddhists. A lama begins his life very early. He is selected by his parents when young, and the dedication is completed by the tonsure of his whole head, which constitutes him a lama. He is dressed in red or yellow, and is then either put in a monastery or in charge of some lama living in his own yurt, a sort of tutor. If he is put in a monastery he is taught the Buddhist faith or medicine by the other lamas. In the temples of the first rank, like those at Urga and Gumbum in the province of Kansu, near Sining fu, in China, there are separate schools or seminaries for training the neophytes. On leaving such a school where the curriculum is long and the discipline severe, he is tested by examinations. The young

man is first examined to see if he has any physical defects, such as being a cripple or stammering, has a contagious disease or fits, or if he is a debtor, a slave, or soldier, or has committed some gross offence. These details are all put down.

Until then he is known as a rabbyun, " excellent born," in Tibetan, Shabi Bandi or Bante among the Mongols, and Manji among Kalmuks respectively, and answers to the Upashaka the Sanscrit equivalent (Waddell, 171).

A " seminarist " is distinguished by a red sash and is only bound to obey the ten precepts prescribed for the austere life. He receives a ceremonial scarf, a yellow dress and cap, is shaved all except a small tuft, and gets *inter alia* a bowl for alms, a rosary, and a bag for meal. The seminarists are employed in inferior posts in the services and helps the fully fledged lamas, answering to acolytes, etc., in the Catholic church.

Presently the aspiring seminarist makes a request to a senior lama to be admitted to the lowest stage of Lamaism, answering to the Diaconate in the Catholic church. It is known as Ge ts'ul or the Novisiate. On leaving the seminaries where they are subject to stringent teaching and examinations, the students become Ge ts'uls, and are duly ordained as Lamas, i.e. ascetics who have taken vows, when the last tuft of hair is removed, and, as Waddell neatly quotes from Chaucer : " His head was balled and shone like any glass." He now abandons his secular name and is given a religious one, by which he is afterwards known. If he is one of the old nobility he gets an additional title, i.e. Sarat. If of a Nagtsang family that of Shab dung, if the son of a high official or landowner Jedun, and if one of the old gentry or Sha-ngo family Choi je (see Waddell, 179, note 1). This is quite contrary to the democratic theories of the older Buddhism. At the ordination of a novice a service symbolical of his marriage to the church is gone through, in which the candidate carries a bundle of incense sticks. In many cases they do not advance beyond the status of Ge ts'ul, i.e. of probationers or novices. These are generally of inferior birth and ill-educated. Like the actual Lamas or Gelongs they are, however, ordained by the chief lama of the monastery. Some of them live with the Lamas as their assistants or deacons, and attend to the religious necessities of the people. At their consecration they engage to obey the 112 precepts. They commit to memory the ordinary prayers in the Tibetan language, which they do not often understand. The vows they take are not perpetual, and it would appear they can forsake the ascetic life and marry. In regard to the Ge ts'uls who propose to become complete lamas or Gelongs, they, after three years, pass out of the preliminary stage, Rig ch'un, and are then

entitled to have separate cells. They now enter on a rigid course of instruction and discipline, enforced if necessary by corporal punishment. This is chiefly in ritual and dogma, but if they have a special aptitude they are also taught certain crafts and arts, such as painting, sculpture, etc., and they are further initiated into the mysterious rites of their faith. Regular examinations and public disputations are also held (Waddell, 181–2, 178–84). The examinations are difficult and stringent, and involve the learning off by heart of all the prescribed books (lists of these are given by Waddell, 182–4, notes). This shows what stupendous memories are required, and no wonder that the majority fail to pass at the first examination. After a course of twelve years the students who have passed their examinations are deemed eligible for ordination as Gelongs, the minimum age being 20 (ib. 185). Those who remain Ge ts'uls are distributed in the small hamlets of 10 to 20 kibilkas to attend on the religious needs of the poor people. For such duties old men are generally chosen, who have neither influence nor means to become Gelongs. They wear an apron (majak) instead of trousers, and a mantle, shave the head, and at their consecration only undertake to obey the 112 rules and commit to memory the ordinary prayers in the Tibetan language used in the services. Some of them are also employed in small duties in the temple, or in taking care of the statues of the gods or setting out the tables when offerings are made. They can forsake the ascetic life if they please and marry.

The Gelongs are the fully equipped monks, who are competent to perform all religious services and have to keep the 253 rules. They do not, however, all have the same status.

Those who pass their examinations with exceptional distinction receive academic and theological degrees, by which they become eligible for the highest appointments in the order. The chief degrees, says Waddell, are Ge s'e, corresponding to our B.D., and Rabjampa or D.D. The former must have shown in an open meeting that he can translate and completely expound at least ten of the chief sacred books. Many of them become heads of monasteries not only in Tibet, but in Mongolia, India, and China. Others return to their own fatherland, while some pursue their studies in the higher Tantras to qualify for the most-coveted post of the Khri pa of the monastery of Gah-ldan. The other degree of Rabjampa is only obtained after a disputation over the whole doctrine of the church and faith, It confers a diploma enabling the recipient to teach the law publicly, and admits him to the highest offices in the church except those specially reserved for incarnate lamas; the recipient also receives a special form of hat. Only twelve monasteries in Tibet can give

the degree, and it is considered more honourable than one given by the Grand Lama himself (ib. 186).

The titles of Ch'oje and Pandita are given by the sovereign Grand Lama to specially selected doctors famed for blameless holiness and excellent wisdom. The Rabjampas rank in precedence with the secular title of Taishi, while the Ch'ojes rank with Khuug-taishis. From the two classes are selected the Kan pos or abbots (ib. 186–7). In every monastery there is a teacher of the law, who ranks after the abbot but in the greater monasteries there are regular universities in which the holy books are systematically explained. They are divided into different faculties, which besides those relating to theology, philosophy, and metaphysics, also include one for medicines, and a mystical one for magic and conjuring. Special schools for teaching magic exist in some monasteries, where weather conjuring and sympathetic pharmacy are taught.

The robes which the monks of the established church and the celibate monks of the other sects wear during certain celebrations are the three vestments. They are of a shape prescribed in the primitive code of ritual, the Vinaya, with the addition of a brocaded collared under-vest and trousers. The material of these robes is usually woollen cloth, but silk (though against the precepts) is sometimes worn by those who can afford the expense.

The colour of certain parts of the dress is yellow or red, according to the sect. Yellow or saffron colour in Tibet is reserved for the clergy of the established church of the Ge-lug-pa sect, and its use by others is penal. The only instance in which it is permitted is when a layman is bringing a present to a Ge-lug-pa priest. He is then allowed to wear during his visit a flat yellow hat like a tam-o'-shanter bonnet.

The three orthodox Buddhist raiments above mentioned are :—

1. The lower patched robe, gzan or sanghah, a kind of petticoat reaching to the ground in several thick folds. The cloth is in several largish patches (about twenty-three), sewn into seven divisions and fastened by a girdle at the waist. This patched robe, which gives the idea of the tattered garments of poverty, is stated to have originated with Ananda dividing into thirty pieces the rich robe given to Buddha by the wealthy physician Jivaka, which robe was sewn by Ananda into five divisions. (Waddell, 290 and note 5.)

2. The outer patched robe, named Nam-jaz Antarvarseki. The cloth is similarly cut into very numerous pieces, about 125, which are sewn together in twenty-five divisions.

3. The upper shawl, named bLd-gos (Uttazasanghati). Long and narrow, 10 to 20 feet long and 2 to 3 feet broad. It is thrown over the left shoulder and passed under the right arm, leaving the

right shoulder bare, as in the Indian style, but the shoulders and chest are covered by an inner vest. It is adjusted all round the body, covering both shoulders, on entering the houses of laymen. Over all is thrown a plaited cloak or cape, crescentic in shape.

The ordinary lower robe of lamas of all sects is an ample plaited petticoat, named " S'am'tabs ", of a deep garnet-red colour, which encircles the figure from the waist to the ankles, and is fastened at the waist by a girdle. With this is worn an unsleeved vest, open in front like a Christian's deacon's dalmatic. On less ceremonial occasions a sleeved waistcoat is used; and when travelling or visiting, the ordinary Tibetan wide-sleeved red gown, gathered at the waist by a girdle, is worn and always trousers. The sleeves of this mantle are broad and long, and in hot weather, or on occasions where greater freedom is wanted, or the priest has to administer with bare arms, the arms are withdrawn from the sleeves, which latter then hang loose.

A sash is also usually worn, several yards long and about 3 inches broad, thrown over the left shoulder, across the breast, tied in a bow over the right hip, and the remainder swung round the body. Thus, says Waddell, it will be seen that lamas of every sect, the established church included, *ordinarily* wear *red* robes, and it is the colour of the girdles (sKe'rag) and the shape and colour of the hats which are the chief distinctive badges of the yellow sect (op. cit. 201 and 202). While this is the costume worn by the ordinary monks, that of the higher lamas and most of the richer ones is made of the finest woven stuff, called Phrug by the Tibetans, or Thi, i.e. embroidered silks woven with threads of gold overlaid with pearls and other rich jewels and with gold ornaments. Koeppen, perhaps, with a sly allusion to other latitudes, compares this pomp with the homely surroundings and simple tastes of the glorified mendicant who founded the order.

The boots worn by the lamas when travelling or in the open air are of stiff red and parti-coloured felt, with soles of hide or yak-hair. The practice prescribed by the Buddhist Rule and practised by the ascetics in India of going bare foot is not possible in such a climate as Tibet or Mongolia. In the services the monks, including the great dignitaries, generally go barefoot.

From the girdle hangs, in addition to the holy-water bottle, a pen case, purse, bag with condiments, dice, etc., and sometimes a rosary (when it is not in use or worn on the neck or wrists), and the amulet box. In the upper flap of the coat, forming a breast-pocket, are thrust the prayer-wheel, drinking-cup, booklets, charms, etc. The holy water-bottle (Ch'ab-lug), which hangs from the left side of

the girdle, is fringed by a flap of cloth coloured red or yellow, according to the sect.

The wooden alms-dish which every lama carries about with him, and which contains about a quart and is meant to hold his food when eating, is no longer used to collect alms in, and is carried about in the girdle or the sleeve. Most of the monks also carry a small bottle with water with which they sprinkle their hands after meals, thus making a pretence of washing (ib. 270 and 271).

Two other objects are the constant companions of the higher lamas, namely, the sceptre and the small bell. The sceptre, called dorje, otherwise known as the Vajra or thunder-bolt, was the weapon of the Indian storm god. It is considered the symbol of strength. It is shaped like a kind of spindle or double bobbin, which is most slender in the middle where it is held and enlarges on either side into a kind of egg-shape or ball. It ends in a point at each end. The lamas have this with them in all the ceremonies, and in saying their prayers, holding it between the fingers and swinging it to and fro, laying it down and taking it up again. The most famous specimen of the dorje is kept in the monastery of Serra, near Lhasa, and is said to have belonged to Buddha himself, and to have been sent to its present resting-place by him miraculously through the air. At the great annual feast it is carried in procession from Serra to Potala. The Dalai Lama does obeisance to it, and it is worshipped by many thousand pilgrims. Notwithstanding the legend and statement, it is most probably not of Buddhist origin, and has been imported into Northern Buddhism from the Tantras. It was adopted into Yellow Lamaism from the Red Lamas. It must not be confounded with the true sceptre or decorated staff with which the Grand Lama and the Kubilghans bless the people.

The small bell used in the services is waved about or rung during the singing or when prayers begin or end. It is covered with mystical signs and religious formulæ (ib. 273). The Shivaist trident is only found in the hands of the Red Lamas.

The rosary is a very essential part of a lama's dress. It was apparently unknown to early Buddhism, and came in with the later Tantric development of using magical spells and repeated formulas. The use has attained its highest development in Japan. All over Tibet it is found everywhere, and is held in the hand of the patron God of the country, Cha-ri-si Sanscrit Avalokitesvara. Laymen also have them, and use them betimes like the sliding balls of the Chinese for calculating; the beads on the right of the central one registering units, those on the left tens. The Tibetan name for a rosary is pren-ba, or string of beads, of which it contains 108 of uniform size. The number was probably derived from the Hindus, for the

worshippers of Vishnu also use a rosary with 108 beads. In Burma the footprints of Buddha sometimes contain 108 divisions. The two ends of the string, before being knotted, are passed through three extra beads, called rdog 'dsin, the central one being the largest. They symbolize the three holy ones, the biggest representing Buddha and the two others Dharma (the Word) and Sangha (the Church).

Attached to the beads are a pair of strings of ten small metallic discs as counters, one terminated by a miniature dorje or thunderbolt of Indra, and the other a small bell. The counters are generally of silver inlaid with turquoise.

The average number of daily repetitions of the rosary for a young lama is 5,000. Old women are especially assiduous, and Waddell quotes the case of an old friend of his who had repeated the spell of his tutelary deity alone over 2,000,000 times. He says it is not uncommon to find rosaries so worn away by the friction of much handling that originally globular beads have become cylindrical. Attached to the rosary are small odds and ends, such as metal tooth-picks, tweezers, small keys, etc.

The materials of which the beads are made vary in costliness with the wealth of the wearer. An abbot of a large monastery has one of pearl, precious stones, or gold. Turner says the Tashi Grand Lama has rosaries of pearls, emeralds, sapphires, coral, amber, crystal, and lapis lazuli. The material of most rosaries varies with the sect or the particular deity to which worship is to be paid. The yellow rosary is the special one of the Gelugpa or Yellow Lamaists, and its beads are made of yellow wood, supposed to come from the pepul, or sacred fig-tree. This form is of two kinds, one of spherical beads and the other of discs of the size of a sixpence. The rosary of the red sect is made of the seeds of a tree which grows in the outward Himalayas. This form is also used by the yellow sect when worshipping the fiercer deities. The white conch-shell rosary, made of cylindrical perforated discs of the shell, is specially used in the worship of Avalokita. The plain crystal one is also used in the same worship. The red sandal beads are only used in the worship of the fierce god, Tam d'in, a famous patron of Lamaism. The coral rosary is used in the worship of the same god and of Padma Sambhava. Being expensive, red beads of glass are often substituted for it. The "counters" or big beads used with it are generally made of turquoise or blue glass. The rosary made of discs of human skull is used in the worship of Vajra-bhairava, the slayer of the King of the Dead. The elephant rosary, said to be made of concretions from the head and stomach of an elephant, is used in the worship of Yama. The Raksha rosary is formed of the large brown warty seeds of the *Elæocarpus*

Janitrus and is specially used by the Nin ma or red lamas in the worship of the fierce deities. It is also used by the Bonpa sect, and is identical with one used by Hindus in worshipping Rudra.

The so-called Nanga pani rosary consists of glossy jet-black nuts the size of a hazel, but of the shape of a small horse-chestnut, seeds of the Lun tan-tree which grows in the sub-tropical forests of the south-east Himalayas. They are emblematic of the eyes of the garuda bird, a henchman of Vajsrapani, the god of wealth. That of snake-vertebræ is only used by sorcerers in necromancy and divination. The string contains about fifty vertebræ. This only professes to be a selection from the longer list of rosaries given by Waddell.

The rosaries also vary with the complexion of the god being worshipped. Thus a turquoise rosary is sometimes used in worshipping the popular god Tārā, who is of a bluish-green complexion ; a red rosary with the red Tārā Tamdin, a yellow with yellow Manjusri ; and Vaisravan, who is of a golden yellow colour, is worshipped with an amber rosary. The rosaries of the laity are composed of any sort of bead, according to the lack of wealth of the owner, and are usually of glass beads of various colours, interspersed with coral, amber, turquoise, etc. (op. cit. 208–9).

Having described the individual monks and their surroundings, we will now turn to their collective life in the monasteries.

During the ceremonies the greater lamas wear a cap round which are five points bearing the images of the five Dhyana Buddhas, and the abbots wear such a cap at their installation. In ordinary life these great men wear a broad-brimmed hat not unlike those of a Roman cardinal.

The principal change in the landscape of Mongolia induced by the Lamaist conversion has been the planting of great communities of monks in permanent monasteries, which, in some cases, have become the nuclei of towns and of settlements of Chinese emigrants. The buildings are made, as a rule, of brick, but sometimes of timber and are compounds of Chinese and Tibetan styles.

The ritual and discipline of the Mongol Lamasseries is virtually the same as that of their Tibetan prototypes, about which we have more detailed descriptions. As Waddell says, the monks are practically divided into what may be called the spiritual and the temporal. The more intelligent are relieved of the drudgery of worldly work, and devote themselves to ritual and meditation. The others labour diligently on field and farm, or trade for the benefit of the monastery, or they collect the rents and travel from village to village, begging for their parent monastery, or as tailors, cobblers, printers, etc. Others, again, of the more intellectual class are

engaged as astrologers in casting horoscopes, as printers, or as image-makers, etc.

The community is, in fact, an ideal one, as pictured to himself by the great Pope Gregory, which I have described in another work (*Life of St. Gregory*). He also would have liked the whole world to be a community nursed and cherished by monks and friars presided over by himself. The dignity and deference conceded to every lama contrasting with the everlasting toil of the ordinary nomade are great attractions. No wonder there is a general rush to become lamas, and that every father wishes to have one son a lama, just as every Irish peasant likes to have a son a priest. No wonder that probably quite one-half of the male adults in the country have become monks, and that the country has been correspondingly impoverished.

The Lamaist monasteries are portentous establishments, and elaborately organized, like the larger Benedictine ones, sometimes containing as many as 10,000 monks. The head of the larger ones is either an incarnate lama (K'u-s'o, or T'ul-ku, or in Mongolian Khubilghan, or an installed Abbot, Kapupo, Sanscrit Upadhdhaya), who is generally elected or sanctioned by the Grand Lama.

Under him are (1) the professor or master (Lob pon), who proclaims the law and conducts the lessons of the brethren; (2) the treasurer and cashier; (3) the steward; (4) the provost marshal, who is often duplicated. He maintains order and is assisted by two orderlies, and answer to the proctors with their bull-dogs at Oxford; (5) the principal celebrant leader of the choir or precentor, the sacristan, the water-carrier, and tea waiters. Beside these are the secretaries, cooks, chamberlain, the entertainer of guests, the accountants, the bearer of the benedictory emblem, tax collectors, medical monks, painters, merchant-monks, exorcists, etc. (Waddell, 188).

The great monastery of Depung, with its 7,000 monks, is divided into four colleges, each with its own abbot. The monks are distributed according to their nationalities and provinces, each having a separate mess or a club. The great hall is common to the whole monastery. Each club is managed by two lamas, the elder of whom takes charge of the temple attached to the club and teaches the people how to make offerings. The younger one acts as storekeeper. These two officers are changed every year. If the pupils misbehave, the masters also are punished.

There is a special staff of officials to look after the assembly hall, a great celebrant, who leads the chant, two provosts, with their orderlies to keep order, two *Ch'ab-rils* go round the benches giving water to the monks to rinse out their mouths after reciting the

mantras (as in the Hindu rites of ceremonial purity). A special lama fixes the time for congregation and the general tea.

Early in the morning a junior pupil chants the *Chhös-shad* from the top of the temple. Then each of the clubs beat their stone bells to awaken the occupants, who rise and wash and dress. They put on their copes and carry their yellow hats over their shoulders, and take a cup and bag for wheaten flour. Some bow down in the court, others circumambulate the temple and others the temple of Manjusri. About one o'clock the *Mig rtse ma* chants the *dmig rtse ma* in a loud voice, when all the pupils assemble near the two doors, and having put on their yellow hats join in the chant. Then after an interval the door is opened and all enter in their proper order and take their seat according to their rank in their club. The yellow hat is thrown over the left shoulder, and the cups and bags are placed under the knees, and all sit facing to the front.

After repeating the refuge formula, headed by the chief celebrant, the younger provost puts on his yellow hat, and with an iron rod strikes a pillar with it once, on which all the students go into the refectory, where tea is distributed to each in series, each one getting three cups full. They then resume their seats and continue the celebration. While drinking tea, which has been presented by someone, all the pupils sit silent, a carpet is spread, and the elder provost on a seat in its midst, then steps forward, bows three times, and thanks the donor, and then asks for blessings on the extension of Buddhism, long life for the two Grand Lamas, and peace among the brethren, that the rains may descend in due season, and the crops and cattle prosper, that diseases among men and cattle may decrease, and life be long with good luck.

A lecture is then given, in which the rules of etiquette for the pupils are laid down, and how they are to walk and conduct themselves at meetings, and if any one has infringed the rules of discipline he is then duly punished.

The general tea (*manja*) is given three times a day from the stock presented by the Chinese Emperor (amounting to half a million bricks) on the 16th, 25th, and last day of the month; the governor of the Gah ldan palace also gives a general tea and soup. Many others also offer presents of tea. The size of the tea boilers of the larger monasteries is said to be enormous, as may be imagined, for several thousands have to be supplied. The cauldron in the great Lhasa Cathedral is calculated to hold about 1,200 gallons.

A very stringent discipline is exercised on offenders, and the usual punishment is the bastinado which is inflicted by the lictors. The number of strokes varies: 50 for a small offence, 100 for a middling one, and 150 for a great one. Murder, theft, and habitual

intemperance are treated with great severity. The offender is taken outside the temple, his feet fastened with ropes, and two men beat him about 1,000 times, after which he is drawn by a rope outside the boundary wall and abandoned (Waddell, 192).

The diet of the lamas is the ordinary Spartan fare of the country, consisting mainly of wheat, barley, or buckwheat, and of rice, milk, butter, soup, tea, and meat. The only flesh-meat allowed is the flesh of sheep, goats, and yaks; fish and fowl are prohibited. The fully ordained monks, the Gelongs, are supposed to eat abstemiously and abstain totally from meat; but even the Grand Lama of Tashi Chun po appears to eat flesh food betimes (Bogle in Markham, p. 100). Neither the monks of the established Church nor the holier lamas of the other sects may drink any spiritous liquor, but they offer it in libations to the devils (Waddell, op. cit. 225).

It will not be uninteresting to describe the life and occupation of the lamas apart from the greater role they play at the festivals and the more elaborate services. I shall here again rely very largely on Waddell's admirable monograph.

The daily routine of a lama differs somewhat according to whether he is living in a monastery, as a village priest apart from his cloister, or as a hermit. As with occidental monks and friars, a considerable proportion of the lamas have trades and handicrafts, labouring diligently in the field, farm, and in the lower valleys in the forest; but scarcely ever is a Lama a professed mendicant monk, like his prototype, the Indian bhiksku of old.

The routine in the convents of the established church is seen at its best in the Grand Lama's private monastery or chapel-royal of Nam-gyal, on Mount Potala, near Lhasa. "I am indebted," says Waddell, "to one of the monks of that monastery for the following detailed account of the practice followed there."

Immediately on waking the monk must rise from his couch, though it be midnight, and bow thrice before the altar in his cell, saying with full and distinct enunciation: "O Guide of great pity, hear me! O merciful Guide, enable me to keep the 253 rules, including abstinence from secular singing, dancing, and music, and from thoughts of worldly wealth, eating luxuriously, or taking that which has not been given, etc."

Then follows this prayer: "O Buddhas and Bodhisats of the ten directions, hear my humble prayer. I am a pure-minded monk, and my earnest desire is to devote myself towards benefiting whatever has life; and having consecrated my body and wealth to virtue, I vow that my chief aim will be to benefit all living things."

Then is repeated seven times the following mantra from the Sutra on "the wheel-blessing for the animals' universe": *Om! Sambhara,*

Sammahā jaba hûm ! " followed also seven times by another spell. This is succeeded by a spell which (if the monk thrice repeats and spits on the sole of his foot) secures that all live animals which die under his feet during that day will be born as Gods in the paradise of Great God Indra. Having done this worship the monk may retire again to sleep if the night is not far advanced. If, however, the dawn is near he must not sleep, but employ the interval in repeating several mantras or forms of prayer until the bell rings for the first assembly.

The first assembly or matins, called " the early gathering " (*sna-tsogs*), is held before sunrise. The great bell rings and awakens everyone hitherto slumbering, and it is soon followed by the great conch-shell trumpet-call, on which signal the monks adjust their dress and go outside their cell or dormitory to the lavatory, stone-flag, or pavement for ablution. Standing on the stones, and before washing, each monk chants another mantra, and mentally conceives that all his sins, as well as the impurities of his body, are being washed away. Then with water brought in copper vessels, and with a pinch of saline earth as soap, they perform ablutions usually of a very partial kind. After ablution each monk repeats, rosary in hand, the mantra of his favourite deity (usually Manjusri or Tara), or his tutelary fiend, as many times as possible.

On the second blast of the conch-shell, about fifteen minutes after the first, all the fully ordained monks bow down before the door of the temple, while the novices bow upon the outer paved court. All then enter the temple and take their places according to their grade, the youngest being nearest the door, and during the ingress the provost-marshal stands rod in hand beside the entrance.

The monks seat themselves in rows, each on his own mat, cross-legged, in Buddha-fashion, and taking care not to allow their feet to project or their upper vestments to touch the mat. They thus sit in solemn silence, facing straight to the front. The slightest breach of these rules is promptly punished by the rod of the provost-marshal, or in the case of the novices by the clerical sacristan.

At the third blast of the conch-trumpet the following services are chanted : " invoking the blessing of eloquence," " the refuge-formula," and Tsong Khapa's ritual of *lha-brgya-ma* ; after which tea is served ; before it is drunk the presiding lama says a grace in which all join.

A lama always says grace before and after taking food or drink. Most of the graces are mingled with demonolatry, but qualified by universal charity, and, as Waddell says, throw some light on the later Mahayana ritual of Indian Buddhism, from which they are said to have been borrowed. Before drinking, the lamas, like the

ancient Romans, pour out some of the beverage as a libation to their Lares and other gods. In the grace, offerings are made to the different gods; all spirits good and bad are remembered, the Jinas, the Dhyani Buddhas and Bodhisattvas, the Great Lama, the tutelary genii and defenders of the faith. One piece is given to the powerful demon lord, one to the five hundred brothers and sisters, etc., etc. The offering is made on account of past favours, and in the hope that all living beings may become holy and attain the rank of the most perfect Buddha lord (Waddell, 216). When flesh-meat is in the diet in order to cleanse themselves from the sin of slaughter, a special grace is said in which the hope is expressed that all the animals then eaten may return to heaven, etc., etc.

After the tea-refreshment the following services are performed: The Great Compassionator's liturgy, the praise of the disciples or *Sthaviras*, the offering of the magic circle or mandala (the great circle is not offered every day) the "*Yön ten-zhi-gyurma*, and the worship of the awful Bhairava, or other tutelary, such as Sandus, Dom-ch'og, or Tara" (ib. 216). As these latter liturgies are very long they are interrupted for further tea-refreshment. At this stage, that is, in the interval between the first and second portions of the tutelary's worship, is said any sacerdotal service needed on account of the laity, such as masses for the sick or for the soul of a deceased person. In the latter case it is publicly announced that a person named so-and-so died on such a date, and that his relatives have given tea and such and such presents, in kind or money, to the lamas for masses. Then the lamas recite the service for sending the soul to the western paradise. If the service is for the recovery of a sick person, they will do the *Ku rim* ceremony. The tutelary's service is then resumed, and on its conclusion tea and soup are served. Then is chanted the *S' es-rab sñin-po*, after which the assembly closes, and the monks file out singly, first from the extreme right bench, then the extreme left, the youngest going first and the seniors and the reincarnated saintly lamas last of all.

The monks now retire to their cells, where they do their private devotions, and offer food to their own tutelary deities. They mark the time to be occupied by particular devotional exercises by twirling with the finger and thumb their table-prayer-wheel, the exercise lasting while it spins.

The orisons are chanted to the clamour of noisy instruments whenever the sun's disc is first seen in the morning. Then the hat is doffed, and the monk, facing the sun and uplifting his right hand to a saluting posture, chants: "It has arisen! It has arisen! The sun of happiness has arisen! The goddess Marici has arisen! *Om-Maricinam Svaha*!" On repeating this mantra of Marici seven

times the suppliant continues : " Whenever I recall your name I am protected from all fear. I pray for the attainment of the great stainless bliss. I salute you, O goddess Marici. Bless me, and fulfil my desires. Protect me, O goddess, from all the eight fears of foes, robbers, wild beasts, snakes and poisons, weapons, fire-water, and high precipices."

The second assembly, called the " After-heat " (t'sa-gtin), is held about 9 a.m., when the sun's heat begins to be felt. On the first blast of the conch all retire to the latrines. At the second blast all gather on the pavement, or, if raining, withdraw to a covered court to read, etc. At the third blast—about fifteen minutes after the second—all reassemble in the temple and perform the service of inviting the religious guardian-fiends. During this service tea is thrice served, and on its conclusion the monks all leave the temple. The younger ones now pore over their lessons, and receive instructions from their teachers.

The third assembly, called " Noontide ", is held at noon. On the first blast of the conch all prepare for the sitting. At the second they assemble on the pavement, and at the third they enter and perform the worship of " bS'ags-pa " and " bSkanwa ", during which tea is served thrice, and then the meeting dissolves.

Each monk now retires to his cell or room, and discarding his boots, offers sacrifice to his favourite deities, arranges the first part of the rice-offering with scrupulous cleanliness, impressing it with the four marks and surrounding it with four pieces bearing the impress of the four fingers. After this he recites the " Praise of the three holy ones ". Then lay servants bring a meal to the cells, consisting of tea, meat, and pāk (a cake made of wheat or tsam-pa). Of this food some must be left as a gift to the hungry *manes*, Hariti and her sons. The fragments for this purpose are carefully collected by the servants and thrown outside the temple buildings, where they are consumed by dogs and birds. The monks are now free to perform any personal business which they have to do (ib. 219).

The fourth assembly, called " First (after-)noon tea " (*dgun ja-dang-po*), is held about 3 p.m. The monks, summoned by three blasts of the conch, perform a service somewhat similar to that at the third assembly, and offer cakes and praises to the gods and divine defenders, during which tea is thrice served, and the assembly thereupon dissolves. Then the junior monks revise their lessons, and the *pār-pa*, or middle-grade monks, are instructed in rhetoric and in sounding the cymbals and horns. Occasionally public discussions, as already described, are held on set themes to stimulate theological proficiency.

The fifth assembly or vesper, called " The Second after-noon

tea", is held about 7 p.m. The conch, as before, calls the monks thrice to the temple, where the worship of Tang-rak and the prayers of glory (*bkra-shis*) are chanted, during which tea is given thrice, and the assembly dissolves. After this the monks return to their rooms till the second night-bell sounds, when the junior monks repeat from memory before their teachers certain scriptures and other texts; and at the third bell all retire to their cells to sleep.

The monotonous recitation of formulæ and spells, answering to the tedious Paternosters and Ave Marias of the Roman ritual, takes up a large part of the leisure time of the monks. Sometimes a formula is repeated 5,000 times in one day.

In regard to the daily services in the greater monasteries the French traveller Huc has a picturesque account. He says: "They are held three times a day—at sunrise, midday, and sunset. When the Grand Lama arrives, a Lama appointed for the purpose stands before the great entrance to the temple and blows with all the power he can command into a large, massive turbinated shell, turning to the four cardinal points successively. The noise is such that it can be heard at the distance of a league, and on hearing it the Lamas from all sides repair to the temple. Each one puts on his mantle and ceremonial head-covering and repairs to the great interior court. Presently the trumpet sounds for the third time, the great door is thrown open, and 'the living' Buddha enters the temple. and seats himself on the altar; on one side of him are planted two seats having cushions, one on the right for the abbot and another on the left for the vice-abbot or prior. Thereupon all the Lamas, leaving their red boots in the vestibule, advance bare-foot and in silence and adore the living Buddha with their prostrations and then seat themselves on the cushions ranged in rows one behind the other, according to their rank, sitting down with their legs crossed and their faces turned towards the choir. When the master of the ceremonies has given the signal by ringing a bell, each one murmurs in a low tone some preliminary phrases, and then repeats the prayers according to the rubrics. After this comes a moment of complete silence. Again the bell rings, and thereupon begins a contrapuntal recitation of a literary form, each side of the choir in turn, intoning verse by verse in a grave melodious tone. At certain fixed intervals the murmuring bursts out into a flood of sound. A confused medly of noise is then made by bells, cymbals, tambourines, shell trumpets, and others made of metal, each musician playing with furious zeal and energy" (*Huc's Travels*, French ed. i, 129).

In regard to the quality of the music among the lamas there is a great difference of opinion among travellers. Some have a good

word for it, but most describe it as an inharmonious chaos of sounds. The principal musical instruments are (1) trumpets or horns, made of a big shell *Triłonium variegatum* called *bkar dung*, or white trumpet, by the Tibetans; (2) the long trumpets, made of copper and brass, over a fathom long, formed of three pieces, called Burah by the Mongols. Their sound is very like that of a trombone, and they are so heavy that when they do not have their end on the ground, or in processions, they have to be supported; (3) the sacred drums Chosz rNga, or great flat drum, an ell in diameter, beaten with a wooden clapper curved like a swan's neck and making a noise like thunder; (4) a great clanging plate, says Koeppen, like "our Janissary musick", smaller ones of the same type, and cornets or horns made from the marrow bones of a man or from an elephant's tusk, of wood, copper, etc. Besides these are small bells, Chinese gongs, etc., and also the small rattle used by the conductor who directs the band (Koeppen ii, 306).

The service among the Mongols is performed in the Tibetan language, which is frequently not understood by the Lamas. The religious books were originally written in Tibetan. Many are now translated into Mongol, but the great bulk are still untranslated, and notably the great work known as the Kang-gyur, which consists of 108 volumes. It is a kind of encyclopædia, and includes not only religious but also mathematical, astronomical, and historical works.

Among the northern Buddhists the Tibetan language has very much the same place which Latin has among the Roman Catholics. It is the recognized language of the ritual in the services. This is so also in Mongolia and in the Lamaist monasteries of China and Manchuria, and is doubtless to secure that a knowledge of the *contents* of the sacred books may be spread among the Mongols, etc. One lama monastery only, the Mahakala Sumna at Peking, has the privilege to have the services in Mongolian. Among the Russian Kalmuks, however, the prayers and litanies are also said in Mongol. The sacred books have been translated into Chinese, Manchu, and Mongolian, but in the last appeal on critical questions recourse is always had to Tibetan. The knowledge of Tibetan speech and writing among the Mongolian Lamas is obligatory, and outside of Tibet this is often the only subject of study among the Mongols and the Kalmuks. This knowledge is not very deep, and it is deemed sufficient if the Lamas can recite the customary prayer and read the words without understanding them. This is like the theory among some Roman Catholics that it is enough if the priest understands the prayers he is reciting. Going still further the Lamas hold that even the priest need not understand them since God will do so.

The contents of the sacred books among the southern Lamas are divided into three classes—the sutras, the venayas, and the abidharmas. In Tibet there are two additional ones dealing respectively with medicine and magic and witchery; the last is generally associated with the faculty of philosophy and metaphysics. Huc says the students at the monastery of Kumbuck in Sifan were divided into four faculties. That of mysticism, Pradschna, Paramita sutra; that of the Liturgy and ceremonies of Venunaya; that of medicine, dealing with 440 maladies of the human body, botanical medicine and the pharmacopœia; and the faculty of prayers (sutras) (Koeppen, vol. ii, 289).

Every Lama must belong to some faculty, and his rank in the monastery depends on that of the subject he professes to teach. When the bell rings or the horn blows the teacher must find himself in the appointed room and give his reading there, then proceed to give explanations. At the end of the session a disputation takes place. The whole course takes twelve years; a second one takes place at the end of the course before the high Lama of the Monastery, in which the student has to meet a skilled person in dispute.

The lamas, says Timkofski, who had no employment, often came to see me. I asked them to read some words written in Mongol, but they were scarcely able to make them out; the dzanghin of our station, on the other hand, read them fluently. His position, of course, necessitated his doing so, while the lamas merely content themselves with reading the Kang-gyur, of which they only know the letters without comprehending the meaning (op. cit. 38).

The lamas in a monastery do not all have the same status or the same duties. Some of them hold a superior rank, and answer to our professors or high teachers, or fill the exalted position of Abbot of a monastery. The highest is known as the Khanpo, and is ordained by a Khutuktu, or reincarnate lama. In the temple he sits on a throne and wears a small four-cornered shawl, without folds, called Tognua, and a huge pointed yellow hat or mitre. The representative of the Dalai Lama at Peking is generally a Khanpo. It was to this class that the name lama (i.e. guru or master) was originally applied. It is only the larger cloisters that have a Khanpo, who has the right to supervise the smaller affiliated monasteries and temples. To certain lamas, again, in the temples are assigned special duties and they have special tables.

Beside the people who are engaged in the fixed duties of the temple and the monastery, there live in them many, sometimes a hundred, and even a thousand, lamas who have nothing to do but pray, and look after the gifts of the pilgrims. There are others who receive consecration from their elders, but go to no school and cannot either

read or write. They wear a red dress and are styled lamas, which gives them a right to the devotion of the nomads. They must not be mistaken, however, for the Lamas of the Red Sect. All lamas are professedly celibates, but that particular vow which monks and celibate priests in the West have found most irksome and difficult to keep sits very lightly on them, and as they live very idle lives there is very widespread immorality.

This being the life of a lama in the monasteries, let us turn to the career of a village priest.

Immediately on waking he must rise from his couch, even though it be midnight, and commence to chant the *Mi rtak rgyud bskul*, which contains the instructions of his special preceptor. Then comes a prayer for such benefits of a temporal nature as he desires. He then adopts the meditative posture of the seven attitudes, and thus gets rid by physical means of the three original sins. He then coerces his tutelary demon into conferring on him his fiendish guise, and chants the four magical formulæ. The mild deity in this worship is called the Placid One, the demon "the Repulsive one". The demoniacal form must be recited the full number of times which the lama bound himself to do by vow before his superior tutor, namely, one hundred, one thousand, or ten thousand daily. Those not bound by such a vow repeat the formula as often as they conveniently can. Having done this he may go to sleep again, if the night be not far advanced. If dawn is near he must not go to sleep, but employ the time in several sorts of prayer.

"At dawn he must wash his face and rinse his mouth and do the worship above noted, should he not already have done so. He must then prepare sacred food for the six sorts of beings (*rigs strug gigtorma*) and send it to tantalized ghosts. Then offer incense, butter, and wine oblations. Incense is offered to the good spirits; first to the chief god and the lama; next to the so-called 'King' gods, and thirdly to the mountain gods, Kanchinjinga; then offerings to the spirits of the caves, who have guarded and still guard the hidden revelations therein deposited, 'the enemy god of battle,' the country gods, the local demon gods, and the eight classes of deities. The butter offering is only made to the most malignant of the demons.

"Breakfast is then taken, consisting of weak soup, followed by tea and parched grains. Then any special work which has to be done is attended to, failing which some *tantric* or other service is chanted, and if any Temple or Caitya is at hand he must circumambulate it with a prayer-wheel revolving in his hand and chanting mantras. Then any priestly service required by the villages should be done. About 2 p.m. a meal of rice is taken, followed by beer or tea. About 6, after a preliminary chanted

formula, the sacrificial service is recited with bell and small drums, followed by an invocation to the hosts of lama tutelaries and the supernatural defenders of the faith. Between 9 and 10 the weary lama retires to bed" (ib. 221–3).

"Buddhism," says Waddell, "has, like other systems, its hermits, who, like John the Baptist, retired to the wilderness. In India this retirement is in the rainy season, when travelling is difficult and unhealthy, and is part of the routine of a devout Buddhist monk. Tsong Khapa enforced it on his monks, but it has fallen into abeyance among them. Theoretically it is part of the training of every young lama to spend a period of three years and three months in a hermitage to accustom him to ascetic rites. It is seldom practised now, however, and then only for three months and three days. During the retirement the lama repeats the spell of his tutelary deity an incredible number of times. The *Mula-yoga sngon gro* complete in all its four sections must be repeated 100,000 times. In chanting the refuge formula portion he must prostrate himself to the ground 100,000 times. The repetition of the *Yige brgya pa* itself takes about two months; besides this, other voluminous services must be recited. Those who permanently adopt the hermit-life are called the packed-up ones, and those of highest rank the great recluses." (Waddell, 223–4.)

In addition to the lama monks lama nuns are also recognized. They submit to the rules of an austere life, and are consecrated, and allowed to wear a yellow robe with a red scarf. One old lady of the household mentioned by Gilmour had her head shaved as clean as that of a lama, and the custom, he says, is that when a woman reaches 50 she must shave off all her hair, and become the family priest, to the extent of burning the necessary incense and worshipping daily at the simple shrine of the Buddha; a widow under 50 must do the same. These nuns are called chabkhaūtza in Mongol and obuchiritze in Kalmuk.

In one thing the Lamaist priesthood are in marked contrast with the order as originally designed by Buddha, and in which the change resembled that which took place in Christianity. Buddha was professedly a mendicant monk or friar, and he provided an order of mendicants who were to live by alms and to pursue a life of simplicity and poverty. His was no order of priests, but of rigid ascetics. The ideal lasted a long time in India, but there, as elsewhere, the too ample means supplied by the faithful induced an accumulation of wealth in the monasteries. The lamas, again, charge very high fees for the exercise of their functions, which are being called for daily, or even hourly. They are the only authorized persons to offer prayers, which are recited at the birth

of a child, at its baptism and drawing of its horoscope, and at its marriage, its death-bed and its funeral, and beyond that, for it is the lamas who offer prayers for the dead. Every monastery of any size also has its medical faculty, its astrologers, soothsayers, and exorcists, to secure by magic and hocus pocus the health, good fortune, and happiness of the suffering, for all which good things a large price is exacted. With the increase of wealth came the introduction of luxury and sybaritism. This was more especially the case in Tibet, where the monks displaced the civil rulers and became kings as well as rich and self-indulgent ecclesiastics, and the same thing has followed in Mongolia. In neither of these lands are the lamas, as a class, poor men dependent on alms. They, on the contrary, monopolize a large part of the wealth of the country. This has passed into the monasteries. They have thus become great landowners, cattle- and horse-breeders, as have the individual lamas, while the pious pour gifts upon them and perpetual pilgrims supply an unending flow of good things.

There is another change in the surroundings of the monks, for which a better excuse can be made. Rigid asceticism in regard to clothing and food is very much more easy to practice in the mild warm latitudes of India and Ceylon than under the terrible conditions prevailing in Tibet and Mongolia, and a considerable relaxation has had necessarily to be made. Thus in ancient times the followers of Buddha wore no head-coverings. None are represented in the Ajunta carvings, and in Ceylon, Burmah, and Siam this is largely the case still; but the climate of Tibet and Mongolia will not permit of shaved bald heads being exposed to the wintry cold without covering, and some head-covering is consequently universal. The different sects and hierarchical ranks are marked off very distinctly by their different caps.

Tsong Khapa replaced the red cap of the older Lamaists by the yellow one in his sect, and this is still followed both by the Dalai and the Panchen sections. The Dalai Lama's cap is high and rises to a peak, raised aloft behind in a slanting way. By the Christian missionaries it was described as a mitre. Waddell gives a plate showing the variety of hats now worn by the Lamaists. The majority of them, he says, are of the Indian type, a few only being of the Chinese or Mongolian one. Two of the most typical among them are said to have been brought from India by the lamas—Padma Sambhava and Santa Rakshita. The latter is red and is common to all the sects except the Ge lug pa one. Its shape is that worn in the colder parts of India during the winter, with lappets covering over the ears and the nape of the neck, which are folded up to make an outer brim in hot weather; such a cap is

still worn by some ascetics in India. In the lama's type the crown has been raised into a peak and the lappets lengthened. Tsong Khapa lengthened the lappets to match the rank of the wearer (giving himself the longest of all), some of them reaching to his waist. The abbots' caps were given shorter tails, the ordinary monks shorter still, while the novices had none at all. Different hats are worn by different sects and when performing different ceremonies. The most interesting of all is the hat shaped like a Prussian dragoon's helmet, with a huge crest on the top. Waddell says it is only used in the Dalai Lama's chapel-royal, and the four Lings, or royal monasteries, and is worn during the great sacrifices and dances at these temples only (op. cit. 198). I have recently argued that the ceremonial helmets worn by the old kings of the Sandwich Islands and by the statues of their Gods are derived from them, and were probably taken thither by monks whom we otherwise know to have traversed the Pacific. This form of helmet-like hat was invented by gZi-bdag ne-ser and adopted by the first Grand Lama, Geden Dub (Waddell, 197, note 1).

Having described the daily life, training, and ordinary duties of the lamas, we have still for consideration their occupation and functions in other matters, and will first consider the great festivals which fill up so much of their time, as they do that of the lay Mongols, and add colour and picturesqueness to their lives.

The Tibetan new year was formerly celebrated in what is now the eleventh month, when the larders are full and no field work is possible in the snow-bound country, and the days show signs of lengthening. It was then held at the new moon in February, but the day has been altered by the Government lately to the beginning of March. This gay carnival is doubtless an expression of the self-same feelings inspired by spring upon the animate and inanimate world, and which prompted the analogous Roman festivals of Lupercalia, the Festa Stultorum, the Matronalia Festa, the worship of the goddess Anna Perenna, and the festival of Bacchus, all held about the same season, during the month of February and the first fortnight of March (Waddell, 505). The Lamaists, like the rest of the Buddhists, also commemorate by this festival the victory of Buddha over the six false doctrines, Tirthyas, and generally that of truth over heresy and error.

It is called Tsaghan, or the white in Mongolian, and lasts fifteen days. The last days of the twelfth month are devoted to preparations; people then lay in a store of tea, butter, tsamba, barley wine, and joints of beef and mutton. The holiday clothes are taken from the wardrobes and they remove the dust, under which the furniture is generally hidden. They furbish up, clean, and sweep their houses,

thus making a little order and neatness; this, however, is only done once a year. The domestic altars are the objects of special care. They repaint the old idols, and with fresh butter they make pyramids, flowers, and other ornaments to deck the little sanctuaries where the Buddhas of the family reside.

The festival begins at midnight at the close of the old year, at which hour, bells, cymbals, shell trumpets, tambourines, and all the instruments of Tibetan music are set to work, making the most frightful uproar imaginable.

"We had once a good mind to get up," says Huc, "to witness the happiness of the merry people, but the cold was so cutting that we decided to remain under our thick coverlets, but the people would not be denied, and knocked at the door, threatening to dash it into splinters. Some of our friends then rushed in, carrying a small vessel made of baked earth, in which, floating on boiling water, were balls composed of honey and flour. We were offered a long silver needle by one of the visitors, who asked us to fish in his basin. We each hooked a ball, crushed it with our teeth, and made grimaces, but for politeness sake we had to swallow the dose."

The second rite of the festival consists in making visits. The Tibetans walk through the streets of the town, carrying in one hand a pot of buttered tea and in the other a large gilt and varnished plate, filled with tsamba piled up in the form of a pyramid, surmounted by three ears of barley. With this they enter the house of the friend for whom they wish a happy year, first making three prostrations before the domestic altar, which is solemnly adorned and illuminated, they then burn some leaves of cedar or other aromatic tree in a large copper censor, offer each person in the house a cup of tea, and hand the plate, from which each one takes a piece of tsamba.

During the feast groups of children with numerous bells hung from their green dresses go from house to house singing songs (generally sweet and melancholy), interspersed with animated choruses. They mark time by a slow and regular movement like the swinging of a pendulum, and when they come to the chorus they vigorously stamp their feet on the ground in exact time. They are then given cakes fried in nut oil, and some balls of butter.

On the principal squares and in front of the monuments at Lhasa you see from morning to night troops of comedians and tumblers amusing the people with their representations, now singing and dancing, and now exhibiting feats of strength and agility. They waltz, they bound, they tumble, they piruette, with truly surprising agility. Their dress consists of a cap, surmounted by long pheasants' plumes, a black mask adorned with a white beard of prodigious length,

large white pantaloons, and a green tunic coming down to the knees and bound round the waist by a yellow girdle. To this tunic are attached at equal distances long cords, at the end of which are fastened tufts of white wool. These tufts gracefully accompany the movements of the body, and when the dancer whirls around they stick out horizontally, forming a wheel round the performer.

They also have a gymnastic exercise called the dance of the spirits; a long cord made of leather and straps plaited together is attached to the top of the Dalai Lama's palace and descends to the foot of the mountain. The dancing sprites, says Huc, go up and down this cord with an agility only to be compared with that of cats or monkeys. Sometimes when they reach the top they fling out their arms as if about to swim, and let themselves slide down the rope with the velocity of an arrow. Koeppen, speaking of these dances, says that masks representing animals' heads are worn. At the monastery of Me ru they have a special play representing the driving out of the evil spirits.

The festival lasts three days, during which the shops are closed and there is a great distribution of sweetmeats. On the second day the grand lama gives a great feast, to which the Chinese and Tibetan grandees are invited, while war dances are danced before them by boys.

Then follows the great jubilee ceremony, **Monlam**, which Tsong Khapa apparently revived from the primitive times of Buddhism. To it the lamas flock from all sides in thousands—on foot, on asses, or yaks—to visit the holy city, where so many saintly bones lie and so many memorials of their faith. They are billeted in the monasteries or stay with friends or camp out on the roads.

The new year's feast terminates on the 15th day of the full moon by the exhibition of the statues and multitudes of flowers, and it is the crown of the long series of religious and profane ceremonies above described. It lasts only for a few hours, from sunrise to sunset, during which there are set up rows of scaffolds and on them plastic figures made of a paste of mixed flour and oil or of hardened butter representing the events in the life of Buddha. This spectacle appears so suddenly that in every way it looks like a piece of magic, and creates wonder in the spectators on account of the historical realism of the artist and it attracts a great crowd of pilgrims to the monastery. The figures of the actors in the drama and of the flowers on which the Lamaist sculptors and painters have worked for many months are only meant to last a single night to delight the spectators. The following day they are removed (Koeppen, op. cit. 311–12).

Huc is enthusiastic about the character of the work. He says:

"The sight of the flowers especially aroused our astonishment. We had not thought it possible that in the middle of these deserts and among these half-civilized peoples it was possible to meet with artists of such high merit. The paintings and sculptures we had seen in other monasteries did not lead us to expect the high level of these artists in butter. These flowers were really bas-reliefs of colossal dimensions representing different subjects taken from the life of Buddha. All the figures had an astonishing expression. They were tiny and animated, the natural pose and the costume was gracefully worn and without the slightest vulgarity. The nature and quality of the stuff from which their clothes were supposed to be made could be seen in an instant, especially the representation of fur and the various skins of sheep, tigers, foxes, wolves, and other animals were so well imitated that one was tempted to touch them with one's hand to assure ourselves that they were not real" (ib. 142). This performance took place in the various monasteries.

The second great annual feast is that of the Ceception or the "becoming of Buddha" (i.e. of the adoption of his humanity), when he entered the womb of his mother in Tibetan (Lhams ssu Shugss pai duss mTachkod). This feast is called Uruss, Ueruss Zara, or the Month of Grace by the Mongols. It is doubtless the oldest of Buddhist festivals.

It was originally held at the opening of summer from the new moon to the full moon of the fourth month, from the beginning of April to the beginning of May. It is still thus held in Tibet and on the Volga, as it was in ancient India, but the Eastern Mongols hold it in June. The characteristic of the feast is the great procession of sacred figures.

The third or water feast falls in the seventh and eighth months, i.e. in August and September. It is not a primitive Buddhist festival. In Tibet and Bhutan it lasts twenty days, among the Mongols only one. While it lasts, the Lamas go in procession to the rivers and lakes and consecrate them by Benediction and make offerings. Huts and yurts are erected on their banks, and the people bathe in and drink water assiduously to wash away their sins. It concludes with dancing, games, and masquerades, and seems to be looked upon as a cleansing feast.

Almost all peoples have a mid-winter feast at the time of the winter solstice. The Indians in very early times had such an one called a lantern feast, and the Buddhists keep one at the end of the rainy month, when they indulge in feasting, prayers, and religious exercises. The legend makes it commemorate Buddha's return to Indra's heaven, where he lived for a while in the rainy time with his reborn mother in order to preach the Doctrine; he was then

conducted by the Gods by means of a heavenly ladder down to earth again. The Lamas, on the other hand, hold that the feast of lamps in part commemorates their founder, Tsong Khapa's death, or rather his transit to heaven. It is held by them on the 25th day of the first winter month with great illuminations, the altars and scaffolds being previously erected and decorated with lamps. The procession sets out in the evening of the festival, bearing the image of Tsong Khapa, and the lamps are lighted. The glow of these lamps is supposed to be a measure of the coming good luck (Koeppen ii, 314).

Such are the principal festivals held in different parts of the Lamaist world, but besides these are numerous local ones meant to conciliate the old traditions of the common people; and so the year passes, in a constant round of festivals, beginning with the carnival with its pantomimes and dramatic performances. Among these local feasts is a fire festival, perhaps, as Koeppen says, dating from the time when the Parsi missions were active in Central Asia. Again the lamas throughout Sikkim keep the day when the heathen Lepchas used to honour the spirit of Kint Shinjanga as a special feast day throughout the country, but it is at Lhasa where these local festivals are naturally the most observed. Thus on the 27th of the first month the sceptre of Buddha himself is carried in procession from the monastery of Sera to Potala to be blessed by the Grand Lama. On the 30th of the second month is the hunt of the king of the wizards and spirits, which is now a piece of hypocrisy but is probably a reminiscence of the old dual worship. It begins with a regular religious service, where an ordinary Lama plays the part of the Dalai Lama while a layman adopts that of the Spirit King, and it takes place near the monastery of La hang. It takes the form of a colloquy, in which the layman states in a jovial rough voice what we observe or know about knowledge and claims that the five senses are deceptive, so that all that we learn is not true. To this the Lama replies, and they dispute together for some time; the question has then to be decided who is right by means of throwing dice. The Lama throws the prearranged six three times and the Ghost King throws the ace three times; then the former throws six sixes and the latter six aces. The defeated demon thereupon takes fright and flees away. He is pursued with screams and blank shots as far as the mountains. There he lies concealed for several months in a secret recess where food has been previously deposited for him.

At the beginning of the third month is the exhibition of the sacred vessels and treasures at La hang and the display of pictures at Potala, where processions of masked men take place; the Lamas

appeár as good genii, the laymen as tigers, leopards, rhinoceroses, elephants, etc. The festival lasts a month, when each monastery in turn has its exhibitions. In the sixth month is the so-called picture feast, which is held in all the dioceses of the Lamaist church. Then follows the harvest feast, and then the water blessing feast.

The dramas have generally a religious turn. The motive of the play is nearly always the same with a few variations. An evil spirit seeks to persuade a poor virtuous man to do an evil act. At first the demon approaches him alone and then in company with a female demon. The attempt at first succeeds, but is eventually thwarted by the good principles of the intended victim. Presently Buddha appears and drives the demons away (see *Schlägintweit* in Koeppen, op. cit. 316, note).

We can well understand what an effect all this perpetual pageantry and display, all this dramatic colouring gives to the days of the Nomades accustomed to the monotony of their pastoral life, and it must have affected their whole psychology and intoxicated them with its mystical awe-inspiring character : it has naturally placed an immense power in the hands of the lamas. A still more powerful weapon is put into their hands by their intervention in every turn of the private life of the Nomades, not only in their regular priestly functions, but as doctors, astrologers, exorcists, prophets, etc. Both Tibetans and Mongols are steeped in superstition. They see round them everywhere in nature and in their lives evil spirits who can undo them unless they can fight against their machinations ; or good ones who can help them if they conciliate them. In both cases they believe that they must have the help of the lamas, and that the latter can secure for them at their will heat and cold, storm, rain, and hail, good crops and bad ones, health or sickness, good fortune or bad, or even control of births and deaths. Not only do they turn to the lamas continually for help therefore, but large numbers are engaged in continual efforts to appease the powers of the air by asceticism and continual prayers. Thousands of them do so, and everything they do from rising up in the morning to going to bed at night is virtually accompanied by some prayer or appeal to the spirits. Members of the household collect in the morning, at noon, and in the evening for joint prayer. Those travelling in a caravan always on the march repeat in concert the mystic phrase *Om mani padmi hum,* the special spell of the God Avalokita, like Catholics repeat their aves and paternosters. Huc remarks on the touching pathos of his experiences at Lhasa, where at sunset the population, men, women, and children, gather together in open places in the city and sing their psalms and say their prayers in common. Their prayers are

often multiplied many fold by mechanical means. Both laymen and lamas use prayer-wheels of all sizes (even very small ones), in which they put a written prayer and then cause the wheel to turn round and round. They also habitually use their rosaries, as Catholics in Europe use them. The lamas, like the Christians, hold the rosaries in their right hands and move the beads with their left ones. Koeppen argues that the rosary was of Indian origin, and passed thence to the Mussulmans and thence again to the Christians. They are not used by the southern Buddhists, and only by the northern ones. He suggests that they were derived from Shivaism and are often marked with the symbol of Vajra and are made of human bones, and it would seem that the string of skulls which Shiva wears round his neck was a primitive rosary (op. cit. 319, note).

Let us now turn to other parts of the Mongols' life in which the lamas play a considerable part.

Describing the offerings at a domestic altar in a Mongol yurt, James Gilmour says they consist of many things. Mutton and bread form the bulk of them; the broad fat tail of a sheep forms an excellent centre piece. On the top of the heap, which sometimes is of the size of an ordinary portmanteau, is a bunch of bamboo slits like straws. On them are strung branches of dates. The ends of these bamboo sprigs are often crowned with walnuts and lumps of brownish sugar are also sprinkled over the heap. Sometimes a silk hanging is put before the whole offering (op. cit. 154).

Referring to the renewal of the offerings he says, "at night the old offerings which had stood in the brass cups as offerings to the Burkhan during the whole of my residence here were cleared out and fresh ones put in. Candles were also lighted. A Mongol candle consists of twisted cotton inserted in the bottom of a brass cup, in which there is a hole for the purpose, and being of small length it stands upright. Melted butter is then poured in till the cup is full, and this makes a good light for a long hour. Two small bunches of bread cut into small pieces and slightly covered with sugar and Chinese dates are then prepared, as well as a quantity of *barich*, i.e. minced meat mixed with minced vegetables and closed up in dough" (ib.).

The two great events in the life of a Mongol are his marriage and his funeral. The former is essentially a civil proceeding, the function of the lamas being largely limited to selecting lucky days for the event and invoking a blessing on the young people.

In regard to the marriage customs of the Mongol, I will first report what the old writers have to say about them. Friar William of Rubruck says: "You must know that no one among them has a wife

unless he buys her, and it often happens the girls are well past marriageable age before they marry, for the parents always keep them until they can sell them. They observe the first and second degrees of consanguinity, but no degree of affinity, so that one person will sometimes marry two sisters in succession. Among them no widow marries, for they believe that all who serve them in this life will serve them in the next, and that a widow will rejoin her previous husband in the next world. Sometimes a son takes over all his father's wives except his own mother, for the *Ordu* or paternal household of the father and mother belongs to the youngest son and he has to look after his father's widows, and if he wishes he can treat them as his own wives and is aggrieved if they return to their fathers' home after his death. When a Mongol makes a bargain with another to take his daughter the father of the girl gives a feast and the girl flees to her relatives and hides there. Thereupon the father says: You may carry off my daughter wherever you find her. He then searches for her with his friends, and having found her carries her off with a semblance of force" (op. cit. ed. Rockhill, 77 and 78).

Vincent of Beauvais says "no Mongol deems a woman his real wife till she has conceived or had a child, and if she is barren she can be put away, nor does a husband get the wife's dower till she has had a child" (op. cit. xxix, ch. lxxvi).

Carpini says a man could have as many wives as he could support, and some had as many as a hundred. As a general rule they were allowed to marry any of their relatives except their own mother or their daughter or sister by the same mother, but it was lawful to marry their non-uterine sisters and their father's widows. A younger brother or some other younger member of the family was expected, on the death of his elder, to take the brother's wife. Widows seldom married unless it was some man who wished to marry his step-mother. Clarke says that among the Kalmuks a widow becomes the property of her husband's brother if he chose to claim her. Carpini says there was no difference between legitimate children and those of concubines in regard to inheritance and other rights (Rockhill, op. cit. 77 and 78).

Marco Polo says that if a Mongol has a daughter who dies before marriage and a son who does the same, they arrange a grand marriage for the young people, and when the contract papers are made out they put them in the fire so that the couple should learn about it in the next world and look on each other as man and wife, and the parents afterwards consider themselves as related to each other. Yule uses a Scotch (?) illustration and says: Whatever is agreed upon as the dowry is painted on pieces of paper and then put in the

fire, thus assuring the dead persons the objects thus catalogued in the next world (op. cit. 1).

Turning to the modern accounts of Mongol marriages we are told there is one notable restraint upon marriage under certain conditions, which no doubt can be used in a very sinister way by the lamas, and acts as a means of securing heavy fees, namely, the rule by which a young couple, if they are to escape misfortunes in later life, must not have been born under stars the conjunction of which is not lucky. The horoscopes of each of them are carefully taken and preserved at their birth, and then are remitted to the astrologers at Peking, who decide whether the conjunction of the natal stars is a fortunate one or not, and if they pronounce against it it cannot be carried out. The chief thing supposed to be guarded against in this inquiry is that the star under which the girl was born does not overpower her bridegroom's, "for a woman may not command in a house." This is generally decided by the astrologers at Peking, who communicate the decision through the lamas.

If the young woman is born under the sign of the mouse or the ox, and the young man under that of the dragon or the serpent, the marriage is permitted, but if one is born under the sign of the mouse and the other under that of a horse it cannot take place, even if they are of different tribes. The Mongols also pretend that the ox and the tiger, the bear and the horse, the swine and the ape, are hostile signs, and marriage between them is banned.

Under the age of 25 a man is not permitted to choose his own wife. Until then, this is done by the elders on each side; after that age he has the privilege of making his choice. Very often the bride and bridegroom know nothing of each other before marriage. The age at which it is lawful to marry is 17 for a man and 15 for a woman. Such marriages need the consent of the Chief. When the parents wish their son to marry they choose a friend as a deputy, who pays a visit to a yurt where a desirable maiden lives, and when he enters he says, "I am come to find out whether the precious stone which I am searching for is at home." If the girl's people are willing, their formal reply is "the precious stone, the desired pearl is here at present; she is at your disposal, but if they are not they say she is far from here." In the first case he goes on to discuss the matter with the parents of the maiden, his object being to ascertain if the father is willing to agree or if he needs more consideration. He then returns to the parents of the proposed bridegroom. If he returns with a pleasant message he is greeted with abundant kumiss to drink; afterwards the father of the bridegroom, with his relations on both sides, as well as his closest friends, go to the proposed bride's house.

He takes with him at least one sheep, ready dressed and cut up, which is called a tuelei, several vessels with airak or brandy and khadaks or consecrated silk handkerchief as gifts of honour. Having opened up the nature of his visit to the father of the girl, they place on a dish before the Burkhan the head and other parts of the sheep, with the khadaks, and then light tapers and prostrate themselves several times before the images. They then all sit down, and the visitors drink the airak and the relatives of the bride eat the mutton. Each of them receives a khadak, or a piece of copper coin. This is thrown into a cup filled with wine, which is drunk by the father, who keeps the money. The custom is called takil tabikhu (Timkofski, ii, 305).

The fathers of the two young people then begin their bargaining. The conversation generally turns on the quantity of cattle demanded for the girl; the common people drive hard bargains, the rich, and especially the princes, on the other hand, do not think it good manners to dispute what is asked. The price, of course, is high, and among the lower classes it not seldom amounts to 400 head of various kinds, but as animals are generally delivered in autumn every female animal is reckoned as two. The payment is not all made at once but at different times, according to the wealth of the husband, and the whole bargain sometimes takes seven years to complete. When everything is ready the parents of the bride must build her a new yurt, properly furnished (so that she shall not ask for anything from others) and also provide her costume and a saddled horse on which she is to ride to her husband's house. To provide these things the parents have sometimes to impoverish themselves. When the cattle has been delivered to the bride's father he gives a feast, which is presently returned by the bridegroom to the relations of the bride.

The young man, with many attendants, sometimes a hundred, then goes to the bride's father's house with several dishes of boiled mutton (the rich send as many as twenty dishes) with a great quantity of brandy and khadaks. The guests being assembled in the father-in-law's house, after adoring the idols, khadaks are presented to the bride's father and mother and nearest relations. Thereupon all the guests leave the tent, sit down in a circle, and the feast begins; it consists of meat, wine, etc. Sometimes the bridegroom repeats the feast at the dwellings of others of the bride's relatives. This feast is called khorum kurgheku, or offering of the nuptial feast. It is then the bridegroom and often his father and mother receive their friends. The bridegroom cannot, however, pay his court to the bride, for, according to Mongol custom, after the day of her betrothal she must avoid every interview not only with him but his parents. It is at this feast that,

at the request of the mother of the bridegroom, the two parties consult the lamas as to a fortunate day (ib.).

The day before the wedding two envoys go from the bridegroom to inquire from the parents of the bride if any obstacles have arisen. On the approach of the wedding day the bride pays visits to her relations, passing one night with each of them in turn, and amusing herself and taking walks with her female friends, who afterwards escort her to her parents' yurt again, until the wedding. There she plays, sings, and entertains her companions, relations, and neighbours, who have assembled together. The day before she is to leave the paternal roof the lamas put up prayers according to the rule called *Gurum kiku*, and before her departure offer others according to the rite *San tabikhu*. While the tents and other objects of the dowry are being sent away the bride's female friends assemble in the hut and seat themselves with her on a rug near the door, keeping as close as they can to her. The envoys of the bridegroom have great trouble in making them leave one by one, to get hold of the bride, and carry her out of the house. They then put her on a horse, throw a cloak over her, make her go three times round the sacred fire, and then set out, accompanied by the nearest female relations, together with her mother, while the father remains at home if he has not been specially invited the day before. On the third day he goes to inquire after the health of his daughter. The carrying away of the bride, *buliat solda*, although really simulated, is generally not effected without a show of violent opposition, especially if there are many young women among her relatives. This was more especially the case in former days, when they even fastened her to her tent by a rope (ib.).

At a distance of half a verst from his tent the bridegroom offers wine and meat to regale the bride and those who accompany her. On her arrival she remains surrounded with her companions till her tent is prepared. As soon as she enters it they make her sit on the bed, undo her many tresses, take off her ornaments of coral, and leaving only two tresses intact they fasten other ornaments to them, and she is invested with the dress of a married woman.

A short distance from the bride's new house a go-between is sent before the cavalcade and goes on to announce the approach of the party. Thereupon the father and mother and sisters and brothers of the bride go to another yurt where the wedding feast is to take place and address their hosts thus : " Is the countenance of the nuptial party merry and cheerful ? " The father of the bridegroom replies : " Is the great sea of waters, the mother of joys, well and prosperous?" (meaning the bride's mother). Thereupon the bridegroom offers snuff to the bride's parents and the feast begins with abundance of mutton and drink and with singing and lute playing.

At the feast itself the bride's guests take up their position on the left side at the back of the yurt and the bridegroom's friends on the other side. When the time arrives for the withdrawal of the bride the lamas on either side chant the prayer " May virtue and good fortune abound ". This is followed by such other good wishes as " May old age and virtue long abound ", " May your descendants be innumerable ", etc. With such cheering phrases the maiden is conducted to the room on the left of the fireplace, when they hand her the choicest piece of a sheep (which is deemed to be the hinder part of the saddle), together with kumiss and milk wine. After this some person (of either sex) of the same age as the bride cuts the bride's hair, which constitutes her a wife. The person who has parted the hair then conducts the bride to the statue of Buddha before the fire hearth, and in the presence of her father, mother, and the elder brother of the bridegroom the latter greets them while she kneels on the hem of their kaftan or robe and offers good wishes. She then has her head covered, and is carried off by two riders as if by violence (simulating a rape). After this the young wife is taken to her father-in-law to make her obeisance to him. There she finds all the relatives of her future husband assembled. While the prayers are being recited from the Mongol ritual her face is uncovered, and imitating the various motions of a man behind whom she stands, and who must be of the same age as herself, she makes an obeisance to him and then to the father and mother and other relatives of the bridegroom, who all give her their benediction aloud. Meanwhile garments are presented to them in her name. The bridegroom's father chooses his own.

The bride now again returns to the tent. Sometimes the young man does not sleep with his wife for six or seven days, especially while the mother-in-law, who must stay at least one night with her daughter, is there. At the departure of the mother and the other near relations the bride is forbidden to accompany them. A week afterwards the young wife sets out with her husband for her new home.

The custom of the guests' privilege reported by Marco Polo is still in full practice in Mongolia. Ivanofski describes and explains it. When a guest comes to us he says it is our custom to give him everything—meat, drink, and shelter. Without a wife a man cannot live, and as a man when on a journey cannot take his wife so it is reasonable that his host should provide him with one.

The first connexion (*coitus*) between the man and his wife often takes place several years before the official marriage and when the boy is only 12 and the girl only 10, but the freedom of connexion of the father-in-law and the daughter-in-law, sometimes

practised, is generally treated by the Mongols as a disgraceful offence. The son who surprises his father in the act has the legal right to kill him or to divide his father's property with himself and to take one half.

There are three reasons why a man can divorce his wife: (1) If she refuses to obey him; (2) if she is childless; and (3) if she has syphilis. Timkofski tells us he found this disease very prevalent in Siberia.

The wife can only claim divorce for two reasons: (1) If her husband has syphilis; (2) if he is impotent. Our author tells us this last affliction is common in Mongolia, probably due to early sexual excesses and to too much riding. If the second of the two latter causes is relied upon the fact of impotence has to be proved by three witnesses, one chosen by each party and the other being a stranger, and the proof has to be forthcoming in their presence, but according to the Mongols it is generally kept secret from relatives at the instance of both. The parties and the stranger are permitted to pass judgment alone while the child is adopted by the impotent or quasi father.

If the wife proves barren she can, with the consent of her husband, return home with her dowry, but if there is good feeling between the couple he can take another wife outside, called the little wife, and they can both go on living with him, but in that case he has no right to claim the dowry.

In case the husband divorces his wife for mere caprice he cannot recover the dowry, and only a portion of the marriage gift. In case the woman does so, part of the cattle made over to her family on her marriage has to be returned. These domestic misfortunes and the necessary arrangements, as with us, are the subject of many romances.

A poor Mongol has generally only one legitimate wife, but on her death he may take another. He may have concubines, however, who live with the wife on quite good terms. The real wife, however, rules the yurt and her children alone inherit the father's heritage. The children of the other woman, who are really slaves, have no rights and no property as such, but are often legitimized by adoption.

The richer Mongols and princes often have several wives. When a Mongol has several wives she with whom he has slept on any night sits beside him on the day following, and it is customary for the others to come to her dwelling that day to drink; the "Reception" is held there that day, and the gifts which are brought are placed in the treasury of that lady.

A young man when he marries receives from his father a separate tent or yurt, *gher*, and is then called gherté, equivalent to house-

keeper. The portion of the wife consists of clothes, household utensils, etc., sheep and horses. The authority of parents over and the obedience of children to their parents is exemplary. The sons, even after marriage, generally live in the same districts as their parents as far as the pasturage will allow.

First cousins may marry and two sisters may marry one man. The Mongols keep their genealogical registers with great care, and however they intermarry they never lose sight of their *yasin* or degree of affinity.

The women, says Friar William, never lie down in bed when having children. This is still the case ; the Kalmuks have them crouching down, and this is also the rule in China, Japan, Mongolia, and Tibet. A lama generally attends at a birth among the Kalmuks, who says prayers while the husband stretches a net outside the tent and beats the air with a club till the child is born, shouting the whole time *gart cheter*, i.e. " be off devil " (Rockhill, 75, note).

For three days before the birth of a child no one can enter the yurt who does not belong to the household. When it is born a friend of the mother offers her assistance and gives the child a cradle and a swadling band. The child is not washed for several days after the birth, nor until the navel, which has been tied up with a piece of gut, has healed up. At the first washing, which has a sacred symbolism like the Christian baptism, a lama puts a drug into the water, repeats some prayers and blessings and spits into the water to bless it.

If it is a boy the lama gives him a name ; if a girl, the godmother who presents the cradle does so. This is followed by a feast, where the guests of the mother give her a khadak or sanctified ribbon. A curious colloquy arises on the occasion of handing in the presents to the woman in childbed. She is asked " Is the child which is born to thee to be a sewer of squirrel skins " or a " deer-stalker ". When the child is a boy the mother answers " He drags a golden noose or snare ". If a girl, she says, " She threads needles " ; thus deciding the respective occupations of the sexes. When the child is born a shaman or lama is summoned to draw its horoscope.

After seven days the child is washed in salted washings from the teapot. Seven days later with salt water. Seven days later again with diluted milk ; and seven days later again with his mother's milk to prevent skin eruptions, pimples, etc., and with these quadruple washings the Mongol is content for the rest of his life. Rich Mongols provide their child with a nurse (generally one of their dependents) to bring the child up, and also to give her a good training.

The foster-mothers bring them up themselves and continue to

suckle them till they are three or four years old. They have also learnt from the Russians the practise of using a feeding bottle, using a cow's teat for the child to suck. They are baptized soon after birth, and Koeppen argues that this rite is not of Christian origin, nor is it a sacrament as it is among Christians, and is usual even among the tribes still addicted to Shamanism. The baptism, he says, takes place in Tibet and Mongolia a few days after the birth, and most frequently on the third or tenth day. The lama speaks certain words, while candles and incense burn on the house altar. He then consecrates the water in the basin, dips the child three times, blesses it, and gives it a name, and then draws its horoscope and records the day and the hour of birth. These are important elements in the astrological forecasts and decisions in regard to the child in subsequent parts of its career, and notably at its death. In Ladakh the ceremony takes place a year after the birth, and the lama receives the present of a rupee and a quantity of wheat or barley, according to the means of the parents (op. cit. 320). After some years, when the child has left its cradle and learnt to walk and talk, there takes place a second ceremony answering to confirmation. Occasionally this is again repeated when people have grown up. The child is then taken to the priest, who says a prayer wishing a happy life for the infant, while the mother hangs a little bag round its neck holding certain Indian magical formulas, dharani, as a protection against sickness, witchcraft, the influence of evil spirits, and, in fact, all kinds of evil happenings and misfortunes (Koeppen, 321).

Koeppen remarks that the decisions of Catholic Ecclesiastical Councils are clear that the *status conjugatis* is just as pure and holy as the *status virginitatis*, and he points to the inconsistency which nevertheless treats matrimony as a sacrament. Among the Buddhists and Lamaists who agree in substance with the conciliar decisions do not act thus inconsistently, and among the Mongols and Kalmuks there is no public ceremony, and accordingly the local custom (in which only the parents or guardians take a part) is completed without a contract or agreement or without the previous consent of the future husband. Nevertheless the lamas have a part in it, namely, choosing a lucky or unlucky day for the performance and attending at the wedding feast to bless the couple (ib. 321).

Let us now turn to the Mongol customs relating to sickness and death. These have naturally been considerably changed since the introduction of Lamaism, especially among the princes and higher ranks. The practice in pre-Lamaist times has to be largely gathered from the reports of the early travellers to Mongolia and from the still surviving customs of the poorer classes.

Friar William Rubruquis tells us that when any one sickened he was laid on his couch and a sign was put over his dwelling, stating that a sick person was within and that no one must enter. No one ever visited a sick person save he who served him.

Carpini says that "when a person is ill a spear is put outside his tent, and round it they wrap a black felt. Thereupon no stranger dares enter it, and when the sick man begins to agonize they all leave him, for no one who has witnessed his death can enter the Ordu of any chief or of the Emperor until the new moon". Friar Williams adds that when anyone from "the great Ordu" is ill they place guards all round it, who permit no one to pass for they fear some evil spirit or wind would come with those who enter, but they summon their priests or soothsayers (op. cit. 82–3).

Vincent of Beauvais has a grim statement about the "hastening of the parting guest" in the case of sickness. He says: "There are some Tartars and some Christians also, but very bad ones, among whom the sons, on the father's growing old and worn out by age, give him a certain fatty substance (*pinguea*) like sheep's tail to eat, which oppresses him, and he is easily suffocated. When he is dead they bury the body and collect the ashes, and every day when they eat they sprinkle their food with their powder."

Turning to recent notices we read that when a Mongol is ill he sends for a lama-doctor, who prescribes for him according to the nature of the illness and his very primitive pharmacopœia, consisting largely of quack remedies and magical sentences. If he gets no better he sends for a lama priest who addresses a consolatory speech to him, in which he refers to his approaching separation from all those who love and cherish him. From this moment he is expected to turn his thoughts from worldly affairs and to concentrate them specially on three particular subjects, namely, the adoration of Buddha, religious wisdom, and the clergy (especially the particular lama who is addressing him). Thereupon the dying man says good-bye to his wife and children and to other near relatives and his neighbours, and turns to the west. Those present place a lamp before him, while the lama says prayers in which forgiveness is asked for his faults, and special blessings in the future world are invoked.

Father Huc has a graphic account of the treatment of the sick in Mongolia. He says when illness attacks anyone his friends run to the nearest monastery for a lama, whose first proceeding upon visiting the patient is to run his fingers over the pulse of both wrists simultaneously, as the fingers of a musician are run over the strings of an instrument. The Chinese physicians also feel the pulses of a patient, but in succession. The Tartars believe all illness is due to the visitation of some demon. The expulsion of the demon is in the

first instance a matter of medicine, and the lama proceeds to give the specific befitting the case. The lama remedies consist entirely of pulverized vegetables, either infused in water or made up into pills, and no mineral matters are thus used.

Rockhill describes a visit he paid to a Mongol physician when a young girl came in and asked for some medicine for what he diagnosed as rheumatic fever. After feeling her pulse and looking in her face intently, he asked one or two questions and then produced a number of small leather bags with medicines he had brought from Lhasa. He measured out doses of these powders with a small silver spoon and gave them to her, accepting nothing for the consultation.

The Mongol lamas, use exclusively Tibetan remedies. The most valuable one in the Tibetan pharmacopœia is elephant's milk, which the lamas obtain from India, paying a high price for it. (*The Land of the Lamas*, 132.)

If the lama does not have any medicine with him, he writes the remedies on little scraps of paper, moisten the latter with his saliva, and rolls them up into pills, which the patient swallows with the same perfect confidence as if they were genuine medicines. They deem the name of a remedy in such a case as efficacious as the remedy itself.

Having applied the medicine, the lama then proceeds to say the form of prayer or exorcism adapted to the kind of demon who has to be dislodged. In the case of a poor man it is considered that he is likely to be attacked by an inferior demon only requiring a brief prayer, or sometimes only a short exorcism. If very poor the lama again does not trouble himself about a pill or a prayer, but merely recommends the relatives to watch with patience until the sick man either recovers or dies, according to the decree of the God Khormuzda.

In the case of a rich man it is supposed that a demon who presumes to visit so eminent a person must be a potent one and one of the chiefs of the lower world. The family are therefore directed to prepare him a handsome suit of clothes, a pair of rich boots, and a fine horse ready saddled and bridled in order to convey the devil away, or he would not think of departing, physic or exorcise him how you may. In the case of a very high person there are, in addition, a number of courtiers and attendants, all of whom are provided with horses.

The ceremony then begins, other doctors being called in to advise and help from the neighbouring monasteries, who offer up prayers in the rich man's tent for a week or a fortnight "until," says the amusing narrator, " the devil is gone, that is to say, until they have disposed of all the available tea and mutton." If the patient recovers, it is a clear proof that the prayers have been efficacious ; if he dies,

it is a still greater proof of the potency of the prayers, for not only is the devil gone, but the patient has transmigrated to a state far better than that he has quitted.

Huc gave details of the fantastic ceremonies sometimes employed by these medicine men. In the case of an old lady troubled by a very persistent and powerful demon, the lamas prepared a great puppet made up of dried herbs, which they placed on its legs in the patient's tent by means of a stick. The ceremony began at 11 o'clock at night. The lamas ranged themselves in a semi-circle round the upper portion of the tent, with cymbals, sea-shells, bells, tambourines, and other instruments of the noisy music of the Tartars. The rest of the family squatted themselves on the ground close to one another and the patient crouched on her heels opposite the figure of the demon. The principal lama had before him a large copper basin filled with millet, and some little images made of paste. Upon a given signal the clerical orchestra executed an overture harsh enough to frighten Satan himself. The rest beat time with their hands. When the concert was over, the chief lama opened the book of exorcisms, which he rested on his knees. As he chanted one of the forms, he took from the basin, from time to time, a handful of millet, which he threw east, west, north, and south, according to the rubric, his voice as he prayed was sometimes mournful and suppressed, and sometimes vehemently loud and energetic. Sometimes he would suddenly change from the regular cadence of the prayer into an outburst of apparently indomitable rage and abused the puppet demon with fierce invective and furious gestures. The exorcism finished, he stretched out his arms right and left, and the other lamas struck up a very noisy chorus in hurried tones. Thereupon the rest of the lay congregation started up with one accord, ran out of the tent one after the other, and tore round it like mad people, beat it with sticks, and yelled meanwhile at the pitch of their voices. Having done this three times, they re-entered the tent and resumed their seats. Thereupon the chief lama set fire to the herb image, while the rest covered their faces with their hands. When the flames rose up he uttered a loud cry, which was repeated by the rest. The laymen then seized the burning figure, carried it into the plain away from the tents, and as it consumed away they anathematized it with all sorts of imprecations, while the lamas continued their chanting in a grave, solemn tone. On the return of the lay folk all exchanged joyous felicitations, each one provided with a lighted torch, and the whole party rushed simultaneously from the tent and formed a procession, the laymen first, then the patient supported on each side by members of the family. The nine lamas continued

lama was conveyed to another tent and did not go back to her own home for a month. On this occasion the malady did not return.

Let us now see what occurs among the Mongols after the death of one of their people. First, we will turn to the accounts reported by the early travellers.

Vincent of Beauvais says that "if the dead Tartar be a rich and mighty man he is buried in his most costly robes and in some hidden place remote from all, to prevent him being despoiled of his raiment. Beside the tomb of the dead man they always have a tent, says Rubruck, if he be one of the nobles, that is, of the family Jinghiz Khan, and the burial-place is kept secret. Round the places where they bury the nobles there is a camp of men guarding the tombs (I did not understand that they bury treasure with their dead)." He goes on to say the friends of the deceased kill his horse, skin it and fill the skin with straw, and suspend it with poles over his tomb. They eat the flesh and keep up lamentations over the body for thirty days.

Carpini gives us more details. He says "when a person is dead, if he be of the noble class, he is buried secretly in the Steppe. His tent (*statio*) is buried with him sitting in it, and they put a table before him with a bowl full of meat and a jar full of mare's milk. A mare and her foal are buried with him, also a horse with bit and saddle; and another horse they eat, and fill the skin with straw and put it on two or four poles over the dead man, so that he may have a dwelling in the next world and a man to give him milk, and may increase his herd of horses on which to ride; and they burn the bones of the horse which they eat for the good of his soul. Often the women come together to bury him, for the souls of the men as I have seen with my own eyes and been told by others. Ogotai, the father of Kuyuk, as I saw, had let a small tree grow for his soul, and it was ordered that no one should cut a branch of it, and whosoever did so was beaten and ill-treated. Furthermore, they buried gold and silver with a person. They broke up the cart on which he was carried and destroyed his carriage, and the use of his name was tabooed for three generations."

Friar John adds that some of their great people were buried in another way. "They go secretly into the Steppe," he says, and removing the grass together with its roots on a certain spot, they then dig a great pit, and in the side of it they make a grave underground, and then put the slave he loved best under him and leave him there till he is about to breathe his last breath, when they relieve him and let him breathe. This they do three times, and if he escapes alive he becomes a free man and does as he likes, and he is deemed a great man in the camp, even among the relatives of his late master. They put the dead man in the recess made in one side of the grave, and having

covered it in, replace the grass so that no one may find the place afterwards. In another kind of burial they place a tomb over the grave. "In the Mongol country," he adds, "there are two cemeteries, one in which they bury the emperors, nobles, and other chiefs, and wherever they may have died they carry them thither to be buried. In the other cemetery are all those who were killed in Hungary, of whom there were a great many. It is carefully guarded, and anyone trespassing on it is badly beaten." He says, again, that he himself, and his companions, not knowing of this, ventured too far, and the Mongols determined to shoot them with arms, as they did not know they were envoys. On learning this they let them go. (Friar John, 630, quoted in *Travels of Rubruquis*, by Rockhill, p. 81.)

Let us now turn to what modern travellers have to say on this subject. Huc tells us that Mongols who live near the great wall, where they are mixed with Chinese, have largely copied the custom of burial in a coffin, which is deposited in a grave. (Op. cit. i, 75.) The body of the Grand Lama himself is on his death embalmed in spices, and then placed in a very large pyramidal tomb. This was also the case with the Banchi Lama, who died at Peking, and is also practised in the case of the Kubilghas, who claim to be reincarnate saints. In regard to the great mass of the richer nomadic Mongols who have adopted Lamaism, the ordinary lamas and the richer people and nobles, as is the case with other Buddhists, they have adopted the custom of burning the dead. The practice prevailed among the Chinese Buddhists in early times. Thus Col. Yule, in his *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, 550, quotes a passage from the Huo Tsang, or "cremation burials," in book xv of the Jeh Che Lu, or Daily jotting, as follows: "The practice of burning the dead flourishes most extensively in Kiang Nan. It was already in vogue in the time of the Sung dynasty, and is mentioned in the annals of that dynasty in the year 1157, and was represented by a public official; and in 1261 Hwang Chen, governor of the district of Wu, in a memorial prayed that the erection of cremation furnaces must be prohibited, and that it was made the source of illicit gain by a certain monastery."

In regard to the cremation of the dead, as practised by the orthodox Lamaists in his time, Huc says that for the purpose of incineration the Mongols construct a large furnace of earth of pyramidal form. Just before it is completed the body is placed inside, standing, and surrounded with combustibles. The edifice is then completely covered in, with the exception of a small hole at the bottom to admit fire, and another to give egress to the smoke and keep up a current of air. During the combustion the lamas surround the tomb and recite prayers: When the corpse is burnt they demolish

the furnace and remove the bones which they carry to the chief lama, who reduces them to a very fine powder, and having added to it an equal quantity of meal, he kneads the whole with care, and constructs with his own hands cakes of different sizes, which he places one above the other in the form of a pyramid. When the bones have been thus prepared, they are transported with great pomp to a little tower built beforehand, in a place indicated by the diviner. They almost always give the ashes of the lamas a sepulchre of this kind, and Huc says that you meet with a great number of these monumental towers on the summits of mountains and in the neighbourhood of the lamaseries, and you may find them in countries whence the Mongols have been driven by the Chinese, the only remains left of a once numerous population (op. cit.).

According to Huc, again, the most celebrated of the Mongol burial-places is in the Chinese province of Shan si, at the famous Lamasery of Five Towers (U tai). It is deemed the choicest place to be buried in, and the ground is so holy that those buried there are sure of a happy transmigration. This sanctity is attributed to the belief that the Buddha himself has for several centuries taken up his abode in the interior of a mountain close by. It would appear that the lamas have contrived a spectacle which perpetuates this belief. Huc quotes the report of a certain chief of an encampment, named Takura, who in 1842 conveyed the remains of his father and mother to this cemetery. He told Huc how he had had the infinite happiness of beholding the Venerable Buddha. Behind the great monastery above-named there is a very lofty mountain, which you have to climb by creeping on your hands and knees. Near the top you come to a portico cut in the rock; you lie down on the earth and look through a small aperture, not larger than the bowl of a pipe. It is some time before you can distinguish anything, but by degrees your eye gets used to the place, and you have the happiness of beholding in the depths of the mountain the face of the ancient Buddha. He is seated cross-legged, doing nothing. There are around him lamas of all countries, who are continually paying homage to him! (Op. cit. 78 and 79). Huc goes on to say that you frequently meet in the deserts of Tartary Mongols carrying on their shoulders the bones of their parents to the Five Towers, to purchase almost at its weight in gold a few feet of earth whereon they may raise a small mausoleum. Even the Mongols of Torgut (i.e. the Russian Kalmuks) perform journeys occupying a whole year, to visit for this purpose in the province of Shansi the resting-place of their ancestors (ib. 79 and 80). In the case of the great Mongol chiefs the same writer reports that the royal corpse is conveyed to

a vast edifice constructed of bricks and adorned with numerous statues representing men, lions, elephants, tigers, and various objects of Buddhist mythology. "With the dead chief," he says, "they bury in a large cavern, constructed in the centre of the building, large sums of gold and silver, royal robes, precious stones, and everything needful in a future life." These interments sometimes cost the lives of a great number of slaves. They take children of both sexes, remarkable for their beauty, and make them swallow mercury till they are suffocated and in this way they say the freshness and ruddiness of their faces is preserved so as to make them appear still alive. They are placed upright round the corpse of their master to serve him in another life, and hold in their hands the pipes, jars, small phials of snuff, and other nicknacks of the kings (ib. 79 and 80).

To protect the treasures they place in the cavern a kind of bow, capable of discharging a number of arrows one after the other. This bow (or rather several bows joined together) are already bent and the arrows ready to fly. They place the machine so that on opening the door of the cavern the movement causes the discharge of the first arrow at the man who enters. The discharge of the second follows, and so on to the last (ib. 80).

Pallas, in his wonderful work, which has been so neglected by modern students, entitled *Samlungen Historische Nachrichten Mongolischen Volkerschaften*, has given an elaborate account of the ritual just mentioned, every detail of which is carefully set out in two special works devoted to the disposal of the dead, namely, the *Altan Saba* or *Golden Vessel*, and the *Yerrien Gassul*. These Pallas has in part translated. Thus most minute regulations and instructions have been duly provided to meet different contingencies and in order to secure a comfortable future for the dead, the omission of which will bring evil upon them and their relations. These are controlled largely by astrological considerations, which accounts for the very careful way in which the preservation of every detail of a person's life, and especially the time of the birth and death of every man, woman, and child, and of the various circumstances of their lives, are carefully sorted out in the books as lucky and unlucky days, and special ritual observancies are thus provided when a man dies with an open mouth or eyes, with open or clasped hands, whether the body is to be burnt or submitted to water, exposed on a lofty platform, or covered with stones, etc. (See Pallas, op. cit., ii, 254–82.) So it comes about that when a man dies it entirely depends upon what hour and day of the week and month, what year in the Mongolian cycle and under what star the person has been born, how his

body is disposed of, *e.g.* whether the corpse is to be clothed or naked when laid out, to what point of the compass the head is to be directed, whether it is to be exposed to the open sky or placed in a dilapidated yurt, and what food or what other things are to be put with the corpse. The funeral over, the remains are afterwards placed on the ground, and some white or blue *kadakhs* or ribbons are hung round the place of burning, and wooden posts with Tibetan prayer formulæ are set up in the earth. Pallas records the belief that, when the body is left on the ground to become the prey of the animals, the luckiest ending is for it to be eaten by a black dog.

If the dead man is wealthy his body remains alone for three days in his yurt, while the family move into another one, repeating continually the magical phrase " Om man'i padma hum ", while the lama writes the same words on a piece of paper or linen, which is called *Marni Manya*, and fastens it to a rafter at the top of the yurt where the body lies, and then sets out to find a suitable place for the disposal of the dead man. This place is marked out by the lama with a yellow tape or string, and he draws in it a circle with the horn of an orongo (*antilope hodgsoni*). On this the body of the dead man is laid at a distance of 25 or 30 metres to the east of the yurt, with nine bundles of incense pastils, nine bowls, nine *kadakhs*, nine sheep, nine horses, nine camels, nine head of cattle and nine bundles of needles. These form the reward or perquisite of the lama for his service, and in return he presents nine earthen bowls and a jug ornamented with bits of metal and containing holy water. Thereupon the body is wrapped in a linen shroud, placed on a carriage led by two of the nearest relatives of the deceased, and, accompanied by the funeral party and the lama, proceeds to the place marked out as above described. There they erect a pyramidal-shaped yurt, called *Mangkham*, in which a fire is kindled and the food is cooked, while the phrase " Om man'i padma hum " is uninterruptedly said. When the food is consumed, the temporary yurt is destroyed, and they all return home except the lama. The corpse is then laid out by the two attendants on the place selected and prepared by the lama, as described, and the *Manya* is also planted on it, and four posts are erected to which are fastened four *kadakhs* or lappets, on each of which is inscribed the name of the deceased. The relatives then return to the dead man's house, and each one is sprinkled with the holy water called *Arsan*, in which sugar and saffron are mingled, and is also censed with incense in order to protect him from contagion, while the lama gives each of them a bowl of milk and a silken *kadakh*.

In some cases a funeral is disallowed altogether, as when a man has hanged himself. A man dying of a swelling (which implies an

increase of temperature) is not burnt, and they do not put in the water those who have died from an inundation or been struck by lightning. Those who die of a contagious disease are not buried on a mountain. (Timkofski, i, 256). These regulations, no doubt, mean that there should be no defilement of the great forces of nature.

After these rites the lama holds the top of the head of the deceased with his fingers, presses and pulls until a kind of crack is heard, or an audible sound proceeds from it, or else he makes a mark on it. In this way the soul is finally loosed from the body. The lama then proceeds to appeal to his sacred books and to use his astrological and necromantic machinery to discover the fate of the departed soul, which is deduced from a number of combinations of his birth and death days.

He then proceeds to go through an elaborate mass or series of masses to conciliate the infernal gods, especially Yama. Its length depends on the wealth of the family. In the case of the poor the masses last only a few days—seven weeks being the full period of purgatory. In the case of princes it lasts a year.

The most usual and oldest mode of disposing of the dead, however, in Mongolia is to carry the body into the Steppe and there abandon it to the wild animals, as among the Parsees, but even then the lama directs the quarter of the heavens towards which the head is to be turned when laid out. Timkofski says this is decided by a weather-cock on a structure set up for the purpose. The lama, in fact, prescribes the whole ritual—whether the body is to be buried with or without clothes, in the open air, or a closed tent, and which of his effects are to be added to the funeral offerings.

Whether the dead man during his life had been a reputable person or otherwise is not, we are told, left in doubt long. The matter is settled during the course of the next week. The Mongols believe that, if the dead man has been pius, the dogs and ravens (the latter of which they call the sepulchres of the dead) will come and eat his flesh, and the quicker this happens the better the man must have been. If within a week his body is not thus consumed, he is pronounced to have been a sinner so great indeed that even the dogs would not eat his flesh. No funeral feast is held in his memory; while, on the other hand, in memory of the man whose corpse the dogs have eaten a feast is held, a Shaman being present, while mutton, spirits, and *kumiss* are consumed.

In dealing with bodies in the towns, in addition to the birds and droves of dogs, there is also a class of men whose gruesome trade is to dismantle the corpses. They bind them on a pile and cut off the flesh piece by piece and give it to the animals. The bones are

then pounded into dust, mixed with food, made into cakes, and given to the dogs and birds. This is considered a very honourable, as it is a very costly, form of burial. The dogs kept in order to eat the corpses in the monasteries are rated as holy dogs. It is deemed unlucky to put the bodies in water, and it is only among the poorest that the bodies are deposited in lakes and rivers. Actual burial is also disapproved of, and is, in fact, reduced to a make-believe by the body being covered with a mere layer of earth or stones (ib. 322–3).

Huc described an instance where the body had no covering, but a piece of paper was put over the face and another piece inscribed in the Tibetan character reached from the shoulders to the knee. The body was not "laid out", but left in the position the deceased had been at the time of his death, the legs doubled and crossed and the arms also. Apparently it had only been there a day or two, but the wind and sun were finishing what old age had begun, converting the body into a mummy, until the rain or wild beasts and birds made havoc of it. There were two cloth flags close by, each hung on a small staff, one white and one a faded yellow, with dimly inscribed characters, while little cones of a yellowish substance were placed on stones at regular distances. These cones also bore Tibetan characters (ib. 81 and 82).

A dead child which has not learnt to walk is put in a sack and exposed on a busy road. Older children up to seven years old are exposed on less-frequented roads. With the children's remains are placed various pieces of food, shoulder-bones of sheep, the tail of a sheep, and a small bowl. All these things are placed in the sack with the dead body. This is the usual practice at funerals. If, however, there is no lama at hand, the yurt is demolished, and the family quit the place, leaving the body behind. When the sickness is a dangerous one, they do not wait for the death of the invalid, but pack up the yurt and go away, leaving the dying person to his fate, be he father or mother, brother or sister (506–7).

Over the bodies of lamas, of Saissans, or those of princely families, a felt tent or a *cholom*, or erection of felt, *dolohon*, or a temporary tent made of branches of a tree is placed when a burning takes place in the open steppe. Other ways of disposing of the dead are water burial or covering them with stones or earth or putting them under a bush or a tree.

In the case of the common people when "The Book" prescribes that the body should be burnt, it is deemed sufficient to put some grass or branches on and to set fire to it. If the body is to be put under stones, the deposit of a few small stones is deemed sufficient; if it is to be laid under the ground it is deemed enough

to scatter a few handfuls of earth on it; if to be placed under wood, a few chips suffice. If the book prescribe that it shall be placed under water it is sufficient to pour some water over it, and if neither stones nor wood nor water are available, then, as is often the case on the Mongolian Steppes or among the Kalmuks where wood and water are also scarce, the injunction is only nominally kept. In the case of boys under eight years old and girls under ten the services of the lama are dispensed with, and the relatives say some prayers and repeat a *yercht* or incantation. In the case of infants, they are placed in baskets of wicker-work or of bark, which is floated on a stream.

The more important lamas as well as the princes and great grandees are burnt, and their ashes collected and either preserved as relics (*carvas*) or put into the statuettes of gods and saints.

A notable feature in the landscape in the neighbourhood of monasteries and temples and elsewhere are the so-called *ch'orten*, or funereal monuments, corresponding with the Indian *caitya*, *stupa* or *tope*. Originally they were built as receptacles of the ashes of saints and of offerings made to them, but many of them are now only memorial cenotaphs of Buddha or canonized saints; others, again, commemorate visits of noted saints. Miniature ones of wood, metal, or clay often adorn the altar, and sometimes contain relics (Waddell, 262). Their original form was that of a simple and massive hemisphere or solid dome (*garbha*, i.e. womb), containing a relic and crowned by a square capital (*toran*), surmounted by one or more representations of umbrellas, symbols of royalty. Latterly they have become more complex in form, with numerous plinths, and are much elongated, especially in regard to their capitals. They generally adhere to the Indian type, only that commonly the dome is inverted. Both have elaborate plinths, and on the sides of the capital are often figured a pair of eyes. Above the *toran* is a bluntly conical or pyramidal spire, *Cudarmari*, of thirteen step-like segments, typical of the thirteen Bodishat heavens of the Buddhists. This is surmounted by a bell-shaped symbol (usually copper-gilt), called the *kalsa*, often moulded in the form of a small *caitya*, or a lotus flower, a crescent moon, a globular sun, or a triple canopy, finally surmounted by a spike representing the sacred *jyoti*, or sacred light of Buddha. Sometimes round the base of the *kalsa* is a felt canopy or umbrella, *catra*. Many of the Lamaist *caitiya*, like those of the Japanese, are symbolic of the five elements; the lowest section, a solid rectangular block, typifies the solidity of the earth. Above this is a globe representing water, then fire, symbolized by a triangular tongue or by a crescent representing the unveiled sky and ether, an accumulated circle gradually tapering into space. In the

wealthier monasteries the *ch'orten* are regularly white-washed, as with all sacred objects. These monuments must always be passed on the right hand, as a mark of respect ; so also the prayer wheels must be turned in the same direction (Waddell, 261–4).

The practice of building these *ch'orten* is of old date, for it is mentioned by William of Rubruck, who says the Tartars, like the nations of antiquity, burn their dead and preserve their ashes in high pyramids (*vide* ed. Rockhill).

THE HISTORY OF THE MONGOLS

INDICES

Index to Volume I and Supplement: THE MONGOLS PROPER AND THE KALMUKS.

Index to Volume II, Divisions I and II: THE SO-CALLED TARTARS.

Index to Volume III: THE MONGOLS OF PERSIA,

Aadil Seifeddin Ebubekr, 12.
Aakhai, 664.
Aazam Melik, 89.
Abaganet, tribes of, 91.
Abaghai, 373, 380, 395.
Abaghas, 380, 411.
Abaka, 222, S. 53.
Abakan, River, 459, 466, 469, 587, 618.
Abakanskoi, 457.
Abakhan khara, Mt., 388.
Abasai, 691.
Abassia, 15, 167.
—— and Prester, John, 536.
Abassidan dynasty, 201.
Abassides, 15, 200.
—— derivation of, 10.
Abatai Wadshirai Sain Khan, 474, 483.
Abd-ur-Rahman, 164.
—— appointed finance minister, 161.
Abdallah, 10.
Abdul Vahab, 652, 654.
Abdulla Selzen, 362, 607.
Abika, 555, 559.
Abiskhum, 82.
Abitai Ghalsagho, 512.
Abkhasia, *v.* Abassia.
Abkhazes, 128.
Ablai, 517, 564, 619, 620, 656, 662, 677.
Ablai Galbai Gobi, *v.* Gobi Desert.
Ablai kit, 648.
Ablai Taidshi, 501–2, 563.
Abouyé, 129.
Absatar Beg, 652.
Abu Hanefi, Imam Sect, 93.
Abuda Ablai Taidshi, *v.* Bulai.
Abuda Budshi, 612.
Abugho Mergen Noyan, 483.
Abulfaradj, Gregorius B.H., 103, 214, 543–6.
Abulfaragius, *v.* Abulfaradj.
Abulghazi, quoted, 16, 24, 35, 40–4, 503, 561–3, 699, 714, 725.
Abulkhair, quoted, 555.
Abyssinia, and Prester John, 535.
Achi buri, 663.
Achraf, Prince, 167.
Achu, River, 21.
Acre, 168.
—— held by Christians, 13.
Adai Khan, 356–60, 596–9.
Adakhai, River, 492.
Adashari Galsu Ching Taidshi, *v.* Anda Galsu Ching Taidshi.
Adil, 11, 12.
Adsabaz, River, *v.* Shebaz.
Adsai Khan, 357–61, 383, 560, 597.
Adshan Khan, 650, 680.
Adshinu Tsaidam Mt., 375.
Aegean Sea, S. 108.
Afghanistan, 135, S. 114.
Afrasiabs, 6.
African Tripoli, 11.
Africans, 587.
Afzal, 12.
Agachu, River, 491.
Agalak, Mt., 387.
Aghirtu, 632.
Aghojim Bughurul, 36.
Agholkho Tsaidam, Mt., 375.
Agni, *v.* Ignis.
Agra, 146.
Agram, Bp. of, 151.
Agul, 178.
Aguta, victorious over Khitans, 2.
Agutai, 291.
Ahi, Hodja, 654.
Ahmed, 249.
Ahmed ben Amram, 201–2.
Ahmed Hodja, 645.
Ai Khan, 35.
Aijen fu li tha la, *v.* Biliktu.
Aijin kurun, empire formed by Aguta, 2.
Aiongan, 656, 658.
Aishin Giyow, 37.
Aiyuchelitala, 319.
Aïyulipalipata, v. Ayur bali batra.
Ajerbaidjan, Atabegs of, 14.
Ajur Shiridara, v. Biliktu Khan.
Ajusri Dara, v. Biliktu Khan.
Ak Möngke, 364.
Ak Sultan, 84.
Ak tag Mts., 181.
Aka Muran, v. Oka.
Akatshin, 101.
Akbardshi, 361–5, 383, 399, 606–8.
—— joins Virads against Taissong, 607–8.
—— killed by Virads, 363.
Akha Dalai agha, 431.
Akhai, 472, 666.
Akhlatt, 204.
Akhlath, 208.
Akho Khatun, 501.
Akhoin Ubashi, 580.
Akizek, 75.
Aklan tsikin Mts., 525.
Akra Muran, v. Irkut.
Aksakal, 579.
Aksar Khakan, 404.

Aksarguldi Noyon, 500.
Akshi Taishi, 613.
Akshobhya, S. 150.
Aksi, 77.
Aksu, 650, 654–5, S. 125.
Akta, River, 464.
Aktuba, River, 96, 528.
All Ask, 82, 83.
Al Komania, v. Kumestan.
Al Mansur, 201.
Ala, 604, 608.
Alactaga (Jumping Mouse), S. 26.
Alachewan, v. Alak Chingsang.
Alagui, 692.
Alai ud din, quoted, 108, 185.
Alai ud din el Kaimeri, 205, 208.
Alai ud din Kei Kubad, 129.
Alai ud din Muhammed, 7, 16.
Alak Chingsang, 365, 367, 399, 600, 604, 608.
Alak Nur, 494.
Alak Sendun, 552.
Alak Tak Mts., 170.
Alakai Bigi, 107.
Alakshid Tsaghan, 607.
Alakuh Mts., 166.
Alakush, v. Alausse.
Alakush Tikin Kuri, 26, 62.
Alamut, fortress of, captured, 16.
Alan Noyon, 77.
Alanacheli, 294.
Alans, 128, 138, 314.
Alashan, 499, 543, 545, S. 17, 20, 24, 64, 67.
—— Identified with Irghai, 5.
—— Mongols of, 664.
Alashan Mts., 663, S. 11.
Alat-Kirgisi, 618.
Alatagh, 208.
Alatenacheli, 309.
Alatenatala, 309.
Alatori, Lake, 464.
Alatz, River, 469.
Alausse, 68, 99.
Alba, 153.
Alba Julia, v. Weissenburgh.
Albania, 132, 152.
Alberic, 168.
Alchia Kungur, 551.
Alei, River, 179.
Alemdar, 212–13, 218–19.
Aleppo, 11, 164, 166, 205, 209, 210, 211.
Aleppo, Prince of, 129.
Alexander, 49, 113, 168, 172.
Alexei, son of Dshan, 571.
Alfred, King, 49.
Algu, 219, 221–2.
Alguts, 691.
Ali, 10, 15.
Ali Bahadur, 201.
Ali Khodja, 76.
Alima Chingsang, 431, 602.
Alin Taishi, 551.
Alinje Khan, 34.
Alj, 26.
Alji, v. Alj.
Almalig, 6, 19, 176, 296, 314, 610, 623, 654.
—— Khan of, 72.
Almansor, 10.
Almus, 587.
Alpugh, 167.
Alt, 221.
Alt, River, 146.
Altai Mts., 62, 107, 299, 488, 498, 524, 580, 591, 614, 617, S. 6, 27.
Altai, River, 6, 181.
Altalun, 171.
Altan, 61, 456, 552–4.
—— meaning of, 3.
Altan Defter (Golden Register), 37.
Altan Gachun Cholo, 526.
Altan Kadusun, 464.
Altan Khagan, S. 140, 141.
Altan Khan (of Khalkhas), 458, 465, 588.
—— and Khirgises, 466–7.
—— and Russians, 460.
—— and Sungars, 615.
—— death of, 468.
Altan Khan (of Tumeds), 377, 400, 402–3, 420–3, 457, 501, 514, 610, S. 143.
—— converted to Lamaism, 419.
—— death of, 425.
—— strange illness of, 424.
—— invades China, 416–19.
Altan Khans, 67.
Altan Kilo, 416.
Altan Lake, 24, 457, 525.
Altan Sanjin, 403.
Altchia Kungur, River, 59, 221.
Altirzi, 469.
Altshu Bolod, 371.
Altsubolod, 371, 375, 395–7.
Altun, *v.* Altan.
Altun Bigi, 66.
Altundash Khan, read Altunbash Khan, *v.* Kief.
Altyn Khan, *v.* Altan.
Altyntagh, River, S. 20–1.
Alu, 212.
Aluhoei Timur, 325.
Alu hoen, *v.* Orkhon.
Alung Goa, supernatural birth of, 37.
Aluthai, 499.
Alutu, *v.* Ilacho.
Alwi Sepras Mts., 20.
Ama, *v.* Kima.
Amad-ul-mulk, 79.
Amakhais, 402.
Amalig, read Almalig.
Amarkh'la Halevi, Rabbi Joseph, 538.

Ambai, 44.
Amdo, 510, S. 132.
Amid, 131, 167.
Amida, 525.
Amidu Chingsen, 613.
Amié Mts., 526.
Amin Dural, 474, 485.
Amin Malek, 81, 89.
Amiot, Père, 498, 578, 656, 659.
Amitabha, 510, S. 118, 120, 134, 137, 149.
Amitayas, S. 149.
Amké, 599, 605-6.
Amol, 82-3.
Amtilai, River, 469.
Amudara, 402.
Amur Khan, 672.
Amur, River, *v.* Onon.
Amursana, 592, 651-9.
—— death of, 660.
—— escapes from captivity, 656-60.
Amusements—
Horse-racing by Khalkas, S. 147.
Pony-racing by Mongols, S. 69-71.
Wrestling, by Mongols, S. 71, S. 147.
Wrestling by Lamas, S. 71.
Amutai Khungtaidshi, 371, 512.
Amuyeh, 77.
An Zalik, 5.
Ana Dara, 502, 622.
Ananda, 285, 290, 291-2, 309, S. 154.
Ananda Madi, Lama, 332 3.
Ananta, S. 156.
Anda, 375.
Anda Galsu Ching Taidshi, 500.
Andekuh, 81, 87.
Andijan Kirghises, 655.
André, 672.
Andronicus Comnenus, 14.
Andun Ching Taidshi, 57.
Angara, River, 24, 682, 684, 687-9.
Angirasses, 72.
Angkhan, 396.
Angku Hukuju, 550.
Ani, 132, 538.
—— fall of, 14.
Anna, Princess, 675.
Annam, *v.* Tonquin.
Anselm, S. 116.
Antchar, 118.
Antelope, Saiga, S. 24.
Anthony, St., S. 109.
Antie buka, 320.
Antioch, 210, 540.
—— conquered by Soliman, 13.
Antshi, 56.
Antsi, *v.* Alj.
Antun, 551.
Antung, *v.* Ngantung.
Anudawa, 516.
Anui, River, 469.
Anville, D., quoted, 496.
Aokhans, 380, 394, 427, 433.
Apaokhi, 37.
Apisga, 218.
Apotchegan, 500.
Appak Hodja, 623, 645.
Aptush Khan, 636.
Áquinas, S. 116.
Ara Bolod, 371, 376, 390, 395.
Arab Muhammed, Khan, 561.
Araban, 132.
Arabia, 11.
Arabdshur, *v.* Karapuchin.
Arabs, 209, 544.
Arabtan, 502, 527, 589, 663.
Aral, River, 74, 551.
Aral, Lake, 494.
Ararat, 208.
Araxes, 14.
Arbuba, 349, 533.
Arbuka, 346.
Archan kit, Temple of, 527.
Archipelago, Eastern, 247, 250.
Ardana, 75.
Ardebil, 83.
Arghassun Churtshi, 57-8.
Argni, 476
Argun, River, 29, 53, 58, 134, 161, 164, 169, 170, 204.
Arhats, S. 113, 154, 159.
Arhatship, attainment of, S. 113.
Ariestan, Zurkhan, S. 144.
Arik Lama, 419, 421, S. 140.
Arik Tsordshi, 408-9.
Arikbuka, 174, 177, 213, 216-8, 221-2, 252, 283.
Arini, 685.
Aristotle, 172.
Arkhan Chingsen, 595, 613.
Armas, 485.
Armenia, 133, 203.
—— Great, 13, 132.
—— Little, 13.
Armenians, 128.
Aroktai, 356-60, 431, 560, 597-8.
Arrak Tommur, 500.
Arran, 8, 93, 130.
Arslan Khan, 19, 66, 294.
Arslan Khans, 6, 72.
Arsubolod, 371, 375, 395, 400, 415-6.
Art-paintings in Lamaist temple, S. 167-8.
Artsa Khara Tokoi, 473.
Aru Bulak, 56.
Aru Khortshin, 398.
Arulads, 106, 114.
Arungu, River, *v.* Longku.
Aryans, S. 6, 117.
Aryasangha, S. 139.
Asad ud din Sher i koh, 11.

Asaga, S. 123–4.
Asagitgelus, *v.* Lung-si-hien.
Asauli, River, 550.
Ashagabats, 691–2.
Ashik Lama, *v.* Arik Lama.
Ashikhai Darkhan Khungtaidshi, 457.
Asena, 33.
Ases, 138.
Ashraf, Prince, 12, 129–30, 210.
Asia, 49, 99, 252.
—— Emirs of, 14.
Asia Minor, dynasty of, 13.
Ask, *v.* Ilak.
Asoka, Conversion to Buddhism, S. 114.
Ass, wild, S. 23.
Assaktu hala hotsvihan, 638.
Assarkho, 576, 579, 582, 589.
Assassins, *v.* Ismailites.
Assemanni, 534.
Asser, 538.
Assods, 597.
Assutai, 214, 216, 283.
Astadad, *v.* Astara.
Astara, 82.
Astok Sain Bandi, 403.
Astrakhan, 94, 564–6, 665, 669–70, 678.
Astrology in China, 247.
Asu, 551.
Asukipa, *v.* Radchapika.
Atabegs, 10.
Atalukan Jawer Sadshan, 107.
Atani Khara Modo, 397.
Atchu, 248.
Athai, 360.
Atisa, S. 128, 155.
Atshatu tologai, 397.
Atshi, 432.
Atsiz, 7.
Attagan, 692.
Attakhai, 500.
Attalia, 13.
Attila, 49, 113.
Attrek, River, 83.
Aurungzeb, Emperor, 518.
Austria, Duke of, 150–2.
Auteroche, Abbé Chappe d', 650, 651, 654, 660.
Ava, King of, 212.
Avagosha, S. 117.
Avak, Prince, 132, 167.
Avalokita, S. 150, 160, 163, 174.
—— images of, S. 151.
Avalokitesvara, S. 137, 140–1, 173.
Avares, 52.
Avars, 25, S. 7.
Avataras, S. 139.
Avezae, D', quoted, 698, S. 37.
Avignon, embassy from Khan of Catway to, 314.
Ayadji Chinsang, 298.
Ayar Nor, 173, S. 12.
Ayke, *v.* Engke Svriktu Khan.
Ayub, 12, 650.
Ayubits, 13.
Ayuchélitala, 317, 324.
Ayuchelipata, *v.* Biliktu Khan.
Ayuka Khan, 502, 565–8, 573, 588–9, 642, 667, 676.
Ayuka Taidshi Prince, 563–8.
—— his relations with Russians, 564–8.
Ayur bali batra, 290, 296–7.
Azerbaidjan, 8, 73, 83, 93, 97, 128, 130, 132, 169, 203.
Azerdi, 5.
Aziz, 11, 12.
Azof, Bey of, 564.
Azof, Cossacks, 567.
Azof, Sea of, 94.

Baatur Khungtaidshi, 503, 517, 561, 595, 613, 620, 636, 663.
—— and Yangir, 618–9.
—— identified with Khutugaitu, 614.
—— receives patent of Khungtaidshi, 617.
Baatur Gillong, 569.
Baatur Ombo, 569.
Baatur Ubashi, 529.
Baatut (a title of Yoboghon Mergen), 593.
Babai, 691–2.
Baber, quoted, S. 83.
Babu, 486.
Babylonia, S. 107.
Bacchus, S. 156.
Bachamu, *v.* Machamu.
Bactria, S. 6, 114.
Bedai, 59, 552.
Badakshan, 73, 80.
Badarkhan, 691.
Baddeley, quoted, S. 132.
Badghis, 172.
Badma Sambhava, 402, 678.
Badrua Altai, 550.
Baga Erket, 581.
Baga Erkets, 589.
Baga Kentei Mts., 487.
Baga Mandshi, 622.
Baga Zoochor, 571, 581.
Baga-tosutu, 412.
Bagan Zookors, 670.
Bagaritai Khabitshi, 39.
Bagha Batur, 397.
Bagha Toin, 516.
Bagharins, *v.* Barins.
Baghassun Darkhan Tabunang, 375.
Baghatud, 558, 590, 611, 676.
Baghatur Khungtaidshi, death of, 612.
Baghdad, 10, 167, 201, 203, 204–5, 216, 298.

Baghdad, Caliph of, 74, 129.
—— sacked by Mongols, 200.
Bagho, 366, 608.
Baghu, *v.* Nagu.
Baghu Khataki, 39.
Bagra, 74.
Bagratids, 13.
Bagush, *v.* Nadmid.
Bahrits, 141.
—— derivation of, 11.
Bai Sankur, 40.
Baibagish, 665.
Baiberak biljizeh, 549.
Baibuka, 23, 55, 62–3, 65. 72.
Baibuka Taiwang, 555.
Baibung Tushiyetu, 390.
Baidar, 137, 142–3, 145–6, 219.
Baidera, 211.
Baidju, 301.
Baidshu, 130.
Baiju, 166–8, 208.
—— conquers Rum, 13.
Baikal, Lake, 1, 55, 678, 682, 688, 690.
Baikal Sea, 23–4, 32, 354, 683, 689.
Baildshur, 580.
Bailecan, 130.
Bailékan destroyed, 94.
Bain dzurukhe Mt., 488.
Bain tologoi, Mt., 392.
Bain ula, 490.
Baintsokhor Darkhan, 400.
Baipo, 119.
Bairi ola, 392.
Bairin Tolkon, 566.
Baishing, 416.
Baissanghor, 402.
Baisuts, *v.* Yissuts.
Baitarik, River, 493.
Baitkulki, 41.
Baitu, Mt., 412.
Bajira Shigetshin, 611.
Bak, 396.
Bakalan, 92.
Bakesur Khatai, 394.
Bakha Kentei, River, 22.
Bakirghan, 562.
Baktur Malep, 582.
Bakzigir, 649.
Bala Dordji Djonom, S. 54.
Balaganskoi, 689, 691.
Balasaghun, cāptured by Yelui Tashi, 6.
Baldjuna, 52, 59, 553.
Balgush, 86.
Balish, 279.
Balkash, Lake, 2, 176, 501.
Balkash, Sea, 6, 65, 73, 75, 640.
Balkh, 7, 74, 79, 80–1, 299.
Baltu, 214, 283.
Bambar, 574, 579, 580.
Bambashihi, 483.
Bambu Bonior Nom, S. 54.
Bamian, 89.
Bamsum Choigie rGialbo bLama a P'agspa (title of Madi Dhwadshawa, *q.v.*).
Ban Sheng, *v.* Baishing.
Bandsara, 402.
Banners, Eight, 385–8, 628.
—— Eighty-six, 385.
—— Forty-nine, 385, 470, 477, 628, 630–1.
—— (Brigades of), 388–9.
—— Seven, 412.
—— Twenty, 482.
—— Twenty-four, 484.
—— Twenty-nine, 525.
Bansarakya, 583.
Bantra, Nicholas of, 296.
Bantshen, Bogda, 516, 518.
Bantshen Rin po chen, *v.* Bantshin Erdeni, 511.
Bantshin Erdenis, 511.
Banzarof, quoted, 531.
Baptism of Mongol children, *v.* Mongols.
Bar Hebraeus, 210.
Bar, River, 23.
Baraba Steppe, 619.
Barabinski, 614, 666.
—— Tatars, 618.
Baraghodshin Goa. 37.
Baraghon Tumens, *v.* Tumens.
Barai, 483, 692.
Barakhu, 683.
Barbukha Mts., 525.
Bardam Baghatur, 45.
Bardam Behadur, 43.
Bardjuk, 66.
Barga Buriats, 501, 590.
Barghuts, read Bargut.
Bargu, 40.
—— Plain of, 22–3.
Barguchin Tugrum, 24, 40.
Barguto, 24, 683–4.
Barguzin, River, 689–90.
Barguzinskoi, 683, 690.
Barim, 1.
—— Shiratu Khaiju, 41.
Barins, 38, 53–4, 380, 384, 397–8, 474.
Barishniaz Khan, 79.
Bariyan, 82.
Barka, 207.
Barkhaligkend, 76.
Barkhu, River, 527.
Barkiarok, 7.
Barkuchin, 22.
Barkul, 473, 611, 659.
Barla, River, 464.
Bars Chotan, *v.* Ing Chang.
Bars Kul, *v.* Barkul.
Bars-Ebugen, S. 96.
Barsabolod, 374–5, 395.
Barsadjar, 34.

Bartam Behadur, 44, 61.
Bartan, 45.
Barthra, 138.
Bartu, quoted, S. 111, 114.
Bashkirs, 563–7, 643, 666, 676.
Bashpa, 506, 509.
—— *v.* Mongol script.
Basinan, 8.
Basuits, 53.
Bassod Uishins, 402.
Basti, 95.
Basun, 649.
Batanai, 692.
Batangul, 692.
Batra, 290–1, 306.
Batu, 98, 137–9, 140, 146, 150, 152, 155, 162, 165, 167, 170–1, 211, 222, S. 55.
Batu Darkhan Baghatur, 408.
Batu Mongke (Dayan Khan), 370.
—— kidnapped, 369.
Batu Taidshi, 406.
Bayan Mongke, 383, 400.
Beauvais, Vincent of, quoted, 555, S. 53, 82, 195, 203, 206.
Bell, quoted, 561.
Beresine, quoted, 43.
Bergmann, quoted, 573, 575–6, 579, 586, 669.
Berkul, 114.
Bernier, quoted, 518.
Bhairava, S. 180.
Bhakar, 10.
Bhima, temple of, S. 125.
Bhodhitai Tsokegur, 411.
Bhotan, S. 127.
Bhutan, 517.
Bible, translation of and distribution of among Kalmuks, 678–9.
Bichin Kian, 36.
Biduria Noor, 456.
Bicla, River, 682, 689.
Bielogorod, 139.
Bigtutemish Fudshin, 559.
Bikats, 691.
Bilal Rajahs, 247.
Biliktu Khan, 340–5, 383.
Bilkassan, *v.* Silkan.
Birdpur State, S. 107.
Bire, 209.
Birtha, *v.* Bire.
Birwan, *v.* Peruan.
Bishbalig, 21, 63, 72, 135, 165, 173, 182, S. 8.
Biskhireltu Khan, 466, 468, 486
Bisman Tengri, *v.* Vaisravana.
Bistritz, 146.
Bisugat, 26.
Bisurdar, *v.* Biliktu Khan.
Bitei, 660.
Bithynia, 13.
Biyun tabun, 460.
Bizigan, *v.* Adshan Khan.
Bjak *v.* Chak'urdshap.
Black Irtish River, 173.
Black Mountaineers, 623, 650, 655.
Blood, as token of solemn vow, 587.
Bodhisatvas, S. 118, 150.
Bodi, 375.
Bodi Alak Khakan, 418.
Bodi Khan, 376–7, 385, 394–5.
Bodidara, 400, 432.
Boegho Urluk, 581, 589.
Bogda Lama, 562.
Bogda Ula, 580, 593.
Bogdan Arshinskvi, 617.
Bogdanovitch, S. 10.
Bogdo Lama, S. 137.
Bogdo Mt., 173, 585, 610.
Boghordshi, 54, 58, 98, 106, 178.
Bogle, quoted, 743.
Bogush, Princess, 586, 670.
Boh Lussim Khan, *v.* Boh Noyon Khan, 593.
Boharit, read Bahrit, *q.v.*
Bohemia, 164.
Bohemund, 166.
Boibeghus, 501, 503.
Boibego Urluk, 560.
Boima Tushiyetu, 394–5.
Bokbon, 528.
Bokda Thian Shan Mts., *v.* Kabyrgan Mts.
Boke Taidshi, 581.
Bokhabof, 691.
Bokhara, 77, 92, 105, 130, 174–5, 639, 653.
—— Siege of, 78.
Bokko Ulan, 580.
Boko Chilledu, 594.
Boko Mirsa, 501.
Bokshas, *v.* Mokshas.
Bokshirgo, 589.
Bolatiz, 145.
Boldshumar, 373.
Boleslaf III, 142–3, 150.
Bolgai, 187.
Bolkho Jinong *v.* Bayan Mongke.
Bollikhun, 561, 589.
Bologats, 689.
Bomol, 692.
Bon, S. 124.
Bonaparte, 113.
Bondar, 483, 475.
Boneti, N., 314.
Bonghun Shara Mt., 488.
Bonpo, 279.
Borachi, 32.
Borak, 128, 174–5, 181.
Borchatu Khan, read Borkhatu Khan, *q.v.*
Bordshig, 37.
Bordshigetei Mergen, 36.
Bordshigs, 28, 50.
Borgo Korkun, 398.

Borin Ayolgaan, 613.
Borkeyarok, 537.
Borkhatu Khan, 106.
Boro Burgasu, 484, 663.
Boro kasha, 580.
Boro khoto, 398.
Boro Khun Mt., 387.
Boro, River, 492.
Borokchin Goa, 36.
Boroldoi, 691.
Borstalas, 640, 642.
Borsa Lama, 403.
Borsai Khatan Baghatur, 377.
Borskaya, 23.
Bort, 8.
Boshie Osero, Lake, 469.
Bossurman Taidshi, 580.
Boston, 81–2.
Boyars, 139.
Brahma, S. 156.
Brahmins, 505, S. 110, 139.
Brasbong, 516.
—— Monastery of, 410.
Bratski, *v.* Buriats.
Bratskoi, 685–9.
Brepung, Convent of, S. 134.
—— Monastery of, S. 139.
Breslau, 143.
Bretschneider, quoted, 622, 709, 710, 721–2, 726–8, 740.
Brom Bakshi, S. 136.
Bromton–bakshi, S. 128.
Bubo, 32.
Bucha Ching Sang, read Bukha Ching Sang, *q.v.*
Bucratu Turluk Mts., 185.
Buda, captured by Mongols, 151.
Budala, read Putala, *q.v.*
Budanjar Doghlan, 41.
Budantsar Mong Khan, 37–9.
Budats, 41.
Buddha, disciples of, S. 153–4.
—— legend of his return to Indra's heaven, S. 191–2
—— representations of in human form, S. 121.
—— statue of, 423.
—— typical representation of, S. 148.
Buddhas, demoniacal, S. 149.
—— of Confession, the thirty-five, S. 149.
—— Tantrik, S. 149.
Buddhism, 100, 317, S. 8, 106.
—— adopted by Khubilai, 220.
—— at Court of Khubilai, S. 129.
—— corruptions of, S. 123–4.
—— Hinayana, S. 116.
—— Influence of on Mongols, S. 30–1.
—— introduced into Tibet, S. 124.
—— Mahayana, S. 116–20.
—— reaches China, S. 122.
Buddhist deities—
Defenders of the Faith, S. 152–3.
Demon gods, 156–9, 166.
Familiars, S. 153.
Buddhist images of paste and butter, S. 190–1.
—— Scriptures translated into Sanskrit, S. 121.
—— Scriptures translated into Mongol, 509.
Buddhists, 5, 221, 248, 292, 588.
Budjek, 137–8, 140.
Budshong, 513.
Buga Timur, 202.
Bugha, 330.
Bughas, 57.
Bughu Khataki, 37.
Bughu Saldshigo, 37.
Bughul, 25.
Bughurdshi, 115, 316, 550.
Bughurul, *v.* Berkul.
Bugurdshin, read Boghordshi.
Buima Mergen Ildutshi, 391.
Buir nur, 493.
Buirates, 611.
Buka, 343.
Buka Ching Sang, *v.* Bucha Ching Sang.
Buka Suchiku, 93.
Buka Timur, 60, 307, 547, 682.
Buke Chilger, 51.
Buke Sorson, 431, 606.
Buker Gehesh, 55.
Buker Gehreh, 22, 23, 60.
Bukharia, 7, 74, 469, 612, S. 124.
—— Little, 6, 591, 623, 645, 650–1. 654–5, 662.
Bukholz, Ivan, 646–7.
Bukovina, 142.
Buku, 182.
Bukus, 663.
Bulai, *v.* Puilai.
Bulai Taishi, 365.
Bulgachins, 24.
Bulgar, 105, 137.
—— destruction of, 138.
Bulgari Khan, 499, 500.
Bulgaria, Great, 96, 137.
Bulgarians, 155, S. 7.
Bulugan, 290–1.
Bulungkir, 611.
Bumba, 485.
Bunakof, Kirilla, 688.
Buniashiri Khan, 491.
Buntar, 567.
Buntshuk, *v.* Punzuk.
Buraghul Nogan, 550.
Burchan Kutuchta, 462.
Burgatai, 387.
Burghudshin, *v.* Burgusin.
Burghul, 683
Burghul Noyan, 73.
Butgin Galdat, *v.* Burkan Kaldun.

Burgins, 53.
Burgudtai, River, 492.
Burgul, 54.
Burgultai ussu, River, 398.
Burgusin, 55.
Burhaneddin, 654–5.
Buri, 25, 137–8, 140, 172, 218.
Buri Buke, 52.
Buriats, 59, 557, 681–92, S. 32, 102, 106.
—— and Russians, 685–91.
—— etymology of name, 683.
—— Khorin, 691.
—— language of, S. 33.
Burichi, 561.
Burin bulak, 387.
Burkan Sandshi, *v.* Burkan Shadshin, 500.
Burkhai Tsokor, 391.
Burkhan Khaldun, *v.* Kentei Chain.
Burkan Ula (the Divine Mt.), 487.
Burma, 256, 287, S. 114, 123.
Burni, 385.
Burtasses, *v.* Ertsas.
Burtchak, 213.
Burte, 50.
Burte Fudshin, *v.* Burte Judjin, 52, 55, 57–8, 104, 106, 107, 115.
Burtechino, 32–6.
Burung Mt., 488.
Burut, 639.
Buruts, 23, 577, 580, 643, 652.
Bushetu Khan, *v.* Ontchon.
Bushtu Khan (title of Galdan), 623.
Bushtu Tsinong, 636.
Bushuktu, 404–7, 426–7, 515.
—— attacks China, 408–9.
Bussorah, 201.
Butala, *v.* Putala.
Butu Gurgan, 107.
Butui, 589.
Buura, 561, 581, 589.
Buya Akhai Sumé, 387.
Buyan, 563.
Buyan Otchun Baatur, *v.* Ontchon.
Buyan Baghatur Khungtaidshi, 611.
Buyan Taidshi (Setzen Khan), 378.
Buyandara, 457.
Buyandara Khulatshi Baghatur, 403–4.
Buyanggholai Toghar Dait-Shing, 377, 402.
Buyani Tetkukshi, 559.
Buyantai Selzen Buiri Sorektu, 391.
Buyantu Khan, 297, 299, 383, 530.
Buyeds, 10.
Buyur Lake, 26, 56, 60, 347, 547.
Buyuruk, 20, 55, 59, 60, 63, 65, 549, 551.
Buyut, read Bayut, *v.* Bulugan.
Byzantines, 13.

Cadyshin, destroyed, 142.
Cæsar, 113.
Cæsarea, 166.
—— held by Christians, 13.
Caichu, 548.
Cairn over ashes of Sakyamuni, S. 107.
—— over remains of Konāgamana, S. 108.
Calachan, *v.* Alashan.
Calatia, *v.* Nin hia fu.
Calendar of Mongols, S. 85.
Calocza, Archbp. of, 148, 150, 151.
Cambalec, *v.* Khanbaligh.
Cambaluk, *v.* Khanbaligh.
Cambodja, 246.
Camels, characteristics and habits of, S. 63–6.
—— ropes made from hair of, S. 64.
—— wild, habitat, S. 20–1.
Campbell, quoted, S. 23, 26, 30–1, 44, 57, 62–3.
Campichu, *v.* Kan chau.
Canada, 252.
Candles, Mongol, S. 194.
Cannibalism in China, 293.
—— among Mongols, 97, 136, 154.
Canton, 246, 303.
Capchat, *v.* Kipchak.
Cappadocia, 13.
Capuchins, S. 136.
Cara Catay, 540–1.
Caraun Chidun Mts., 59.
Caravoun Cabdjal, 60.
Caron, *v.* Karong.
Carpathians, 142, S. 24.
Carpini, read Carpino, *q.v.*
Carpino, quoted, 6, 62, 103, 138, 162, 165, S. 16, 37, 41, 48, 51, 53, 55, 68, 73, 78, 79, 81, 93–4, 195, 203, 206.
Carruthers, quoted, 13, 16, 31.
Caschin, 140.
Cashmere, 623.
Caspian, River, 7.
Caspian Sea, 82, 586, S. 17, 22.
Caspian Steppes, 578.
Castro, Z. de, 166
Cataro, burnt by Mongols, 152.
Catchar Ogola, 138.
Cathay, 253, 274, 296.
Cathay, Khan of, sends embassy to Avignon, 314.
Cathayens, Black, 540.
Catherine II, 678.
Caubul, S. 124.
Caucasus, Mt., 566, 572, 674.
Celestin III, Pope, 14.
Celibacy of Lamas enforced, 423, S. 134.
Central Asia, 6.

Ceremonies—
Buddhist Jubilee ceremony, S. 190.
Chinese, before campaign against Kalmuks, 630.
—— after victory over Kalmuks, 635.
Election of a Khakan, 163.
At inauguration of Khutuktu, S. 144–7.
Ceylon, S. 114, 117, 123.
Ch'os Kyong, S. 135.
Ch'orten, *v.* Monuments.
Ch'os Skyabs bzan po, S. 134.
Cha chau, 600.
Cha ching, 358.
Cha ho, 318.
Cha O, 604.
Cha-ri-si, *v.* Avalokitesvara.
Chaban pulak, 634.
Chabanchah, 167.
Chabor, 538.
Chadshikin, 52.
Chagan, 136, 164.
Chagan talugu, *v.* Tchahan taluhoa.
Chaghan Ghir Nur, 494.
Chaghan Muran, *v.* Biela.
Chaghan nomun Khan, 525.
Chaghan nur, 176, 545, 632.
Chaghan Timur, 322–6.
Chaghan tolagoi of Tsinghai, 524.
Chahan, 299.
Chahantaluha, 353.
Chai kheoupu, fort, 387.
Chair, 299.
Chaitan, 124.
Chakdurdshap, 567, 589, 667.
Chakhar, derivation of, 385.
Chakhar country, pastures and cattle of, 386–8.
Chakhars, 374, 380, 384–8, 411 427, 433, 474, 485.
—— adopt Lamaism, 512.
—— government of, 386.
—— physique of, S. 32.
Chakrasambara, Buddha, 512, 514.
Chakravarta, S. 143.
Chakrawartin Setzen Jinong (title of Rintshen), 411.
Chakturman, 661.
Chalafunga, 657.
Chalak Turgen, 363.
Chalman Taidshi, 594.
Cham'hor, 14.
Chambui Goa, read Jambui Goa, 507.
Chambui Khatun, 421, 508.
Chamchean, quoted, 167.
Chamchi, 663.
Chamich, quoted, 133.
Champa, *v.* Cochin China.
Chamuka, 51–6, 59, 63, 549, 550, 552.
Chana Karpu, 661.
Chandorghata, S. 96.
Chang, 311.
Chang chau, 32, 322.
Chang chin, 316.
Chang Chun, 183.
Chang fu, 601.
Chang kia keou, *v.* Kalgan.
Chang sang chin, 337.
Chang se ching, 320, 322, 327.
Chang se tao, 337.
Chang tu, 416.
Chang tung, Emperor, 67.
Chang wen, 337.
Chang yu choen, 327–9, 335–6, 344.
Chang-i, 601, 603.
Chang-ning-shan, 213.
Changan, *v.* Si-ngan-fu.
Changju, 136.
Changking, *v.* Ling huan Ching.
Changté hoei, 219.
Changtsay, 299.
Changtu, read Shangtu, *q.v.*
Chao cheli, 297.
Chao hing, 249.
Chao ho chuan, 372.
Chao hoei, 659–60.
Chao ien hien, 29.
Chao modo, 635.
Chao yuen hao, 5.
Chaokangtsie, 299.
Chaoping-wen, 121.
Chao wan pu, 318.
Chao yong, 603.
Chapar, 181–2, 186, 288, 291, 293, 551.
Chapka kuenchen, 637.
Chapu, 359.
Charapen, 577.
Charatai Dabuson, S. 12.
Charlemagne, 49.
Charmaghun, 15.
Chas Boo, read Khas Boo, *q.v.*
Chatun Eke, read Khatun Eke, *q.v.*
Chatur Muren, read Khatun Muren, *v.* Kara Muren.
Chau chin, 338.
Chau dynasty, 4.
Chautung, 299.
Che chau, 419.
Che heng, 603.
Che kiang, 3, 27, 249, 256, 293, 309, 317, 323, 327.
—— Eastern, 322.
Che kin, 600.
Che li, 249.
Che lie men, 329.
Checher Mt., 350.
Chefdakom, 687.
Chegan macha, River, 469.
Cheghen Khutuktu, S. 144.
Cheho, 632.
Cheikh, Jelil Mt., 561.

Chelibuka, 346.
Cheliemen, 348.
Chelme Oho, 114.
Chemidzam, S. 166.
Chen chen, 248.
Chen ching, *v.* Cochin China.
Chen dynasty, 279 (misprint for Chou).
Chen erh ku, 338.
Chen miao, 360.
Chen tao, 307.
Cheng chin, 312.
Chenorut, 692.
Chenoruts, 691.
Chenparen Kanpu, 524.
Chepator, 605.
Chepchugai, 687.
Chepé Noyan, 68, 69, 73, 80–7, 93, 96–7, 99, 100, 114.
Chepsuntanpa, *v.* Jabzan.
Cheremisses, *v.* Marimes.
Cheren Donduk, 589, 640, 643-7, 649, 667, 680.
—— investiture ceremony, 568–70.
—— receives patent from Dalai Lama, 568–9.
Cheren Sanlup, 642.
Chereng, General, 656–7.
Chereng, Prince, 573, 574, 578, 580.
Chereng Muko, 651.
Chereng, Taishi, 636.
Chereng Ubashi, 651.
Cheringa, 529.
Cherkask, 572.
Chernigof, 95.
—— destroyed, 141.
Chernovitz, 142.
Chétai, 635.
Cheter, 667.
Cheter Taidshi, 680.
Chetchen Ombo, 595, 621.
Chetshelo, 691.
Chetshen, 460, 462.
Chetsiei, 288.
Chetsikan, 343.
Cheula, 417.
Chi tsu, read Shi tsu, *v.* Khubilai.
Chichidar, 691.
Chichiringkhua Tologoi, Mt., 397.
Chikin Mongols, identified with Khoshotes, 499.
Chikoi, River, 22.
Chilaghotu, River, 484.
Chin, 334.
Chin chan ulh, 326.
Chin kiang, 322.
Chin li, 326.
Chin sang, 252.
Chin Timur, 128, 133–4, 169.
Chin wang, 484.
Chin yeou leang, 323–4, 326.
Chin yeou ting, 328.
China, 59, 66, 69, 72, 99, 105, 109, 113, 171, 173, 177, 201, 211, 213, 216, 220, 250, 252, 286, 469, 543, 557, 573, 578, 592, 623, 628, 644, S. 8, 123.
—— and Buddhism, S. 122.
—— and Mongols, 118, 370–1, 402, 408–9.
—— and Ordus, 406–7.
—— division of, 1.
—— eighteen departments of, 303.
—— horses introduced into, 313–15
—— invaded by Tumeds, 416–19.
—— migration of Tartars to, 623.
—— population of, 381.
—— taxation in, 317.
China, Northern, 3, 67, 114.
—— Southern, 3.
Chinese, 100.
—— culture, influence on Mongols, 219.
—— defeated by Eleultis, 628–9.
—— dynastic annals kept secret, 309.
—— Emperor taken captive to Tartary by Kalmuks, 602–3.
—— trade with Mongols, S. 42.
—— victory over Mongols, 118.
Ching chau, 5, 135, 412.
Ching hoa, Emperor, S. 137.
Ching kin, 218, 383.
Ching miau, 359.
Ching Taidshi, *v.* Shira.
Ching ting fu, 312.
Ching tu, 218, 256.
Ching tu fu, 213.
Ching tung, 256.
Ching u, 632.
Ching wa yeke Guyushi, 408.
Ching wang (title of Toktagha), 316.
Ching Prince, 602–3.
Ching-hao, 299.
Chinghoa-tulang, 45.
Chinkai, 134, 161, 164–5, 172.
Chingkin, 284.
Chingsen, 500.
Chingtai Khakan, 431.
Chioki, 404.
Chir tumer ula, 502.
Chitral, S. 125.
Chituts, 691.
Chjan de Khoi, 183.
Chmielik, 143.
Chmielnik, *v.* Chmielik.
Cho si, read Kho si, *v.* Tangut.
Chorin Mts., 185.
Choros, 590–680.
Choros, King of, 676.
Chortiza, *v.* St. George, Isle of.
Chos Kya Odser, S. 129.
Chosse kien, 324.
Chotepala, read Shutepala, *q.v.*
Chovang Namgial, 515.

Christianity among Kalmuks, 677, 679.
—— among Keraits, 542.
—— among Khoshotes, 678.
—— among Mongols, 133, 165.
—— early missionaries of, to China, 294.
—— ritual of, compared with that of Lamaism, S. 136.
—— missionaries of, visit Prince of Derbets, 671–3.
Christians, 138, 178, 200, 205, 210–11, 221, 675, S. 113.
—— Kalmuk, colony of, in Russia, 675.
—— Kalmuk, oppressed by fellow countrymen, 679.
—— Nestorian, 556–7.
—— possessions of on coast of Syria, 13.
Chu fang, 417.
Chu kien, 604.
Chu kien chin, 602.
Chu kuang king, 312.
Chu mi yuen, 254.
Chu River, 663, 666.
Chu ye che sin, 26.
Chu yong, 600–1.
Chu yuen Chang, 321–3, 326, 329–30.
Chuang léang, fair held at, 420.
Chuchai Dadshu, read Khukhai Dadshu, *q.v.*
Chui ul ting, 417.
Chukhchi, S. 2.
Chulan, read Khulan, *q.v.*
Chulan Goa, 57, 58.
Choang tsin wang, 653.
Choda, 70.
Chohangur, 179.
Choidshing, Buddha, 569.
Choigji Odzer, read Choigyi Odzer, *q.v.*
Choigyi, Odzer, 292.
—— inventor of present Mongol script, 510.
Choijes, S. 142.
Choit, 558.
Cholitu, 406–7.
Chong hei, *v.* Tangan.
Chong tsui, 610.
Chong yuen, 328.
Chongchitcheng, 328.
Chono ussu, 398.
Chonsi hai, 641.
Chor Tiremin, 553.
Chulan Khatun, 106–7.
Chulim, 24.
Chullun Boko, 594.
Chumish, River, 615.
Chun king, *v.* Yen King.
Chun ning, 354.
Chun ning, Prince Mahamu of, 596.
Chun wang, 346.
Chun yuen, 309.
Chung chu sing, 254.
Chung hing, *v.* Nin hia fu.
Chung tu, meaning of, 3.
Chung-khing, *v.* Yunnan fu.
Chung-king-fu, 214.
Chung-kué Mts., 214.
Chungtu, 97.
Chuo River, 29.
Churmagun, 130, 133–4.
Chutsai, 117.
Chutshei, Prince, 669.
Chutter, *v.* Cheter.
Chuvashes, 566.
Cilicia, 13.
Circassians, 138, 140, 305.
Clarke, quoted, S. 195.
Clissa, 152.
Cochin China, 246, 250, 251–2, 297
Coir Cham, 540–1.
Colchis, 15.
Colebrooke, quoted, S. 108.
Coleridge, poem on Xanadu, 261.
Columbanus, S. 113.
Comagne, 13.
Coman, *v.* Kipchaks.
Comania, 147.
Comans, 137, 147–9, 155.
Confucius, 121, 123, 286, 292, 308, 316, S. 112.
—— Hall of, 298.
Conrad, Duke, 142, 164.
Constantinople, 314.
Cooking by Mongols, S. 57.
Corea, 2, 28, 72, 164, 220, 252, 256, 294, 313, 323, 325, S. 8, 123.
Corea, King of, 212, 293.
Coreans, 1, 221, 317.
Cosniatin, 140.
Cossacks, 565–6, 617, 628, 673–6, 685, 688–90.
Costume, Dalai Lama's cap, S. 187.
—— Headdress of Tartar women, 305.
—— Lamaist caps, S. 175.
—— Lamaist hats, S. 187–8.
—— Lamaist robes, S. 171–3.
—— of female Shaman, S. 98–9.
—— of Kalmuk Chief, S. 36.
—— of Khanpo, S. 184.
—— of Mongol tumblers, S. 189–90.
—— of Mongols, S. 35–8.
—— of Shamans, S. 98–9.
—— of Tibetan Saints, S. 155.
—— of Uriankhai, S. 36.
Couren, *v.* Karong.
Courts of Kin Emperors, 3.
Cracow, 142.
—— burning of, 143.
Cranganor, *v.* Sengkili.

Crequir, *v.* Erequir.
Crimea, 94.
—— Khan of, 668.
Crits, *v.* Mekrits.
Croatia, 147, 151.
Croix, de la, quoted, 47, 341, 348, 352–3, 549, 587, 718.
Crusaders, 12, 14, 205.
—— Capture Nicaea from Seljuks, 13.
Cuirasses, quilted cotton, 630.
Cujavia, 142–3.
Currency, paper issued by Mongols, 156.
—— under Khuissan, 293–4.
—— under Khubilai, 272, 293.
Customs, Chinese mourning, 304.
—— disposal of dead, S. 211–13.
—— disposal of dead Shamans, S. 104.
—— disposal of Mongol dead, S. 206.
—— funeral ritual, S. 209.
—— marriage and divorce among Mongols, S. 44, 194–204.
—— Mongol hunting, 92.
—— Mongol mourning, 470.
—— Mongol mutilation of enemies, 144.
—— Mongol, regarding sickness, S. 202–6.
—— Russian *re* refugees, 660.
Cuth, 538.
Cyprus 13.
Czanad, captured by Mongols, 146.
—— Bishop of, 149.
Czeslaf, 143.

Daba Dordshi, 589.
Daba Guruba Noyan, 515.
Daba Nangsu, 410.
Dabakhai Darkhan Khoskhotshi, 39.
Dabasana Nor, S. 12.
Dabastu bulak, 387.
Dabsun-Nur, 413–14.
Dacians, S. 6, 96.
Dagal, 613.
Dagba, 651, 680.
Dagba rGialtsan, 505.
Daghetsan, 94, 155.
Dagighur, 378.
Dai Noyan, 107.
Dai Setzen, 50, 56.
Dai Wang Guyushi, 408.
Daiming Chingtai, *v.* Ingtsong.
Dain Mergen Lansa, 460.
Dain Noyan, 462, 464–5.
Dair Ussun, 23, 57.
Daitshing, 378, 395, 562–4, 589.
Daitshing Dureng, 394–5.
Daitshing Khoshutshi, 665.
Daitu, *v.* Peking under Khubilai.
Daitun Yeke Shara, 431.
Dakdzon, 532.
Dakhatai, 398.
Dakkinis, *v.* Demons Buddhist.
Dalad Khangkins, 402.
Dalai, 615.
Dalai Khan, 518, 621.
Dalai Khungtaidshi, 502, 523–4.
Dalai Lama, 471, 511, 568–9, 629, 643, 649.
—— invests Khan of Torguts, *v.* Cheren Donduk.
—— cremation of third, 514.
—— (Geden Yamtso) death and reincarnation of, S. 143.
—— embassy to Chinese Emperor, 520–1.
—— fourth, 514–15.
—— given sovereignty over Thibet 517.
—— rebirth of, S. 144.
Dalai Subin Aru Altan Shireghtu, 32.
Dalai Nor, 60 S. 12.
Dalai Taidshi, 664, 680.
Dalai Taishi, 616–17.
Dalai Ubashi, 666.
Dalan Teregun, 374, 376.
Dalbai Tabunang, 431.
Daldan Kundulen, 457.
Dalmatia, 147, 151.
Dam, 522.
Damascus, 11, 12, 204–5, 208.
—— Prince of, 167.
Dameghan, 82–3.
Damietta, 11.
Dan, 538.
Dan chin, 654.
Dancing at Court of Toghon Timur, 320.
Dandshin Lama, 475, 484.
Dandshin Ombo, 640–2, 680.
Danghil Nur, 494.
Daniel, Hodja, 645.
Danishmend, 100
Daöchin Tanggri (god of war) on Kalmuk battle standard, S. 83.
Dara Eke, 665.
Dara Khatun, 514, S. 143.
Dara Uba Salts-ha, 618.
Darai Bagha Darkhan, 378, 395.
Daraissun Taidshi, 377.
Dardsha, 650.
Dardsha Lama, 680.
Dari ika, 666.
Daritai, 56.
Dariti Utsuken, 45–6, 61, 552, 554.
Dariti Utchugen, *v.* Dariti Utsuken.
Dariti Utshegin, *v.* Dariti Utsuken.
Darius, 113, S. 108.
Darkan modo, 399.
Darkhan Lama, 403.
Darkhan Noyon, 393, 475, 613.

Darkhan Saissan, 627.
Darkhanchin Ching Yang, S. 145.
Darlegins, 24–5, 37–8, 47.
Darmabala, 568.
Darughan, 563.
Dashidundub, 484.
Dashiman, Amir, 253.
Dassang, 567–8, 589.
Dauria, 29, 691.
Dauteroche *v.* Auteroche, D'.
David II of Georgia, 14.
David III of Georgia, 14.
David (son of Ruzudan), 204.
Davidovitch, J., 139.
Davids, Rhys, quoted, S. 107–8, 148.
Dayan Khan, 24, 369–76, 383, 395, 400, 415, 431, 474, 518, 610.
—— and Tumens, 374–5.
—— invades Chinese frontier, 372.
Dayan Noyan, 420.
Dayu, 589.
Deere Zazen Khatun, 612.
Dekdekci, 472.
Delamarre, quoted, 499, 595, 599, 600–2, 604, 606, 608–9, 610, 737–8.
Delbek Khan, 354–6, 383, 596–7.
Deldesh, Prince, 580.
Delhi, 90.
Deligun bulak, 106.
Deligun Buldagha, 47.
Dellek, 582–5.
Dem-Ch'og, S. 180.
Demavend Mt., 82, 129.
Demetrius, 14.
Demons, Buddhist, S. 156.
Derbend, 15, 140.
—— captured, 94.
Derbend Kaluga, 80.
Derbetef, Prince, 571.
Derbets, 565, 575, 586, 590–1, 615–16, 622, 664, 667, 669–70, 674, 676,
—— and Christian missionaries, 671–3.
—— and Siberians raid Russian territory, 664.
—— and Torguts, 670.
—— dress of, S. 36.
—— Eastern, 666.
—— raid Christian Kalmuks, 679.
Desht Kipchak, 17.
Devlet Shah, 298.
Dharma, 398.
Dharmabala, 284, 290, 383.
Dharmatrata, S. 154.
Dhyana Buddhas, Five, S. 175.
Diarbekr, 11, 131, 164, 169, 208.
Dib Bakui Khan, 34.
Digarchi, S. 137.
Dilem, 93.
Dilun Boldak *v.* Deligun Buldagha.
Din yuan yin, identified with Calachan, *q.v.*
Dinawar, 93.
Diosgyor, 149.
Dipamkara the Luminous, S, 149.
Dipsan, 503, 580.
Divorce, *v.* Customs.
Divination by Shamans, S. 97.
—— by twigs, 587–8.
Djachi, 533.
Djagan, Hodja, 646, 650, 653, 655.
Djajsi Baatur, 525.
Djalanga, General, 533.
Django, 488.
Djanites, 128.
Djao modo, 487, 491.
Djarnai, 533.
Djihankuschai, read Jihankustai, *q.v.*
Djurmot Namghial, 533.
Dluglosz, quoted, 144.
Dmitref, 140.
Dnieper, River, 95, 141, 164, 252, 591, S. 22.
Dniester, River, 95.
Doa Sokhor, 36.
Dobo Mergen, 36.
Dobok, 428.
Dodo Mt., 387.
Doghaskhi, 47.
Doghlats, 41.
Dogholang Taidshi, 366, 415.
—— death of, 368.
Doivach, *v.* Suagium.
Dokshin, 36.
Dokuz Khatun, 542.
Dolmatof, monastery of, burnt 666.
Dolo Nur, 486.
Dolok, 146.
Dolon, 654.
Dolon Nor, S. 46.
Dolonnor, River, 335.
Dolonor, Plain of, *v.* Tolonor.
Dom ton, S. 128.
Dominicans, 211, 294, S. 113.
Don, River, 94, 502, 564, 566, 572, 575, 586, 667, 668, 674, 676.
—— course of diverted, 138.
Donduk, Lama, 680.
Donduk Ombo, 568, 570–1, 589, 667.
Donduk Taishi, 571, 589, 668.
—— made Khan, 572.
Dondukof, Prince, 579.
Donetz, River, 667.
Dongkhor Mansushiri Khutukta, 423, 468.
Donoi, 36.
Doolittle, quoted, 588.
Dorda Darkhan, 505–6.
Dordji, 284, 383.
Dordsha Taidshi, 564.

Dordshi Taishi, *v.* Setzen Jinong.
Dordshi Arabtan, 503.
Dordshi Olborief, 692.
Dorje, S. 173.
Dorong Dutshin, 500.
Dramas, religious, S. 193.
Dreams portending future events, *v.* Portents.
Dri Kung, S. 133.
Drivasto, 152.
Drums, ancient Chinese stone, 298.
Drushina, 460.
Dsaiagachi, S. 96.
Dsak, River, 456.
Dsanggin, *v.* Darkhan Noyan.
Dsarods, 386, 396.
Dsartsutai, 432.
Dsashi Bulak, 474.
Dscheve, *v.* Chepe.
Dschu-Tsun pan chen rin po che, *v.* Bogdo Lama.
Dschurtschid, 57.
Dshal, 666, 680.
Dshalin-obo, stone temple built by Dshal, 666.
Dshan, 571, 581.
Du Timur, *v.* Tu Timur.
Dua, 175–6, 179, 180–2, 288.
Dubravnik, 145.
Dubun Bayan, 36.
Dudin, 575, 588–9.
Dudji Taishi Kuldalang, *v.* Kundelung.
Dugar, 563–4.
Dugar Arabtan, 640, 642, 680.
—— identified with Arabtan, 663.
Dugas'pa, *v.* Sikhim.
Dulan khara, 488.
Dulei, 398.
Dunaief, 686.
Dunga, 553.
Dural Noyan, 396.
Dural Tabun, 460, 462–3.
Durbai, 90.
Durbans, 38, 44, 56, 59–63, 551.
Durben Keukeds, 483.
Durben Uirad, 370, 558, 590–1, 594, 677.
Duritu, 611.
Dutum Menen, 39.
Dzara Mt., 392.
Dzaraguts, *v.* Dsarods.
Dzareng, Lake, 526.
Dzenung, *v.* Gun Bilik Mergen.
Dziiung daba, 487.
Dzuik, River, 387.

Ebedjesus, 543.
Ebi Nor, S. 12.
Ebtula tarhanbek, *v.* Tarkammebegh.
Ebugetei Khun Baghatur, 397.
Ecbatana, 93, 537.
Eclipses of sun and moon, S. 97.
Edenia Bi, 662.
Edessa, *v.* Roha.
Edshei, 411–12, 428.
Edsinei, River, 663.
Edzin, River, S. 12.
Efe, 494.
Egeh Altai, 20.
Egorlik, River, 674.
Egres, Monastery of, 147.
Egiigaia, *v.* Irghai.
Egypt, 203, 209, S. 107.
—— under Beni Ayub, 11.
Egypt, Sultan of, 209.
Eibeg, 11, 12, 200.
Ekaterinoslaf, 531.
Eke Aral, 47.
Ekhe, River, 492–3.
Ektag Mts., S. 10.
El Munassa, 132.
Elbek Khan, 350–2, 357, 383, 559, 594, 596–7.
Elburz chain, 82.
Elek, *v.* Al Ask.
Eleute Ilakuefan, Kutuchta, 476.
Eleuths, 414, 471, 525, 558, 590, 593, 625, 629, 663, 676–7.
—— divided into three banners, 664.
—— Northern, 614.
—— victorious over Chinese, 628.
Eligud, 378.
Elizabeth, Empress of Russia, 571.
Eltshy Timur, *v.* Uldshei Khan.
Elui Seras, *v.* Alwi Sepras.
Emegen Ubashi, 580.
Emil, Ismail Muhammed, 645.
Emlak, 34.
Emnek, 36.
Endlicher, quoted, 530.
Enerdjese, 204.
Enka Summur Taidshi, 500.
Engke Guyushi, 408.
Engke Soriktu Khan 348–9 383.
Ephesus, recovered by Greeks, 13.
Equirs, *v.* Rubruk.
Erbil, 11, 129, 131–2, 203.
Erchis, *v.* Irtish.
Erdehan, 129.
Erdemji Berulas, 41.
Erdemtu, Dalai, 514.
Erdeni, 582–6, 670.
Erdeni, Bogda Bantshin, 409.
Erdeni Djao, 491.
Erdeni Dzao, temple of, 488.
Erdeni Khungtaidshi, 390, 395, 502.
Erdeni Lama Baatur Khungtaidshi, (title of Dardsha), 651.
Erdeni Nomtshi, 484.
Erdeni Surektu Baatur Khungtaidshi (title of Tse Wang Arabtan), 646.
Erdeni tchao, 477, 625.

Erdeni Tologoi, 487.
Erdeni Tsu, S. 164.
Erdenitolohak kerlon pulong, 634.
Erdmann, quoted, 19, 20–1, 23–6, 39–40, 43–7, 49, 56, 59, 61–3, 65–8, 79, 80–2, 84–5, 88–93, 105, 107, 115, 434–5, 438–40, 682–3, 694–5, 699, 700, 703–7, 709, 710, 712, 715–16, 718, 723, 740, 742.
Ered-Jab, Prince, 529.
Ereng, Prince 580.
Erequir, read Crequir, *v* Irghai
Erghinak Mt.; 387.
Ergoné, River, *v.* Argun.
Erguné, River, *v.* Argun.
Erinchin, 636.
Erintshin, *v.* Lobdzan Taishi.
Eriyekei, *v.* Mergen Khan.
Erka daidshin, 503.
Erke, 36, 502, 663.
Erke Baarang, identified with Erke. 663.
Erke Gurne Gundshu, 380.
Erke Kara, 547.
Erke Khongkhor Khan, 380–1, 395.
Erke Noyan (title of Bhodhitai Tsokegur), 411.
Erke Setzen Khung (title of Ssanang Setzen), 411.
Erke Tsokor, 474.
Erke Yelleng, 664, 680.
Erkets, 576, 581, 586, 663, 670.
Erkhetu Mt., 488.
Erlik Khatun (Yama), 426.
Erranpal, 503, 572, 579, 580.
Ertekins, 40.
Ertsas, 138.
Ertshis, River, 403.
Erukhetai kubsul Mt., 488.
Erzerum, 166, 208.
Esedud din Shirkuh, Melik, 12.
Esferan, read Isferan, *q.v.*
Eshkep, 665–6, 680.
Eshnass, 76.
Esilban Sain Ka, *v.* Esselbei Kia.
Essama, *v.* Essen.
Essed abad Mts., 8.
Esseku, 357, 560, 597.
Esselbei Kia, 610, 611.
—— attacks Mongols, 12.
Esselei Daibo, 365, 318, 321, 346,
Essen, 361–5, 399, 500, 560, 600, 602–5, 607, 613.
—— captures, Chinese Emperor, 601.
—— exiled, 320.
—— his death, 366.
—— his victory over Chinese, 600–1.
Essen Daibo, 404.
Essen Waidsang, 394–5.
Essun, read Essen *q.v.*.
Esu, 336.
Esuticl, 348.
Etiquette, Mongol, S. 78, 80–1.
Etissan, 562.
Etshin, River, 433.
Etsina, *v.* Akatshin.
Etzina, 545.
Eugenius III, Pope, 537.
Euphrates, 201, 209.
Exorcism by lamas, S. 205–6.
Eyball Utzik 561.
Eyirkai, *v.* Irghai.
Eyirkaya, *v.* Irghai.
Ezir Khan, *v.* Dayan Khan.

Fahul, 353, 499.
Fairs on Chinese borders, 418–20.
Fakhr ud din, 201, 204, 210, 211.
Fan Chan, 252.
Fan Yang, 256.
Fang ku Chin, 317–19, 323, 328.
Fao Mun Dji, 204.
Fars, 8, 82, 91, 128.
—— Princes of, 203.
Fatima, 161, 165.
Fatimites, 15.
Fenchui, River, 417.
Feodorovitch, Czar Michael, 458, 462.
Ferghana, 6, 75, 76.
Festivals—
Dance of the spirits, S. 190.
Feast of Ceception, S. 191.
Feast of Lanterns, S. 191–2.
Harvest feast, S. 193.
Local festivals of Lamas, S. 192–3
Picture feast, S. 193.
Tsaghan (New Year festival of Lamaists), S. 188–9.
Water blessing feast, S. 193.
Water feast, S. 191.
Festus, quoted, 587.
Féu, 214.
Feyanko, 631–8.
Finns, S. 2.
Fire demon, Mongol deference to, S. 47.
Fire ordeal for guilt, S. 79.
Firsof, Dimitri, 689.
Fischer, quoted, 456–7, 464, 470, 497–8, 614–19, 664, 666, 683, 685, 688–9, 690–1, 740–2.
Foism, 504.
Fong Chin, 342, 347.
Fong-tsiang-fu, 118, 119, 336–7.
Fong tsong y, 337..
Fong yuen, *v.* Si ngan fu.
Foucher, quoted, S. 121.
Fox, S. 27.
Franciscans, 296, 315, S. 113.
Frankland, 314.
Frederick II, Emperor, 154.
Freisingen, Otto of, quoted, 536–7, 541.

Freudenthal destroyed, 145.
Friburg, 149.
Frisia, 154.
Fu chau, 68.
Fu kiao kung shun khan (title of Latsan Khan, *q.v.*).
Fu-kien, 247–50, 312, 328.
Fu lang, 313.
Fu leang, River, 247.
Fu té, 659, 660.
Fu yeou te, 346, 349.
Funeral, *v.* Customs.
Funfkirchen, Bp. of, 151.
Fung chau, 416.
Fung li Mts., 526.

Gabala, Bp. of, 537.
Gabelentz, von, quoted, 530.
Gabung Shairup, 589.
Gadalitsh, destroyed, 142.
Gagarin, Prince, 646–7.
Gahdan, Monastery of, S. 134, 139.
Gaincheritala, *v.* Biliktu Khan.
Gakhai Elessun, 374.
Galchu, River, 516.
Galdan Chereng, 644, 648–50, 668, 680.
Galdan Dandshin, 571.
Galdan Khan, 385, 471–2, 476–8, 484, 486–7, 490–1, 502, 510, 519–25, 622–4, 629–33, 636, 638, 641, 677, 680.
—— and Chinese, 628–35.
—— and Khalkhas, 625–7.
—— and Russians, 627–8.
—— death of, 638.
—— his ashes scattered, 639.
Galdan Norbo, 570, 589.
Galdan Torgui, 661.
Galdanshap, 567.
Galgas, 499.
Galit, 692.
Galitch, 142.
Galizin, the Russian Knäs Boris Alex., 567.
Galkin, I., 690.
Gallicia, 142.
Gallicians, 95.
Galtakai kada, 553.
Gandhara, S. 154.
Gandja, captured by Mongols, 132.
Gandjur, *v.* Kanjur.
Ganesa, S. 157.
Ganga, 503.
Ganges, River, 252, S. 108.
Gan lo, Patupula, Prince of, 596.
Gan tin, 371.
Ganden Norbo, 503.
Ganlo, 354.
Garashiri, 580.
Gardzankiam, 532.
Garma Seweng, 390.
Gartu, 396.
Garudi, 103.
Gaubil, quoted, 26, 70, 107, 122, 126, 176–7, 179, 180, 214, 217–20, 222; 225–9, 234–5, 237, 240, 244, 246–52, 284, 287–9, 290, 292, 294, 298–9, 300, 303, 306, 310, 312–13, 315–17, 319, 327–9, 551, 554, 556.
Gaza, 205, 210.
Gazan, Khan of Persia, 683.
Gazelle, habits of, S. 24–5.
Ge Ho, 589.
Geden Dub, S. 137, 188.
Geden Yamtso, S. 139, 140–3.
Geden dubpa, 511.
Gedun Jamtso, 511.
Gegen Khan, 300, 313, 383.
—— and Altan Khan, 418.
—— and Buddhists, 301.
Gegen Khutuktu, *v.* bSampa Jamtso.
Gellongs, 584, S. 142.
Gelugpa sect, *v.* Virtuous sect.
Gendu Jineh, 40.
Genii loci in Tibet, S. 158.
Geographical Magazine, 6.
George, Grand Duke, 139.
George, King of Tendue, 556–7.
George III of Georgia, 14.
George IV of Georgia (George Lasha), 14–15.
Georgi, quoted, 518, 676, 691, 696.
Georgia, 13, 132–3, 164, 167, 203, 536.
—— attacked by Mongols, 93.
—— ravaged by Siljukian Turks, 14.
Georgians, 128, 201.
Gerard, 296.
Gerbillon, quoted, 472, 477–8, 496, 517, 520, 524, 626–7, 629–33, 635, 637, S. 23.
Gere Bolod Taidshi, 372, 376, 394–5, 433.
Gere Sandsa Taidshi, 372, 375, 395, 457, 474.
Gerel, 433.
Gerel Agha, 598.
Gereltei Saissang, 433.
Geressandsa, *v.* Gere Sandsa.
Geretu Taidshi, 372, 395.
Germans, 575.
Geroth, 146.
Gesser, Khan, 184.
Getae, *v.* Iranians.
Ghair Khan (title given Inaljek), 19.
Ghartu, 427, 514.
Ghazni, 8, 74, 84, 89, 90.
—— Sultans of, 10.
Ghiath-ud-din Kai Khosru, 13, 128, 166.
Ghiaz ud din, 8.

Ghiazzedin, 81.
Ghilan, 15, 82.
Ghirabas Khoda, 398.
Ghoilinchi, Baghatur, 606–7.
Gholun toli, 401, 416.
Ghutshin, 402.
Ghuz Turks, *v.* Turkomans.
Gibbon, quoted, 10, 11.
Gihon, *v.* Gyon.
Gilmore, quoted, S. 12, 43, 47, 49, 51, 53, 57, 65, 67, 167.
Gilmour, *v.* Gilmore.
Girolamo, Pope, 315.
Gladstone, represented as Buddha, S. 150.
Glokhof, destroyed, 141.
Glubotin Mts., 152.
Gmelin, quoted, S. 22.
Gniaochu, 348.
Go Mukuli, *v.* Mukuli Behadur.
Goa Abaghai, 47.
Goa Beidshi, 594.
Goa Kulkua, 43.
Goa Maral, 32.
Gobi desert, 68, 99, 100, 221, 473, 482–3, 486, 580, 663, S. 17, 24, 63.
—— birds of S. 28.
—— nature of, S. 10–13.
Godan, Chan, 422.
Godan Khan, 136, 147, 160, 165, 173, 186, S. 142.
—— converted to Lamaism, 505, S. 128.
Goldberg, 143.
Golden Horde, 180–1, 219, 222, 252, 591.
—— Khans of, 211.
Golden King, *v.* Altan Khan.
Golden Lake, *v.* Altan Lake.
Golden Register, *v.* Altan Defter.
Golden Tartars, *v.* Kin.
Golot, 692.
Gombayef, quoted, S. 51, 96.
Gongbo, 32–3.
Goori, 561, 589.
Gorodetz, 140.
—— capture of, 141.
Goulou, 178.
Government administration under Khubilai, *v.* Khubilai.
Gozen, Mts. of, 538.
Gran, Archbp. of, 151.
—— Council of, 147.
Grand Canal in Khubilai's reign, 274–5.
Grand Khans, funeral rites of, 105.
Grand Lama, *v.* Lama.
Great Altai, *v.* Egeh Altai, 20.
Great Wall of China, 26, 118, 217, 323, 338, 342, 345, 354, 433.
Greece, S. 107–8.
Greek Church, 679.
Greek Empire, 252.
Greeks, 544.
Gregorief, Professor, quoted, 530–1.
Gregory, Pope, 153, S. 176.
Gretshanin, 469–70, 461–2.
Gruchcoka, 531.
Gubtan, 553.
Gudju gunatai Mt., 387.
Guebek, 182.
Guekdju, 64–5.
Guga Garbi Setzen Khungtaidshi (title of Setzen Khungtaidshi), 423.
Gugsu Seirak, 55, 549–50.
Gui wang, *v.* Ki wang.
Gui-jagjeru-jiwerki, 551.
Guignes, de, quoted, 50, 52, 67–8, 74, 96, 98–9, 101, 214, 299, 318, 341, 534, 695.
Guirdkuh Lal, fortress of Ismailites, 16.
Gukdjn, 176.
Gukhai Dayu, 594, identified with Khukhai Dadshu, *q.v.*
Gukjin, 292.
Gukju, 285.
Gul Irtish, 20.
Gulgan, 107, 115.
Guluge, 428.
Gumba, 665-6, 680.
Gumbo, 470, 474, 483.
Gumi Bakshi, 419, 421.
Gun Belik, 377, 400, 416.
Gun Bilik Mergen, 375.
Gun Ergi, 420.
Gun Timur Khan, 352, 383.
Gunga Dordshi, 667.
Gunja, capture of, 94.
Gungara, *v.* Tsong-khapa.
Gundelek, 589.
Gundshep, 567, 589.
Gundshi, 360.
Gundun Gachikia, 21.
Gunga Baltshur, 503.
Gunge rGialtsan, Sakia, 505.
Gungi Baljur, 579.
Guntsuk, 395.
Gur, 7, 8, 74.
Gur Khan, 48, 60, 542.
Gur Khans, 22, 64, 72.
Gurban Alimatu, 663.
Gurban Lake, 394.
Gurban Suburgan ola, 427, 433.
Gurban tologoi, Mt., 387.
Gurban turga ola, 394.
Gurgan, River, 83.
Gurkhan, 547.
Guru, 589.
Guru Rimbochi, *v.* Padma Sambhava, S. 125.
Gurub Sod-r Nam-r Gyal, 407, 515.
Guruba Noyan, 516.
Guruidshab, 433.

Gusatu jau gasmeh, 555.
Gushluk, 19, 65–6, 72–3, 542.
—— identified with Prester John, 541.
—— kills Ozar, 20.
Gusses, *v.* Kipchaks.
Gutshit, 692.
Guushi, 503, 517–18, 523, 620.
Gyal ma (title given Tsong Khapa's statue), S. 135.
Gyal po Shuk dén, S. 159.
Gyon (River of Paradise), 535.

Habakkuk, quoted, 531.
Habirghan, 632.
Hacha (Khoshotes), 677.
Hachi Timur, 353.
Hadjem Beg, 653.
Hadshi Taikan, *v.* Astrakhan.
Hai kue thu chi, 20.
Hai ling, 42.
Hainan, 302, 306.
Haischan, *v.* Khaissan.
Haithon, quoted, 7, 14, 59, 103, 163, 166–7, 211, 214, S. 53, 82.
Hakal, 34.
Hakas, 21, 182–3.
Hakemi, 204.
Hakim Begs, 652.
Hakon II of Norway, 155.
Hala, Prince, 604–5.
Hala chou *v.* Kalanchin alt.
Halachan, 343.
Halai, 338.
Halalahan, 417.
Halanahai, 344.
Halatai, 287.
Halatien, *v.* Kharatshins.
Halde, du, quoted, 470, 476, 502, 620, 622, 625–6, 628, 630, 640, 643, S. 26.
Haliko, 419.
Halukai, 219.
Halutai, 353–60, 499.
—— and Chinese Emperor, 359.
—— identification of, 356.
Hama, *v.* Kima.
Hamabek, 96.
Hamadan, 82, 203.
—— destroyed, 94.
Hamath, 210.
Hami, *v.* Khamil.
Hammer, von, quoted, 59, 76, 81, 114, 137, 141–2, 144, 149, 151–2, 154–5, 158, 164, 166, 172–3, 193–5, 189, 200–3, 208–9, 210, 556, 682, 694, 704–5, 723, 725, 728.
Hamster, S. 25.
Han, 107.
Han chan tong, 317–18, 321.
Han dynasty, 324, 391.
Han lin ulh, 321, 327.
Han, River, 3, 119.
Han tong, 349.
Hanasa, 73.
Hangchow, *v.* Lin ngan.
Hao chau, 327.
Hanhonas, *v.* Hanasa.
Hantchar, 337.
Hanyong, 316.
Harem, inhabitants of, massacred by Khulagu, 210.
Hariti, S. 181.
Harran, 169, 208.
Hasha, 636.
Hassan, Prince, 302.
Hassan Hadji, 76.
Hassan Sabbah, 15, 16.
Hazi Beg, 652, 653.
He che tse, 30.
He lien tho, 26.
He thsuen, 36.
Headdress of Tartar women, *v.* Costume.
Heche yai, 610.
Hederkins, 41.
Hedgehog, golden, S. 27.
Heinrichau, Monastery of, burnt, 145.
Helinia, Mt., 349.
Hell, Mme. de, quoted, 573, 577, 669–71, 673, 676, 680.
Hemukai Khan, 41, 43–4, 46, 50, 68.
Henry II (of Silesia), 142.
—— death of, 144.
Henry VI, Emperor, 14.
Herat, 7, 74, 81, 133.
—— destruction of, 91.
—— rebuilt, 134.
—— siege of, 88.
Hermannstadt, 146.
Hernard, River, 149.
Hezar-Ash, 82, 563.
Hi fung kheou, 394, 397, 427, 433.
Hi shi kien, 30.
Hi-ning, 604.
Hia, 3, 4, 64–6, 71–2, 98, 100, 101, 124, 160, 174, 186, 326.
—— King of, 99, 100.
Hia Chan, 5.
Hia Chau, 5.
Hiang Chong, 609.
Hianglu Mt., 217.
Hiaoking, 292.
Hien, 297.
Hien tsong, 610.
Hien y Thaipin, Prince of, 596.
Hien-y, 354.
Hienping, 69.
Hilarion, quoted, 518.
Hillé, town of, 202.
Himalaya Mts., S. 3.
Hims, 209, 210.
Hinayana, *v.* Buddhism.
Hindostan, 32, 505–6, S. 114.

Hinduism, 115, 117, S. 123.
Hing chau (now called Ninghia), 5, 340.
Hing chung, 427.
Hingudurs, 691.
Hinho, 358.
Hiong Nu, 29.
Hiu chau, 120.
Hiu heng, 254, 299.
Hiu pin, 605.
Hiuen Tsang, quoted, S. 124–5, S. 139, S. 150.
Hla, 330.
Ho chan, 526.
Ho chang, 219, 279.
Ho chau, 214, 338.
Ho chung, 119.
Ho lan Shan Mts., 663.
Ho-kien, 289.
Ho-nan-fu, 135.
Ho ning, *v.* Karakorum.
Ho pi ma, 335.
Ho rabdan, 631, 636–7, 642.
Ho-sho, General, 69.
Ho si, 4, 60, 64, 256.
Ho thao, 604.
Ho tsing hien, 119.
Ho tsong che, 337.
Hoa chau, 118.
Hoa tao, River, 71.
Hoa tche, read Hoa chau, *q.v.*
Hoai king, 335.
Hoai king fu, 290.
Hoai nan, 320.
Hoai, River, 3, 327–8.
Hoam chao, 26.
Hoan yu ki, 27, 29.
Hoang taiki, 402, 419.
Hoang ye, 601.
Hoanho Timur, 311.
Hochaho Mutatai, 638.
Hochai, 372.
Hochau, 213–14.
Hoché Timur, 358, 610.
Hoché yu tsing wang, 629.
Hochetsi, 637.
Hodjas, 623.
Hoei chau, 5.
Hoei River, 97, 119.
Hoei-hu, *v.* Uighurs.
Hoeitong, 248.
Hohai, 626.
Hoi ho pu, fortress, 68.
Hoi River, 68.
Hoki, 658.
Hokiai, 29.
Hokien, 322.
Hoko, 287.
Holananpu, King, 338.
Holbo, 632.
Holho, 636.
Holin, *v.* Karakorum.
Holo, 101.
Holochu, 368, 609.
Holwa Nehawend, 93.
Hombulan, 631.
Honan, 3, 67, 71, 98, 118, 120, 121, 123, 125, 135, 212, 220, 255, 293, 312, 318, 321–3, 325, 329, 344, 417.
Honan chau, 217.
Honan, Prince of, 248.
—— Southern, 119, 124.
Honanta, 636.
Hong, 372.
Hong pao pao, 341.
Hong vu, 633, S. 132.
Hong wan ta, 417.
Hong-fu-yuen, 135.
Hongkila, *v.* Kunkurats.
Honglo Khan, 341.
Honing, 255.
Honkilachi, 247, 287.
Honkilai, 348.
Honkin, 636.
Honu, 640.
Hopa lai poyen, *v.* Ablai Taidshi.
Hopto, *v.* Kobdo.
Horho, 632.
Horiad, identified with Uirad, 682.
Horipu, 125.
Horlun, *v.* Ulusbolod
Horni, 477, 627–8.
Horpala, 292.
Horse's Head Hill, 183–4
Horses introduced into China, 313–15.
—— Mongol, S. 61–2.
—— Sacrifice of, 317.
—— White, S. 105.
—— Wild, S. 22.
Hortao, 636.
Horuta, 338.
Hosh Kaifiak, 655.
Hotachacheli, 349.
Hotao, S. 11.
Hotchu, 373.
Hotochi, 346.
Hotong kormotu, 642.
Hotose, Khan, 96.
Hotsongchi, 342.
House-god of Tibetans, S. 158.
Hoyan, 321.
Hraditch, destroyed, 145.
Hrasinka Pass, 146.
Hrasinka River, 146.
Hu chau, 327.
Hu keou, 319.
Hu kiang, 318.
Hu kuang, 136, 213, 217, 221, 255–6, 287, 308, 313, 318, 323, 326, 346.
Hu ting chiu, 328.
Hua Mts., 119.
Huang chao, 413.
Hubner Brother, 678.

Huc, quoted, 496, 523, 527–8, 739 S. 133, 182, 189, 190, 203.
Huchahu, 125.
Hudoyar Beg, 652.
Huhan River, 30.
Hui chau, *v.* Tsaghan Khotan.
Huing Nu, S. 7.
Hukatu, 135.
Hukkiari, 208.
Huladci Gurgan, 107.
Hulan huchauen, 355.
Hulijanhan, 642.
Hulosutai chaka nur, 633.
Hulustai, 632.
Hume, quoted, S. 28.
Hung, 5.
Hungary, 141.
—— invaded by Mongols, 142–52.
—— Gregory of, 314.
Huns, nationality of, S. 7.
Hunting in reign of Khubilai, 263–4.
Hurhoei River, 628.
Hushaku, 42, 69.
Hushins, 38.
Hwa Shang, S. 126, 154.
Hwai Yuen, *v.* Nin hia fu.
Hyacinthe, quoted, 47, 50–1, 56, 290, 310, 547, 553.

I hu pu, 28.
I mien yu, 580.
I sai mu, 29.
I-men, Fortress, 66.
I-tu, 289.
Iandj Belgeh Buka Khan, 20.
Ibiri Taishi, 373–4, 400, 415, 431–2.
Ibn al A'lem, 204.
Ibn al Ethir, quoted, 87, 131.
Ibn Alkamiyi, 201.
Ibn Amram, 202.
Ibn Batuta, S. 55.
Ibn Hanbal sect, 93.
Ibn Haukal, 78.
Ichidanjin, 660.
Ichinor, Lake, 261.
Iconium, 13.
Idikut, 22.
Idols, S. 94–5.
Idu-chilu-aru-pulak, 634.
Iduchu, 185.
Ifanistsi, 627.
Igher Nur, 494.
Igorovitch, G., 139.
Igorovitch, R., 139.
Ignis (Fire-god), S. 156.
Ikanats, 691.
Iké Kentei, River, 22.
Ikhe khorghi, River, 527.
Ikitsokurofski, 674.
Ikra Muran, *v.* Irkut.
Iku 542.
Il Khan, 35.
Il Meddin, 299.
Ilacho Ching sang read Ilakho Ching sang, *q.v.*
Ilaghuksan Khuktu, 518.
Ilak, *v.* Al Ask.
Ilakho Ching sang, 334.
Ilakuefan, 628.
Ilanko, 688.
Ilchikidai, 171–2.
Ildéguiz, 8.
Ilden Noyan, 393.
Ildeng Arabtan, 486.
Ildshidai Noyan, 115.
Ilduku, 71.
Ilduni Sanggiduktshi Garma Lama, 378.
Ildurkins, 38.
Ilek, River, 503.
Ilenku, 100.
Ili 173 182 523 533 577 578 580 589 610 617 622 645 651 654–9 662.
Ilim River 685.
Ilimsk 686–8.
Ilinskoi 691.
Iljidai Noyan 552.
Ilka Sengun 54 60 547 549 550 551 553 559.
Ilka Seugun read Ilka Sengun, *q.v.*
Ilkans 211 252.
Ilki-tosutu River 412.
Ilkung-kur 551.
Ilkutu 551.
Ilmika 155.
Ilshidáe Noyan 91.
Iltche Khan 34.
Iltchikadai, 164.
Ilun Ussun, Lake, 118.
Ilyin, 618–19.
Images of feit, S. 94, S. 97.
Imam Jafer Sadik, 15.
Imams, 15, 16.
Imanse, read Tmanise, *q.v.*
Imeritia Mts., 132, 167.
Imil, River, 6, 72, 105, 165, 173–4, 619, 643.
Immegiljin, S. 96–7.
Imperial College at Peking, 286, 298, 316.
Imperial Mt., *v.* Khan Ula.
In chau, 5.
In-chan Mt., read Inshan.
In-ti, 629.
Inak Gere, 363, 365.
Inaktzi, 547.
Inal, 23.
Inaljek, 19.
Inalji, 682.
Inaljuk, 74, 76.
Inallzik, read Inaljuk, *q.v.*
Inandj, 83.
Inat, 20.
Indla, 100, 201.

Indian Priests, S. 106–7.
Indra, *v.* Tengri.
Indsul, River, 467.
Indus, River, 8, 73, S. 125.
Ing chang fu, 325, 339, 340.
Ing chau, 419.
Ing li sien, 101.
Ing tsong, Emperor, 431, 602–3.
—— abdicates, 606.
—— liberated by Kalmuks, 605-6.
—— returns to Peking from captivity, 606.
Ingoda, River, 51–2, 58-9.
Ingshi Ting, 333.
Inkirasses, 51, 56.
Inma, River, 596.
Innocent IV, 168.
Inshan Mts., 62, 67, 428.
Inting taishi, 420.
Intsing, 71.
Ipé, 603.
Ira Buka, 120.
Irab Areb read Irak Arab, *q.v.*
Irak Adjem, 7, 8, 74, 79, 82, 93, 97.
—— Sultan of, 8.
Irak Arab, 8, 10, 73, 202, 205.
Iranian influence on religion of Mongols, S. 96.
Iranians, S. 6, 45, 96, 117, 122.
Irden Kontaishi, *v.* Altan Khan.
Iren Habargan, 654.
Irgai, *v.* Irghai.
Irgene kun, 34, 43,
Irghai, 65, 405, 408, 425, 543.
Irgitch, River, 576, 588.
Irkidei, 692.
Irkut, River, 682, 689, 690.
Irkutsk, 627, 691.
Irtish River, 20, 64–5, 74, 173, 176–7, 181, 501–2, 561, 610, 614–17, 646, 648, 664, S. 24.
—— Black, 587.
—— Upper, 66.
Isa, S. 156.
Isaae, Hodja, 650.
Isaphan, tomb of Muhammed at, 129.
Isauria, 13.
Isferan, 82, 130.
Isheslawetz, 139.
Ishim, 561, 577, 618, 664.
Ishim River, 588, 617.
Ishraki, S. 107.
Islam, 10.
Islamism, 676, S. 9.
Ismail, 15.
Ismailites, 15, 16, 128, 164.
Ismailof, 570.
Ismain, 610.
Isphahan, 128.
Issama Taishi, 372, 431.
—— teaching of, 369.
Issenbuka, 299.
Issikul, Lake, 34–5, 643.
Isteslawetz, read Isheslawetz, *q.v.*
Istidura, *v.* Astara.
Istu Balghasun, 555.
It Kichu, 6.
Itegemjitu Eyetei Erke Daitshing (title of Shamba, *q.v.*).
Itelgin Khuduk, 671.
Iteng. Shal, 555
Itsilailu, 346, 360.
Itu, 325.
Iturgan Edeku, 550.
Ivan, Constable of Georgia, 14, 132.
Ivanof, K., 689.
Ivanofski, quoted, S. 36, 49, 58, 62, 63, 66, 199.
Iwanof, Kurbat, 687.
Iyal Arslan, 7.
Iyus, River, 23, 467.
Iyuz, River, 459.
Izud din, 135, 203.
Izel, S. 27.
Izet River, 666.
Izz-ud-din Ki-kavuss, 164.

Ja thi, 32.
Jaaber, 209.
Jabkan Mts., 173.
Jabkan River, 456, 493.
Jabzan, 626.
Jabzun, 476.
Jade, great jar of in Peking, 304.
—— seal given to Bashpa, 508.
—— used to control rainfall, S. 103.
Jadjerats, 41, 51–2, 55, 62.
Jafar Khodsha, 67.
Jafer Sadik, Imam, 15.
Jagampa Keraiti, *v.* Ilkah Sengun.
Jagatai, 68, 75–6, 83, 85, 90–1, 98, 100, 105, 107, 112, 115–16, 159, 171–5, 177, 180–1, 186, 218, 283, 293, 314, 591.
—— horde of, 222, 252.
Jaghachar, 551.
Jaghan Tartar, *v.* White Tartars.
Jaik River, 137, 502, S. 24.
Jainism, S. 108.
Jains, S. 113.
Jait, 25.
Jakburi, Mt., 516.
Jakdur River, 492.
Jakha Minggan, 595.
Jakhassutai, Lake, 388.
Jakint, 138.
Jaksu, 41.
Jakut, read Yakut, *q.v.*
Jal, 669.
Jalandhar, S. 121.
Jalman, 598.
Jalman Mt., 611.
Jalul, 132.
Jambe, 670.
Jambhata, S. 157.

Jambui, Empress, 285.
Jambui Goa, *v.* Chambui Goa.
Jamso, 483.
Jamtso, 511.
Jamuka, read Chamuka, *q.v.*
Janama, Prince, 580.
Jangja Khutuktu, 379.
Janjiri, 503, 580.
Japan, 251, S. 8, 173.
Japhet, 34.
Jartoux, Father, quoted, 635.
Jassak Chin wang, *v.* Bondar.
Jassaks, 525.
Jassaktu Khan, 459–60, 462, 624.
—— death of, 470.
—— Khams, 457, 466.
Jataka Stories, S. 119, 121, 159.
Janjin Urdeki, 40.
Jaur Bigi, 551.
Java, 250.
—— King of, 251.
Jaxartes, River, 6, 8, 35, 74, 92, 175.
Je lu lieu ko, read Yeliu liu ko, *q.v.*
Jebal, 129.
Jebel Hamrin, 132.
Jebtsun Sodnam chemo, 504.
Jedjeb, 581.
Jedshir, 62.
Jeferan, read Isferan, *q.v.*
Jejir Mts., 554.
Jelairs, 39, 40, 51, 53, 56, 58, 72, 114, 178.
—— ten sections of, 25.
Jelal ud din, 8, 16, 83–4, 86, 88–90, 128–31, 208.
—— his appearance and character, 131.
Jelisavetpol, read Yelizavetpol, *v.* Gandja.
Jemaleddin, 298.
Jen, S. 167.
Jend, 76–7.
Jerke Linkum, 40.
Jerkil Nudin, 43.
Jerusalem, 11, 13, 205, 211, 537.
Jesari, 458.
Jesuits, 211, 294, S. 117.
Jetes, 100.
Jews, 62, 178, 315, 538–9.
Jezirat, 208.
Jhankushai, read *Jihankushai, q.v.*
Jibal, 82.
Jidjegan, 107.
Jigekenagha, 610.
Jihankushai, 87, 138.
Jihun River, 201.
Jijegan, 682.
Jik jirko, *v.* Dayan Khan.
Jilatu, 46.
Jilaun, 23.
Jilme 432–3.
Jilukan Behadur 550.
Jines 40.
Jinkeshi Khan, 18.
Jingis Khan, 4–6, 8, 16, 18–28, 32, 41–5, 48–9, 61–72, 80, 83–98, 101–2. 108, 113–18, 123–4, 170–1, 173–4, 177, 181, 183–4, 186, 213, 222, 262, 283, 491, 541, 549, S. 77, 128.
—— and Khuareznians, 75.
—— and Prester John, 554–5.
—— burial-place of, 107.
—— death of, 104.
—— defeats Merkets, 22.
—— divisions of his army, 100.
—— fate of his empire, 591.
—— four sections of Mongols at his accession, 557.
—— golden pyramid containing his ashes, 411.
—— laws and punishments under, 111.
—— order of camp of, 401.
—— organization of his expeditions, 109.
—— protection of highways under, 111.
—— religion of, 112.
—— vengeance of, 89–90.
—— war strategies, 110.
—— white houses of, 401, 411.
Jingkhortsagun Dabagha, 376.
Jingui, 107.
Jinong, 416–17, 423, 426, 431.
Jintai, 41, 45.
Jintu, 177.
Jirgal, 670–2, 675.
Jirghughan minggan utshiyed daira, *v.* Daitun yeke Shara.
Jirgughatai, 400, 431.
Jirkins, 553.
Jirkirs, 59.
Jirmatai River, 491.
Jirukenu Tolta, 504.
Jissu, 106.
Jissuken, 106.
Jiuns, 63.
Jiyaghatu Khan, 308–10, 383.
Jiyuk, 23.
Jo-wo K'an (the Lord's House), S. 162–3.
Jodba, 428, 484.
John, Constable of Georgia, *v.* Ivan.
Joinville, quoted, S. 56.
Jonas, son of Dshan, 571.
Jou River, 124.
Journal in Mongolia, quoted, S. 30.
Ju Dakhagha, 431.
Ju Erdeni, 409.
Ju Sakiamuni (Buddhist Statue), 379.
Ju Tseng, 380, 411, 427, 433.
Juchi, 1, 2, 4, 72, 251.

Juge, 330, 331–5.
Jui, 330.
Juji, 23, 55, 66, 68, 73, 75, 76, 85, 92, 98, 105, 107, 115, 171, 173, 180, 186, 283, 551, 559.
—— death of, 97.
—— house of, 174.
Juji Khassar, 47, 56, 61–2, 69, 115, 178, 347.
Juji Termeli, 51.
Jukagirs, S. 2.
Julgyn. 553.
Julian S., quoted, 148, 533, 580, 610, 663.
Juliji Apaoki, 1.
Jumping mouse, S. 26.
Jungshiyabo, 374, 430–2.
Jupiter, S. 156.
Jurgid, 378.
Juriats, *v.* Jadjerats.
Jurja Muran, 682.
Jurji, identified with King George, 556.
Jurjids, 114.
Jurkan Mt., 60.
Jurkumen Mt., 60.
Juveni, quoted, 19, 97.

bKa-a Giur translated into Mongol, 379.
Kabarda, 571.
Kabooshan, *v.* Koochan.
Kabul, 41–4, 89.
Kabur Kabukcher, 212.
Kabyrgan Mts., 173, 622.
Kachanof, Col., 529.
Kachi Kuluk, *v.* Nachin.
Kadan, Behadur, 43.
Kadan Ogul, 137–8, 160, 186.
Kadan Taishi, 44, 138, 140, 150–2, 173, 177–8, 218.
Kadan Prince, 219.
Kader, meaning of, 21.
Kader Buyuruk Khan, 20–1.
Kadiak, 172.
Kadr, *v.* Kader.
Kadsher, *v.* Kader.
Kadshiun, 178.
Kadshuli Behadur, 105.
Kadusun, 465.
Kaffa, 314.
Kah dam pa, S. 128.
Kahig II, 13.
Kai fong fu, 2, 3, 121 123 311 323–4.
Kai Kobad, 13.
Kai Kosru, 14.
Kai ping fu, 217, 219.
Kai yuen, 416.
Kaidak, 164–5.
Kaidu, 40, 137, 142–3, 146, 173–81, 186, 222, 248, 251–2, 288, 295, 556.
Kaidu Chunlun, *v.* Barguchin Tugrum.
Kainuk Tushutu, 501.
Kairun, *v.* Kabterun.
Kait Kulgat alt, 553.
Kajuli, 41–2.
Kakurshin Khatun, 53.
Kala Devi, S. 152.
Kala River, 553.
Kala Sakra, S. 127.
Kalaatol Rum, 209.
Kalajes, 555.
Kalanchin alt, 59.
—— battle of, 553.
Kalantshin Noyan, 465–6.
Kalatai, S. 70.
Kalaus, River, 574.
Kalbassunskaya bashna, *v.* Dshalin Obo.
Kaldjan Burgut, 663.
Kalgan, 386, 532, 587, 636.
Kalgan Mt., S. 55.
Kaliar Mt., 488.
Kalka River, 59, 96, 141.
Kalkha, 184.
Kalladjes, 10, 89.
Kallaka Dalai Ubasha, 503.
Kalmak kurgan, 577.
Kalmany, 147, 149.
Kalmuk battle standard, S. 83.
—— chief, costume of, *v.* Costume.
—— fire ordeal for guilt, S. 79.
—— language, S. 33.
—— prince, houschold of a, 528–30.
Kalmuks, 24, 111, 348, 353, 467, 503, 517, 528, 557, 562–8, 571, 574, 576–7, 582, 586, 591, 636, 640, 647, 671, 675–6, 684.
—— and Islamism, 676.
—— and Khalkas, 477.
—— and Manchus, 644.
—— and Mongols, peace between, 616.
—— and Russians, 615, 646–9.
—— attack Peking, 603.
—— Cherkasian, 676.
—— derivation of name, 497–8.
—— Eastern, 471.
—— extent of territory, 674.
—— food of, S. 52.
—— horses used by, S. 63.
—— liberate Chinese Emperor, 605–6.
—— massacred, 661.
—— physique of, S. 32.
—— pursued by Chinese, 604.
—— raid China, 604.
—— rebellion against Kien Lung, 656.
—— subjection to Russia, 668–9.
—— taxation of, 673.
—— their cruelty to captives, 575.

Kalmuks, tribal divisions of, 660–1.
—— war with China, 628–35.
—— white, 24.
Kaltai tetsha, Prince, 458.
Kaltan, 477, 625.
Kaltu, 632.
Kama River, 155.
Kamala, 284–5, 290, 383.
Kamalavilla, S. 126.
Kamchalka, S. 1.
Kamdjin, 5.
Kamel Melik, 12.
Kamil, 11, 12, 314.
Kamnikhan *v.* Tamihoinirkan.
Kan, 360.
Kan River, 460.
Kan chau, 101, 219, 256, 286, 316, 542.
—— fair held at, 420.
Kan siu, *v.* Kan-su.
Kan-su, 4, 5, 66 72, 255–6, 335, 338, 342, 499, 542, 600, 662, S. 23.
Kan-suh, *v.* Kan-su.
Kanchennai, 533.
Kandul, 570–1, 581.
Kandzag, *v.* Gandja, 132.
Kangtu, Emperor, 490.
Kang-gyur, *v.* Kanjur.
Kangar, *v.* Kankalis.
Kangarbein sharra ussun, 577.
Kanghi, Emperor, 475, 487, 519, 522, 524, 532, 573, 623, 637–8, 640, 644–5, 653.
Kanghi kamar, 488.
Kangites, *v.* Kankalis.
Kangli, *v.* Kankalis.
Kangmu, 50, 504.
Kanishka, S. 117, 121.
Kanjur, transcription of consecrated, 409.
—— translated into Mongolian, S. 130, 167, 183.
Kankalis, 6, 18, 19, 73, 75-6, 79, 85, 89, 96, 133.
Kankli-kipchak, 18.
Kanlan, 250.
Kanmala, 179.
Kansu, *v.* Kan-su.
Kansuh Mts., S. 19.
Kanta, *v.* Choda.
Kantegir, 459.
Kao chau, 343.
Kao kia nu, 341.
Kao tchang, 185.
Kao yeou fu, 327.
Kao-ling-Kong, 66.
Kaoki, 69.
Kaokia, 136.
Kapchak, 18.
Kapchi Lake, 18.
Kapilavastu, S. 107.
Kar, 87.
Kara Balghassun, *v.* Karakorum.
Kara Buga, 202.
Kara djang, *v.* U man.
Kara gol, *v.* Yellow River.
Kara Hasun, 292.
Kara Hulagu, 164, 169, 222.
Kara Irtish, 642.
Kara itsis, *v.* Kara Irtish.
Kara Kalpaks, 498.
Kara Khan, 35.
Kara Kharam, *v.* Karakorum.
Kara Khitai, 3–8, 54, 66, 72, 173, 542, 547.
Kara Khotan, 407, 433.
Kara Kiragho, 114.
Kara Lake, 60, 173.
Kara manhi-Lapirhan, 633.
Kara Muren, *v.* Yellow River.
Kara Noor, *v.* Kara Lake.
Kara Turgai River, 588.
Kara Usun River, 469, 682.
Karachar, 41.
Karachar Nevian, 50.
Karachar Noyan, 47.
Karacorum, *v.* Karakorum.
Karadjar, 160, 186.
Karadshar Hadshib, 76.
Karaits, 587.
Karakhass, 290.
Karakhata, 544.
Karakhitans, 62.
Karakhodja, 176.
Karakorum, 20–1, 77, 107, 123, 171–2, 174, 176, 178–80, 182–6, 187, 212–13, 216, 218–19, 221, 251–2, 255, 284–5, 291–2, 300, 302, 338, 342–3, 345, 349, 355, 466, 496, 541, 556, 591, 610.
—— meaning of name, 300, 496.
—— Ogotai's palace at, 156.
Karakorum Mts., 546.
Karakul River, 40.
Karakusofski, 671, 674.
Karakut, 692.
Karamuts, 691.
Karamzin, quoted, 95.
Karapuchin, 573, 580, 586.
Karas Muren, 22, 55.
Karasakal, 458.
Karasibi River, 469.
Karatag Mts., 75.
Karatur River, 649.
Karaun Jidun, *v.* Karaun Shidun, 25, 551.
Karend, 82.
Karendar, 81.
Kargyu sect, S. 155.
Karkish, 20.
Karliks, 66.
Karluks, 6, 19, 74, 173.
Karlyk, 6, 20.
Karokuts, 691.
Karong, 496, 631–3.

Karong River, 477.
Karotka gol, 491.
Kars, 132.
Karukha River, 183.
Kas wang, *v.* Ki wang.
Kasaban, *v.* Koshka.
Kasan, 566.
Kaschin, 64.
Kashan, 97.
Kashgar, 1, 6, 19, 72, 73, 75, 176, 469, 555, 623, 639, 645, 650, 652–3, 655, S. 8, 125.
Kashgar Mts., 525.
Kashi, *v.* Hia.
Kashin, *v.* Hia.
Kashmir, S. 114, 121, 124, 125, 127.
Kasimof, 564.
Kassar, 101.
Kat, 503.
Katagun, read Katakin, *q.v.*, 59.
Katakins, 38, 56, 60, 62–3, 551.
Katakush, 172.
Katan Baghatur, 462.
Katuraktchi Kara Budung, 100.
Kayalic, *v.* Kayalik, 72, 105, 170, 173, 180.
Kayan Mergen, 459.
Kayi Kankali, 89.
Kazaks, 97, 573, 575, 577, 629, 656, 659, S. 9.
Kazan, 570.
Kazvin, 15, 16, 81, 82, 93, 204.
Keba River, 75.
Kebker Taidshi, 379, 395.
Kedan Behadur, 43.
Kei Wadshra, 421, 507.
Keizu bulak, 632.
Keker, 641.
Kelan Bashi, 92.
Kelanitai, 248.
Kelat, chiefs of, 14
Kelilat, 133.
Keliyet, 581.
Keliyets, 663.
Keluna-pira, 631, 640.
Kelurat, 546.
Kem Kemdjut, 55, 65, 549.
Kem River, *v.* Kiciho.
Kemjik River, 23.
Kemkemjik Boru, 23.
Kemkemjuks, 23–4.
Kemtshigods, 398.
Kemtshik River, 457, 459, 463–4, 469.
Ken cham, 541.
Ken Yo Mt., 122.
Kendjan fu, 5.
Kendshi, 181.
Kengeksant, 25.
Kenggen, 396.
Kentei Chain, 32, 47, 107, 186, 214, 362, 482, 486–7, 491, S. 26–7, 92.
Kenteyhan Mt., 107, 487, 491, S. 165.
Keoulang, 250.
Keraits, 22, 48, 54, 59, 61–2, 116, 162, 357, 534, 589, 594.
—— and Christianity, 542.
—— origin of name, 546.
Keraun Kiptchak, 60.
Kerchissun River, 612.
Kergud, 558, 590.
Kerman, 82, 90, 128.
Kermuchins, 24.
Kersagalen, 618.
Kertchagan, 158.
Kerulan River, read Kerulon River. 22, 39, 47, 62, 64, 68, 105–6, 362, 384, 432, 474, 478, 485–7, 490–1, 627–8, 631, 634–5. S. 11, 66, 131.
Kesh. 8, 80.
Keshiktens, 398–9, S. 26.
Kestimis, 23–4.
Keterku, 632.
Keu Yung kwan, 532.
Keuke Lake, 158.
Keuked Shibaghotshins, 402.
Keule, Lake, 60.
Khabakhai, 396.
Khabutu Khassar, 500.
Khachagan, 692.
Khada, 120.
Khadai, 692.
Khadamal Mt., 488.
Khadamtu Hills, 183.
Khadasun-cholo, 525.
Khadshiken, 47.
Khagotshits, *v.* Khotshids.
Khai pin, 336.
Khailasutai Valley, 397.
Khailin Ugetai Baghalur Tabunang, 516.
Khairtu, 503.
Khaischan, read Khaissan, *q.v.*, 180, 182, 288, 290, 291, 296–7, 306, 383, 510.
—— currency under, 293–4.
Khaitakha Mt., 427.
Khaladjan, 5.
Khalagol, S. 11.
Khalagun ola, *v.* Kalanchin Alt.
Khali Khaju, 36.
Khalib Mulawa Scheref ud din, 91.
Khalifs, authority of, 10.
Khalkha, derivation of, 494.
Khalkhas, 374, 433, 466, 468, 486, 525, 557, 613, 616, 626, S. 25, 64.
—— adopt Lamaism, 512.
—— and Galdan, 625–7.
—— and Kalmuks, 477.
—— divided into eight districts, 484.
—— Eastern, 473, 485.
—— Middle, 483.
—— Northern, 474.

Khalkhas physique of, S. 31–2.
—— Western, 456, 483.
Khamil, 349, 375, 432, 473, 610, 623, 636, 639, 644.
—— Prince of, 641.
Khammugai Mintu, 501.
Khammuk Taidshi, 613.
Khamsu, 425, 611.
Khan oola Mt., *v.* Kenteyhan.
Khan tologoi, Mt., 526.
Khan Ula, *v.* Kenteyhan.
Khan zi, 3.
Khana Noyon Khongor, 501, 528, 620.
Khanbaligh (Mongolian name for Peking), 254, 274, 295, 305, 314, 339.
Khandu, 252.
Khanertu Mt., 387.
Khang-hai-Khan Mts., 100.
Khangai chain, 62, 291, 366, 488, S. 10.
Khangghai Mts., *v.* Khangai Chain.
Khanggub, 428.
Khanghalihai, 355.
Khanghi, Emperor, 414, 429.
Khangkai Mts., *v.* Khangai Chain.
Khantai Chain, 488.
Khara gol, *v.* Yellow River.
Khara Khotan, *v.* Kara Khotan.
Khara Khotho Mt., 412.
Khara kitat, Mt., 387.
Khara Moritu, 421.
Khara narun ula, S. 27.
Khara Ossu Lake, 392.
Khara Sabar, 528.
Khara Tibet, 419.
Khara Usu Elek Noor, 473.
Khara ussu River, 488, 527.
Kharaits, 587.
Kharakulla, *v.* Khutugaitu.
Kharangui, 692.
Kharashan River, 644.
Kharashar, S. 125.
Kharato, 499.
Kharatsang, 330.
Kharatshin Taibutshin, 364.
Kharatshins, 380, 411, 415–16, 427, 430–3, 587.
Khardu Taidshi, 622.
Kharender, 86.
Khargai Mts., 611.
Kharghotsok, 362–4, 383, 607.
Kharkir River, 647.
Khas Boo, 65.
Khassar, 52, 499, 500, 553.
Khatchen, 14.
Khatun Eke, 104.
Khayangiriwa, Bogda, 420.
Khazar, 34.
Khazars, 138, S. 7.
Khazbin, Mts. of, 539.
Khe Emil, 349.
Khe khin, 601.
Kheibot temin Mt., 387.
Khelat, 129, 131, 167.
—— siege of, 129.
Khe tsong, Emperor, 419.
Khiang (Eastern Thibetans), 4.
Khin sén, 336.
Khin than, 338.
Khingan Chain, *v.* Khinggan Chain, 28, 56, 59, 164, 341, 344, 387, 487, S. 131.
Khingsai, 274–5.
Khirghises, *v.* Kirghises.
Khitai, 25.
Khitan, 27.
Khitan dynasty, *v.* Liau dynasty.
Khitans, 3, 4, 5, 28, 45, 67, 72, 117.
—— identification of, 1.
—— influence of, 2.
Khityin–Khada, 183.
Khiva, 575.
Kho si, *v.* Cho si.
Kho-dshu, 499.
Khochids, Eastern, S. 69.
Khodja Ogul, 165–6, 171, 173, 186.
Khodja Lake, 561.
Khodja Sibek, 652.
Khodjend, *v.* Khokand.
Khodobagha, 367.
Khoior khara tologai Mt., 412.
Khoits, 502, 525, 590, 591, 592, 610, 611, 654, 663.
Khokand, 75, 77, 181.
Kholbodzin Mt., 387.
Kholdu, 628.
Khollodi Khoshootshi, 613.
Kholshotshi Khassar, 396–7.
Kholtubai tribe, 691–2.
Khongor, 501.
Khongshim Bodhisatva, 410, 420.
Khonim Tag Mts., road made over, 468.
Khoning, 419.
Khoniut, 691.
Khonjin boddi zado, *v.* Khonjin boddisatvo, S. 103.
Khonkhodoi, 691.
Khonshim Bodhisatva with four hands, S. 141.
Khorassan, 7, 8, 10, 13, 74, 80, 82–3, 169, 172, 175, 537.
—— devastated by Jingis, 80–9.
Khorbos, 663.
Khorgon, 663.
Khorin, River, 183.
Khoritai Mergen, 37.
Khoritsar Mergen, 36.
Khorko Mt., 392.
Khormudza, *v.* Tengri.
Khormusda, 103, 422, 504, S. 142.
Khormusda Tegri, 598.
Khortshin Khoin, 402.
Khortshins, 360, 374, 500.

Khoshotes, 390, 497-533, 590, 591, 623, 643, 670, 676–7, 679.
—— migrate to Russia, 503.
—— of erdeni, 623.
—— their relations with Russians, 528.
Khossai Tabunang, 374.
Khotan, 6, 73, 176, 523, 525, 555, S. 8, 125.
Khoten *v.* Khotan.
Khotoghor Angkha, 397.
Khotong, 433, 485.
Khotshid, *v.* Khoshotes.
Khotung Mergen, 663.
Khripumof, 685, 689.
Khu chu yai, 213.
Khu Urluk, 561, 581, 589, 664–5.
Khu-tsai, 70.
Khuazan, 692.
Khuarezm, 6–8, 75, 77, 105, 117, 133, 561–3.
Khuarezm shahs, 12, 13, 18, 19.
Khuarezmians, 100.
—— and Jingis, 75.
Khubilai Khan, 92, 104, 171, 173–80, 211, 213, 216–83, 295, 329, 383, 420, 556, S. 129–30.
—— and Sung empire, 217.
—— appearance of, 276.
—— birthday celebrations, 265–9.
—— Council of, 252–3.
—— currency under, 272, 293.
—— death of, 251.
—— defeats Nayan, 178.
—— elected Khakan, 218.
—— expeditions sent by, 275.
—— his sacred white mares, 262.
—— hunting in reign of, 263–4.
—— machinery of government under, 254–7.
—— makes Grand Canal, 274–5.
—— post service under, 257–8.
—— rebuilds monastery of Utai, 509.
—— religion of, 273.
—— review of his reign, 277–8.
—— sons of, 280.
—— sorcerers in reign of, 262–3.
—— takes Tali, 212.
—— wardrobe of, 269–71.
—— wives of, 276.
Khubiltu, 396.
Khubtshir, 366.
Khudja Buka Mts., 221.
Khugarkhé River, 412.
Khuguchak, 6, 662.
Khuhedé, 578.
Khukhai Dashu, 353, 559, 595.
Khulagu, 10, 12, 16, 92, 200, 201–5, 208–13, 218, 222, 283, 542.
—— and Nassir, 205–9.
—— march of, 280–3.
—— massacres inhabitants of Harem, 210.
Khulan, 101.
Khulan Goa, 57.
Khulatshi Baghatur, 404.
Khulugur River, 394.
Khulutai, 373.
Khumar Tekin, 19.
Khumbauk, 517.
Khun-er, *v.* Red-ear Hill, 183.
Khunbuca, Prince, 136.
Khur Lake, 392.
Khurkhu Mts., S. 27.
Khurumchi, 692.
Khutan Khosho, 428.
Khutugaitu, 460, 501, 613, 615–16, 677, 680.
Khutuka Bigi, 682.
Khutuktai Setzen, 377–8, 511–12, 561, 610.
Khutuktu, inauguration of new, S. 144–7.
—— initiation of, 508.
—— Munker, 43.
—— Myth about, S. 144.
—— rebirth of Cheghen, S. 144.
Khutuktus, S. 139, 144, 165.
—— in Mongolia, China and Tibet, S. 144.
Khuzistan, 8, 10, 128, 202.
K'i-t'ai (China so named by Khitans), 2.
Ki, Empress, 319, 324–6.
Ki chai, 318.
Ki min Chan Mt., 601.
Ki ning, 324.
Ki wang, 558–9.
Ki-in-mo-ho-tu (title of Chiefs of Shi wei), 28.
Kia Buzurk, 16.
Kia chau, 70.
Kia hiu koam, 627.
Kia-hing-fu, 27.
Kia kia, 604.
Kia-ling River, 214.
Kia lu, 317.
Kia ping fu, read Kai ping fu, 260.
Kia Taidshi, 426.
Kia Yu koan, 623.
Kia-se-tao, 217, 222.
Kia-ye-kie-lui, 101.
Kiachta, 514, S. 144.
Kiai chau, 344.
Kialing River, 214.
Kian, *v.* Kiat.
Kian River, *v.* Kieiho.
Kiang (River), *v.* Yang tse River.
Kiang chan, 124.
Kiang chau, 319.
Kiang che, 256.
Kiang chin, 121.
Kiang hoai, 293, 328.
Kiang Nan, 67, 136, 178, 213, 222, 256, 286, 293, 308, 317–18, 320, 327.

Kiang Si, 256, 293, 308, 318–19, 323, 325.
Kiao chao, 156.
Kiao chi, 212, 342.
Kiaokiaslan, 370, 610.
Kiat, 35, 43.
Kiat Kunghrat, 43.
Kiat Kunkurat, *v.* Kiat Kunghrat.
Kiau fu, 354.
Kiau kiang, 318.
Kibat Mirza. 653.
Kibenskoi, 685.
Kichi Merguen, 36.
Kichikten, 335.
Kichui, 319.
Kidston, queted, S. 14-15, 166.
Kie sie, 98.
Kief, 95, 164, 530.
—— destroyed, 141–2.
—— Prince of, 137.
Kiehé, 309.
Kieiho River, 56, 66.
Kieliei, *v.* Kurulats.
Kien kang, 306, 327–9.
Kien Lung, 494, 525, 533, 638, 649, 653, 655–62.
Kien Moan, 247.
Kien té men, 329.
Kilij Arslan, 555.
Kilikuli, 627.
Kilmauk, 517.
Kiluken, Behadur, 25, 47, 104–6, 391.
Kima, 209, 319-22, 330-32.
Kimari, 34.
Kin chan, 623.
Kin chau, 336.
Kin dynasty, 3, 42-3, 46, 67, 70, 99, 103, 118, 121, 123–5, 219, 250, 312, 392.
Kin Emperors, 26, 67–8, 70, 546.
—— influence of, 4.
Kin Empire, 43, 45, 72, 119, 121.
Kin Kué, *v.* Aijin kurun.
Kin pian, 427.
Kin Shan (Mts.), 347.
Kin Tartars (Golden Tartars), 5, 27, 98, 117, 124. 136, 544.
Kin yong koan, 69, 307.
Kin-chong, 359.
Kincha River, 211.
King chau, *v.* Si ning fu.
King chi ta tien, 313.
King Chuen pae peen, 531.
King se, *v.* Hang chau.
King ti, 605.
King tsong, 329.
King yang, 118.
King Yuen, 328.
Kingghan Mts., *v.* Khinggan chain.
Kingits, 38.
Kingultu, 692.
Kinien valley, 158.
Kinsai (name for Hangchow), 67.
Kintaputai, 353.
Kintcha-walo tribes, 100.
Kintchi, 287
Kio tsing, 346.
Kiotuan, 117.
Kipchak, 8, 23, 173, 182, 317.
Kipchak Choanggor, 299.
Kipchak Ogul, 175, 186.
Kipchaks, 94–5, 100, 128, 138, 155.
—— and Mongols, 141.
—— origin of name, 16.
Kirep, 579.
Kirghises, 6, 20, 23–4, 65, 177, 219, 262, 456–7, 460, 462, 467–8, 620, 629, 655, 663, 674, S. 103.
—— and Altan Khan, 467.
—— Andijan, 653.
—— Black, 23.
—— cooking methods of, S. 58.
—— migrate to Kalmuk territory, 618.
—— Rock, 23.
Kirghiz Kazaks, 17, 541, 618, 642.
Kirghiz Nur, 493.
Kiriltuk, *v.* Terkutai.
Kirkesia, 209.
Kirossan, 563.
Kirman, 7, 8.
Kirsa, Mt., 487.
Kisalpu Nur (old name of Saissan Nur), 619.
Kishlik, 59, 552.
Kishik Urrok, 613.
Kishikten, 30.
Kishinskoi, Russian grand Pristof, 573-4.
Kisiang, *v.* Gun Bilik Mergen.
Kislar, 586.
Kitad Kundulen Erdeni Setzen Tsokor, 390.
Kitad Saghan Dugureng Tushiyetu, 390.
Kitai-Kaptchak, 562.
Kitat, 213.
Kitoi River, 689.
Kitshi Argun, 24.
Kitshi Kurmachi, read Kitshi Kurnachi, *q.v.*, 24.
Kitshi Pushku, 24.
Kitshi Taidkge, read Kitshi Tardedge, *q.v.*, 24.
Kitshin Bakshi, 459.
Kitubuka 208, 210, 211.
Kiu lun Lake, 29.
Kiukien, 68.
Kiulichi, 357.
Kiya, River, 459.
Kiyat, *v.* Kiat.
Kiyots, 50.
Kizil Bashi Noor, 20, 173, 302.
Kizil Ozein River, 538–9.
Kizil pu, *v.* Saissan.

Kiziltash Mts., 55.
Klapikof, V., 619-20.
Klaproth, quoted, 4, 5, 24, 28, 487, 530–3, 694–5, 698, 738.
Klausenberg, 146.
Kliasma River, 141.
Ko loan hai, *v.* Baikal.
Ko pao yu, 80.
Ko tse hing, 321.
Ko-chcou-king, 155.
Koan chen, 323.
Koan chong, 218.
Koan chu, 343.
Koan in pao, 346.
Koan kia tong, 336.
Koan tong, 349.
Koan-che-buka, Prince, 312.
Koaninnu buka, 597.
Kobdo, 460, 473, 533, 627, 631–2, 640, S. 42.
Koeppen, quoted, 508–9, 511, 514–15, 643, 739, S. 129, 132, 137, 139, 142, 147, 157, 163, 183–4, 190–1, 192, 202.
Koirkhan Mts., 398.
Koka, 468.
Kokand, 653, 655.
Koke Mongol, 65.
Koki, 353.
Koko Khotan, 22, 385, 412, 416, 428–30, 466, 476, 512, 519, 545–6, 630–1.
Kokochin, 284.
Kokokchu, 294.
Kokon Baatur, 613.
Kokonoor, *v.* Kokonur, 4, 101, 212, 375, 419, 493, 498, 502, 519, 524, 623, 629, 636, 666.
—— products of country, S. 23–4, 64–5, 141.
—— spirit of, 527.
Kokoter, 610.
Koladashmi destroyed, 142.
Koladashun, read Koladashmi, *q.v.*
Kolai, 347.
Kolang, 251.
Kolbit, 692.
Kolbodzin, Mt., 392.
Koleng, 601.
Kolesnik of, 689–90.
Kolin, read Korin, 300.
Koloman, *v.* Kalmany.
Kolomna, 139.
Kolowgashniu destroyed, 142.
Kolowskoi, 467.
Komanians, *v.* Kipchaks.
Kon-nur, 632.
Kondelen River, 469.
Kondelet Shuker, 459.
Kong chang, 336.
Kong hing, 337.
Kongor olong, 663.
Kontshakovitch Jurii, 94.
Koochan, 81.
Kooke Sirke Ula Mts., 173.
Koprienick, monastery of, pillaged. 142.
Kora, 458.
Korchin Mongols, 629.
Korgos River, 648.
Koriakof Yar, 647.
Koriaks, S. 2.
Korum, 300.
Korsu gol, 491.
Kortshins, 52.
Koselsk, capture of, 140.
Kosh-karagai, 617.
Koshka River, 80.
Koshoi Chin Wang, title of Tsewangshab, *q.v.*
Koshutshin, 458–9.
Kosmeli, 99.
Kossagol Lake, 24, 73, 493.
Kothán, *v.* Kotiak, 94, 95, 141.
Kotiakovitch, D., 94.
Kotian, *v.* Kotiak.
Kotowi, 460.
Kou chau, 5.
Krásnoyarsk, 460, 467–9, 621, 688, 692.
Kremenetz, 142.
Krim Khan, 564–5.
Krim Tartars, 17, 563, 566, 570, 575.
Krimea, *v.* Crimea.,
Krishna, S. 117.
Kronstadt, 146.
Ksoma, quoted, S. 125.
Ku pe kheou, 349, 397–8.
Ku Natai, 358.
Ku Yong koan, 342, 604.
Ku Yuen, 368, 372, 609.
Ku Yuen chau, 103.
Kua Chau, S. 21.
Kuan si, *v.* Kwang si.
Kuan tong, *v.* Kwan tung.
Kuana hing, King of (posthumous title of Yeliu Chutsai), 161.
Kuannu, 123.
Kuava, *v.* Java.
Kuba, 99.
Kubak sari, 617, 619.
Kuban, 570, 574, 667.
Kubilai, *v.* Kutula Khan
Kubuldar Sajan, 553.
Kubum, Monastery of, S. 132.
Kucha, 654.
Kuchi, 343.
Kuchum, 561, 614.
Kudang, 377, 390, 391, 393, 395, 418.
Kudjum Bughrul, 36.
Kudsher, 56, 552.
Kudshin Bigi, 107, 551.
Kudshir, 61.
Kudu, 23.

Kudua, 550.
Kududar, 55, 550.
Kuc man tribes, 212.
Kue se (title of Bashpa), 508.
Kue-chau, 287.
Kue-hoa-ching, *v.* Koko Khotan.
Kuei chau, 346.
Kuei lin fu, 311.
Kuei yuan, temple of, 533.
Kueilai River, 177.
Kuélié, 324.
Kuen lun Mts., 525.
Kuété fu, 121.
Kugei Khan Mt., 366, 608.
Kugir, 25.
Kugulcha, 674.
Kuhistan, 15, 16, 91.
Kuhram, 10.
Kui boldok, 493.
Kuieitan, 551.
Kuigol, *v.* Kharagol.
Kuisha, 616, 617, 649, 665, 680.
Kuin chau, 120.
Kuissun tologoi Mt., 526–7.
Kujer, 553–4.
Kuk Khan, 19, 35.
Kuk Muran, 682.
Kukdshitu Mergen, 391, 393, 395.
Kukjutai Taïdshi, 377.
Kuktai, 588.
Kuku Khoto, S. 143.
Kukunor, *v.* Kokonur.
Kuku Timur, 325–7, 328–9, 335, 337–8, 341–2, 344.
Kuku tsilotu, 488.
Kul Saya Söghotu ekin Mts., 484.
Kula Taishi, 617–18, 619, 665.
Kulagina, 576.
Kulan, 23.
Kulan Khatun, 63.
Kulatana, 309, 310, 313.
Kuldja, *v.* Almaligh.
Kuldut, 692.
Kuleangukecks, 73.
Kulen tribe, 691.
Kulenga River, 686.
Kulichi, *v.* Ugetshi.
Kulkan, 23, 138–9, 186.
Kulmets, 691.
Kultukən Mergen, 23.
Kuluk Bughurdshi, 114.
Kuluk Khan *v.* Khaissan
Kulun Berkat, 552.
Kulun Lake, 358, 490, 493, S. 23.
Kulussutai Lake, 392.
Kum, 82, 97.
—— capture of 93.
Kuma, River, 575, 674, 676.
Kuman, 555.
Kumbuck, Monastery of, S. 184.
Kumestan, 17.
Kumon, 637.
Kumsant, 25.
Kumtagh deserts. S.
Kumuks, 17, 564.
Kumuss, 83.
Kun Khan, 35.
Kunas, *v.* Ozar.
Kundelung, 503, 517.
Kundjuk, 175, 181.
Kundulen, read Kundelung, *q.v.*
Kundulen Toin, 468.
Kunduz Mts., 89.
Kung Chang fu, 125, 136.
Kung chen Tsee Tang, 658.
Kung-yuan-tsu, 121.
Kunggei Sabkhan Mt., 418, 610.
Kungkassaun, *v.* Kengeksaut.
Kungghes, 663.
Kungtsé, 118.
Kunkantshei, 458.
Kunkun Laodze, S. 54.
Kunkur, 187.
Kunkurat, 247.
—— derivation of, 682.
Kunkurats, 35, 38, 43, 50, 56, 60, 72 107, 178.
Kunkurt, 80.
Kuntukai, 218–19.
Kur Buka, 46.
Kur Khan, 35.
Kur River, 8, 167.
Kura Kia, 551.
Kuragan ulen nor, 492.
Kurbassu, 63.
Kurbeldshin Goa, 103.
Kurbeldshin Khatun, 106.
Kurdish Mts., 131.
Kurdish tribes, 8.
Kurdistan, 91, 203.
Kurds, 74, 208.
Kurembertsir, 637.
Kuren, *v.* Urga.
—— Monastery of 514, S. 144.
Kurguz, 134, 169, 180, 285, 288.
Kuri Subaju, 555.
Kuridai, 56.
Kurik, 4.
Kuril Behadur, *v.* Kurul Behadur.
Kuris, 24.
Kurjakuz Buyuruk, 547.
Kurmeton, 657–8.
Kuropatkin, quoted, S. 9, 18.
Kurshum, 687.
Kursk, 95.
Kurtu, 663.
Kuru Merghen, 636.
Kuruk Kiptchak, 63.
Kurukchal, 23.
Kurul Behadur, 50, 550.
Kurulas, 35, 51, 178.
Kurulasses, 56.
Kurulats, 53, 54, 107.
Kurumchins, 691.
Kuruts; 691.

Kush Buka, 551.
Kushala, 297, 299, 306–7, 310, 311, 383.
Kushi, 396.
Kushikuls, 72.
Kushluk, 6, 63, 72.
Kusi Han, *v.* Guushi.
Kusnetz, 467–8.
Kut-tag Mt., 185.
Kuta Kia, 551.
Kutan, *v.* Godan.
Kutb-ud-din Muhammed, 7.
Kutchu, 136, 160, 186.
Kuthen, *v.* Kotiak.
Kutluk balig, 78.
Kutluk Khan, 61, 76.
Kuttuz, 209.
Kutu Timur, 554.
Kutuchta, or living Buddha, 459, 468, 470, 480–1, 486.
Kutuku Noyan, 26.
Kutula Khan, 43–5.
Kuvera (Vulcan), S. 156.
Kuajuk Khan, 15, 34, 137, 146, 160, 174, 177, 186–7, 504, S. 95, 129.
Kuz Khan, 35.
Kwang-chung, 299.
Kwang si, 248, 328.
Kwan tung, *v.* Kwang tung, 312, 328.
Kwei chau, 255–6.
Ky pet, *v.* Peking.

La hang, exhibition of sacred vessels at, S. 192.
Labantsiksa, S. 98.
Labuk Taishi, 400.
Lachlach, 538.
Ladak, 515.
Lahore, 10, 90.
Lahuang Mts., S. 11.
Laikhor Khan, 457, 460, 466.
Lailai, 248.
Lailau, 347.
Lairi, *v.* Liki.
Lamaism, 15, 504–5, S. 106.
—— altar of, S. 160–2.
—— and Chakhars, 512.
—— and Kalmuks, 483, 501, 616.
—— and Khalkhas, 512.
—— and Mongols, 379, 404–5, 468, S. 141–4.
—— in Thibet, 510.
—— new regulations made by Altan Khan, 422–3.
—— Pantheon of, S. 147–58.
—— reforms by Tsong Khapa, S. 133–7
Lamaist altar, S. 160–2.
—— bell, S. 173.
—— caps, *v.* Costume.
—— festivals, *v.* Festivals.
Lamaist "grace," S. 179–80.
—— monasteries, discipline and routine in, S. 175–82.
—— monks, S. 168.
—— nuns, S. 186.
—— priests, divided into four ranks, 423.
—— remedies for sickness, S. 204.
—— robes, *v.* Costume.
—— rosaries, S. 173–5, 194
—— sacred books, S. 184.
—— sceptre, S. 173.
—— services, S. 182.
—— temple equipment, S. 161–8.
—— temples, S. 159–68.
Lamaists, 103–4.
Lamas, 220, 250, 262, 292, 294, 303, 317, 319, 478, 620.
—— and Ming emperors, S. 131.
—— and Shamans, S. 106.
—— and wrestling, *v.* Amusements.
—— Black, 532, 644.
—— celibacy of, S. 134–6.
—— corrupt lives of, S. 130–1.
—— decay of asceticism among, S. 187.
—— divided into four classes, S. 142.
—— exorcise demon, S. 205–6.
—— food of, S. 57.
—— grades of, S. 168–71.
—— hierarchy of Red and Yellow, 514–15
—— life of village, S. 185.
—— meaning of word, S. 125.
—— music at services of, S. 182–3.
—— musical instruments of, S. 183.
—— Red, 504, 514, 516–17, S. 126, 131–4.
—— their power over Mongols, S. 193.
—— Yellow, 504, 511, 516–17, 620, S. 136.
—— Yellow cap 569.
Lamrim chehen po, S. 134.
Lan chau, 337, 344.
Lan Darma, S. 127.
Lan yu, 347.
Lancitia, 143.
Laoti Khan, 500.
Lapland, S. 1.
Lapps, S. 2.
Latins, 14.
Latsan, 522–3, 532–3, 643.
Lao kiun, *v.* Lao tse, 279.
Lawan Donduk, 667–8.
Lazzang Khan, *v.* Latsan Khan.
Leang, 360.
—— Prince of, 346.
Leang chau, 343, 368, 609.
Lemhesser, *v.* Lemsher, 16.
Lena River, 684, 686–7.

Lengut Nuramen, 55.
Leo King, 14.
Leontiefsky, quoted, 530.
Lepshi River, 649.
Lersghs, 128.
Lhasa, *v.* Lhassa, 511, 514–19, 523, 533, 643, S. 131, 162, 193.
—— Cathedral, S. 177.
Li chan chang, 335.
Li chau, 433.
Li fu, 318.
Li hao ven, 317.
Li hien, 102.
Li kao, 609.
Li ke yung, 26.
Li ki tsien, 5.
Li kue chang, *v.* Chu ye che sin.
Li pe yuan, 136.
Li ping, 121.
Li se chi, 335-6.
Li te, 99–103.
Li ting, 177-9.
Li tsong, 124.
Li tsun hien, 72, 99.
Li wen chong, 336, 338, 340, 342-3, 387, 491–2.
Li wen chung, read Li wen chong, *q.v.*
Li-ngan-tsuen, 66.
Li-tan, 222.
Liang chau, 5, 663.
Liang chau fu, 101.
Liao dynasty, read Liau, *q.v.*
Liao tung, 220.
Liau, meaning of, 2.
Liau chen, 72.
Liau dynasty, 46, 68, 70, 72, 117.
Liau fu tong, 318, 321–4.
Liau ho choan, 336.
Liau kien chung, 254.
Liau, Kin and Sung, dynastic history of the, 313.
Liau king, 355.
Liau nin, 610.
Liau River, 177–9.
Liau si, 1, 70-1.
Liau ti ping, 219.
Liau Timur buka, 353.
Liau tung, 1, 2, 67, 69, 71, 177, 179 255, 301, 303, 307, 323, 341, 345, 347, 372, 418, 600, 603, 638.
—— raided by Lingdan Khan, 379.
Liau y, 341.
Liau yang, 2, 69, 255, 323.
Liau yang chau, 3.
Liche, 605.
Lidua maserah, 550.
Lien hi hien, 218–19.
Lien yun pao, 417.
Lientsu, 506.
Lieu kue kie, 287.
Lieuchin, 287.
Lignitz, 143, 145.
Liheng, 247.
Likharef, Genl., 648.
Liki, Fort, 64.
Likisili, 292.
Limata, 250.
Liminata, Jno, 166.
Lin thao, 336.
Lin-ho-ching, 412.
Lin-ngan (modern Hangchow), 3, 67, 97, 256, 318, 327.
—— captured by Juchi, 3.
Linbof, 571.
Ling chau, 5, 102, 406.
Ling chau fu, *v.* Sileang.
Ling huan ching, 398.
Ling-pi Lake, 122.
Ling-si, 29.
Ling-u-koan, 417.
Lingdan Khan, 379–80, 390–1, 395–6, 411, 427-8, 485.
—— subdues Tumeds, 380.
Lion Khans of Kashgar, 20.
Lipka, 686.
Liu thao, 4.
Liupan Mts., 103, 213, 218.
Lo, *v.* Lailai.
Lo hoh, *v.* Lailai.
Lo to khau Mt., 338, 346.
Lo yang, 121, 124, 344.
Lo yu, 309.
Loang hiang hien, 418.
Loangho River, 677.
Lob nur, 525–6, 533, S. 17, 18, 20, 22.
Lobdzan Dandzin, 525.
Lobdzan Khan, 390, 467, 470, 471-2, 483, 621, 640.
—— and Russians, 468–70.
Lobsang tag pa (Tibetan name of Tsong Khapa), S. 137.
Lobzang Jamtso, 516, 521.
Locha, *v.* Siberia.
Lodiana, 588.
Loha River, 3.
Lohan, *v.* Arhats.
Lokha River, 395.
Lokuho River, 354.
Lolos, 212, 308–9.
Lolin River, 550.
Lombardy, Anselm of, 168.
Lomnitz, 149.
Long chau, 336.
Long hing, 324.
Long kiang, River, 346.
Long tshing, Emperor, 419.
Longku River, 302.
Longnam usurps Thibetan throne, 32.
Loocha River, 396.
Loos, Brother, 583, 678.
Loosang, 562–3, 580, 589.
Loosang Jatzar Arantshimba, 574.

Loosangshap, 567.
Lopotsan, chosba of, 623.
Lotan, 27, 29.
Lousan, *v.* Lobdzan.
Louis IX, 170.
Loyang, *v.* Ho-nan-fu.
Lu, Prince of, 343.
Lu chau, 213.
Lu khiu ho, *v.* Kerulon.
Lu ngan, 417.
Lublin, 142.
Luchu Island, 250, 348.
Ludshineh, 41.
Lukhu River, 354, 596.
Lumbini Garden, S. 107.
Lunbunai, 533.
Lung, 5.
Lung chau shan, 663.
Lung hing, 256.
Lung shidirghu, 5.
Lung-si-hien, 64.
Lunturhoci, 353.
Lupin, read Liupan, *q.v.*
Lur, 203.
Luristan, 82, 91, 203.
Lurum, 679.
Lusang Shanu, 649.
Lustukien, 299.
Lycaonia, 13.
Lydia, 13.
Lyons, Council of, 168.

Ma chin, 605.
Ma ching, 217.
Ma teng Mts., 123.
Ma yen hoci, 341.
Ma yun, 344.
Ma-tu, *v.* Horse's head, 183.
Maaretnaaman, 209.
Machamu, *v.* Mahamu.
Máchin, 274.
Maci, 458.
Macrizi, quoted, 210.
Madagascar, 275.
Madagu, 53.
Madi Dhwadshawa P'agpa Lama, 220, 421, 506–7, S. 141.
Maeotis, S. 45.
Maeulh, *v.* Molon Khan.
Magadha, S. 125, 163.
Magha Tsunbing, 407.
Magho Kitad Taidshi, 379, 395.
Magic, S. 104.
—— causes snow to fall, 551.
—— charms against demons, S. 155.
—— divination from scorched bones, S. 103–4.
—— jade used to control rainfall, S. 103.
—— with cords, S. 104.
—— with dice, S. 104.
—— weather conjuring by Lamas, S. 102–3.
Magic, white and black, S. 135.
Magyaras Mt., 146.
Magyars, S. 7.
Maha Kasyapa, S. 154.
Maha Maugdalyayana, S. 153.
Maha Maya, Queen, S. 119.
Mahadia Pass, 146.
Mahakala, 410, 420, 507, 510, S. 137, 157.
Mahakala Súmna, S. 183.
Mahakaruna, *v.* Avalokita.
Mahamu, 355–6, 499, 595, 596–7, 599.
Maharani, Queen, S. 153.
Mahasanghika Sect, S. 117.
Mahatudan, *v.* Dutum Menen.
Mahayana teaching, S. 116–20.
Mahmud, 252.
Mahmud of Ghazni, 129.
Mahmud Yelvaje, 172.
Mahom of Wala, *v.* Mahamu.
Maidari Khutuktu, *v.* bSampa Jamtso.
Mailebash, 562.
Mailla, de, quoted, 40, 42, 44–6, 50, 54, 56, 59, 64–5, 68, 98–9, 103, 116, 118–24, 136–8, 140, 157, 176, 179–80, 212–32, 234, 241, 244–52, 271, 285–94, 298, 303, 306–11, 316, 320–2, 324, 329, 330, 338, 341-2, 345–6, 348, 352, 355, 432, 471, 496, 499, 501, 521, 524, 551, 558, 560, 595, 614, 623–32, 634, 636–43, 645, 706, 710–12, 723, 725–30, 735–8, 743.
Maitilipala, 340–1, 344–5, 349.
Maitreya, S. 139, 150, 154.
—— statue of, 423.
Makhatshi Menggo Karat, 559.
—— identified with Ugetshi, 560.
Makrizi, quoted, 683.
Malabar, *v.* Mapar.
Malanger Gulf, 155.
Malantan, 247.
Malatia, 209, 543.
Malattiya, 169.
Malattya, *v.* Malattiya.
Malek, Shah, *v.* Malik.
Malek es Saleb, Sultan, 141.
Malik, Shah, 7, 11, 13.
Mameluks, 11, 74.
Mamukoin, 636.
Man tubes, 256.
Manazguerd, 130.
Manchu dynasty, 2.
Manchuria, 26–7, 177, 255, 415, S. 2, 27.
Manchus, 1, 67, 379, 380, 394–5, 427, 433, 460, 475, 485–6, 519, 574, 580, 630–1, S. 31.
—— and Kalmuks, 644.
—— and Ordus, 411–12.
Mandaghol, 361, 368–9, 383, 400, 415, 606.

Mandere, 572.
Mandeville, quoted, 105.
Mandgalayana, S. 149.
Mandshushiri, 397, 424, 510, 512.
Mandughai Setzen Khatun, 371.
—— story of her marriage, 369–70.
Mandulai Agholkho, *v.* Mantlu.
Mandzia River, *v.* Mondja.
Mandzin River, *v.* Mundsheh.
Mandzinskoi, Fort, 22.
Maneis, 118.
Mang, 287.
Mang kotsang, 336.
Mang theon chan Mts., 526.
Mangalik, 658.
Mangan, 319.
Mangass, 140.
Mangchuk Taidshi, 395.
Mangdzu Khara djang, 492.
Manghala, 284–5, 383.
Manghan Taidshi, 664.
Manghir Chuiska, 22.
Mangishlak, 570.
Mangkhai, 561, 589.
Mangoltai, Prince, 396.
Mangon, *v.* Manguts.
Mangruk River, 405.
Mangshuk Taidshi, 379.
Mangu Khan, 103, 137–8, 141, 163, 165, 171, 173–6, 187, 204–5, 208, 211–18, 221, 222, 283, 311, 504, 582, 682, S. 129.
—— death of, 214.
Mangun, 503.
Mangushlak, 84, 562.
Mangussar, 171–2, 187.
Manguts, 178, 498.
Mani, 396.
Mani Mingghatu, 610.
Mani wang, 658.
Manichaean Religion, S. 8.
Manitu ula, 526.
Manjusri, S. 118, 134, 137, 150, 175.
—— temple of, S. 177.
Mankoanchin, 373.
Mankoantien, *v.* Tumeds.
Manpe timur, Prince, 341.
Mansur I, 12.
Mansur, II, 12.
Mansura, 11.
Mansushiri Burchan, S. 103.
Mantlu, 370, 371, 373–5, 400, 431, 610.
Mantrayana vehicle, S. 126–7.
Mantse cha puting, 338.
Manzi, 305.
Mao eulh ku, 632.
Mao li keou, 624.
Mao Minggans, 483.
Maochi, 344.
Maokué, 323.
Maolihai, 609, 610.
Maominggans, 545.
Maonahai, 603.
Mapar, 247, 297.
Mar Denha, 555.
Maradaulat abad, 82.
Marco Polo, quoted, 2, 22, 103, 214, 224, 234, 239, 241–6, 248, 252, 255–6, 258–9, 260–5, 269, 280, 294, 304–5, 470, 476, 502, 542, 544–6, 548, 555–6, 588, 699, 707, 709, 710, 718–19, 727, 729, 731–2, 739, 741–2, S. 68, 82, 84, 105, 125, 131.
Mardin, 11.
Mardin el Khabur, 132.
Mare, de la, *v.* Delamarre.
Mares, libations of milk of, S. 105.
Marhapa, 353, 596.
Marici, S. 151–2.
Marignolli, quoted, 314–15, 535.
Marigorof, 647.
Marimes, 140, 566.
Maros River, 146.
Marmot, habitat of, S. 25.
—— methods of hunting, S. 26.
Marriage, *v.* Customs.
Maruts (storm-gods), S. 156.
Mashi, Prince, 576, 579, 582.
Massacres by Mongols, 87–8, 91.
Massud, 11, 161, 164.
Matchartai, 312–13, 316.
Mathapa (astronomical tables of Yelui Chutsai), 117.
Mati, the, 457.
Mati Dhwadsha, *v.* Madi Dhwadsha.
Matshika, 469.
Matthias, Archbp. of Gran, 148.
Matuanlin, quoted, 31.
Mau Balik, *v.* Ordu Balik.
Mavera ul nehr, 75.
Maximof, 669.
Mayafarkin, 12, 208.
Mazanderan, 7, 8, 82–3, 133, 169.
Mazovia, 142.
Me Iha, S. 156.
Me ru, Monastery of, S. 190.
Mecca, 11.
Mecrits, *v.* Merkits.
Mederwary, D., *v.* Zalnuk.
Medes, 537.
Medevitch, 146.
Media Mts., 538.
Medina, 11.
Mediterranean, 252.
Mei, 636.
Meimun, Khalif, 204.
Meimun-diz, 16.
Mekrits, *v.* Merkits.
Melek sect, 93.
Melik Aadil Seifeddin Ebubekr, 12.
Melik Esed ud din Shirkuh, 12.
Melik Kamel, 12.
Melik Khan, 89.
Melik Mansur I, 12.

Melik Timur, 160, 173, 186, 283.
Melikol Aadil, 12.
Melikpur, 90.
Melitene, *v.* Malatia.
Melush, 564, 589.
Menbedsh, 209.
Mendoza, quoted, 588.
Mengelig Itshigeh, 552.
Mengetu, 45.
Menghon, Prince, 579.
Mengki, 250.
Menko Timur, 567, 667, 680.
Menkuts, 72.
Meraga, 93, 203–4.
Merdi Shudsha, *v.* Ozar.
Merged Bakhans, 402.
Mergen Ching wang Torghon, 428.
Mergen Daga, 469.
Mergen Mongholdshin Goa, 36.
Mergen Noyan (title of Sharalta), 398, 475.
Mergen Taishi, 467, 474, 476, 563, 589, 615, 664.
Mergen Sanggasba, *v.* Wadshra Tonmi.
Merghen, *v.* Soo.
Merghen holanai tortsi, 623.
Merghus Buyuruk Khan, 546–7.
Mergus Khas, 366.
Meri el rond, 87.
Merkits, 22, 23, 51, 54, 55–6, 59, 60–3, 65, 72, 541, 549, 551.
Meru, 77, 81, 87, 170, 543.
—— destruction of, 91.
Mervan, 10.
Mescript, *v.* Merkits.
Mesopotamia, 12, 113, 131, 205, 209.
—— Mongol conquests in, 169.
—— Prince of, 129.
Messaud, Prince, 131.
Metempsychosis, 15, 421, 511–12, S. 108, 110–13, 134, 138.
Meter Behadur, 43.
Metetchuen, 288.
Metskhita, 167.
Meyafarkin, 169.
Mi tsang kuan, 213.
Mian chan, read Mian chau, *v.* Mian hien.
Mian hien, 136, 213.
Miao-hao-kien, 300.
Miao ul chuang, 602.
Miaotze, 256, 287.
Michaelovitch, Czar Alexis, 462, 563, 564.
Michaelovitch, Ivan, Prince, 462.
Michell, quoted, 650, 655, 663.
Middle Horde of Kirghiz Kazaks, 643.
Miechof, Matthias of, quoted, 143.
Mien tien, *v.* Burma.
Mien Yang, 321.
Mila raspa, S. 155.
Miller, J. H., quoted, S. 26.
Milmolsokho, *v.* Toghon Taidshi.
Minen Dudum, *v.* Dutum Menen.
Ming ching, 327.
Ming dynasty, 34, 249, 321, 485, 591, 601, 681.
—— policy of, 384.
Ming Emperors and Lamas, S. 131.
Ming tsong, posthumous title of Kushala, *q.v.*
Ming wang, title of Han lin ulh, *q.v.*
Ming yu chin, 327.
Ming-ngan, 68.
Mingan, 71.
Minghad, 402.
Mingkut, 41.
Mingli Khan, 35, 36.
Mingmer, 585.
Mingrelia, 15, 167.
Minorites, 315.
Minusinsk, 531.
Miracles, apparition to Altan Khan, S. 141.
—— at feast to Dalai Lama, 425.
—— saving of Breslau.
—— performed by Sodnam Jamtso 420.
—— performed by Grand Lama, S. 141.
—— Rain of flowers, 408.
Mirgen Beg, 655.
Mirkhond, quoted, 41, 88, 555.
Mitislaf, Prince, 95–6.
Mitrassof, Starshin, 576.
Mo kai tu Mt., 29.
Moal, 542.
Moatugan, 89.
Mobar, *v.* Mapar.
Mobarek Schah, 175, 222.
Modsang Mergen Tsokor, 486.
Moduns, 63.
Moghis Fetheddin Omar, Melik, 12.
Mogol Khan, 34.
Moguldsharian Mts., 502.
Mohadshirs, 59.
Mohayi ud din, Kadhi, 210.
Mohi, 149.
Mojir-ul-Mulk, 87.
Mokhui boro ola, 427.
Mokshas, 138.
Moku ogul, 213–14, 218, 283.
Molahids, 16.
Molano, Nicholas of, 314.
Moldavia, 141, 147.
Molikhai, *v.* Maolihai.
Molikhai Ong, 366.
Mologda River, 139.
Molon Khan, 366–7, 383, 398, 609.
Molosai, Baghatur, 376.
Momotubash, 574.
Mona Khan Mt., 101, 106.
Monalun, 39, 40.
Mondja River, 22.

Mong-kong, 124.
Monga, 159.
Monggutsar, 367.
Möngkè, *v.* Mangu.
Mongkebai, 598, 600.
Mongko, 609.
Mongkuli, 27.
Mongoi Zazan, 613.
Mongol administration of Justice, S. 79–80.
—— altar, offerings at, S. 194.
—— amusements, *v.* Amusements.
—— Army, distribution of, 115.
—— —— organization of, S. 83–5.
—— calendar, S. 85.
—— candles, S. 194.
—— carts, S. 67.
—— cattle, S. 66–7.
—— champion fights Uirad champion, 606–7.
—— characteristics, 154.
—— children, baptism of, S. 202.
—— dependence on horses, S. 61–2.
—— encampment, S. 69.
—— etiquette, S. 78–81.
—— forms of oaths, S. 78–9.
—— hunting customs *v.* Customs.
—— language, S. 33–5.
—— laws, S. 77.
—— local administrators, meetings of, S. 74.
—— marriage customs, *v.* Customs.
—— measures of time, S. 85.
—— methods of calculation, S. 86.
—— method of making kumiss, S. 59–60.
—— military equipment, S. 81–2.
—— military tactics, S. 84.
—— mourning customs, *v.* Customs.
—— musical instruments, S. 53.
—— nobles, power of, S. 73.
—— occupations and sport, S. 39, 40.
—— physique, S. 5, 32.
—— religion, S. 93-5.
—— script, 506, 508–9, 510, 530–2, S. 129–30.
—— superstitions, 111, S. 44.
—— services performed in Tibetan, S. 183.
—— songs, S. 54–5.
—— tents, S. 45–50.
—— weapons, 85, 88, 122.
Mongolia, 25, 62, 105, 212, 248, 252, 255, 342, 354, 470–3, 487, 496, 549, 551.
—— agriculture in, S. 41.
—— birds of, S. 27–9.
—— character of S. 9–10.
—— Chinese immigrants in, 429.
—— fauna of, S. 20, 27.
Mongolia, products of, S. 19.
—— reforms of Yelui Chutsai in, 156–8.
—— reptiles found in, S. 29.
—— South-eastern climate, S. 13, 16.
—— Southern, S. 18.
—— Western, S. 27.
Mongolistan, 546.
Mongols and China, 164, 370–1 402, 408–9.
—— and Christianity, 133, 168.
—— and Corea, 164.
—— and Georgia, 93.
—— and Hungary, 142–52.
—— and Kalmuks, peace between, 616.
—— and Lamaism, 379, 404–5, 468, S. 141–4.
—— and literature, 303.
—— and Persia, 126–33, 164, 166.
—— and Russians, 95–6, 139, 141, S. 40–1.
—— and Shamanism, 378.
—— and taxation, S. 75.
—— and prisoners of war, S. 77.
—— and Uirats, 366, 606–7.
—— as artisans, S. 47.
—— cannibalism among, 97, 136, 154, S. 53.
—— character of, S. 38–9, S. 42.
—— childhood among, S. 201–2.
—— costume of, S. 35–8.
—— expulsion of from China, 312.
—— food of, S. 52, 55–61.
—— four sections of, 557.
—— habits of, S. 41–5.
—— influenced by Buddhism, S. 30–1.
—— Origin of race, 27–32.
—— prevalent diseases and remedies, S. 58–9.
—— religion of and Iranian influence, S. 96.
—— state of before conquered by Jingis, 108.
—— sickness among, S. 202–6.
—— trade with China and Russia, S. 42.
—— traditional descent of from wolves, 32–4.
—— Western, 498.
Mongu, 27.
Mongus, 29.
Mongutsi River, 387.
Monko, 368.
Monlam (Buddhist Jubilee ceremony), S. 190.
Montecorvino, Jno of, 315, 544, 556.
Montecroee, Ricold of, quoted, 304.
Monuments, Funeral (Ch'orten), S. 213–14.
Mookhai, 428.

Mookhai Mergen, 390.
Moomut Ubashi, 580.
Moravia, invaded by Mongols, 145.
Mordvins, 138.
Morgan, Plains of, 93.
Morintologoi, *v.* Horse's head.
Moro Buima, 485.
Mosalskoi, Ivan, 615.
Moscow, 139, 459, 463, 469, 564, 566, 571, 617, 619.
Mosdok, 94.
Moslem Imaums, 542.
Moslems, 201, 205, 221.
Mostassim, 200, 202.
—— death of, 201.
Mosul, 10, 129, 164, 203-4.
—— Prince of, 112, 129, 167, 200, 205.
Mouholi, *v.* Burgul.
Mountain inscriptions in Tibet, S., 165.
Mountaineers, Black, 645.
—— white, 645.
Mu, 346.
Mu kua Yuen, 610.
Mu tsong, *v.* Long tshing.
Muazzam Turanshah, 11.
Mucyed ud din Ben Urzy, 204.
Muhammed ben Ali, 10.
Muhammed of Nessa, 86, 90, 129, 131.
Muhammed, Shah, 72-3, 75, 79-81, 112, 114, 206.
—— death of, 83.
Muhammed, son of Hassan, 16.
Muhammed, son of Ismail, 15.
Muhammed, son of Kia Burzurk, 16.
Muhammedanism in Central Asia, S. 9.
Muhammedans, 99, 170, 178, 201, 210, 291.
—— four orthodox rites of, 93.
Muhlenbach, 146.
Mukan, 130.
Mukden, 427, 518.
Muke Oqul, read Moku Oqul, *q.v.*
Mukhor bulak River, 527.
Mukhor Lusang, 612.
Mukran, 8.
Mukuli, 25, 58, 69, 71, 73, 97-8, 106, 115, 176, 301, 550, 559.
Mukuli Behadur, 61, 114.
Mukuli Guiwang, *v.* Mukuli.
Mukuli Kiwang, *v.* Mukuli.
Multan, 10, 90.
Müller, quoted, 615-16, 620, 622, 628 629, 640, 643-6, 649, 664-6, 685, 700, 741-3.
Mundsheh River, 55.
Mungdu Kian, 45.
Mungka, *v.* Mangu.
Munkaez, 148.
Muplenbach, read Muhlenbach, *q.v.*
Murjab, *v.* Meri el rond.
Murom, 139.
—— capture of, 141.
Mursas, 564.
Murui, 691.
Mussa, 15.
Mussu man barbarians, 212.
Mussulmans, 5, 14, 16, 200, 205, 209-11, 654.
Mustag chain, 647.
Musun teké Mt., 387.
Mutchin Sultu, 53.
Mutilation of enemies, S. 85.
Muundurdisku Mt., 552.

Nablus, 205.
Nachartu, S. 96.
Nachen, Oracle at, S. 138.
Nachin, 40.
Nadeshda, 571.
Nadir, Shah, 571.
Nadmid, *v.* Boqush.
Nagadai, *v.* Nagudi.
Nagargurva, S. 117.
Nagarjuna, S. 111.
Nagas, S. 157.
Nagansana, Burchan, S. 103.
Nagasana, S. 111.
Nagis, S. 156.
Nagu, 166, 171-3, 186.
Nagudi, 501.
Nahachu, 341, 347.
Naimans, 6, 20, 26, 55. 59, 60-63, 65, 72, 173, 183, 380, 394-5, 433, 549, 551-2.
—— religion of, 541.
Nairbuka, *v.* Arbuka.
Naitshi, 396.
Najm ud din Ayub, 11.
Nakhsheb, 79.
Nakhuan, 360.
Naksheb, 84.
Nakukun, Mts., 63.
Nalanda, College of, S. 125.
Nam Gyal Monastery, S. 138.
Namé Khondsirgar, 663.
Namik, 394-5.
Namishka Darkhan Zaruktu, 649.
Namjal, 486.
Namo, 504, S. 129.
Namuseran, 563, 589.
Nan chang fu, *v.* Lung hing.
Nan keou, 632.
Nan yang fu, 119.
Nan shan Mts., S. 12.
Nanchao, 212.
Nandaria Grove, S. 120.
Nangdzu khara djang, 491.
Nangkias, *v.* Manzi.
Nangnuk Taidshi, 397.
Nanhien, 299.
Nankiatai, 307.

Nanking, 3, 98, 121, 136, 322, 329, 333.
Nanpo, 302.
Naphthali, 538.
Napoleon, 49.
—— represented as Buddha, S. 150.
Narachu, *v.* Nahachu.
Narbonne, Ivo of, quoted, 154.
Narbuta Zi, 663.
Narim, River, 183, 492.
Narin Tugrul, 551.
Nart Girei, 565.
Narym, 566.
Nasa Mamut, 564, 623.
Nasarmut, 589.
Nassir Salâdin yusuf, *v.* Nassir Seif ud din.
Nassir Seif ud din, 12, 74, 203–4, 210.
—— and Khulagu, 205–9.
Natigay (god of the earth), S. 95.
Nature worship, S. 95–6.
Naur Buyuruk, Khan, 547.
Naur Turukah, *v.* Tunga.
Navang, 248.
Nayan, 177, 180, 248, 347.
—— defeated by Khubilai, 178.
Nayantai, *v.* Ilden Noyan.
Nedjin ud din Katib, 204.
Nedshm, 209.
Nedshmeddin Daye, Sheikh, 72.
Negorekei, Baghatur, 374.
Negun Taishi, 45.
Negun Ussun, 555.
Nemudarend Mt., 552.
Nepâul, S. 107, 127.
Nerchinsk, 491, 628.
Nessa, 83.
—— siege of, 86.
Nessair, quoted, 131.
Nessaui, read Nessair, *q.v.*
Nertschinsk, 47.
Nestorianism, S. 8.
—— among Uighurs, 21.
Nestorians, 215, 294, 541, 588.
Neumann, quoted, 530.
Newierof, Stephen, 463, 465.
New Testament, 678.
Nezait, 26.
Ngai jeouchili pala, *v.* Biliktu khan.
Ngan, 321.
Ngan fong, 326.
Ngan ki, 328.
Ngan king, 323.
Ngan Si, *v.* Si ngan fu.
Nganbo, 32.
Ngænti, Emperor, 412.
Ngantung, 176.
Ni wen tsuin, 321.
Nia thi, 32.
Nicaea, 13.
Nichai, 350.
Nicholas Witsen, quoted, 627.
Niekurtcha, River, 54.
Niela, 350.
Nielanhatu, 350.
Nieleang, Lake, 358.
Nienchinkilas, 308.
Nige Nidun, 36.
Nikbeg, 175.
Nile, 535.
Nilom Tala, 423, 513.
Nima, 658.
Nima Daba, 589.
Nimak, *v.* Tanqut.
Nimatang, Khutuktu, 520–1.
Nin hia, 372.
Nin hia fu, 66.
Ning chau, 327.
Ninghia, 101–2, 320, 337–8, 358, 402, 406, 416, 545, 557, 604, 663.
Ning kue, 328.
Ning-tsong, *v.* Rint Shenpal.
Ninkiassu, 122–5.
Nirums, 25, 37–8, 47.
Nirvana, S. 138.
—— meaning of, S. 111.
Nishapoor, 80, 81, 86–8, 128, 133, 538.
Nisibin, 167, 208.
Nitsugun Khassulak, Mt., 404.
Niuchis, *v.* Juchis.
Niuchis River, 59.
Niuli, 213.
Nizam ud din Abd ul Muemin, 201.
No, River, 29, 30.
No-pe-chi, 29.
Nogays, 17, 18, 19, 97, 561–6, 570.
Nogon-niru Mt., 386.
Noguz, 43.
Nohai hojo, 632.
Nokan, 87.
Nokhun Mt., 392.
Nokus, *v.* Noguz.
Nokuz, 35.
Noli, 29.
Nom Dara Khulatshi Noyan, 378.
"Nom gharkhoi todorkhoi Tolli," 32.
Nom Khan (title of Dandshin Lama, *q.v.*).
Nom Tarni Goa Taidshi, 377, 402.
Nomien Khan Gundshi, 501.
Nomtosseré, S. 166.
Nomtu, 678.
Nomun Khakan, 408, 514.
Nonni, River, 59, S. 13.
Norbu, *v.* Biskhireltu Khan.
Norbudshan, Prince, 580.
Northern Mts., Province of, 255.
Novgorod, 95, 140.
Noyan Bela, 100.
Noyan Ilga, 202.
Noyan Burgul, 124.
Noyandara, 402, 404, 611.
Noyans, 172.

Noyantai Khatan Batur, 457.
Noyats, 663.
Noyets, 691–2.
Noyolgo Chingsen, 613.
Noyons, 593.
Nujakins, 51.
Nukeht, River, 392.
Numugan, 176–7.
Numukan, 284, 383.
Nur, 77.
Nur ud din, 11.
Nurali, Khan, 577, 662.
Nurata, *v.* Nur.
Nushtekin, 7.
Nusitagir Ili, 96.
Nussal, 134.
Nuyakin, 41.

Ob, River, 23, 615, 617, 664.
Ob, Upper, 614.
Obi, River, 173.
Obirw'tz, nunnery of, destroyed, 145.
Obo, S. 92–3.
Obotu, Hill, 183.
Obotu tsagan ola, 427.
Obrucheff, S. 10.
Obur khadain ussu, 22.
Ochoni Ongoi, 613.
Ockham, S. 116.
Odanpura, S. 125.
Odessa, Bruun of, quoted, 536.
Odkhan Noyan, 457.
Odoi Emegen, 364.
Odon tala, 525–6.
Odoric, Friar, 304–5, 545, 557.
Oendur Toroltu Khutuktu, 468.
Ogelen Eke, 46–7.
Ogheleds, *v.* Eleuths.
Oghuz Khan, 16, 19, 21, 35.
Oghuz Turks, 17.
Ogotai Khan, 4, 6, 20, 63, 68, 71, 75–6, 85, 90, 99, 100, 104–5, 107, 115, 116–60, 170, 172–3, 175, 180–2, 185–6, 218, 221, 283, 325, 504, S. 128, 164, 206.
—— character and habits of, 158–9.
—— death of, 153, 158.
—— his Chinese Pavilion, 158.
—— his palace at Karakorum, 156.
—— hordes of, 252.
—— stories concerning, 159–60.
Ogul Gaimish, 170–2.
Ohsson, D., quoted, 18, 20, 21, 43, 47, 49, 51, 56, 61–6, 68–72, 74, 78–9, 81, 83, 84, 87–8, 90, 97, 99, 101–3, 105, 107, 110–12, 115–16, 118–20, 125–9, 131–6, 138–9, 148, 150, 153, 155–6, 158–61, 163–9, 170, 172–5, 177, 180–5, 188, 191, 193–9, 200, 201–16, 221–2, 224, 226, 234, 243, 245, 257, 259, 273, 276, 280, 311, 339, 348, 508, 546, 555, 683, 694–5, 697, 703–5, 709, 715, 717, 722–3, 725–9, 733, 735–6, 741–2.
Oidarma, 402.
Oimaghods, 500.
Oirats, read Uirads, *q.v.*
Oisang Subukhai, 378.
Oitosch Pass, 146.
Oka, River, 95, 141, 469, 563, 682, 685, 688–9.
Ola, *v.* Ala.
Olana ergukdeksen Khan, 32.
Oleoni, River, *v.* Olcho.
Olcho, River, 56.
Olchonods, 50.
Oldenburgh, 47.
Oldshei Chung Beidshi, 560.
Oldshei Ildutshi Darkhan, 406.
Oldzietu dulan khara ula, 491.
Olkhon, 689.
Olkhui, River, 551.
Olkonods, 107.
Olkui, River, 59.
Ollodoi aldarka, 613.
Olmutz, siege of, 145.
Olöt, *v.* Kalmuks.
Olsanai tribe, 691.
Olschawa, 146.
Olson, 692.
Olunda, 532, 644.
Om mani padma hum, S. 140.
Om, River, 647.
Ombo, 428, 616, 665.
Ombo lordeni, *v.* Altan Khan.
Ombo Tsokor, 427.
Ommiades, 10.
Omskaia Krepost, 647.
Onga, River, 686.
Ongghon Dural, 393, 395.
Ongghon Khaya Mts., 363.
Ongghon Toghar, 377.
Ongghonu Sube, 374.
Onggods, 425.
Onghin ola, *v.* In chan.
Onghin, River, 100, 488, 492.
Onghorkoi, 664.
Ongin, River, *v.* Ungki.
Ongki, 158.
Ongnighods, 433.
Ongoi tribe, 691–2.
Ongon elezu, 633.
Ongorkhoi, 592, 613.
Ongoto, 692.
Ongotu tribe, 691.
Ongozo, 592, 613, 664.
Ongu Mts., v. Inshan Mts.
Ongu Timur, 169.
Onguts, 21, 26, 62, 68, 107, 559.
Onker, 581.
Onon, River, 2, 11, 22, 25, 29, 30, 38, 40, 46–7, 51, 53, 55 58–9, 61, 64, 107, 354, 487, 490–1, S. 131.
Onon Kerule, 47.

Onon Kiber, 47.
Ontchon, 501, 620.
—— story of his death, 621.
Onuids, 398.
Op, 626.
Oppeln, Mitislaf of, 143.
Oppert, Dr., quoted, 534, 536, 544, 696.
Or, River, 563.
Oraghods 606.
Orbeghi Mt., 493.
Orchirtu Han, *v.* Utshirtu Setzen.
Orda, 100, 137–8, 163, 173, 180, 181.
Ordu, read Orda, *q.v.*
Ordu Balik, 185.
—— position of, 155
Ordus Country, 22, 412, S. 24.
—— cattle of, 414.
—— fauna of, 413.
—— vegetation of, 413–14.
—— River, 5, 21, 98, 255, S. 12, 20.
—— tribe, 173, 374–5, S. 67.
—— and China, 406–7.
—— character of, 414–15.
—— origin of name, 401.
—— subject to Manchus, 411–12.
Orenburgh, 675–6.
Oreng, Lake, 526.
Orengias, 214, 283.
Organa, 219.
Organum, 34.
Orgon, River, 177.
Orkhon, River, 20, 183–5, 384, 488, 491–2, 546, S. 8, 19.
—— district, flora of, S. 19.
Orloks, 28, 52, 58, 64.
—— Princes of, 01.
—— the nine, 114, 178.
Ormektua, 158.
Orna, 138.
Oroktu Noyan, 203.
Orpelians, 14.
Orsk, 577.
Orsova, 146.
Orssetes, S. 82.
Ortok, 11.
Ortus, River, read Ordus, *q.v.*
Osinkoi, 689.
Osman, 7.
Ossa, River, 689, 690.
Ossetae, *v.* Ases.
Ossetes, 305.
Osterna, Poppo of, 143.
Ostiaks, S. 2.
Otchoni Khoshootshi, 589.
Otrar, 74–5.
—— siege of, 76.
Otshakof, 574
Otshir, 670–2.
Otshir Kapshukof, 671, 674.
Otshirbani, S. 103.
Otshirsing, 396.
Otsho bushotbu Baatur, *v.* Ontchon.
Otshotbu Baatur, *v.* Ontchon.
Otshuts, 691.
Otskir, 581.
Ottmachau, 145.
Ottomans, 17.
Ouayla, *v.* Oirat.
Ousameth, 132.
Outsio ton han, *v.* Utshirtu Setzen.
Oxus, River, 6, 16, 75, 80, 83, 85, 174, 211, 213, 591.
Oyar, 72.
Ozar, Khan, 20.
Ozar Prince, 66.
Ozen, *v.* Buda.

P'agpa Lama, 420.
Pachibu, S. 166.
Pachymeres, quoted, 50, 97.
Padma Sambhava, S. 125–7, S. 154, 160, 174.
—— images of, S. 149.
—— magical powers of his disciples, S. 126–7.
—— quoted, 516.
Pahannaki, 419.
Paizah, silver, 531.
Paizahs, S. 130.
Pal-ld n Lha-mo, S. 163
Palikun, 656, 661.
Palitun ala, 38.
Palladius, quoted, 719, 720.
Pallas, quoted, 107, 111, 351, 382 457, 497, 500–1, 503, 528, 530, 558–9, 574, 576, 579, 580, 581, 586–7, 589, 593, 600, 612–13, 615–17, 620–1 624, 640, 643, 649, 650–1, 663, 665–9, 676–7, 684, 691, 740–1, S. 22, 32, 56, 63, 72, 77, 96–7, 103, 209.
Pamir Mt., 73, 75.
Panchao, quoted, 157.
Panti, 653–6, 658.
Pantsharaksha, 510.
Pao fung hian, 42.
Pao sing fu, 531.
Pao ting fu, 418.
Paochu, 524.
Paradise, River of, *v.* Gyon.
Paris, 679.
Paris, M., quoted, 148, S. 82.
Parthians, S. 6.
Pasepa, *v.* Bashpa.
Pasolskoi muis, 690.
Patanjali, S. 123.
Patchimak, *v.* Patchiman.
Patchiman, 138.
Patu Khan, 371.
Patupula, 596.
Paul, Emperor, 669.
Pauthier, quoted, 156, 222, 241–2, 255–6, 269–72, 281, 530, 532, 709, 710, 729, 732–3, 740.

Payar, 658.
Payen ulan, 631.
Pé Féyanko, 630.
Pé-king, *v.* Peking.
Peacocks, mechanical golden, 304.
Pecksa, destruction of, 147.
Peitzu, Temple at, S. 166.
Pekerchakan, 637.
Peking, 3, 67, 70, 218, 285, 335, 358, 387, 417, 433, 483, 495, 514 521, 532, 580, 591, 600, 603, 605, 629, 631, 633, 638, 653–4, 658.
—— attacked by Kalmuks, 603.
—— Lamaist temples at, S. 164.
—— under Khubilai, 292, 294, 334,
—— Yissun Timur's palace in, 304,
Pemiongchi, S. 159.
Pen te ths-in, 601.
Pendjab, 81.
Peniacheli, *v.* Uldshei Timur.
Pensa, 138.
Penyi gori Mt., 664.
Pereira, Thos, 631.
Penekop, 94.
Pereslaf, 140.
—— destroyed, 141.
Perfirief, M., 685, 689.
Perg, *v.* Pecksa.
Persia, 537–8, 567, 683.
—— and Mongols, 126–33, 166.
—— civil administration of Mongols in, 133–5.
—— desolation of northern border, 92.
—— king of, 539.
—— Shah of, 564.
Persian Gulf, 73.
Persians, 537.
—— taxation of by Mongols, 133.
Persis, Dr., quoted, S. 12.
Peruan, 89, 91.
Perugia, Andrew of, 296.
Peshawur, 90, S. 117, 123.
Pesth, 147–8.
—— captured by Mongols, 150.
Petchénegs, *v.* Tartars, 95.
Petchersky, Monastery of, destroyed 141.
Petschova, 155.
Peter, Archbp., quoted, S. 56.
Peter the Great, 567, 647.
Petrof, Ivan, 458.
Petsio, 402, 416.
Peyen, 371.
Peyen Timur, 601–8.
Phags pa, S. 129, S. 142.
Pharaoh's rat, *v.* hamster.
Phasis, 167.
Philip, son of Dshan, 571.
Pi tu, 75.
Pi-ku-li, 31.
Pian-king, old name for Kia-fong-fu, *q.v.*
Pidshan, 75.
Pie pao, 371.
Pievmkza, 143.
Pih kea sing or Book of Surnames, 531.
Pilé, 160.
Pillars of King Asoka, S. 107–8.
Pin Hang, College at, founded by Yeliu Chutsai, 158.
Pin Yang, 417.
Pintu, 419.
Piracy, 317–19.
Platten See, 151.
Plotsk, 142.
Pluto, S. 156.
Pochi, 638.
Podzneyef, quoted, S. 164.
Pohai, 609.
Pokantai, 359.
Pokhabof, Ivan, 689–90.
Pokhan, 408.
Polai, *v.* Puilai.
Poles, 565.
Poliakof, quoted, S. 22.
Polo, Marco, quoted.
Polo tara, *v.* Boro talas.
Polonai, 533.
Poland, 164.
—— invaded by Mongols, 142–3.
Poloutsi, 95.
Ponchu, 637.
Popai, 406–7.
Popovitch, A., 96.
Poro Khotun, 632.
Porphyrogenitus, C., quoted, 95.
Portents, dream of Bashpa Lama, 507.
—— dream of stars, 41–2.
—— dream of wild boar, 330.
—— in China, S. 131.
—— of Lama's hat, S. 133.
—— of victory, 554.
—— rainbow at birth, 330.
—— seen under hypnotic sleep, S. 98.
—— vision of old man, 332.
Potala, S. 134, 138, 173, 192.
Poyoktei, Lake, 632.
Prat, Wm. de, 339.
Praying machines, S. 159, 163–4, 194, 214.
Prebung, Monastery of, 522.
Presburg, 150.
Prester, John, 534–5, 541, 544, 557
—— and golden king, 548–9.
—— and Jingis, 554–5.
—— letters of, 534–5.
—— supposed chief of Keraits, 543–5.
Priasnoe osero, 646.
Priasnukha, 646.
Pristofs, 669.
Pronsk, 139.

Prschewalski, quoted, S. 18, 19, 20, 22–4, 27, 29, 39, 46–9, 56–9, 64.
Pugachef, 678.
Puilai, 367, 609, 613.
Puilo, 603.
Puilohu, 370, 610.
Puktakrin, habichar, 627.
Pulin, 642.
Pultowa, 95.
Pulukir, 638.
Pumpelly, S. 18.
Puntsuk, 660.
Punzuk, 502, 563–4.
Putala Mt., 516–17, 520, 523, 532–3, 570, 643.
Putipatur, Tsinong, 623.
Pythagoras, S. 108.

Quentin, S. de St., quoted, 163, 168.
Queue, sign of subjection, S. 77.

Ra Ramnaktu, 500.
Rabbanta, 555.
Rabshans, S. 142.
Radchapika, 306–7.
Radegan, 81.
Radeng, Monastery of, S. 128.
Radloff, quoted, S. 50, 93.
Radnasambowa, Burchan, S. 103.
Radshipeka Khan, 382–3.
Rafizis, 201.
Rages, *v.* Rai.
Rahan, *v.* Ahrats.
Rai, 538.
—— captured by Mongols, 93.
—— treachery of Kadhi of, 93.
Rakholi, 483.
Rakka, 209.
Ralpachan, King, S. 127.
Ramazan, fast of, 210.
Raschid, quoted, 1, 5, 16, 19–21, 23–5, 40, 47, 50, 54–6, 105, 107, 214, 257, 285, 542, 546, 555, 558, 699, S. 44.
Rashi Oisang Taidshi, 408.
Rashid-ud-din, *v.* Raschid.
Rashi Sangjai Dordje, Prince, 582.
Ratibor, 143.
Ray, *v.* Rei.
Rayi, 97, 128, 130, 170.
Re-birth by Selection, S. 139.
Red Camel Horde, 570.
Red-ear Hill, 183–4.
Redshaneg, 550.
Rees ain, 169.
Rei, 15.
Reincarnation of Buddhist Saints, *v.* Kutuchta.
Reiskemet, 149.
Religion of Mongols, S. 93–4.
Remusat, quoted, 341, 530, 534, 558, 701.
Rhotshid Geries, 402.
Rhuzudan, 14, 15.
Riazan, 138–9.
Richard I, 13.
Richthofen, quoted, S. 10.
Richold, Friar, quoted, S. 53.
Rin po chi, Banchen Lama, S. 143.
Rintsheu Eyetshi Daitshing, 409–12.
Rintshenpal Khan, 310, 383.
Rirkult, 691.
Ritter, quoted, 464, 498.
Riti Khubilghan, 507.
Rivers, crossing of, by Mongols, S. 68.
Rma chu *v.* Yellow River.
Rockhill, quoted, S. 33, 38, 44, 49, 55, 60, 66, 68, 81–2, 97–8, 147, 204, 214.
Rodna, *v.* Roudan.
Roger, Canon of Varadin, quoted, 152–3.
Roha, 167, 208, 537.
Rokn-ud-din, 8, 82, 90, 162.
Rokn-ud-din Khurshah, 16.
Rokn-ud-din Kilidj Arslan, 203.
Roku us-din Jehanshah, 129.
Roman Church in Tenduc, 557.
Romanovitch, Prince M., 96.
Rome, 108.
Rostof, 140.
Roudan, 146.
Roussudan, Quen, 132.
Roxolani, *v.* Iranians.
Rubruk, Friar Wm., quoted, 6, 47, 50, 215–16, 305, 536, 540–1, 544, 588, S. 37, 47–8, 50, 53, 55, 60, 67, 81–2, 95, 97, 194, 201, 203, 214.
Rubruquis, *v.* Rubruk.
Rudbar, 16, 82.
Rudehan, *v.* Rudin.
Rudin, 82.
Rukuchel, 634.
Rum, 13, 131, 164, 169, 203, 205.
—— raided by Mongols, 1–7.
—— Seljuk sovereigns of, 209.
Run Togadai, 500.
Rupen, 13.
Rus, 34.
Russa, 501.
Russia, 95, 213, 586.
—— and Mongols, 141.
—— Khoshotes Migrate to, 503.
Russian Bible Society, 678.
—— missionaries visit Prince of Khoshotes, 528–30.
—— trade with Mongols, S 42.
Russians, 138, 155, 563, 565–6, 571, 588–9, 614, 616–17, 642, 666, 668–9.
—— and Altan Khan, 460.
—— and Buriats, 685–91.

Russians and Galdan, 627–8.
—— and Kalmuks, 615, 646–9, 668–9.
—— and Lobdzan, 468–70.
—— and Mongols, 95–6, 139.
—— and Torquts, peace between, 561.
—— conference with Ayuka, 567.
—— relations with Khoshotes, 528.
Ruzudan, 94.

Sa chau, 499.
Saba Shirma, 500.
Sabtan, 397.
Sabun, 396.
Saching, 513.
Sachiu, 545.
Sacrifice, animal, S. 92, 99–102.
—— human and animal forbidden, S. 126.
—— of food to gods by Lamas, S. 181, 185.
—— of horses, 317.
—— of ram, S. 102.
—— to Shang ti, 289.
—— to sky, 309.
Sacrificial victims, white colour of, S. 105.
Sadar, 397.
Sagala, King of, S. 111.
Saghan Agha, 369.
Saha, 101.
Sai kan, 601.
Sai Malakhu, *v.* Sam Mulkho.
Sai-hu-chi, 29.
Saiga antelope, S. 24.
Saikhan ula, 488.
Saimistishe, *v.* Altan Kadusun.
Saimutshin, 360.
Sain Alak (title of Barsabolod), 400.
Sain Bingtu Noyan, 393.
Sain Dara Ching Baghatur, 403–4.
Sain Maral Khayak, 45.
Sain Noyan, title of Tumengken, *q.v.*
Sain Taishi, 664.
Sain Tikin, 43.
St. Adelbert, Convent of, 143.
St. Calixtus, Catacombs of, S. 121.
St. George, Isle of, 95.
St. Louis, 11.
St. Petersburg, 531, 570, 582, 660, 668–9.
Sairam Lake, 640.
Saissan Khoshootshi, 563.
Saissan Lake, 20, 23, 173, 501–2, 613, 619, 644, 648.
—— Legend of, 622.
Saissans, 501, 521, 564, 586, 622.
—— duties of, S. 74–5.
Saisu churi, 636.
Sahkora, S. 125.
Sâkia Pandita, Bogda, 332, 422, 506, S. 128–9, 142, 155.
Sakia Dakpo, 515.
Sakiat tribe, 61.
Sakil, 613, 619.
Sakin Rabat, 563.
Saklab, 34.
Saksin, 96, 105.
Saksins, 137.
Sakyamuni, 422, 512, 570, 583, S. 79, 100, 107, 109, 110, 112, 118, 140–2, 160.
—— as Bodhisatva, S. 119.
—— gold and silver statue of, 407.
—— probable date of his birth, S. 108.
—— representations of, S. 149.
—— teaching of, S. 109–113.
Sakyapa Sect, S. 155.
Sakyas, S. 107.
Sal, River, 502.
Saladin, 11, 13, 16, 205.
Salah ud din, *v.* Saladin.
Saldjuts, 56, 59.
Sali River, 55.
Sali Khaldshigo, 36.
Salichai, 57.
Salih, 11, 12, 208.
Salihor, 355, 597.
Salitai, 135.
Saljuts, 38, 551.
Saligol, *v.* Sarikihar.
Sallust, quoted, 587.
Salmutshin, 360.
Salt mines in Lake of Yamish, 615.
—— in steppes of the Irtish, 615.
—— strife over, 615.
Saltu, 589.
Sam Mulkho, 500.
Sam pu Yamtso, S. 143–4.
Sam Sanji, 36.
Saman, 80.
Samantabhadra, S. 149.
Samar Lake, 566.
Samara, 566.
Samara, River, 675.
Samarkand, 7, 75, 175, 181, 639, S. 124.
—— Siege of, 79.
Sami Bhota, S. 124.
Samiang, 528, 579.
Samiardes, 537.
Samoyedes, S. 2.
—— Southern, 24.
bSampa Jamtso, Khutuktu, 407–8, 514.
Samsuji, 36.
Samuka Behadur, 71.
Samur Gundshi, 351, 357, 364, 595, 597–8.
Samyang, Prince, 675.
San, 649.
San jing, *v.* Thsan Ching.

San korma, 343.
San kuan, 213.
San li tha, 610.
San Miao, 4.
Sanbikun, River, 682.
Sand-grouse, migration of, to Britain, S. 28.
Sandjar, 7.
Sandomir destroyed, 142.
Sandshi Ubashi, 586.
Sandship, 567, 589, 643.
Sanduk Baatur, 649.
Sandus, S. 180.
Sang fong Mt., 120.
Sang Sing Dai Wang Guyusri (title of Allwise Bogda), 421.
Sanga, 248–9.
Sangghardshi Odkhon Taidshi, 395, 379.
Sangje Jamtso, 518–522.
Sangkhaldur, 364.
Sangtu, 396.
Sanjar, 537–8, 540.
Sankzi Bunkzuk, 649.
Sanlicheko, 349.
Sanpatchinpu, Kutuchta, 476.
Santa Rakshi, Bodhisatva, S. 125.
Santsit chapu, 642.
Sanyas, temple built at, S. 125.
Sapsu, 631, 638.
Sar kuto, 637.
Sarabad, 82.
Saracens, 211, 538, 554.
Saratof, 567–8, 674.
Sarban, 176–7.
Sardis, 13.
Sardshi, 483.
Sared, 132.
Sarepta, 678, S. 24.
Sargatshis, 572–3.
Sari, 82.
Sari Kiher, 47, 51.
Sari River, *v.* Sali.
Sariputra, S. 149, 153.
Sarpa River, 564, 582, 586, 668, 674.
Sarpateon, 624.
Sarsig Khan, 79.
Sartol, 692.
Sartol Setzen Daitshing, 423.
Sartshal, *v.* Setzen Daitshing.
Sarudj, 208.
Saskya Monastery of, S. 128, S. 133.
Sassaktu Khan, 378, 395
Sassaktu Ching Baatur, 501.
Satcha, 61.
Satchan, *v.* Chamuka.
Satun, 311.
Saturn, 247.
Sawa, 93.
Saxe Weimar Eisenach, 47.
Say y, 551.
Sayanian Mts., 24, 458, 460.
Sayektai, 691.
Sayo, River, 149.
Sazghia, 220.
Schalz, 678.
Schlang-dsa-wang-Ja, 104.
Schätzburgh, 146.
Schill, Brother, 678.
Schmidt, quoted, 27, 41, 56, 104, 216, 297, 330, 335, 341, 352–3, 470–1, 473, 483, 487, 500, 504, 531, 533, 590, 683, 695, 709, S. 93, 125.
Schott, Dr., quoted, 27–8.
Schwedshab, 678.
Scoloti, *v.* Iranians.
Scyths, *v.* Iranians.
Se chau, 327.
Se tien ché, 220, 286.
Sebe, *v.* Chepe.
Sebten Baljur, 637, 639, 641, 680.
Sebzevar, 86.
Sederdshaf, 567, 649.
Sedur, 563.
Sehets, 20.
Seif ud din Agruk, 89.
Seif-ud-din Betikji, 202.
Seilan, Island, 275.
Sekin, 36.
Seknak Tekim, read Siknak Tigin, *q.v.*
Selbi daba, 488.
Selenginsk, S. 106.
Selinga, River, 22, 23, 56, 107, 173, 179, 185, 477, 627, 683, 689.
Selinginsk, 628, 692.
Seljuki, 10, 11, 13, 14, 16, 17, 538, S. 9.
—— Crusaders, 13.
—— Greeks, 13.
Selkan, 25.
Sem kadjun, 41.
Sema kuang, *v.* Semakuang Chuhi.
Semakuang Chuhi, 27.
Semali, 260.
Semba, S. 159.
Semender, *v.* Taiku.
Semipalatinsk, 648, S. 24.
Semnoon, 82.
Sempad, 167, 204.
Senderach, *v.* Sighnak.
Sendomir, 142.
Sengar, *v.* Sighnak.
Senge Dugureng Timur, 377, 425, 427, 514.
Senghé, 502, 620, 621, 622, 626, 640, 663, 680.
Sengkili, 247.
Sengul, 616.
Sengun, 59, 61, 68, 107, 550, 551–2, 555.
Senkharab, *v.* Sighnak.
Sennacherib, 113.
Senzen, 632.
Seosse, 391.

Septen Baljur, *v.* Sebten Baljur.
Septen Parchur, *v.* Sebten Baljur.
Sera, S. 192.
—— convent of, S. 134.
—— monastery of, S. 139.
Serab, destroyed, 94.
Serai, 95, 296, 314.
Sered-Jeh, Castle of, 529.
—— Prince of, 528–30.
Serednei Yurtak, 664.
Sereng, 393, 397, 433, 472.
Sereng Bodomal, 411.
Sereng Donduk, 523.
Sereng Erdeni Khungtaidshi, 409.
Serirs, 128.
Sermenrai, 132.
Sertok Nomun Khan, S. 54.
Serukhs, 87.
Servia, 147.
Sesostris, 113.
Sessali, 100.
Setsek Beidshi, 364–5.
Setter, 670–2.
Setzen Akhai, 567.
Setzen Daitshing, 405, 421.
Setzen Jinong, 393, 468, 503, 565, 568.
Setzen Khan, 378, 395, 485, 486.
Setzen Khungtaidshi, 405, 419–26, 501, 611, S. 140–1.
—— death of, 406.
—— subdues Thibetans, 403.
Setzen Noyen (title of Jodba, *q.v.*).
Setzen Soriktu, 395.
Sha chau, 5, 21.
Sha to, 26.
Sha za thi, 32.
Shabartai Lake, 392.
Shabi Shiremun, *v.* Saba Shirma.
Shadbash, 84.
Shadi, 11.
Shafei Sect, 93.
Shagarska, 619.
Shah Ogul, 181.
Shakur Lama, 568, 570.
Shalmaneser, 538.
Shamaki, captured, 94.
Shaman, costume of female, S. 98–9.
—— female, S. 98–9.
—— gods, S. 96–7.
—— gods modelled in felt, S. 96–7.
Shamanism, 504, S. 90–1, 95–106, 131.
—— abandoned by Khubilai, 220.
—— among Mongols, 378.
—— and Barga-Buriats, 501.
—— and Tunguses, 504.
—— location of devils as oracles, S. 98.
Shamans and Lamas, S. 106.
—— and sickness, 424, S. 105.
—— costume of, S. 98–9.
Shamans, disposal of dead, S. 104.
—— recourse to when lamas fail, S. 99.
—— their superstitious practices, 215.
Shamba, 433, 484.
Shamgil Norbo, 680.
Shamo, Desert of, 1, 6, 338, 349, 355.
Shamshuildé, 132.
Shandu Gol, 385.
Shanegi of Yarkend, 654.
Shang king, 30.
Shang ku, 391.
Shang ti, 289.
—— sacrifices to, 289.
Shang tung, *v.* Shantung.
Shanghai, 531.
Shangtu, 179, 217–18, 247, 261, 278–9, 291, 301–5, 310, 322, 329, 335, 338.
—— Coleridge's poem on, 261.
—— palace burnt, 323.
Shansi, 2, 3, 26, 67–71, 97–8, 103, 118, 119, 255, 323, 335–6, 402, 417, 519.
—— temple of, S. 130.
Shantu River, 632.
Snantung, 3, 67, 70, 98, 222, 248, 255, 293, 313, 325, 328–9, 417.
Shara, 471–2.
Shara Dandshin, 649.
Shara kitat Mt., 387.
Shara Muren, 433.
Sharait, 692.
Sharakokon, Prince, 580.
Sharaldai, 692.
Sharalta, 398.
Sharamut, 691.
Sharashulma, 684.
Sharats, 691.
Shasobeuse Daitshing Khan (title of Cheren Donduk), 69.
Shato, 101.
Shayaghanana, S. 96.
Shé lui, 1.
Shebaz River, 469.
Sheep, wild, S. 27.
Sheherzur, 167.
Shehr Sebz, *v.* Kesh.
Sheiban, 137, 140.
Shejer ud din, 11.
Shenegkut, 25.
Shengu Gurgan, 107.
Shensi, 4, 5, 21, 67, 70–1, 98, 101, 118–19, 136, 211, 213–14, 218–19, 255, 286–7, 303, 316, 335, 337, 344, 407, 416, 499, 519, 573.
Shepherd Prince, Baatur known as, 618.
Sheref-ud-din, 133–4, 169, 201.
Sheref-ul-Mulk, 130.
Shereng, Prince, read Chereng, *q.v.*

Shi ki en, River, 29.
Shi tsu, *v.* Khubilai.
Shi wei, 27–9.
Shia, 211.
Shias, 15, 202.
Shidurgho, *v* Lite.
Shigussutai, Baghatur, 606–7.
Shiker Taigho, 372, 431.
Shiki Kultu, 114.
Shilka River, 29, 30.
Shin mo tan River, 28.
Shineki, Orlok, 426.
Shing tsong, 30.
Shingkor Dokshin, *v.* Bai Sankur.
Shingshigu River, 406.
Shinjanga, King, S. 192.
Shinkali *v* Sengkili.
Shira, 432.
Shira Muren, 396, 398, 404.
Shira talas, 428, 505.
Shiramun, 160, 171–3, 186.
Shiré, 165.
Shireki, 177, 214, 283, 311.
Shirvan, 15, 155.
Shisdra River, 140.
Shiva, S. 117, 124.
Shivaghochi, 32.
Shodai Taigho, 380.
Sholoţ, 691.
Shu hoen chan Mts., 526.
Shukem, 66.
Shuker, 501–2, 517, 612, 618, 622, 664, 680.
Shulin Setzen Khan, 393, 474, 485–6.
Shului Ubashi Kunkantshei, 457.
Shun chi, Emperor, 494, 518.
Shunti, *v.* Toghon Timur.
Shurkan Shireh, 144.
Shushing Saloh, 672.
Shuster Bussorah, 202.
Shutepala, 299.
Si chau, 609
Si chi, 4.
Si ho tcheu, 118.
Si hoie khan Mt., 346.
Si king, *v.* Tai tong fu.
Si leang, 342.
Si liang fu, 101.
Si ning, 526, 532.
Si ning fu, 135, 218, 255, 317, 347, 368, 522, 523, 525, 543, 609, S. 124, 132.
Si ngan fu, read Si ning fu, *q.v.*
Si ping ho (River), 45.
Si yang River, 358.
Si Yu, 293.
Siam, S. 114, 123.
—— Southern, *v.* Lailai.
Sian chau, 213.
Sian jin, 136.
Sian pi, 31.
Siang Yang, 124, 136.
Siao ling ho, 427.
Siao wang tsi, 373.
Sibartai, 633.
Sibek, Hodja, 654.
Siberia, 456, 460, 561, 563, 573, 587–8, 613, 659, S. 19.
—— Eastern, 531.
Siberian Goat, S. 27.
Siberians, 615, 666.
—— and Derbets raid Russian territory, 664.
Sichir, 53.
Sicily, King of, 314.
Siddhi, powers conferred by Yoga, S. 123.
Sidsheh Bigi, 53–4.
Sidshuts, 40.
Sie ming, 359.
Sieben Burgen, 146.
Sieling River, *v.* Selinga.
Sieradia, 143.
Sifans, 21, 100.
Sighnak, 76.
Sihai, 373, 432, 623.
Sihun, River, 73.
Sikhim, S. 127, 134, 160.
Siki Kutuktu, 89, 91.
Sikin biki, *v.* Tebgi.
Sikiz Mur n, 558, 682.
Sikkim, *v.* Sikhim.
Siknak Tigin, 20, 66.
Sila, 658.
Sileang, 72.
Silesia, 143, 164
Silquilk Hills, 221.
Siling, 505.
Siludeljit, 552.
Simeon, 133.
Simultai Lake, 221.
Simutu, 219.
Sin chau, siege of, 324.
Sin kiang chi lio, quoted, 610.
Sin phing pu, Fort, 387.
Sin thsin chung, 412.
Sinbis, 403, 501, 561.
Sind, 10.
Sindshar, 11.
Sing Sing, *v.* Fao Mun Dji.
Sing su hai, *v.* Odon-tala.
Singai, 419.
Sing ki, 319.
Singiugli, *v.* Sengkili.
Singtur, 177–8.
Singu, *v.* Si ning fu.
Sinkur, 155, 208.
Siokehan, Shingbo, 421.
Sira ordu (Ogotai's pavilion), 158.
Sirbium, Lake, *v.* Verbium.
Sireth, River, 146.
Sirkegung Mt., 488.
Sirkha adzirgan Mt., 488.
Sirkha Nur. 494.
Sirmuim, 149.
Siro Khakan, 331.

Sis, 13.
Sitiens, 168.
Sitti River, 139.
Siu chau hoei, 318–25.
Siuan hua fu, 68, 380.
Siuen-hwa-fu, *v.* Siuan hua fu.
Siurghatmich, 182.
Siurkukteni, 170, 172, 559.
Siurkuktini Bigi, 542.
Sivaism, 504.
Sivas, 129.
Siwastan, 10.
Six sacred syllables, 420–1.
Siyitun River, *v.* Sanbikun.
Skins, Mongol methods of tanning, S. 41.
Slavonia, 147.
Smallpox regarded as divine retribution, 660.
Smitu, *v.* quoted, S. 108.
Smolensk, 95.
—— Prince of, 137.
Smyrna, 13.
So-tu, 246–7.
Sodbo, 649.
Sodnam Chemo, Bogda, *v.* Dagba rGialtsan.
Sodnam rGyamtso, *v.* Sodnam Jamtso.
Sodnam Jamtso, 511, S. 140.
—— miracles performed by, 420.
Sodnam Yamtso, *v.* Sodnam Jamtso.
Sodnams Grags pa, S. 159.
Sodnom, 678.
Soffai, *v.* Buyani Tetkukshi, 559.
Sogd River, 78, 80.
Sogo Nor, S. 12.
Sok River, 675.
Sokpa, *v.* Khoshotes.
Solanoi Saymistshi, 572.
Solar race, S. 107.
Soliman Shah, founder of Seljuki dynasty, 13.
Solin Timur, 350.
Solom Arabtan, 626, 640, 680.
Solom Araptan, *v.* Solom Arabtan.
Solom Chereng, 665–9, 680.
Solom Darksha, 649.
Solomzeren, 565–6.
Solones, 490.
Solongos, *v.* Solons.
Solons, 4, 25, 57, 486.
Solotoi Tzar, *v.* Altan.
Solutrê, S. 22.
Soma, S. 156.
Sonarkia, 343.
Songlongtsi, 287–8.
Songnun, 396.
Songtu, 396.
Sonom Dureng, 394, 398.
Soo, 54.
Soongaria, 72, 105.
Sorcerers in reign of Khubilai, 262–3.
Sosan laoye, 633.
Soussans, 128.
Sout kol, *v.* White Sea.
Sowerby, quoted, S. 18, 24, 47.
Soyavelhatimichi, 301.
Soyol, 155.
Soyoldji Mts., 56.
Spalatro, 151.
Spice Islands, 250.
Spring of the Heart, quoted, 505, 508, 510.
Sri Devi, *v.* Pal-ldan Lha-mo.
Sron Tsan Gam po, S. 124, 162.
Srong Tsang Gampo, *v.* Sron Tsan Gam po.
Ssanang setzen, quoted, 5, 24–7, 40, 44–7, 50, 56, 58, 65, 75, 99, 100–1, 104, 107, 114, 165, 216, 284, 297, 307–8, 310, 328, 332–5, 341, 345, 348–54, 431–2, 498–9, 501, 505–6, 508, 510, 512, 515–16, 518, 531, 546, 558–60, 594, 596, 599, 608, 610–12, 614, 681, 684, 709, S. 125–6, 131.
Standard, Mongolian, 144.
Starkof, W., 463–5.
Stavropol, 503, 675.
Steiermark, 149.
Stein-on-the-Anger, 149.
Sternberg, Jaroslaf de, read —— Yaroslaf de, 145.
Stone butter, 611, 677.
Strabo quoted, S. 45.
Strahlenberg, quoted, 23.
Strangling, aristocrats executed by, 130.
Strigonia, Archbp. of, 150.
—— siege of, 150.
Stuhlweissenburg, 151.
Stupin, 647–8.
Su chau, 499, 609.
Su fang, 412.
Su u Mt., 360.
Su wi, 342.
Suagium, 152.
Subakhai, 396–7.
Subati,, 460.
—— his relations with China, 466.
Subhuti, S. 154.
Subing, 513.
Suburganp, 459.
Subutai Bahadar, 73, 80–7, 93, 96–100, 114, 120–3, 137, 146, 152, 164, 211.
Su chau, *v.* Thsiau thsiuan kiun.
Suchuan, 118–19, 136, 211, 213, 216, 218–19, 221, 255, 287, 309, 325, 342.
Sudak, 94.
Suddhodana, S. 107, 119.
Sudetu, 633.
Sudja River, 65.
Sue, 317, 330.

Sue hoan, 601.
Suen fu, 358, 600, 604.
Suen hoa fu, 416–17, 602, 606.
Suesue, 330.
Suffah, 10.
Sui chau, 5, 120.
Sui dynasty, 392.
Sui te, 609.
Suilhitu, 635.
Suirmen, 639.
Sukanuts, 38.
Sukshinbo Khan, 424.
Suktu Buka, 77.
Suldus, 38, 51, 53, 114.
Sulduz, *v.* Suldus.
Suleiman Shah, 200.
Sulislaf, 143.
Sulsega, 561, 589.
Sultan Shah, 7.
Sultanai, 562.
Sumati kirti (Sanskrit name of Tsong Khapa), S. 137.
Sumatra, 248.
Sumbum, S. 134.
Sumé, S. 165.
Sumenna, 247.
Sumer Daitshing, 514.
Sumer Mt., 508, S. 166.
Sumin Khada, 387, 392.
Sumnath, *v.* Sumenna.
Sumundra, 247.
Sumutu, 248.
Sun-Tché, *v.* Shun chi.
Súndjar, 208.
Sung dynasty, 3, 5, 67, 97–8, 118–19, 124, 136–7, 213, 217, 221–2, 247–8, 662.
—— founded, 2.
—— Emperors, 211, 249.
Sungar, meaning of, 614.
Sungari River, 2, S. 13.
Sungaria, 4, 6, 75, 173, 460, 561, 567, 620, 627, 634, S. 17.
—— fall of, 654–64.
—— Northern, 20, 24, 663.
—— Western, 641.
Sungarian Desert, S. 16.
Sungarians, 487, 490, 533.
Sungars, 502, 519, 523, 561, 573, 581, 590, 591–2, 612–13, 622, 635–6, 643, 651, 663, 676, 691.
—— and Altan Khan of Khalkhas, 615.
—— fabulous origin of family, 594.
Sungher River, 490.
Sunids, 105, 384, 391–3, 474, 485.
—— country of, 392–3.
—— identified with Sunits, 25.
Sunigel Fudshin, 45.
Sunitu Bakshi, 333.
Sunkars, 11.
Sunko, 624.
Sunni, 211.
Suntai, 137, 283.
Sunu, 628.
Surcha River, 387.
Surdzu, 523.
Surgnan Shireh, 51.
Surghatu Marghatsa, 508.
Surho, 519.
Suritu, 632
Surkul, 40–1.
Sursuti, 10.
Surtukhaya Óng, 376.
Surudj, 169.
Suta, 327–9, 335–8, 342–3.
Sutai Minghatu, 612.
Sutu Bogda Jingis Khakan, *v.* Jingis Khan.
Sutu Khakan (title of Altan Khan), 418.
Suve Kusi han, *v.* Guushi.
Suwert, the, 25.
Suzdal, 139.
Sweden, 154.
Syria, 10, 12, 13, 169, 200, 203–5, 211, 216
Swat River, S. 125.
Syrtyn Makhai, S. 20.
Syda River, 467.
Syrians, 537.
Szolnok, 146.
Szombatety, *v.* Stein-on-Anger.
Szu-kiung, 413.

Ta che Shi wei, 30.
Ta Cheli, 297.
Ta ching, 406.
Ta hin, 336.
Ta kin kwo chi, history of the Kin dynasty, 27, 42.
Ta Kuren, *v.* Urga.
Ta Mongu kuo, 45.
Ta ning fu, 3, 71.
Ta nir sen, Temple of, S. 166.
Ta ngan, 67, 70.
Ta shi wei, 29.
Ta ta, 31.
Ta thong, 372, 599–604, 609.
Ta thung, 380, 387.
—— identified with Tendue, 546.
Ta ting, 433.
Ta tong, 336, 602.
Ta tsien lu, 533.
Ta tu, name under Khubilai for Peking, *q.v.*
Ta wa tsi, 651–4, 658, 661, 676, 680.
Ta wan, 623.
Ta yuen, *v.* Ta yuen fu.
Ta yuen fu, 326, 329, 335.
Ta chang yuan, 118, 120.
Ta-tchang-yuen, *v.* Ta chang yuan.
Taal Lake, 59.
Taban, 564.
Tableaux Historiques, Klaproth, 28.

Tablet of authority, *v.* paizah.
Tabun Bars, 501.
Tabun tologai, 395.
Tabungut, 692.
Tacher, 124.
Taching, 407.
Tachpatur, 524.
Taché Timur, 306, 320, 322.
Tacitus, quoted, 587.
Tacrit, 205.
Tagai, 136.
Tagajar, read Tugachar, *q.v.*
Tagh Khan, 35.
Tagudshar, 51.
Tai, 391.
Tai buka, 319.
Tai chau, 26, 328, 609.
Tai hou Lake, 122.
Tai ning, 71.
Tai ping, 316, 318, 321, 323, 324–5, 597.
Tai Taitsong, 513.
Tai Tong, 326, 359, 417.
Tai tong fu, 3, 68–9, 97.
Tai tsong, T'ang Emperor, 333.
Tai tsun, 2.
Tai tsung, Kin Emperor, 42.
Tai-tung-fu, *v.* Tai tong fu.
Tai yuan tong chi, 313.
Tai yuen, 289, 417.
Tai yuen tong chi, 301.
Taibin Mūrsa, 458.
Taibuka, 20.
Taidji Bain Bostu, 380.
Taidju, 61.
Taidshin, 464.
Taidshuts, 29, 40, 43–6, 50–6, 60, 62–3, 114, 550.
Taidu, name under Khubilai for Peking, *q.v.*
Taijuts, read Taidshuts, *q.v.*
Taiping, 355.
Tair Behadur, 133.
Taishi, the Derbet Dalai, 501.
Taishis, 478, 519.
Taissong Khan, *v.* Totobuka.
Taitong, 416.
Taitshi Noyan, 462.
Taitshin tabun, 460.
Taiwang, *v.* Baibuka.
Tajar Atguh, 551.
Takish, 7.
Takka, 503, 675.
Takraun, *v.* Tukraut.
Talai Patur Taidshi, identified with Dalai Khungtaidshi, 524.
Talan, 45, 353.
Talan-namur River, 359.
Talas River, 175–6, 663.
Tali, 212.
Talikhan, 80, 83, 85, 88, 89.
Talima, 346, 348.
Talipa, *v.* Delbek.
Talki Mts., *v.* Kabyrgan Mts.
Taltanga, 656–8, 661.
Tamatsak, 36.
Tambof, 138, 564.
Tamdin, S. 152, 174.
Tamihoinirkan, 73.
Tamir River, 180, 183–4, 288, 488, 491–2, 637.
Tan chong, 523.
Tan wang, 312.
Tana Malayu, *v.* Malantan.
Tanchet, *v.* Tangut.
Tang chau, 136.
Tang wang tsang, 333.
Tanghut, *v.* Tangut.
Tangitai, 391.
Tangkichi, 311.
Tangut dynasty (also called Hia), 4, 5, 19, 48, 64–5, 98, 100, 102, 113, 137, 176, 291–2, 469, 527, 542–3, 545, 547, S. 128.
Tanguti, Prince, 663
Tanguts, 69, 105–6.
Taning, 433.
Tanjur, S. 126.
Tannula Mts., S. 10.
Tanton Gynal po, legend concerning, S. 156.
Tantra Yogacarya sect, S. 125.
Tantras, S. 173.
Tantras of the Kei Wadshras, 507.
Tantrism, 126–8, S. 124.
Tantshin ompu, 637.
Tantsila, 625, 631, 639, 641–2.
Tantsin gomup, Taishi, 631.
Tantsin Ompu, *v.* Dandshin Ombo.
Tantsin wen pu, 625.
Tanza, 132.
Tao ngan, 321.
Tao sé sect, 279, 292.
Tao si, 318.
Tao Song chai, 419.
Tao-hoi-goa, 120.
Taoism, S. 124.
Taoists, S. 126.
Taokha River, *v.* Dziuk.
Tara, 614–16, 646, 665–6, S. 151–2, 175, 180.
Tārā Tamdin, S. 175.
Taraz, 72, 181.
Tarbagatai, *v.* Khuguchak.
Tarbakhatai River, 491.
Tarbaldzi River, 491.
Targai, 292, 309, 311.
Targhit, 632.
Targun, River, 475, 483, 487.
Tarhan, 633.
Tarhan ompu, 636.
Tarikh, 34.
Tarim, S. 17.
Tarkammebegh, 641.
Tarku, 94.
Tarni, 483.

Tarpa rGialtsan, 513.
Tarsa, Temple of, 522.
Tartar women, headdress of, *v.* Costume.
Tartar princes, 51.
Tartars, 25, 43, 46, 48, 95, 114, 304, 457, 468, 547, 551, 557, 565, 587, 609, 614, 617.
—— Caucasian, 571.
—— Khundur, 579.
—— migrate to China, 623.
—— Taoho, 407.
—— White, 26.
Tartary, 2, 3, 62, 67, 108, 177, 178, 219, 247, 318, 323, 326, 355, 597, 605.
Tashi Lhun ʻpo, S. 137.
Tashkend, 77, 181.
Tasjab, 484.
Tata-kun, 63.
Tatar-khan, 34.
Tatchar, 299.
Tathagatas, S. 149.
Tathong, 371.
Tathung, identified with Tozan, 557.
Tatimur Taidshi, 60, 547.
Tatibschaf, 571.
Tatshi Lumbo, 516, 533.
Tatu, name under Khubilai for Peking, *q.v.*
Tatulah Sukar, 73, 683.
Tau, *v.* Tuk.
Tauris, Bp. of, 296.
Taurmains, *v.* Tartars, 95.
Taurus Mts., 13.
Tawa Taidji, 661.
Taxation in China, 317.
—— of Mongols, S. 75.
Tayang, *v.* Baibuka.
Tayeddin, 12.
Tazik, 75.
Tchahan taluhoa, 499.
Tchalar, *v.* Jelairs.
Tche chu, 328.
Tche ngo chin chan Mts., 526.
Tchekel, 181.
Tchetching han, 625.
Tchikoi Mt., *v.* Tsuku.
Tcholos, *v.* Choros.
Te chen, 603.
Te ngan fu, captured by Mongols, 137.
Tebani, 204.
Tebgi, 21.
Tebriz, 93, 128, 130, 132, 169, 208.
—— capture of, 94.
Tegin Kuri, 550.
Tegri, 106.
Teilenguds, *v.* Telenguts.
Tekchi, 301–3.
Tekélé, Atabeg, 203.
Tekun Taishi, 61.
Telbashir, 12.
Telengud Uirad, *v.* Telenguts.
Telenguts, 23, 24, 53, 65, 498, 558, 607, 618, 663, 681.
Telenkuts, *v.* Telenguts.
Teleskoi Lake, *v.* Altan Noor.
Telents, 24.
Telezkoi, 24.
Temeghetu, 405, 407–8.
Templars, 149.
Temple of the Ancestors, 292, 303, 316.
Temruk, 564.
Temudjiñ, 46–9, 51–67, 549, 553.
Temudar, 299, 300.
Temugu Utchugen, *v.* Temugu Utsuken.
Temugu Utsuken, 47, 162.
Temujin, *v.* Temudjin.
Temujin Ergeh, 46.
Temur, 625.
Temur Olcho, 104.
Témur, read Timur, 181.
Temurdji, confused with Temudjin, 50.
Temutai, 123, 136.
Ten, 604.
Tendue, 544–6, 554, 556.
—— King George of, 556–7.
—— Roman Church at, 557.
Teng chau, 119, 120.
Teng chi, 5.
Teng yu, 338.
Tenggis, Chief of Sunids, 391, 474, 484–5.
Tenggis River, 32.
Tenghiz Lake, 33.
Tengri, S. 93, 156.
Tengri nur, 523.
Tents, Mongol, S. 45–50.
Terat, *v.* Nezait.
Terbayatshi Sadshini Barinchi Gushi Nomien Khan (title of Guushi Khan), 517.
Terek, 75.
Terek River, 575.
Terelchi River, 635.
Tereldzi, Mt., 491.
Terelkdzi Mts., 487.
Terkhans, 59.
Terki, *v.* Mosdok.
Terkutai Kiriltuk, 46, 50, 51, 55. 550.
Termed, Siege of, 80.
Termegetu, *v.* Turmegei.
Termulun, 53.
Tes, River, 493.
Teshu Lumbo, 517.
Tez, 91.
Tez River, 469, 470.
Tha River, 212.
Tha che, 26.
Thai pin, 354, 596.

Thair Ussun, 63.
Thal Mt., 610.
Thamar, Queen of Georgia, 14.
Thamtha, 132, 167.
Thang Chang, 4.
Thang dynasty, 1, 2, 27, 28–9, 392.
Thang hiang, 4.
Thang Shu, official history of the Thang dynasty, 29.
Theiss River, 149.
Thevenot, quoted, 587.
Thi Srong Detsan, S. 125.
Thian Shan (Mts.), 4, 21–2, 176, 610, 617, 623, 640.
—— fauna of, S. 27.
Thian Shan Pelu, 173.
Thibet, 6, 32, 100, 220, 248–9, 252, 256, 403, 459, 474, 476, 498–9, 503–4, 533, 555, 573, 592–3, 620, 623, 629, 636, S. 128, 202.
—— Buddhism introduced into, S. 124.
—— derivation of name, S. 124.
—— divided into patriarchates, S. 132.
—— Eastern, 4.
—— given to Dalai Lama, 532.
—— Tsanpos deposed and Dalai Lama made sovereign of, 517.
Thibetan gods, S. 157–9.
—— MSS. first to reach Europe, 648
—— script invented, S. 124.
—— temples, S. 159–68.
—— used in Mongol services, S. 183.
Thibetans, 21, 100, 118, 338, 515.
—— Eastern, 212.
—— house-god of, S. 158.
—— occupy Uighur territory, 21.
—— subdued by Setzen Khung-taidshi, 403.
Thie la, *v.* Shé liu.
Thie-ling, 121.
Tho lie pet, read Tho lie pie, *q.v.*
Tho lie pie, 336.
Tho tho, 342.
Thogrul, 83.
Thohotchi, *v.* Hotochi.
Thomas, E., quoted, S. 108.
Thomas Bridge, 146.
Thsan ching, 252.
Thse chen, 600.
Thsiau thsiuan kiun, 5, 21, 101, 337–8.
Thsin chau, 371.
Thsin dynasty, 412–13.
Thsing chau, *v.* Kara Khotan.
Thsing che chan, 427.
Thsuen nin, 336.
Thsun ling Mts., 1.
Thu kiu, 26, 28, 30.
Thu-chen, 603.
Thu-ku-hoan, 118.
Thugadshar Noyan, 68.
Thugai Talu, 53.
Thugatshar, read Tugachar, *q.v.*
Thulan Buldak, 54.
Thunderbolt vehicle, *v.* vajnaygana.
Thurvez, quoted, 150.
Thus, 81, 86, 133–4.
—— rebuilt, 134.
Ti li ven Phou tha, Mt., 487.
Ti-tso, 247.
Tia buka, 318.
Tialing Dabagha Mt., 396.
Tiao yui Mt., 214.
Tie li vun, *v.* Deligun Buldagha.
Tiemuku, 306.
Tien fong, 325
Tien pao nu, 348.
Tien Shan (Mts.), *v.* Thian Shan.
Tien wan dynasty, *v.* Tien wang.
Tien wang dynasty, 318, 323.
Tienchi Lake, 346.
Tiflis, 90, 93, 132, 204.
—— captured by Seljuks, 14.
Tiger, S. 27.
Tigin, 20.
Tigris River, 11, 201, 339, 537–8.
Tikin, *v.* Tigin.
Timaj, 36.
Timkofski, quoted, 107, 335, 341, 348–9, 473, 487, 497, 525, 532, 560, 608, 632, 644, 663–4, 704, 738, S. 25, 54–5, 104, 144, 146–7, 165–6, 184, 197, 211.
Timkowski, *v.* Timkofski.
Timur, buka, 308, 312, 329.
Timur Chingsang, 365, 399, 608.
Timur Khadak, kidnaps Batu Mongke, 369.
Timur Khan, 41, 49, 113, 179, 181–2, 251, 284, 289, 290, 292, 294, S. 130.
Timur Melik, 77, 84, 291.
Timur Noyan, 171.
Timur River, 20, 477.
Timur Tash, 36.
Timurkin, Plain of, 56.
Timurlenk, 47, 97, 182, 353.
Timurtu, gol, 34.
Tin chang, 604.
Tin chau, 336.
Ting, 5.
Ting wang, 279.
Tinghor, 448.
Tinguiz, Khan, 35.
Tipa, the, 643.
Tirtei, 691.
Tithe, Church of the, 141.
Tmanise, 132.
To an chin, 286.
Toba Taidshi, 409.
—— visits Dalai Lama, 409, 410.
Tobakhan Mt., 611.

Tobol River, 577, 664.
—— Upper, 562, 588.
Tobolsk, 614, 616, 618, 646, 647, 648, 660, 666, 685.
Tobun ola, 397.
Tocate, 166.
Tochan Utien, 120.
Todochely, 343.
Todu, 349.
Togai Khan, 79.
Togan, 246–8.
Togan Taissi, Atabeg, 128.
Togatshar, read Tugachar, *q.v.*
Toghan Timur, S. 142.
Toghodshi Shigushi, 372.
Togholan Agholkho, 400.
Togholcho Baghatur Taidshi, 334.
Toghon, Chief of Uirads, 597–8.
—— date of his death, 599.
—— his envoy to Chinese Emperor, 599.
—— legends about his death, 598–9.
Toghon, Taishi, 500, 613, 664.
Toghon, Timur Khan, 184, 310–40, 359, 383.
—— his flight to Shangtu and Ing chang, 334.
—— Orgies at Court of and extravagance of, 319–21.
Toghul, 563.
Toglokho Tologoi, 183.
Togmak, Khan of, 364, 404, 611.
Togon, Timur Khan, *v.* Toghon Timur Khan.
Togrul, 7.
Tohorchi, 353.
Toin, River, 473.
Toin Taidshi, 665, 680.
Toin Timur, 328.
Toirin, 635.
Toiring Garudi, 37.
Tok, River, 675.
Toka Timur, 175.
Tokay, 149.
Tokhai, 610.
Tokhari, S. 6.
Tokharistan, 80, 183.
Tokmani, 618.
Toktagha, 312, 316–17, 319, 321, 330–1.
—— assassination of, 332.
—— exiled, 320.
Toktanga, Taishi, 52, 57.
Tokus, 201.
Toli, 380.
Tolitu, 411, 428.
Tolo Timur, 327.
Tolonor, Plain of, 478.
Tom, Upper, 618.
Tomsk, 458–460, 463, 465, 468–9, 619.
Tondudof, 674.
Tong chau, 118, 329, 338.
Tong ngan chau, 313.
Tong kien kang mu, 214.
Tong pu siao, 318.
Tong se suien, 286.
Tong toan siao, 322.
Tong tcheu, read Tong chau, *q.v.*
Tong-wen-ping, 217
Tonghiang, 406.
Tongtchuen, 287.
Tonilkhoin ilaghuk anu Toli, *v.* Tarpa rGialtsan.
Tonkili hulu, 39.
Tono ula, 487, 490, 635.
Tonquin, *v.* Tungking.
Toos, *v.* Thus.
Topo Khan, 36, 610.
Tor, River, 349.
Torbolod, 395.
Torchepe, 361.
Torchi, 348.
Torchipang, 343.
Torfaeus, quoted, 155.
Torgagods, *v.* Torguts.
Torgai River, 577.
Torghaldshin, Bayan, 36.
Torghan Shara, *v.* Surghan Shireh.
Torghi, 558.
Torghon Shaara, *v.* Shurkan Shireh.
Torgut, derivation of name, 558.
Torguts, 403, 501–2, 525, 529, 534–589, 591, 610, 666–8, 670, 675, S. 40.
—— *v.* Derbets, 670.
—— emigrate to borders of China, 573–9.
—— emigrate from Sungaria, 561.
—— make peace with Russians, 561.
—— Royal tents of, 582–5.
Torgutskoy, Prince Peter, 675.
Toring chéri, 634.
Torkhan Sula Setzen Khatun, 405.
Toro, River, 179.
Torobatur, 433.
Torobolod, 371, 391.
Töröltu Gundshi, 375.
Torro River, 177.
Tortsi Kumon, 519.
Torture by Mongols of captive, 76.
—— of Russians, 139.
Totem-poles, S. 47.
Toto, Prince, 303, 312.
Toto Timur, 359.
Totobuka, 361–2, 383, 399, 600, 603–5, 607.
—— death of, 608.
Tozan, 557.
Transoxiana, 6, 7, 13, 74–5, 170, 174–5, 180, S. 124.
Transylvania, 146.
Trapezus, 14.
Trau, 151–2.

Traubenberg, Genl., 577.
Trebizond, 13, 14.
Tree-worship, S. 93.
Tribute to Chinese Court by Altan Khakan, 419.
—— Galdan, 623–5.
—— Khalkas, 391.
—— Taidzi, 393.
—— Tatars, 604.
—— Tse Wang Arabtan, 640.
—— Uirads, 599.
Tribute to Galdan by Chinese Emperor, 624.
—— to Khutuktu by Chinese Emperor, S. 146.
—— to Mongols by Chinese, 157.
—— to Mongols by Christian princes, 167.
—— to Russians by Mongols, 460–66.
Tripoli, 13.
Troppau, 145.
Trubtchevsk, 95.
Tsab chiyal, temple of, 420–1.
Tsabdan, 362, 608.
—— death of, 366.
Tsagan, 56, 57.
Tsagan botok Mt., 392.
Tsagan Gegen Lake, 183.
Tsagan khada, 527.
Tsagan-Nor (White Lakes), 183.
Tsaghad, 402.
Tsaghan Chilaghotu, 487.
Tsahgan Khakan, *v.* Tsagan.
Tsaghan Khoshotu, 499.
Tsaghan Khotan, 433.
Tsaghan kochotun, 473.
Tsaghan Shiossa, 431.
Tsagundorji, 475.
Tsai-chau, *v.* Yu-ning-fu.
Tsaidam, S. 17, 20, 22–4.
Tsakhar Tsing, 494.
Tsaktsaghai, 58.
Tsaliks, 425.
Tsan, S. 159.
Tsanpo, tue, 514–16.
—— deposed, 517.
Tsansi Lama, 403.
Tsao nai, 601.
Tsao Yang, captured by Mongols, 137.
Tsaopeki, 301.
Tsé king koan, 601, 604.
—— captured by Essen.
Tse wang Arabtan, 521–3, 532, 567, 588, 626–7, 629, 631, 638, 640, 642–3, 645–6, 648–9, 680.
Tse wang torgui Namuchar, *v.* Adshan.
Tse yu, 344.
Tsebek Dorju, *v.* Adshan.
Tsebden beile, S. 54.
Tsenggun, 471.
Tsereng, *v.* Chereng.
Tsereng Ilden Tushiyetu, 390.
Tsetserlik, 484.
Tsewangshab, 472–3.
Tshagan, 56.
Tsi chi kuan, 526.
Tsi chi shan (Mts.), 526.
Tsi king, now called Nanking, *q.v.*
Tsiang-hua, 135.
Tsiao pong, 417.
Tsieku, 40.
Tsien-u, 68.
Tsienpien, the, 288.
Tsilaku, 98.
Tsilun, 632.
Tsin chan, 311.
Tsin Chau, 336.
Tsin dynasty, 4, 391.
Tsin ki, 324, 326.
Tsin yuen, 336.
Tsinan, 322.
Tsing chau, 5, 545.
Tsinghai, *v.* Kokonur.
Tsing ho, 326.
Tsing kiang, *v.* Kuei lin fu.
Tsing ye yuen, 136.
Tsining chau, 248.
Tsinong Bushtu, 519.
Tsinong Khutuktu, 520.
Tsirung, 663.
Tsirung Lakur, 502.
Tsitsigar, 493.
Tsitsiha, 624.
Tsiuen chau, 247.
Tso ching, 252.
Tso Mergen, *v.* Subutai Behadur
Tsoila Taidshi, 409.
Tsokto, Mt., 526.
Tsoktu, *v.* Batur Noyan.
Tsoktu Wadshra Yamantaka, 426.
Tsong khapa, 409, 510, S. 54, 128, 134–8, 149, 155, 160, 187.
—— his death commemorated, S. 192.
—— relics of, S. 134.
—— statue of, S. 135, 137.
—— supernatural birth of, S. 132.
—— writings of, S. 134.
Tsongkaba, *v.* Tsong khapa.
Tsongtaiki, 417.
Tsu ho River, 344.
Tsu leang pu, 636.
Tsuen chau, 250.
Tsuili, 123, 136.
Tsukoans, 220.
Tsuku Mt., 487.
Tsulu, 101.
Tsunbing, Wang, 406.
Tsuruge, Khungtaidshi, 378.
Tu, *v.* Tuk, 50.
Tu che chin, 632.
Tu chi kheou, 387.
Tu mu, 601–2.

Tu Timur, 297, 306–7, 309, 310, 313.
—— and Lamaists, 308
Tubet Taidshi, 426–7.
Tubini, 460, 467–9.
Tubinzi, 457.
Tuchula, River, *v.* Tula Tuda, 44.
Tudela, Benjamin of, quoted, 536, 538.
Tudan, 553.
Tudan Utshugen, 43.
Tudakelins, 63.
Tuer, 140.
Tufans, *v.* Thibetans.
Túgachar, 178, 213, 218, 219.
Tugachar Gurgan, 88.
Tugachar Nôyon, 86.
Tugajar, *v.* Tagajar.
Tughan, 72.
Tugrul, 547.
Tugul, 564, 580.
Tugun, 23.
Tui, *v.* Mandaghol.
Tuigol, River, 100, 493.
Tuinok, Mt., 412.
Tuk, Fort of, 561.
Tuk, the Royal Standard, 50.
Tukan, 140.
Tukchi, Prince, 579.
Tukarharabdan, 625.
Tukchi, 503.
Tuké, 642.
Tukien, Prince, 308–9.
Tukien Timur, 326.
Tukraut, 25.
Tukta, 55, 59, 63, 65–6.
Tukta bigi, 22, 23, 63, 551.
Tuktimur, 176–7.
Tuku Timur, 326.
Tukus Timur, *v.* Ussakhal Khan.
Tul Esen, 32.
Tula River, 56, 59, 62, 185, 293, 302, 342–3, 348, 355, 474, 482, 491, 514, 546, 597, 632, 634, S. 131, 165.
Tulangkit, 25.
Tulas, 24.
Tuli, 68.
Tulishen, 573–4.
Tuludai River, 491.
Tului, 54, 77, 80, 86–8, 99, 100, 103–7, 115–20, 135, 170, 171, 173, 186–7, 222, 283, 559.
Tumalun, 107.
Tumats, 24, 683–4.
Tumbaghai, 40, 41-2.
Tumeds, 73, 415–30, 433, 483, 545, 590, S. 143.
—— Eastern, 29.
—— and Lingdan, 380.
—— Seven, 415, 515.
—— Twelve, 416.
Tumen, 378, 512–13, 562, 614, 616, 664, 666.
Tumengken, 473.
Tumens, Baraghon, 399, 415, 607.
Tumeneh, *v.* Tumbaghai.
Tumendara Daitshing, 457.
Tumene Khan, *v.* Tumbaghai.
Tumengken, 483–4.
Tumens, 389.
—— Baraghon, 373–4, 399, 415–17, 420, 425.
—— Jungshiyabo, 415.
—— Segon, 374.
Tummeda, Kundelung, 501, 503.
Tummen, 528, 675.
Tummur, 500.
Tumuts, *v.* Tumeds.
Tundut, 669.
Tunegkaits, 59.
Tung hoa, 322.
Tung kuan, 71, 98, 118, 121, 299, 307.
Tunga Lake, 553.
Tungans, 473.
Tunggelik, River, 37.
Tungkaits, 553, 559.
Tungking (Tonquin), 3, 68, 71, 212, 215, 217, 246, 248, 252, 255, 339.
—— King of, 246.
Tungla River, 492.
Tungping, 98.
Tunguses, 1, 2, 25, 27, 28, 156, 684, 686–7, 689.
—— and Shamanism, 504.
Tunguska River, 685.
—— upper, 682.
Tunking, *v.* Tungking.
Tunkinskoi, 691.
Tura, River, 59, 547.
Turakina, Empress, 160–1, 169.
—— death of, 165.
Turaldshi Gurgan, 107.
Turalji, 682.
Turan, 80.
Türbel ugei Bakshi, 333.
Turbut Haidari, 81.
Turchipa, 343.
Turchipala, 338.
Turfan, 361, 469, 606, 610, 623, 639, 641, 644, 654–5.
Turgai River, 588.
Turgen Lake, 494.
Turgen River, 395, 428, 558, S. 143.
Turgen Taishi, 615.
Turguen River, *v.* Turgen River.
Turinsk, 614.
Turk, 34.
Turkan Khatun, 18, 74, 82-3.
Turkestan, 7, 63, 111, 174, 591, S. 17.
—— Eastern, 525, S. 8, 9.
—— Khans of, 6.
Turkomans, 13, 17, 18, 77, 87, 562, 565–6, 570, 579, 587, S. 63.

Turkomans and Muhammedanism, S. 9.
Turks, 8, 100, 209, 540, 629.
—— in Bengal, 10.
—— infidel, 538–9.
—— Oghuz, 87.
—— original home of, S. 6.
—— Ottoman, 89.
—— Siberian, 24.
—— subservient to Khitans, 2.
Turkul Nur, 494.
Turmegei, 5.
Turner, quoted, 497, 517.
Tursun, 657.
Turtchi, Prince, 316.
Turuka, Kurgan, 553.
Turukai-tabun, 690.
Turuntai Dayen, 654.
Tuseh, 23.
Tushi Taifu, *v.* Yeliu Tashi.
Tushi Talgun, *v.* Yeliu Tashi.
Tushiyetu Khan, 470–7, 624–6, 632.
Tushiyetu-nabur, 636.
Tusietu Batur Tagsing, *v.* Chetchen Ombo.
Tuskel Lake, *v.* Issikul Lake.
Tutelary deities, S. 152.
Tutuha, 179.
Tutuk, 34.
Tutuka, 179.
Tutukeliuts, 26.
Tutulur, 692.
Tutur River, 686.
Tutur tribe, 691.
Tyre, 13.
Tzalish, 644.
Tzian Tziun, 662.
Tzungu Arabtan, 649.

U. (tribe of), 104.
U Chau, 338.
U khetchong, 601.
U ki nai, 3.
U man barbarians, 211.
U jing, *v.* Ur jing.
U sin koan, 119.
U su ku, tribe, 29.
U Yong, 603.
U-san-kuei, 639.
Ubak Chingsan, 501.
Ubasha Khan, 503, 572, 574, 576, 579, 580, 589, 668.
Ubashi, 396–7.
Ubashis, S. 142.
Ubassanesa, *v.* Ubshighun.
Ubatu, 343.
Ubsa, *v.* Alatori.
Ubsa noor, 73, 456–9, 469.
Ubshighun, Ching Taidshi, 372, 376. 395, 400, 432.
Uchaghatu Setzen Khakan, 422.
Uchimuchin, S. 25.
Uchimuk, 632.
Uchu, 45.
Uda River, 22, 686, 688, 691.
Udine, Odoric of, S. 131.
Udinsk, 628, 692.
Udinskoi, 688, 692.
Udur Bayan, 41.
Uduts, *v.* Merkits.
Uduyut, *v.* Merkits,
Udyana, S. 117, 125, 154.
Ufa, 566.
Ugei Nor, 183–4.
Ugetai Daibo, 365.
Ugetshi Khaskhaga, 351–3. 357, 499, 559, 560, 594, 596–7.
—— identified with Makhatshi, 560.
Ughuz Khan, 18.
Ugin Berkak, 68.
Uhikhan, 21.
Ugrians, S. 2.
Ugolin, of Caloeza, *v.* Calocza.
Ugu gol, 387.
Ugudeleku, *v.* Arokṭai.
Uguskins, 114.
Uhuan 29, 31.
Uhuz Merkits, 23.
Uighur, Empire, 182-3.
Uighurs, 5, 6, 20, 21, 23, 29, 34, 63, 72–4, 77, 118, 176, 185–6, 304, 419, 547, S. 8, 87.
—— derivation of their alphabet, 22.
—— Idikut of, 66.
—— Shira, 407.
Uighurtshins, 402.
Uirads, 24–5, 59, 72, 114, 356, 362–3, 366, 404, 491, 558, 595, 597–8, 606, 610–12, 653, 683.
—— Uirad Champion fights Mongol champion, 606–7.
—— battle with Mongols, 606–7.
—— divided into five sections, 593.
—— Durben, 418.
—— etymology of name, 681–2.
—— in Palestine, 683.
Uirats, *v.* Uirads.
Uisk, 577.
Ukektu Khan, 365–6, 383, 415.
Ukerjiruge ola, 392.
Ukimai, *v.* Tai Tsung.
Ukin Berkak, 43.
Uklekan, 402.
Ukoan, Fortress of, 322.
Ukul Kitmish, 682.
Ula, River, 56, 57.
Ulaq Khan, 79.
Ulagai Bulak, 51.
Ulaghan Muren, 420, S. 141.
Ulaghan Olong, 407.
Ulakan, 343.
Ulan, 612.
Ulan Chihi, *v.* Red-ear Hill, 183.
Ulad Khun Mt., 387.

Ulan Khoshu, 183–4.
Ulan Muren, 428.
Ulang putang, 519.
Ułang-yassa code, 112.
Ulden, 657.
Uldjaitu, Ilkhan, 298.
Uldjeitu tsagan nur, 493.
Uldra, River, 60.
Uldshei Ilduchi, 611.
Uldshei Timur Khan, 353–5, 383, 596.
—— identification of, 352.
Uldsheitu, *v.* Timur Khan.
Uldsheitu Chung Goa Beidshi, read Uldsheitu Khung Goa, Beidshi, 350, 358, 596–7.
Ulean hai, *v.* Kuleangukecks.
Uleangra, 600.
Ulengai, *v.* Ulgai-Bulak.
Ulgedshin Jineh, 40.
Uliassutai Mt., 387, S. 42.
Uliastai River, 491.
Ulinda budun Taidshi, 592.
—— birth legend of, 593–4.
Ulintu Hill, 183.
Uljaitu, *v.* Timur, S. 130.
Ulkoiak River, 588.
Ullokono Taidshi, 613.
Ulo, *v.* Ulohu.
Ulo hoen *v.* Ulohu.
Ulohu, 29.
Ulu tsong, *v.* Khaissan.
Ulug Bitikudji, 169.
Ulug Tag Mts., 65.
Ulugh Behadur, 53.
Ulun Egeh, Empress, 115.
Ulungku River, *v.* Longku.
Ulus Bede, 77.
Ulusbolod, 371, 373, 395, 400, 415, 431–2.
Ulustcr tussalakshi Gung, 484.
Umong, 287.
Una Mt., 360, 599.
Unc, 541–2.
Unc Muran, 682.
Unczove, destroyed, 145.
Undurkhan, 487.
Unebolod, 369, 370.
Unegen, River, 57.
Unga River, 682, 689.
Ungars, S. 7.
Unghwar, 148.
Ungin Shirgal dsol, 473.
Ungki River, 482.
Ungu Timur, 134.
Unkowski, 622, 644, 648.
Unkuts, 72.
Unorchiri, *v.* Hotachacheli.
Unugho Waidsang Noyan, 474, 483.
Upaché of Patai mamu, 623.
Upaché of Sefan, 623.
Upali, S. 154.
Upashakas, S. 168.
Upetula, 306.
Ur jing, *v.* Tso ching.
Ur River, 553.
Ura Kolbonda tribe, 691.
Urad Tanghuds, 402.
Urads, *v.* Uriads.
Ural Mts., S. 1.
Ural River, 577, 674, 676.
Urasuts, 23.
Urauts, 107.
Urban V, Pope, 339.
Urga, 62, 107, 183, 487, 491, 496, 514, 554, S. 25, 92, 144, 164–5.
Urgendj, 77, 83, 562–3, 639.
—— Siege of, 84–5.
Urian, read Uriangkut.
Uriangits, 600.
Uriangkadai, 211–13, 217.
Uriangkai, 600, S. 40.
—— and hunting, S. 27.
—— Costume of, *v.* Costumes.
Uriangkhan, *v.* Uriangkut.
Uriangkut, 107, 114, 389.
—— explanation of name, 24.
Uririti (goblins), S. 156.
Uruingkut Badadj, *v.* Soyol.
Urkhu tologoi Mt., 387.
Urlan burlak, River, 412.
Urluk Taishi, 618, 664–5, 501, 503, 517, 561–2, 593, 614–16.
Urmia Lake, 203.
Urmukhtui, 158.
Urnauts, 38.
Urtcha River, 627.
Urtu River, 392.
Urtu-ola, *v.* Ulug Tag.
Urumtsi, *v.* Bishbelig.
Urunkhai, 580.
Urup River, 459.
Uruss, *v.* Festival of Ceception.
Urut, 41.
Urutshu Lake, 464.
Usan, 287.
Usaneth, 167.
Usenga, 580.
Ush River, 75.
Ush Turfan, 645, 653–5.
Ushani Taishi, 612–13.
Ushtomoi Darkhan Noyon, 613.
Usien, *v.* Wushan.
Uskun-łuk-tangrim Mts., 185.
Ussakhal Khan, 345–8, 383.
Ussin River, 427.
Ussungdur Sanjin, 403.
Ust Kut, 686, 688.
Ustkamenogorskaia, 648.
Usumutshins, 380.
Utai Khan, S. 54.
Utai, Monastery of, rebuilt, 509.
Utchugen, *v.* Jintai.
Utchunkutsin, 628.
Uten, 546.
Uteng, 287.

Utjuken, 116.
Utsh Turfan, 75.
Utshegin, 105.
Utshirtu Setzen, 501–2, 517, 524, 619, 620, 622, 640, 663, 677.
Utsuken, 52, 115, 162, 163, 177, 347.
Utubu, 70, 98.
Uyat, 25.
Uz Khan, 35.
Uzbeg, 8.
Uzbeg, Atabeg, 93.
Uzbegs, 17, 18, 43, 97, 182, 588.
Uzbek, 315.
Uze Khan, 73.
Uzkend, 7, 72, 76.
Uzlak Sulan, read Uzlak Sultan, *q.v.*
Uzlak Sultan, 84.

Vacaf, 201.
Vadshradhara Dalai Lama (title of Great Lama), S. 143.
Vadshrapani, 510.
Vahram, 167.
Vairochana, S. 149.
Vaisali, S. 117.
Vaisravana, S. 157–8, 175.
Vajnaygana vehicle, S. 127.
Vajra bhairava, S. 152, S. 174.
Vajrapani, S. 134, S. 137, S. 149, S. 150, S. 175.
Valerius, quoted, 587.
Valikhanof, Capt., quoted, 645, 650, 652–3, 655, 662–3, 682.
Vambery, quoted, 697, 703, 714.
Van Lake, 167, 208.
Vang-te-cheng, 213.
Vangtung, 35.
Varadin, 146.
Varadin, Benedict of, 149, 151.
Varagians, Isle of, 95.
Varuna (Uranus), S. 156.
Vassaf, quoted, 206, 284, 288, 290–1, 297–8.
Vassith, 202.
Vasubandhu, S. 123.
Vasumitra, S. 154.
Vedaism, S. 117, S. 123.
Ven Siang, 120.
Veng shi hien, 136.
Venice, Senate of, 314.
Ventchau, 136.
Verbacz, *v.* Verbium.
Verbium, Lake, 151.
Verkhneudinsk, 531.
Vesht, 84.
Vezofinnaks, 138.
Vicenza, 557.
Vinaya, S. 171.
Virtuous Sect, 510–511, S. 128, 134.
Vishnu, S. 139, S. 157.
Vistula, River, 142.
Visdelov, quoted, 20, 30, 698, 702.
Vladimir, 139.
Vladimirofka, 674, 676.
Volga River, 138, 502, 529, 564–8, 572–3, 575–6, 581, 585, 665, 667, 668, 670, 674, 678, S. 191.
Volhynia, 142.
Volhynians, 95.
Volok, 140.
Votiaks, 140.
Vu chang fu, 213.
Vu-ti, Emperor, 413.
Vulcan, S. 156.
Vutsong, Emperor, S. 140.

Wa nan ho, *v.* Onon.
Waddell, quoted, S. 109, 118, 121, 125–8, 134, 138, 147–9, 151–4, 156, 158–162, 169, 170, 175, 178, 186, 188.
Wadshirbolod, 375, 398.
Wadshra Tonmi Gundshin, 421–2.
Wadshra Tonmi Gung Guyurshi, 408.
Wadshra Tonmi Sanggasba, 403.
Wadshradhara Dalai Lama (title of Allwise Bogda), 405, 423.
—— appears as Buddha, 425.
Wadshrapani, 512.
Wahlstadt, 144.
Waidsang Lama, 485.
Waidsang Noyan (title of Ubashi), 396.
Wainen Hosho, read Wanien Hosho, *q.v.*
Wala, *v.* Kalmuks.
Waldai Mts., 140.
Wales, Prince and Princess of represented as Buddhas, S. 150.
Wallachia, 146–7.
Walsai ti, 691.
Walus, 302.
Wan Shen, tomb of Yeliu Chutsai at, 161.
Wan tse, 249.
Wan-jan-siang, 53.
Wanchen, Prince, 306–7.
Wang ché, 220, 603.
Wang chin, 602.
Wang cho, 601.
Wang fu, 603.
Wang khan, 23, 48, 54–6, 59–62, 107, 542, 549, 551–5, 558.
—— defeats Merkits, 22.
—— defeats Taipits, 550.
Wang pao pao, *v.* Kuka Timur.
Wang Sangtsang, 330.
Wang se ching, 325.
Wang yue, 371.
Wang-y, 342.
Wanguin, 248.
Wangs, Eight, S. 137.
Wangti, 513.

Wangtien, 221.
Wangtshuk, 56–7, 468.
Wanian Huchahu, 124.
Wanien Baksan, 125.
Wanien Chinglin, 125.
Wanien Chunsi, 121.
Wanien Hosho, 68.
Wanien Shengho-Shang, 120.
Wanien-nadan, 301.
Wanien-tchin-ho-chang, 118.
Wasilei Tumenez, 458.
Wassaf, quoted, 556, S. 60.
Watchen, Prince, 99.
Watochi, S. 129.
Watshir Bolod, 371, 395.
Weapons, Mongol, 85, 88.
Waydam, 146.
Wei dynasty, 4, 5, 67.
Wei chan kiau, 359.
Wei ching, 338.
Wei-chau, 120, 601.
Wei kia chuang, 322.
Weissenburgh, 146.
Wella Zansen, 561, 589.
Wemeki, 486.
Wen chau, 328.
Wen tong, 346.
Wen tshin, 336.
Wen tsi, 338.
Wen-tien-siang, 247.
Wen-tsong (posthumous title of Tu timur), 310.
Weradin, 73.
Werkhangarskoi, 689.
Werkholensk, 687–8, 691.
Werrok Tommur, 500.
Wesumutshins, 393–4, 485–6.
Wetan Kharatokhoi, *v.* Solanoi saymistshi.
Wetchu, 287.
White, colour of sacrificial victims, S. 105.
White Mountaineers, 623, 655.
White Mts., 47.
White scriptures (Zagan Nom), 501.
White Sea, 622.
White Tartars, *v.* Tartars.
Wi Yuen, 609.
Wibat, River, 469.
Wichorefka, River, 686.
Wiera, 571.
Wilianof, 647.
Wisulugine, 550.
Witchcraft, S. 125.
Witesef, W., 686.
Wladomirovitch, O., 139.
Wolf, two kinds of, S. 27.
Wolff, quoted, 44, 47, 63, 65, 66, 73, 75, 77, 80, 82–4, 85, 87, 89–91, 93, 95–7, 101, 113, 128, 130, 137–9, 140–1, 142–4, 146–55, 701, 714, 717, 724.
Wolodomir, 564.
Wood-folk, *v.* Urasuts, Telenkuts, and Kestimis.
Wrestling among Mongols, 478, 495.
—— wrestlers from Persia imported by Ogotai, 160.
Wu chang fu, 217.
Wu-chang, 256.
Wuhlahai, *v.* Irghai.
Wushan, 123.
Wylie, quoted, 506, 530, 532.
Wytshegda, River, 155.

Yagmur, 205.
Yahancha, 319.
Yaik, River, 562–3, 565, 567, 572, 575–6.
Yaik Cossacks, 564.
Yakembo, 542.
Yakembo Keraiti (title of Ilka Sengun, 559.
Yakof Tugatshuskoi, 460.
Yakshas, S. 156.
Yakshi Möngke, 364.
Yakuba, 167, 201, 202.
Yakut, 92.
Yakuts, 262, 684.
Yakutsk, 689, S. 2.
Yalantush, 619.
Yalsi, 616, 665.
Yama, S. 152–3, 156–7, 174.
—— legend concerning, S. 157.
Yamia Namgial, 515.
Yamin, River, 665.
Yamish, Lake, 615–17, 643, 646, 665.
Yamishewa, 618.
Yamlek, 581, 663.
Yan, 2, 117.
Yan chau, 5.
Yan jan Shan Mts., 488.
Yandik, 579.
Yandikofski, 671, 674.
Yandikshan horde, 586.
Yang chen, 605.
Yang ching mu, 427.
Yang chun, 408, 419.
Yang ho, 387.
Yang sin, 609.
Yang sing, 532.
Yang tse kiang, *v.* Yang tse River.
Yang tsi River, 3, 137, 217, 255–6, 318–19, 321–3, 328.
Yangir Sultan, 503.
—— and Baatur, 618–19.
Yangli, 213.
Yanking, College at, founded by Yeliu Chutsai, 158.
Yannis Taidshi, 664, 680.
Yao chau, 318.
Yao hoei, 337.
Yaochu, 212.
Yarkand, 73.
Yarkend, 623, 649, 650, 652, 655.
—— Khan of, 645.

Yarkend yields gold dust, 646.
Yarkland, 176.
Yarkashan, 656, 661.
Yaroslaf, town of, 140.
Yaroslaf, Grand Duke, 95, 162.
Yaru Tsanpo, River, S. 156.
Yashmut, 208.
Yassun, *v.* Essen.
Yau-ching, 252.
Yaya, River, 459.
Yconus, River, 535.
Ye chui shan, 526.
Ye hu ling Mt., 68, 338, 606.
Ye lung li, 27.
Ye pula, *v.* Ibiri.
Ye wang, 344.
Yegeh Jaran, 552.
Yeka Zookhor, 576.
Yeke Altai, *v.* Egeh Altai.
Yeke Kharra, *v.* Mahakala.
Yeke Nidun, 36.
Yeke Shabar, 405, 411.
Yeke Utek, 107.
Yeke Yilatu, 46.
Yelden Noyan, 462–3, 465.
Yeldeng, 562–3, 589, 680.
Yeliku (family name of Wang Khan), 558.
Yeliu Chutsai, 109, 117, 123, 156–8.
—— death of, 161.
—— statue of, 161.
Yeliu Liuko, 68, 69, 71, 75.
Yeliu Tashi, 5, 7.
Yeliu Yen hi, Emperor, captured, 3.
Yellow caps, *v.* Lamas.
Yellow Lamas, *v.* Lamas.
Yellow River, 2, 5, 60, 66, 70, 71, 98, 101, 102–4, 118–20, 122, 213, 219, 255–6, 285, 321, 324–5, 328, 336, 346, 398, 406, 412, 416, 417, 432, 492, 525–6, 533, 545, 549, 609, S. 17, 124.
—— alteration of course, 317.
Yellow Sea, 2.
Yellow Sect and Gelug pas, 511.
—— ritual compared with Christian, S. 136.
Yelshanka, 668.
Yemba, 588.
Yemba, River, 561, 566.
Yemen, 207.
Yen, Prince of, 350.
Yen chi, *v.* Chuo.
Yen ching kong, 316.
Yen gan, 609.
Yen King (ancient name of Peking, *q.v.*).
Yen men, 342, 417, 609.
Yen ngan, 344.
Yen sui, 371, 610.
Yen Timur, 306, 307, 308, 310, 311.
Yen tsi hiao, Prince, 338.
Yenataewa, 571.
Yenatayaresk, 669.
Yencher, a voluptuous dance, 319–20.
Yengigent, 76–7.
Yenhotor, 551.
Yenislisk, 685–6, 690.
Yenissei, River, 23, 55, 457, 459, 460, 467, 469, 614, 621, 682, 685, S. 27.
Yenissei, Upper, 558, 640.
Yenisseisk, 531.
Yenta, *v.* Altan Khan.
Yentikusi, *v.* Kulatana.
Yentu puritu, 634.
Yer-jing, *v.* Yau-ching.
Yerafna, Lake, 689.
Yerba, River, 467.
Yerkui, 26.
Yesd, 133.
Yesien, *v.* Essen.
Yesien tukan, Prince, 359.
Yesuntai, 353, 596.
Yesur, 343.
Yetsinai, 343.
Yike Erket, 581.
Yike Erkets, 589.
Yike Zookor, 582, 586.
Yissu Manga, 164, 171.
Yissu Timur, 178, 179.
Yissuds, 114.
Yissugei, 44–8, 54, 547.
Yissun Timur, 302–3, 311, 383, 130–1.
—— death of, 304.
Yissuts, 41.
Ykiliasse, *v.* Kurulats.
Yléchebé, *v.* Rintshenpal.
Yoboghon Mergen, 592.
—— festival in memory of, 593.
Yochan, 349.
Yoga cult, S. 123.
—— eight powers conferred by, S. 123.
Yolduz Khan, 35–6.
Yon tan Yamtso, S. 143.
Yondan rGyamtso the Dala Lama, 410.
Yong chang, 343.
Yong cheng, 645.
Yong lo, Emperor, 633, S. 132, 137, 513.
Yu Mt., 119.
Yu chau, 120, 328.
Yu i, 632.
Yu kien, 603, 608.
Yu kuang, 337.
Yu lin kung, palace of, 412.
Yu pao, 656–7.
Yu se thai, 254.
Yu-ning-fu, 124, 135.
Yuan-yuan, 31.
Yubukur, 177, 283.
Yuelu Timur, 309, 349.

Yurinski, quoted, 47.
Yuen dynasty, 50, 214, 312, 335, 341, 591, 601, S. 131.
—— causes of downfall of, 339–40.
Yuen se, *v.* Yung Se.
Yuen tun Kia cha, *v.* Gundun Gachikia.
Yuen Yuen, S. 7.
Yuguruk Back, 503.
Yui koan, 213.
Yukao Mt., 355.
Yukia, 250.
Yukui, 30.
Yukiué, 323.
Yuldus, 580.
Yule, Col., quoted, 5, 50, 103, 108–9, 177–8, 181–5, 225, 230, 234, 239, 241–6, 248, 252, 257–65, 269, 271–7, 279–80, 284, 295–6, 304, 314–15, 496, 531–4, 536, 545, 548–9, 556–7, 588, 682–3, 699, 707, 710, 717–19, 727–9, 731–3, 739, 741–2, S. 25, 45, 93, 125.
Yulkursun, S. 166.
Yulu, *v.* Ulugh Behadur.
Yun chang, 402, 417.
Yun chau, 26, 338.
Yung ching, Emperor, 533, S. 145.
Yung se, read Yuen se, 256.
Yunnan, 211, 246–8, 256, 287, 294, 299, 300, 302, 308–9, 321, 342, 346.
Yunnan fu, 256.
Yuntu Timur, Prince, 308.
Yurif, 140.
Yusuf, 650, 652–3.
Yuthokusthiemor, *v.* Ussakhal Khan.
Yzz ud din, read Iz ud din, *q.v.*
Zab River, 203.
Zabulon, 538.
Zagan, 692.
Zagan Nom (White Scriptures), 501.
Zagan Nomien Khan, 501, 616.
Zaitun, 274.
Zak, 649.
Zalnuk, Count of, 147.
Zaritzin, 568, 572, 667–8, 679.
Zarub, 95.
Zawch, 81.
Zawichost, 142.
Zayton, 296.
—— Andrew, Bp. of, 314.
Zazen Noyon, 581.
Zebek Dordshi, 572–3, 579, 580, 589, 680.
Zebek Ubasha, 586, 668–70, 675, 680.
Zeh, 146.
Zeiden, 146.
Zein-ul-Hafizzi, 210.
Zek-Abad, read Zenk Abad, *q.v.*
Zenden, 668–9.
Zengenchin, 691.
Zenk Abad, 132.
Zeren Chap, *v.* Chereng.
Zerren Ubasha, 582–3, 586, 670.
Zeuth Leleuth, Castle of, 146.
Zidj Ilkhani, 204.
Zimbil, 649.
Zisan (Setzen Khan of Khalkhas), 690.
Zodiac, signs of, S. 80.
Zongol, 692.
Zoroastrian, Religion, S. 8.
Zorros, *v.* Choros.
Zwick, quoted, 581–6, 670–1, 679.

VOLUME II, DIVISIONS I AND II

Ababa, II, 1012.
Abacus, Calculation by Means of, introduced into Russia, II, 984.
Abaji *v.* Ayachi.
Abak Sheikh, II, 1058.
Abaka, II, 1019.
Abalak *v.* Yabolak.
Abalatskoi Selo, II, 1063.
Abasses, II, 1055.
Abbas *v.* Okas.
Abbas Murza, II, 930–1.
Abbott, Capt., quoted, II, 933–7.
—— received by Khivan Khan, II, 934–8.
—— treachery of Vizier to, II, 938–9.
Abdai Suvanc Clan, I, 8.
Abderresak, quoted, I, 273.
Abdul Ali, II, 692.
Abdul Ghaffar, quoted, I, 263, 268–9, 271–2, 449, II, 851.
Abdul Kerim, I, 350–1, II, 816–19, 822, 841, 875, 912, 916–19, 926.
Abdul Latif Khan, I, 376–8, 384, II, 687–8, 723–6, 874, 1030, 1063.
—— *v.* Vasili, provisions in treaty between, I, 384–5.
Abdul Muhammed Khan, II, 914–15.
Abdul Mumin Khan, I, 430; II, 735, 738–9, 874.
Abdul Rahman Khan, I, 352–3.
Abdulla Akkubekof, I, 435.
Abdulla bi, Nekhter, II, 961.
Abdulla Khan, Coins of, II, 682–3, 723, 733–8, 874, 890–1, 940, 943, 965, 1034.
—— his expeditions to Ulugh Tagh, II, 635.
Abdulla Murza, II, 688.
Abdulla Nameh, the, quoted, II, 634, 636, 680–1, 684, 690.
Abdullah Behadur Khan, I, 241.
Abdullah Lisan, the Great Mollah, I, 242.
Abdur Rahman Aftobacha, II, 842.
Abdur Rahman Batir, II, 817, 864.
Abdur Rahman Bek, II, 875.
Abdur Rahman Haji, II, 840–2.
Abeidulla, II, 1058.
Abdurrezak, quoted, II, 687
Abika, I, 35.
Abinskoi, II, 1058.
Abiverd, II, 881, 884, 887–8, 914.
Abkhassians, I, 600, 606.
Ablai Khan, 643, 646–50, 682, 685, 996.
—— his diplomacy, II, 649.
Ablaĭ Girai Khan, II, 1010.
Ablaigirim, II, 1004–6.
Ablaikitsk, ruins of, II, 1008.
Abramof, Genl., II, 850.
Abubekhr, I, 271.
Abuga River, II, 1002, 1040.
Abugai, II, 1007.
Abul Gaffar, II, 844.
Abul Kasim Sultan, II, 631.
Abul Makhmet Khan, II, 643–6, 685.
Abul Mansur, II, 690.
Abulek Khan, II, 880.
Abulfaiz, II, 846, 875, 909–13
Abulfaraj, quoted, I, 28.
Abulfeda, quoted, I, 9, 216; II, 685, 1019.
Abulghazi Khan, II, 900–3.
—— quoted, I, 6, 10, 14, 18, 25, 31, 33–8, 216, 225–6, 449, 451; II, 627, 629–30, 639, 690–1, 723, 733, 892–6, 905, 915–18, 964–5, 978–82, 1010, 1021, 1030, 1035, 1040.
Abulkhair Khan, I, 6, 350; II, 627–8, 632, 652–61, 681–2, 684–5, 687–91, 874, 914, 980, 998–9, 1029, 1057, 1059.
—— aids Ilbars, II, 913.
—— and Kalmuks, II, 688–9.
—— and Uzbegs, II, 690–1.
—— death of, II, 1059.
Abulkhairids, II, 686–91, 874.
Abusaid Khan, I, 558–9; II, 688–9, 719–20, 874.
Acherat, I, 496.
Achkian, II, 826.
Achmaili tribe, I, 12, 21.
Adai clan, I, 7.
Adaklis, II, 881.
Adam Krilgan, wells of, II, 953–4.
Adamat River, II, 1058.
Adashef, I, 496–7.
Adel Girai, II, 1028.
Adem, II, 912.
Ader, *v.* Obder.
Adeye, I, 494.
Adia, II, 685.
Adil Gazi Girai, I, 512, 515, 523.
Adil Girai Khan, I, 558–9.
Adil Parmanachi, II, 850.
Adrianople, II, 1019.

Adzi bi, II, 817.
Afghanistan, II, 795, 917.
Afghans, II, 853.
—— victorious over Balkh, II, 864.
Afrasiab, I, 16.
Aftobacha, the, II, 844.
Agalak, I, 378.
Agarka River, II, 999.
Agathopolis, II, 1012.
Aghanai Sultan, II, 880.
Aghanak, II, 690.
Aghatai Sultan, II, 881.
Aghish Sultan, II, 882.
Agra, I, 49.
Agram, I, 52, 54.
Aguilia, Patriarch of, I, 56.
Aguish, II, 1030–1, 1063, 1068.
Ahmed Girai Sultan, I, 597.
Ahmed Khan, I, 305–326, 349–50, 433; II, 628, 691, 980.
Ahmed Nurza, II, 692.
Ahmed Shah, II, 867.
Ahmed Sheikh, II, 682–3.
Ahmed Sultan, II, 688.
Ahmed Tajik, I, 25.
Ahmed Yasavi, Sheikh, II, 681.
—— tomb of, II, 682.
Ahmedof, quoted, II, 907.
Ahrar, Khoja, II, 846.
Aiaguz River, II, 1008.
Aibek, II, 629.
Aibugir, Gulf of, II, 909, 945, 952, 956.
Aichuvak, II, 663, 670–1, 685, 915.
Aidin, II, 955.
Aidost, II, 1060.
Aifal, I, 264.
Aim Keninghez, II, 847.
Ainal Noyan, I, 33.
Aintak, I, 264.
Airuk Mts., *v.* Uruk Mts.
Airuruk Mts., *v.* Uruk Mts.
Aisha, II, 882.
Aishek Khatun, I, 14.
Aitiak, *v.* Adia.
Aitek, *v.* Itik.
Aitof, Lieut., II, 940.
Ak Buruk, II, 690.
Ak Burun *v.* Ak Buruk.
Ak Buyuk, II, 690.
Ak daulet, II, 1063.
Ak Derbend, II, 942.
Ak gul (White Lake), II, 681.
Ak Kala, II, 957.
Ak Kamish, II, 955.
Ak Khoja, I, 226.
Ak Kubek Khan, I, 352.
Ak Kurd, Tzarevitch, II, 1063.
Ak Kurgan, II, 687.
Ak Lake, I, 8.
Ak Koriak River, II, 1009.
Ak Metschet, II, 956.
Ak Mejid *v.* Ak Musjid.
Ak Muhammed Seyid, I, 438.
Ak Murza, II, 1033–4, 1038, 1068.
Ak Musjid, 598, 608–10; II, 826, 831, 834.
—— description of Fort of, II, 833–4.
—— re-named Fort Perofski, II, 834.
Ak Nazar Khan, II, 632–4, 638, 685, 1038.
Akorda, *v.* White Horde.
Ak Seyid, II, 984.
Ak Tash gul (White Stone Lake), II, 681.
Akatai Khan, II, 884–5.
Akbar Khan, II, 864.
Akbashly Lake, *v.* Aksakal Barbi.
Akbets, I, 12.
Akbulak, II, 932.
Akbura clan, I, 8.
Akchakul, Lake, II, 950.
Akhas, I, 489.
Akhlatt, I, 19.
Akhmed Girai, I, 489; II, 983–4, II, 1025.
Akhmet, II, 1035.
Akhmet Ali, I, 351; II, 1031.
Akhmet Murza, II, 1068.
Akhond, office of, II, 964.
Akhteh Khoja, II, 919.
Akhtuba River, II, 1055.
Akhud Zadeh, II, 939–40.
Akiar, I, 242.
Akkerman, II, 1024, 1026.
—— Fortress of Surrenders to Russians, I, 595.
—— Islam Girai buried in Mosque at, I, 523.
Akkermans, II, 1048.
—— Government of under Mengli Girai, II, 1024–7.
Akkurgan, II, 680, 684.
Akmejid, Judges of, I, 608.
Akmejid, I, 598, 608–10.
Akrem Khan, II, 864.
Aksakal Barbi, II, 679–81.
Aksakals (grey beards) tortured, II, 948.
Akserai, II, 924, 929.
Aksu, II, 824–5.
Aksu River, II, 1012.
Aksugaldai, II, 689.
Aktaji, II, 1018.
Akushli Lake, II, 1006.
Al Chapar Alla Verdi, II, 924.
Al Jorjania, *v.* Urgeng.
Al Su Lake, I, 9.
Al Mansun, II, 965.
Ala Lake, I, 9.
Ala Tagh Mts., II, 629.
Ala Tau, II, 629.
Ala ud Daulat, II, 687.
Alach. Murza, II, 981, 996.

Alacha, I, 7.
Alai Mts., II, 845.
Alaik, I, 546.
Alakka, II, 1018.
Alan, II, 956.
Alans, I, 43: II, 1019. 1053.
Alatir, I, 414.
Alchaghir, II, 1031.
Alchi Khan, I, 273.
Alchia Kungur, I, 16.
Alchin tribe, I, 6, 12.
Aleka, Prince, I, 428.
Alem, office of, II, 964.
Alexander, King of Poland, I, 382.
Alexander, Prince, I, 380.
Alexander (ruler of Kakheti), I, 522.
Alexander, Tzar, II, 945.
Alexandria, I, 514.
Alexandrobalsk, II, 907.
Alexandrof, II, 998.
Alexandrofski, I, 501–2, 511.
—— Ivan takes refuge at, I, 507.
Alexis, I, 209, 213.
Alhambra, II, 682.
Ali Behadur, Sheikh, I, 14.
Ali Khan, I, 374–6; II, 965, 981, 997, 999, 1002–4, 1010, 1029.
—— captured by Russians, I, 375.
—— deposed, I, 374–5.
Ali Khoja, I, 26, 32.
Ali Kuli, II, 915.
Ali Murza, II, 1033–4.
Ali Oghlan, II, 980, 1010.
Ali, Prince of Kuchum, II, 1040.
Ali Shah, Mausoleum of, I, 434–5.
Ali Sultan, II, 883.
Ali Terkhan, II, 692.
Ali Tribe, I, 20; II, 881.
Ali-Akran, II, 1035.
Alibaieve Yurti, II, 1005.
Alibeg, I, 241, 516.
Alighaze, I, 375.
Aliki Narikof, Prince, I, 416.
Alim bi, II, 836.
Alim Khan, II, 819–21, 832, 875.
—— coins struck by, II, 819.
Alim Kul, II, 836.
—— death of, II, 837.
Alimuli tribe, I, 7.
Alishai, II, 988.
Allah Berdi Zanz, II, 854.
Allah Dad Khan Papolzye, II, 940.
Allah Kuli Khan, II, 826, 930–41.
—— abolishes trade in Russian Slaves, II, 940.
—— character of, II, 934–5.
—— coins of, II, 941.
—— despotism of, II, 935.
—— feast at court of, II, 937.
—— physique of, II, 934.
Allah Kuli Khan receives English envoy, II, 934–8.
—— robes of, *v.* Costume.
Allah Yar Khan, II, 867.
Allayar Datkha, II, 850.
Allentaken, I, 499.
Almaligh, I, 16.
Almatu, I, 14.
Almus, King, I, 439.
Alp Arslan, I, 437; II, 1002.
Alp Girai, I, 516, 519.
Alp Sultan, I, 515.
Alpai Mas, II, 956.
Alsan, I, 208; II, 1029.
Alta Horde, II, 1057.
Alta Ulishain, II, 1040.
Altai Clan, I, 8.
Altai Mts., I, 29; II, 978.
Altalun, I, 15.
Altamir Beg, I, 266.
Altan Khan, II, 978.
Altanai, Prince, II, 1004.
Altaul, II, 985.
Altaul Horde, II, 1056.
Alti Kuduk, wells of, II, 954.
Altun Kaleh, II, 826.
Altun Khanim, II, 896.
Alung Goa, I, 14.
Aman-Karagai, I, 8.
Amin ud din, I, 26.
Aminek Khan, II, 880.
Amir Ali tribe, II, 920.
Amir Vali Niami, II, 822.
Amu Daria, *v.* Oxus River.
Amursana, II, 646.
Amusements—
Bear-hunting by Ivan, I, 532.
Boxing by Russians, I, 397.
Chess-playing by Muhammed Rahim, II, 923.
Coursing by Allah Kuli Khan, II, 934.
Falconry by Seyid Muhammed Rahim, II, 949.
Hawking, by Allah Kuli Khan, II, 934.
—— Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 927.
—— Shahin Girai, I, 602.
Hunting by Muhammed Rahim, II, 924, 927.
—— Shahim Girai, I, 602.
Wrestling by Russians, I, 397.
Amuyeh, I, 33.
Ana Karaghui, *v.* Atakaraghui.
Anamas Lake, I, 9.
Anapa, II, 1048–9.
Anastasia, I, 375, 413–14, 489, 490.
—— death of, I, 497.
Anatolia, I, 610.
Andahan Mt., I, 17.
Andal, I, 520; II, 1051.
Andijan, II, 817, 829, 836, 844.

Adijan, conquered by Narbuteh bi, II, 818.
Andkhor, *v.* Andkhud.
Andkhud, II, 859, 868.
Andrew Prince, I, 230.
Andrewitch, Vladimir, I, 490.
Andronicus, II, 1014.
Angiras, I, 14.
Angora, I, 19.
Anika, II, 984.
Anjou, Henry, Duke of, I, 510.
Ankati River, I, 7.
Ankhialos, II, 1012.
Ankul Lake, II, 680.
Anne, Empress, II, 912.
Antioch, I, 451, 514.
Antonak beg, I, 546–7.
Anusha Md. Behadur Khan, II, 903–4.
Anville, D', quoted, I, 6.
Apochka, I, 278–9.
Appai Ughlan, I, 393.
Ara Kum, II, 978.
Arab Bereke Sultan, II, 691.
Arab Muhammed Khan, II, 894–6, 905.
Arabat, Fortress of, I, 596.
Arabet tribe, locality of, I, 12.
Arabshah, I, 212; II, 691, 874 979.
—— quoted, I, 262.
Arabians, II, 909.
—— Submit to Khnarezmians, II, 921.
Arak Ahmet, *v.* Arab Muhammed.
Aral, II, 912, 917.
Aral, Isle of, II, 906, 919.
Aral Lake, I, 212; II, 945.
Aral River, I, 17, 20.
Aral, Sea of, I, 33, 216; II, 656, 684, 921, 942, 962.
—— new trade route for Russians, II, 931.
Arabians, II, 914.
—— attacked by Kazaks, II, 915.
Aralsk, II, 672, 833.
—— founding of, II, 942.
Aranysos, II, 1014.
Arbath, Ivan's palace at, burnt, I, 507.
Archangel, I, 491–2.
—— founded, I, 522.
Aremetei, I, 8.
Ares Khan, I, 515.
Arghin tribe, I, 8.
Argun River, I, 15, 16.
Argudan River, II, 1054.
Argun, I, 15; II, 1018.
Arimdsyanka, II, 992.
Ariscald, Count, I, 49.
Aristan-bel-Kuduk, II, 953.
Arjin clan, I, 385.
Arkan, II, 680, 683.
Armenians, I, 214, 609.
—— emigrate from Krim to Russia, I, 599.
—— traitors among executed, I, 454.
Arnach, *v.* Urgenj.
Arrak Timur, II, 689.
Arran, II, 1018.
Arsina, I, 491.
Arsk, I, 377, 404; II, 1063.
—— Forest of, I, 419.
—— Plains of, I, 380, 416.
Arslan, I, 601.
Arslan Ali, I, 436.
Arslan bek II (the blind pilgrim), II, 1052.
Arslan bek Mansur, II, 1025.
Arslan Girai, I, 582–5, 593.
Arslan Girai Urus Oglu, II, 1026.
Arslan Murza, II, 1035.
Artak, II, 692.
Artugdi, I, 515.
Aruk, II, 687.
Arundel, Lord, I, 504.
As, *v.* the Kuban.
Asanes, II, 1013.
Asek, II, 1024.
Aseki, II, 1068.
Asferain, II, 882.
Ashnazer, II, 926.
Ashula, II, 828.
Ashur bek, II, 847, 906.
Asia Minor, I, 19.
Asiabi, II, 866.
Asim, II, 1002–3.
Askalon, II, 1049.
Asmanak, II, 1001.
Aspromonte, *v.* Bospro.
Assaki, II, 844–5.
Asterabad, II, 882, 907, 917, 919.
Astrakhan, I, 7, 229, 265, 268–74, 349, 350–1, 393, 403–5, 413, 432–3, 449, 489, 499, 500, 503–4, 507–9, 513, 517, 521, 524; II, 627, 691, 906, 931, 933, 938–9, 980, 1043, 1056–7, 1063.
—— attacked by Nogars, II, 1039.
—— captured by Russians, II, 1034.
—— coins struck at, I, 208.
—— conquest of by Ivan, I, 490.
—— Khans of, I, 378.
—— wall of, I, 522.
Asu Mie Kieze, *v.* Mangass.
Asudulla, II, 835, 837.
Ata Murad, II, 943, 946.
Atai Khoja, II, 1024.
Atai-Ashigim, II, 1068.
Atajan Khan, II, 962.
Atajan Tiura, II, 959.
Atakaraghui, I, 242.
Atalik, note on meaning of title, II, 869–70.

Atalik, office of, II, 963.
Atalik Khan, II, 844.
Atalik, Prince, I, 416.
Athanasius, I, 500.
Athanias Khoja Reis Mufti, II, 940.
Athens, I, 523.
Athos, Mt., I, 278, 394.
Atigai clan, I, 8.
Atik, II, 990.
Atma Khan, II, 856–7, 859.
Atzel, I, 495.
Augsburgh, Bp. of, I, 53.
Augustus, I, 493, 497.
—— becomes King of Livonia, I, 498.
Auschurtz, I, 52.
Aussaklu, Lake, II, 994.
Austria, I, 52.
Austria, Duke of, I, 52.
Austria, Archduke of, I, 56.
Avanek Khan, II, 881–4.
Avarsech, Mt., II, 1055.
Avezac, D', quoted, I, 1 ; II, 965.
Allie Ala, II, 831, 837.
Awik Sultan, *v.* Yadik.
Ayachi, II, 979.
Ayas Pasha, Mosque of, I, 596.
Ayat River, I, 8.
Ayub Khoja, II, 984.
Ayuka, II, 641, 907–8, 1043, 1052.
Ayus tribe, I, 21.
Az tribe, I, 12.
Azak, I, 265, 268 ; II, 1023.
Azbergen bi, II, 945.
Azim Khan, II, 864.
Azis Khan, II, 686, 979–80.
Azof, I, 503–4, 515, 520, 525 ; II, 1035, 1044.
—— Amazons of, I, 545.
—— rebuilt, I, 546.
—— seige of, I, 545–6.
Azof, Sea of, I, 493 ; II, 1049.
—— Nogais settle by, II, 1026–7.
Azofians, II, 1050.

Ba ha tu, I, 52.
Baatur Khungtaidshi, I, 640.
Bab ul abwab, *v.* Derbend.
Baba beg, II, 856–7.
Baba Bek, II, 819, 843, 846.
Baba bi, II, 951.
Baba Datkha, II, 847.
Baba Sultan, II, 633–6, 730, 874, 890.
Babaja, II, 1001.
Babasan, II, 989.
Babatagh, I, 596.
Baber, quoted, I, 393 ; II, 698, 701, 817.
Bacon, the Chancellor, I, 504.
Bachiman, Prince, I, 4.
Badacha (seal on death warrant), II, 848.
Badakhshan, II, 688, 856, 859, 865–6, 912.
—— dependencies of, II, 866.
Badakul, II, 979, 1010.
Baden, Margrave of, I, 56.
Badul, II, 1020.
Baer and Helmersen, quoted, II, 924, 934.
Bagachatof, II, 907.
Bagh i Maidan, II, 688.
Baghchi Serai, I, 512, 519–20, 598, 600, 609 ; II, 1024.
—— Judges of, I, 608.
Bagh Abad, II, 881, 884.
Baghdad, I, 545 ; II, 754.
—— Khalif of, I, 439.
Baghi-Kurrem, I, 33.
Bagra, I, 27.
Bagurlu tribe, I, 12.
Bahatir Shah Kassai Oglu, II, 1026.
Bai Murza, II, 1068.
Baian Khan, Statue of, II, 1008.
Baibagish, II, 1004.
Baibakhta, II, 998.
Baibakti clan, I, 7.
Baichagir, II, 956.
Baidar, I, 38, 44, 47, 52, 55.
Baikal, Lake, I, 13.
Bailiar, II, 956.
Bailar-Janjar tribe, I, 9.
Baimakli, I, 21.
Baiman tanti, II, 953.
Baisan, II, 853.
Baiseit, II, 998.
Baish, burial of Yermak at, II, 996.
Baish, Prince, II, 994.
Baishevi Yurti, II, 1005.
Baisongkhor Murza, II, 687.
Baitak, II, 1009.
Bainly tribe, I, 7.
Bakhaliaket, I, 32.
Bakhti, I, 276.
Bakhtiar Sultan, I, 351, 433 ; II, 687–8.
Bakht Girai, I, 523, 595–7, 599, 601.
Bakhrin tribe, locality of, I, 12.
Bakhu, I, 516.
Baki bey, II, 1024.
Baki Muhammed Khan, II, 743, 874.
Bakirghan Ata, II, 630.
Baksan River, II, 1054.
Bakin quoted, I, 5.
Balakhna, I, 401.
Balaklava, I, 454, 596.
Balasaghun, I, 6.
Balbars, II, 879–80.
Balbek, I, 596.
Baldumsaz, II, 881.
Balgali tribe, I, 12.

Balikchi, II, 841, 844.
Baljuan, II, 853.
Balka, II, 979.
Balkh, II, 735, 744, 751, 763, 846, 853–65, 909–12.
Balkhan Mt., I, 594; II, 915, 936.
Balkhash Lake, I, 17, 20; II, 978.
Balta Salder, II, 952.
Baltatlu, II, 1019.
Bamian II, 864.
Ban, *v.* Riazan.
Banducha, I, 18.
Banof, I, 48.
Barabinskaia, II, 1007.
Barabinski Steppe, II, 998, 1040.
Barak, II, 1032, 1059.
Barama, II, 999–1000.
Baramut Mt., II, 1055.
Barancha, II, 987.
Barangazi, Prince, II, 1051.
Barbaro, J., quoted, I, 350; II, 1023.
Barbarossa, *v.* Shaireddin.
Barchin, I, 240.
Barin, II, 1022.
—— Amir, I, 449.
—— clan, I, 385.
Barkhaligkend, *v.* Bakhaliaket.
Barku, I, 37.
Barovitsk, I, 276.
Barsin, *v.* Barchin.
Barsuk, II, 951, 956.
Barsuk Kum, II, 679–80.
Bartholomew, the Metropolitan, I, 395.
Baruj Oghlan, II, 690–1.
Baschguerdia, *v.* Hungary.
Bash Timur, *v.* Tash Timur.
Bashaga, new official post instituted by Gazi Girai II, I, 524.
Bashi Kuzi, II, 627.
Bashkors, I, 20, 427–9, 439; II, 653, 981, 983, 985, 1017, 1042, 1053.
—— attacked by Nogais, II, 1041.
—— habits and customs of, I, 37.
Basmanof, I, 506.
Basrah, II, 912.
Bassa, II, 1035.
Bassantien clan, I, 8.
Bassiani, II, 1054.
Batatagh, read Babatagh, *q.v.*
Batir Khan, II, 915, 1059–60.
Batir Tiura, II, 841, 845.
Batmassa Solta, I, 374.
Batory, Stephen, I, 511–14, 522.
Batta, fairs of, II, 1047.
Batu Khan, I, 1, 4, 17, 36–91, 210, 214, 216, 492; II, 978, 1011.
—— family of the extinct, II, 979
—— inauguration of, I, 36.
Bayakachar, *v.* Beyanjar.
Bazarji identified with Azis Khan, II, 1072.
Bechin, I, 263.
Bedr Khan, II, 923.
—— quoted, II, 926.
Begchik, Khoja, II, 692.
Begishefskae Osero, II, 994.
Beguetch, I, 212.
Behadur Girai Khan, I, 545–6, 597, 601.
Behadur Khan, II, 686, 979, 1010, 1031.
Behadur Sultan, I, 435.
Behran the Jelair, I, 14.
Beisa, Plain of, I, 415.
Bejak, I, 39.
Bek, II, 829.
Bek Kundi Oghlan, *v.* Tunka-Bek-Kundi.
Bek Murad, II, 819.
Bek Murza, II, 1033, 1038, 1068.
Bek Pulad, II, 918–19.
Bekbulat, I, 435; II, 992, 1063–4.
Bekes, I, 50.
Beklemishef, N., I, 453.
Beknakije, *v.* Pechenegs.
Bekovitch, II, 911, 932, 949, 956.
—— flayed alive, II, 928.
Bekovitch Cherkaski, II, 654.
Bekutemish, I, 35.
Bela IV, King, I, 38, 44, 48, 52, 56–7.
—— and Mongols, I, 57.
—— invokes aid from German Emperor and the Pope, I, 54.
—— rewards loyal followers, I, 57.
Belakofka River, II, 998.
Belal, Sultan, II, 880.
Belanti River, II, 680.
Belian Ana, ruins of, II, 1009.
Bell (Land Marshal), I, 498.
Bell (of Antermony), quoted, II, 1054, 1057.
Belogorsk, II, 996.
Belski, Feodor, I, 378, 380; II, 1063.
Belzki, Prince Dimitri, I, 402–5.
Benaket, I, 31.
Bender, fortress of, I, 595.
Benedict (of Poland), quoted, II, 965.
Beneveni, F., II, 909, 910.
—— his audience with Khivan Khan, II, 911.
Benish, *v.* Tanish.
Benish Khan, II, 630.
Berda River, II, 1048–9.
Berdaulat, I, 431.
Berdi, I, 274.
Berdibeg, II, 1020.
Bereke Khan, I, 9, 42.
Bereke Sultan, II, 689, 691, 693, 1011, 1030.
—— death of, II, 1012.
Berekzan, I, 350.

Berenduk Khan, II, 628, 692.
Berezine, quoted, I, 436.
Berezof, II, 997.
Berezof Yar, II, 988.
Bergeron, quoted, I, 39.
Berka River, *v.* Bug River.
Bernet, quoted, II, 1048.
Bersch, I, 7.
Beshtan Mt., II, 1048.
Beshtan River, I, 490, 492; II, 1026.
Beslenie, II, 1026.
Besnin, Michael, I, 520; II, 1050.
Bessarabia, I, 4, 520, 594; II, 1026, 1051.
Bessutzof, Constantine, I, 430.
Bestui Zerrin or Golden Vase legend, I, 14.
Betash tribe, locality of, I, 12.
Betsa Pulad, I, 270.
Betius River, I, 430.
Bey Murza, II, 1033.
Beyanjar, II, 979.
Beyetsk, II, 1001.
Beyetski-Verkh, I, 275.
Bi, Office of, II, 963.
Bi Arslan, II, 1052.
Bi Murza, II, 1033, 1068.
Bibash Khan, *v.* Mimash Khan, II, 631.
Bibikof, Lieut.-Genl., II, 1025.
Bibir (Vladimir), II, 1068.
Bielef, I, 492, 520; II, 1050.
Bielogorod, I, 525.
Bieloozero, I, 267, 378.
Bielosero, I, 43.
Bielo ozersk, I, 393, 400, 433.
Bielosersk, Prince of, I, 214.
Bieul, quoted, I, 55.
Bigchura, II, 1036.
Bijiak, I, 608.
Bikchentei, I, 8.
Bilak Khatun, II, 1015.
Bilberuk, I, 507.
Bing Bazar, I, 273.
Birkulaks, I, 12.
Bish Akty, II, 952, 956.
Bish Kaleh, II, 942.
Bishbaligh, I, 13.
Bishchaghan, II, 953.
Bishikda Oghlan, II, 689
Bishkun Lake, I, 8.
Bisseni, *v.* Pechenegs.
Bistriz, I, 46; II, 1014.
Bizik Tura, II, 983, 990.
Bizye, II, 1014.
Black Caps, *v.* Pechenegs.
Black Forest, I, 279.
Black Horde, I, 216.
Black Koros, I, 49.
Black Sea, I, 35; II, 1047.
Blagoweschtschensk, Fort of, II, 952.
Blankennagel, Major, quoted, II, 917, 926.
Blaramberg, Col., II, 833.
Blue Horde, I, 2, 216; II, 1023.
Blue Sea, II, 679.
Bochmans, I, 9.
Bode, De, quoted, I, 12.
Bogdan, I, 512.
Bogdan Briasga, II, 992.
Boghatyr, *v.* Behadur Sultan.
Bohemia, I, 47.
Bohemians, I, 278.
Bohuez, de, quoted, I, 450–3, 597, 599, 604.
Bokhara, *v.* Bukhara, I, 434, 490, 504, 516.
—— captured by Jingis, I, 33.
Boleslaf, I, 52.
Bolghar, II, 1012, 1056.
Bolghari, I, 38–9, 229, 259, 261.
Bolghari Khan, *v.* Abulkhair.
Boliakai Kuyan, II, 685.
Bolkhof, I, 503.
Bolkhofski, S. D., II, 993.
Bologna, Louis of, I, 451.
Bolshomu, the, v. Grand Survey.
Bolskhoi, osero, *v.* Busukof.
Boniface, Bp., II, 965.
Boram, II, 1035.
Borchi clan, I, 8.
Borgo Pass, I, 48.
Boris, Prince, I, 268–9.
Boris, Tzar, II, 1040.
Boroldia Tau Mts., II, 837.
Borosk, I, 376.
Borrak Khan, I, 272–4, 436; II, 627, 637, 685, 687, 691, 1023.
Bosphorus, I, 519.
Bospro, I, 454.
Botagai, *v.* Totagai.
Botboi clan, I, 8.
Botu, *v.* Potu.
Boyan-ula, I, 8.
Boyanda, II, 1064.
Boyar, II, 991.
Brabant trades with Russia, I, 492.
Brandenburg, Elector of, I, 513.
Brazza, Isle of, I, 56.
Breslau, I, 45.
Brest, I, 259.
Bretschneider, quoted, I, 3, 17–19, 29, 31, 34–40, 43, 52.
Brezcza, I, 57.
Briansk, I, 214, 263.
Bruno, Bp., I, 45.
Brunswick, John of, I, 54.
Buchak, Prince, I, 266.
Budali Ali, I, 436.
Bug River, II, 1012, 1017, 1048.
Bugai, *v.* Abugai.
Bugdaili, II, 955.
Buhuman, quoted, I, 18.
Buidash, II, 632.

Buiruks, II, 978.
Bujek, I, 42, 50.
Bujtak, *v.* Bessarabia.
Bujugha Khan, II, 882, 884.
Bukan Mts., II, 950, 952.
Bukei Khan, I, 7; II, 685.
Bukhara, I, 12, 29, 609; II, 655, 684, 688, 692, 739, 781, 789, 795–6, 803–6, 809, 817, 821, 823, 849, 852, 883, 906–9, 912–13, 916, 919, 930–1, 946, 950–1, 962, 979, 983, 990, 994, 1056, 1065.
—— and Khokand, II, 826.
—— attacked by Iltazar, II, 920.
—— genealogy of Khans of, II, 874.
—— invaded by Khivans, II, 923–4.
—— Muhammedanism in, II, 872.
—— restrictions regarding intoxicants in, II, 871.
—— Russian mission to, II, 784–5.
—— unsettled condition of, II, 910.
—— victory of over Uzbegs, II, 920.
Bukhara, Amir of, II, 682, 818, 935, 941, 953.
—— Moorcroft's visit to, II, 856–7.
Bukhara, Khan of, II, 908, 910, 958.
—— ceremonial at visit to Great Mosque of, II, 871–2.
—— his harem, II, 815.
Bukharians, I, 6, 439.
Bukovina, I, 48.
Bulachi clan, I, 8.
Bulak Canal, I, 417.
Bulak Girai, I, 405.
Bulak Khan, *v.* Muhammed Bulak Khan.
Bulaka River, I, 416.
Bulalghur River, II, 688.
Bulat Khan, II, 642–3, 685.
Bulat Sultan, II, 632, 685.
Buldumsaz, II, 965.
Buldurti River, I, 7.
Bulgakof, Prince Peter, I, 414.
Bulgaria, I, 25, 35, 38–9, 208, 226, 277, 280, 282, 376; II, 1019.
—— and Russia, I, 440.
—— climate of, I, 439.
—— invaded by Russians, I, 261.
—— products of, I, 439.
—— relics of invasion of by Tartans, I, 38.
—— taxation in, I, 439.
—— throne of King of, I, 439.
Bulgarians, I, 24, 38, 40, 376.
—— converted to Muhammedanism, I, 439.
——superstitious beliefs of, I, 439.
Bulghari, I, 265, 268, 274.
Bulki Sultan, II, 921.
Bulughan Khatun, I, 15.
Bulukh Girai Sultan, I, 489.
Bultun clan, I, 8.
Burgamakova, II, 1007.
Burgut tribe, II, 690.
Buri, I, 38, 42, 44; II, 1018, 1068.
Burji Noyan, I, 37.
Burkan, II, 918.
Burnaby, quoted, II, 960.
Burnak, Prince, I, 412.
Burnes, quoted, II, 790–1, 859–61. 872, 924, 930–1.
——visits Bukhara, II, 871–2.
Burroughs, Capt., quoted, I, 491; II, 1038.
Burtanians, I, 214.
Burte, I, 25.
Burte Fujin, I, 14.
Burtechino, I, 14.
Burum, II, 882.
Burucheief, I, 415.
Burundul Khan, II, 1029.
Buruts, II, 632, 817, 1055.
Burzuk, I, 7.
Busreh, II, 922.
Bussaga, II, 956.
Busukof, Lake, II, 999.
Butkof, quoted, II, 1023, 1032, 1035.
Buyagorod, I, 432.
Buzachi, locality of, I, 12.
Buzeji tribe, II, 920.
Buzluk, II, 1019.
Byzantium, II, 1012, 1014.
—— Church of, I, 278.

Caidan, *v.* Kadan.
Campbell, quoted, I, 66–9.
Cape Urga, II, 950, 954, 962.
Carelians, I, 275.
Carinthia, Duke of, I, 56.
Carpathians, I, 3, 48, 52.
Carpini, quoted, I, 16, II, 965.
Casimir, I, 382, 450–1,
—— and Mengli Girai, I, 452.
—— and Nurdaulat Khan, I, 452.
Caspian Sea, I, 2, 7, 349, 500; II, 680, 686, 692, 876, 881, 906–7, 924, 926, 932, 936, 949, 1,031, 1,047.
Cassim, *v.* Kasimof.
Catharine, Empress, *v.* Catherine.
Cathay, I, 491; II, 684.
Catherine, Empress, I, 20, 518, 596–7; II, 648.
Caucasus, Mt., I, 3, 5, 39, 349.
—— Steppe of, II, 1,049.
Central Asia, English and Russians' struggle for supremacy in, II, 826.
Ceremonies—
At Bukharian Khan's visit to Great Mosque, II, 871–2.

Ceremonies—
Presentation of Vambery to Khivan Khan, II, 947.
Reception of envoys to China, II, 818.
Chabkun, I, 412, 416.
Chabtatli Lake, II, 1006.
Chaga, read Chuke, *q.v.*
Chaidir, II, 923.
Chakchaks, I, 8.
Chakiek, River, I, 8.
Chalcocondiyglas, quoted, I, 450.
Chalimskoi osero, II, 992.
Chalmik River, II, 1026.
Chalpak Mts., II, 1055.
Chancellor, Richard, I, 491.
Changul, II, 1000.
Chanish-Kili clan, I, 8.
Chaohoei, II, 817.
Charbekr, II, 912.
Charjitim, clan, I, 8.
Charjui, II, 847, 851, 913–4.
—— Siege of, II, 923.
Charles II (of England), I, 497.
Charles IX (of France), I, 510.
Charles V (of Germany), I, 395, 495.
Charmoy, quoted, I, 9, 240–3; II, 1021.
Chatalche, I, 598.
Chats, II, 1001.
Chaudor tribe, II, 920.
Chaudor Turkomans, II, 938.
—— rebellion of, II, 946.
Chebar, Kul, II, 1002.
Chebirchia, I, 264.
Chebukof, T., II, 985.
Chegeben, II, 1064.
Chegem River, II, 1054.
Chekhreh, I, 449.
Chekly, Kazaks of, II, 921.
Chekre Khan, I, 271–2, 275; II, 1022.
Cheladnin, Ivan, I, 383.
Chelbok River, *v.* Chalmik River.
Chelebis, I, 604, 607.
Chemish, II, 1068.
Cheniatef, I, 489.
Chepe, I, 39.
Cherdin, II, 991–2, 998.
Cherek River, I, 43; II, 1054.
Cheremetief, I, 492.
Cheremisinof, II, 1035.
Cheremisses, I, 42, 402, 404–5, 427–8, 494, 503,; II, 985.
—— rebellion of, I, 516.
—— submit to Ivan, I, 415.
Cherik, II, 979.
Cherkask, I, 429, 489, 493.
Cherkaski, Prince, II, 906–9.
Cherkes clan, I, 7, 208.
Ckerkesbek, I, 208.
Chernaief, Genl., II, 837.
Chernayar, I, 263.
Chernigof, I, 40, 263, 275; II, 1012
—— captured by Mongols, I, 44.
Chernigof, Bishop of, I, 277, 395.
Chernigof, Michael of, I, 43–4, 46, 511.
Chernoi Ostiof, II, 999.
Chernoklobuks, *v.* Pecheneqs.
Chernovitz, I, 48.
Cherson, I, 454, 601; II, 1012.
Cherteyu, the, v. Grand Survey.
Chidiak, II, 1068.
Chihardi, II, 881.
Chihas, I, 240.
Chikishlar, II, 949, 952.
Chikly, I, 7.
Chilikul, Lake, II, 998.
Chim Kurgan, II, 832.
Chimbai, II, 1061.
Chimir clan, I, 8.
Chimkend, II, 841.
Chimkent, II, 831, 937.
Chin Kurgan, II, 833.
Chin Murza, II, 1000.
Chin Timur, I, 32–3.
China, I, 16, 38; II, 822–3.
—— and Kazaks, II, 648, 676.
—— and Khokand at war, II, 1824.
—— and treaty between, II, 825.
—— overthrows Sungarian empire, II, 819.
Chinchaks, I, 42.
Chinese Annals, quoted, I, 51.
Chinese Geography, the, quoted, II, 817.
Chinghiz-Tsazan Mts., I, 9.
Chingi, *v.* Tiumen.
Chingi, Fortress of, II, 997.
Chingi Tura, II, 1066.
Chingidin, founding of, II, 1062.
Chingis, II, 1062.
Chingy, *v.* Chingis.
Chink, *v.* Irkitsh Hills.
Chiplarova, burning of, II, 1007.
Chirchik River, I, 9; II, 831.
Chirghazi Khan, II, 685.
Chirr River, II, 692.
Chlumec, Idislaf of, I, 46.
Choiskaya, II, 1007.
Chopon, I, 3.
Chorluk *v.* Kho Urluk.
Chotz River, read Khotz River, *q.v.*
Christian banner of Russians, I, 424–7.
—— prayers in Tartar, I, 271.
—— temple first, at Kazan, I, 427.
Christianity, adopted by Seyid Burgon I, 438.
—— among Caucasians, I, 490.
—— Circassians, I, 496.
—— Laps, I, 394–5.
—— Haji Girai's attitude towards I, 451.

Christianity in Krim, I, 609.
—— Kazan, I, 428.
—— Russia, I, 435.
Christians, I, 47, 49.
—— at Setzulet, I, 271.
—— slaughtered by Mongols, I, 56.
Chu River, I, 1, 8, 16, 32; II, 627, 630, 688–9, 978.
—— Valley of, I, 20, 29, 30.
Chuangwur, I, 18.
Chubarofa, II, 1006.
Chubui, *v.* Chu River.
Chuchelei, II, 1007.
Chudes, I, 42, 275.
Chuke, II, 1017–8, 1068.
—— escapes to Kuban, II, 1019.
Chuklom, I, 214.
Chulkof, G. D., II, 1065.
Chulpan, Malik, Agha, I, 240.
Chumchu Kahn, II, 848.
Chumekei, I, 7.
Chumeky, Kazaks of, II, 921.
Chumish River, II, 1042.
Chungurlaou, I, 7.
Chura, Prince, I, 404.
Churnak, II, 682.
Chushan-Kangli, I, 18.
Chussovaia River, II, 984, 986–7.
Chusta, II, 828.
Chutak, II, 881.
Chuvak, II, 874, 1004, 1010.
Chuvash, II, 990, 995.
Chuvash Mt., II, 989.
Chuvashes, I, 24, 413, 415, 427.
Circassia, I, 35, 523–4, 597, 600.
Circassia, Prince of, I, 522.
Circassians, I, 5, 21, 37, 42, 214, 454, 489–90, 492, 494, 496, 499, 504, 511, 513, 521, 546–7, 598, 606; II, 998, 1028, 1043. 1048, 1052, 1055.
—— Houses of, II, 1025.
—— Migrate from Beshtan district, II, 1054.
Civitus Ornarum, *v.* al Jorjania.
Clarke quoted, I, 2.
Clavigo, quoted, I, 264.
Clissa, I, 56.
Clock, first striking erected at Moscow, I, 278.
Coacton, I, 44.
Coins in Krim, I, 609.
—— in Novgorod and Pskof, I, 277.
—— of Abdulla Khan, II, 943.
—— Alim Khan, II, 819.
—— Allah Kuli, II, 941.
—— Arabshah, I, 212.
—— Cherkesbek, I, 208.
—— Dervish Khan, I, 272–3.
—— Devlet Berdi, I, 274.
—— Haji Girai, I, 45.
—— Eltazar, II, 920.
—— Jelal ud din, I, 270.
Coins of Kaganbek, I, 208.
—— Kerimberdei, I, 270.
—— Khudayar Khan, II, 842.
—— Khizr Khan, II, 979.
—— Kibak Khan I 271.
—— Kutlugh Murad, II, 944.
—— Mahmud Khan, I, 349.
—— Muhammed Amin, II, 943.
—— Muhammed Bulak Khan, I, 208.
—— Muhammed Fanah, II, 946.
—— Muhammed Rahim, II, 922, 929.
—— Pulad, I, 268; II, 979.
—— Russian silver, I, 399.
—— Shadibeg, I, 265.
—— Shahim Girai, I, 600.
—— Sheibani, II, 691.
—— Tash Timur and Toktamish, I, 449.
—— Timur Khan, I, 269.
—— Timur Kutlugh, I, 262.
—— Ulugh Muhammed, I, 273.
Collection of Annals, quoted, II, 984.
Comans, I, 4, 17, 20, 45.
Comet of, 1420, I, 275.
Comnena, Anna, quoted, I, 4.
Comorn, I, 53, 56.
Conolly, Capt., II, 826, 940.
Constantine, I, 41, 43.
Constantinogorsk, Fortress of, II, 1025.
Constantinople, I, 213, 276–7, 406, 452, 503, 514, 516, 523, 546, 594, 596, 598–9, 601–2, 609; II, 946.
—— captured by Osmanli Turks, I, 450.
Constantinovitch, Prince Boris, I, 212, 229.
Contarini, quoted, I, 350.
Corsica, I, 450.
Cosmas, II, 984.
Cossacks, II, 1036,
—— (Don), I, 489, 521; II, 949, 985.
—— Grebensk, II, 907.
—— Slavic, I, 5.
—— Ural, II, 907.
—— Volga, I, 522.
Cossun, *v.* Hassan.
Costniz, Bishop of, I, 53, 55.
Costume—
—— horse-skin coat, a, II, 1046.
—— turbans of Khivan priests, II, 937.
—— of Afghan Amir, II, 865.
—— Almus, King, I, 439.
—— Betsa Pulad at investiture, I, 270.
—— Kazan Tartars, I, 23–4.
—— Khivan Khan, II, 925, 935, 960.

Costume, Khivan Vizier, II, 934.
—— Kilij (ruler of Khulm), II, 854.
—— Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 927.
—— Russian nobles, II, 1077.
—— —— priests, I, 395–6.
—— —— soldiers, I, 397.
—— Tartar soldiers, I, 520.
Courland, I, 499.
Craeovia, I, 52.
Cracow I, 45, 52, 523.
Crimea, I, 431,
Croatia, I, 52. 56.
Croix, P. de la, I, 27–33, 241, 262–73 ; II, 980.
Cross counteracts Tartar Magic, I, 420.
Cujavia, I, 45.
Culpee, I, 3.
Curcutata, *v.* Tzur.
Currency, in Khuarezm, II, 928.
—— under Seyid Muhammed, II, 946.
Customs—
Abandonment of house struck by lightning, I, 439.
Cakes eaten in memory of Tartar invasion of Moravia, I, 46.
Commemoration of the Ascension, II, 953.
Dietary of Bulgarians, I, 439.
—— Khivans, II, 947.
—— Nogais, II, 1045.
—— Tartars, I, 524.
Eating of Paschal cake of the Russians, II, 953.
Kalmuk oath, licking an arrow, II, 1005.
Krim marriage feasts, I, 22, 607.
Mongol hunting method, I, 242.
Regal State in Bulgaria, I, 439.
Russian marriage, I, 278, 398.
Scholars hanged by Bulgarians, I, 439.
Sign of submissive penitence, II, 943.
Tartar oath of fealty, II, 992.
Ugri funeral, I, 272.
—— of Bukharian ruler, II, 856.
—— Bulgarian King, I, 439.
—— Kazaks regarding strangers, II, 684.
—— Khivan concubines, II, 960.
—— Khoja of Talikhan, II, 858.
—— Krim Sultans, I 607.
—— Nogais, II, 1036–7, 1044–6.
—— Russian inherited from Tartars, II, 1076–7.
Cyprian, I, 213–14, 226, 228, 276–7.
Cyprus, II, 1049.
Cythera, temple of, II, 1049.
Czanad, I, 50.
Czarna River, I, 45.
Daghestan, I, 265, 604 ; II, 914.
Dai Setzen, I, 15.
Dalai, II, 1042.
Dalai Nur, I, 15, 16.
Dalmatia, I, 56.
Danai, *v.* Daniyar.
Dandur, II, 955.
Danial bi, II, 875, 917.
Daniar, II, 847.
Daniel, Prince of Volhynia, I, 43, 262.
Daniel (son of Prince Boris), I, 268–9.
Daniel (the Metropolitan), I, 395.
Danilofski, quoted, II, 909, 941.
Danish Commerce, I, 399.
Daniyar Khan, I, 430–1.
Dantzic, I, 512.
Danube River, I, 4, 48, 51, 53, 55–6, 595 ; II, 1014.
Dargei, II, 945.
Darius, King, II, 1016.
Darwez, II, 825.
Dash Kaleh, II, 938.
Dassibok, Prince, I, 493.
Daukara, I, 13 ; II, 954.
Daung, II, 866.
Davidovitch, M., II, 1012.
Davikhof, Divish of, I, 46.
Defremey, quoted, I, 39.
Dehiman, II, 853.
Demianka, II, 991.
Demianskoiyam, II, 983.
Denmark, I, 495.
Derbend, I, 43, 271, 490, 515 ; II, 853.
Derbish, Prince, I, 416.
Dereguz, Fort of, II, 922–3.
Dereun, II, 880–1, 884.
Dervish Ali, II, 1034.
Dervish Girai, I, 519.
Derwish Khan, I, 272–3, 353–8.
Desht Jitteh, I, 35.
Desht Kipchak, I, 1, 42, 272 ; II, 628–9, 688–9, 692 ; II, 879.
—— under Abulkhair, II, 690.
Desna River, I, 44.
Detrikus, Count, I, 57.
Deu Kisken, II, 964.
Devin, I, 55.
Devlet Berdi, I, 274, 448–9.
Devlet bey, II, 983.
Devlet Bi, II, 767.
Devlet Girai Khan, I, 406, 488–512, 568–74, 593–5, 597, 605 ; II, 1005–8, 1010, 1027, 1036.
—— his friendly policy towards Russia, II, 1007.
—— restored to throne, I, 598.
Devlet Kosa, II, 1064.
Devlet Sheikh Oghlan, II, 686, 874.
Devletyar, I, 451.

Dimitri, Prince, I, 48, 208–9, 212, 213, 215, 226, 228–9, 230.
—— and Government of Russian Church, I, 213.
—— and Michael of Tuer, I, 210.
—— and Tartars, I, 214–5.
—— murder of, I, 525.
Dimitri (of Gallicia), I, 262.
Dimitri, Tzarevitch, I, 427, 489–90.
Dimitris, the False, I, 436–7.
Dimitrof, I, 210, 214, 228, 281, 376.
—— burnt by Tartars, I, 267.
Dimitrovitch, Ivan, I, 280.
Dimitrovitch, Simeon, I, 263.
Din Akhmed, II, 1002, 1038, 1068.
Din Akhmet, Murza, II, 985.
Din Ali Khŏja, II, 984.
Din bey, II, 1038, 1068.
Din Md. Sultan, II, 740–4, 882–4.
Dios Gior, I, 52.
Diurna River, I, 24.
Divan begi, the, II, 945–6, 950.
Divanbashi, office of, II, 964.
Divi-Murza, I, 509–10.
Divination by shoulder blades of sheep, II, 893.
Dlugocz, quoted, *v.* Dlugosch.
Dlugosch, quoted, I, 39, 44–5, 451–2.
Dneprovsk, I, 603.
Dnieper River, I, 3, 43, 259, 262, 493, 496, 510, 519, 597; II, 1017, 1044, 1048.
Dniester River, I, 545; II, 1028.
Dobruja, I, 594; II, 1024.
Dolgoi Yar, II, 989.
Dolgoruki, Prince, I, 596.
Dolmatof Uspenskoi, Monastery of, burnt, II, 1007.
Domosberof, G., II, 999.
Don River, I, 5, 42, 214, 216, 226, 263, 267, 270, 510, 519, 521; II, 1017, 1032.
—— and Volga, proposed Canal between, I, 499–500, 503–4.
Donaf, I, 436.
Donghuz River, I, 8.
Donski, Dimitri, I, 281, 414, 417.
Dor, II, 1007.
Dorpat I, 278, 494, 497, 499.
—— Seige of, I, 495–7.
Dort-Avul clan, I, 8.
Dort-Kara, I, 7.
Doru, II, 1030.
Dost Muhammed, II, 867, 869, 885–6.
Dostam bi, II, 911.
Dovletek, I, 453.
Dragon plates of the fountain of the, II, 817.
Dreschern, Col., II, 954.
Drushina Yurief, II, 1040.
Drutsk, Prince of, I, 259.
Dubak, I, 213.
Dubossar, I, 603, 605.
Dumaison, Count, II, 1053.
Dundan Shikun, II, 860.
Düneburg, I, 496.
Durmans, locality of, I, 12, 13.
Dussan bi, II, 908.
Dwina, River, I, 277, 492, 522.
—— Bay of the, I, 491.
—— Country of the, I, 260, 264, 376.

Ebelei, I, 8.
Edei Oghlu, II, 1049.
Edrisi, quoted, I, 17.
Edward II, I, 885.
Edward VI, I, 491.
Effendi Suavi, quoted, II, 965.
Egofka River, I, 405.
Egres, Monastery of, I, 51.
Eisenburg, I, 52.
Ekaterinoslaf, I, 599.
El haji Oghlan, *v.* Oghlu, the Alaji.
El Jemal, I, 26.
El Shash, I, 32.
Elbruz River, II, 1055.
Elchar, I, 263.
Elitz, I, 270.
Elizabeth, Empress, II, 1059.
Elizabeth, Queen of England, I, 504.
Elna, I, 405.
Elphinstone, quoted, II, 854.
Embassies—
From Afghanistan to Khokand, II, 818.
From China to Khokand, II, 824.
From Jingis Khan to Sultan Mahammed, 1, 26–7.
From Khokand to China, II, 817–8.
From Nogais to Russia, II, 1030.
From Persia to Khiva, II 1083–6.
From Siberia to Moscow, II, 1064.
Reception of in China, II, 818.
Eminek, I, 452–3.
England, II, 963.
—— and Khiva, negotiations between broken off, II, 940.
—— and Russia, II, 795–8.
—— sends envoy to Khiva, II, 933–9.
—— sends envoy to Russia, II, 939.
—— trades with Persia, I, 504.
—— —— Russia, I, 491, 516–7.
Epitaph of a Tartar judge, I, 24.
Er-Nazar, II, 1060.
Erali Khan, II, 667–70, 685, 1059, 1060.
Erali Sultan, II, 915.
Erdberg, Col., II, 912.
Erdeni Bek, II, 817, 875.

Erdmann, quoted, I, 14–18, 25–28, 31, 33, 35, 37.
Erenk Khan, II, 905.
Erekliberdi Beg, I, 266.
Ergone River, *v.* Argun.
Eric, King, I, 498.
Erjan, *v.* Riazan, I, 40.
Erket, *v.* Yarkand, II, 906.
Ernest, son of Maximilian, I, 510.
Erskine, quoted, I, 5, 29; II, 629, 705.
Ertem, I, 3.
Ertogrul, I, 19.
Ertuk Inak, II, 914.
Erven, I, 499.
Erzerum, I, 523.
Eshnash, I, 32.
Eski Krim, I, 516.
Eslingen, I, 53.
Esmbeg, I, 520.
Esni bey, II, 1051.
Essen Khan, II, 689.
Esthonia, I, 498, 503.
Etimlier clan, I, 9.
Etzan, II, 1043.
Eudoxia, I, 375.
—— death of, I, 505.
Eupathius Kolurat, I, 40.
Eupatoria, I, 603.
Euphrasia, I, 40.
Euxine, the, I, 450, 454.
Evdek Bakshi, I, 393.
Evlia, I, 546.
Evrenk Khan, *v.* Arank Khan.
Execution at Shehr I Sebz, an, II, 848–9.
Eyball Utzick, II, 1043.

Fable of the three pilgrims and the bones, I, 29.
Faenza, I, 54.
Faiz Buksh Munshi, II, 866.
Faizabad, II, 825, 853, 865.
Fakhr ud din, I, 26.
Falgar, II, 850.
Fan River, II, 851.
Farab, II, 843, 850–1.
Farakhan, II, 866.
Farish, II, 952.
Fars, I, 240.
Fatiha, the, II, 918.
Fatima (wife of Shah Ali), I, 400–1.
Fatima Sultan, I, 438.
Fazil bi, II, 818, 846, 917.
Fazil Khoja, II, 945.
Fekeljik, I, 516.
Fellin, Fortress of, I, 498.
Feodor, I, 40–1, 214, 263, 520–1, II, 984.
—— Accession of, I, 519.
Feodor (son of Melik Tahir), I, 375.
Feodor (son of Ivan IV), I, 513.
Feodor, Tzar, II, 999.
Feodorof, I, 502.
Ferdinand I, I, 495.
Ferdinand II, Emperor, I, 545.
Ferghana, II, 701, 816–7, 912.
—— Annexed by Russia, II, 845.
—— Consequently Narbuteh bi, II, 818.
Ferhad Pasha, Mosque of, I, 598.
Ferhkerman, I, 516.
Feridun, I, 33.
Feridun Murza, II, 942.
Ferrand quoted, I, 450.
Ferrier, quoted, II, 863, 867.
Festivals—
Feast at Khivan Court, II, 937.
"Saturday of Dimitri," I, 215.
Feth Girai, I, 523, 528–9, 546, 579–80; II, 1068.
Firdusi, quoted, I, 5.
Firearms, early use of in Europe, I, 262.
Fischer, quoted, II, 1000, 1002, 1008.
Flat-Noses, *v.* Manguts.
Fletcher, quoted, I, 520, 524.
Fort St. George, Khalata re-named, II, 953.
Fraehn, M., quoted, I, 208, 265, 268, 274, 349, 438, 449–51, 965.
Francis I, I, 395.
Frangipanni rewarded for loyalty to Bela, I, 57.
Frankenberg, Major, II, 907–8.
Frazer, quoted, II, 922–3, 926–7.
Frederick, II, Duke, I, 53–4.
Frederick III, Emperor, I, 451.
Freisingen, Bp. of, I, 55.
Fuchs, Dr., quoted, I, 23.
Fulad Timur, *v.* Pulad Timur.
Fündüklü, I, 597.
Furstenberg, I, 495, 498.
Futeh Ali Khan, II, 923.

Gabai Abdulla Sultan, II, 1058.
Gagarin, Prince, II, 906.
Galata, I, 450.
Galdan, II, 641, 644.
Galitch, I, 41, 43, 278, 280, 402, 430.
Galitch Merski, I, 41.
Galitzin, Boris A., II, 907.
Gallicia, I, 48, 267; II, 1013.
—— Tartars invade, I, 524.
Gartold, M., I, 454.
Garu Bagashaef, II, 1007.
Gaubil, quoted, I, 15, 30, 32–4, 44.
Gazan, II, 1018.
Gazi Girai Khan I, I, 477, 516, 529–37, 546; II, 1027.
Gazi Girai Khan, II, I, 525–8.
—— imprisoned in Persia, I, 523–4.
Gazi Nurus, II, 1022–3, 1068.
Geech River, *v.* Jaik River.

Genj Ali Beg, II, 863.
Genoese, the, I, 214, 452.
—— and Haji Girai, I, 450.
—— transported to Constantinople, I, 453.
Gens, Major, quoted, II, 934.
George, Prince of Riazan, I, 40–3.
George, Prince of Vladimir, I, 38.
Georgi, quoted, I, 21; II, 1066.
Georgia, I, 271, 606; II, 924.
—— subsidiary to Russia, I, 522.
Gerassim, I, 264, 277.
German doctors summoned to Russia, I, 394.
Germans, I, 49, 260, 277–8, 382, 494–5, 500, 502, 511, 513.
—— colonies of in Silesia, I, 45.
Germany and Mongols, I, 53, 55.
—— commerce of, I, 399.
—— Emperor of quarrels with Pope, I, 53–5.
Geroth, I, 50.
Ghassari quoted, I, 216, 225.
Ghayas ud din . . . Aghabek, I, 208.
Ghayas ud din Khan, I, 449; II, 1023.
Ghayas ud din Muhammed Bulak Khan, *v.* Muhammed Bulak Khan.
Ghem River, *v.* Yemba R.
Ghernush Khanah (Hall of Secret Audience), II, 928.
Ghibaka, I, 601.
Ghilan, II, 906.
Ghorokhovetz, I, 42.
Gingetai Kuman Noyan, I, 37.
Girai, origin of name, I, 449–50.
Girai clan, I, 8.
Girai Khan, I, 6; II, 627–8, 685, 690–2.
Git, II, 965.
Glaba, M., II, 1014.
Gladishef, II, 913.
Gladyschef, D., II, 1058–9.
Glatz, I, 47.
Gleb, I, 43, 262.
Glinski, M., I, 382.
Glukhof, I, 44; II, 997.
Glukhofski, quoted, II, 964.
Gniesen, Archbp. of, I, 523.
Goa Gulka, I, 14.
Godunof, Boris, I, 513, 519, 522; II, 1000, 1051.
—— agents of murder Dimitri, I, 525.
—— reign of predicted by soothsayers, I, 524–5.
Godunof, M. M., II, 1003.
Godunof, S., II, 1041.
Goeje, de, quoted, II, 965.
Göklans, II, 922.
Golden Horde, I, 2, 9, 21, 36, 216, 349, 378, 431, 439, 449, 450–1, 453, 513; II, 686–7, 979, 980.
Golden Horde, ethnology of, I, 1.
Golden Vase, *v.* Bestui Zerrin.
Golitz, I, 405.
Golof, Col., II, 952.
Golos, quoted, II, 1061.
Golovachef, Genl., II, 843, 952.
Good Hope, Cape of, I, 454.
Gorbati, Prince Ivan, I, 379.
Gorbaty, Prince Alex, I, 405.
Gordeyef, P., II, 1058.
Gorislava, I, 499.
Görlens, II, 1060.
Gorodetsk, I, 404.
Gorodetz, I, 6, 41, 212, 229, 380, 430, 432.
—— burnt by Tartars, I, 267.
Gorodetz, Daniel of, I, 278.
Gorodok, *v.* Kasimof.
Gorshadna, Princess, I, 402.
Gosleve, I, 596, 598–9, 603, 605, 609.
—— captured by Russians, I, 599.
—— judges of, I, 608.
Goss Gussian Bey, epitaph from tombstone of, I, 24.
Gran, I, 55–6.
Grand Principality, I, 227–8.
Grand Survey, II, 679, 683.
Great Horde, I, 9, 13, 21, 429, 432; II, 673–9, 1060.
—— sections of, I, 6.
Great Kobda, II, 1009.
Great Nogaia, II, 978, 1020.
Great Turksko, I, 45.
Great Varadin, *v.* Great Wardein.
Great Wardein, I, 49.
Greek Church, buildings of restored at Ivan's command, I, 494.
—— clergy of in Russia, I, 395.
—— creation of Southern Metropolitan in, 1415.
—— in Livonia, I, 494.
—— life in Russian Monasteries of, I, 396.
—— oppressed by Turks, I, 395.
—— reforms in, I, 394–5.
Greek Empire, I, 4.
Greeks emigrate from Krim to Russia, I, 599.
Gregorief, Professor, quoted, I, 9, 16; II, 686.
Gregory, II, 984.
Gregory IX, Pope, I, 53.
Grosa, Ivan, II, 986.
Guagnini, quoted, II, 684.
Gubin, Daniel, II, 1032.
Guedik, II, 938.
Gueuk II, 1020.
Guignes, de, quoted, I, 19, 266; II, 905, 1019, 1040–1.
Gul bagh, II, 824.

Guldenstadt, quoted, II, 1052–3.
Gundurof, Prince, I, 401.
Guneji, Oghlan, I, 240 ; II, 1021.
Gurgan, II, 919.
Gurganj, *v.* Al Jorjania.
Gurief, I, 7 ; II, 907.
Gurlen, I, 228 ; II, 957.
Gury, Bp., I, 429.
Gushen, Theodore, I, 263.
Gustavus Vasa, I, 395.
Guthrie, quoted, I, 603.
Gyergyo, I, 50.
Gyla, I, 3.
Gyola, I, 50.

Habash Sultan, II, 895.
Hackluyt, quoted, II, 684, 1037, 1039.
Hafiztamish, quoted, II, 690–1.
Haidar, quoted, I, 5, 6, 12, 13 ; II, 627–32.
Haidar, beg, II, 1023.
Haidar Khan, I, 431, 451.
Haidar Khoja, II, 850.
Haidar, Amir, II, 819, 920.
Haidar, Prince, I, 280.
Haidar, Sultan, I, 452–3.
Haidarids, II, 875.
Haji Girai Khan, II, I, 563.
Hajim Khan, or Haji Md. Khan, II, 886–94.
Haithon, quoted, I, 55.
Haji Baba, I, 453.
Haji Beg, I, 212, 240.
Haji Bek, II, 836.
Haji Bi, II, 875.
Haji Chil, I, 605.
Haji Girai, I, 431, 448–51, 489.
—— and Genoese, I, 450.
—— and Poland, I, 450–1.
—— and Russia, I, 451.
—— coins struck by, I, 451.
—— his attitude to Christianity, I, 451.
—— parentage of, I, 448–9.
Haji Ismael, II, 948.
Haji Khoja, I, 211.
Haji Muhammed Khan, II, 691, 905, 980, 1010.
Haji Selim Girai Khan, I, 609.
Haji Urak, II, 951.
Hajim Khan, II, 884, 964.
Hak Kuli, II, 826.
Hakas, *v.* Kazaks.
Hakashmak beg, I, 546.
Hakim, Girai Khan, I, 583–4 ; II, 1028.
Halachi, *v.* Kincha.
Halik Nazar Parmanachi, II, 842, 844.
Halim Girai, I, 594. 596.
Hall of Secret- Audience, *v.* Ghernush Khanah.
Hammer, von, quoted, I, 1, 4, 19. 32, 35–48, 210, 216, 226, 241, 261. 263–4, 265–75 281, 448–9, 515. 520, 523, 546, 596 ; II, 628, 979, 1012–3, 1019, 1022, 1027–8, 1043, 1051.
Han History, I, 19.
Hanasa, I, 32.
Hanna, I, 47.
Hanse towns, I, 383.
Hanway, quoted, II, 684, 907, 913.
Hassan, *v.* Alsan.
Hassan Haji, I, 31.
Hassan Jefai, I, 449.
Hassan Kuli Khan, II, 880.
Hassan Murad Bek, II, 920.
Hastings, Mary, I, 516.
Haugwitz, I, 45.
Hazarasp, II, 876, 879, 881, 884, 888, 898, 912–3, 916, 923, 930, 941.
—— taken by Russians, II, 958.
Hazrat Imaum, II, 856, 858.
Hazret Khan, *v.* Khesret Khan.
Hazret Khoja Ahmed Yasavi, tomb of, II, 681–2.
Health dust, *v.* Khaki Shifa.
Heberstein, quoted, I, 374–6, 381, 395–9, 452, 520 ; II, 684, 1031.
Hedwig, Queen, I, 229, 261.
Heinrichau, I, 47.
Helena, daughter of Olgerd, I, 209, 382, 394, 401.
Hell, de, quoted, II, 1018.
Hellwald, quoted, II, 837, 950–1.
Helo River, I, 515.
Hennersdorf, I, 45.
Henning, Soloman, quoted, I, 434.
Henry II, of Silesia, I, 54.
Henry III, of England, I, 55.
Henry VIII, of England, I, 395.
Heraclea Pontica II, 1018.
Herat, II, 690, 704, 721, 864, 933, 939.
Herodotus of the Scythians, quoted, II, 1049.
Hiärn, quoted, I, 434.
Hindoos not allowed to wear turbans, I, 859.
Hindostan, I, 393.
Hissar, II, 851–3.
History of Bukhara, I, 9.
Hogg, quoted, II, 684.
Holland trades with Russia, I, 492.
Holy breath, *v.* Nefez.
Honorius, Pope, II, 1014.
Horsey, quoted, I, 507–8.
Hostein Mt., I, 46–7.
Hostinof, *v.* Hostein.
Hostyn, *v.* Hostein.
Hotzenplotz, I, 47.
Huladai Gürgan, I, 15.
Hulusuman, I, 18.
Humayun, II, 725.

Hungarians, I, 52, 500, 513; II, 1017.
Hungary, I, 35–6, 42, 44, 49, 53; II, 978–9.
—— embassy from Tartars to, I, 270.
—— relics in, of Tartar invasion, I, 45–6.
—— Tartar invasion of, I, 44, 48–52.
Hungary, Great, I, 37–8.
Huntingdon, Earl of, I, 516.
Huodu, Prince, I, 18.
Huran, I, 37.
Husamuddin Katal, II, 876.
Hushitai, I, 37.
Hussein bek, II, 851.
Hussein Khan, I, 351; II, 867.
Hussein San., Emir, I, 25.
Huzrut Khan, *v.* Khesret Khan.

Ibadulla, II, 943.
Ibak, I, 435; II, 691, 857, 980–1, 1010, 1029, 1062.
Ibakof, II, 1032.
Iban, II, 1068.
Ibash Oglu, II, 1026.
Iberia, I, 522.
Ibir Sibir, I, 35.
Ibissibur, *v.* Siberia.
Ibn al Athir, quoted, I, 29, 30, 39.
Ibn Arabshah, quoted, I, 265; II, 1022.
Ibn Batuta, quoted, II, 965, 979.
Ibn el Vardi, quoted, I, 4.
Ibn Fozlan, quoted, I, 439.
Ibn Haukal, quoted, II, 816, 965.
Ibrahim, I, 266, 370–4, 430, 433; II, 979, 1029, 1068.
Ibrahim, Atalik, II, 910.
Ibrahim Datkha, II, 828.
Ibrahim Oghlan, II, 686, 874, 876.
Ibrahim Sultan, II, 690.
Ich-Kungur, I, 8.
Idaik Sultana, II, 1023.
Idiak, *v.* Sediak.
Idiku, I, 9, 240–1, 259, 261–3, 265–6, 271–2, 449; II, 1020, 1068.
—— and Kadirberdi, I, 275.
—— and Russian tribute, I, 267–8.
—— death of, I, 351; II, 1074.
—— in Muscovy, I, 267.
Igdy, II, 955.
Igelstrom, Baron, II, 667, 671.
Iglava, I, 48.
Ignatief, Gen., his mission to Khiva, II, 945–6.
Igor, I, 4.
Igorovitch, Roman, I, 41.
Ikan (probably Arkan, *q.v.*).
Ikhtiyaruddin, Fort of, II, 690.
I Gheldi II, 924–6.
Ilak, II, 687.
Ilanchuk River, I, 241.
Ilas Pingli, II, 817.
Ilbak, I, 208; II, 979–80, 1010.
Ilban, *v.* Ilbak.
Ilbarz Khan, II, 876, 879–80, 912–4, 965, 982.
—— Nadir's letter to, II, 912–3.
Ilbars Sultan, II, 895.
Ilduz Khan, II, 868.
Ilé River, I, 9.
Ilek River, I, 7, 8; II, 681, 945, 978, 1009.
Ilgulin, II, 999.
Ilham Khan, *v.* Ali Khan.
Ili, Chinese Governor of, II, 822.
Ilia, I, 279.
Ilianli Tuk, II, 630.
Ilji Noyan, I, 35.
Iljigin, I, 14.
Ilkhanids, I, 16.
Ilkhans, I, 37.
Illiten, Prince, II, 1000.
Iltazar, II, 918–20, 961.
—— defeats Yomuds, II, 919.
—— his standard, II, 919.
—— strikes coins, II, 920.
Ilte idshe, II, 952.
Ilte Iji, II, 956.
Iltish River, II, 986.
Imaks, II, 863.
Imams, I, 425.
Iman-Bai clan, I, 9.
Imen tribe, I, 36.
Imil, I, 16.
Inaks (Prime Ministers) of Khuarezm, II, 916.
—— dignity of, II, 963.
Inaljuk Gair Khan, I, 27.
Inayet Girai Khan, I, 543; II, 1024, 1027, 1051.
India, II, 912.
—— Parrots and panthers purchased from, by Peter the Great, II, 907.
Indies, I, 491.
Ingakli-Keneguz, I, 21.
Ingor, I, 40–1.
Inkerman, I, 454.
Inosze, I, 18.
Inshan Mts., I, 15.
Ipoly River, I, 55.
Iraiji, *v.* Iranchi.
Iraj Khan, II, 868.
Irak, I, 29, 240; II, 900.
Iram, read Iran, *q.v.*
Iran, II, 912.
Iranchi, II, 629, 685, 692.
Iranji Khan, *v.* Iranchi.
Iranovitch, read Ivanovitch, *q.v.*
Irbek, II, 915.
Irgene Kun, I, 14.
Irghinekli clan, I, 8.

Irghiz River, I, 7, 8; II, 679–80, 978, 1035.
Irjan, II, 944.
Irkibai, II, 950, 952, 954.
Irkitsh Hills, II, 907.
Irsari tribe, II, 881.
Irtasali, Inak, II, 959, 961.
Irtish River, I, 8, 20, 31: II, 635, 983–4, 989, 990, 993, 997, 1002, 1040, 1062.
—— legends of, II, 987, 1064.
—— Upper, I, 8.
Isa beg, II, 1068.
Isa Khoja, II, 826.
Isaip, II, 1068.
Isbuka, II, 979.
Isenek, Prince, I, 416.
Iset River, II, 998, 1040–1, 1066.
Isfara, II, 817, 838.
Isfendiar, II, 845.
Ish, II, 884.
Ish kasham, II, 866.
Ish Muhammed, II, 882.
Ishak beg, II, 824.
Ishan Khan, II, 857.
Ishan Khoja, II, 859.
Ishan Nukib, II, 777.
Ishan Suddur, II, 863.
Ishberdi, II, 991.
Ishetirack (grain tax), II, 1044.
Ishim Khan, II, 639–40, 670, 685. II, 1004, 1010.
Ishim River, II, 1062.
Ishkep, II, 1007.
Ishim River, I, 8; II, 990, 994, 1001–2.
Ishkili tribe, I, 12.
Ishma River, II, 986.
Ishmed bi, II, 916.
Ishtakhri, quoted, II, 965.
Ishterek, II, 1040–1, 1051, 1068.
Isiaslaf, I, 277.
Isiaslaf Mitislaf, I, 38.
Iskander, executed, II, 848.
Islam (brother of Muhammed), I, 546.
Islam Khan, I, 495.
Islam, Prince, I, 416.
Islam Girai Khan, I, 479, 518–23, 545; II, 1050.
Islam Girai Khan, III, I, 547–52.
Islam Kirman, I, 493.
—— Fortress of, I, 507.
Islam Pasha, I, 547.
Ismael, II, 1030, 1033–4, 1037, 1068.
—— death of, II, 1038.
—— murders his brother, II, 1034.
Ismael, Fortress of, I, 594–5.
Ispahan, II, 683.
Issa Avlia, II, 843–4.
Issanbugha, II, 627.
Issel River, I, 8.
Issen-Témir clan, I, 7.
Issikul, II, 627.
Istimur, II, 1064.
Istlu, Prince, II, 945.
Istuakoghli tribe, II, 1043.
Isup, *v.* Yusuf.
Isyedinof, N. M. S., II, 1003.
Italy, I, 54.
Itek, II, 685.
Itibai, II, 956.
Itik, II, 629.
Ivan I, I, 228.
Ivan III (Grand Prince), I, 350, 374–7, 393, 406, 453.
—— death of, I, 380.
—— makes treaty with Mengli Girai, I, 453.
Ivan IV (the terrible), I, 400–1, 402, 405, 491, 494–6, 501; II, 1033, 1039.
—— agents of his oppression, I, 501–2.
—— and the hermit, I, 505.
—— and Kazan, I, 413–29.
—— and Krim Khan, I, 503, 508–9.
—— and Lithuanians, I, 499.
—— and Mary Hastings, proposed marriage between, I, 516.
—— and Poles, I, 500.
—— appearance of, I, 501.
—— banquet at Court of, I, 401.
—— birth portents of, I, 393.
—— character of, I, 498, 502, 505–6, 509–11, 517.
—— Court of, I, 497–8.
—— death of, I, 517.
—— fears treachery of nobles, I, 501.
—— his attitude towards Lutherans, I, 514.
—— —— Roman Catholics, 514.
—— his policy towards Turks, I, 506–7.
—— kills his son, I, 514.
—— marriages of, I, 499, 509, 513.
—— massacres Livonians, I, 510.
—— Monastic life of, I, 502.
—— murders by, I, 504–5.
—— oppression by agents of, I, 502.
—— refuge in England promised to him, I, 504.
—— reign of reviewed, I, 517–8.
Ivan, Prince of Tuer, I, 265–7, 269, 270.
Ivan the Boyard, I, 281.
Ivan (son of Dimitri of Suzdal), I, 212.
Ivan (son of Prince Michael), I, 210.
Ivan Gorod, I, 514.
Ivanof, Col., II, 960–1, 1061.
Ivanogorod, I, 494.

Ivanovitch, Feodor, I, 435; II, 679, 982.
Ivanovitch Vasili, II, 1031.
Ivaz, II, 917.
Izborsk, I, 265.
Izfendiar Khan, II, 896–900.
Izkander Khan, II, 730–3, 847–8, 874.
Izkander Kul, II, 851.
Izker, II, 1062.
Izzet ulla, quoted, II, 823, 868.

Jabun Khatun, I, 15.
Jadik, *v.* Yadik.
Jagal-Baiuli, I, 7.
Jagatai, I, 33, 35, 39, 44, 274.
Jagatai tribe, I, 2, 12.
Jaghun Berkin, II, 629.
Jahria Sect, II, 681.
Jai Alchia, *v.* Khingan Range.
Jaik River, I, 3, 5, 17; II, 660, 679, 681, 684, 1002, 1008, 1029, 1031, 1039, 1041, 1043.
Jaikin, II. 829.
Jalim Sultan, II, 634.
Jamchi bi, *v.* Narbutch Bi.
Jan, II, 1035.
Jan Ali, I, 393–401, 433–4; II, 1032.
Jan Girai, II, 984.
Jan Khoja, II, 942.
Jan Murad Bek, II, 920.
Janai Khan, I, 432.
Janai Tzarevitch, I, 380.
Jani Daria, II, 1060.
Jani Kala, II, 954.
Jani Kasgan, II, 953.
Janibeg Batir, camp of, II, 684.
Janibeg Khan, I, 6, 214, 268, 455, 538–40, 543; II, 627–8, 685, 690–2.
Janibeg, Prince, I, 350.
Janibeg Sultan, II, 874.
Janibeg Terkhan, II, 1059.
Janids, II, 743, 874.
Janikala, II, 956.
Janis, II, 996.
Janis clan, I, 8.
Janish, II, 629–30, 685.
Janjar clan, I, 8.
Janjarkhan, grave of, II, 1076.
Janta, II, 979.
Jantiura Khan, II, 671, 685.
Janubi bey, II, 957.
Jany Daria, I, 7, II, 952.
Jany Kurgan, II, 832.
Jappas, I, 7.
Jarimferdei, *v.* Jebbarberdei.
Jarta, II, 1010.
Jaubert, quoted, I, 17.
Jauk, II, 629.
Javer Sagan, I, 15.
Jaxartes River, I, 33–5; II, 680, 816, 942, 949, 1057.
Jean beek Batir, *v.* Janibeg Batir.
Jebas, tribes of, II, 921.
Jebbarberdei, I, 270–1.
Jehandar Shah, II, 864–5.
Jeilanlu Kinghir, I, 241.
Jejeh, II, 881.
Jelair, I, 12, 13.
Jelal ud din, I, 30, 269–70, 448.
Jelal ud din Bayazid, II, 687.
Jelalberdei, *v.* Jelal ud din.
Jelanchik River, *v.* Zelenchik River.
Jelien River, I, 17.
Jemshidis, II, 941, 944.
Jenabi, quoted, I, 448, 451.
Jend, I, 29–31.
—— Seige of, I, 32–3.
Jenkinson, quoted, I, 434, 492, 504; II, 684, 964–5, 1036–7.
—— his visit to Khuarezm, II, 892–4.
Jeremferdei, *v.* Jebbarberdei.
Jerik, *v.* Cherik.
Jerkes, I, 37.
Jerusalem, I, 514.
Jesaul Mamit, the, II, 956–7.
Jesuits, I, 45.
Jetes, I, 30.
Jevdet, quoted, I, 610.
Jews oppressed by Ivan IV, I, 517.
Jid tribe, locality of, I, 12.
Jihankushai annals, quoted, I, 51.
Jilanli Kungur, II, 680.
Jilaun, I, 29.
Jingis Khan, I, 15, 16, 18, 25–6, 28–9, 31, 33–6, 603; II, 906, 916, 978, 1062.
—— and Christians, I, 28.
—— and Khuarezmians, I, 26–7, 30.
—— and Merkits, I, 29.
—— envoys of, and Sultan Mahammed, I, 26–7.
—— envoys of, murdered by Inaljuk, I, 27.
—— last remnant of his Empire, I, 603.
—— negotiates with Khalif against Khuarezm, I, 28–9.
Jinjik, II, 1043.
Jirecek, quoted, II, 1014.
Jirek Timur, II, 1019.
Jislu Kinghir, I, 241.
Jiyuk, I, 29.
Jizakh, II, 688, 823, 826, 835, 837, 845–7, 952.
Jizli Kungur, II, 680.
Joachim, Patriarch, executed, II, 1019.
Johannesthal, I, 45.
John, Prince of Denmark, I, 436.
John, the Sebastokrator, II, 1013.

Jones, Sir Wm., quoted, II, 914.
Juchi, I, 1, 10, 25–37, 216 ; II, 629, 686, 691, 978, 1010, 1068.
—— birth of, I, 25.
—— death of, I, 35.
Juibar, II, 912.
Jujibuka, II, 979, 1010.
Julek Ak Musjid, II, 832.
Julek, Fort of, destroyed, II, 834.
—— captured by Russians, II, 837.
Julian, Friar, quoted, I, 37–8.
Julienne, J, 264.
Jundiuk, II, 1068.
Jurisdiction in Khuarezm II, 960–1.
—— under Muhammed Rahim. Khan. II, 927–8.
—— under Murad, Bi, II, 776.
Jura bek, II, 843, 849, 850.
Jurluk Mergen, I, 14.
Jusali River, I, 7.
Justiniani, I, 450.
Juvan Ana, II, 1008.
Juveni, quoted, I, 26.
Juyuts, locality of, I, 12.

Kabadian, II, 853.
Kabai Shireh, I, 14.
Kaban Lake, I, 429.
Kabarda, Prince of, I, 522.
Kabardas, II, 1054.
Kabil-Kagle, Agakli, I, 18.
Kabli River, I, 29.
Kabul, II, 688, 854, 912, 939–40.
Kabul bi, II, 932.
Kabul Khan, I, 14.
Kadak, II, 979.
Kadan, I, 42, 45, 48, 50, 55–7.
Kadan Ogul, I, 39.
Kadirberdi, I, 274–5 ; II, 1022.
Kadom, I, 435, 507.
Kadush, I, 393.
Kaferistan, I, 262.
Kaffa, I, 216, 450, 452–3, 503–4, 516, 520, 547, 596, 598, 600–1, 604, 607, 609, 610 ; II, 1079.
—— captured by Russians, I, 599.
—— ——Turks, I, 453.
Kaffirs at war with Khokand, II, 843.
—— Siab Posh, I, 262 ; II, 859.
Kaganbek, I, 208.
Kahkaha, Fortress of, I, 524.
Kaibuk, *v.* Abdulla.
Kaibuka, Tzarevitch, I, 435.
Kaichili Khitai, I, 21.
Kaidaul, II, 996.
Kaidu, II, 816.
Kaikobad, II, 1029.
Kaili River, *v.* Kabli River.
Kainarji, treaty of, I, 597–8.
Kainu, read Kasim, *q.v.*
Kaip Khan, II, 685, 915–6, 1058–1060.
Kaistritza, II, 1012.
Kajanbak, I, 609.
Kakhan Mt., II, 1023.
Kakheti, I, 522.
Kal Khan, II, 884.
Kalamet, I, 378.
Kalassi Khan, II, 929.
Kalentar bek, II, 849.
Kalga, a Krim dignitary, I, 605, 610.
Kalimet, II, 1063.
Kalka River, I, 39, 216.
Kalladjis, I, 17.
Kalmuks, I, 13, 439, 546 ; II, 606, 641, 949, 982, 1041–2, 1056.
—— and Russians, II, 1003.
—— attack Tara, II, 1005.
—— Black, II, 684.
—— defeat Uzbegs, II, 688–9.
—— defeated by Nogais, II, 632.
—— relics of on Steppes of Middle and Little Hordes, II, 1008.
—— sell captive slaves, II, 911.
—— Sungar, II, 819, 1057.
Kalomna, I, 260 ; II, 1037.
—— captured by Mongols, I, 41.
Kaluga, I, 42, 210, 399, 437, 525, 602.
Kama, I, 280, 375 ; II, 986.
Kama River, I, 40, 229, 264, 376 ; II, 984, 986, 991, 1031, 1039.
—— Upper, I, 427.
Kamadj River, I, 29.
Kamai, I, 416.
Kamberdi, I, 489.
Kamenetz, I, 48.
Kamich River, *v.* Kamadj River.
Kamisty, II, 956.
Kan, II, 1000.
Kanai, II, 1002, 1068.
Kanbur, I, 380 ; II, 629–30, 685.
Kanchaks, II, 1052.
Kanchuvar, II, 1003, 1007.
Kandahar, II, 705, 864, 912.
Kandalagian Gulf, I, 394.
Kanef, I, 493.
Kangar, *v.* Kangkiu.
Kangkiu, I 19.
Kangli-Kipchaks, I, 10, 17.
Kangul, II, 688.
Kanjal Mts., II, 1055.
Kanjigali clan, I, 8, 12.
Kankali Steppe, I, 33.
Kankalis, I, 17, 20, 29, 34, 39 II, 683, 920.
—— derivation of name, I, 18.
—— identification of, I, 18, 19.
—— steppes of, I, 35.
Kankli clan, *v.* Kanli.
Kankor, founded, II, 985.
Kanli clan, I, 9, 12.
Kanlijik, I, 596.
Kanlis River, I, 8.

Kantemir, II, 1024.
—— rebellion of, II, 1027.
Kanvan, II, 688.
Kaoché, I, 19.
Kaokui, *v.* Kaoché.
Kaplan Girai, I, 574–5, 577; II, 1028, 1043.
Kaplan Girai, II, I, 595.
Kapkaninskaia, II, 1005.
Kaplu, I, 609.
Kar Jagh (ancient name of Kunchuk Tag), I, 241.
Kara Adir Mts., I, 242.
Kara bagh, I, 515.
Kara Burkli (Black caps), *v.*, Pechenegs.
Kara Devlet Grai Khan, I, 575.
Kara-Girai clan, I, 8.
Kara Iflah, *v.* Roumans.
Kara Kalpaks, I, 269.
Kara Khitai, empire of, I, 16, 39.
—— Khans of, I, 20.
Kara Khoja, I, 431.
Kara Kijik, II, 1019, 1057, 1068.
Kara Kinghir, I, 241.
Kara Kinghir River, II, 1008.
Kara Kipchak, II, 1057.
Kara Kassiek, I, 7, 8.
Kara Kulja, II, 836.
Kara Kum, II, 978.
Kara Kungur, II, 680.
Kara Lake, I, 9.
Kara Murza, I, 452; II, 1026, 1052–3.
Kara Nogai, II, 1020.
Kara Sakal, I, 7.
Kara Saman, I, 240.
Kara-Tau Mts., I, 9; II, 837.
Kara Tepe, II, 1043.
Kara tuga, II, 690.
Kara tussun, I, 8.
Kara Ulugh, I, 50.
Kara Uziak, II, 833.
Karaaghachi (Black Circassian), II, 1054.
Karabalik, I, 212.
Karaborajik, I, 596.
Karacha, I, 7–8, 208; II, 992, 996, 1007, 1024, 1065.
Karachai, I, 229; II, 1055.
—— derivation of name, II, 1055.
Karachais, *v.* Karaaghachi.
Karachat Mt., *v.* Karatau Mt.
Karachin beg, II, 691.
Karachinskoi Osero, II, 989.
Karachuk Mirgen, I, 432.
Karachuk River, I, 241.
Karagos Canal, II, 957.
Karait sect, I, 609.
Karakalpahs, I, 20–1, 43; II, 684, 836, 906, 910, 915–6, 918–9, 929, 944, 946, 956, 1011–66.
—— appearance of, II, 1057.
Karakalpahs, derivation of name, II, 1056.
—— disintegration of, II, 1060.
—— habits of, II, 1060.
—— origin of, II, 1056.
—— taxation of by Khivans, II, 960.
Karakin, II, 956.
Karakorum, I, 216.
Karaku, I, 30.
Karakul, II, 692, 714, 924.
Karakul Lake, I, 7.
Karakula, II, 1042.
Karakum, I, 7, 8; II, 679.
Karakum River, I, 7.
Karakursak tribe, I, 12.
Karamzin, quoted, I, 38–48, 59, 76–7, 106–9, 127–32, 135–9, 153–5, 161, 168–76, 197, 201–8, 210, 212–5, 226, 228–9, 260–4, 265–8, 270, 272–81, 301–45, 347–52, 375–84, 393–4, 398–9, 401–2, 404–5, 416, 427, 429, 431, 435, 448, 453, 489, 490–6, 500, 502, 504–9, 512–9, 521–4; II, 679, 987–90, 1000, 1013–4, 1029–41, 1050–1, 1056, 1063.
Karanut, I, 14.
Karastchik, II, 956.
Karasu, I, 601, 609, 610.
Karatai, II, 671.
Karatal River, I, 9.
Karatau Mt., II, 679, 952.
Karategin, II, 825, 852.
Karaulnoi, II, 988.
Karavul-Kissiek clan, I, 8.
Kard, II, 687.
Kargalchen, II, 1001.
Kargaljin, Lake II, 1009.
Kargol, I, 375.
Kariamalei, II, 1035, 1068.
Karkalinski, Prikaz of, II, 1008.
Karluk Khans, I, 20.
Karluks, I, 3, 16; II, 978.
Karmakchi, II, 834.
Karpak clan, I, 8.
Karpof, Feodor, I, 401.
Karsak River, II, 1049.
Karshi, I, 12; II, 847, 920.
Kart, Mt., II, 1009.
Karthli, I, 522.
Kasachia, I, 5.
Kasbulad, II, 1052.
Kashgar, I, 30; II, 627, 816, 824–5.
Kashikbash, I, 596.
Kashim, I, 211.
Kashin, I, 432.
—— Prince of, I, 210.
Kashirsk, I, 434.
Kashkara, Prince, II, 988.
Kashkupir, II, 957.
Kashlik, II, 1062.

Kasilbeg Sultan, II, 1067.
Kasim, I, 503–4; II, 883, 1063, 1068.
Kasim Khan, I, 349–52, 429–30; II, 628–31, 685, 691, 980.
—— his meeting with Sultan Said, II, 630–1.
Kasimbeg, *v* Kuximpaxis.
Kasimof, I, 6, 402–3, 406, 413, 429–30, 433–4, 436–9; II, 627, 1001, 1034, 1037.
—— Prince of, I, 506.
—— Tartars of, I, 510.
Kassai (Little Nogais), II, 1040, 1043, 1050–1.
Kassai Murza, II, 1035.
Kassai, Prince, II, 1051.
Kassaim, read Kassim, *q.v.*
Kassim, II, 901. 1035.
Kassim Jan., II, 857.
Kastermuni, I, 520.
Kat, II, 880–1, 884, 888, 894, 896, 957.
Kataghan, II, 855.
Katak, II, 1015.
Katakash, I, 15.
Katta bek, II, 850.
Katta Kurghan, I, 12.
Kaufmann, Gen., II, 842, 849–50, 813, 949, 957–9.
—— and Khiva, II, 949–54, 957–62.
—— surrenders Abdul Kerim without authority, II, 842.
Kaukaskaya, Fortress of, II, 1026.
Kaundy Brook, II, 956.
Kaurdak, II, 994, 998.
—— destroyed, II, 1005.
Kavshaw, I, 603, 605.
Kayaw, II, 1018.
Kayi, *v*. Kiat Kangli.
Kazak Sultan, I, 351.
Kazak tombs of burnt earth, II, 1076.
Kazak tribe (I, 600) read Kassai, *q.v.*
Kazak tribe, connexion with Uzbeg tribe, I, 12.
Kazaks, I, 12–13, 16, 17, 20, 21, 243, 609, 633, 644, 684; II, 736, 825, 906, 912–3, 916, 921, 931, 919, 993, 1032–3, 1060.
—— and Chinese, II, 676.
—— and Karakalpaks, II, 1059.
—— Uzbegs, II, 629–31.
—— attack Khokand, II, 819.
—— —— Aralians, II, 915.
—— disintegration of, II, 632.
—— etymology of name, I, 56.
—— habits of, II, 684.
—— Kirghiz, I, 6, 34, 39.
—— locality of, II, 978.
—— origin of, II, 627–8.
—— religion of, II, 684.
Kazaks sell captive slaves, II, 911.
—— taxation of by Khivans, II, 960.
—— —— Khokandians, II, 832.
—— Uzbeg, II, 627.
Kazala, II, 953, 962.
Kazala River, II, 834.
Kazalinsk, II, 952.
Kazan, I, 5, 229, 280, 283, 375–8, 383, 393, 400–1, 402, 404–5, 412–3, 430, 432–4, 449, 489, 499–500, 503, 508–9, 513, 517; II, 627, 981, 983, 1012, 1032, 1057, 1063.
—— annexed by Russia, II, 1034.
—— attacked by Russians, I, 402–3, 406.
—— besieged by Ivan, I, 417–27.
—— captured by Russians, I, 26.
—— created a bishopric, I, 429.
—— first Christian temple built by Ivan, I, 427.
—— Khanate of founded, I, 283.
—— massacre of Russians at fairin, I, 379.
—— Nogais' influence in, II, 1029.
—— rebellions against Russians, I, 428.
—— rebuilt, I, 429.
—— Simeon, Khan of, I, 507.
—— Tartars, I, 402.
—— treaty between Russia and, I, 400.
—— withstands Russian attack, I, 380.
Kazanfer Khan Afshar, II, 868.
Kazanka River, I, 400, 416, 426.
Kazi Kelan, office of, II, 928, 964.
Kazimirski, quoted, II, 1051.
Kebek Tumenski, Prince, I, 416.
Kechergan Mts., II, 1055.
Kechubai, Charkar, I, 8.
Keikobad, II, 1022, 1068.
Kel Ahmed, *v*. Kalamet.
Kel Muhammed, II, 1033.
Kelards, II, 1017.
Kelch, quoted, I, 434.
Kelema, II, 1000.
Keletshin Horde, II, 1043.
Kelly, quoted, I, 211, 281, 349, 501, 519, 524, 567, 601–2.
Kelman-Bek, II, 1026.
Kelmik Adshi Oglu, II, 1026.
Kemesof, quoted, II, 1001.
Ken Kazlan, Mts., II, 1008.
Kenderlik River, II, 679–80.
Keneguz, I, 12.
Keraits, I, 7–8, 13–14.
Kerayets, v. Keraits.
Kerder clan, I, 8.
Kerderi, I, 7.
Kerghedan, Fortress of, II, 985.
Kerimberdei, I, 270, 272.

Kerka River, I, 57.
Kermineh, I, 12; II, 689.
Kers, I, 610.
Kertch, I, 454, 596-7, 601, 609.
Kerulon River, I, 15.
Kesemofian Annals, quoted, ii, 983.
Kesh, *v.* Shehr, I, Sebz.
Keshesh, II, 1005.
Kessek, *v.* Kazaks, I, 5.
Kesteniora, II, 1032.
Kestut, I, 208, 213.
Ketch Beg, II, 630.
Ketter, Grand Master, I, 495, 8.
Ketta Tiura, II, 849.
Kettekeser tribe, I, 12.
Kezbel Mts., I, 242.
Khafshakh or Kipchaks, I, 17.
Khajars, II, 922–3, 933.
Khajash Mekhram, II, 926.
Khaki Shifa (health dust), II, 815, 948.
Khalata, II, 953.
Khalif Abubekhr, II, 819.
Khalil, I, 370, 374; II, 1027, 1029.
Khalwet Sheikh, II, 1058–9.
Khanayat Shah, II, 836.
Khanbabai, II, 685.
Khandekli, I, 21.
Khandemir, read Khuandemir, *q.v.*
Khanik Sultan Khanime, II, 633.
Khanikof, quoted, I, 12, 13.
Khankah, II, 912–3.
Khama Karagai, II, 1004.
Khalata, fort of, re-named Fort St. George, II, 953.
Khanzadeh, II, 1002, 1038.
Kharoboe, I, 3.
Khasina River, I, 42.
Khassaki, *v.* Kazaks.
Khazars, I, 3.
Khese Husein, I, 393.
Khesret (Hazret or Huzrut) Khan, title of Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 927, 931.
Khidir, I, 276.
Khilj, I, 17.
Khingan range, I, 16.
Khisr, *v.* St. George.
Khitai Behadur, I, 14.
Khitai tribe, I, 12.
Khitaiskoi, II, 1058.
Khiva, I, 15, 490, 516; II, 630, 668, 684, 686, 793, 876, 884, 886, 899, 901, 906, 910, 913–20, 929–30, 1020, 1056.
—— and England, negotiations between broken off, II, 940.
—— and Russia, II, 931, 940–1.
—— —— trade between, II, 922.
—— army of, II, 918.
—— currency in, II, 871.
—— English embassy to, II, 933–4.
Khiva, Genl. Ignatief's mission to, II, 945–6.
—— Geographical position of, II, 951–2.
—— Khan of, his costume, *v.* costume.
—— —— his court, II, 925.
—— —— his palace, II, 961.
—— —— his throne, II, 961.
—— —— his treasure house, II, 961.
—— —— Vambery's audiences with, II, 947–8.
—— —— visited by Major Blankennagel, II, 917.
—— MSS. in Khan's Palace at, II, 961.
—— population of, II, 918.
—— origin of Khanate of, II, 876–9.
—— Russian expedition to in search of gold, II, 906–9.
—— subjected to the Tsar, II, 905.
—— taken by Russians, II, 959.
—— trade of, II, 871.
—— Turkomans settle at, II, 922.
—— under protection of Peter the Great, II, 905.
—— visited by Vambery, II, 946–8.
Khivans, 6; II, 942–3.
—— attack Bukhara, II, 923.
—— attack Sirakhs, II, 940–3.
—— diet of, *v.* customs.
—— religious raids of, compared with those of Spaniards, II, 931.
—— resist trading with Russia, II, 917.
Khizr Khan, coins struck by, II, 979.
Kho Urluk, II, 1043.
Khobda River, I, 7, 8.
Khobr, I, 263.
Khodai Mendi Khan, II, 685.
Khodinka, I, 276.
Khodu, *v.* Khudu.
Khoja, II, 1062.
Khoja Fazlulla, II, 688.
Khoja Hussein, II, 682.
Khoja Khan, title of Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 927.
Khoja Kul, II, 847.
Khoja Mersen, II, 1058.
Khoja Muhammed Sultan, II, 690–1, 874.
Khoja Niaz, Fort of, captured, II, 944–5.
Khoja Niazbi, II, 942.
Khojas, II, 1057.
—— feud between Black and White, II, 824.
Khojash Mehrem, II, 924.
Khojeili, II, 945, 957.

Khojend, I, 240; II, 819, 823, 830, 838, 882.
—— Ahmed of, I, 25.
Khoju'am Tintek, name for Khoja Muhammed, *q.v.*
Khokand, I, 9, 17; II, 682, 792, 809, 816–7, 821–2, 940, 950.
—— and Bukhara, II, 826, 850.
—— and China, treaty between, II, 825.
—— and Russia, II, 832.
—— description of, II, 872–3.
—— founding of, II, 816.
—— Khan of, II, 683.
—— taxation of, II, 838–40.
Kholm, I, 265, 432.
—— Bp. of, I, 277.
—— captured by Poles, I, 513.
Kholmogory, I, 264, 491.
Kholmski, Prince Simeon, I, 377.
Kholmskoi, Prince Daniel, I, 375–6.
Kholop, fair at, I, 399.
Khorasan, I, 19, 274; II, 629, 687, 689, 876, 912, 915, 922–3.
Khorol River, I, 261.
Khoroshin, Lieut.-Col., II, 961.
Khortitza, Isle of, I, 493.
Khoshotes, II, 689.
Khoten, II, 824–5.
Khotin, I, 594.
Khotum, I, 377.
Khotz River, II, 1025.
Khozijan, II, 817.
Khuakend, II, 816.
Khualimsk, Sea of, II, 679.
Khuandemir, quoted, I, 32, 36–7, 266, 271–4; 449, II, 628–9, 692, 980.
Khuarezm, I, 20, 26, 32–5, 268; II, 686, 692, 734, 912, 915, 920, 941, 978–9.
—— and Russia, treaty of peace between, II, 962–3.
—— army of, under Seyid Muhammed, II, 946.
—— attacked by Persians, II, 914.
—— civil wars in, II, 944.
—— coins struck at, II, 920.
—— currency in, II, 928, 946.
—— Government of, II, 916, 935.
—— jurisdiction in, II, 960–1.
—— Khan of, II, 907.
—— Persian slaves in, liberated, II, 962.
—— population of, II, 960.
—— prosperous under Muhammed Rahim, II, 922.
—— revenue of, II, 960.
—— Shahs, I, 28.
—— slave market, II, 911.
—— taxation in, II, 928–9, 960.
—— Uzbegs migrate to, II, 982.
Khuarezmians, II, 942–3.
Khuarezmians, and Jingis, I, 30.
—— massacre Russians, II, 908.
Khuarizmi Bek, II, 1029.
Khubilai Khan, I, 15; II, 816.
Khudai Nazar bi, *v.* Khudayar bek.
Khudaikul, I, 375.
Khudayar Atalik, II, 875.
Khudayar Bek, II, 819.
Khudayar Khan, II, 818, 828–32, 837, 842, 875.
—— enormous appetite of, II, 846.
—— given refuge by Amir of Bukhara, II, 835.
—— plots to dethrone, II, 841.
—— restored to throne, II, 836.
—— third reign of, II, 838, 842.
Khudu, I, 29.
Khulagu, II, 1011.
Khulm, II, 724, 853–65, 912.
Khumar Tikin, I, 33.
Khurram Serai, II, 816.
Khutbeh, the, II, 783, 817, 819, 868, 919.
Kian, I, 14.
Kianchik, II, 994.
Kiat, I, 3.
Kiat Kanghi, I, 19.
Kiat Kungrads, I, 3, 10, 13, 15.
Kibak, Khan, I, 270–1.
—— restored to throne, I, 273.
Kibirli, Lake, II, 1003.
Kichi, Mts., I, 8.
Kichkin Daria, II, 957.
Kideri, II, 953.
Kief, I, 4, 39, 43–8, 228, 259–62, 269, 276–7, 282, 382, 454, 521.
Kien Lung, Emperor, II, 817.
Kierkel, I, 451.
Kiet tribe, I, 12.
Kil Muhammed, II, 1031.
Kila Afghan, II, 862, 866.
Kilburn, I, 597.
Kilchakti, I, 8.
Kildish, I, 451.
Kili, II. 1027.
Kilich Niazbi, Canal of, II, 965.
Kilij Ali, I, 516; II, 853.
—— character of, II, 854.
—— costume of, *v.* Costume.
—— jurisdiction under, II, 854.
Kilij Niaz bi, II, 957–8.
Kilij-bay, II, 941.
Kin dynasty, I, 16, 34.
Kincha, I, 17, 18.
Kinderli, II, 956.
Kinir, II, 956.
Kinirskoi Gorodok, II, 1003.
Kipchak, I, 9, 35, 262, 269, 271, 273, 385, 449; II, 627, 945, 979.
—— Eastern, I, 226.
—— Ethnography of, I, 1–24.
—— Western, I, 226.

Kipchaks, I, 8, 12, 20; II, 829, 1043, 1053.
—— attacked by Mongols, I, 42.
—— Kitai, II, 923.
—— locality of, I, 12.
Kir River, II, 883.
Kirghises and Chinese, II, 824.
—— rebellion of, II, 840–1.
Kirghiz, II, 1056.
Kiriak, II, 907.
Kirkipe, II, 1000, 1040.
Kisha River, I, 211.
Kishm, II, 866.
Kisselef, I, 381.
Kit, *v.* Git.
Kitab, II, 847, 850.
Kitabak, I, 8.
Kitai, II, 957; II, 1043.
Kitaki, II, 822.
Kitié, I, 7.
Kitsj, II, 944.
Kitta-Laptzay, II, 1043.
Kivata River, I, 415.
Kizil Agir, II, 956.
Kizil Arvat, Fort of, II, 951.
Kizil kum, II, 950, 960.
Kizil-kurt clan, I, 7.
Kizil Lake, I, 8.
Kizil Mt., I, 8.
Kizil Su River, II, 1008.
Kizil Teker, II, 943.
Kizilbashis, II, 880, 931.
Kiziljar, II, 822.
Klaproth, quoted, I, 2, 5, 10, 13, 35, 38, 490–6, 504, 507; II, 817, 850–2, 1025, 1049, 1053–5, 1067.
Kliapka, Michael, I, 379.
Klich tribe, II, 1055.
Klin, I, 375.
Knuraskoi, II, 1058.
Kofgorshad, tzarina, I, 400.
Koirijak, I, 263, 273.
Kojin, Lieut., II, 907.
Kok Orda, *v.* Blue Horde.
Kokos, I, 453.
Kokpatas, II, 952.
Koksheng, I, 430.
Kokshul, II, 1004.
Kokui, II, 987.
Kola, I, 394.
Kolan Tashi, I, 35.
Kolkildei, II, 999.
Koloje, I, 265.
Kololu, *v.* Karluks.
Kolomna, I, 213–14, 228, 267, 281, 414, 430, 490, 503; II, 1041.
—— Bp. of, I, 395.
—— Image of the Virgin at, I, 414.
Kolpi, I, 432.
Kolzol I, II, 986, 991, 993.
Kongailo, I, 259.
Koniggratz, I, 46.
Konrad IV, I, 53–5.
Konsk, I, 493.
Kopaoyu, I, 34.
Kopchik, II, 987.
Koporia, captured by Swedes, I, 514.
Koran, I, 22; II, 682, 947, 960, 1056.
Koriakof, I, 402.
Koribut, I, 259.
Koros River, I, 50.
Koselsk, I, 42, 263, 520; II, 1050.
Kosh Karagai, Kalmuks defeated at, II, 1005.
Kosh Kurgan, II, 832–3.
Kosh Muhammed, II, 1033.
Koshbaige, II, 953.
Koshdaulet, II, 1032.
Koshir, I, 413.
Koshira, I, 374, 377, 384, 393, 433, 495.
Koshka, Theodore, I, 267.
Koshur, II, 1004.
Kostin, Ann, II, 940.
Kostrok, I, 212.
Kostroma, I, 214, 226, 229, 266–7, 280, 282, 402, 405–6.
Kostoma, quoted, I, 40.
Kostroma River, I, 41.
Kotelno, I, 265.
Kotiak, I, 38, 42.
Kotur Mt., I, 242.
Kotusch Mt., I, 45.
Kovel, I, 500.
Kovno, I, 22, 351, 451; II, 628.
Kowerghi, I, 212.
Kozelsk, I, 265, 275, 493.
Koziugan clan, I, 8.
Krapivna, I, 520.
Krasnogorsk, Fort of, I, 7.
Krasnoyar, II, 993.
Krasnoyarsk, II, 1055–6.
Krasnovodsk, II, 907, 924–5, 949, 951–2, 955, 962.
Krasnovodaspit, II, 906.
Krecz, I, 57.
Kremenchug, I, 261, 496.
Kremenetz, I, 48, 376.
Kremlin, I, 209, 214, 399, 491, 501, 507.
Kremsir, I, 47.
Kretchetnikof, II, 1005.
Krim, I, 5, 262, 269, 280, 351, 384, 405, 432, 436, 449, 453, 510, 515, 523, 627; II, 1017, 1050.
—— administration of justice in, I, 608–9.
—— alliance of with Sweden, I, 525.
—— and Russia, I, 521, 596, 599.
—— and Turks, I, 599.
—— Army, I, 607–8.
—— ceded to Russia, I, 602.
—— coinage, I, 609.

Krim coinage, assimilated by Turkey, I, 597.
—— court, officers of, I, 605.
—— devastated by Russians, I, 496.
—— enforced migration of families by Russians, I, 599–600.
—— Government of, I, 603–4.
—— invaded by Nogais, II, 1051.
—— Khan of, I, 279.
—— —— adopts European customs, I, 598–9.
—— —— aids Turks, I, 546.
—— —— and Saaded Girai, I, 521.
—— —— and the Sultan, their feudal relations, I, 523.
—— —— attacks Russians, I, 509.
—— —— revenue of, I, 603–4.
—— —— sends envoy to Ivan, I, 508–9.
—— Khans, I, 489.
—— —— honoured at Constantinople, I, 603.
—— land, division of, I, 607.
—— marriage feasts, *v.* customs.
—— menace to Russia, I, 520.
—— nobles, etiquette of, I, 607.
—— origin of Khanate, I, 468.
—— people of, I, 606–7.
—— population of, I, 609–10.
—— post stations in, I, 609.
—— princesses dower of, I, 605.
—— —— life of, I, 604–5.
—— standing army instituted in, I, 599.
—— Sultans, I, 604–5.
—— —— customs of, *v.* Customs.
—— Tartars, I, 402, 404, 414, 453.
—— —— costume of soldiers, *v.* costume.
—— —— education of, I, 609.
—— —— military tactics of, I, 520.
—— —— religion of, I, 609.
—— —— sell prisoners of war to Turks, I, 520–1.
—— —— weapons of, I, 520.
Krim Girai, I, 545, 584–5, 588–94, 596.
Kronnenburgh, I, 56.
Kryschanofski, Genl., II, 838.
Kshtut, II, 850–1.
Kuhan, I, 602, 608; II, 1019.
Kuban River, II, 1043, 1048, 1052, 1054–5.
Kuban Tartars, I, 600.
Kubei Murat, II, 1002.
Kublai, I, 46–7.
Kubra Urgenj, *v.* Great Urgenj.
Kuchak, II, 685.
Kuchkunji Khan, II, 690, 713–19, 874.
Kuchis, II, 978
Kuchu, I, 17–18.
Kuchuk, II, 685, 1040.
Kuchuk Kainarja, treaty of, I, 20.
Kuchuk Muhammed, I, 274, 281–2, 292–305, 448, 451; II, 874, 1075.
Kuchuk Tagh, I, 241.
Kuchum Khan, I, 437; II, 982–1002, 1010, 1039–40, 1062, 1064 1068.
—— annexes Siberian Khanate, II, 1064.
—— captured by Stroganofs, II, 988.
—— first to introduce Muhammedanism into Siberia, II, 983.
—— flight of, II, 1001.
Kuduk Ahmed Pacha, I, 453.
Kufin, II, 689.
Kühlewein, quoted, II, 945–6, 1060.
Kuhn, quoted, II, 961.
Kuidadat, *v.* Kuidat.
Kuidat identified, I, 272.
Kujash, II, 1030, 1068.
Kujin Bigi, I, 15.
Kuk Kashanah, II, 688.
Kuk Tornak, II, 681.
Kuk-Boron clan, I, 8.
Kuk-Jarli, I, 8.
Kuk-su River, I, 8–9; II, 825.
Kukdai, I, 43.
Kukshal clan, I, 8.
Kulab, II, 825, 852–3, 859.
Kulan tribe, I, 12.
Kular Lake, II, 992.
Kularchok Lake, II, 995.
Kularofskaia Sloboda, II, 992.
Kulbai, II, 1068.
Kulbai Murza, II, 1038.
Kuldaghaiti River, I, 7.
Kulebinskaya, II, 1007.
Kulehrundurgin, I, 15.
Kulikof, Plain of, I, 215.
Kulja Kashkar, I, 9.
Kuljegach clan, I, 9.
Kulkan, I, 39.
Kullara, II, 994.
Kultuka, *v.* Kurtugha.
Kulun Lake, *v.* Dalai Lake.
Kuma River, II, 1025, 1043, 1048–9, 1052.
Kumak River, I, 7.
Kumish Kurgan, II, 832–4.
Kumkend, II, 883.
Kumuks, I, 513, 522.
Kumush, II, 1001.
Kunchi, II, 979.
Kundei tribe, I, 20.
Kundelen clan, I, 8.
Kundrofs, *v.* Kundurs.
Kundur Mankuts, II, 1055.
—— wife, price of a, II, 1056.
Kundurs, II, 1053–6.
—— habits of, II, 1056.

Kunduz, II, 853, 865, 912.
Kungeliut, I, 14.
Kungrad, I, 9; II, 945, 956–7, 1060.
Kungrads, I, 12–13, 15; II, 946.
—— locality of, I, 12.
Kungur River, I, 16.
Kungur tribe, *v.* Kunkur.
Kunia Daria, II, 965.
Kunia Urgeng, II, 944, 965.
Kunkur tribe, I, 15.
Kunkurads, locality of, I, 15, 16.
Kunkurat, II, 933.
Kunkurats, I, 14; II, 906, 916–17, 920, 1023.
Kupissa, I, 57.
Kur River, I, 515.
Kura-Kusia clan, I, 9.
Kurbski, Prince Andrew, I, 380, 420, 425, 500, 501, 513.
Kurdish, II, 884.
Kurdistan, II, 922–3.
Kurds, II, 923.
Kurel, *v.* Hungary, II, 978.
Kurghan tribe, II, 853.
Kurghan tepé, II, 854.
Kurjan Lake, I, 8.
Kurkan, II, 816.
Kurof, M., II, 1063.
Kursuk River, II, 1055.
Kurtugha, II, 979.
Kuruk, II, 629.
Kurulas, I, 14.
Kushalin, I, 435.
Kushan Batir, II, 1058.
Kushbegi, II, 926, 928, 932, 946, 950.
—— office of, II, 963.
Kusiak bi, II, 819.
Kusnezk Mts., I, 20.
Kutchu, I, 15.
Kuth Murad Bek, II, 918.
Kutlugh Buka, II, 979.
Kutlugh Kaba, II, 1021, 1068.
Kutlugh Khoja, II, 1068.
Kutlugh Ming Timur, *v.* Ming Timur.
Kutlugh Murad Bek, II, 920.
Kutlugh Murad Inak, II, 923, 925, 927–8.
Kutlugh Murad Khan, II, 918, 943, 944, 1060.
—— —— assassinated, II, 946.
Kutlugh Pulad, Prince, I, 393.
Kutlugh Timur, I, 32, 449.
Kutluk Seman, I, 451.
Kutlughbugha, I, 226.
Kutugai, II, 988.
Kutulkan Mergen, I, 29.
Kuvan Daria, II, 1057.
Kuvan River, I, 78; II, 942, 949.
Kuwinji, *v.* Kunchi.
Kuyucha Mt., I, 8.
Kuyuk, I, 1, 39, 44, 50.
Kuyush-Kansiz clan, I, 9.
Kuz Kurpiach, Statue of, II, 1008.
Kyssim Tura, *v.* Zarewo Gorodichi.

Laba River, II, 1025.
Labuta, Prince, II, 993.
Ladislas, I, 450.
Ladislas IV, I, 49; II, 1014.
Ladislaus, *v.* Yagellon.
Ladoga, I, 229, 264.
Lafir Naḥan, II, 847.
Lais, I, 495, 497.
Lakhanas, II, 1013.
Lama pagodas, remains of, II, 1008.
Lamberti, Father, quoted, II, 1054.
Lancitia, I, 45.
Land of the Tzar (Wahl), quoted, II, 1053.
Länder, quoted, II, 1052.
Langles, quoted, I, 263, 268–9, 270–2, 449, 593–8, 599–603; II, 980, 1022–3.
Lap-su River, I, 8.
Lapasnia, I, 510.
Lapina River, *v.* Sigwa.
Laps, Christianity among, I, 394–5.
Latham, quoted, I, 20–1.
Lauban, I, 496.
Laurentief, Wm., II, 940.
Laws, Russian, I, 277–8.
Lebauzkie yurt, II, 983.
Legends—
Birth of Seidiak, II, 1065.
Concerning Yemak, II, 996.
Moravian, I, 45–7.
" The Khan's tears," II, 994.
Vision by Tartars at Tobolsk, II, 1064.
Wolf and hound, II, 990.
Lehrberg, quoted, II, 1061–4.
Lerch, quoted, II, 964–5.
Leo X, I, 395.
Leobschutz, I, 47.
Leros, Pherecydes of, quoted, II, 1016.
Leshker, II, 876.
Lesina, Isle of, I, 56.
Lesur, quoted, I, 545–6.
Leutschau, I, 52.
Levchine, quoted, I, 7–9, 13, 241; II, 632, 641–7, 653, 680–1, 819, 914–16, 1008–9, 1039, 1057–60.
Levcopol, I, 603.
Liangar, II, 824.
Liautung, I, 30.
Liebenthal, I, 45.
Lignitz, I, 45, 52.
Lion Hoei hu, *v.* Lion Uighurs.
Lion Uighurs, I, 16.
Lipkina, II, 1003.
Liskof, I, 49, 268.

Lithuania, I, 22, 208, 259, 273, 276, 351, 378, 431, 434, 448, 451, 500.
—— and Vasili, I, 381–2.
—— growth of power of, I, 229.
—— invaded by Pulad, I, 266.
—— Nogais' campaign in, II, 1013.
Lithuanian commerce, I, 399.
—— weapons, I, 279.
Lithuanians, I, 43, 229, 230, 379, 393, 451, 494, 513, 520; II, 998.
—— and Jebbarberdei, I, 271.
—— and Kerimberdei, I, 270.
—— and Muscovites, I, 210, 213.
—— and Russians, I, 208–9, 261, 278–9, 437, 499.
—— and Tartars, I, 261–2, 432, 512, 524.
—— religion of, I, 230.
Little Horde, I, 6–7; II, 632, 652, 680, 915–18.
Little Muhammed, *v.* Kuchuk Muhammed.
Liutprand, quoted, I, 4.
Livonia, I, 260, 434.
—— and Poles, I, 514.
—— and Russia, I, 494–5, 498, 506, 510–11.
—— conquest of, increases Russian power, I, 494–5.
—— Knights of, I, 275, 279, 382, 495–7.
—— —— attack Peskof, I, 209.
—— —— obstruct Russian access to Baltic, I, 494.
—— —— Order of, as constituted, I, 494.
—— —— Order of, dissolved, I, 498.
—— —— their jurisdiction, I, 494.
Lo'u tribe, II, 1055.
Lodomeria, *v.* Volhynia.
Lomakin, Col., II, 952, 956.
Loswa River, II, 986, 998.
Losioinskoi, II, 998.
Louis XI, I, 517.
Louis XII, I, 395.
Luba, II, 1000.
Lubaiskaya, II, 1007.
Lublin, I, 45.
Lubutsk, I, 265.
Lug, I, 280.
Lugui, II, 1000.
Luther, I, 395.
Lutheran Church at Moscow, I, 502.
Lutsk, I, 262.
Lutsk, Bp. of, I, 277.
Lutzen, I, 496.
Lysimachia, II, 1013.

Macarius introduces printing into Russia, I, 500.
Macedonia, Tartar invasion of, II. 1014.
McGahan, quoted, II, 959–61.
Macha, II, 850.
McNaghten, Sir Wm., II, 940.
Madali Khan, II, 682, 823–8, 852, 873, 875.
—— flight of, II, 827.
Maengu Timur, I, 208.
Magamed, II, 1068.
Magian, II, 850–1.
Magic—
—— caused by relics of Yermak, II, 996.
—— counteracted by cross and holy water, I, 420.
—— rain caused by, I, 420.
—— rain-bringers, *v.* Yedehchis.
Magnus, I, 499, 506.
Magrici, Archbp. of, I, 395.
Magyars, I, 3, 20, 37, 48.
Mahan, I, 19.
Mahmetkul, II, 985, 989–91, 999, 1000.
Mahmud Khan, I, 305, 349; II, 628, 685, 693, 699, 705, 822, 863, 869.
Mahmud Murza, II, 630.
Mahmud Shah, II, 865, 917.
Mahmud Sultan, II, 691–2, 874.
Mahmud Yelvaj, I, 26, 28.
Mahmudabad, I, 515.
Mahmudek, I, 370, 377, 429; II, 980.
Mahsud Girai, II, 1044.
Mahsum Khoja, quoted, II, 816–18.
Mai Jenghil, II, 929.
Mailebash Horde, II, 1043.
Maitmaz, II, 988.
Majar, *v.* Radjan.
Makhmet, *v.* Mamuk.
Makhmud, II, 980.
Makram, II, 843.
Makshieff, quoted, II, 680–1.
Maksud Girai Khan, I, 585–8, 596–7.
Malagorodzi, II, 999.
Malai Khanzadeh, II, 691.
Mälim Birdei Oghlan, I, 430.
Malkhof, S., II, 1038.
—— quoted, II, 634.
Malla Khan, II, 830–5, 875.
Malliano, A. P. de, II, 965.
Malo-Russians, I, 43, 513.
Malogorodzi, II, 1040.
Maluta Skuratof, I, 510.
Mamad, II, 1068.
Mamai, I, 208–14, 226, 414, 452, 500; II, 1053, 1068.
—— death of, I, 216.
—— defeated by Russians, I, 215
—— grave of, II, 1054.
—— his alliance with Yagellon against Russians, I, 214.
Mamai bey, II, 1031.

Mamai Seyid, I, 402.
Mamais, the, II, 1051.
Mamaiski Gorod, II, 1054.
Maman Batir, II, 1058.
Mamat, I, 276.
Mambet Murza Khań, II, 1043.
Mamich Berdei, I, 428.
Mamik, II, 999.
Mamstruk, I, 507.
Mamuk Khan, I, 377, 495; II, 690, 1062–3.
Mamut, II, 981.
Mamut Batir, II, 1058.
Mamzirru'ko, II, 1025.
Mana River, blessed before campaign, I, 414.
Manahdan Oghlan, II, 687.
Manchuria, I, 13, 16.
Mangass, Siege of. I, 43.
Manghits, *v.* Manguts.
Mangu, I, 18, 39, 40, 43, 44.
Mangu Timur Khan, II, 686, 979–80, 1010, 1013.
Mangushlak, I, 7; II, 672, 690, 874, 917, 922, 925, 931, 936, 938, 952.
Mangut, II, 957.
Manguts, I, 2, 3, 5, 12, 17, 18, 20; II, 780, 920, 1029, 1057.
—— locality of, I, 12.
Manguts Ak, II, 1021.
Manitch River, Lower, II, 1048.
Mankup, I, 454, 607.
Manphul, quoted, II, 866.
Manssurowzi, II, 1025.
Mansur, II, 1022, 1068.
Mansur Delnoi, II, 1058.
Mansur Oghlu, II, 1024–5.
Mansurof, Ivan, II, 997.
Mansurofs, *v.* Mansurs.
Mansurs, II, 1023, 1025, 1051–3.
—— migrate to Krim, II, 1024.
Manuel, Emperor, I, 276.
Mar, II, 981, 1062.
Mar Denba, I, 28.
Mara Mt., II, 1055.
Marakul, II, 979.
March River, I, 48, 55.
Mares' milk sent to Chinese court, I, 18.
Marghilan, II, 817, 823, 830, 836, 844.
Mari, I, 42.
Maria (daughter of Yaroslaf), I, 281.
Maria (wife of Bela), I, 56.
Maria (wife of Ivan), I, 499.
Maria (wife of Prince Obolenski), I, 429.
Maria (wife of Seyid Burgan), I, 438.
Marienburgh, I, 487.
Marienhausen, I, 496.
Marimes, I, 42.
Marina, II, 1041.
Mariupol, battle of, I, 216.
Markozof, Col., II, 951–2, 955.
Marmarosch, I, 49.
Maros River, I, 50.
Mary, Queen (of England), I, 491–2.
Maschi, II, 953.
Maskars, I, 7.
Maslaket, Sheikh, tomb of, I, 240.
Massalsk, I, 520; II, 1050–1.
Masudi, quoted, I, 43.
Mat Murad, II, 959–60.
Mat Niaz, II, 961–2.
Matzdorf, I, 45.
Mavera un Nehr, I, 17, 20; II, 629–30, 686–9, 692–4, 718, 859, 978, 982.
Mavlesh, II, 1068.
Mavli Berdi, II, 1009.
Maxim, II, 985.
Maximilian, I, 395, 497.
Maximus, the Greek, I, 394–5.
Mayef, quoted, II, 847, 852–3.
Mayence, Archbp. of, I, 53.
Mazaffan Shah, II, 844, 851.
Mazanderan, II, 689.
Mazar, II, 858.
Mazari, I, 3.
Mazid Arghun, Amir, II, 689.
Mazof, Prince of, I, 279.
Mazovia, Conrad, Duke of, I, 44.
Mecca, I, 378; II, 840, 1035.
Mecha River, I, 428.
Mechera, I, 215, 414.
Mecheriak, M., II, 994.
Mecklenburgh, Duke of, I, 496.
Medem, de, Genl., II, 1052.
Medina, II, 948.
Mednoie, I, 505.
Medressi Khan, II, 873.
Medveditsa River, II, 1051.
Mehineh, II, 880–1, 867.
Mehmed Kerim, II, 829.
Meimeneh, II, 940.
Mekka, *v.* Mecca.
Mekhrens, office of, II, 964.
Mekhter, the, II, 946.
—— office of, II, 963.
Mekhter Agha Yusuf, I, 296, II, 924.
Melik Tahir, I, 375.
Melitopol. I, 603.
Melitopolsk, II, 1049.
Memoirs of the Imperial Geographical Society of St. Petersburg, II, 909.
Mendali, II, 956.
Mengko, I, 18.
Mengli Girai Khan, I, 350, 374, 377–8, 382, 431, 451–4, 456–68, 576, 580, 603, 607; II, 1026, 1029, 1031, 1068.
—— and Grand Prince Ivan, treaty between, I, 453.
—— death of, I, 384.

Merdud, II, 980.
Mergen, II, 979, 1042.
Meriens, I, 41.
Merkeits, I, 18, 25, 29.
Merv, I, 19 ; II, 914, 930, 933, 941.
Merseburgh, I, 53.
Mersloi Gorodok, II, 1040.
Merrick, John, I, 437.
Mertwyi-Kultuk, II, 950.
Meru, I, 33.
Merv, II, 771, 887.
Meschofsk, I, 520 ; II, 1050.
Mesembria, II, 1012, 1014.
Mesha River, I, 215.
Meschera, I, 402.
Meshchersk, *v.* Kasimof.
Meshed, II, 911, 913, 923, 930–1.
Meshkeriaks, I, 20.
Meshket, II, 942.
Meszez Pass, I, 49.
Metropolitans, election of, I, 276–7, 395.
Mevlana Hussein, II, 686–7.
Mexicans, II, 931.
Meyendorf, quoted, II, 681, 784–5, 916.
Miankal, I, 12.
Mias River, II, 1040–1.
Miasnoi, II, 997.
Michael, Grand Duke, II, 951.
Michael, Prince of Tuer, I, 208, 211, 228, 229, 263.
—— invades Moscovy, I, 210–11.
Michael, Emperor, II, 1013.
—— death of, II, 1014.
Michael, Tzar, I, 437.
Michell, quoted, II, 905–9, 912, 915, 932, 942–5.
Middle Horde, I, 8, 13–14, 17, 20 ; II, 642, 680.
—— sections of, I, 6.
Miechof, quoted, I, 351, 449 ; II, 684.
Mieliki, *v.* Merkets.
Mikes, *v.* Mangass.
Mikhailovitch, A., II, 1003.
Mikulinski, Prince, I, 405, 412.
Mimash Khan, II, 632, 685.
Ming Bulak, II, 951, 953.
Ming Timur, *v.* Mangu Timur.
Ming tribe, I, 12 ; II, 816.
Mingbashi, office of, II, 964.
Mingbulak, II, 952.
Mingi tau, *v.* Elbruz.
Mingrelia, II, 1054.
Minjan, II, 866.
Minkulad, I, 280.
Minsk, I, 22.
Mir Haidar, II, 846, 850, 923.
Mir Hussein, II, 787–8, 875.
Mir Kamil, II, 841.
Mir Muhammed, II, 941.
Mir Muhammed Riza bek, II, 866.
Mir Muzaffar uddin, II, 809–16, 875.
Mir Nasrulla, II, 790–809, 875.
Mir Omar, II, 788–9, 875.
Mir Vali, II, 863.
Miran Shah, I, 240, 271 ; II, 688.
Miriar Beg Khan, II, 866.
Mirkhond, quoted, I, 29, 31–2.
Mirtamurom, *v.* Timurlenk.
Misael, Archbp., I, 41.
Miser Ulug, I, 14.
Miskolez, I, 48.
Misrab Khan Vali, II, 868.
Mitchell, quoted, II, 832, 837, 1060.
Miten tribe, I, 12.
Mitislaf, I, 41, 44, 230.
Mitislavitch, F., I, 435.
Mitislavitch, R., I, 264.
Mitislafski, Prince F., I, 375.
Mityai, I, 213.
Mobarek, II, 1051.
Mobarek Girai, I, 405.
Moghan, I, 515.
Moghol Hajib, I, 33.
Mohilef, I, 230.
Moisauost, II, 1052.
Mojaisk, I, 227.
Mokadessi, quoted, II, 965.
Mokhatschla, *v.* Mangass.
Mokos, *v.* Moscow.
Mokshi, I, 226.
Moldavia, I, 50,, 230, 393, 512, 520, 523, 596, 605, 610 ; II, 1027, 1051.
Moldavia, Prince of, I, 603.
Moldavians, I, 546.
Moldowanji, I, 594.
Mollah Iskak, II, 844.
Mollah Issa Avlia, II, 842.
Mollah Muhammed Amin, II, 857.
Mollah Murad Ali, II, 926, 1001.
Mollahs, I, 425.
Molochna River, II, 1053.
Molody, I, 509.
Mologa, I, 282.
Moloshna River, II, 1048.
Moltke Marshal, I, 39.
Momala, II, 1068.
Mongkadr, II, 1011, 1068.
Mongol army, I, 37.
—— equipment of, I, 33, 242.
Mongolia, I, 16, 44.
Mongolian Desert, I, 13.
Mongolistan, II, 627, 629–30, 632, 690, 692.
Mongols and Russians, I, 39–44.
—— attack Kipchaks, I, 42.
—— defeated by Germans, I, 55.
—— in Hungary, I, 44–5, 48–52.
—— in Moravia, I, 45–8.
—— in Transylvania, I, 50–1.
Monomakhos, I, 261, 264.
Mons Pannoniae, monastery of, I, 56.

Moorcroft, his death, II, 859.
—— his journey to Talikan, II, 858.
—— his visit to Amir of Bukhara, II, 856–7.
—— quoted, II, 855, 865.
Moravia, legends of Tartar invasion of, I, 45–6.
Mordvins, I, 40–2, 212, 216, 263, 282, 414, 427, 494, 503, 511, 513; II, 981.
Morea, I, 276.
Morozof, Simeon, I, 281, 393.
Mosalskoi, K. K., II, 998, 1000.
Moscow, I, 211, 213–14, 226–7, 229, 263–4, 266, 273, 275–6, 278, 374–6, 378, 381–3, 393, 395, 400–5, 413, 415, 427, 429, 433–7, 453, 489–90, 499, 509, 518, 525, 527; II, 991, 1034, 1041, 1063–4.
—— Ali Khan, prisoner at, II, 1003,
—— besieged by Pulad Khan, I, 266–7.
—— burning of, I, 507.
—— captured by Mongols, I, 41.
—— Church of Our Lady of Good Succour founded at, I, 428.
—— description of, I, 399.
—— fortress built by Ivan at, I, 501.
—— Massacres by Ivan at, I, 505–6.
—— Nurdaulat takes refuge at, I, 452.
—— triumphal entry of Russians into, II, 1001.
Moscow, Princes of, I, 208.
Moskwa River, I, 399.
Mossalski, Prince, I, 512.
Moyaisk, I, 214.
Mozdok, II, 1052.
Mtzensk, I, 492.
—— Siege of, I, 280.
Mubarek Girai, I, 406, 488, 515, 519, 521, 594, 598.
Muftis, the, II, 818.
—— office of, II, 964.
Mugojar, Mts., II, 680–1.
Muhammed (I, 274) read Kuchuk Muhammed, *q.v.*
Muhammed II, I, 453.
Muhammed Abulfath Sheibani, *v.* Sheibani.
Muhammed Ali Khan, *v.* Madali Khan.
Muhammed Amin, I, 374–85, 432; II, 827, 863, 916–17, 941–3, 981, 1029, 1062.
—— coins of, II, 943.
—— death of, I, 384.
—— deposed, I, 377.
—— influence of his wife, I, 378–9.
—— massacres Russians, I, 379.
Muhammed Bulak Khan, I, 208–216.
Muhammed Choki, I, 274; II, 689.
Muhammed Fanah, II, 946.
—— coins struck by, II, 946.
Muhammed Ghazi Sultan, II, 883.
Muhammed Girai Khan, I, 468–71, 489, 495, 540–3, 596; II, 1031, 1039.
Muhammed Girai Khan II, I, 512–18.
Muhammed Girai Khan III, II, 1024.
Muhammed Girai Khan IV, I, 546–7, 553–9.
Muhammed Hassan, Kazi, II, 933, 943.
Muhammed Khan, *v.* Muhammed Bulak Khan.
Muhammed Khan Tiura, II, 844.
Muhammed Kul, II, 1040.
Muhammed Murad, II, 955.
Muhammed Murza, II, 1036, 1038.
Muhammed Nazr, II, 927.
Muhammed Niaz bi, II, 920, 954.
Muhammed (of Nessa), quoted, I, 26, 29.
Muhammed Rafik, II, 864.
Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 766, 875, 918–29, 1060.
—— army of, II, 929.
—— character of, II, 926–7.
—— coins struck by, II, 922, 929.
—— costume of, II, 927.
—— envoy of Governor of Georgia negotiates with, II, 925.
—— habits and attainments of, II, 927.
—— hunting lodges of, II, 929.
—— jurisdiction under, II, 927–8.
—— physique of, II, 925.
—— poverty of his equipage, II, 926.
—— robes of, *v.* costume.
—— taxation under, II, 929.
Muhammed Rashid Khan, II, 631.
Muhammed Rejeb Karajeh, II, 822.
Muhammed Rizabek, II, 822, 921.
—— quoted, I, 451.
Muhammed Panjak, I, 515.
Muhammed Sheiban, II, 980.
Muhammed Shah, I, 25, 29–30, 33; II, 938.
—— and Jingis Khan, I, 26–7.
Muhammed Sultan Behadur, I, 242, 263; II, 690.
Muhammed Terkhan, Amir, II, 628.
Muhammed Timur Sultan, II, 629, 874.
Muhammed Vali, II, 834.
Muhammedanism adopted by Bulgarians, I, 439.
—— among Kazaks, II, 684.
—— —— Tartars, I, 22.

Muhammedanism among Golden Horde, II, 1015.
—— in Bukhara, II, 872.
Mukcha Mt., I, 8.
Müller, quoted, I, 448; II, 675, 986–1000, 1050–62; II, 906–12, 978, 983–5, 1004–8, 1040–1, 1064–5.
Munchak Mt., II, 1006.
Munedshimbashi, quoted, I, 225. 265, 448.
Munggur, I, 37.
Munjuk, II, 1018.
Munkatz, I, 48.
Munshi, quoted, II, 686, 1010.
Munyunli River, I, 8.
Murad Ali bek, II, 853.
Murad Bek Khan, II, 829, 945.
Murad bi, II, 826, 855, 866.
—— appearance of, II, 858, 860.
—— character of, II, 860.
—— conquests of in Badakhshan, II, 859.
—— his government, II, 859.
—— jurisdiction under, II, 861.
Murad Girai, I, 515, 562–3.
—— death of, I, 525.
Murad Khan, II, 875.
Murad Muhammed Behadur Khan, *v.* Kuttugh Murad Khan.
Murad Sheikh, II, 1056, 1058–9.
Murafsk, I, 492.
Murashkin, Ivan, II, 986.
Muravief, quoted, II, 916, 921–2, 924, 927–9.
—— imprisonment of, II, 924.
Murashkin, Ivan, II, 1039.
Muravin, II, 913–14.
Murfakgirei, Prince, II, 1025.
Murghab River, II, 930, 941, 944.
Murof, I, 402.
Murom, I, 42, 214, 263, 275–6, 381, 399, 406, 413–14.
—— besieged, I, 379, 402.
Mursin Gorodok, II, 1005.
Mursinska, II, 987.
Murtaza bi, II, 951.
Murtaza Khan, I, 327–49, 350, 430–1; II, 982–3, 1001, 1010, 1065.
Murtaza, Tzarevitch, I, 435, 507.
Murudin, II, 1035.
Murza, derivation of title of, II, 1067.
Murza Abdullah, II, 848.
Murza Ahmed, II, 831.
Murza bek, II, 1025, 1052.
Murza Buddi, II, 861.
Murza Khan, II, 1033, 1068.
Murza Shah Rukh, II, 686.
Murza, Sheikh, II, 630.
Murza Shems, II, 824.
Murza Yakub, II, 867.
Murzas Aqnish, I, 351.
Musa, I, 376, 378; II, 628, 691–2, 980–1, 1025, 1029–30, 1052, 1068.
Musafeha, the, II, 947.
Musarka, II, 1068.
Muscat, II, 912.
Muscovites, II, 1041.
—— and Lithuanians, I, 210, 213.
—— Taxation of by Tartars, I, 229.
Muscovy, I, 43, 208, 230, 260, 278, 432.
—— invasion of by Veliaminof I, 211.
Muscovy, Prince of, I, 374–5.
Musi Khan, II, 909.
Mussulmans, I, 435.
Mustapha, Khan, II, 687.
Mustapha Ali, Khan, I, 435–6.
Mustapha III, Sultan, I, 597.
Muzafferuddin, II, 815.
Muzderan, II, 930.
Mzensk, I, 273.

Na Loswi gorodok, *v.* Loswinskoi.
Nadir Shah, II, 859. 901, 912, 918.
—— his letter to Ilbars, II, 912–13.
Nadjmud din Kubra, I, 34.
Nagai, I, 503.
Naiman-Uighurs, I, 13.
Naimans, I, 8, 9, 13, 31, 39; II, 650, 978.
—— locality of, I, 12.
Najmuddin Kubra, Sheikh, II, 885.
Nakib, office of, II, 963.
Nal Khanish, II, 984.
Nalchik River, II, 1054.
Nalimsk, II, 993.
Namangan, II, 818, 827, 844.
Naples, I, 53.
Narbuteh Bi, II, 817–19, 846, 875.
—— conquests of, II, 818.
—— habits of, II, 818.
—— palace of, II, 818.
Narim Lake, II, 1002.
Narimant, I, 259.
Narin River, II, 845.
Narowa River, I, 494.
Narva, I, 499, 504.
—— captured by Russians, I, 494.
—— —— Swedes, I, 514.
Narva River, I, 229.
Nasim Toga, II, 841.
Nasir ud din Abdul Kalik Firoz Shah, II, 692.
Nasruddin Khan, II, 842–5, 875.
Nasrulla Khan, II, 788, 823, 826, 828, 847, 850, 863.
Nasrulla Murza, II, 914.
Nau, II, 843.
Naukers, II, 954.
Nauruz Ahmed Khan, II, 726, 874.
Navrozki, Major, II, 956.
Nazar, II, 829.

Nazarof, Col., visits Khokand, II, 822–3.
Nazimof, II, 913.
Neckar River, I, 53.
Nefes, Khoja, II, 906.
Nefez (holy breath), II, 948.
Neithłos, I, 494.
Neitra, I, 52, 56.
Neiwa River, II, 987.
Nejib ulla Khan, II, 854.
Nejmeddin Kuberai, II, 687.
Nekomat, I, 211.
Nembui Khatun, I, 15.
Nepriadwa River, I, 215.
Nestor, I, 4, 40.
Neuhaus, captured by Russians, I, 494.
Neumann quoted, I, 265, 272.
Neumarkt, I, 44, 46.
Neustadt, I, 56.
Neutitsch, I, 46.
Neutra, I, 48.
Neva River, I, 394.
Nevski, Alex., I, 39, 414.
New Astrakhan, I, 265.
New Major, Coins struck at, I, 208.
New Ordu, I, 262.
New Serai, I, 265, 274.
—— coins struck at, I, 208.
Niaz Md. bi, II, 944.
Niaz Md. Khan, II, 933.
Niazbek, II, 831.
Nicetas, II, 985.
Nicholas, Emperor, II, 932.
Nicholas, Grand Duke, II, 954.
Nicholas, Tzar, II, 939, 945.
Nijni Novgorod, *v.* Novgorod.
Nikchar, II, 979.
Nikesh, II, 1068.
Nikichi, II, 881.
Nikitin, Athanasius, I, 350.
Nikiforof, Capt., II, 941.
Nikitich, John., I, 268.
Nikolai, II, 950.
Nikon, I, 438.
—— quoted, I, 42.
Nilinski, I, 493.
Nishni Novgorod, *v.* Novgorod.
Nissa, II, 881, 884.
Nitza River, II, 983.
Nuinburg, I, 56.
Nogai judges, I, 608.
—— language, I, 2, 3.
—— method of catching horses, II, 1046–7.
—— products, II, 1047.
—— religion, I, 609.
—— tent, a, II, 1045.
—— marriage of a, II, 1012.
—— writing, I, 2.
Nogai Khan, I, 2; II, 1068.
—— and Bulgaria, II, 1013.
—— and Tulabugha, II, 1015.
Nogai Khan, death of, II, 1018.
—— defeats Toktu, II, 1017.
—— in Thessaly, II, 1013.
—— as Shamanist, II, 1015.
Nogais, I, 5, 12, 18, 21–2, 349, 374, 378–9, 402, 404, 413, 416, 449, 489, 493, 495, 499, 504, 509, 511, 513, 516, 519, 525, 545, 597–8; II, 628, 632, 691, 907, 978, 984, 1009, 1011–66.
—— agriculture among, encouraged by Russia, II, 1049.
—— and Kazaks, II, 1032–3.
—— and Russia, II, 981, 1030, 1035.
—— and Toktu, II, 1019–20.
—— attack Bashkirs, II, 1041.
—— avarice of, II, 1047–8.
—— defeat Kalmuks, II, 632.
—— defeat Krim Khan by treachery, II, 1031–2.
—— famine among, II, 1036.
—— Great, II, 1028–50.
—— habits and customs of, II, 1036–7.
—— hordes of, II, 1053, 1056.
—— importance of in history, II, 1018.
—— invade Persia, II, 1012.
—— join Ali Khan, II, 1002.
—— Little, II, 1050–6.
—— locality of, II, 978.
—— Nurus, II, 1026.
—— oppressed by Ishterek, II, 1051.
—— origin of, II, 1011.
—— physical characteristics of, I, 2.
—— plague among, II, 1037.
—— population of, II, 1049.
—— settlements of, II, 1026–7.
—— subject to Kalmuks, II, 1043.
—— taxation of by Russians, II, 1037.
—— their influence on Kazan, II, 1029.
Nöks, I, 12.
Nokus, I, 3, 14.
Nokus Manguts, I, 3, 10, 17.
Nona, I, 57.
Norsemen, in Bulgaria, I, 439.
Northampton, Lord, I, 504.
Northbrook, Lord, II, 951, 961
Nova Zembla, I, 491.
Novairi, quoted, I, 5; II, 1015, 1020.
Novgorod, I, 39, 42–3, 47, 210–11, 226, 229, 260, 264, 270, 275–7, 282, 374–6, 379, 394, 399, 401, 405–6, 414–15, 427, 431, 434, 509, 510, 511, 525; II, 932, 981, 984.
—— burnt by Tartars, I, 210, 212, 267.
—— captured by Poles, I, 513.

Novgorod, massacre by Ivan at, I, 505.
—— metal coinage in, I, 277.
Novgorod Severski, I, 259.
Novo Alexandrofsk, II, 932.
—— burning of, II, 950.
Novogrodek, II, 1013.
Novopetrovsk, II, 942.
Novossil, I, 275–6.
Novossilzof, I, 435.
Nozdrovati, Prince, V., I, 378.
Nugan, II, 979.
Nukud, II, 1014.
Nur Daulat, I, 381.
Nur ed din (name for second heir to Krim throne), I, 515.
Nur ud din, I, 268–9; II 1029.
Nura River, I, 8; II, 1009.
Nurali Khan, II, 657, 661–9, 685, 914–15, 1059–60, 1068.
Nurata, II, 953.
Nuratau, Mt., II, 952.
Nurdaulat Khan, I, 431–3.
Nuremburg, I, 53.
Nursaltan, I, 374; II, 1029.
Nursaltan Khatun, I, 377.
Nursultana, I, 383.
Nuruddin, II, 1022.
Nurus tribe, II, 1023.
Nurusofs, II, 1053.
Nurusses, II, 1052.

Ob River, I, 20, 437; II, 986, 993, 997, 1042.
Obaga River, *v.* Abuga R.
Obak Prince, II, 1004.
Obder, II, 1062.
Obduran, II, 851.
Oberpahlen, I, 495.
Obolenskoi, Prince Alex., I, 375.
Obulgine, I, 28.
Ochakof, I, 493, 496.
Odan Sultan, I, 436.
Odoyef, Siege of, I, 273.
Oerrok Timur, II, 689.
Oesel, Isle of, I, 499.
Ofen, I, 270.
Oghelen Eka, I, 14.
Oghlu, Alaji, II, 980.
Oghuz, Khan, I, 9, 18.
Ogotai, I, 13, 15, 33–5, 38, 44.
Ohsson, D', quoted, I, 4–5, 15–19, 26–7, 29, 31, 33, 35, 39–44, 49–55; II, 1016–17.
Oi, tribes of, II, 921.
Oka River, I, 41–2, 209, 213–15, 226, 228, 276, 413–14, 434, 437, 507, 509, 519, 525; II, 1041, 1050.
Okas, II, 1029, 1068.
Oki Kuchin, *v.* Ukin Kuchin.
Oldenburg, I, 52, 56.
Olearius, A., I, 437–8.
Oleg, Prince, I, 210, 213-15, 226 228–9, 263.
Olesh, River, II, 986.
Olgerd, Prince, I, 208–9, 211, 259.
—— death of, I, 213.
—— invades Russia, 209–10.
Olju, II, 1015.
Olkhamski, Prince John, I, 259.
Olkhonuds, I, 14, 16.
Olkui River, I, 16.
Olmutz, I, 47.
Olschawa River, I, 48.
Omar bek, II, 849.
Omar Ghazi Sultan, II, 884.
Omar Khan, II, 819, 821–3, 846
—— army of, II, 823.
Omar Khoja, I, 26.
Omar the Khivan, I, 34.
On, King, II, 1062.
Onbashi, office of, II, 964.
Ontonturuk, I, 21.
Opok, I, 432.
Oppa, River, I, 47.
Oprichniks, satellites of Ivan the Terrible, I, 501–2.
Or River, I, 7; II, 680, 978.
Orak clan, II, 1027.
Orda, I, 16, 36–8, 44–5, 216, 225.
Orda Ichen, I, 6; II, 978.
Ordu, I, 272–3.
Orel Gorodok, II, 986.
Orenburg, I, 8, 243; II, 643, 664, 672, 680, 825, 842, 915, 932, 951; II, 1056, 1058.
Orenburgh Katenin, II, 837.
Ori River, *v.* Or River.
Orkapi, *v.* Perekop.
Orlava, I, 48.
Ormit clan, II, 1027.
Ornach, *v.* Al Jorjania.
Ornas, *v.* Al Jorjania.
Orsha, I, 259.
Orskaia Krepost, I, 242.
Ortagh Mts. (ancient name of Ulugh Tag), I, 241.
Ortaku, II, 951.
Ortakuya, II, 955.
Oruks, II, 1051–2.
Oskol, I, 495.
Osman, *v.* Othman.
Osman Pasha, I, 515–16, 520.
Osmanli, I, 9, 19, 20; II, 882.
—— Turks conquer Constantinople, I, 450.
Osphentisthlabus, II, 1019.
Osseter River, I, 41.
Ossetes, *v.* Alans.
Osta tribe, I, 20.
Ostei, I, 227.
Ostiaks, II, 983, 985, 990, 993–4 1063.
Ostingh, I, 277.
Ostrof, I, 265.

Ostrog, Bible printed at, I, 500.
Ostroyski, Constantine, I, 382.
Otchakof, I, 609; II, 1027.
Othman, I, 19.
Otrar, I, 27; II, 628–9, 646, 693.
Ottmachau, I, 47.
Otto II, of Bavaria, I, 54.
Ottomans, I, 19, 276, 515, 525.
—— attack Persia, I, 520.
Otus tribe, I, 20.
Otushef, Prince, I, 393.
Ouil River, II, 1009.
Our Lady, Church of, destroyed, I, 41.
Our Lady of Good Succour, Church of founded by Ivan, I, 428.
Ouwarof Collection, I, 269.
Oxus River, I, 33, 35; II, 687, 689, 881, 906, 913, 920, 923, 941, 952–3, 955, 962, 1059.
—— gold mines near, II, 906–7.
—— Taldik channel of diverted, II, 950.
—— Lower, II, 906.
Ozyk, *v.* Dnieper.

Pacha Khoja, II, 851.
Pachiman, I, 39–40.
Pachenka, II, 993.
Pachymeres, quoted, II, 1010.
Paganism in Central Europe, I, 230.
Paganoi, Lake, I, 380.
Paizah, golden Mongol, I, 41.
Palacky, quoted, I, 46.
Palæologos, John, I, 276.
Palæologos, M., II, 1012–13.
Paldorak, II, 851.
Paletski, Prince F., I, 377, 380, 403.
Paletski, D., I, 426.
Palitzin, quoted, I, 262.
Palladius, quoted, I, 15.
Pallas, quoted, I, 2; II, 689, 1026, 1043, 1048, 1052, 1055.
Pangtele, I, 3.
Panin bugor, II, 983.
Panthers bought for Peter the Great, II, 907.
Papai, II, 662.
Parrots bought for Peter the Great, II, 907.
Paris, M., quoted, I, 54–5.
—— MS. of, I, 40.
Parr, Lord, I, 504.
Patzinakitai, *v.* Pechenegs.
Paul II, Pope, I, 451.
Pecenatici, *v.* Pechenegs.
Peckeneg, Prince, I, 4.
Pechenegs, I, 17, 18, 20; II, 993, 1011.
—— derivation of, I, 3, 4.
—— food of, I, 5.
—— physical characteristics of, I, 5.
Pecinei, *v.* Pechenegs.
Peczenjei, *v.* Pechenegs.
Pehlevan Kuli, II, 884.
Peking, II, 817.
—— Emperor's Palace at, II, 818.
Pelepelizin, V., II, 992.
Pelim, II, 991.
Pelimskoi kniaz, II, 991.
Penjakend, II, 852.
Pensa, I, 40.
Pereislavl, I, 44, 210, 214, 399, 451.
—— burnt by Tartars, I, 213, 228, 267.
Perekop, I, 492, 495, 596, 603, 609.
—— Judges of, I, 608.
—— Tartars of, I, 452.
Perekop River, II, 1053.
Peremysl, I, 209, 265, 275.
Peresvet, Alex., I, 215.
Perevolog, II, 1037.
Perevolok, I, 503.
Perevoloka River, I, 500.
Perewitsk, I, 432.
Perg., destruction of, I, 51.
Permia, Bp. of, I, 395.
Permians, I, 376.
Perofski, Fort, II, 834, 837.
Perofski, Genl., II, 930, 932, 942, 949.
Perovsky, II, 683.
Persia, I, 3, 35, 37.
—— and Kurds, peace between, II, 923.
—— culture of, I, 523.
—— invaded by Nogais, II, 1012.
—— Russian campaign against, II, 910.
—— trades with England, I, 504.
Persia, Shah of, I, 504.
Persians, I, 6, 439; II, 716, 907, 913, 922.
—— and Russians, I, 5, 6.
—— and Scythians, II, 1016.
—— and Turks, I, 515, 520.
—— and Uzbegs, II, 882.
—— attack Khuaregm, II, 914.
—— send envoy to Khiva, II, 937–8.
—— symbolical presents to, from Scythians, II, 1016.
Peru, II, 987.
Peruvians, II, 931.
Pesth, I, 48.
Pestri, Prince F., I, 280.
Peta, *v.* Baidar.
Petchersky, Convent of, I, 259.
—— monastery of I, 262.
Petchora River, II, 997.
Peter III. Emperor, II, 660.
Peter the Great, I, 514, 518, 595; II, 906, 1028.
—— his campaign against Persia, II, 910.

Peter the Great's expedition to Khiva in search of gold, II, 907.
Peter (the voivode of Moldavia), I, 393.
Petermann, quoted, II, 964.
Petinei, *v.* Pechenegs.
Petrof, Dr., II, 843.
Petrokos, I, 452.
Petschora River, II, 986.
Peysonnel, quoted, I, 603–5, 607; II, 1024, 1026, 1044.
Pezina volbi, *v.* Pechenegs.
Pflug Collection, I, 273.
Philothæus, I, 213.
—— cross of, I, 276.
Phœnicians, II, 1049.
Photius, I, 276–8.
Piana River, I, 211.
—— Proberb about, I, 212.
Piatidesiatnik Bogdan Briaga, II, 986.
Piatigorok, *v.* Beshtau.
Piestroye osero, *v.* Chebar Kul.
Piewnicza, I, 52.
Pil Kupruki, II, 882.
Pilgersdorf, I, 45.
Pimen, I, 213, 228.
Pincenates, *v.* Pechenegs.
Pinkerton, quoted, II, 1043.
Pir Md. Khan, II, 638–9, 729–30, 874.
Pir Md. Khan II, II, 739–43.
Pir Zadeli, II, 857.
Pirali Khan, II, 669, 685.
Pirkel, I, 495.
Pishchaliuki, II, 985.
Pishgali, II, 884.
Pishma River, II, 998, 1040.
Pishpek, II, 837.
Pittars, I, 45.
Pitu, I, 30.
Pizano, II, 987.
Platen Sea, I, 53.
Plesso, I, 280.
Podkuma River, II, 1048.
Podolia, I, 48, 259, 450, 451.
—— raided by Tartars, I, 453, 493.
Pogannoe Osero (unclean Lake), II, 993.
Pokhra, I, 429.
Polamiez, I, 45.
Poland, I, 22, 44, 46, 53, 230, 279, 489, 495, 500, 523.
—— and Haji Girai, I, 450, 451.
—— and Russia, peace between, I, 503.
—— and Tartars, I, 524.
—— bribery in, I, 452.
—— Henry of Anjou, elected to throne of, I, 510.
—— Nogais in, II, 1027.
—— raided by Tartars, I, 453, 503.
Poland, Benedict of, I, 1.
Poles, I, 393, 437, 500, 505.
—— capture Novgorod, I, 513.
—— Livonians surrender to, I, 514.
Polish commerce, I, 399.
Polo, Marco, quoted, I, 5, 9; II, 1015.
Polotsk, I, 214, 230, 499, 500, 513–14.
Polotsk, Archbp. of, I, 277.
Poloutsi, I, 38, 213–14, 261.
Polyglotta, I, 10, 18.
Popof, II, 909.
Porkof, siege of, I, 279.
Porphyrogenitus, C., quoted, I, 3–5, 19.
Porsu, II, 909.
Port Perofski, *v.* Ak Musjid.
Porte, the, I, 523, 594, 596–9, 601, 604.
Portents—
Comet presaging death, I, 275, 517.
Dream of Jingis Khan before campaign, I, 28.
Dream of Tartars, II, 989.
Of white wolf and black hound, II, 987.
Thunder and lightning at birth of Ivan IV, I, 393.
Poshanof, Lieut.-Col., II, 961.
Possevin, I, 514.
Postinagi, *v.* Pechenegs.
Postnik, Ivan F., I, 40.
Potemkin, Prince P., I, 601–2.
Potu, I, 15.
Presburg, I, 56.
Presnogorkofskoi, I, 8.
Printing introduced into Russia, I, 500.
Procopius, I, 229.
Prokhor, I, 278.
Pronsk, I, 263, 501.
Pronsk Andrew of, I, 213.
Prophecy by Queen Hedwig. I, 261.
Prosorofski, Prince, I, 600.
Protassief, G., I, 280.
Prozorofski, I, 506.
Prussia, I, 213, 259, 500.
Prussian Knights, I, 279.
Pruth River, I, 595; II, 1028.
Psammetichus, King, II, 1049.
Psemuka River, II, 1052.
Pskof, I, 43, 264–5, 275, 277, 278, 382, 399, 434, 489, 505, 525.
—— attacked by Livonian Knights, I, 209.
—— constitution of, I, 382–3.
—— metal coinage in, I, 277.
—— plague in, I, 489–90.
—— siege of, I, 514.
Pulad beg, I, 266; II, 1022.
Pulad bek, II, 844.

Pulad Khan, I, 265–8; II, 686, 874–5; 1010.
—— besieges Moscow, I, 266–7.
—— identification of, I, 266.
—— invades Lithuania, I, 266.
Pulad Khoja, *v.* Pulad Timur.
Pulad Muhammed, I, 266.
Pulad, Prince, I, 400, 402.
Pulad Yesaul, II, 1058.
Punishments under Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 928.
Putiole, I, 521.

Raak, I, 57.
Rabiga-Begim, II, 682–3, 688–90.
Radegast, Temple of, I, 46.
Radjan, I, 268; II, 979, 1053–4.
Radzivil, Prince, I, 498.
Ragh, II, 866.
Rahim Bek, II, 816, 875.
Rahim bi, II, 846–7.
Rahim Kuli Khan, II, 851, 941.
Rahman Kuli, II, 934.
Rahmet Ulla, II, 829, 860, 868, 962.
Raimsk, *v.* Aralsk.
Rain-stone, II, 995.
Ramadan clan, I, 7, 8.
Ramazan, I, 596.
Rasan, *v.* Radjan.
Raschid ud din, quoted, I, 14–15, 26, 29, 35–6, 39–44, 50, 103, 216; II, 1012, 1015, 1019.
Raspe, Henry, I, 53, 54.
Rassokhin, I, 264.
Raverty, quoted, I, 29, 30.
Rawlinson, quoted, I, 1016.
Rechenberg, I, 45.
Reis office of, II, 964.
Rejim Khan, II, 910–11.
Remuset, quoted, I, 19.
Repnin, Prince, I, 401.
Res Kitzi, I, 437.
Revel, I, 494, 496, 511.
Reynolds, Sir Joshua, allegorical picture of, I, 518.
Rhodes, 546, 602.
Riapolofski, Dimitri, I, 502.
Riapolofski, Loban, I, 378.
Riapolofski, Michael, I, 378.
Riazan, I, 40–3, 213, 228, 260, 263, 270, 414, 430, 432, 492, 495; II, 1037.
—— annexed by Ivan of Pronsk, I, 266.
—— captured by Idiku, I, 267.
—— invaded by Tartars, I, 212, 264, 280, 500.
—— Cossacks of, I, 6.
Riazan, Bp. of, I, 395.
Riazan, Prince of, I, 276, 279.
Richelieu, I, 517.
Riefski, I, 493.
Rieu, Dr. quoted, II, 687.
Riga, I, 494.
—— Gulf of, I, 497.
Righilmann, Lieut., quoted, II, 1009.
Rimniski, Suwar of, I, 600.
Rin Peski, I, 7.
Ringen, I, 495.
Riswan pashade, I, 448.
Ritter, quoted, II, 6, 8, 822.
Riza Kuli Murza, II, 913.
Robotka, Island of, I, 405.
Rodna, I, 49.
Rodna Pass, *v.* Borgo Pass.
Roger, quoted, I, 44, 48–50.
Rokn ud din, I, 29.
Romanof, I, 435.
—— Prince of, I, 507.
Romanof, M., II, 1041.
Romanovitch, Daniel, I, 413.
Romanovitch, Yuri, I, 273.
Rome, I, 53, 277.
Rose Path of the Krim Khans, I, 594.
Roshan, II, 852.
Rosichen, I, 496.
Roslan-beg, II, 1026.
Rostislaf, I, 43, 263.
Rostislovitch, Feodor, marriage of, II, 1012.
Rostof, I, 41, 43.
—— burnt by Tartars, I, 267.
Rostof Achbp. of, I, 395.
Rostof, Prince of, I, 214, 260.
Rostofski, Prince, I, 380.
Rostok, Bp. of, I, 42.
Rosvald, I, 45.
Roumans, I, 48, 50.
Roussa, I, 264.
Rowno, I, 45.
Royai, I, 510.
Rubruquis, quoted, I, 39.
Rukin, Col., II, 950.
Rum, Seljuk Sultan of, I, 19.
Rumanzof, I, 595–6.
Rumelia, I, 594, 604, 609–10.
—— shelters emigrants, I, 600.
Rurik, I, 440.
Rusi, I, 281.
Russa, I, 229.
Russell, Lord, I, 504.
Russia, I, 35, 53; II, 649–50, 664, 668–9, 794, 979.
—— aids Krim, I, 599.
—— and Haji Girai, I, 451.
—— and Karakalpaks, intercourse between, II, 1059.
—— and Khivans, II, 931, 940–1, 949–54.
—— and Khuarezm, treaty of Peace between, II, 962–3.
—— and taxation of Nogais, II, 1037.
—— and Turks, I, 383–4, 596–7, 600, 602.

Russia captures Astrakhan, II, 1034.
—— civil strife in, I, 208–9.
—— commerce in, I, 399.
—— condition of in Ivan IV's reign, I, 503.
—— —— at time of Ivan IV's death, I, 518–19.
—— conquests of in Khokand, II, 837–8.
—— Devlet Girai's policy towards, II, 1007.
—— drought and famine in, I, 275, 278.
—— English embassy to, II, 939.
—— English imports in, I, 491.
—— in Kohistan, II, 850–2.
—— internal progress of, I, 522.
—— invaded by Lithuanians, I, 208–9, 210.
—— law of succession in, I, 230–1, 281–2.
—— menaced by Krim, I, 520.
—— Nogais submit to, II, 1035.
—— plague in, I, 275, 278, 489–90.
—— plans campaign against Khiva, II, 952.
—— printing introduced into, I, 500.
—— raided by Nogais, II, 1033.
—— slavery in, I, 399–400.
—— Stroganof's deputation to, II, 992–3.
—— trades with Brabant, I, 492.
—— —— England, I, 491–2, 516–17.
—— —— Holland, I, 492.
—— —— Khiva, II, 922.
—— —— Turkey, I, 516.
—— treaty with Kazan. I, 400.
—— treaty with Tartars refused, I, 493–4.
Russian Army, armature of, I, 396–7.
—— arts, progress of, I, 277–8.
—— calendar, I, 277.
—— camps, I, 397.
—— church, government of, I, 213.
—— expeditions to Siberia, II, 987–1001.
—— exports, I, 399.
—— Grand Prince, power of, I, 396.
—— justice, corruption of, I, 398.
—— laws, I, 277–8.
—— marriage customs, *v.* customs.
—— musical instruments, I, 397.
—— peasants, condition of, I, 399–400.
—— postal system, I, 399.
—— power of, menace to, II, 936.
—— priests, costume of, *v.* costume.
—— prisoners sold as slaves, I, 229.
—— products, I, 399.
Russian punishment of thieves, I, 397.
—— soldiers, costume of, *v.* costume.
—— sports, *v.* amusements.
—— taxes paid to Tartars, I, 432.
—— war tactics, I, 397.
—— women, habits of, I, 398.
Russians, I, 19, 37 ; II, 915–16.
—— and Ali Khan, II, 1002–3.
—— and Bulgarians, I, 261, 440.
—— and Kalmuks, II, 1003.
—— and Kanggar, I, 20.
—— and Kazan, I, 310, 383, 402, 413, 416–29 ; II, 1034.
—— and Krim, I, 492, 496, 509–10, 521, 596.
—— and Lithuanians, I, 278–9, 437, 499.
—— and Livonians, I, 499, 510, 511.
—— and Mongols, I, 39–44.
—— and Nogais, II, 981, 1037, 1039.
—— Persia, II, 910.
—— and Poles, I, 437, 500, 503, 513–14.
—— and Sweden, I, 492–3, 514.
—— and Tartars, I, 38–9, 212, 214–15, 226–9, 381, 402–3, 489, 525–6, 595.
—— —— treaty between, I, 453, 499.
—— and Uzbegs, II, 910–12.
—— build forts in Kazak Steppes, II, 942.
—— massacred by Muhammed Amin, I, 379.
—— sell Tartar children, II, 1037, 1041.
—— take Hazarasp, II, 958.
—— take Khiva, II, 959.
—— explore Khiva in search of gold, II, 906–9.
Rustak, II, 866.
Rustem Khan, II, 868.
Rytschkof, quoted, II, 680–1, 906, 912, 1008, 1056–7, 1059.

Saadet Girai, I, 477–9, 515, 519–20, 565 ; II, 1051.
—— and Krim Khan, I, 521.
Saadet Girai III, I, 575.
Sabana Kasanof, II, 1064.
Sabakin, Marfa, I, 509.
Sabanak, II, 984.
Sabdan Khoja, II, 834.
Sabran, I, 241 ; II, 628–9, 681, 692.
Sadik bek, II, 836.
Sadir, II, 1063.
Sadir clan, I, 8.
Safa Girai Khan, I, 400–5, 433–4, 516, 545, 565 ; II, 1024, 1032–3, 1068.

Safa Girai Khan deposed, I, 403.
Safarbi, II, 831.
Safrak, I, 263.
Saghiz River, I, 7; II, 1009.
Sahib Girai, I, 383, 385, 386–92, 400, 402, 405, 479–88, 597–8; II, 1024. 1034,
—— deposed, I, 406.
Sai Kuyn, II, 956.
Saichak, II, 1004.
Saidak, I, 453.
Saieghan, II, 979.
Sain, *v.* Semen.
Sain Bulat Khan, I, 435, 511.
St. Dimitri, Monastery of, burnt, I, 41.
St. George, I, 519.
—— trading guild of, I, 450.
St. Hedwig, legend of, I, 46.
St. Jacob's, tomb of Henry II, of Poland at, I, 45.
St. John the Evangelist, Monastery of, I, 41.
St. Lazarus, Palace of, I, 401.
St. Michael, the Archangel, Church of, II, 1013.
St. Nicholas, Church of, I, 40, 279.
—— monastery of, I, 491.
St. Nicholas Gostimski, Church of, I, 394.
St. Nicholas Zarasky, Church of, I, 41.
St. Petersburg, I, 429, 596, 598, 601, 603; II, 651, 825, 905–6, 919, 939, 940, 945, 961, 963, 1058–9.
St. Simeon Stilites, I, 396.
St. Sophia, I, 213.
St. Sergius, I, 215.
St. Vladimir, I, 276.
Sairam, II, 630, 684, 689.
Sairlief, II, 817.
Sairuja, *v.* Osphentisthlabus.
Saissan Nur, II, 1001.
Sakana, Forest of, I, 414.
Saksins, I, 38–9.
Sala, II, 994.
Salbar, II, 1004.
Salchei, Prince, I, 229.
Salih Sultan, II, 895.
Salinsk, II, 998.
Saljidai Gurkhan, II, 1015.
Salor tribe, II, 920, 930–1.
Salovski, I, 399.
Saltish, II, 1068.
Samakof, I, 597.
Samanchi, battle of, II, 832.
Samara River, II, 1053, 1057.
Samarkand, I, 12, 29, 30–1, 240, 274, 504; II, 629, 633, 687, 689, 692, 695, 698, 711, 741, 743, 791 819, 835, 852, 910–12.
—— captured by Jingis, I, 33.
—— —— Russians, II, 849.
Samonof, Prince, II, 906.
—— beheaded, II, 908.
Samoyedes, II, 997.
Sandecz, I, 52.
Sanjar Sultan, II, 690.
Santun, I, 18.
Saostrofnie, II, 990.
Sara-suli clan, I, 8.
Saratof, I, 7; II, 1035.
Sarai, I, 12.
Sarda ba kul, II, 955.
Sarga tribe, I, 20.
Sari Bulak, II, 681.
Sari Kamish, Lake, II, 964.
Sari Khan, II, 853.
Sari Khoja, I, 209.
Sari Mahmud Sultan, II, 885.
Sari su River, I, 8–9, 17, 241; II, 679–81, 978, 1008.
Saricha Kunchak Oghlan, I, 226.
Sarijui, II, 853.
Sariks, II, 941.
Sarimsak, II, 829, 830, 875.
Sarivar, II, 1014.
Sarkan, I, 36–7.
Sarts, II, 829, 831, 836, 838, 896, 918, 928–9.
Saru Kinghir, I, 241.
Saruk Erin, *v.* Sari su River.
Saruk Uzen, *v.* Sari su River.
Sarvada, II, 851.
Sasiltan, II, 979.
Satilgan, I, 432.
Satkin, I, 263.
Sauk River, II, 680–1, 978.
Sausen el Rassy, I, 439.
Sauskan, II, 991, 994, 1064.
Savilief, quoted, I, 208; II, 823, 842.
Sawa, I, 228, 264.
Sayats, I, 12.
Sayo River, I, 48, 50, 55.
—— Battle of, I, 51–2.
Schatzk, siege of, II, 1051.
Schefer, quoted, I, 768–9, 773, 781; II, 817, 819, 821–2, 826, 852–3, 867–8, 912–13, 916–17, 926.
Schenia, Daniel, I, 381.
Scherensk, Forest of, I, 42.
Scherer, quoted, I, 561.
Schiltberger, quoted, I, 265–6, 269–75.
Schitomir, I, 45.
Schlakau, I, 45.
Schlatter, quoted, II, 1053.
Schlatten, I, 45.
Schmidt, quoted, I, 19–20; II, 952–8.
Schott, Dr., quoted, I, 4, 18–20.
Schokur River, II, 986.
Schouvaloff, Count, II, 963.
Schulz, Capt., II, 832.
Schuyler, quoted, I, 10; II, 672–3,

681, 683, 817–37, 850–2, 865, 941–63, 1060.
Scythians, peculiar disease among, II, 1049.
Sebastopol, I, 599.
Sediak, II, 874, 980, 1030–2.
Seidiak, II, 632, 691, 992, 996, 1064–5.
—— legend of his birth, II, 1065.
Segelalladin, *v.* Jelal ud din.
Seid Alibeg, I, 266.
Seidak, I, 452.
Seitkul, II, 999.
Selamet Girai Khan, I, 538, 545, 559–61, 581, 609.
Selanash Murza, I, 546.
Seledin, *v.* Jelal ud din.
Seleni Sultan, *v.* Jelal ud din.
Seliger Lake, I, 42.
Selim, I, 395.
Selim Girai Khan, I, 563–6, 581–5, 595–6, 599, 609.
Selim Girai Ademeyef, II, 1067.
Selim Sultan, I, 383, 435, 503, 510.
Sellizure, II, 964.
Seljuki, I, 9.
Semen Murza, II, 1036.
Semigallia, I, 499.
Semipalat, II, 1004, 1008.
Semis-Baganali clan, I, 8.
Semur River, I, 243.
Senbachta Tegin, II, 992.
Senbakhta, II, 1064.
Senekbrook, II, 956.
Senkofski, quoted, II, 687, 691, 747, 751, 755–9, 903, 905, 1010.
Serai, I, 228, 230, 264–5, 267, 269–71, 282, 449, 594, 627 ; II, 1012, 1017, 1019.
—— Khan's palace at, I, 594.
—— Bishop of, I, 395.
Seraichuk, I, 490 ; II, 629, 1009, 1031, 1035.
—— destroyed, II, 1039.
Seraiko, I, 211.
Seraili, I, 35.
Serapion, Archbp. of, I, 490.
Serbians, II, 1014.
Serebrenka River, II, 987.
Sergius, I, 214.
Sernach, I, 226.
Serpents, Mt. of, II, 1025.
Serpents, reverenced by Bulgarians, I, 439.
Serpukof, I, 214, 226, 377, 393, 433, 507–8, 525 ; II, 1001, 1041.
—— burnt by Tartars, I, 267.
Servia, I, 277.
Setzulet, I, 271.
Seven Planets, quoted, II, 1051.
Seven Rivers, I, 9.
Seversk, I, 521.
Seyid Abdul Mumin Khan, II, 765–6, 874.
Seyid Abdulfaiz Khan, II, 762–5, 874.
Seyid Abdulla Khan, *v.* Abdulla Khan.
Seyid Ahmed Khan, I, 272, 327, 429, 431, 449, 451 ; II, 628, 1040.
Seyid Akhmed, *v.* Seyid Ahmed.
Seyid Amir Haidar, II, 780–7, 875.
Seyid Amir Ul Umara, II, 959.
Seyid Baba, II, 690.
Seyid Burgan Khan, I, 437–8.
—— adopts Christianity, I, 438.
Seyid Ibrahim Sultan, II, 874.
Seyid Imaum Kuli Khan II, 747–51, 874.
Seyid Mahmud Tureh, II, 943, 944.
Seyid Memet, II, 984.
Seyid Muhammed Khan, 944–9.
—— appearance of, II, 947.
—— cruelty of, II, 948.
Seyid Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 949–63.
Seyid Rejib, Md. Sultan, II, 874.
Seyid Nadir Md. Khan, II, 874.
Seyid Subhan Kuli Khan, II, 751, 755–6, 874.
Seyid Sultan Khan, II, 835–8, 849, 875.
Seyid Ubeidulla Khan, II, 874.
Seyids, II, 818.
Shabirghan, II, 868–9.
Shabkun, Prince, I, 412.
Shadi, II, 829, 851.
Shadibeg, I, 262–5, 449 ; II, 1022.
Shadiman Khoja, II, 835–6.
Shagaltai (writing of Nogais), *v.* Nogais
Shagarka River, II, 1005.
Shagnan, II, 852, 866.
Shah Ali, I, 385–6, 393, 400, 402–6, 414–16, 433–5 ; II; 1033, 1036.
—— flight of, I, 404.
—— restored to throne, I, 403.
Shah Budagh Sultan, II, 690–1, 874.
Shah Ghafran ulla Serhindi, II, 846, 853.
Shah Hussein, II, 907.
Shah Ismael, II, 710, 876, 880.
Shah Kamran, II, 933.
Shah Murad bi, II, 846, 868.
Shah Murad Khan, II, 774–6, 835–6, 875.
Shah Rukh, II, 687–9, 816–17, 821, 836, 875.
Shah Murad, Amir, II, 817.
Shah Niaz Khan, II, 905.
Shah Shuja, II, 940.
Shah Sultana, I, 433.
Shah Tahmasp, II, 717.
Shahbakht, title of Sheibani, *q.v.*

Shahbaz Girai, I, 593–4, 598.
Shahibeg, title of Sheibani, *q.v.*
Shahin Girai, I, 546, 597–610; II, 1024.
—— character and habits of, I, 602–3.
—— coins struck by, I, 600.
—— taxation under, I, 599.
Shahriat, the, II, 962.
Shahrokh, I, 273.
Shahrukh, II, 819, 875.
Shahrukhia, II, 689, 692.
Shaim, II, 1001.
Shaireddin (Barbarossa), tomb of, I, 519.
Shakespear, Lieut., II, 939.
Shaku, I, 21.
Shamakha, I, 490.
Shamakhi, I, 504, 515–16.
Shamkal, I, 490.
Shamsha, II, 994.
Shamshinski Yurti, II, 991.
Shamsi, II, 1003.
Shamursin, Col., II, 1025.
Sharikhana, II, 844–5.
Shegulin, von, II, 1049.
Shehr el Jedid, *v.* Yani Shehr.
Shehr i Vezir, *v.* Vezir.
Shehir Sebz Mts., I, 12; II, 772.
Sheiban, I, 38, 42, 51, 378; II, 627, 686, 691, 978, 1010.
—— Horde of, I, 17, 377.
Sheibani, I, 610; II, 628–9, 686, 691–713, 876, 965, 982.
—— acquires Turkestan, II, 692.
—— character of, II, 693.
—— treachery of to allies, II, 692.
Sheibani Nameh, the, quoted, II, 627, 691, 964, 1029.
Sheibanid princes, II, 1004–6.
Sheibanids, II, 686, 978–81, 1029.
—— origin of, II, 978–9.
Sheihani, read Sheibani, *q.v.*
Shehr i Sebz, II, 823, 829, 843, 847–50.
Shehri Khana, II, 825.
Sheikh Ahmet, I, 225, 327–49; II, 1030–1.
Sheikh Arik, II, 955, 958.
Sheikh Avliar, *v.* Shigavlei.
Sheikh David, I, 243.
Sheikh Haidar, II, 690–1, 980.
Sheikh Mamai, II, 1030–1.
Sheikh Mamal, II, 1068.
Shein, I, 380.
Sheksna, River, I, 505.
Shemiaka, I, 281–2, 429–30.
Shemshemen, II, 1020.
Shems ban Ain, II, 874.
Shenggu Gurgan, I, 15.
Shere Ali, II, 826, 828–9, 875.
Sheremetief, I, 498, 511.
Sherif Md. Riza, II, 1051.
Sherif-Mollah, the Kul, I, 416.
Sherifuddin, quoted, I, 9, 225, 262; II, 683, 965, 1021.
Shermet Oghlu, I, 489.
Shesh tugha, or Grand Standard, II, 690.
Shias, II, 943.
Shidiak, I, 351; II, 1031.
Shigai Khan, I, 436; II, 634–6, 685, 984, 1030, 1068.
Shigavlei, I, 351.
Shikhlar clan, I, 7.
Shinar Mahmet Niaz, II, 940–1.
Shir Ghazi Sultan, II, 884.
Shirabad, II, 853.
Shiraz, II, 682, 688.
Shirghan, *v.* Shabirghan.
Shirghazi Khan, II, 672–3, 906, 910.
—— negotiates with Russian envoy, II, 911.
Shirin, I, 449, 492; II, 1022.
—— clan of, I, 385.
—— princes of, I, 495
Shirinsk, II, 1038.
Shirvan, I, 265, 271, 515.
Shuchie Lake, II, 1004
Shugnan, II, 825.
Shuisky, Prince, I, 419, 427, 500, 502, 513, 522.
Shuisky, Prince V., I, 375.
Shuja ud din Khan, II, 858.
Shukrullah bi, II, 946.
Shurakhana, II, 953, 955.
Shursuk River, II, 1055.
Si in wen kian lo, I, 19.
Siah Posh Kaffirs, II, 912.
Siauddin, II, 953.
Siawush Pasha, I, 546.
Siberia, I, 18, 25, 271, 405, 515, 517; II, 686, 981.
—— famine in, II, 993.
—— Khanate of, founded, II, 1021, 1061.
—— Muhammedanism first introduced into, II, 983.
—— Russian campaigns in, II, 987–1001.
—— wild people of, I, 271–2.
Siberians, I, 4.
Sibir, II, 989, 991, 993, 997, 1065.
—— evacuation of, II, 1066.
Sibirka, II, 991.
Sibok, Prince, I, 490–1.
Sicily, I, 53.
Sieradia, I, 45.
Sighan, II, 859, 868.
Sighnak, I, 274; II, 627–9, 681, 689, 692.
—— siege of, I, 31.
Sighnak Tikin, I, 36.
Sigismund Emperor, I, 279.
Sigismund, King of Poland, I, 382, 395, 432, 434, 499, 502–3, 510, 523.

Sigismund, death of, I, 509.
Sigwa River, II, 986.
Sihun River, I, 32, 240–1, 275; II, 689–90, 1022.
Sijivit, II, 1024.
Sik-Am clan, I, 8.
Siklum, I, 37.
Silesia, I, 44, 46–7.
Simbirsk, I, 40, 262, 439; II, 1054.
Simeon, Bp., I, 454.
Simeon, ruler of Karthli, I, 522.
Simeon, Prince, I, 212, 227–8, 230, 264.
Simeon, the Black, I, 278.
Simeon, Tzar of Kazan, I, 432, 435.
Simpheropol, I, 603.
Singkur, I, 37–9.
Sinope, I, 520, 598.
Sintab, II, 952.
Sir Daria (Jaxartes), I, 5, 7–9; II, 679–80, 683, 692, 825, 845, 914, 942, 949, 957, 965, 978, 1056–7.
—— Lower, I, 16; II, 692, 832.
Sir Orda, *v.* Golden Horde.
Sirakhs, II, 930–1.
—— attacked by Khivans, II, 942–3.
Sireth River, I, 50.
Sirianzi, II, 1002.
Sirim Batir, II, 667, 669.
Sirpul, II, 869.
Sisopolis, II, 1012.
Sistan, II, 689.
Sitti River, I, 41.
Siurkukteni, I, 35.
Skobelef, Col., II, 843, 845, 957, 959.
Skirigailo, I, 259.
Slave Markets of Bukhara, II, 867.
—— of Khuarezm, II, 911, 929.
Slave trade in Russia, I, 399–400.
—— —— abolished, II, 940.
—— traffic by Khoja Jan, II, 858.
Slaves, Persian, II, 929.
—— liberated, II, 914, 962.
—— Russian, II, 929.
—— liberated, II, 914.
—— Turkoman prisoners sold as, II, 948.
Slavonia, I, 57.
Smille *v.* Ismael.
Smiltzos, II, 1018.
Smolensk, I, 43, 229, 259–64, 38 433; II, 1012.
Smolensk, Bishop of, I, 277, 395.
Smolensk, Prince of, I, 209.
Snorro, quoted, I, 4.
Snouk su River, II, 681.
Sofian Khan, II, 881.
Soki, II, 1014.
"Solomon's Throne," II, 836.
Solvichigodsk, II, 1003.
Soret, quoted, I, 259, 270–4, 374.
Spain, King of, II, 931.
Spalatro, I, 54, 56.
Spass, Archbp. of, I, 375.
Spat, Prince, I, 503.
Spiridon introduces calculation by abacus, II, 984.
Spisky, *v.* Zips.
Spitko, I, 262.
Squarciafico, I, 452, 454.
Sreda, *v.* Neumarkt.
Sob River, II, 986.
Sokol, siege of, I, 513.
Soldaia, I, 452.
Solnoker, I, 49.
Solovetski, Monastery of, I, 497.
Soltikof, Boris, I, 428.
Soltikof, Michael, I, 513.
Solwychegodzka, II, 997.
Somlyo, I, 49.
Somona, I, 18.
Sophia, I, 281.
Soret, M., quoted, I, 208, 266, 269, 449.
Soswa River, II, 986.
Ssanang Setzen, quoted, I, 15; II, 689.
Stambul, II, 946, 948.
Standish, Dr., I, 492.
Standards, horsetail, II, 1024.
Staraia Riazan, I, 40.
Staraia Russa, I, 513.
Staritza, I, 432.
Starkof, Alexis, I, 453.
Starodub, I, 43, 213, 280.
Stcherbatoff, Prince, II, 1051.
Stchoukofski, I, 262.
Stephen, King of Moldavia, I, 454.
Stepnoi, I, 8.
Sternberg, I, 46.
Stoddart, Col., II, 826, 935, 940.
Storch, quoted, I, 600.
Storks, revered in Turkestan, II, 682.
Storoschefski, Monastery of, I, 448.
Strahlenberg, quoted, I, 5.
Stramberg, I, 45.
—— Church of, I, 46.
Stritter, II, 1012–4.
—— quoted, I; 3–4, 450.
Stroganof, M., II, 986.
Stroganofs, II, 984–6.
—— equipment of their army, II, 986.
—— origin of, II, 984.
—— their campaign in Siberia, II, 986–91.
—— their deputation to Russia, II, 992.
—— their second embassy to Russia, II, 993.
Stroganofski, v Esipoffski Annals, quoted, II, 1062.
Stuhlweissenburg, I, 52.

Suban Kazi, II, 1049.
Subhan Kuli, II, 753–4, 902, 905, 911.
Subutai, I, 29, 39.
Subutai Baghatur, I, 50, 52.
Succession, law of in Russia, I, 230–1.
Sudak, I, 259, 454, 600, 607.
Sufi Khan Afshar, II, 869.
Sufi Murad, II, 926.
Sughra Urgenj, *v.* Little Urgenj.
Sugunduk River, I, 7.
Suidrigailo, I, 280.
Suiunich Khoja Khan, II, 690, 874, 1010.
Suk, II, 841.
Sukim, V. B., II, 997.
Suklem, II, 991.
Suliman Agha, I, 600.
Sula River, I, 261.
Suliman Beg, II, 817.
Suliman Hakim, II, 630.
Suliman Oghlu Murza, I, 600.
Suliman Sultan, I, 266, 395, 489, 492; II, 874 1034.
—— proposes canal between Don and Volga I, 499.
Sultamet Khoja, II, 984.
Sultan Abusaid, II, 630.
Sultan Ahmed Murza, II, 692.
Sultan Ali, II, 677–8, 695.
Sultan Batir, II, 685.
Sultan Bek, II, 850.
Sultan Daulet Bushaef, II, 950.
Sultan Ghazi, II, 880.
Sultan Haji Khan, II, 880.
Sultan Khatun, I, 35.
Sultan Ksref, II, 685.
Sultan Kuli, II, 879.
Sultan Mahmud Khan, II, 692.
Sultan Murad, II, 829.
Sultan Nigar Khanum, II, 630–1.
Sultan Said Khan, II, 630–1.
—— —— his meeting with Kasim Khan, II, 630–1.
Sultan Sanjar, II, 770.
Sultan Sirdak, II, 685.
Sultanah, II, 1032.
Sultania, I, 546; II, 965.
Sumbeka, read Suyunbeka, *q.v.*
Sumerkent, siege of, I, 39.
Suna Aim, II, 830.
Sunak, II, 680–1.
Sungaria, I, 13.
Sungarian Empire overthrown by Chinese, II, 819.
Sungars, II, 645, 658, 677, 816–7.
Sunni Muhammedans, I, 609.
Sunni Saints, Shrines of, II, 947.
Suntai, I, 38.
Superstitions of Bulgarians, I, 439.
Supzof, I, 432.
Sura River, I, 212, 278, 381.
Surkhab River, II, 852.
Surkhan, *v.* Mergen.
Surojek, I, 435.
Surojek, Prince of, I, 506.
Suroshik, I, 433.
Susgan, II, 990.
Susge, *v.* Tobolsk.
Susgunskoi Muis, II, 983.
Suvarof, Genl., II, 1048.
Suyunbeka, I, 405, 491; II, 1032–3
Suyunduk Kul Yusufof, II, 1034.
Suyunich, II, 979.
Suzak, II, 628, 687, 692, 841.
Suzdal, I, 41, 43, 212, 214, 275, 406, 427.
Suzdal, Bp. of, I, 395.
Suzdal, Prince of, I, 228.
Sviaga, River, I, 402, 405.
Sviask, I, 412–4, 418.
—— visited by Ivan, I, 415.
Sviattosaf, I, 43.
Sviatoslaf, Prince, I, 230.
Sviatoslavitch, Yuri, I, 259.
Sweden, I, 435, 495, 503.
—— alliance of with Krim, I, 525.
—— and Russia, I, 492–3, 514.
Sweden, King of, I, 510.
Swedes, I, 275, 436.
Swedish commerce, I, 399.
—— steamers sent to Aralsk, II, 833.
Swenigorod, I, 281.
Sylva River, II, 986.
Sylvester, I, 497.
Syrmia, I, 57.
Syssola River, I, 376.
Szathmar, I, 49.
Szeklers, II, 1014.
Szomolnok, I, 52.

Taal Lake, I, 16.
Taba, Prince, I, 393.
Tabakli clan, I, 8.
Tabin Su, II, 952.
Tabins, I, 7, 8.
Tablet, golden Mongol, *v.* Paizah.
Tabriz, II, 683.
Tacitus, quoted, I, 519.
Tader, I, 45.
Tadsim Aul, II, 984.
Taga, *v.* Teke.
Taganof, D. V., II, 1052.
Taganof, Jambulat, II, 1067.
Taganof, Roslan Beg, II, 1067.
Taghai, II, 1068.
Tagil River, II, 987.
Tagir Khan, II, 631–2, 685, 914.
Taguzac River, I, 8.
Tahir, Khan, *v.* Tagir Khan.
Tahmasp Shah, II, 806–7.
Tahmuras, I, 210–66.
Taibuga, II, 1062.
Taidula, Princess, I, 215.

Tajiks, II, 852.
Takbilde, I, 436.
Takht, Il, II, 1026.
Takmakata, Isle of, II, 957.
Taksir (title of Muhammed Rahim Khan), II, 927.
Tala-Su, River, I, 9.
Talas, *v.* Avlie Ata.
Talas River, I, 16; II, 978.
—— valley of, I, 20.
Talda River, II, 1008.
Talich, Genl., I, 268.
Talikan, II, 856–7, 861, 866.
Talimasp, Shah, II, 856, 882.
Talmasata, *v.* Talmat.
Talmat, I, 3, 5.
Taltanga, Genl., II, 647.
Talubeg, Khan, I, 213.
Tama clan, I, 8.
Taman, I, 493, 596–600, 602, 609.
Tambof, I, 40.
Tamdy, II, 952.
Tamghadj, I, 26; II, 1069.
Tana, I, 454; II, 1079.
Tana-Buga clan, I, 8.
Tanagoria, I, 603.
Tanglik River, II, 1052.
Tangut, I, 38.
Taniklejar, II, 979.
Tanish, II, 629, 685.
Tanriberdi, I, 266.
Tar Akhmet, II, 1068.
Tara, I, 20; II, 984, 998, 1000, 1003, 1041.
—— attacked by Kalmuks, II, 1005.
Tara River, II, 983.
Taras River, read Talas River, *q.v.*
Tarakli clan, I, 8.
Tarbagatai Mts., I, 8, 9.
Tarez, II, 630.
Targitaos, Golden bowl of, I, 14.
Tarikhi Abulkhair, quoted, II, 687–690.
Tarikhi Mekim Khani, quoted, II, 905.
Tarikhi Rashidi, quoted, II, 627–31, 634, 690, 692.
Tarkhanskoi Ostrog, II, 983, 1006.
Tarlaf, II, 1005.
Tartar, II, 1011, 1068.
Tartar Kusha (Mountaineer Tartars), II, 1054.
Tartar Khans, account of residences of ancient, II, 1066–7.
Tartar phraseology, examples of, I, 24.
Tartar-Falva, II, 1014.
Tartar-Szent, Miklos, II, 1014.
Tartaros, II, 1014.
Tartars, I, 16, 18, 20–2, 37–8.
—— Akkerman, II, 1043.
—— alliance of with Sweden, I, 525.
Tartars and Lithuanians, I, 262.
—— and Poles, I, 450, 452, 524.
—— and Russians, I, 38–9, 212, 214–5, 226–9, 381, 379, 402–3, 493–4, 489, 525–6, 595.
—— —— treaty between, I, 453, 499.
—— attack Volhynia, I, 493.
—— Astrakhan, I, 21–2.
—— attack Podolia, I, 453, 493.
—— Barabinski, II, 983, 1004.
—— Bereke, I, 9.
—— besiege Moscow, I, 266–7.
—— character of, I, 22.
—— Crimean, physical characteristics, I, 21–2.
—— in Bulgaria, II, 1014.
—— invade Moravia, I, 45.
—— Kazak, appearance of women, I, 23.
—— Kazan, I, 21, 268.
—— —— appearance of, I, 22–3.
—— —— character of, I, 22–3.
—— —— costume of, *v.* Costume.
—— —— trades of, I, 22.
—— Kirgeese, II, 684.
—— language and writing of, I, 2.
—— massacred by Prince Potemkin, I, 601.
—— relics of their invasion of Bulgaria, I, 38.
—— Siberian, I, 20; II, 1061–6.
—— taxation of Russians by, I, 432.
—— Tobolsk, I, 20–1.
—— Tomsk, I, 20–1.
—— Yaalinishian, II, 983.
Tartarszallasa, II, 1014.
Tasdurt, Prince, I, 493.
Tash Timur, I, 274, 449.
Tashkaran, II, 995.
Tashkend, I, 9, 32, 240, 242; II, 630, 632, 680, 684, 689, 692, 726, 731, 781, 816–7, 819, 821, 830–1, 841, 843, 949, 951, 1033, 1057.
—— captured by Kalmuks, II, 689.
—— Karakalpaks migrate to, II, 1060.
—— Narbuteh bi's expedition to, II, 818.
—— revolution at, II, 836.
Tashkur, *v.* Tashkend.
Tashkurgan, II, 857–8.
Tatarhago, I, 50.
Tatischef, II, 658.
Taurida, I, 393, 453, 492, 496, 503, 507, 510, 512, 525; II, 1048.
—— administration of, I, 603.
—— plague in, I, 493.
Taurida, Khan of, I, 279.
Tauris, I, 601.
Tawatsi, II, 646.

Tawda River, I, 4; II, 989, 993, 998, 1066.
Taxation, dues levied by Khivans II, 930.
—— in Bulgaria, I, 439.
—— in Khuarezm under Muhammed Rahim Khan, II, 922, 928–9.
—— —— under Seyid Muhammed Rahim, I, 960.
—— —— under Shahim Girai Khan, I, 599.
—— of Muscovites, I, 229.
Tayan tribe, I, 21.
Tayang Khan, I, 25.
Taz tribe, I, 12; II, 1018–9.
Tazlar, I, 7.
Tebenda, *v.* Tebendinskoi Ostrog.
Tebendinskoi Ostrog, II, 994.
Teberde River, II, 1055.
Tebich clan, I, 8.
Tegin, I, 266.
Tegin Murza, I, 280.
Teguinia, *v.* Tegin Murza.
Teheran, II, 943.
Tejesmari, II, 1017.
Teke, II, 1017–9, 1068.
Tekkes II 922–3, 930, 941, 955–6.
Telekul Lake, II, 681, 1008.
Telenguts, II, 1005.
Temir River, I, 7.
Temirgoi, II, 1026.
Temriukof, Prince, I, 491.
Temruk, I, 493, 499, 507.
Temsenck, II, 999.
Temujin, I, 14, 15.
Tensurba, II, 1024.
Tensubu, II, 1068.
Tenura, I, 33.
Terck River, I, 43, 504, 519, 521–2; II, 1039.
Terentief, quoted, II, 951.
Terkhan Kalla, *v.* Terkhanskoi Ostrog.
Terkhanskoi Ostrog, II, 988.
Tersek, II, 879, 881, 965.
Terstamgali, I, 21.
Terteres, II, 1018, 1013.
Teschen, I, 52.
Teshovit, II, 1035.
Tesik, I, 416.
Teval, I, 436; II, 636–9, 1010, 1068.
Tevka, II, 1006.
Tevkel, *v.* Teval
Tevkelef, II, 907, 1057.
Tevkish, II, 1068.
Teutonic Knights, I, 209, 512.
Thebacht, *v.* Kibak Khan.
Theiss River, I, 51; II, 1014.
Theodore (of Riazan) deposed, I, 266.
Thessaly, II, 1013.
Thomas' Bridge, I, 49, 50.
Thompson, quoted, II, 684.
Thrace, Tartars invade, II, 1014.
Thuringia, I, 53.
Tiavka Khan, I, 6; II, 640–2, 685
Tiba Lake, I, 8.
Tiflis, II, 951.
Tik Duvan, II, 1032.
Tiliaou tribe, I, 7.
Tilief clan, I, 8.
Timur Khan, I, 2, 9, 13, 16, 240–1, 243–5, 264, 266, 268–9, 271; II, 681, 686, 979, 1029, 1010, 1054, 1068.
—— coins of, I, 269.
—— receives envoys from Toktamish, I, 240–1.
—— stone obelisk in honour of, I, 241.
Timur beg, I, 350; II, 691.
Timur Capu., *v.* Derbend.
Timur Gurgan, II, 682.
Timur Kabuk, II, 952–3.
Timur Khan Shura, II, 951.
Timur Kutlugh Khan, I, 240, 259–62, 267, 449; II, 965, 981, 1021, 1032.
Timur Malik Khan, I, 240, 259.
Timur Shah, II, 846, 868.
Timur Sultan, II, 696, 909–12.
Timur (son of Mansur), II, 1068.
Timurids, II, 627.
Timurlenk, I, 262; II, 918, 1020, 1056.
Tiriekli, I, 8.
Tirkish tribe, I, 12.
Tirnova, II, 1019.
Tirs Kenderlik, II, 680.
Tirs Tamgali, I, 8.
Tissiachsky, office of abolished, I, 211.
Tiumen, I, 20, 262; II, 980, 984, 988, 998, 1002, 1040, 1062.
—— founding of, II, 997, 1065.
Tiumen, Khan of, I, 376.
Tumen, read Tiumen, *q.v.*
Tiuming River, I, 52.
Tiura bek Yiura, II, 847.
Tiura Kurgan, II, 841.
Tivechis, II, 881.
Tmutarakan, I, 493.
Tobol, River, I, 7, 8, 20, 242–3; II, 985–6, 998, 1002, 1042.
—— Legend of, II, 987.
Tobolsk, I, 20; II, 983–4, 990, 996, 998, 1000, 1002.
—— founding of, II, 1065.
—— origin of name, I, 243.
Tobosi Kul, origin of name, II, 994.
Todd, Major, II, 933, 939, 940.
Toga, II, 1068.
Toghen, II, 1052.
Toghon Taishi, II, 689.
Togmak, *v.* Golden Horde.

Togoza Ulan, *v.* Tuli Khoja.
Togulja, II, 1018–9.
Tok-Bulad clan, I, 9.
Tokay, I, 50.
Tokelli, Genl., II, 1025.
Tokmak, II, 837.
Toktamish Khan, I, 216, 225–64, 272, 274, 448–9, 451, 493; II 1036.
—— death of, I, 262.
—— sends envoys to Timur, I, 240–1.
Toktamishes, II, 1053.
Toktu, II, 817, 1015, 1018–9.
—— and Nogais, II, 1017–20.
Tokul Khoja Oghlan, I, 226.
Tokumbet bi, II, 1058.
Tokus Horde, II, 1051.
Tom River, I, 20.
Tomboyun, I, 21.
Tomorofa, II, 1027.
Tomsk, I, 20; II, 984.
Tooke, quoted, I, 600.
Toouza River, II, 1008.
Topiatan, II, 955.
Torga, II, 1068.
Torga Murza, II, 1035.
Torguts, II, 649, 666, 916, 1055.
Tori-Aighyr clan, I, 8.
Torjek, I, 210–11, 264, 503, 505.
—— destruction of, I, 42.
Tornirelli, quoted, I, 23–4, 379, 384, 403–4, 414–5, 417–22, 439.
Tört Shahbaz, Convent of, II, 947.
Tortures by Russians, I, 398–9, 434.
—— by Tartars, I, 434.
—— by Ivan, I, 502–3, 505–6, 510–11.
—— of Turkoman prisoners, II, 948.
Torussa, I, 275–6.
Töshibaz, *v.* Tört Shahbaz.
Totagai, ruins of, II, 1009.
Tott, Baron de, II, 1028.
—— quoted, I, 594; II, 1044, 1046–7.
Tozai Khan, II, 822.
Trading companies, I, 450, 504.
—— English, I, 491.
Tramkt tribe, II, 1055.
Transoxiana, I, 16, 25, 31.
—— invaded by Tartars, I, 274.
Transylvania, I, 45, 48, 511.
Trau, I, 56–7.
Trentschin, I, 48, 56.
Triballi, *v.* Serbians.
Tribute to Chinese Court by Buruts, II, 817.
—— to Krim Khans, I, 607.
—— to Russia by Georgia, I, 522.
—— to Tartars by Russians, I, 267–8, 282.
Tribute by Vasili, I, 270.
Trinity, Monastery of the, I, 214.
Troitsk, I, 7, 8.
Troitz kaia, Fortress of, II, 1008.
Troitzki, Monastery of, I, 427, 434.
Trokoi, I, 448.
Troppau, I, 47.
Trotzki, Genl., II, 844.
Trubchevski, I, 213.
Tsamblák, G., I, 277.
Tshagi tribe, I, 21.
Tsing Cheng lu, quoted, I, 34.
Tu tu ha, quoted, I, 17, 18.
Tuda Mangu, II, 1013–4.
Tuer, I, 42, 208, 226, 275, 278, 394, 399, 432, 434, 505, 511.
—— siege of, I, 211.
—— Bishop of, I, 395.
—— Prince of, I; 279.
Tughai identified, II, 1072.
Tughluk Timur, I, 213, 404; II, 1068.
Tugum Khan, II, 634, 649.
Tui Khoja Oghlan, *v.* Tuli Khoja.
Tuiuchka clan, I, 8.
Tuk, II, 885.
Tuk Karagun, II, 907.
Tuk Tughan, *v.* Khudu.
Tuka Timur, I, 225–6, 273.
Tukai Khan identified, 283, II, 636.
Tukan, I, 42.
Tukel-Khanim, II, 681.
Tukta Bigi, I, 29.
Tul Mahmet, II, 1000.
Tula (town of), I, 215, 276, 414, 489, 492, 495, 525.
Tulabugha, II, 1011, 1015.
Tuli Khoja, I, 226.
Tului, I, 35, 39, 44.
Tumalun, I, 15.
Tumen, I, 490, 496.
Tunguz, II, 1019.
Tunka Bek—Kundi, II, 979–80, 1010.
Tunuskaya, II, 1007.
Tur River, II, 1062.
Tura River, I, 20; II, 983, 988, 998.
Tura Sufi, II, 946.
Turakina, I, 44.
Turalis, the, II, 1066.
Turan, I, 20; II, 1022, 1029.
—— Steppe of, II, 686.
Turash, II, 1000, 1040.
Turatinzi, II, 995.
Turba River, II, 984, 989.
Tureh Sufi, II, 917, 919, 921.
Turgai River, I, 7, 8; II, 680, 949, 1009.
Turinsk, II, 983–4, 988, 1066.
Turkan Khatun, I, 33.
Turkestan, I, 9, 20, 241, 274, 595; II, 628, 631, 637, 653, 674,

680–1, 687, 689, 690, 693, 816–7, 819, 831, 837, 951, 958–9, 1057.
Turkestan annexed by Russia, II, 838.
—— bazaar at, II, 683.
—— brass vessel in mosque at, II, 682–3.
—— captured by Mahmud Khan, II, 692.
—— famous mosque at, II, 681–3.
Turkestan Gazette, quoted, II, 963.
Turkey, I, 21, 511, 523, 600, 604.
—— and Russia, I, 383–4, 596–7, 600, 602.
—— Ivan's policy towards, I, 506–7, II, 568.
Turkish commerce, I, 399, 516.
—— spoken by Circassians, II, 1054.
—— tribes, origin of their names, I, 9.
Turkmen, locality of, I, 12.
Turkomans, II, 906, 908, 911, 912, 919, 923, 930–3, 944, 946, 951, 954, 956, 1060.
—— Göklan, II, 922.
—— habits of, II, 924.
—— massacred to avenge murder of Khivan Khan, II, 944.
—— migrate to Khuarezm, II, 922.
—— rebel against Khivan Khan, II; 943.
—— sell captive slaves, II, 911.
—— taxation of, II, 881.
—— Tekke, II, 992.
—— untrustworthiness of, II, 909.
Turks, I, 13, 37, 496, 520.
—— and Baghdad, I, 545.
—— and Persians, I, 515.
—— defeated by Russians and Tartars, I, 595.
—— in Krim, I, 599.
Turof, Bishop of, I, 277.
Turotz, I, 56.
Tursun Khan, II, 639, 685, 899.
Turt Kara, Kazaks of, II, 921.
Turtas, II, 992.
Turusko, battle at Castle of, II, 1014.
Tusbudan, I, 14.
Tushin, *v.* Ringen.
Tuwenda, *v.* Tebendinskoi Ostrog.
Tuz, II, 829.
Tyrnau, I, 48.
Tytzkin, A., II, 1035.
Tzakas, *v.* Chuke.
Tzaritzin, I, 500.
Tzopon, I, 3.
Tzur, I, 3, 5.

Ubagan River, I, 8.
Ubeidulla Khan, II, 709, 714, 720–3, 760–2, 766, 874, 882, 884, 886.
Uiblei, Sultan, II, 1058.
Uch II, II, 881.
Uch Kurgan, II, 841.
Uch Uchak, II, 953–4.
Uch-Burlik, I, 8.
Uch-Kundan, I, 8.
Uchegin, I, 36.
Uchma, II, 952.
Ueretkin, II, 956.
Ufa, I, 24; II, 1002, 1004, 1061.
—— raided by Abugai, II, 1007.
Ugine, *v.* Ugri.
Uglitch, I, 211, 214, 282.
Ugra River, I, 265, 350.
Ugri, habits of, *v.* Customs.
Ugrian races, I, 24.
Ui River, II, 1004, 1040.
Uighur Sheikh, II, 691.
Uighur-naimans, I, 10.
Uighurs, I, 2, 3, 12, 19, 31, 33; II, 919.
—— migrate to Karluks, I, 3.
Uil River, I, 7.
Uilu River, I, 7.
Uirad, *v.* Oirat.
Uirads, II, 689.
Ukin Kuchin, I, 35.
Ukmet Khan, II, 867.
Ukovitch, Alex., I, 216.
Ukraine, I, 503, 520; II, 1041.
Ukraine River, I, 5.
Ulan, I, 281.
Ulanus, *v.* Ulugh Muhammed.
Ulemas, II, 818.
—— divisions of office of, II, 964.
Ulenti River, I, 7.
Ulishaim, II, 1051.
Ulkiaki River, II, 680.
Ulkoiak River, I, 8.
Ulkun Darid, II, 957.
Uloklukaram, I, 609.
Ulugh Barama, *v.* Barama.
Ulugh Beg, II, 689.
—— murdered by his son, II, 687.
Ulugh Mt., I, 8.
Ulugh Muhammed, I, 272–3, 275–83, 363–70, 448–90; II, 627, 1074.
—— driven from Russia, I, 282–3.
—— restored to throne, I, 275.
Ulugh Tag, I, 241, 243; II, 679–80.
Ulugh Tubeh, II, 883.
Ulugh Yurt (house of Mongol Chief), I, 1.
Ulughbeg, I, 274.
Ulugh-Bek, II, 682.
Ulun Egeh, I, 14.
Ulus Bede, *v.* Uighurs.
Ulus Murza, II, 1038.
Ungarsch-Brod, I, 48.
Unghir tribe, *v.* Kunkur.
Ungvar, I, 48.
Unk Khan, *v.* Wang Khan.
Upak, Tzar, *v.* Ibak.

Ur Muhammed, II, 1051.
Urak, Prince, II, 1063.
Ural Mts., I, 271 ; II, 978, 984.
Ural River, I, 7–8, 35, 522 ; II, 949, 978, 986.
—— Lower, I, 7.
Uralsk, I, 8. 522.
—— building of, II, 1039.
Urania, temple of plundered, II 1049.
Uras Gheldi clan, I, 9.
Urasan Batir, II, 1058.
Urastta, II, 1030, 1068.
Uratippa, II, 818–9, 830, 845–7.
—— subject to Khokhand, II, 822.
Uraz Makhmet Khan, I, 436–7 II, 629, 630, 1065.
—— biographer of, II, 632.
—— genealogy of engraved on silver casket, I, 436.
Uraz Makhmet Odanovitch, read Uraz Makhmet Ondanovitch, *v.* Uraz Makhmet Khan.
Urdi Mts., II, 1055.
Urga, Cape, II, 945.
Urgenj, I, 6 ; II, 684, 687, 721, 876, 880, 884–5, 915, 919, 921, 931, 964, 984, 1009, 1032.
—— besieged, I, 33–4 ; II, 879.
—— New, II, 945, 965.
—— ruins of, II, 965.
Urghurs read Uighurs, *q.v.*
Urgut, II, 850–2.
Urkach-Kandikli Lake, I, 8.
Urluk, II, 1004.
Urmitan, II, 823, 851.
Uruk Mt., II, 679, 680.
Uruk Murza, II, 1031.
Urun Daria, II, 964.
Urup, II, 1025.
Urus (Great Nogais), II, 1039, 1040, 1050, 1068.
Urus Khan, I, 216, 225–6, 259, 271–2 ; II, 1020.
Urus, Sheikh, I, 266.
Urusof, Prince, II, 644, 850.
Urussof, Peter, I, 437.
Uruz Murza, II, 1035.
Uruzkul Khan, II, 1058.
Uruzli Murza, II, 1038.
Ush, II, 817, 824, 836, 841, 844.
—— conquered by Narbutch bi, II, 818.
Ush Turfan, II, 825.
Ushamala, II, 951.
Ushun tribe, I, 12.
Uslan, I, 350.
Ussa River, II, 986.
Ust Uiskoi, I, 8.
Ust Urt, II, 951, 954, 962.
—— march of Russians across, II, 956.
Ustimur, I, 451.
Ustiughe, I, 282, 376 ; II, 1003.
—— Cossacks of, I, 6.
Utamish, II, 1033.
Utamish Girai Khan, I, 405–9.
Utembi, II, 831.
Utesh, II, 1068.
Utubu, I, 69.
Uvak-Girais, I, 8, 13, 14.
Uya River, I, 8.
Uz Timur, I, 226 ; II, 688, 689.
Uzbeg, origin of name, I, 9, 10.
Uzbeg, bi, II, 909.
Uzbeg Khan, I, 13 ; II, 979, 1020.
Uzbeg Sultan, *v.* Yadik.
Uzbeg tribe, branches of, I, 10, 11.
—— habitat of its branches, I, 12.
—— connexions with Kazak tribe, I, 13.
Uzbegistan, II, 632.
Uzbegs, I, 6, 13, 15, 17, 20, 273 ; II, 695, 723, 735, 836, 852, 882, 894–7, 908, 912, 914, 916, 918–9, 941, 978.
—— adopt rulers from house of Jingis Khan, II, 906.
—— and Abulkhair Khan, II, 690–1.
—— and Kazaks, II, 629–31 ; II, 921.
—— and Russians, II, 910–12.
—— attack English envoy, II, 938–9.
—— defeated by Kalmuks, II, 688–9.
—— locality of, II, 978.
—— migrate, II, 982.
—— victorious at Shiraz, II, 688.
Uzbek, II, 637.
Uzboi (old bed of the Oxus), II, 955.
Uzes, I, 20.
Uzi, I, 3.
Uziak Khan, II, 629, 632, 685.
Uzian Mahmed Tzar, identified, II, 632.
Uzkend, II, 687, 841.
—— surrenders to Mongols, I, 31.
Uzruzkul Khan, II, 1059.
Uzun clan, I, 8.
Uzy River, *v.* Dnieper.

Vagai River, II, 992, 994–5.
Vakas, *v.* Okas.
Vakf, the, II, 964.
Vakhas bi Mangut, II, 687.
Vali n niam, *v.* Daniar Atalik.
Vali Khan, II, 639, 650–2, 685 ; II, 746, 874.
Vambery quoted, I, 4–5, 9, 12, 21 ; II, 687, 694–5, 701, 713, 738–9, 743, 747, 745–64, 780, 813–4,

867–8, 930, 941, 943–7, 963–4, 1060.
Vambery visits Khiva, II, 946–8.
Vardausi, II, 923.
Varlam, name adopted by Vasili, I, 394.
Varsaminor, II, 851.
Vasili, I, 227–30, 260, 263–4, 277, 381–4, 393, 400, 432; II, 1032.
—— acquisitions of, I, 275.
—— and Abdul Latif, provisions in treaty between, I, 384–5.
—— and Lithuanians, I, 260–1, 275, 381–2.
—— and Yuri, I, 280–2.
—— death of, I, 275, 394.
—— deputations to, at birth of Ivan, I, 393.
—— enthroned as Grand Prince, I, 281.
—— his reforms in Russia, I, 394–5.
—— his relations with Kerimberdei, I, 270.
—— titles of, I, 394.
—— will of, I, 276.
Vasili the Blind, I, 278–9.
Vasili the Squinter, I, 281–2.
Vasilivitch, Ivan, II, 632, 1038, 1062–3.
Vasilovitch, Vasili, I, 282.
Vassian, I, 490.
Vassilko, I, 41–2.
Vedrosha River, I, 379.
Veglia, I, 57.
Veissenberg, I, 495.
Veliaminof, Ivan, I, 211.
Veliaminof, Vasili, I, 211.
Velige, surrendered to Poles, I, 514.
Velika Tiumen, II, 1062.
Veliki Luki, I, 513.
Velin, G., II, 1035.
Venden, heroism of Germans at, I, 511.
Venetians, I, 454.
Veniukof, his visit to Sultan Ali, II, 678.
Verbacz, I, 56–7.
Verefkin, Ataman, II, 952.
Verefkin, Genl., in campaign against Khiva, II, 956–9.
Verkhni Ozernaia, I, 7.
Verkhni Uralsk, I, 7.
Vernoe, II, 629; II, 837.
Vesir, read Vezir, *q.v.*
Vezir, II, 876, 883, 879, 881, 884, 888–9.
—— identification of, II, 964–5.
Viatiches, I, 275.
Viatka, I, 264, 402, 428.
Viatka River, I, 229, 376.
Viatkans, I, 229.
Vichnevetzki, Prince Dimitri, I, 493.
Vienna, MS. of, I, 40.
Viesnik, Gregorief quoted, II, 905.
Vigunt, Prince, I, 259.
Villeneuve, Wm. of, I, 296.
Vilna, I, 22, 209, 230, 270, 448, 498, 521.
Virgin, Church of the, I, 281.
Virlandia, I, 499.
Vishnevetski, Dimitri, I, 500.
Vitebsk, I, 259.
Vitut, I, 22, 208–9, 213, 249, 259, 260, 263, 265, 269–70, 273, 276, 448–59, 513; II, 1021.
—— and religion, I, 276–7.
—— Court of, I, 279.
—— death of, I, 280.
—— defeated by Tartars, I, 262.
—— invades Russia, I, 278.
—— warned of misfortune, I, 261.
Viuchegda River, II, 984.
Vizier, *v.* Vezir.
Vladimir, Prince, I, 209, 211, 214, 227, 230, 267, 415, 504; II, 1037.
—— put to death, I, 505.
Vladimir, City of, I, 45, 268, 281, 402, 405–6, 414, 427.
—— fall of, I, 41.
Vladimir, Bishop of, I, 277.
Vladimir Dimitri, I, 43.
Vladimir Rurikovitch, I, 38.
Vladimir, the Brave, I, 266, 268, 281.
Vlakhs, I, 50, 546; II, 1014.
Voguls, II, 985, 987, 1063.
Volga River, I, 3–5, 17, 20–24, 38–9, 41–2, 212, 226, 229, 264, 349–51, 376, 381, 400, 404, 413–6, 427–8, 439, 519, 521–2; II, 816, 907, 949, 980, 990, 1029, 1035–6, 1043, 1055, 1057.
—— and Don River proposed canal between, I, 499–500, 503.
—— ice on gives way under artillery, I, 405.
—— Lower, II, 985.
Volkhof, I, 505, 509.
Volhynia, I, 45, 48, 259, 505, 512.
—— attacked by Tartars, I, 493.
Volhynia, Constantine of, I, 500.
Volhynia, Prince of, I, 43.
Volo Kolansk, I, 42, 209.
Vologda, I, 275, 277, 375–6, 378, 431.
Volok Lamsky (old name for Volo Kolansk, *q.v.*).
Volosts, II, 992.
Vor River, *v.* Or River.
Voranin, II, 907.
Vorobief, I, 507.
Voronetz, I, 602.
Voronzof, Simeon, I, 379.
Vorotinsk, I, 520; II, 1050.

Vorotinski, Prince, I, 509, 511.
Vorotinsky, Prince, I, 421–6.
Vorskla River, I, 612.
Votiaks, I, 427–8.
Voyeikof, A., II, 1000.
Vsevolod, I, 41.
Vsevolod the Red, I, 43.
Vsevolodovitch, G., I, 39.
Viuchegda River, English colony founded on, I, 504.

Waag River, I, 48.
Wadding, quoted, II, 956.
Waga River, I, 430.
Wahl, quoted, I, 7, 21, 561; II, 1053, 1055.
Waigatz, I, 491.
Waitzen, Bp. of, I, 54.
Wakhan, II, 852, 862, 866.
Wallachia, I, 44, 278, 610; II, 1027.
—— Prince of, I, 604.
Wallachians, I, 500.
Wang Khan, I, 25, 28, 35; II, 1062.
Warsaw, diet at, I, 510.
Warwara, Prince, II, 988.
Wasili, I, 43.
Wathen, quoted, II, 816–7, 819, 824–5, 852.
Waydam, I, 49.
Weapons, Lithuanian, I, 279.
—— of Khokandians, II, 823, 834.
—— of Murad bi's army, II, 859.
—— of Russians, II, 834.
Weis Khan, I, 6.
Wenceslaus, King, I, 53–6.
Werkhotura, II, 998.
White Horde, I, 2, 6, 31, 216, 259, 436; II, 627.
—— country of the, II, 679–84.
White Sea I, 399, 491
Wieselburg, I, 52.
Willoughby, Sir H., I, 491.
Wischera River, II, 986, 998.
Wishogorod, I, 281.
Witches burnt at Pskof, I, 275.
Witzen, V., quoted, II, 984.
Wneslaf, I, 47.
Wood, Lieut., quoted, II, 861, 866.
Wolff, quoted, I, 37–9, 41–56.
—— his journey to Bukhara, II, 803–6.
Wuping, I, 17.
Wym River, II, 986.
Wytschegda, II, 986.

Yablunka Pass, I, 52.
Yabolak, II, 1062–3.
Yabu tribe, locality of, I, 12.
Yadiber, *v.* Yadigar Khan.
Yadigar Khan, I, 406, 412–29, 491; II, 690, 880, 905–6, 982, 1063–5.
—— as ruler of Kazan, II, 1034.
Yadik, Khan, I, 436; II, 629, 632–4, 685.
Yagellon, I, 213–5, 229, 259, 270, 279, 523.
—— baptism of, I, 229.
—— his alliance with Mamai against Russians, I, 214.
—— persecutes Greek Church, I, 230.
Yagnau, II, 850.
Yahya Khoja, II, 984.
Yaik River, I, 34, 39, 243, 269, 521–2.
—— Lower, I, 38.
—— Middle, I, 20.
Yailak, II, 1015, 1018.
Yakan Ak Lake, II, 681.
Yakembo, I, 35.
Yakoflef, I, 405.
Yakshi Kun, II, 1009.
Yaksi, II, 1016.
Yakti Yanghiz Lake, II, 1009.
Yakub, I, 351, 429–30; II, 984.
Yakub bi, II, 926, 935, 957.
Yakub Mekhter, II, 933, 940.
—— treacherous to English envoy, II, 938.
Yakut, quoted, I, 440.
Yali, I, 603, 605.
Yalutura, II, 990.
Yama, captured by Swedes, I, 514.
Yaman Sadak, II, 1043.
Yamboli, I, 524.
Yambolik, I, 609.
Yamchi bi, *v.* Narbuteh Bi.
Yamgurchi, I, 353–4, 378, 451; II, 691, 980, 1029–30, 1034, 1068.
Yamgurchi Azi, I, 503.
Yamgurchi Murza, II, 981.
Yangurgan, II, 680, 684.
Yamont, I, 260.
Yan Arslan, II, 1040, 1051, 1068.
Yan Boldai, I, 510.
Yanghi Arik, II, 958.
Yanghi Hissar, II, 825.
Yanghi Shehr, II, 883, 879, 881.
Yanghikent, I, 31; II, 965, 1059.
—— captured by Juchi, I, 33.
Yani Shehr, II, 965.
Yanish, *v.* Janis.
Yany Daria, II, 949–50.
Yany Kurgan, II, 837.
Yapancha, Prince, I, 416, 418, 428; II, 988.
Yapansa, *v.* Yapancha.
Yappas, *v.* Jappas.
Yar Arslan, II, 1035.
Yar bek, II, 865.
Yar Muhammed Sultan, II, 869, 874, 926, 940.
Yarkand, II, 824–5.

Tarkand, gold mines of, II, 906–7.
Yarlik Turch, II, 944.
Yaroslaf, I, 39, 43, 277; II, 1003.
Yaroslavl, I, 41, 229, 406, 415, 500; II, 1012.
—— Prince of, I, 214.
Yartzof, Simeon, I, 429.
Yaruslan, *v.* Yan Arslan.
Yasal, *v.* Dainal.
Yashibeg, I, 266.
Yasirvan, II, 680–1.
Yasses, I, 214.
Yassy, *v.* Turkestan.
Yasur, II, 1002.
Yawornik, Mt., I, 48.
Yebalatskoi, II, 1063.
Yedehchis or rain-bringers, II, 688.
Yedijek Horde, II, 1043, 1051.
Yedis, I, 8.
Yedisan, I, 608.
Yedishkul horde, II, 1048.
Yedissan tribe, II, 1043–4, 1052.
Yegerlich, *v.* Kupissa.
Yehangir Khan, II, 640, 685.
Yehanghir Khoja, II, 823.
—— captured II, 824.
Yehligun River, *v.* Argun River.
Yeinitshi, Strait of, I, 596.
Yelezkoi, F., II, 999.
Yelezkoi, K. A. V., II, 998.
Yeligai, II, 994.
Yeltimur, II, 977.
Yelu kohay, I, 30.
Yelu linko, I, 30.
Yemba River, I, 7-8, 20; II, 627, 680, 907, 945, 952, 956, 978, 1009, 1029, 1043.
Yembulad Horde, II, 1043–4, 1048–9, 1051–2.
Yemeshnis, II, 1053.
Yenikaleh, I, 596-7, 601, 607, 609.
Yepanchinski, II, 996.
Yermak, I, 4; II, 994, 0139, 1065.
—— death of, II, 995.
—— funeral feast at burial of, II, 996.
—— his campaign in Siberia, II, 986–996.
—— magical properties of his belongings, II, 996–7.
—— physique of, II, 996.
Yermak Timoveef, II, 986.
Yermakof Kamen, II, 987.
Yermakova Perekof, II, 995.
Yermakovo Gorodichi, II, 986–8.
Yermolof, Genl., II, 924.
Yesaulbachis, office of, II, 963.
Yeskalbinian bog, II, 991.
Yeskovitch, I, 493.
Yessugei, read Yissugei, *q.v.*
Yesubuka, II, 979.
Yetishkul, II, 1049.
Yientiemur, I, 18.
Yissugei, I, 14–15.
Yolbars Khan, II, 818.
Yolöten, II, 941.
Yomuds, II, 912–22, 936, 941–4, 957–9.
—— attack Kazaks, II, 921.
—— defeated by Iltazar, II, 919.
—— rebellion of, II, 944.
Yuan shi, quoted, I; 15, 17, 18, 29, 40, 43, 52.
Yuen chao pi shi, quoted, I, 15, 34.
Yug River, I, 376.
Yugorian Mts., II, 991, 997.
Yukotin, I, 261.
Yuldash Parmanachi, II, 850.
Yule, Col., quoted, I, 45; II, 1016–7.
Yuliboli, Mt., I, 17.
Yulubai, II, 1004.
Yunus Khan, II, 690.
Yunus Khoja, II, 818–9.
Yunus Mirab, II, 961.
Yunus Murza, II, 1033.
Yunus Sultan, II, 884–5, 1035.
Yurchi, II, 853.
Yuri, I, 230, 263–5, 278, 280, 432.
—— and Vasili, I, 280–2.
—— death of, I, 282.
Yurief, I, 227, 406, 435–6, 506.
Yurtofs, II, 1053.
Yuskuduk, II, 952.
Yusuf, I, 266, 351, 393, 404–5, 453; II, 1030, 1033, 1068.
—— death of, II, 825.
—— murdered by Ismael, II, 1034.
Yusuf bi, II, 935.
Yusuf Gemrga, I, 26.
Yusuf Khoja, II, 824, 984.
Yusuf Mekhter Aga, II, 927.
Yusuf Mingbashi, II, 829.
Yusuf Pasha, II, 1027.
Yuvarlak tribe, II, 1043.
Yuz tribe, II, 845.
Yuzbashi, II, 926, 930.
—— office of, II, 964.

VOLUME III

A-la-ding, characteristics of people of, 217.
Aadiliyeh, 421.
Aadilshah, 580.
Aana, 465–6.
Aazab, 501, 569.
Ab Barikh, 438.
Abagan, 275.
Abai, 300.
Abaji, son of Mangu, 322.
Abaji, son of Buka, 326, 366.
Abaji, envoy of Abusaid, 615–16.
Abaka Khan, 96, 197, 205, 207, 218–84, 344, 348, 364, 393–4, 406, 460, 510, 522, 680.
—— administration under, 219–20.
—— aids Crusaders, 242.
—— aids Haituon to release Leon, 227.
—— and Bereke Khan, 223.
—— and Bibars, 258–9.
—— and Borak, 235, 237–9.
—— and Christians, 258, 278–9.
—— and Clement IV, correspondence between, 278–9.
—— and Edward I, 280.
—— and Egypt, 228, 242, 256–7.
—— and Rum, 260.
—— baptized, 223.
—— character of, 277–8.
—— coins of, 283.
—— favours Majd-ul-Mulk, 262.
—— in Georgia, 241–2.
—— in Khuarezm, 247.
—— in Syria, 267–8.
—— inauguration of, 219.
—— intrigues at Court of, 261–3, 265.
—— investiture of, 241.
—— literature in reign of, 282–3.
—— marriage of, 223.
—— moneylending in reign of, 509–2.
—— orders death of Nestorian Catholics, 246.
—— Pope's letter to, 278–9.
—— releases Musulmans, 259.
—— religion of, 277.
—— restores towns in Rum, 260–1.
—— sends envoys to Egypt, 228.
—— sends envoys to Damascus, 244.
—— stories concerning death of, 276–7.
—— wives of, 278.
Abatai, *v.* Abathan.
Abatai Noyan, 224, 235.
Abathai, *v.* Abathan.
Abathan, 197, 218, 238–9, 249.
Abbas, Amir, 660.
Abbasabad, 105.
Abbasides, 177.
Abchi, 242.
Abd Allah, Mosque of, 415.
Abd el Kadir, *v.* Abdul Kader.
Abd Eljuz, a fortress, 676.
Abd ulla Beidavi quoted, 138.
Abdullah, Seyid, 289.
Abdullah ibn Md. el Beyari, 483.
Abdul Abbas Ahmed, *v.* Hakim b: Amr Allah.
Abdul Kader, 665, 699.
Abdul Latif, 568.
Abdul Mumin, 323, 326, 334.
—— executed, 327.
Abdul haji, 651.
Abdullah Mulai, 646, 728.
Abdullah Syrufi, 624.
Abdur Rahman tutor and envoy of Ahmed Khan, 287, 289, 308–9, 314.
Abdur Rezak (Abdur-Razzak, the historian) quoted, 627, 675, 677, 715, 726–8.
Abed Abbas Burban ud din, 749.
Abher, 568, 717.
Abisgun, 393.
Abish, Atabeg, 219.
Abish, Khatun, 203–4, 318–9, 687.
Abiverd, 102, 463, 544, 722, 729.
Abkhazes, 11.
Abkhazia, 7, 230, 329.
Abkian, 313.
Abkul, a fortress, 591.
Ablestin, 120, 225, 250, 252–3, 255, 257.
Abraham (Catholicos), 328, 423.
Abrkuh, 697–8, 709–10, 714.
Abshur, 307, 312.
Abu Ali Meskuyah, 109.
Abu Hanifeh, tomb of, 408.
Abu Ishak, Governor of Shiraz, 636, 647–8, 689–92, 709, 713.
—— character and appearance of, 692.
—— strength of his army, 690.
Abu Jaafer Md. [Kakwayh], 756.
Abulastain, *v.* Ablestin.
Abu Mansur Firamurz, 756.
Abu Mansur Mohasibed daulat, 332.
Abu Muslim Marvazi, 719, 727.
Abu Yezid, brother of Shah Shuja' Muzaffarid, 696, 703, 750.
—— tomb of, 302.
Abu Bekr, Atabak of Fars, 3, 36, 323, 419, 427, 541, 572, 672, 693, 719, 750, 756.
—— rebuilds Baghdad, 673.

Abu Bekr Aka, 588.
Abu Bekr, son of Caliph Mustasim, 114.
Abu Bekr Sédid, 549.
Abubekrabad, 400.
Abufazl Muhammed [Taj ud din], 562.
Abughan, Prince, 339.
Abukian, son of Shiraman, 301, 304, 312.
Abul-Hasan Kharkari, 303.
Abul Kasim, Governor of Kerman, 2.
Abul-Mahasin, quoted, 268.
Abul Véfa (Sufi Saint), tomb of, 453.
Abulfaraj quoted, 13, 14, 18, 19, 47–50, 58, 69, 97, 101, 108, 120, 134, 140–1, 146, 148, 151, 157, 160–1, 171, 176, 180–4, 220, 223, 246–7, 249–50, 254, 258, 265–6, 270, 275–7, 282–3, 292, 296–7, 307–9, 313–14, 318, 323, 326–8, 333–4, 342, 362, 371, 373, 381, 403.
—— note on, 355.
Abulfeda quoted, 23, 143, 142, 147, 149, 163–4, 172, 175, 201, 225, 243, 267–8, 271, 276, 313, 343, 345, 357, 387, 402, 428, 430–1, 434, 438–40, 455–6, 475, 555, 557, 565–6, 579, 599, 601–2, 604, 719.
Abulgaith, 572, 599.
Abulghazi quoted, 650.
Abulmadhi Raigani, 282.
Abunser, Abbot, 180.
Abusaid, 568, 570, 580, 585–633, 680, 707, 726–7, 739, 748, 751.
—— accomplishments of, 624.
—— and Baghdad Khatun, 623.
—— and Choban, 594–6.
—— and Egypt, 599.
—— —— terms of treaty of peace between, 600–1.
—— and Nasir, 613–17.
—— buried at Sultania, 634.
—— character and appearance of, 624.
—— coins of, 628.
—— death of, 623–4.
—— defeats Yassaur, 591.
—— Empire of, broken, 719.
—— imprisons rebels, 623.
—— literary culture in reign of, 626–7.
—— makes concessions to Venetian traders, 632.
—— pays annual tribute to Cathay, 630.
—— suspects plot against him, 623.
—— taxation under, 598.
—— tortures by, 596–7.
Abusaid Espahbed, 748.
Abuyeh, Prince of, 12.
Abuyezid, 479.
Acacron, an Armenian saint, 82.
Acants, Hermitage of, 226.
Achaia, Prince of, 223.
Acomat, *v.* Ahmed Khan.
Acre, 84, 164, 167, 280, 362.
Adana, 226, 248–9, 603.
Adel Aktashi, 712.
Adel Ketboga, 468–9.
Adeliah College pillaged, 447.
Adhad ud din Iji, 618.
Adil Agha, 657, 659–60.
—— executed, 661.
Adil Mujir-ud-din Md., 751.
Adil Shah Khatun, 215.
Adshara River, 231.
Afdal, Malik, 172.
Afghanistan, 1, 69, 100, 184, 694–5.
Afghans, 694, 697.
Afrasiab, 317, 358, 407, 753.
Agathai Takhan, 475.
Agha Firuz, 673.
Aghalar, 242.
Agharuk Sultan, 305.
Aghbabad, 649.
Aghirlu Zein, 469.
Aghman, 301.
Aghrukji, 593.
Aghubagha, 277.
Agush Arbarlu, 181.
Ahmad Suramel, 424–5.
Ahmed Assahbi, 641.
Ahmed ibn Oweis Ilkhani, 755.
Ahmed Khabdi, Khoja, 386.
Ahmed Khan, 285–311, 317, 389, 659–78, 680, 701–2, 707, 709, 713, 750.
—— and Arghun, 300–2.
—— and Christianity, 286.
—— and Timur, 662.
—— captured by Karaunas, 307.
—— coins of, 678.
—— conspiracy against, 673.
—— death of, 307, 677.
—— forms of his original name, 310–11.
—— his letter to Sultan Kelavun, 290–2.
—— in Mesopotamia, 667.
—— leaves Baghdad, 667.
—— pursued by Amirs of Timur, 664.
—— sends envoys to Sultan Kelavun, 290.
—— wives of, 310.
Ahmed Ogulshai, 670.
Ahmed Saidi Kadhi, 715.
Ahmed Tagudar Khan, *v.* below.
Ahmed Takudar, 212, 680.
Ai Timur, 272.
Aias, *v.* Ayas.
Aibaj Oghlan, 663–5.

Aibek-Hamavi, 469.
Aibirdi, 740.
Aidaji, 323, 325, 342.
Aidogdi, 433.
Aighurtai, 365.
Aiku Timur Belkut, 745.
Ailthana Khatun, 33, 49.
Ain Jalut, 167, 170, 243, 257, 278, 595.
Ainabeg, 405.
Ainad-ud-din, 562.
Ainsarba, 431.
Aintab, 201, 243, 250, 253, 267, 310, 446, 570, 669.
Aisha, wife of Gaikhatu, 377.
Ajai, son of Hulagu, 209, 285, 313, 469, 680.
Ajalon, 164.
Ajeb Shir, 726.
Ajuji Ikaji, *v.* Juji Ikaji.
Ak Khoja, 301, 379, 389.
Ak Sonkor Farekani, 243, 252.
Aka Lulu, 607.
Aka Md. Timur, *v.* Muhammed Ai Timur.
Akad, 700.
Akbar Nameh quoted, 152.
Akbeg, 241.
Akbugha, *v.* below.
Akbuka, 25, 31, 44, 46, 86, 305, 361, 368, 370, 375–7, 659–60, 680, 711–2, 738, 744, 748.
Akbuka Osman Abbas, 744.
Akbulak, 662.
Akcha, 253.
Akhal Daba, 189.
Akhi Kuchuk, 701.
Akhid Mt., 394.
Akhijuk, 653–5, 695.
Akhlak i Nasiry, 108.
Akhlat, *v.* Khelat.
Akhrunchi, 544.
Akhus, a fortress, 657.
Akhush al Afram, 450, 565.
Akia Beghi, 720.
Akka, *v.* Acre.
Akkar, 267.
Aklid, 702.
Akserai, 245.
Aksha Derbend, 258.
Aksheher, 428.
Aktai Mostareb, *v.* Fars ud din Ogotai.
Akurpukh, Amir, 638, 643.
Akush, *v.* Anes.
Akush Shemsi, 243.
Al-Auja, 455.
Al Bakaa, 448.
Al Fazel tribe, 271, 599.
Al Jezireh or Jazira, 139.
Al Hakkar, 119.
Al Karak, 564.
Al Khabur, 20.
Al Mansur, Prince, 225.
Al Mansur Gazi, Malik, 579.
Al Mora tribe, 271.
Al Munassa, 20.
Al Muruj, 243.
Al Saphi Karbuki, 277.
Ala Timur, 195.
Ala-ud-daula, Atabeg, 3.
Ala-ud-Daula, Sheikh, 19.
Ala-ud-daula, son of Sultan Ahmad Khan, 665, 675–7, 680.
Ala ud din Ali Kadhi, 461.
Alaalmish, governor of Migan-farkin, 327–8.
Alabeshin, 96.
Aladai Noyan, 534.
Aladin Inak, Amir, 709.
Aladu, 337, 339.
Alafreng, son of Gaikhatu, 377, 398, 480, 534, 680.
Alah Amut, *v.* Alamut.
Alai ud daulet, 537, 609.
Alai-ud-din, 93, 219–20, 246–7, 261, 263–4, 267, 285, 410, 429, 534, 571, 734.
—— made Vizier of Khorasan, 534.
—— death of, 95, 297.
—— intrigues against, 263–4.
—— persecuted by Majd ul Mulk, 275–6.
—— restored to Government of Baghdad, 288.
—— taxes extorted from, 264.
Alai-ud-din Alhaj Taibars Waziri, 244, 271.
Alai ud din Ali, Prince of Sanjar, 181.
Alai ud din Artema, 639.
Alai ud din Ata Malik, *v.* Juveni.
Alai ud din Inak, 705.
Alai ud din Juveni, *v.* Juveni.
Alai ud din Kai Kobad, 24, 68, 259, 686.
Alai ud din Khoja, 413.
Alai ud din Masud Shah, 70.
Alai ud din Muhammed, 92, 617, 643, 727.
—— made Vizier of Khorasan, 622.
Alai ud din Sanjar, *v.* below.
Alai ud din Sinjar, 180, 430.
Alai ul Mulk, son of Salih of Mosul, 180.
Alaju, *v.* Aladu.
Alamut, 10, 54, 91, 94, 103–6, 284.
Alani, 11, 82.
Alaric, Jean, 279.
Alasah, 313.
Alastona, 275.
Alatagh, 181, 219, 222, 224, 258–9, 286–7, 290, 296, 299, 321, 336, 344, 457, 510, 638, 647, 649.
—— etymology of, 216.

Alatagh Mts., 144, 215.
Albegui, 446.
Alberic, Friar, 72.
Alchemy encouraged by Arghun, 341, 345.
Alem Shah, 608.
Alem ud din el Berzali, 596.
Alem ud din Kaissar, 147, 408–9.
Alem ud din Sanjar, 172, 174, 401.
Alem ud din Sinjar Al Gatmi, 466.
Alem ud din Sinjar Arjevash, 443.
Alem ud din Yakub, 250.
Alenjik, 6, 667–8.
—— besieged by Timur, 662.
Aleppo, 147, 169, 173, 176, 201, 244, 250,, 252, 256, 267, 273, 290, 296, 309, 363, 428, 430, 432, 436, 444, 446, 458, 467–8, 473, 485, 556, 564, 570, 578, 666.
—— captured by Khulagu, 147–8.
—— coins struck at, 628.
—— sacked by Abaka, 268.
—— surrendered to Egypt, 227.
Aleppo, Prince of, 13.
Alévi Imaums, 559.
Alexander IV, 210.
Alexander, Friar, 72.
Alexis II, 424.
Algharji, Princess, 320.
Alghu, *v.* below.
Alghui, 197, 199, 208, 410, 467.
Algu, Amir, 301, 568.
Alhaj al Misri, 607.
Ali Abad, 12.
Ali Bahadur Sheikh, 707, 722–3, 745.
Ali Bchadur, Shahna of Baghdad, 120, 131.
Ali Bey, son of governor of Khelat, 719–23, 748.
Ali Chekbin, 298.
Ali Chinsang, 297.
Ali Daud Khototai, 591, 748.
Ali Gawan [Kaun], 717, 732.
Ali Hasanek, 726.
Ali Hindu, 718.
Ali Ibn Firamur, 756.
Ali ibn Hodhaifah, 178.
Ali ibn Issa, 276.
Ali ibn Shogga-ud-din, 163.
Ali Jaafer, Amir, 638, 647.
Ali Kalander, 668–9, 672–3.
Ali Kavan, 732.
Ali Khan Sheikh, 686.
Ali Kuchapa, 708.
Ali Kushdji, 566, 568, 608.
Ali Kutual, 711.
Ali Malik, 197, 325.
Ali Masud, 134.
Ali Mirza, 720.
Ali Muayid, 720, 722, 736–8, 743.
Ali Muhammed, 559.
Ali Mustapha, 570.
Ali Omran, Sheikh, 694.
Ali Padishah, 608, 618–19, 622, 635, 637–8, 689.
Ali Riza, 412.
Ali Sebzevari, Khoja, 739.
Ali Sedid Ghuri, 747.
Ali Shah, 416, 532, 560–1, 587, 590, 600, 625, 750.
—— and Rashid-ud-din, jealousy between, 571, 587.
Ali Shah Tarkhani, 555.
Ali Sheikh, 270, 296, 680.
—— death of, 604.
Ali Sultan, 724, 726, 738–9.
Ali Surkh Juni, *v.* Ali Surkh Khuaji.
Ali Surkh Khuaji, 727.
Ali Tamghaji, 315, 317.
Ali Tulpin, Amir, 644, 655.
Ali Uirad, Sheikh, 674.
Alijak Noyan, 183–4.
Alikan, 242, 275.
Alikushji, 535.
Aliliat, 468.
Alinak, 238, 270–2, 298, 300–2, 304, 557.
—— killed, 299, 305.
Alinji, 424.
Alju, 426, 485.
Alkami, 137.
Alkushun, 738.
Almack, *v.* Alinak.
Almaligh, 98.
Almalik Alaziz, 257.
Almalik Almuvahid, 256.
Almalik Assalih Nedjm ud din Ayub, 256.
Almar, 134.
Alp Arghun, Shems ud din, 240.
Alphonso, Don, 279.
Alpi bey, 652.
Altaju, 203–4.
Aitan Kupruk, 670.
Althun, 141.
Alus, 401.
Amad ud din, 148–9, 367, 464.
Amad ud din El Meuhteshem, 94.
Amad ud din Lenbani, 646.
Amad ud din Zeravi, 649.
Amadiyah, 288.
Amaji, 410.
Amakaji, 301.
Amal, 242.
Amankuh, *v.* Izkelejeh.
Amaras, 388.
Amasia, 405, 749.
Amauric, 403.
Amid, 18, 20, 48, 144, 154, 666.
Amid, Prince of, 12, 17.
Amin ud din, Amir, 726–7.
Amir Israel, 657.
Amir Muhammed, 541.
Amir ul umera, 585.
Amirgah, 748.

Amirshah, 336.
Amk, 243.
Amka, 455.
Amol, 718, 723, 731.
Amos, plain of, 237.
Amu, desert of, 233, 238.
Amu River, *v.* Oxus River.
A'mudin, Fortress of, 225.
Amuria, 336.
Amusements—
  Archery by Ghazan, 456.
  —— in Sultania, 727.
  Dancing and singing at Court of Uljaitu, 555.
  Hunting at Hamadan, 555.
  —— by Abaka, 264.
  —— by Ghazan, 462, 484.
  —— by Timur, 743.
  —— wild swans, 461.
  Mongol children's puppet soldiers of felt, 394.
  Polo played by Jelal ud din, 10.
  —— —— by Khulagu, 188.
  Wrestling at Court of Ogotai, 42.
Amuye, 231.
Anah, *v.* Aana.
Anatolia, 669.
Anawer, *v.* Ainsarba.
Anax, 83.
Anazarba, 557.
Anbar, 179, 200, 245, 465.
Anbare Habashi, 157.
Anbarji, Prince, 312, 326, 361, 366, 680.
Anberd, 85.
Anbu River, 216.
Ancyra, 46.
Andemed, 366.
Andijan, 755.
Andikan, 722, 748.
Andkhud, 739–40, 742, 744.
Andronicus, 579.
Andronius, Emperor, 464.
Anes, 252, 468.
Anfusis, Thos. de, 348.
Angora, 47.
Angurg, Noyan, 120.
Angutha, 74–5.
Ani, 7–8, 23, 30, 52, 83, 85.
Anichohamini, Queen, 353.
Anik, 322.
Anjujan, 338.
Ankianu, 206.
Anlakiah, 313.
Anselm, Friar, 72.
Antai, *v.* Abatai.
Antakka, 615.
Antarados, Isl. of, 456.
Antioch, 79, 84, 153, 243, 249, 268, 278, 444, 456.
—— captured by Bibars, 242.
—— Treaty between Bibars and Haithon signed at, 227.
Anushirvan Khan, 650–3.
Apamia, 243.
Aphkhazeth, 111, 328.
Apisha, 469.
Apishka, 435, 439.
Apuska, 346.
Arab, 285, 421, 534.
Arab Mulk, 648.
Arab Timur, 534.
Arabán, 20.
Arabs, 67, 179, 249, 338, 481.
—— submit to Bibars, 248.
Aradamur, *v.* Ala Timur.
Aradh, 468.
Aralikan, 239.
Ararat, 85.
Ararat Mts., 82, 229, 387.
Aras, 386, 602.
Arasa, 556.
Aratés, Monastery of, 355.
Araxes River, 11, 12, 15, 224, 229, 652.
Arbela, *v.* Erbil.
Arbil read Erbil *q.v.*
Arbre Sec, name for Khorasan.
Arcenzifa, *v.* Hosnkeif.
Ardai Kazan, Prince, 539.
Ardebil, 467, 475, 539.
Ardeshir, 481–2.
Ardeshir, Malik, 695, 757.
Ardubuka, 379.
Arezzo, Matthew of, 281.
Arfekin, 570.
Arghasun, 270, 300.
Arghun Aka, 100, 119, 218–19, 235, 238–9, 241, 247, 269, 335, 409.
—— death of, 250, 269.
Arghun Dévatdar, 564.
Arghun Haji, 413.
Arghun Khan, 42, 60, 82, 85, 101, 197, 207, 218, 232, 235, 241, 261, 278, 285, 290, 296–8, 303–4, 306–7, 312–56, 358, 381, 388–9, 393–5, 478, 485, 510, 522, 581, 680.
—— Accession of, 312.
—— and Ahmad, 300–2.
—— and Christians, 348–9, 354–5.
—— and Egypt, 347.
—— and Said (the Jew), 331–2, 340–1.
—— buildings of, 344.
—— burial-place of, 344.
—— character of, 344.
—— consults stars, 335.
—— death of, 343.
—— defeats Nogai, 322.
—— encourages alchemy, 341, 344–5.
—— his religion, 349.
—— his letter to Philippe le Bel, 350–2.
—— intrigues against, 325.

Arghun Khan makes pilgrimage to tomb of Abu Yezid, 302.
—— Pope's letter to, 349.
—— takes potion to secure long life, 341.
—— taxation under, 65–6.
—— wives of, 346.
Arghun Shah, 638, 643, 646, 717, 719, 730.
Arghun's Kiosk, 344.
Arghuniya, 344.
Arghurtai Ghazan, 339.
Argish, 20, 677.
Arikbuka, 90, 97, 199, 208, 680.
Ariktimur, 385.
Arjevash, 447, 449.
Arka, Fortress of, 225.
Arkasun Noyan, 331.
Arkatu, 119, 132, 158, 162.
Arkauns read Arkhauns *q.v.*
Arkéghagutu, 677.
Arkhauns, 110.
Arlat, 740.
Armenia, 5, 64–5, 85, 220, 271, 345, 381, 422, 456, 475, 577–8, 587, 637, 749.
—— and Egypt, 602.
—— churches in, plundered, 397.
—— Timur Khan in, 661.
Armenia, King of, invested by Egyptian Sultan, 604.
—— —— refuses government of Rum, 260.
Armenia, Little (Cilicia), 83, 220, 249, 275, 278, 280, 310, 347, 402, 430, 555–6:
—— attacked by Egyptians, 225, 245, 570, 599.
—— rulers of, 681.
Armenian Church, 153.
—— martyr, light over remains of, 104.
Armenians, 11, 201, 248, 255, 274–5, 300, 310, 363, 556.
—— defeated by Egyptians, 225, 248.
—— monasteries of, burnt, 249.
—— religion of, 6.
Arminiya, 510.
Armu ud daulat, 341.
Arpa, *v.* below.
Arpagaun Khan, 634–7, 680, 689.
—— and Uzbeg, 635.
—— death of, 637.
Arpha, 346, 422.
Arran, 4–5, 14–16, 101, 205, 218, 223, 225, 321, 333, 421, 423, 461, 571, 646, 655.
Arran-Rud, 435.
Arsaf, *v.* A'mudin.
Arsian, Mt., 230.
Arsil ud din, 302.
Arslan Noyan, 65.
Arslan Oghul, 380, 400–1, 404.
Arslan Oghun, *v.* Arslan Oghul.
Arslanshi, 310.
Arssuf, 225.
Artan, 7, 424, 543.
Artan Mts., 230.
Artanuj, 424.
Artena, 640, 646.
Artsakh Mts., 16.
Arud, 468.
Aruk, 285, 304, 306, 321, 323–4, 326.
Arukha, 269.
Arz, 468.
Arzan, 162.
Arzeron, *v.* Erzerum.
Asad, 677.
Asad Khoja, 730.
Asadabad, 119, 276, 287, 565.
Asan, Prince, 542.
Asanchif, *v.* Hosnkeif.
Asandemur, *v.* Asen Timur Karji.
Asar, 14.
Asavur, *v.* Yassaur.
Ascalon, 245, 437.
Asd-ud-din Rimaitha, 572.
Asen Timur Karji, 437, 468, 470–1.
Asghir Oghlan, 598.
Ashak Togli, 325.
Ashghan Asan, 300.
Ashnu, 247.
Ashraf Khalil, Sultan, 362.
Ashraf Malik, 172, 429.
Ashraf, Prince, 5, 7, 8, 13, 15, 16, 17, 21, 150, 167, 175, 564, 646, 649–50, 690, 717.
Ashraf Sultan, 402.
Asi River, 167.
Asil, *v.* Umeg.
Asil ud din, 536, 692.
Asium, 83.
Askalon, *see* Ascalon.
Aslan, *v.* Asar.
Asparakhen, 329.
Aspendan, *v.* Astadar.
Asr, *v.* Arz.
Assassins, *v.* Ismaelites.
Assatogan, 8.
Assia, 224.
Astadar, 105.
Asterabad, 39, 91, 365, 367, 659, 700, 718–9, 723–8, 731, 734, 739.
—— coins struck at, 737.
Asutu, 14.
At Sitaré Choban, 540.
Atabegs, 140.
Atamish Nasir, 601.
Aténi, 240, 399.
Atesh-gah, 715.
Atesh Kédeh, 704.
Athlith, 362.
Atilmish, 667.
Atman, *v.* Othman.
Atskur, 239, 260, 269.

Aughur, 189.
Augustulus, R., 653.
Aujan, 16, 215, 325–6, 378, 386–7, 395, 451, 453, 456, 462–3, 475, 481, 531, 543, 593, 651, 699.
—— Ghazan's summer palace at, 462.
—— Uljaitu enthroned at, 535.
Avak, 11, 29, 30, 51, 86, 111, 187, 206, 242, 268, 270, 313.
Avak Sargis, 86.
Avarithei, *v.* Uirads.
Avirathei, *v.* Uirads.
Avjibéla, 570.
Awhad-ud-din, 627, 642.
Ayaji, 270–1.
Ayas, 226, 248, 275, 310, 348, 604.
Ayet-Kali, 378.
Ayyubids, 220, 256, 278.
Az Timur, 666.
Az ud din Kerit [Izz ud din], 709–10.
Azab, 545.
Azaz, 147, 432–3.
Azd ud Devlet, 323.
Azerbaijan, 4, 8, 9, 14, 15, 16, 20–1, 60, 93, 101, 154, 205, 207, 228, 234, 236, 301, 332, 337, 367, 381, 395, 462, 571, 643, 646, 650, 655, 659, 661, 668, 699, 715.
Azis [Aziz], 164, 171–2, 197, 330, 443, 736.
Aziz, Khoja, 142, 188, 191–2.
Aznawari, 157.

Baadur, 423.
Baalbek, 163, 439, 448.
Baashika, 180.
Bab Ali, *v.* Babela.
Baba, daughter of Hulagu, 213, 409.
Baba Baghatûr, *v.* Baba Behadur.
Baba Behadur, 638, 717.
Baba, Prince of the Golden Horde, 570.
Babasenku, 744.
Babek, *v.* Sanek.
Babela, 147.
Babi, grave of, 302.
Babili, 176.
Babul, 649.
Badakhshan, 234, 338.
Badghis [Badghiz], 37.
Badghiz, 235, 338–9, 366, 378, 463, 608, 740, 742, 744.
Badin, 191.
Badu, 224.
Badur, 330.
Bagatu, 636.
Bagchi Arran, 343.
Baghatu River, 645.
Baghatur, derivation of, 152.
Baghdad, 1, 3, 4, 19, 22, 153–4, 217, 219–20, 223, 234, 245–7, 256, 261, 264, 275, 285, 288, 313, 333, 369, 377–8, 395–7, 407–8, 433, 453, 478, 563, 599, 642, 659, 661–2, 672, 674, 678–9, 697, 701–2, 718–19.
—— besieged by Timur, 669–72.
—— captured by Khulagu, 123–6.
—— Christians persecuted at, 422.
—— coins struck at, 580.
—— described by Friar Odoric, 629.
—— devastated by earthquake and fires, 115.
—— Jewish quarter attacked, 345.
—— Khalif of, executed by Khulagu, 127–30.
—— Khalif's palace of fragrant woods at, 131.
—— Khalif's treasures demanded by Khulagu, 125.
—— Khalifate of, revived by Bibars, 176–7.
—— rebuilt, 673–5.
—— taxation in, 500.
Baghdad Khatun, 605, 611, 615, 621, 623, 634–5.
—— alleged to have poisoned Abusaid, 624.
—— murdered, 624.
Bagras, 248, 267, 444.
Bagras Mts., 431.
Bagrat, 683.
Bagshur, 374.
Baha ud din Juveni, 63.
Bahai ud daulet Abul Kirem, 325.
Bahai ud din, Governor of Ispahan, 40, 219, 251, 260–1, 276, 290–1, 358, 757.
—— administration under, 221.
—— character of, 221–2.
—— death of, 222, 251.
Bahai ud din Kurchi, 699.
Bahai ud din Senjani, 282.
Bahai ud din Zakaria, of Multan, 185.
Bahai ul Hakk, *v.* Bahai ud din Zakaria.
Bahai ul Mulk, 417.
Bahasna, Fortress of, 227.
Bahrabad, 728.
Bahram, 141.
Bahram Shah, 70.
Bahramgur, 456.
Bahrein, 408.
Baibuka, 375.
Baiburt, 258, 489.
Baichu, 14, 43–6, 52, 109, 119, 123, 156–7.
—— missionaries visit, 72–3.
Baichu Noyan, 97, 112, 139.
Baidar, 167, 174–6.

Baidara, 429.
Baidu, 267, 296, 313, 321, 337–8, 358, 372, 377–92, 417, 484, 680, 757.
—— and Christianity, 387–8.
—— and Ghazan, 379–81.
—— character of, 387.
—— insulted by Gaikhatu, 372.
—— put to death, 387.
Baidu Oghul, 312.
Baighut, 406.
Baigu, *v.* Baichu.
Baiju Tetkaul, 360.
Bailekan, 5, 16, 401, 590.
Baimas Noyan, 18.
Bainal, 231.
Bairam Khojá, 656–7.
Baisan, 169.
Baisar Oghul, 300.
Baisari, 243, 252, 271, 274.
Baitan, 359.
Baitegin, 310.
Baitmish, 301.
Baitmish Kushji, 359.
Baka, 175.
Bakar, 100.
Bakas, 267–8.
Bakharz, 100, 235, 551.
Bakhshi, 103.
Bakhshis, *v.* Shamans.
Bakht, 689.
Bakir, Malik, 741.
Bakteli, *v.* Bartella.
Baku, 8.
Bakuba, *v.* Yakuba.
Bakurmishi, Prince, 272.
Balador, 101.
Balakan, *v.* Bala Khen.
Balakhain, *v.* Bala Khen.
Bala Khen, 96, 195.
Balarghu, Prince, 435.
Balbecenses, 148.
Baldwin II, Emperor, 87.
Balgha, 195.
Balighu, 231.
Balizad, 359.
Balkh, 722, 740, 744.
Baltaju Aga, 219.
Baltu, 405.
—— executed, 421.
Balu, Amoly, 728.
Bam, *v.* Kum.
Bamian, 43.
Banchrui, Thos., 348.
Bancussa, Mt., 146.
Bandis, 731.
Banian, 186.
Bao da, *v.* Baghdad.
Bar Hebræus quoted, 171, 210, 258, 265, 282–3, 288, 322, 325, 373, 387.
Bar Khetir, 254.
Bar Suma, 283, 348.
Bar Suma, Jacobite Church at, 226.
—— Monastery of, 154.
Barbaro, J., quoted, 152, 161.
Barcelona, 279.
Barejan, 399.
Barghun Haji, *v.* Tergan Haji.
Barik Bakhshi, 394.
Barin, 172, 248.
Barkai, 193.
Barkuk, 667.
Barlara, J. de, 349.
Barlogi, 475.
Bartella, 180.
Barubaka, 339.
Barula, 400.
Barunusin, 83.
Barutah, 186.
Barzberd, 430.
Basar, 266.
Basar Oghul, *v.* Yessar.
Basara Saraf, 313.
Bashgerd, 434.
Bashmak Oghul, 376.
Bashtin, 726–8.
Basra, 673.
Basra Noyan, 56.
Basrah, 333, 580, 665, 718.
—— siege of, 665.
Bassora = Basra, old spelling, 572, 599.
Batmaji, Amir, 300.
Batu Khan, 15, 20, 51, 62, 111, 134, 193.
Baurji, Malik, 701.
Baverd, *v.* Abiverd.
Bayazid, 659, 669, 672, 703.
Bayazid Jupan, 725.
Bayezid, *v.* Abu Yezid.
Bazaleth, 423, 425.
Bázuft, 707.
Beauvais, Vincent de, quoted, 75–8.
Bedkhas, 469.
Bedouins, or Badawin, 20, 272, 439.
Bedr ud din, 121, 127, 311, 570.
Bedr ud din Abubekr, 750.
Bedr ud din Ahmed, 93.
Bedr ud din Aintabi, 153.
Bedr ud din Bektash, 271, 430, 438, 469, 556.
Bedr ud din Bekt ut-Fattah, 473.
Bedr ud din Bilik, 271.
Bedr ud din Diriki, 117.
Bedr ud din Hasan, 146.
Bedr ud din Kurd, 567.
Bedr ud din Luli, 560.
Bedr ud din Lulu, Prince of Mosul, 50, 85, 139, 157, 160.
Bedr ud din Masud, 140, 406, 754.
Bedr ud din Muhammed, 116.
Bedr ud din Md. ibn Karmjah, 150.
Bedr ud din Musa ibn Uskeshi, 566.
Bega, 51.
Bega-Suramel, 110, 304.

Begha, 249.
Begtimur, *v.* Bey Timur.
Behadur Ali, 179.
Behadur Kazan, 538–9.
Behadur Sheikh, 722.
Behaduras, 468.
Behai ud din = Baha-ud-din, 318, 482.
Behai ud din Yakub, 536.
Behesna, 402, 444, 614, 669.
Behga, 249.
Behlul, 541.
Behna, 276.
Behrabad, 738.
Behramjerd, 694.
Behrin, 380.
Beidha, 698.
Beit-Jebrail, 163.
Beitimur, 400.
Bejka Alai, 243.
Bejni, 85, 187.
—— Fort of, 6.
Beka, 260, 262, 267, 284, 362, 398, 544.
Beka Jakel, 330.
Bekjha, 271.
Bekr River, 156.
Bekta, *v.* Tekia.
Bektash, 271, 430, 433.
Bektimur, 428, 439, 448-9.
Bektimur Shami, 446.
Bektimur - Bubekri - Katlubek - Nugai, 469.
Bektu, 305, 307.
Bektuk, 271.
Bektuk, 267.
Belakan, 268.
Belbeis, 163.
Belbis, 666.
Beljaghran, 235.
Bellus locus, 280.
Bem, fort of, 694.
Benal, 33.
Benal Noyan, 14.
Bender, 707.
Bendinjin, 464.
Bendlejin, *v.* Bendinjin.
Beni (Muzaffar) dynasty, 482.
Berahan, 219.
Berbai, 597.
Berdaa, 5, 29, 93.
Berdibeg, Khan of the Golden Horde, 653–4.
Bereke Khan, 111, 130, 194–5, 269.
—— and Abaka, 223–4.
—— and Bibars Allied, 261.
—— and Khulagu, 197.
—— birth of, 193.
—— converted to Muhammedanism, 193–4.
Béréket, 412.
Berendah, Amir, 672.
Berendeh, 331.
Bergmann quoted, 689, 690.
Berheshin, 646.
Berim, 376.
Berkeri, 14.
Berkui, 586.
Berkut, 250.
Beroea, 266.
Berzah, 149.
Berzali quoted, 570.
Berziyet, 268.
Bésa, 698.
Besasiri, 117.
Besheriyeh, 122.
Beshuran, 554.
Besmar, *v.* Yasaur the Great.
Bestal, 649.
Bestam, 479, 580, 626.
Bestam Jaghir, 676, 715.
Beth Goza, 48.
Beth Mana, 318.
Beth Sebrina, 318.
Bethag Alden tortured, 326–7.
Betmish Kushji, 326.
Bey Timur (or Beg Timur), 232–3, 432–3.
Beyat, 675.
Beyrout, 362.
Bezlar, 432.
Biah River, 72, 186.
Biak, 305.
Bian Kuli, Khan, 741.
Bibars, Sultan, 145, 173–6, 183, 197, 200, 225, 242–4, 248–53, 347, 362, 469–70, 564.
—— and Abaka, 258–9.
—— and Bereke allied, 201.
—— and Haithon, 226.
—— and Khulagu, 201–2.
—— character and appearance of, 256.
—— conquers Arabs and Turkomans, 248.
—— death of, 255.
—— defeat Mongols, 253.
—— fêted at Caesarea, 254.
—— in Rum, 253–4.
—— orders women and children to leave Syria before invasion, 257.
—— proclaimed Sultan, 174–5.
—— revives Khalifate of Baghdad, 177–8.
—— strength of his army, 256.
Bibars, Amir, 467.
Bibars Gatmi, 440.
Bibi Turkhan, 364
Bid, 709.
Bidlis, 20.
Bighaul, *v.* Baiju Tetkaul.
Bijen, race of, 746.
Bikr, 136.
Bilar, 484.
Bilarghu, 556–7.
Bilban Attabbashi, 434.

Bilban Rashidi, 173.
Bilban Tabbakhi, 436, 438.
Bilik Tajar, 440.
Biludai, 484.
Binaketi, 487, 626.
Bire, *v.* El Biret.
Biret, 249, 273, 275, 290, 310.
Birha, 247.
Bishar, 252.
Bishbaligh, 41.
Bistam, *v.* Bostam.
Bisutun, 410, 463.
Bitekji Kehin, 393.
Bitikchi, derivation of, 153.
Biurthel, 197.
Bkhtakhavor, 57.
Black Sheep Turkomans, *v.* Kara Koinlu.
Blatanusa, 267.
Blattanuś, 268.
Blu Zakaria, 86.
Blue Lake, 593, 649.
Boga, *v.* Buka.
Bogagok, 348.
Boghdai, 331, 385.
Boghdai Aidaji, 375.
Bohemond, Prince, 249.
Bohemund, 49.
Bohemund IV, 67.
Bojir, 538.
Bokai Ilchi, 487.
Bokhara, 232.
Bolnis, valley of, 12.
Bombyce, *v.* Menbedsh.
Bonachia, J. de, 349.
Bora, 195.
Borak, 2, 3, 7, 10, 35, 206, 231–2, 240, 358, 363.
—— and Abaka, 223–9, 235, 237, 239.
—— in Khorasan, 234.
—— negotiates with Nigudar against Persia, 230.
—— prosperity of his army whilst occupying Khorasan, 234.
—— send spies to Abaka's Camp, 235–6.
Borakchin Igaji, 373.
Borhani Kati, quoted, 152.
Borloghi, 439.
Borzaia, 267.
Bostam, 102, 302, 339, 366, 373, 394, 410, 719, 724, 734.
Bostami, Sheikh, 102.
Botzo, 6.
Boussay, 630.
Bretschneider quoted, 90–2, 96, 106, 185, 217, 488.
Brosset quoted, 7, 12, 13, 15, 20, 23, 32, 85, 87, 155, 199, 211, 228, 241, 311.
Bu-jo na-shi-r, 106.
Buba Suta, 311.
Buchin, *v.* Tekshin.
Buchkur, 427.
Budakaj, 213.
Buddha, heart of, 321.
Buddhist temples built by Ghazan, 397.
Bugdai = Boghdai, 380.
Bugha, 60.
Bugha Chingsang, 238–9.
Bughdai = Boghdai, 380.
Bui Murgh, 740.
Bujai, 550–4, 569.
Buka, 269, 275, 285, 289, 296, 302–8, 312, 313, 317, 320, 322, 324.
—— execution of, 325.
—— privileges of, 322.
Buka Ilduzdi, 592, 595.
Buka Timur, 96, 104–5, 109, 119, 132.
Bukajin Ikaji, 213.
Bukan, *v.* Tutar.
Bukhara, 1, 16, 194, 233.
Buklah, *v.* Tuklah.
Bulaghan, 278.
Bulai, 428.
Bulghuran, 318.
Bulghuvan, 290.
Bulduk, 409.
Bulga Kabli, *v.* Balakhen.
Bulgha, *v.* Balakhen.
Bulghai, 106, 109, 119, 134.
Bulughan, 297, 301, 303, 316, 335, 346, 377, 381, 385, 395, 398–9, 404, 434, 457, 462, 466, 484–5, 537, 580.
—— death of, 320, 366.
—— takes care of Ghazan, 394.
Bulughan Aka, 213.
Bulurghi, 469.
Buralghi Katai, 400.
Buraligh, 303–4.
Buralighi, 380.
Buralkai, 382.
Buran, 731.
Bureh, 307.
Burejerd, 427.
Burgur, Genl, 236.
Burhan ud din, 749.
Buri, 83, 96, 306, 389.
Burj Oghli, 260.
Burj-i-Karluk, 41.
Burji Mamluks, 433, 436.
Burkei Tash, 722.
Burlughi, 470, 473.
Bursbogha, 617.
Bursel, Joané, 422–5.
Burtechino, 113.
Burultai Abdulla Aka, 238.
Buruntai, 538.
Busai Yin, *v.* Abusaid Khan.
Buscarel, 351–2, 489.
Businjerd, 337.

Businjerd, Monastery of, 463.
Buwiah (Ibuwaih) dynasty, 3.
Buzaljin Ikaji, 368.
Bythinia, 69, 87.
Byzantines, 241.
Byzantium, 1.
Byzantium, Emperor of, 153.

Caco, *v.* Cacun.
Cacun, 402.
Caesarea, 47, 223, 225, 243, 254–5, 258, 430, 489, 613, 639, 672.
Caestro, Boniface de, 45.
Caidon, Prince, 350.
Cairo, 170, 176, 201, 248, 402, 448, 474, 485, 614.
Calabria, 527.
Camit, 243.
Cannibalism among Mongols, 259, 598.
—— at Siege of Mayafarkin, 158.
Canon of Business, 509.
Caraemite, *v.* Amid.
Caramit, *v.* Amid.
Carkesia, *v.* Circesium.
Carniphora, *v.* Kars.
Carpini, 72.
Casaria, J. de, 349.
Caspian Sea, 10, 230.
Cassaria, *v.* Caesarea.
Castamonia, 87.
Castiamuni, 260.
Cathay, 346.
—— annual tribute to Khan of, 630.
Castile, Queen of, 279.
Caturco, G. de, 349.
Caucasus, Mt., 4.
Celestial Garden, The, quoted, 98.
Ceremonies, at accession of Abu-said, 586.
—— —— Arghun, 312.
—— —— Uljaitu, 535.
—— at death of Muhammedan ruler, 535.
—— at installation of Cup-bearer, 394.
—— preceding pitching of camp, 625.
Chabad, 231.
Chabakar, *v.* Haifar.
Chabat, 233, 235.
Chagatai, *v.* Jagatai.
Chagatu, 218, 223, 241.
Chagatu Nagatu River (Golden River), 209, 215.
Chaghan, *v.* Zagan.
Chaghan Nur, 219.
Chaghata, 14.
Chaku, Amir, 742.
Chalan Ussuri, 199.
Chalcedon, Council of, 153.
Chaldæa, *v.* Baghdad.
Chalwa Kwéniphnéwéli, 424–5.
Chamchean quoted, 14, 52, 187.
Chamitch quoted, 25, 245, 475.
Chanazarien, Father, quoted, 355.
Changanlu, 224.
Changti, 91, 216.
Chankzghan, *v.* Jingis Khan.
Chap dalan, 99.
Chapar, 536, 574.
Chardin quoted, 315, 532.
Charles (King of Anjou), 348.
Charmaghan, 14, 16, 30, 33, 43, 52, 156–7, 337, 722.
—— administration of, 35.
Chartres, N. de, 489.
Chasht Khar, 698.
Chaukur, 296, 300.
Chaushes, 13.
Cheburkans, 20.
Chehar Su, 548, 592.
Chehartak, 456.
Chelpan Mulk Aga, Empress, 670.
Cherek, *v.* Khabrek.
Cherendab, 317.
Cherkes, 434.
Chesht, *v.* Khajeh Chisht.
Chichegan, 479.
Chichek, 378, 380, 386, 400, 438, 610.
Chilaun, 722.
Chin Timur, 15, 37–9.
Chinese astronomers brought to Meragha, 138.
Chini, 404.
Chinkai, 40, 42.
Chiramegan, 234.
Chishu, 344.
Choban, 322, 360, 385, 428, 434, 437, 439, 469–70, 467, 475, 484, 535–6, 539–43, 559–60, 566, 570, 585, 587, 592–3, 600, 608, 742, 751.
—— burial of, 612.
—— captures his son, 602.
—— executed, 611.
Choban, Amir, 555, 688.
Chongutur, 296.
Chophon Suldur, *v.* Choban.
Chorman, *v.* Charmaghan.
Christianity
  Adopted by Georgians, 543.
  Missions to Mongols, 72–6, 281.
  Nestorians and Franciscans in Tartary, 349.
  Two of Arghun's wives baptised, 349.
Christian Churches rebuilt by Arghun, 348.
Christians, 62, 246–7, 265, 275, 278, 280–1, 313–14, 318, 334, 353, 361, 427, 456.
—— and Abaka, 258, 278–9.
—— and Arghun, 348–9.
—— and Khulagu, 110, 150, 206–7, 209.

Christians and Mongols, 155.
—— and Muhammedans, 247, 332–3.
—— and Uljaitu, 543.
—— favoured by Tagudar, 286.
—— —— Yaballaha, 283.
—— in Egypt and Syria, 154.
—— in Tebriz, 629.
—— persecuted, 103–4, 141, 180, 255, 287, 327–8, 396, 421–2.
—— sects of, 153.
—— spared by Abaka, 258.
Chronicle of Herat quoted, 98, 544, 727–8, 730, 737, 746.
Chronicle of St. Denis, 488.
Chuchughan, 27.
Churmagun, *v.* Charmaghan.
Chuskab, 285.
Cilicia, *v.* Little Armenia.
Circassians, 433, 613.
Circesium, 205.
Claudia invaded by Syrians, 247–8.
Clavigo quoted, 104, 152.
Cldé-Karni, 111.
Clement IV, Pope, 278.
Clement V, Pope, 556, 576.
Cocachin, *v.* Kukachin.
Cocosn, 225.
Coins, inscriptions on Mongol, 580.
—— of Abaka, inscription on, 283.
—— Abu Ishak, 692.
—— Abusaid, 628.
—— Amhed Khan, 310.
—— Ali Muayid, 737.
—— Anushirvan, 653.
—— Arghun, 355.
—— Arpagaun, 637.
—— Baidu Khan, 388.
—— Gaikhatu, 377.
—— Ghazan, 399, 486, 525.
—— Hassan Kuchuk, 654.
—— Jihan Timur, 646.
—— Khulagu, 213–14.
—— Kordojin Princess, 687.
—— Mubariz-ud-din Md., 697.
—— Muhammed Khan, 642.
—— Musa Khan, 639.
—— Oweis Khan, 657.
—— Satibeg, 645.
—— Shah Mansur, 714.
—— Shah Shuja, 706.
—— Suliman, 649–50.
—— Sultan Hussain Khan, 659.
—— Toghai Timur, 718.
—— Uljaitu, 580.
Comerum, 629.
Conia, *v.* Iconium.
Consolations of the Brothers, 276.
Constantine I, 681.
Constantine II, 682.
Constantine III, 682.
Constantine IV, 682.
Constantine Grand Baron, 682.
Constantine (the Patriarch), 604.
Constantinople, 367.
—— Church of, 6.
Coromandel, 539.
Correspondence between Timur and Egyptian Sultan, 673–4.
—— mode of between rulers of Persia and Egypt, 633.
Costume
of Shah Mansur's troops, 712.
of tuins, 113.
Ornaments and feathers discarded for mourning, 365.
Persians wear blue for mourning, 573.
Robes of Syrian Bedouin Chief, 599.
Abbasides, 177.
Cotulossa, *v.* Kutlugh Shah.
Couriers, Service abused, 504–5.
Coya, 489.
Cremona, Guischard of, 72–3.
Crusaders, 46–7, 109, 163, 201, 242–4, 248–9, 271, 278, 333, 362, 455, 574–5.
—— aided by Abaka, 242.
—— attacked by Egyptians, 225.
Ctesiphon, 154, 283.
Cumania, 278.
Currency
of Khuarezm, 84–5.
Paper money introduced, 370–2, 390–2, 654.
under Ghazan, 545.
Cusi, G., 349.
Customs,
funeral, 35, 209, 344, 485 573, 630.
hunting among Mongols, 90, 394.
marriage between stepson and stepmother allowed, 216.
marriage money sprinkled over bride's head, 586.
Mongol food, 27, 34.
Mourning in Luristan, 752–3.
No one allowed to sit in Khan's presence, 111.
Oath, form of, drinking water mingled with gold, 284.
—— sworn with hands on Koran, 382.
Precious stones strewn over Khan's head on accession, 586.
unlawful to shed blood of royal persons, 128, 299.
Cyprus, 83, 556, 577.
Cyric, 249.

Da-dje na-shi-r, *v.* Bu-jo-na-shi-r.
Dadi vank, monastery of, 422.
Dadian Tzotné, the, 11.
Dahir 163.

Dahir Gazi, Malik, 171.
Dahir ud din Savaji, 571.
Dahistan, 102, 718, 725.
Daial Mulk, 587.
Daidan Sharwashidzé Apkhaz, 45.
Dakuka, 4, 20, 119.
Dalai Nur, 224.
Dalan Naur, 426.
Dali Bayezid, 652.
Damaghan, *v.* Dameghan.
Damascus, 8, 13, 17, 142, 153, 169, 170, 172, 174, 178, 228, 243, 245, 248, 255–7, 267, 272, 274, 309, 430, 432, 437, 444, 446, 455, 467–8, 470–3, 556, 567, 614, 664.
—— Abaka sends envoys to, 244.
—— besieged by Khulagu, 150.
—— —— Kitubuka, 163.
—— Ghazan's edict at, 441–3.
Dameghan, 8, 93, 302, 336, 366, 379, 389, 410, 580, 590, 719, 723, 725, 734, 736.
Damin, 402.
Danishmend, 410, 415, 544, 545, 610, 742.
—— killed, 549.
Dar Alhadith Nuriab, 447.
Darabgherd, 204.
Darabsak, 227, 284.
Darabsherd, 481.
Darenda, 254, 639, 640.
Darhin Dasht, 215.
Daria, 445.
Dariala, *v.* Jasanincap.
Darius, 481.
Darjah, 338.
Darsaij, 313, 345–6.
Darugha, derivation of, 153.
Daud, 744.
Daud, Malik, 694.
Daud Shems ud din, 686.
Daujah, 560.
Daulat Khan, 754.
Daulat Shah, 369.
David King (of Georgia), 187, 189, 190–1, 197–9, 206, 224, 231, 237, 240, 330, 361, 404, 421–4.
David IV, 683.
David V, 683.
David VI, 425, 544, 587, 683.
David Lasha, 110–11, 239–40, 242.
David King (son of Lasha), 240–1.
David, Prince, 50, 53.
—— attempts on his life, 24–5.
De Saulcy quoted, 580.
Dehwarkan, 136.
Deiléman River, 541.
Deipara, Jacobite church at, 226.
Deirgesir, 467.
Delhi, 364.
Demavend, 104, 366, 383, 395.
Demavend, Mt. of, 105.
Dendai, 135.
Dendi Shah, 608.
Denha, John, 283.
Derbai, 244.
Derbayekan, *v.* Jerbadakan.
Derbend, 4, 5, 10, 218–19, 224, 230, 234, 251, 260, 306, 322, 435, 556, 590, 667.
Derbessak, 248, 267.
Derei, 338, 545.
Dereguez, 410.
Dérendeh, 570.
Deriai Shur, *v.* Urmia Lake.
Deriar Kebudan, 240.
Derikunbed, *v.* Girdkuh.
Dervishes, 728.
Desht Kipchak, 10.
Despina, Khatun, 223, 387–8, 579.
Desportes, Peter, 577.
Destajird, 407.
Destjerdan, 378.
—— Fort of, 735.
Desum, Prince, 62.
Devalua, 254.
Deviasir, 264.
Devin, 365–7.
Devlet Shah, 463, 608, 636, 698.
Devletmendi, *v.* Dulendi.
Dezful, 711.
Dhahir-ud-din Keriavy, 735.
Diar Rabia, 162, 219–20, 332, 399, 467.
Diar Rahbeh, *v.* Rahbet.
Diarbekr, 20, 144, 154, 162, 205, 207, 219–20, 224, 298, 300, 313, 326, 332, 369, 378, 381, 399, 433–5, 457, 467, 565, 571, 587, 590, 641, 646, 649, 673, 689, 749.
—— famine in, 598.
Dibaj, 540, 542.
Dih Minar, 382.
Dih Muyan, 365.
Dihkhawarkan, 209.
Dilanji, 485.
Dildai, 569.
Dilem, 21, 91, 240, 358, 541.
Dilenji, 346.
Dilkandi, 589.
Dilshad Khatun, 608, 623–4, 635, 638, 643, 651, 654.
Dilshad Aga, Princess, 747.
Dilshadeh, Sultan, 669.
Dimaghăat, 447.
Dimashk Khoja, 592, 606, 613, 617, 620.
—— death of, 607.
Dimitri, King (of Georgia), 241, 267–9, 273, 300, 313, 322, 325, 328.
—— executed, 329.
Dimitri II, 683.
Dimitri (son of Wakhtang), 543.
Dimitri the Devoted, 544.

Din dar Md., 70.
Dinawar, 119.
Diro, 539.
Divination by shoulder-blades of sheep, 119.
Dizful, 675.
Djigda Khatun, 111.
Dmanis, 29, 199, 268, 388, 426, 543.
Dobis, 327.
Dog-men, race of, 113.
D'Ohsson quoted, 1–4, 7–17, 21, 36–40, 42, 44, 59, 60, 63, 67–8, 75, 80, 90, 94, 106–9, 112, 114, 116–17, 123, 132, 137–40, 142, 145–154, 163–4, 166–7, 173–5, 176–9, 183, 185, 189, 201–5, 209, 212, 215, 218–37, 240–5, 247, 249–82, 289, 292, 296–317, 324–7, 331–9, 342–51, 354, 357, 360–75, 377–80, 384–7, 394–421, 427–40, 443, 446–88, 490–2, 494, 498, 500, 504, 506–10, 514, 517, 519, 529–30, 534–7, 542–3, 549, 551–7, 559–79, 582, 586–7, 590–3, 595, 597–9, 601–22, 639, 642, 645–7, 651, 653–5, 659, 689–90, 717–18.
Dojeil, 264.
Dokuz Khatun, 97, 146, 171–2, 190–2, 210, 212, 216, 218, 310, 434, 535, 537.
—— death of, 209.
Doladai, 296, 300, 302–3, 307, 325, 359, 366, 375, 379, 380–6, 395, 399–400.
Doladai Aidaji, 285, 359, 378.
Doladai Yarghuji, 320.
Dolat Yar, 673.
Dolfendi, Amir, 220.
Dolfino, M., 632.
Dolgieto, Prince, 575.
Dominicans, 72, 83.
Don Alphonso, 279.
Dopu, 86.
Dorn, quoted, 726, 734–5.
Drazark, Haithon, buried in monastery of, 228.
Dua, 411, 467, 536, 539, 574.
Dubah, 415.
Duber, 379.
Ducas, Emperor John, 1.
Dudankeh River, 708, 711.
Dulabi-Bakul, 122.
Dulek, 253.
Dulendi, 555, 580, 585, 598.
Dulendi Khatun, 610.
Dilkandi, 610.
Dundi, 377, 406.
Dunia Khatun, 607.
Duniasar, 145, 162.
Dunya, 579, *see* Dunia.
Durdzuks, 11.
Durji Khatun, 278.
Durri Mulk, Princess, 705.
Durtai Noyan, 219.
Durun, 722.
Dutai, Noyan, *v.* Durtai Noyan.

Ebher, 15, 235, 620.
Ebrenjin, 471.
Ebrkiuh, 648.
Ecbatana, *v.* Hamadan.
Edek Khan, 2.
Edessa, 243.
Edward I (Eng.), 280–1, 350, 489.
—— and Abaka, correspondence between, 280.
—— envoy from Arghun to, 352.
Edward II, envoys from Uljaitu to, 575.
Egarslan Bakurtzikhel, 52–3, 109.
Egerdür, *v.* Egridur.
Eghékis, 65.
Egypt, 165, 200–1, 577–8.
—— and Persia, terms of treaty of peace between, 600.
—— and Rum, 252.
—— embassy from Ahmad Khan to, 308.
—— Ghazan in, 449.
—— Monophysites in, 153.
—— taxation in, 166–7, 455.
—— unsettled condition of, 266–7.
Egyptians, 266, 402.
—— and Armenians, 248, 602.
—— and Ghazan, 434–5, 437–9.
—— and Khulagu, 167–8.
—— attack crusaders, 225.
—— —— Kelat ur Rum, 266, 362.
—— capture Kakhta, 310.
—— defeat Mangu Timur, 270–3.
—— —— Mongols, 168–9, 244–5, 253, 272–3.
—— in Diarbekr, 590.
—— in Little Armenia, 245.
Egridur, 613.
Eibeg, 114, 142.
Ekrenj, 606, 608, 610.
El Adil Abubekr, 156.
El Afdal, Malik, 172.
El Begui, 432–3, 443, 449.
El Biret, 146, 174, 205, 244, 246, 249.
—— Shems ud din takes refuge at, 246.
El Haji, 595.
El Hakim, 178.
El Majd Ismael, 600.
El Moctafi, Alem-ud-din, quoted, 598.
El Mostansir Billahi, *v.* Abul Kassim Ahmed.
El Shaubek, 450.
El Sherif el Gatémi, 441.
Elburz, 260.
Elchidai, 308.
Elchikhan, the, 508.

Elegag, 349.
Elgan (Kuka Ilka), 96, 102, 104–5, 109, 119, 122, 131, 176.
Elgan the Jelair, 90.
Elgon, Noyan, 198.
Elgoz, 361.
Elias Khoja, 661.
Elikum I, 87.
Elikum II, 87.
Elikum, Prince, 157.
Elliot, quoted, 419, 539.
Eltimur, 386.
Elvend, Mt., 484.
Emad ud din, 99–100.
Embassies from Abaka to England, 280.
—— —— Rome, 280–1.
—— Abusaid to Egypt, 601.
—— Ahmed Khan to Egypt, 308.
—— —— to Sultan Kelavun, 290.
—— —— to Timur. 662.
—— Ali Padishah to Egypt, 640.
—— Arghun to Edward I, 352–3.
—— Delhi to Khulagu, 186–7.
—— Delhi to Ghazan, 487–8.
—— Egypt to Gaikhatu, 363.
—— England to Ghazan, 489.
—— Fakhr ud din to Shah Shuja, 699.
—— France to Persia, 349.
—— from Ghazan to Egypt, 457.
—— to Timur Khakan, 487–8.
—— Ghiath-ud-din to Timur, 743.
—— Hassan to Egypt, 640.
—— Murjan to Egypt, 655.
—— Musa to Egypt, 640.
—— Nasir to Abusaid, 615.
—— Rome to England, 280–1.
—— Rome to France, 281.
—— Timur to Egypt, 666.
—— Toktu to Ghazan, 456, 465.
Emkabad, 318.
En Nebek, 441.
Enbarji, *v.* Anbarji.
Endjrud, 344.
Enerjes, 138.
Engin, *v.* Elgon.
English envoys to Ghazan, purchases of, 489.
Enuk Arkun, 191–2.
Eperdi, *v.* Aibirdi.
Er Rahbet, 244.
Er Rub, Fortress of, 227.
Erbil, 15, 19–20, 132.
—— institutions in, 133.
Erbil, Prince of, 4, 12.
Erdehan, 12.
Erdhaighan, 409.
Erdmann quoted, 14, 152, 278, 654.
Eréron, 23.
Ergevank, 85.
Erinj, 260.
Eristhavs, 155.
Eritai, 613.
Erivan Lake, *v.* Blue Lake.
Erka, 275.
Erkabazn, Prince, 542.
Erkevan, 26.
Ermeni Khatun, 287, 307, 310.
Ermenibuka, 465.
Ersemeli, 597.
Ertso, 423.
Erzenjan, 14, 45–7, 83, 313, 580, 672, 677.
—— earthquake at, 83.
Erzenjan, Prince of, 749.
Erzenrum, read Erzerum, *q.v.*
Erzerum, 7, 12, 20, 44, 257, 399, 400, 489.
—— described by Odoric, 629.
Erzerum, Prince of, 13.
Es Said, Malik, *v.* Mozaffer Alai ud din Ali.
Es Sib, 433.
Esedabad, 410.
Eser River, 239.
Esferain, 15.
Esfizar, 100, 411, 415, 551, 591.
Eshel, 485.
Eshel Khatun, *v.* Ishil Khatun.
Eshirsil, *v.* Karatepe.
Eshja, 378.
Eskeshehr, 652.
Esukan, 198.
Euphrates River, 225, 244, 252, 257, 273, 308, 401, 436, 565–6, 663.
—— Canal made between Meshed and, 220–1.
Eutek, 569.
Ewhadi, 618.
Ez Zehebi quoted, 175.
Ezekiel, supposed burial place of, 562.
Ezfizar, 748.
Ezran, 366.

Faiz Allah Inju, 716.
Fakhr Isa El Ghiath, 467.
Fakhr ud daula Shah Ghazi, 731.
Fakhr ud daulat, 332.
Fakhr ud din, 99, 151, 243–4, 257, 289, 297, 301, 313–17, 336, 411, 414, 482, 539, 544, 546, 550, 554, 750, 755.
—— administration of in Herat, 415–17.
—— and Nuruz, 412.
—— death of, 137, 324, 417, 551.
—— his buildings ir Herat, 415.
—— patronizes poets and scholars, 416.
Fakhr ud din Ahmed, 487, 571.
Fakhr ud din Ahmed ibn Ibrahim al Thaibi, 418.
Fakhr ud din Ayaz, 120.

Fahkr ud din Bihishti, 60.
Fakhr ud din Dameghani, 131.
Fakhr ud din Hassan, 323, 406.
Fakhr ud din ibn Es Shirji, 441.
Fakhr ud din Kert, 410.
Fakhr ud din Meraghi, 138.
Fakhr ud din Minochéer, 276.
Fakhr ud din Muzaffari, 715.
Fakhr ud din Razi, 740.
Fakr ud din Akhlati, 138.
Famia, 175, 243, 267.
Fao mun ji, 138.
Farab, 41.
Faraj Allah, 334.
Fariab, 100, 375, 569.
Faris ud din El Beğuj, 432.
Farrak Shah, 673.
Farruj, 669, 671.
Fars, 2, 3, 9, 35–6, 202–4, 206–7, 219–20, 238, 299, 318, 323, 333, 380–1, 383, 404, 417–18, 571, 608, 623, 646, 648, 687, 690, 692, 694, 707, 709, 710, 715, 737, 742.
—— becomes part of Mongol Empire, 320.
—— conflict of claimants to, 713–14.
—— districts of, 481.
—— financial affairs of, 323–4.
—— invaded by Nigudars, 265.
—— taxation in, 420, 450, 482.
—— trades with Maabar, 419.
Fars-ud-din Ogotai, 173.
Faryab, 235.
Fasih, quoted, 733–6.
Fasilius, Emperor, 464.
Fath-ud-din, 122.
Fatima, 59, 580.
Fazlallah, 589.
Feluje, 465.
Fenakat, 39.
Ferah, 545, 569, 591, 726.
Feraskhaneh, 725.
Ferej, Malik, 245, 565.
Ferghana River, *v.* Heshtrud River.
Fergusson, quoted, 583.
Ferrah, 100, 411.
Ferrukh, 317.
Ferrukh Agha, 699.
Ferrukhsad, 548.
Feryumed, 627, 727–8.
Festivals,
Feast of Mekka sacrifice, 601.
—— —— Ramazan, 337.
Mongol new year, 206.
Feth Ali Shah, 315.
Fevaidi Ghiathideh quoted, 618.
Firamarsan, 375.
Firamurz, 686.
Firamurzan, 742.
Firdus, Fortress of, 92.
Firdusi, 416.
Firishta, quoted, 153.
Firoz Kuh, 755.
Firumed, 738.
Firuzabad, 15, 497.
Firuzan, 240.
Firuzkuh, 100, 104, 299, 305, 365, 373, 384–5, 569, 660, 719.
Fitan, 539.
Florence, Andrew of, 281.
Fostat, 76, 455.
Fraehn, quoted, 283, 355, 580, 628, 637, 639, 650, 657, 736.
Franciscans, 72, 349–50.
—— their mission to Mongols, 281.
Franks, *v.* Crusaders.
Frederick, Emperor of Rome, 279.
Fulad Kia, 413.
Fushenj, *v.* Pushenk.
Fuhwacheh, 301.

Gabarchin, 324.
Gabodan Lake, *v.* Urmia Lake.
Gag, 85.
Gaga, *v.* Kak.
Gaghzvan, *v.* Kakezvan.
Gaikhatu, 278, 296, 300, 303, 312–13, 321, 332, 347, 357–77, 478, 485, 510, 522, 534, 654, 380, 756.
—— accession of, 362.
—— approves of paper money, 370.
—— derivation of name, 357.
—— dissipations of, 368–9, 372, 377.
—— insults Baidu, 372–3.
—— strangled, 376.
—— treasury of, 369–70.
—— wives of, 377.
Gamresel Javakhis Shiwili, 543.
Gandja or Gandza, *v.* Kantzag.
Gantelini, Hugo, 349.
Gantzasar, 388.
Gapéghean, 12.
Garesja, 268, 328.
Garesja Mts., 224.
Garhni, 5.
Garja, 234, 394.
Gartebai Gurkan, *v.* Ghurantai.
Gaubari, 375, 555.
Gaur, 448.
Gavian, 105, 650.
Gaza, 142, 163, 200, 205, 272, 439, 446, 473.
Gazan, read Ghazan *q.v.*
Gelakun, 50.
Gelarkuni, 85.
Gelath, 357.
—— monastery of, 189.
Genoa, 489.
George IV (Lasha), 23, 683.
George V (the Brilliant), 224, 425, 567, 587, 683.
Georgi, 141, 330.

Georgia, 4, 23, 35, 50, 52, 59–60, 101, 190–2, 219–20, 268–9, 278, 345, 381, 384, 386, 421, 423, 425, 538, 578, 646, 651, 682.
—— Abaka in, 241–2.
—— Arghun in, 188–9.
—— devastation of attributed to vices of people, 426.
—— Jelal ud din in, 12.
—— Khulagu in, 109–10, 187.
—— Taxation in, 61, 65–6, 110.
—— Timur in, 669.
Georgian Chronicle quoted, 11, 31, 45, 54, 197–8, 208–10, 224, 229–30, 237–41, 253–4, 260, 273, 275, 277, 284, 300, 304, 440, 472.
Georgian Church, 6.
Georgian Kings, Genealogy of, 683.
Georgians, 141, 237, 253–4, 273–4, 300, 303, 361, 668.
—— allied with Mongols against Egyptians, 273–4.
—— and Musalmans, 5.
—— and Bereke, 198.
—— and Khulagu capture Baghdad, 126–7.
—— revolt against Miran Shah, 667.
—— titles and dignities of, 155.
Gereth, monastery of, 103.
Gerjani, Sherif, 709.
Germrud, 639.
Ghabaghib Mt., 469.
Ghadaghan, 15.
Ghado, 239.
Ghado Mts., 230.
Gharavunas, *v.* Karaunas.
Gharbetai Kurkan, 331.
Gharchestan, *v.* Gharjistan.
Gharjistan, 100, 411, 412, 569.
Gharjistan Mt., 338.
Ghataghan, 14, 26.
Ghatapugha, *v.* Karabugha.
Ghayas ud din Malik, *v.* Ghiath ud din.
Ghazan Khan, 153, 162, 215, 302, 313, 326, 332, 336, 342, 346, 354, 359, 366, 371, 373, 375, 380, 386–8, 393–533, 535, 558, 592, 626, 680, 734.
—— administration under, 519–24, 527–30.
—— adopts Muhammadan headdress, 421.
—— amusements of, 461.
archery, 456.
hunting, 462, 484.
riding elephant, 479.
—— and Baidu, 379–81.
—— and Egypt, 429, 434–5, 437–9, 449.
—— and Nuruz, 337–9.
—— appearance of, 485.
—— becomes a Musalman, 384.
Ghazan Khan, birth of, 393.
—— buildings of, 397, 452–3, 530–1.
—— character of, 457, 490–5.
—— charitable endowments instituted by, 451–2.
—— childhood of, 394.
—— coins of, 486, 525.
—— craftsmanship of, 492–3.
—— death of, 485.
—— edicts of, 395–6, 441–3, 512–15, 519–20, 522–7, 529.
—— education of, 394–5.
—— embassies to, 456, 465, 488.
—— encourages cultivation of land, 510–14.
—— encourages Wassaf, 466.
—— geomancy practised by, 493.
—— has Nuruz's family executed, 409.
—— his address to Muhammadan clergy, 490–1.
—— his knowledge of astronomy, 493.
—— his knowledge of chemistry, 493.
—— in Khorasan, 378–9.
—— in Syria, 454–6, 465, 467–71.
—— installation of, 399.
—— introduces new calendar, 530, 533.
—— jade seals of, 508.
—— letter to Egyptian Sultan from, 457–8.
—— literary attainments of, 487.
—— made governor of Khorasan, 395.
—— makes canals, 453.
—— meaning of, 395.
—— persecutes Christians and Jews, 396.
—— prohibits charging of interest, 503.
—— reforms of, 512–30,
—— —— couriers service, 505–8.
—— —— taxation, 498–500.
—— revenues of, 478–9, 515–18.
—— scornful letter from Nasir to, 476–8.
—— standardizes weights, 526–7.
—— summer palace of, 462.
—— suppresses highway robbery, 507–8.
—— suppresses idolatry, 397–8, 454.
—— tomb of, 531.
—— victorious in Karthli, 424.
—— will of, 489–90.
—— wives of, 485.
Ghazania, 452.
Ghazni, 2, 235, 435, 606.
Ghazzat, 614.
Ghiath ud din, Khwarazm Shah (Jalal ud din's brother), 2, 3, 6, 9, 93.

Ghiath ud din, atabeg of Yazd, 35.
Ghiath ud din Haji Khorasani, 693.
Ghiath ud din Hibet ulla Hamevy, 728.
Ghiath ud din Kai Kosru III, Saljug of Rum, 24, 109, 250, 252, 254, 257, 300, 313, 686.
Ghiath ud din Khorasani, 750.
Ghiath ud din, Malik of Herat, 482–3, 555, 568–9, 590–1, 610, 621.
Ghiath ud din Muhammed, Vazir, 634–5, 647.
Ghiath ud din Pir Ali of Herat, 737, 742, 750.
Ghiath Uljaitu, 617–18.
Ghiathiah, 592.
Ghiaukarsh, 722.
Ghilan, 91, 269, 360, 539, 555, 651, 707.
—— Uljaitu in, 539–42.
Ghujan, 303.
Ghur, 2, 99, 100, 234, 394, 415, 569, 730, 748.
Ghur Mt., 338.
Ghurantai, 375.
Ghuri, Amir, 747–8.
Ghurians, 413, 415, 741, 745, 747.
Giawe or Giave, *v.* Gavian.
Gilgerd identified with Girdkuh, 241.
Giorgi VI, 544.
Giorgi Brtsqinwaléh, 544.
Girdkuh, 95–6, 107, 336, 365, 379.
—— siege of, 106.
Girdkuh, fort of, 241, 723.
Giruft, 2.
Gisolfi, P. de, 489.
Gisulf, B. de, 350, 355.
Glinaf, 195.
Golden Horde, 96, 170, 223, 232, 236, 555, 635, 653.
Gondu Setbal, 225.
Gontsa, 198.
Gontza, 187, 189, 191.
Gori, 155, 542.
Gozarto, *v.* Jezirat Ibn Omar, 144.
Greece, 228.
Greek Church, 153–4.
—— —— monasteries burnt, 249.
Gregory IX, Pope, 33, 52.
Gregory X, Pope, 280.
Gregory (the Patriarch), 430.
Grigol Suramel, 53–4.
Grigor, 86.
Guantsa, *v.* Gontsa.
Guchan, *v.* Ghujan.
Guderz, 714.
Guejuran, 99.
Guenja, *v.* Kantzag.
Guermesir, 569.
Gueuk Achui the Great, *v.* Kokaju Buzurg.
Gueuk Achui the Little, *v.* Kokaju Kuchuk.
Gugalki, 176.
Guignes, De, quoted, 485, 582, 660, 669.
Guiragos quoted, 20, 27–35, 47, 49, 53, 56, 59–63, 87, 110, 113, 116, 120, 156, 161, 190, 208, 211, 223.
Gujekhat, 249.
—— monastery of burnt, 249.
Gukché Tenguiz, 592.
Gulistan, 558.
Guljadkian, *v.* Derbayekan.
Gulmeraji, 134.
Gunjuskat, 607.
Gunkji Behadur, 259.
Gurchinkalaa, *v.* Tela.
Gurdujan, Princess, 320.
Gurgan, 300–1.
Gurgan River, 719.
Gurghin Lar, 709.
Guria, 231, 239.
Guristan, 204, 481.
Gurji Khatun, 254, 432.
—— murders Alafrenk, 534.
Gurjistan or Gurgistan, *v.* Georgia.
Gurseh, 239, 434.
Gushtasfi, 11.
Gutah, 455, 469, 473.
Guvar, 203.
Guy, 682.
Gwéleth, 425–6.

Habak, 339.
Habib-al-Siyar, 653.
Habora River, 327.
Habul, *v.* Jebul.
Hadisi, 484.
Haditsé, 178, 465.
Hafiz, of Shiraz the poet, 622, 627, 642, 646.
—— and Shah Shuja, 705–6.
—— burial-place of, 716.
—— fame of, 715–16.
—— generosity of, 716.
—— jealous of Khoja Imad, 706.
Hafiz, Malik, 739, 750.
Hafiz Shekhani, 718.
Haghpat, 160.
Hagr, 431.
Haidar, 275.
Haidar Kassab, 734–5.
Haidar Razi quoted, 145.
Haifa, Fortress of, 225.
Haifar, 244.
Haifu, 362.
Hailan, 48.
Haithon quoted, 77, 112, 120, 259, 260, 272, 277, 289, 297, 310, 348, 357, 387, 439–40, 446, 456–7, 485, 535.

Haithon, King, 49, 67, 83, 112, 145, 173, 206, 220, 225–6, 241, 248–9, 422, 488, 682.
—— abdicates in favour of his son, 228.
—— and Khulagu, 164, 201.
—— death of, 228.
Haithon II, 402–3, 439, 555–9.
—— imprisoned, 430.
Hajar Surwand, *v.* Serund.
Hejaj Sultan, 238, 364.
Hajfu Narin, 400.
Haji Berlas, 744.
Haji Bey, 403, 708.
Haji Bulavaj, 590.
Haji Dharrah, 692.
Haji Dilkandi, 566, 572.
Haji Geldi, 749.
Haji Hamza, 641, 649.
Haji Kharbendeh, 699.
Haji Khatun, 580, 619.
Haji Khoja, 704, 721.
Haji Md. Bendghir Kattat, 661.
Haji Leila, 336.
Haji Narin, 409.
Haji Salah, 668.
Haji Seif ud din, 720, 744.
Haji Shah, 693, 757.
Haji Toghai, 637, 641, 646–7.
Haji Uyunmas, 622.
Haji Vizier, 743.
Haji-Rivam ud din, 715.
Hajibey Yun Garbani, 738.
Hakari tribe, 320.
Hakemi, 138.
Hakim, 179.
Hakim bi Amr Allah, 200, 460.
Halab, *v.* Aleppo.
Hali Uruz, 593.
Halkatu Noyan, 100.
Hamadan, 4, 109, 116, 136, 240, 276, 287, 376, 433, 463, 555, 565, 667, 707, 715.
—— monuments of, 108.
Hamath, 147, 244, 248, 267, 270, 428, 430, 444, 446, 468, 556.
Hamath, Prince of, 226.
Hamdullah quoted, 313, 358, 359, 365, 484, 616, 626.
—— literary works of, 626.
Hamian, 397, 422.
Hammer, von, quoted, 14, 91, 151, 153, 220, 224–5, 232–5, 240–1, 245, 251, 292, 298, 300–6, 314, 320–1, 336–9, 342, 346, 349, 383, 387, 481–5, 489, 530, 534, 538, 566, 597, 650, 726, 728, 749.
Hamus, 431, 450.
Hamuyah, 384.
Hamza, 601, 744.
Hananieshua, Bishop, 182.
Hanéfi Sect, 557–8, 743.
Hany, 17.
Harim, 150, 201, 243, 255.
Harran, 243, 308.
Harun, 287, 297, 321.
Hasan Dameghani, 718–19, 735.
Hasan Jandar Firuz Shah, 726.
Hasan Juri, Sheikh, 729, 736.
—— tomb of destroyed, 737.
Hasan Karak, read Hasan Karluk, *q.v.*
Hasan Karluk, 2.
Hasan Mazanderani, 95.
Hasan, Prince, 60, 62, 394.
Hasan Shah, 417, 482, 484.
Hassan Buzurg, 680, 689.
Hassan Chifh, *v.* Hosnkeif.
Hassan Hamsa, 727.
Hassan Jandar, 668.
Hassan Khan, Sheikh, 605, 680, 717, 729–30.
Hassan Kuchuk, 86, 642–6, 648, 654.
—— defeats Toghai Timur, 647.
—— treachery of, 644–5.
Hassan Sabbah, 107–8.
Hassan Sultan, *v.* Hussein Sultan.
Hassan the Lesser, 717.
Hassan Yaqadaul, 668.
Hasun, Khoja, 222.
Havizah, 675.
Hazah, 629.
Hazar, Jérib, 236.
Hazrat Saif ud din Bakhwezin, 194.
Hazrawi, 447.
Hebl rud, 386.
Hebron, 163.
Heft rud, 659.
Heilan, 253.
Hemam ud din, 282.
Henan Yishna, 246.
Henry III of Cyprus, 682.
Her or Heri, *v.* Herat.
Herat, 41, 99, 100, 220–1, 233–7, 250–1, 282, 299, 335, 337–8, 366, 394, 410, 412, 414–15, 551–5, 569, 591, 606, 610, 620, 646, 719, 722, 724, 739, 742–3, 744–5, 748.
—— administration of under Fakhr ud din, 415–17.
—— attacked by Malik Md., 748.
—— —— Wejih ud din Masud, 720.
—— beautified by Ghiath ud din, 591.
—— captured by Timur, 746.
—— Danishmend enters, 547.
—— genealogy of Maliks of, 739–49, 750.
—— siege of, 740–1.
Herat Chronicle, 549.
Herat, Prince of, 694.
Herat rud, 551, 569.
Herbelot, D', quoted, 659, 662, 674, 677, 719.
Hereth, 11, 31, 52, 111, 224, 268–9, 422, 425.

Heshtrud, 619.
Heshtrud River, 336, 380, 463.
Hesijin, *v.* Uwishjin.
Hesn el Akrad, 163.
Hesnun, 327.
Hetran, 379.
Heyd quoted, 631.
Hezarégheri, 738.
Hierapolis, *v.* Menbedsh.
Hijaz, 599.
Hillah, 121, 132, 256, 331, 408, 464–5, 563, 565, 580, 663, 672.
Hims, 147, 244, 270–4, 428, 431–2, 437, 439, 440, 468, 556.
Hindu, 232.
Hindu Noyan, 298, 410.
Hindujak, 68, 544, 549.
Hindukur, 271.
Hindushah, Prince, 540.
Hirkudak, 374, 399, 400–1, 404, 407, 410, 415, 534, 538.
Hirkutai, 96.
Hissar Tiri, 134.
History of Georgia, 313, 322, 421–6, 542, 567, 587.
History of Herat, 223.
History of Siumia, 343.
History of the Sebedarians, 735.
Hit, 178, 672.
Holwan, 119.
Homaiza, 572, 599.
Honorius IV, 348.
Hormuz, 315, 404, 418.
—— funeral rites at, 630.
—— King of, encourages Hafiz, 716.
Hosam ud din, 137, 197, 266, 318, 320, 325, 415.
Hosam ud din Hajib, 316.
Hosam ud din Hasan, 440.
Hosam ud din Lachin, 438.
Hosam ud din Lajin, 469.
Hosam ud din Mohanna, 564, 599.
Hosam ud din Mojiri, 536.
Hosam ud din Yulok Arslan, 686.
Hoseph, 55.
Hoshang, 754.
Hosnkeïf, 21, 141–2, 256, 278.
—— etymology, 161.
—— locality of, 161.
—— note on, 750–1.
Hugai, 304.
Hugh, Cardinal, 77.
Huirmabehrud, 373.
Hukur, 231.
Hulaju, 136, 213, 285, 302, 304–7, 312–13, 324, 342, 415, 463, 680.
Hulan Muran (Red River), 484, 500.
Huma and Humayun, 618, 627.
Hurkasan, Sheikh, 381.
Husam ud din, 115, 127, 175.
Husam ud din Akah, 118.
Husam ud din Humid-i-Bur, 2.
Husein, 394, 536.
Husinbeg, 534.
Hussain Kurdi, 172.
Hussam ud din Ali, 8.
Hussam ud din Azdémir, 464.
Hussein, 541–3, 679–80, 733, 741.
Hussein Abbasi, Shah, 756.
Hussein, Amir, 590.
Hussein Gurkan, 561, 654, 680.
Hussein Hamsa, 737.
Hussein Sevinj, 472.
Hussein Shah, 701, 750.
Hussein Sultan, 699–700, 724.
Huz, *v.* Hazah.
Hyacinth quoted, 152.
Hyrcania (Jorjan), 224.

Ibn al Athir quoted, 1, 4, 5, 6, 7, 20–1, 91.
Ibn Alkamiyi, 109.
Ibn Alsahib, 309.
Ibn Arabshah quoted, 662, 678, 684, 713–14.
Ibn Batuta, 752–3.
—— quoted, 607, 624–6, 639.
—— visits Abusaid, 626.
—— —— Taghy Khatun, 639.
Ibn Duri, 141.
Ibn Farat quoted, 237.
Ibn Haji quoted, 714.
Ibn Haukal quoted, 144.
Ibn Juzi, 119.
Ibn Khalidun quoted, 152.
Ibn Khallikan quoted, 145.
Ibn Lokman, 177.
Ibn Md. Yahya Imad ud din, 289.
Ibn Nasir el Hoseini, 114.
Ibn Nesuh, 627.
Ibn Suliman Daud, *v.* Binaketi.
Ibn Tagri Berdi quoted, 137, 209, 272, 449, 458, 624.
Ibn ul Alem, 138.
Ibn Yemin, 730.
Ibnol Hajib, 618.
Ibrahim Abad, 610.
Ibrahim ibn el Afrangia, 163.
Ibrahim Lik, 663, 667.
Ibrahim Shah, 646.
Ibrahim Sultan, 588.
Ich Il, 255.
Iconium, 43, 87, 183–4, 241, 255, 567.
Idaji, 296.
Idekin el Bundokdari, 174–5.
Ideku, 714.
Idhej, *v.* Ij.
Idij, 707.
Iftihshar ud din Kazvini, 220.
Ifthikhar ud din, 415.
Ighan, General, 226.
Ij, 204, 695, 752, 757.
Iji, 695, 752, 757.
Iji Ilchi, 300.
Ikhtiar ud din, 412, 704, 748.

Ikhtiar ud din, castle of, 546.
Iku, 212.
Il Kaji, 213.
Ilbasmish, 438.
Ilbuka, 409.
Ilchi Khoja, 415.
Ilchi Mogul, 165.
Ilchidai, 342, 359, 375, 380–1, 383, 385–6, 398.
Ilchikidai, 62, 71, 78.
Ildar, 375, 380, 386–7, 395, 399, 400.
Ilduchi, Thos., 576.
Ilduz, 308, 548–9.
Ilek Khan, 11.
Ilga, *v.* Ilkai.
Ilghi, 597.
Ilghu; 484.
Ilk Nizam ud din Hasneviyeh, 203.
Ilka Noyan, 157–9, 219, 654, 680.
Ilkai, 218.
Ilkanids, *v.* Jelairids.
Ilkhan dynasty, fall of, 634, 653.
Ilkhan Takudar, 219.
Ilkhans, 244, 393.
—— genealogy of, 680.
Ilkotlogh, 310.
Ilkotluk, 457.
Iltermish, 278, 481, 544, 580.
Iltimur, 366, 373, 368.
Iltirmish, *v.* Iltermish.
Ilturmish, *v.* Iltermish.
Imad, Khoja, 706.
Imad ud din, 257, 289–90, 315, 319, 325.
Imad ud din Ahmed, 703.
Imad ud din Ali, 536, 686.
Imad ud din Foleki, 571.
Imad ud din Ismael, 440.
Imad ud din Kasvini, 312.
Imad ud din, Malik, 185.
Imad ud din Omar Kazvini, 131.
Imad ud din Pehluvan, *v.* Nejm ud din.
Imad, *see also under* Amad.
Imami, 282.
Imerithi, 357, 682.
Imil River, 90.
Imeuthi, read Imerithi, *q.v.*
Imkajin, 303.
Inaltekin, 411, 549, 591.
India, 154.
—— Lamas go to Persia from, 397.
Indus River, 1, 235.
Inkuli, 528.
Innocent IV, Pope, 72.
Innocent V, Pope, 280.
Inskutluk, 536.
Intab, 247.
Irak, 12, 101, 205, 220, 228, 234, 240, 299, 337, 358, 380, 384, 414, 420, 483, 643, 646, 694, 707, 710, 714–15, 717, 725.
Irąk Ajem, 1, 2, 3, 4, 60, 207, 235, 378, 381, 414, 571, 642, 646, 659, 675, 710.
Irak Arab, 22, 154, 207, 220, 245, 263, 321, 332, 334, 381, 427, 565, 571, 598–9, 656, 672.
Iraki ibn Shehriar, 627.
Iran, 96, 102, 241, 306, 381, 558, 650, 745, 755.
—— invaded by Timur, 659.
—— under Abaka, 241.
Iranshâh, 377.
Irbil, 247, 250, 265, 301, 318, 326, 396, 406, 580, 598, 618, 628, 666.
—— plain of, 664.
Irenchin, 537, 556–7, 567, 587, 593, 595–6.
Irgene Kun, 299.
Irghana, 98.
Iridfarans, 574.
Irinchin, *v.* Irenchin.
Irshad Amir, *v.* Yeshed.
Irtikan Ikaji, 213.
Isa ibn Muhanna, 438.
Isaac, the Armenian, 220.
Isabella, 403.
Isanni, 111.
Ise turciman, 348.
Isen, 434.
Isen Buka, 380, 534, 538.
Isen Kutlugh, 534–5, 541, 566, 587, 589.
Isfahan Shah, 699, 700.
Isferain, 301, 720.
Ishakabad, 339.
Ishik Togli, 325.
Ishil Khatun, 367.
Isht Ikaji, 395.
Ishtakr, 709.
Iskanderun, 225, 248.
—— Gulf of, 227.
Ismaelites (assassins), 8, 10, 54, 93, 101, 241, 247, 284, 723.
—— condition of their country, 9.
—— origin of name, 90.
—— sent by Nasir to murder Kara Sonkor, 600.
Ismail ibn Ahmed, 117.
Ismail Safavi, Shah, 756.
Ismail Tarkan, 534.
Ismet ud din Aalem Shah, 417, 687.
Isola, 350.
Isolus, 354.
Ispahan, 2, 7–12, 19, 20, 219–21, 251, 282, 305, 314, 334, 453, 482, 536, 564, 646, 648, 658, 679, 690, 695, 697, 707, 709, 713, 715, 755.
—— captured by Mansur, 710.
—— —— Timur, 707–8.
—— siege of, 651, 674, 691–2.
Ispehbed, 462.
Ispidar, *v.* Aspendan.
Issa, 267–8, 271–2.

Issa ibn Mohanna, 276.
Issen Kutlugh, 559, 573, 606, 608, 636.
Issen Timur, 400.
Issenbuka, 595.
Istabal, 445.
Istakhr, 481, 690, 692.
Itmish, 602.
Ivané, 242.
Ivaneh, the Constable, 5, 7, 11, 13, 20, 23, 25, 242.
—— commits sacrilege at tomb of St. Parcecht, 6.
Ivaneh I, Atabeg, 86.
Ivaneh VI, 87.
Ivaneh VII, 87.
Ivaneh VIII, 87.
Ivaneh the Little, 86.
Ivanians, 8.
Iz ed daulet Bakhtiar, 533.
Iz ud din, 41, 68–9, 87, 101, 119–20, 139, 183, 252, 288, 755.
Iz ud din Aibek Alafram, 271, 467.
Iz ud din Aibek Baghdadi, 468.
Iz ud din Aidemur, 470.
Iz ud din Aigan, 205.
Iz ud din Aitim ur Alhaj, 272.
Iz ud din Al Kobedi, 482.
Iz ud din Balban, 185.
Iz ud din Eibeg, 255, 257, 260.
Iz ud din El Zurdkash, 428.
Iz ud din Hamadani, 627.
Iz ud din Homaiza, 572.
Iz ud din Hussein, 406.
Iz ud din Ibek, read Iz ud din Eibeg, *q.v.*
Iz ud din Ibn Abd us Salam, 146.
Iz ud din Iqhan, 225.
Iz ud din Kai Kavus, 49, 255, 686.
Iz ud din Kai Kobad, read Iz ud din Kai Kavus, *q.v.*
Iz ud din Kuhedi, 571, 587.
Iz ud din Mahmud, 407, 754.
Iz ud din Malik, 661, 675.
Iz ud din Mozaffer Ibn Md., 370.
—— failure of his paper money scheme, 371.
Iz ud din Omar Meraghani, 99.
Iz ud din Tahir, 102, 219.
Iz ud din Talib, 588.
Izfandiar Nami, 711.
Izferain, 410, 735, 747.
Izfézar, 545.
Izkandar, 715, 732.
Izkandar Sheikhy, 737, 743, 746.
Izkanderun, 310, 430.
Izkelejeh, 414, 545, 742, 747.
Izzet Malik, 648.

Jaaber, 146, 454.
Jacobite Church destroyed, 170, 396.
—— prelates, 154.
Jacobites, *v.* Monophysites.
Jade Seals, 508.
Jafar, Amir, 674.
Jafar Sahib, 725.
Jagatai, Khan, 15, 28, 61, 92, 108, 231, 412, 618, 680.
Jagatai Horde, 228.
Jagatai Mongols, 606.
Jaghatai Noyan, 51.
Jai Timur i Baniko, 2.
Jajerem, 305, 314.
Jajerm, 337, 339, 718, 738.
Jak, princes of, subject to Ilkhans, 224.
Jakembo, 90.
Jalal, 346.
Jalal, Dola, Hasan, 86.
Jalirman, 388.
Jam, 100, 337, 410, 544, 551, 726.
Jamal ud din Ali, 186.
James II (of Aragon), 488, 577.
Jami ut Tevarikh, 539.
Jami Mosque at Tebriz, 625.
Jami Jem, 627.
Jandar, Sultan Shah, 695.
Janeth, 424.
Janghir, *v.* Chaukur.
Jani, 251.
Janibeg, 214, 653, 660, 695.
Janik, 259.
Janits, 11.
Jarapert, 16.
Jarbadekan, 700.
Jasanin Cap, 423.
Jauher Kuchuk, 702.
Jaun Korban, 726.
Jawakheth, 7, 32, 196, 239.
Jawakheth Mts., 242, 330.
Jebal, Prince of, 12.
Jebekis, 339.
Jebel Hamrin, 22, 123.
Jebel Jor, 17.
Jebles Sumak, 436.
Jebul, 454.
Jehakan Begi, *v.* Jijeghan.
Jehanghir, Amir, 744.
Jehanghir, Sultan, 750, 756.
Jejd, 411.
Jelabieh, 127.
Jelair, 534.
Jelairids, *v.* Ilkanians.
Jelairs, 654.
Jelairtai, Genl., 232–3, 236, 238.
Jelal (the astrologer), 235.
Jelal ud din (Khwarezm Shah), 2, 4, 5, 11, 15, 16, 18, 21, 92, 199, 282, 331, 335, 358–9, 364, 542, 564, 572, 587.
—— and Ashraf, 16, 17.
—— and Ghiath ud din, 9–10.
—— and Seljuk chief, 13.
—— appearance and character of, 18.

Jelal ud din captures Tiflis, 6.
—— death of, 18.
—— defeated at Erzenjan, 14.
—— defeated by Mongols, 9.
—— envoy from Alai ud din to, 93.
—— impersonated after his death, 19.
—— in Georgia, 5, 6, 7, 11, 12.
—— tales concerning his death, 18–19.
Jelal ud din (Hassan), tortured 190.
—— treacherous to Khulagu, 199–200.
Jelal ud daula Izkander, 731.
Jelal ud din Amir Kutlugh Shah Ghazani, 649.
Jelal ud din Arkan, 319.
Jelal ud din Hassan, 92.
Jelal ud din ibn Alfeleky Attawrizy, 692.
Jelal ud din ibn Sairafi, 150.
Jelal ud din Mirmiran, 646.
Jelal ud din Shah Shuja, 697–707.
Jelal ud din Taib Shah, 205, 482, 757.
Jelal ud din Tarsi, 220.
Jelal ud din Turan, 270.
Jelal-Hasan, 84, 86.
Jelalhamid, self-sacrifice of, 664–5.
Jelankhan, 610–11, 617.
Jeliba, Fortress of, 225.
Jelizavetpol, *v.* Kantzag.
Jélula, 123.
Jemal ud din [of Dastajerd], 373, 378, 383, 385, 403, 407, 408, 427, 451, 569.
Jemal ud din (of Kashan), 282.
Jemal ud din (of Rastak), 282.
Jemal ud Din (of Shiraz), 419 427.
—— death of, 539.
—— trading activities of, 419-20.
Jemal ud din Afrem, 566.
Jemal ud din Aidogdi, 205.
Jemal ud din Akush Alafram, 469.
Jemal ud din Akush Alashrafi, 450.
Jemal ud din Akush Faresi, 308.
Jemal ud din Bedr, 140, 406.
Jemal ud din Gulbeg, 182.
Jemal ud din Hussein, 559.
Jemal ud din Khizi, 406.
Jemal ud din Md., 319.
Jemal ud din Md. ibn Tahir, 138.
Jemal ud din Md. Sain, 413.
Jemal ud din Md. Sam, 415, 546, 550–1.
Jemal ud din, son of Mothalher, 581.
Jemal ud din Musa, 164.
Jamal ud din Rastak of Rotu, *v.* Jemal ud din (of Rustak).
Jemal ud din, Seyid, 539.
Jemal ud Din, son of Taj ud Din, 637.
Jemal ud din Yakut, 283.
Jemchi, 443.
Jemelein, 13.
Jemi, 213.
Jemjalabad, 582.
Jemjed Karen, 726.
Jems, 618.
Jenghatu, 300.
Jenglaun Bakhshi, 241.
Jenkli, 433.
Jennabi quoted, 650, 733–6.
Jerbadekan, 240, 699, 707.
Jerik, 306.
Jermakan, 337.
Jerusalem, 142, 163, 169, 363, 488.
—— pilgrimage of Georgian King to, 311.
Jesht, *v.* Khajeh Chist.
Jesir, 335.
Jevheri, 571.
Jews, 333, 345.
—— persecuted by Ghazan, 396.
—— renegade subjected to ordeal, 537–8.
—— treatment of in Asia, 342–3.
Jezeh, 569.
Jezirah, 102.
Jezirat Ibn Omar, 144, 224, 672.
Jezireh, *v.* Jezirat Ibn Omar.
Jeziret, 246, 273, 277, 755.
Jeziret River, Lesser, 248.
Jeziret ul Omar, 598.
Jhilam River, 72.
Jia, 720.
Jian Ahmed, 669–70.
Jigda Khatun, 141, 330.
Jihan, *v.* Pyramus.
Jihan Pehluvan Ilchi, 9.
Jihan River, 227, 231, 253, 550, 602.
Jihan numa, 756–7.
Jihan Shah, 672.
Jihan-Kushai quoted, 101.
Jihanara, the, 753–4.
Jihangir, 534, 700, 742.
Jihanshah Yaku, 747.
Jihurgutai, 443.
Jijak Kurkan, 213.
Jijeghan, 96, 212.
Jiks, *v.* Janits.
Jikur, 111.
Jil, 436.
Jila Abazas-Dze, 424.
Jinal, 230.
Jiné, 236.
Jing Pulad, 485.
Jingis Khan, 1, 33, 90, 99, 348, 393, 510, 512, 595.
—— legend of his birth, 35.
Jink pulad, 377.
Jinkutur, 300.
Jinwan, 199, 422.
Jiraft (Kerman), 36.
Jirkudai, 303.
Jirmchi, *v.* Khurmenji.

Jit, 344.
Jiyurghutai, 320.
Jizerd, 366.
John XXI, Pope, 280–1.
John XXII, Pope, 612.
Jola, 14.
Jolak, 239.
Jolaki, 230.
Jome Gurkan, 379.
Jorbed, 339.
Jorghodai, 301.
Jorjan, 224, 336, 365, 373, 379, 638, 656, 717–18, 721–2, 725, 730, 733, 737.
Juchi, 232, 296, 300, 333, 334–5, 342, 680.
Juchi Khasar, 538.
Judar, 13.
Jui Injil canal, 41.
Jui nu, 744.
Juji Ikaji (or Ajuji), 213.
Juk, Sultan, 120.
Jukin, 420.
Julahi Abheri, 627.
Juman, 296.
Jume Kurkan, 213.
Jumkur, 96, 208, 224, 680.
Jur, 729.
Jushkaf, 224.
Jushi, 285.
Jushkab, Prince, 298, 304–7, 312–13, 325, 330–1.
Juskeder, 588.
Juven, 337.
Juveni, Alai ud din Ata Malik [Juveini], 1, 119, 102, 202, 220, 261, 282, 287.
Juyurghatai, 483.

Kàaba, 288, 341.
Kabala, 4.
Kabamiten, 743.
Kabartu Bahadur, 453.
Kabil, 539.
Kabir Khan of Ayaz, 69.
Kabudan, Lake of, *v.* Urmia.
Kabul, 100.
Kabulistan, 722.
Kabushan, 337, 365, 747.
Kabyles, 273.
Kadagai, 316.
Kadan, 304, 325.
Kadhi Abdul Latif, 661.
Kadhi Alkodhat, 440.
Kadhi Burhan ud din, 749.
Kadhi Hussein, 649.
Kadhi Kayas ud din, *see* Kayas ud din.
Kadlubeg Almansuri, 436, 450.
Kadsun, 109, 119.
Kadughan, 301.
Kadzareth, 85.
Kaffartab, 268.
Kahkaha, Fortress of, 721.
Kai Khosru, 13, son of Shah Inju, 693.
Kai Kobad, 14, 17, 43, 104, 255.
Kaiak Noyan, 119.
Kaidu, 228, 231, 233, 235, 338, 365, 374, 467.
Kaimish Igaji, 312.
Kain, *v.* Kuhistan.
Kairbuka, 560.
Kais, Island of, 418–19.
Kaisariyah, Prince of, 749.
Kaiumars, 677, 695, 726.
Kaiz, 408.
Kajui, 548.
Kak (Gaga), 12.
—— famous cross at, 27.
Kakbai, 401.
Kakezvan, 12.
Kakhaber, 191.
Kakheth, 11, 31, 224, 268–9, 329, 422, 425.
Kakhta, Fortress of, 310, 570.
Kakkabe, 467.
Kakun, 243, 274.
Kala Shahba (the white castle), 685.
Kalaa Sefid, 711–12.
Kalaat ur Rum (Kelat ur Rum) (Kalah Rumiyan), 154, 266, 362–3, 434, 444, 556, 719, 720, 738, 747–8, 755.
Kalahi Séfid, 702.
Kalat ul Muslimin (formerly Kalat ur Rum), 363.
Kalatsurk Mt., 713.
Kalavun, *v.* Kelavun.
Kalduz, 2.
Kalesht, 318.
Kaliat, Fortress of, 225.
Kalkai Altun Buka, 394.
Kalkal, 724.
Kalmuks, 401–2, 436.
Kalpush, 303, 305, 337, 724, 739.
Kalu Isfendiar, 733.
Kambayat, 419.
Kambej, 269.
Kambejian, 7.
Kameriah College, 447.
Kamil, 159.
—— flight of from Mongol Court, 156–7.
Kamil Abubekr Shadi, 751.
Kamil Nasir ud din Md., 156.
Kamil ud din Omar Tiflisi, 149.
Kamr i Habash, 157.
Kamsiun (Yuz Agach), 312, 327.
Kamuyah Buzurg, Sheikh, 407.
Kan Ghul, 101.
Kand Sultan, 721.
Kandahar, 251.
Kanghai Mts., 488.
Kankalis, 10.

Kantza Sar, monastery of, 190.
Kantzag (Gandja), 4–8, 16, 21–22, 92.
—— strange phenomena preceding siege of, 21.
Kaplanshi, 310.
Kar Mulk, 8.
Kara Arslan, 579.
Kara Baghatur, 31.
Kara Ghaj, 580.
Kara Hamid, *v.* Amid.
Kara Hassan, 673.
Kara Hissar, 613, 647, 649.
Kara Hussein, amir, 647.
Kara Kapchilghai, 308.
Kara Khitai, 2.
Kara Khulagu, 98, 231.
Kara Koinlu, 662.
Kara Kurgan, 663.
Kara Kush, 69, 247.
Kara Muhammed, 657, 659, 661.
Kara Noyan, 100.
Kara Osman, 676–7.
Kara Songhul, *v.* Kara Sonkor.
Kara Sonkor, 120, 122, 273, 401–2, 429, 436, 450, 454, 469, 564–7, 570, 595, 599, 600, 616.
Kara tepe, 399.
Kara Yuluk, 749.
Kara Yusuf, 215, 666, 667, 669, 672–7, 715.
Karabagh, 377, 598, 605, 623, 649–50, 689, 699.
Karabanda, *v.* Uljaitu.
Karabugha, 15.
Karabuka, 178, 220, 285, 304–7, 324, 342.
Karaja, 37–8,
Karaja Ibn Abi Dulkada, 660, 661.
Karak, 142–3, 164, 173, 201, 266, 347, 439, 450.
Karakhitais of Kerman, end of dynasty of, 537, 756.
Karakorum, 107.
Karaman, Prince of, 264.
Karaman or Kumar River, 331.
Karamania, 255, 615.
—— and Rum, 613–15.
Karamanians, 487, 613.
Karasui Mts., 236.
Karatai, 119.
Karatepe, 336, 338, 375.
Karaunas, 296, 301–2, 306–7, 337–9, 382, 388, 394.
—— note on, 388–9.
Karbenda, 327.
Karcatiocerta, 156.
Karhertz, 85.
Kariatain, 468, 472–3.
Kariatula Kab, 663.
Karieh Shirguiram, 380.
Kariet Ulakab, 670.
Kariétéin, 432.
Karim, 86.
Karin, *v.* Erzerum.
Karita, 437.
Karkar, Fortress of, 310, 570.
Karkh, 114.
Karluks, 68.
Karman, 43.
Karmeji, 470.
Karmpantes = Uljaitu, 535.
Karnéphora, 424.
Karni, *v.* Garhni.
Kars, 7, 8, 31, 85, 268, 424.
Kars Mt., 230.
Karshi, 743.
Kartébar River, 553.
Karthli, 7, 31, 52, 111, 240, 268–9, 361–2, 421, 423, 425–6, 682.
—— Ghazan victorious in, 424.
Kartman, 85.
Kartokabuka, 534.
Kartzkhalni Mts., 230.
Karun River, 711.
Kasan, son of Kutluk Buka, 301.
Kashan, 9, 282, 580, 629, 697, 745.
Kashghar, 740.
Kashgharians, 68.
Kashmir, 184–5, 397.
Kasmuri, G., 349.
Kasr Shirin, 409.
Kassian, *v.* Ghazan.
Kassiun Mt., 444.
Katar Sunjak, *v.* Katar Sunjan.
Katar Sunjan, 109.
Katei Bahadur, 708.
Kathan Khan identified with Ghazan Khan, 533.
Katia, 163.
Katiba, 310.
Katkatu, 428.
Katlubek, 468, 470.
Katmish, Ikaji, 278.
Kattada dynasty, 572.
Kaureh Bahadur, 668.
Kaus, *v.* Kavus.
Kavam ud dir, 301, 318–19, 368, 697.
Kavam ul Mulk, 385, 427.
Kavus, 650.
Kayas ud din, Seyid, 660.
—— Kadhí, 661.
Kazerum (Kazdrún, Kiarsun), 203, 482, 741.
Kazghan, Amir, 740–2.
Kazi Sheikh Ali Kumkhani, 656.
Kazurgah, 741.
Kazvin, 91–2, 220, 261, 300, 385, 539, 541, 604, 609, 622, 643, 699, 718.
Kebtuka, *v.* Kitubuka.
Kebud Jameh, 224, 303, 721.
Kebud Yaemeh, *v.* Kebud Jameh.
Keez, 718.
Kehdistan, 740–1, 746.

Kehurkai, Amir, 219.
Kelatkuh, 303.
Kelavun, 226, 244, 266, 268, 270–4, 290, 292–6, 309, 347, 362, 429–30, 433, 564.
Kelilat, 15, 40.
Kemal ud din, 427, 458, 480, 724.
—— magic powers of, 288.
Kemal ud din ibn Kadin Shohbah quoted, 445.
Kemal ud din Musa, 357.
Kemali, 96.
Kematdin Todan, 608.
Kénef ul Mizri Mt., 469.
Kenjatu, *v.* Gaikhatu.
Kenjeh, 85.
Kepek Khan, 591.
Kerr Porter quoted, 119, 532.
Kerai, 450.
Kérai, 539.
Keramun, 434, 481, 486.
Kerbal, 265, 710.
Kerbela, 453.
Kéré River (Kiuh or Kiuhe), 383, 386, 400.
Kerikerd, 709.
Kerj, 240.
Kerjian, 541.
Kerker, 297.
Kerman, 2, 3, 7, 9, 10, 45, 60, 206, 219–20, 234, 238, 380, 417, 481, 482–4, 571, 608, 646, 687, 694, 697, 700–1, 707, 709, 714.
—— taxation in, 727.
Kerman-Shahan, 119.
Kermani Md. Ibn Ali Morshidi, 618.
Kerrai, 409.
Kerrair, Khoja, 718.
Kersos River, 248.
Kert, Amir, 440.
Kertai, 227.
Kertai, Amir, 436.
Kerulon River, 14.
Kesh, 101, 746.
Keshaf, fortress of, 326.
Kesher Bakhshi, 383.
Keshf, 467, 475.
Keshf River, 336.
Keshlik, 409.
Keshtagdi, 271.
Keshur, 387.
Kesker (Kierkicr), 540.
Kesrovan Mts., 450.
Kesvet, 469.
Ketboga, 401, 429–30, 436, 450, 454, 564.
Keulbilat, 15.
Khaboras River, *v.* Khabur.
Khabrek (Cherek), 26, 271.
Khabur River, 566.
Khabushan, 384, 729.
—— restored, 102.
Khachen, 28.
Khachen, Sevata of, 159.
Khada, 424–5.
Khaf, 411.
Khafajah, 200.
Khailbuzurg, 379.
Khair, 481.
Khaisar, 99, 100, 234, 250, 410, 569, 730.
Khajeh Alai ud din Hindu, 569.
Khajeh Chisht, 545.
" Khak ber ser," *see* Khakister.
Khakan Timur, 538.
Khakister, 551.
Khaled ¶s., 672.
Khalid, 270.
Khalifa, Sheikh, heretical doctrines of, 728–9.
Khalil, *v.* Hebron.
Khalil Sultan, Mirza, 672, 725.
Khalil Yasaul, 746.
Khalise, 461.
Khalkhal, 539.
Khallajes, 415.
Khamil, Sultan, 7, 21.
Khanbaligh, 418.
Khaneh-abad, 109.
Khanekin, 22, 122, 132.
Khani, 480.
Khansar, 698.
Kharakan, 102.
Kharbanda, 354–5.
Kharbendeh Uljaitu, 535.
Kharendar, Fortress of, 2.
Kharkan Mts., 484.
Kharpurt Mts., 749.
Khartabert, Khartpert, 13, 119.
Khasek, 134.
Khashjan pillaged, 541.
Khasuyeh Runis, 481.
Khatai (Khitai), 113, 199.
Khatai Oghul, 346, 360, 426.
Khatun Kotai, 265.
Khatun Oljai, 262.
Khaujan, 338.
Khavaf, 544, 551, 591.
Khavkheth, 424.
Khawar, 410.
Kheghi, Fort of, 6.
Khelat, 7–8, 12, 13, 14, 20–1, 49, 144.
Kherk, 423.
Khiaban, 748.
Khiaban River, 740.
Khialbuzurk, 484.
Khielbüzürg, 301.
Khir Billah Md. Khalif, 698.
Khirmenju, 483.
Khitai, 199.
Khiva, 1, 231, 247.
Khizam, 5.
Khizr, 147, 407.
Khochak, 29, 329.
Khodabendeh = Uljaitu, 535.

Khodaidad Husseini, 723.
Khodris, 543.
Khoi (Khui), 4, 8, 14, 15, 92, 215, 649, 653.
Khoja Damashk, 597.
Khoja, Seyid, 724, 738.
Khojan, 510.
Khoju Kermani, 627.
Khokan, 28.
Khokars, 185.
Khola, 15.
Khorasan, 1, 2, 4, 8, 12, 15, 36–7, 41–2, 60, 101, 205, 218–20, 229, 232, 239, 240, 247, 261, 285, 298, 304, 313, 332, 335, 337–8, 340, 361, 365–6, 373, 378–9, 380–1, 384, 395, 399, 411, 491, 568, 590, 618, 638, 646, 693, 717–19, 730–1, 739, 744, 747.
—— administration in, 568.
—— taxation in, 496–8, 622.
—— under Narin Togai, 621.
Khorer River, 328.
Khoristan, 381.
Khoshak, 187, 189, 198, 268.
Khoshek, 316.
Khosrov, 86.
Khosru Buket, 745.
Khosru Shah, Governor of Hamath, 149, 163,
Khotan, 628.
Khuandemir (Khwandamir) quoted, 228–9, 231–8, 251, 552, 636, 650, 726, 728, 733.
Khuar, 734.
Khuarezm, 231, 717, 725.
—— coinage of, 84.
—— invaded by Abaka, 247.
Khuarezmians, 1, 6, 16.
Khubilai Khan, 90, 98, 199, 218, 232, 250, 283, 285, 297, 318, 320, 348, 464, 680.
—— and Christianity, 281.
—— rewards Khulagu, 208.
Khudabendeh, Prince, 381.
Khudavand Zadeh Kurdujin, 365.
Khudida, 180.
Khukhalaga Noyan, 176.
Khulagu [Hulagu], 43, 90–217, 223, 227, 229, 256, 285, 348, 393, 396, 478, 488, 510, 680, 693, 739, 756.
—— and Bereke, 197.
—— and Bibars, 201–2.
—— and Christians, 110, 140–1, 206–7, 209.
—— and Egyptians, 167–8.
—— and Fars, 203–4.
—— and Haithon allied, 201.
—— and Rokn ud din, 105.
—— and Shems ud din, 135.
—— and Syria, 142–3.
—— besieges Damascus, 150.
—— —— Erbil, 132–4.
Khulagu besieges Maimundiz, 105–6.
—— —— Mayafarkin, 157–9.
—— builds observatory at Meragha, 137–8.
—— captures Baghdad, 123–6.
—— —— Aleppo, 147–8.
—— —— Mardin, 162.
—— character of, 212.
—— coins of, 213–14.
—— conquers Assassins, 107–8.
—— consults Hasam ud din, astrologer, 115.
—— death of, 208–9.
—— demands Khalif of Baghdad's treasures, 125.
—— dominions of, 205–7.
—— embassy from Delhi to, 186–7.
—— feasted at Kan Ghul, 101.
—— his authority not absolute, 207–8.
—— in Georgia, 109–10, 187.
—— Jelal ud din's treachery to, 199–200.
—— note on spelling of, 151–2.
—— —— title of, 214.
—— palace of, 215.
—— protects Christians, 150.
—— puts Khalif of Baghdad to death, 127–30.
—— restores Khabushan, 102.
—— rewarded by Khubilai, 208.
—— taxes Georgians, 110.
—— threatens Egyptian Sultan, 165–6.
—— treasure-house of, 136.
Khuli, 96, 103, 109.
Khuljin, 560.
Khumar, Amir, 315.
Khunan, 15.
Khurakh, 148.
Khurestan read Khuzistan, *q.v.*
Khurmenji, 404.
Khurrem Shah Derguzmi, 676.
Khurunji, 15.
Khutaré, 195.
Khutbeh, the, 3, 12, 16, 581, 601, 724, 743.
—— formula of, changed, 559,
Khuththu, 14.
Khuzistan, 4, 9, 132, 207, 240, 256, 263, 571, 672, 675, 710.
Kia Irmail, 651.
Kia Jelal ud din Ahmed, 731.
Kia Salah ud din, 373.
Kia Tash ud din, 731.
Kiaf, Amir, 565.
Kialpush, 366.
Kialteshen River, 338.
Kiashis, 332.
Kiavbari, 461.
Kiawabari, *v.* Gaupari.
Kichik, 597.
Ki du bu qu, *v.* Girdkuh.

Kielgun, Mt., 5.
Kierkier, *v.* Kesker.
Kiluya Mt., 240, 407.
Kiluyeh, 358.
Kimshkabal, 297.
Kineshin, 471.
Kinesrin, 454.
Kingshu, 324.
Kinjak, son of Baidu, 382.
Kinju, 472.
Kinkshu, 224.
Kinshu, 305–6, 312–13, 335; 337–8.
Kinuk, 245, 248, 253.
Kipchak, son of Borak, 231–5.
—— governor of Syria, 432–448.
Kipchak Oghul, 304, 387.
Kipchaks, 4–5, 10, 11, 17.
Kirai, 549.
Kirai Malik Ahmed, 102.
Kirat, Fortress of, 245.
Kirkesia, 566.
Kirkessium, *v.* Kirkesia.
Kish, 418, 539.
Kishim, 234.
Kisragh, 339.
Kisueh, 402.
Kitabi Mahbub, 384.
Kitubuka, 90, 95–6, 102, 104–5, 119, 134, 143, 150, 156, 163, 167–9.
Kiuhe River, *see* Kere.
Kiushk Murghani, 746.
Kizil, 358.
Kizil Irmak (Red River), 255.
Kizil Salghurshah, 359.
Kizil Ussun, *v.* Hulan Muran.
Klaproth, 357, 392.
Klarjeth, 424.
Klaudia, 120.
Knight Templars, 225.
Kobad, 481.
Koché, 154.
Kodsa, 439.
Kohendiz, 697.
Koja, 346.
Kokaji, 485.
Kokaju Buzwig, 231.
Kokaju Kuchuk, 231.
Kökje denis, 241.
Koksu River (Blue River), 250.
Kola, 424, 543.
Koma, Sadr ud din of, 384.
Komari Inak, 661, 723.
Komari Vasaul, 712.
Konchiba, 330.
Konduzbaghlan, 538.
Kongharda, 300.
Konghuralank, 394.
Konghurtai, 213, 250, 258, 267, 285, 286, 298–9, 307, 313, 680.
Kongoralank, 581.
Konkurat wife of Abusaid, 627.
Konkurolang, site of Sultania, 544.
Koran, the, quoted, 16, 143, 441–2, 461.
Kordojin, *v.* Kurdujin.
Korlogh, 100.
Koron, 468.
Kortaghu Mt., 336.
Koshk-zer, 715.
Kosseir, 173.
Kotai, Khatun, 265.
Kotan Ataji, 320.
Kotb ud din, 337, 675.
Kotur, *v.* Tutar.
Kouo Khan, *v.* Kuka Ilka.
Koweik (River of Hamath), 454.
Koyuk Khatun, *v.* Kuik Khatun.
Kuarkuaré- Jakel, 53–4.
Kubak Khatun, 96, 212.
Kubar, 431.
Kubara, 450.
Kubechi, 239.
Kubinji, 303.
Kuchayens, 68.
Kuchuk, 298.
Kuchuk Anukji, 299.
Kudeni, 63.
Kuel Mt., 230.
Kufa, 121, 132, 256, 565.
Kuh Larenda, 613.
Kuhar, 609.
Kuhi Kiluich, 703.
Kuhistan (or Kain), 92, 95–8, 103, 106, 299, 339, 414, 416, 646, 728, 739, 742.
Kuhistanis, 728.
Kuik Khatun, 212.
Kuikurtai, *v.* Konghurtai.
Kuiotai, 78.
Kujan, 341–2.
Kujinbüsürg, 434.
Kuka Ilka, *v.* Elgan.
Kukachin, 346, 367.
Kukaji, 434.
Kukamachar, 394.
Kukatu, 381.
Kukebusi ibn Abul Hasan ali, 133.
Kul Tuga, 15.
Kulduk, 413.
Kuli, 122, 195.
Kulkhan, *v.* Elgan.
Kultak, 393.
Kultak Ikaji, 346.
Kum, 315, 646.
—— description of, 315.
Kuma River, *v.* Kere River.
Kumis, 235.
Kumishi, 272.
Kumsha, 714.
Kumus, 106, 305, 313.
Kumuz, 381, 656, 659, 723.
Kundulen, identification of, 351.
Kungkur-ulang, *v.* Sherubaz.
Kunjak, Princess, 595.
Kunjukan, 307.

Kunjukbal, 300, 322, 324, 333, 340, 342, 359, 360, 366, 375, 378, 380–8.
Kunjuskat Khatun, 535.
Kunkju, 285.
Kunkurtai, read Konghurtai, *q.v.*
Kuntsak, 650.
Kuo Shan, 106.
Kuokian, *v.* Elgan.
Kur Buka, 438–9, 597.
Kur Pir Ali, 756.
Kur River [Araxes], 5, 11, 12, 196, 223, 239, 310, 320, 322, 325.
K'ura Agh'a, *v.* Thora Agha.
Kuran deshé, 541.
Kurban Bairam, Holy Day of, 622.
Kurban Shira, 315, 360, 380–2.
Kurdish Mts., 458.
—— Hermitages in, 752.
Kurdistan, 598, 651, 673, 711.
Kurds, 20, 98, 142, 180, 258, 275, 332–3, 456, 665, 677, 713.
Kurdujin, 365, 417, 687.
Kurguz, 39, 40–2.
Kurha, *v.* Kuhar.
Kuristan, 668.
Kurji Buka, 394.
Kurkhan, 10.
Kurmishi, 401, 438, 469.
Kurneh, 711.
Kurram Abad, 710, 755.
Kur Timur (Kuir Timur), 427–8, 531.
Kurdujin, 593, 610, 687–8.
Kurt-Khan, 185.
Kurta, 83.
Kurtika, 485.
Kurumchi, *v.* Kurumishi.
Kurumishi, 239–40, 306, 324, 342, 360, 385–6, 388, 424, 567, 592–7.
Kurusun, *v.* Kadsun.
K'urth, Prince, 112.
Kuseh tagh, 109.
Kush Koyun, 461.
Kush Timur, 4, 556.
Kushan, 718.
Kushji, 301, 680.
Kushkareh, 5.
Kushluk Khan, 163.
Kussuyeh, 100, 551, 569, 726, 745.
Kusupa, *v.* Kusuyeh.
Kutb Jihan, *v.* Kutb ud din.
Kutb ud din, 36, 241, 345, 361, 363–4, 371, 385, 409, 426–7, 482, 545.
Kutb ud din Chishti, 547, 550, 553.
Kutb ud din Esfizari, 591.
Kutb ud din Ilghazi II, 686.
Kutb ud din Mahmud, 290–1.
Kutb ud din Molla, 746.
Kutb ud din Mubarez, 205.
Kutb ud din Nikruz, 674.
Kutb ud din Owēis, 699, 750.
Kutb ud din Razi, 618.
Kutb ud din Seyid, 324.
Kutb ud din Shah Jihan, 484.
Kutbuka, 247.
Kuthathis, 6, 111, 231, 242, 330.
Kuti, 278.
Kutlugh, Amir, 565.
Kutlugh Bitikji, 203.
Kutlugh Buka, *v.* Kultugh Shah.
Kutlugh Kaya, 536.
Kutlugh Khatun, 303.
Kutlugh Makhdum Shah, 694.
Kutlugh Shah, 277, 297, 300, 329, 330–1, 345, 361, 380–2, 386, 388, 398, 404–6, 413, 422–8, 435–9, 446–7, 454–7, 467–72, 475, 535, 539–40, 580, 597.
Kutlugh Timūr, 234, 326, 346, 612.
Kutlugh Turkan Aga, 363–4, 720.
Kutlughbeg, Amir, 180.
Kutluk Bugha, *v.* Hasan Damcghani
Kutlukan (Kotlkan), 261.
Kuttuz, 146, 159, 163, 165, 228.
—— and Khulagu, 165–9.
—— enters Damascus in triumph, 173.
—— murdered, 173.
Kutui Khatun, 212, 224, 285, 289, 305–7, 364.
Kutujan, 394.
Kutuktai, 580.
Kuwashir, *v.* Kerman.
Kuyuk Khan, 63, 56, 231, 233.
—— inauguration of, 59.
Kwabulian, 192.
Kwishketh, 330.

Labire, 467.
Lachin, 429–31, 450, 564, 602.
Lacouperie, T. de, quoted, 390, 486.
Ladakiya, *v.* Laodicea.
Laghiri, 545, 547–8.
Lahejan, 540–1.
Lahore, 69, 99, 185.
Lalam Kuchin, 714.
Lamas, 397.
Langaru, 723.
Langley, G. de, 489.
Langlois, quoted, 422.
Laodicea, 268, 313, 362.
Lar, *v.* Larjan.
Lar i Kafran, 717.
Larenda, 567.
Larjan, 104, 204, 344.
Lavij, 731.
Lebid, son of Abi Rabi, 332.
Lebnasagut (Alatagh), 144.
Legend of Ghazan's son, 486.
—— Jingis Khan's birth, 35.
Legsi, 302–5, 359, 373, 378, 383, 409, 580.
Lekesi, *v.* Legsi.
Lékézi, *v.* Legsi.
Lembeser, 103–7.

Lemser, *v.* Lembeser.
Leo I, 604, 681.
Leo II, 681.
Leo III, 682.
Leo IV, 555, 602, 682.
Leo V, 602, 682.
Leo VI, 682.
Leon, son of Haithon of Armenia, 225, 245, 248–9, 252, 270, 354, 402.
—— accession of, 228.
—— captured by Egyptians, 226.
—— released, 227.
Leon III, 245, 354, 402.
Lerdzavni, 196.
Lerida, 488.
Lesghistan, 239, 461.
Lesghistan Mts., 199.
Lesghs, 5; 11, 260.
L'Estrange, quoted, 284.
Lidd, Bishop of, 576.
Likh Mt., 111, 190, 239, 242.
Liminata, J., 45.
Liparit, 346.
Liparit V, 87.
Liparit VI, 87.
Lirabad, 337.
Lokman, 548, 554, 719, 723–4.
Lomïs Thaf, 239.
Lomisa, 424–5.
Longfellow, quoted, 130.
Loré, read Lôrhé, *q.v.*
Lôrhé, 11, 160.
Louis IX, 242.
Lulu, Amir, 562.
Lulu, Khoja, 619, 622, 624.
Lur, 300, 378, 481, 571, 709.
Lur, Little, 661, 697.
Lur Mts., 8.
Lúrdeján, 707.
Luristan, 9, 220, 381, 357, 483 668, 672, 692, 695, 702, 711, 715.
—— note on, 751–4.
Luristan, Little, 406, 483, 699.
—— note on, 754–6.
Lurs, 660–1, 710.
Lussan, 541.
Lutf Ali Beg, 704.
Lutf ulla, 733, 735–6.
Lyons, 280.
—— Council of (1245), 72.

Ma-tze-t'sang-r, characteristics of of people of, 217.
Maabar, 419.
Maamurieh, 649–50.
Maarah, 172, 455.
Maaret Naaman, 147, 436.
Maasaniyeh, 408.
Mabug Nejm, 146.
Macarius (name adopted by Haithon on becoming a monk), 228.
Machu, 324.
Madhik, 120.
Madri, *v.* Maitreya.
Madrikah, *v.* Mezzrikah.
Maffeo, 347.
Magic charm to secure affection, 341.
—— of Kemal ud din, 288.
Mahan, 15, 16.
Mahlibiya, 275.
Mahmud, Amir, 729–30.
Mahmud beg, 428, 567.
Mahmud Féhad, 552.
Mahmud ibn Yamin, 628.
Mahmud Issenkutlugh, 610, 623.
Mahmud Kalhati, 418.
Mahmud Kalkali, 724.
Mahmud Riza, 736.
Mahmud Shah, 417, 482–3, 680, 689, 697, 750.
Mahmud Shah Inju, 623.
Mahmud Sheikh, 457.
Mahmud Yelvaj, 63.
Mahomed Khodabund, tomb of, 583.
Mahulat, 726.
Maidan Saadet, 692.
Maidan, Sultan, 735.
Maidan Alkabak, 455.
Maidan Sulimanshah, 386.
Maidan-akhdar, 149.
Mailla, de, quoted, 152.
Maimundiz, 103, 109.
Maitreya, 113, 211.
Majar, 613.
Majd ud din Asir, 321.
Majd ud din Athir, 261.
Majd ud din Ismail Salameti, 601.
Majd ud din Muminan, 336.
Majd ud din Tebrizi, 136.
Majd ul Mulk, 260, 263, 275.
—— death of, 287.
—— favoured by Abaka, 262
—— intrigues against Shems ud din, 261–3.
Maju, 325.
Makar al Anbiia, 176.
Makhurs, 11.
Makika, 396.
Makisa, 246.
Makran, 2.
Makrizi, quoted, 142–3, 146, 148, 149, 150, 163–9, 171–9, 201, 244, 246, 249, 253, 255, 258, 268, 271, 273–4. 286, 292, 296, 299, 310, 311, 313–14, 363, 402, 428–9, 434, 437–40, 443, 445–9, 455–6, 458, 461, 468–9, 471, 473–5, 535, 556, 570, 633.
Maksud Nizehdar, 676.
Malakia, quoted, 33, 61, 103–4, 156, 158, 194, 208, 225–6, 229, 241.

Malan, 338.
Malassias, Bp., 78.
Malatia, 48, 119–20, 275, 327.
Malatiya, 154, 260, 556, 570.
Malek, Is., 672.
Mali Fitan, 539.
Malian Takwi, 440.
Malik al Ashral Salah ud din Khalig, 362.
Malik al Nasir, 751.
Malik al Salih al Ismael, 139.
Malik Ashar, 616.
Malik dil Rast, 127.
Malik es Salih, 579.
Malik Kutb ud din Ghuri, 646.
Malik Mansur, 292.
Malik Misr, 649–50.
Malik Muhammed, 742, 748.
—— attacks Herat, 748.
Malik Nuzrat ud din Adil Nessavi, *v.* Rokn ud din Sain.
Malik Sadr ud din, 241.
Malik Salih, 120.
Malik Shah, 522.
Malik Timur, 680.
Malika, 6.
Malmuks, 256.
Mama Khoja, 305, 593.
Mamishki, 542.
Mamlakh, 574.
Mamluks, 141, 309, 366, 457, 470.
—— and Ghazan, 438-9.
—— Ashrafian, 433.
—— Bahrit, 266.
—— divisions of, 433.
—— Mansurian, 433.
Mamshaki, 541.
Mamun, 222, 248.
—— tomb of, 248.
Manazguerd, 14, 17.
Mandators, 11.
Manfred, King, 197, 279.
Manglukan, 213.
Mangu Khan, 53, 81, 83, 90, 92, 151, 207, 363, 680.
—— character of, 137.
—— inaugurated, 61–2.
—— secs luminous cross, 64.
—— story of his conversion, 112.
—— visited by Kamil, 156.
Mangu Timur, 67, 98, 100, 107, 187, 195, 204, 228, 241–3, 264, 267, 270–1, 274–7, 284, 318, 430–2, 439, 450, 680.
—— death of, 277.
—— defeated by Egyptians, 270–3.
Mangutah, 70.
Mani ibn Shoaib, 676.
Manjasht, 140, 358–9.
Manoel, 330.
Mansur Ahmed, 686.
Mansur Lachin, 430.
Manşur, Malik, 162, 172.
Mansur Nasir ud din Ortok, 686.
Mansur Nejm ud din Ghazi II, 686.
Mansur, Prince, 149, 175.
Mansur, Shah, 698–9, 702, 707–14, 750, 753.
—— and Timur, battle between, 712.
—— captures Abrkuh, 710.
—— captures Ispahan, 710.
—— killed, 712.
Mansuri, 468.
Mansuriah, 96, 102, 318, 400, 510.
Manuel, 423.
Manzi, King of, 347.
"*Mazuméh,*" *The*, quoted, 558.
Mar Denha, 246–7.
Mar Hasia, 182.
Mar Ignatius, 219, 249.
Mar Khetir, 250, 318.
Mar Matthew; Monastery of, attacked by Kurds, 180, 401.
Marcellinus, A. quoted, 433.
Marco Polo quoted, 91, 151, 346–7, 357, 367, 487.
Mardin, 12, 308, 332, 489, 565, 580, 598, 655, 673.
—— captured by Syrians, 434.
—— genealogy of rulers of, 686.
—— Noah's Ark supposed to have rested on highest summit of, 161.
—— note on history of, 683–6.
—— siege of, 161–2.
Mardin, Prince of, 17, 270, 294 641, 647, 666.
Maria Despina, 278.
Maria Theresa, 565.
Mariana, quoted, 279.
Marino Sanuto, quoted, 556.
Maristan Nuri, 447.
Marj us Safar, 469.
Markab, 362.
Marlahú, 707.
Martyropolis, *v.* Mayafarkin.
Marutha, Bishop, 156.
Marvand, 659.
Marzban, 227, 418.
Masaud Sebzevari, Khoja, 665, 711.
Masdekan Mts., 484.
Maslénakhé, *v.* Modanakhé.
Massissa, 226, 248.
Masud Bey, 98, 236.
Masud Dameghani, 651.
Masud, Prince, 17, 21, 228, 250, 265, 270, 313, 316, 318, 326, 334.
Masud Shah, 638, 674, 694.
Masud Sultan, 427, 429.
Masuk Kushji, 320.
Masum, 676.
Maṭlá es Saadin, quoted, 743.
Maulana Rokn ud din Heravi, *v.* Rokn Sain.
Maulana Said Lutfallah, 696.
Mavera un Nehr, 98, 568, 734, 744.

Mayafarkin, 18, 20, 141–2, 157, 224, 328, 598, 666.
—— besieged, 157–9.
—— fall of, 160.
—— locality of, 156.
Mazanderan, 1, 4, 112, 205, 219, 223–4, 234–6, 313, 335–6, 339, 380–1, 585, 660, 646, 702, 722, 724–6, 731.
—— Timur in, 723.
Mazuk Aka, 271.
Mecca, *v.* Mekka.
Medaineh, 669.
Medjd ud din, 581.
Medina, 446.
—— burnt, 115.
Medzoph, Thós. of, quoted, 660–1.
Mehdi, Sultan, 713.
Mehneh, Mubarak, 726.
Mehrin, 96.
Meidan, the, 244.
Meimun, Khalif, 138.
Mej ud din, *v.* Mohar ud din.
Mejd ud din Isa ibn Alhabbab, 448.
Mejd ud din Kakum, 700.
Mejd ud din Kerman, 157.
Mejd ud din Muminan, 334.
Mejd ud din Semeki, 282.
Mejik, Sheikh, 749.
Meka bey, 235.
Mekka, 288, 341, 446, 565, 599, 617, 661.
—— Government of, 572.
—— Kutlugh's pilgrimage to, 602.
—— Nasir's pilgrimage to, 567.
Mekki, Khoja, 725.
Melaidu, *v.* Mulai.
Melik Asraf, 616, 655.
Melkits, 196.
Meluhat, fortress of, 225.
Meluk, Prince, 738.
Meluk, Serbedal, 711.
Melus, 710.
Memna, 6.
Menbej, 244.
Mendeli, 668, 672.
Mendu, 570.
Mendur, 11.
Mengb Baba, 409.
Mengel ugan, *v.* Manglukan.
Mengli, 322.
Mengli Timur Naiman, 725.
Menklemish, 102.
Menshan, 366.
Meragha, 4, 5, 20, 224, 240, 262, 282, 285, 335–6, 397, 403, 407, 422, 451, 536, 565, 616, 639, 642.
—— learning in, 282.
—— observatory at, 138.
Meragha, Lake, 277.
Merahem, 707.
Merak, 484.
Merash, 243, 402, 431.
Merdavij, 108.
Merend, 8, 386, 593, 653.
Merghana, 339.
Merghaul, 232, 235–6, 238.
Merii, 430.
Merj Bargut, 150, 163.
Merj Dibaj, 253.
Merj Rakith, 443.
Merkes, 248.
Merketai, 102.
Mertai, 278, 346.
Meruchak, 100, 234, 374.
Meruset, 709.
Merv, 102, 112, 232, 299, 335, 338, 463, 531, 544.
Merv Shajan, 234.
Mervjuk, *v.* Meruchak.
Mesalek Alabsar, 561.
Meshed, 220, 339, 464, 609, 726, 729, 736.
Meskhes, 267, 270, 284, 424, 587.
Meskhia, 11.
Mesopotamia, 13, 20, 48, 141, 327, 422, 674.
—— famine in, 598.
—— invaded by Ahmed Khan, 667.
—— —— Timur Khan, 666.
Mestofi Said ud din, 321.
Mevakif, the, 618.
Meynard, Barbia, de, 99.
Mezdek, 480.
Mezman, 738.
Mezzat, 445.
Mezzrikah, 121.
Mianeh, 695.
Mianét, 596.
Mianju, 127.
Mibud, 691, 695.
Michael, Emperor, 430.
Midrab, 739.
Migan, 104.
Migh, 374.
Mighan, 195.
Mihrkutlugh, 580.
Mikail, 673.
Miles, quoted, 377.
Milo, 681.
Minaré, 596.
Ming Kishlak, 231.
Mingkutluk, 482.
Mingtur Noyan, 238.
Mingueli, 289.
Minhaj-i-Saraj, quoted, 70, 99, 120, 137, 159, 184, 186, 194.
Minhaj-i-Siraj, read Minhaj-i-saraj, *q.v.*
Minkian, 538.
Minkui, 548.
Mir Eluerd, read Nur Eluerd, *q.v.*
Mir Kermani, 627.
Miran Shah, 136, 589, 663–5, 667, 707, 711, 720, 723–4, 738–9, 744, 747–8.

Mirek, 745.
Mirkhavend, quoted, 464, 588, 650, 718, 726, 736.
Mirkhond, quoted, 4, 204, 413, 697, 734, 757.
Mirza Md. Sultan, 665.
Mirza Rustem, 668.
Mirza Shah, 745.
Mishan, *v.* Migan.
Mishkanat, 204.
Mishkusabad, 481.
Misr, 290.
Misr Khoja, 607.
Missir Malik, 608, 616.
Mizan, *v.* Migan.
Mkargrdzels, 85.
—— genealogy of, 86.
Moaasem Jelal ud din, 483.
Moan, *v.* Mughan.
Moatugun, 231.
Moazzam, Sultan, 7–8.
Moazzam Turan Shah, 146–7.
Mobarek Shah, 231, 611, 658.
Mobariz, 332.
Mobariz ud din Tuzi, 243.
Mobni, 408.
Modanakhé, 423.
Moeiyed, 618.
Moeyidi, 338, 374.
Moghaljin, 393.
Mogit ud din, 23.
Mogoltai, 565.
Mogoltai Ajaji, 436.
Moguith, Prince, 143, 172, 201.
Mohai, 182.
Mohai ud din, 650.
Mohanna, 245, 248, 565.
Mohar ud din, 171.
Mohazzab ud din Ali, 259.
Mohiyeddin Arabi, 384.
Moin ud din, 426, 457.
Moiz ud din Hussein, 622–3, 646, 730, 737, 739.
—— burial place of, 743.
Moiz ud din Jehanghir, 750.
Mojayed ud din Kaimaz, 149.
Mojir ud din ibn Abu Zakr, 163.
Mojir ud din, Kadhi, 94.
Mojma ul Muruj, 438.
Mokhlis ud din Rumi, 428.
Mola Sadr ud din Rebii, career of, 416–17.
Molai, 448, 484.
Molar Noyan, 26, 33.
Molendino, Benefatio de, 83.
Molina, P. de, 349.
Molna Said ud din Tuftazani, 653.
Mongol army, pay of, 473.
—— —— rations of, 97.
—— calendar, 530.
—— —— solar and lunar years rectified, 532–3.
—— camp, a, 625.
Mongol documents, 573–4.
—— form of oath, 229.
—— language, letter from Arghun to Philippe le Bel, in, 350–2.
—— —— vocabulary of in thirteenth century, 88–9.
—— possessions, 1.
—— weapons, 97, 147, 157–8, 447, 472.
Mongols and Christians, 72–5, 77–80, 155.
—— and Ismaelites, 92–3.
—— and Jelal ud din, 9, 10.
—— appearance and characteristics of, 34.
—— defeated by Egyptians, 168–9, 244–5, 253, 273.
—— join Abaka, 245.
—— nomadic life of, 215.
—— plague among, 38.
—— reputed to have dogs' heads, 1.
—— summer camp of, 215.
—— torture monks, 229.
—— trade with Venetians, 631–2.
—— victorious in Aleppo, 267.
Monophysites (or Jacobites), 153.
Montecorvino, John of, 350, 533.
Moor River, 307.
Mopsuetia, *v.* Massissa.
Morghul, 253.
Morier, quoted, 315.
Morshed, Sheikh, 203.
Mosellim, 383.
Mosellimi, 305–6.
Mosheim, quoted, 283.
Mostansir, 12, 178.
Mostassim, 113, 157.
Mostereshed, 179.
Mosul, 20, 59, 119–20, 181–2, 227, 250, 270, 278, 288, 308, 310, 318, 332–4, 369, 373, 396–7, 422, 454, 566, 580, 598, 656, 666–7.
—— Prince of, 12, 13.
Motassem, Sultan, 715–16, 750.
Motêassim, Khalif, 336.
Motenebi quoted, 340.
Mothahher, 581.
Mowahid, read Muayid, *q.v.*
Moyin ud din Md., 259.
Móyin ud din Jervaneh, 206.
Mozaffer, Prince, 18, 19, 430.
Mozaffer alai ud din Ali, 172.
Mozaffer Fakhr ud din Kara Arslan, 220, 686.
Mozaffer Gazi, 17.
Mozaffer ud din, 20, 481–2.
Mozaffer ud din Hajaj Sultan, 234–5.
Mozaffer ud din Md. Shah, 482.
Mrmn, *v.* Merv.
Mthawars, the, 155.
Mthiuleth, 269, 328–30, 422–5.

Mtsuar River, *v.* Kur River.
Mtziré (Giorgi VI), 544.
Mtzkhetha, 110, 141, 329.
Mtzkhetha, 224.
Muayad ud din Md., 114.
Muayid, 161.
Muayid areas, 744.
Muayid Orlat, 720.
Muayid ud din Alkamiyi, 131.
Muayid ud din Aradi, 138.
Muazzain Siraj ud din, Malik, 539.
Mubarek Shah Sinjari, 742.
Mubariz ud din Md., 646, 690, 693–7, 750, 757.
—— character of, 696.
—— conquests of, 695.
Mubariz ud dín Siwar, 469.
Mubariz ud din Turan, 96.
Mubariz ud din ulea ibn Karaman, 469.
Mubasher, 722.
Mughan, 10, 11, 15, 82, 216, 219, 300, 329, 376, 399, 435, 536, 646.
Muhab Shah Khatun, 705.
Muhaddeb Khorasani, 709–10.
Muhammed Aitimur, 728, 732.
Muhammed Aoubehi, Malik, 712.
Muhammed Bahrabady, 718.
Muhammed beg, 610.
Muhammed Bey, 427, 619, 623.
Muhammed Duldai, 553.
Muhammed Habish, 718.
Muhammed Harunî, 415.
Muhammed Herzch, 596.
Muhammed ibn Bashkird Nasiri, 468.
Muhammed Jeyi, 411.
Muhammed Kazghan, 744.
Muhammed Kejeyi, Khoja, 674.
Muhammed Khajeh, 742.
Muhammed Khan, 640–2, 680.
Muhammed Kurchi, Amir, 710.
Muhammed Kushji, 623.
Muhammed Malik, 698, 743, 745.
—— attacks Herat, 748.
Muhammed Mo'ammâiy, 716.
Muhammed Muzaffer, Amir, 655.
Muhammed Na'man, 413.
Muhammed Saru Turkoman, 674.
Muhammed Pelten, 623.
Muhammed Sam, 553–4.
Muhammed Seyar, 562.
Muhammed Shah, 1, 10, 203, 417, 680.
Muhammed Sheikh Haji, 721.
Muhammed Shems ud din, *v.* Hafiz.
Muhammed Sikurji, 373.
Muhammed Sultan, 709, 711–12, 719.
Muhammed Sultan Shah, 708, 744.
Muhammed Zerker, 562.
Muhammedanism, 535.
—— abandoned by Uljaitu, 558–9.
Muhammedanism adopted by Bereke, 193–4.
—— adopted by Ghazan, 384.
—— adopted by Jews, 537.
Muhammedans and Christians, 332–3.
Muharrem, 709.
Muhi ud din ibn Zaki, 149.
Muin, Khoja, 651.
Muiz ud din, 69.
Mujahid, Malik, 174.
Mujahid Saif ud din Ishak, 181.
"*Mujmal Altawarikh*" quoted, 108.
Mukhran, 423.
Muktez, 134.
Muktil, 336.
Mulahids, *v.* Assassins.
Mulai, 336, 338–9, 365–6, 374, 379, 382, 399, 415, 436, 438, 455, 463, 467, 469, 475, 534.
Mulana Sheikh Md., 674.
Mular Noyan, 14.
Multan, 99, 185.
Mumin, 539.
Mumin Aga, 277.
Munia, 316.
Munkereh, 755.
Munik, 139.
Murdistan, 691.
Mureshid, 149.
Murgha, 338.
Murghab, 100, 554, 569.
Murghab River, 722, 740, 745, 748.
Murghsarek, 427.
Murjabad, 367.
Murvan Gurcelel, 189, 195.
Musa Khan, 564, 635, 637–40, 652, 680, 689.
Musa Kurkan, 213, 300.
Musa Shuker, 710.
Musasadeh Beiktuk, 534.
Mush, 647.
Muskeril, *v.* Buscarel.
Mussulmans, 150, 154, 225, 273–4, 300, 318, 570.
—— and Christians, 170.
—— and Georgians, 5.
—— destroy Jacobite Church, 170.
—— massacred by Abaka, 258.
—— raid Cilicia, 275.
—— released by Abaka, 259.
Mustakfi-billah-Abu 'rebi Suliman, 468.
Mustebij, 134.
Mutadhid Billah Abubekr, 695.
Muyin ud din Esfizari, 99.
Muyin ud din Md., 98.
Muzaffar, 693.
—— end of dynasty of, 715.
—— Princes of, submit to Timur, 713.
Muzaffar Shah, 750.
Muzaffar ud din Shébéh, 750

Muzaffarians, genealogy of, 750.
Muzaffer Daud, 686.
Muzaffer Inak made governor of Fars, 623.
Muzaffer ud dir Md., 204.
Muzir ud din Abubekr, 202.
Mygdonius River, *v.* Khabur River.

Naamaniyeh, 408.
Nablus, 163.
Naghai, Bitekji, 325.
Naghuldar, 467.
Nahr Isa, 121.
Nahreljanam River, 673.
Naitan, *v.* Natian.
Najarmagef, 11.
Nakhehivan, 8, 12, 110, 229, 245, 386, 397, 421–2, 543, 642, 659, 675, 699.
—— Christian churches at, 34.
Nakhidur, 399.
Nakidah (now Nigdeh), 250.
Nakir, 431.
Nanan, *v.* Vané.
Nangis, W. de, quoted, 44, 46, 57, 77, 79–80, 281.
Nankirgas, 574.
Naphshi, 225.
Narin, 300.
Narin Ahmed, 360.
Narin Haji, 335.
Narin Su, 438.
Narin Togai, 607, 618, 620–1.
—— executed, 622.
Naseh ud din Persa, 45
Nasir (dervish poet), 627.
Nasir, Khalif, 4, 12.
Nasir, Prince, 145–6, 157, 162–4, 257.
—— death of, 171.
—— government by, 171–2.
Nasir, Sultan, 448–9, 564, 613, 615, 639, 641–2, 646.
—— and Abusaid, 613–7.
—— and Ghazan 459–61, 469–72, 476–8.
Nasir ud din (envoy), 458.
Nasir ud din (of Kuhistan), 102.
Nasir ud din (the astrologer), 106, 108, 119, 127, 137.
—— builds observatory at Meragha, 137–8.
—— cures Abaka, 241.
—— his letter to Malik Nasir Yusuf, 142–3.
—— learning of, 282.
Nasir ud din Abdur Rahim, 108.
Nasir ud din Ahmed, read Nuzrat ud din Ahmed, *q.v.*
Nasir ud din Ali Khoja, 457.
Nasir ud din beg, 749.
Nasir ud din Kaimeri, 166.
Nasir ud din Muhammed, 43, 186, 429–30, 440.
Nasir ud din Md. ibn Alshaikhi, 474.
Nasir ud din Omar, 140, 406.
Nasir ud din Yahya, 446, 560.
Nasir Yusuf, Malik, 142.
Nasr Allah Nejm ud din, *v.* Ali Muayid.
Nasr ud din, 570.
Nasr ud din Satilmish, 403.
Nasr ud din Tusi, 103.
Nasr Ulla, 726, 736.
Nasret, Malik, 359.
Nathila, 330.
Natian, 306.
Naushehr, 638.
Navaretto, M. F. de, 577.
Navur Ferhan, 463.
Naxua, 82.
Naz Khatun, 604.
Nedjm, 148.
Negroponti, 367.
Nehavend, 565, 661, 667, 755.
Nejas, 510.
Nejb ud din, 337, 341.
Nejd, 565.
Nejib el devlah, 562.
Nejib ud din, 656.
Nejimet, 431.
Nejm ud din, 240, 358, 435, 467, 480, 566.
Nejm ud din Abubekr, 592.
Nejm ud din Asfer, 297.
Nejm ud din Denran Kazvini, 138.
Nejm ud din Ibn Abu Jafar Ahmed Amran, 131.
Nejm ud din Ishak, 615.
Nejm ud din Serkub, 282.
Nekatuilak, *v.* Ezran.
Nemekzar, 661.
Nerjis, 86.
Nerkilka, 119.
Nervbirun, 394.
Nesséfi, Molla, 546.
Nestor, 355.
Nestorian Church destroyed, 396.
—— patriarchs, jurisdiction of, 154.
—— —— fix residence at Ashnu, 247.
Nestorians, 245–6.
—— religion of, 153.
Ney, 238.
Nicaea, 87.
Nicholas, the Catholicos, 269, 297.
Nicholas III, Pope, 281.
Nicholas IV, Pope, 348.
Nicolo, 347.
Nicoloz, 110.
Nicophsia, 330.
Nicosia, 77, 83.
Nigal, valley of, 231, 424.
Nigdui, 613.
Nigdur, *v.* Nigdui.

Nigudar, or Takudar, son of Hulagu, 96, 104, 195, 229, 239–42, 374.
—— and Borak, negotiations between, 230.
—— banished to Irak, 240.
—— defeated by Shiramun, 231.
Nigudarians, 265, 319, 414, 544, 693, 730.
—— identified with Karaunas, 389.
Nigudars, *v.* Nigudarians.
Nikbei Oghul, 231.
Niknuruz, 610.
Nikpei, 221, 336, 552.
Nikruz, 721.
Nimruz, *v.* Herat.
Nineveh, 19.
Nisa, 718.
Nisam ud din, 282, 358, 463, 482, 627.
Nisam ud din Abubekr, 319.
Nisam ud din Ghafiri, 652.
Nisam ud din Hasan, 483.
Nisam ud din Khoja, 289.
Nisam ud din Yahya, 337, 336.
Nishapur, 9, 234–5, 300, 336, 339, 414, 545, 718, 720, 729–30, 743, 745, 737.
—— captured by Ghiath ud din, 737, 743.
Nisibim, 20, 145, 435.
Nissa, 722.
Nissa, Muhammed of, 12, 93–4.
Nissavi, quoted, 6–8, 16–17, 94.
Nizam ud din, 559, 746.
Nizam ud din abd ul Malik, 558.
Nizam ud din Hasuieh, 205.
Nizam ud din Mahmud, 204.
Nogai, 197, 223, 321, 404, 423, 555.
—— defeated by Arghun, 322.
Nokai, 301–2.
Nokhshi, 325.
Noravank, 346, 422.
—— monastery of, 355.
Novairi quoted, 16, 172, 244, 246, 259, 276–7, 363, 429, 438, 443, 455, 458, 466, 566, 595–6.
Noyan, note on meaning of, 152.
Noyan Ilka, 173.
Nozhat alkolub quoted, 161.
Nu-Padishah, 541.
Nubenjian, 713.
Nukajiyeh, 310.
Nukdan, 278, 479.
Nukha, *v.* Nogai.
Nukhakuun, 195.
Nun, 92.
Nunan Shah, 708.
Nur al Ward, 753.
Nur Eluerd, 673.
Nur Mulk Berlas, 708.
Nur ud din Abd ur Rahman Ezferain, 276, 569, 662.
Nur ud din Arslan Shah, 139.
Nur ud din Khasnaji, 258.
Nur ud din, Sheikh, 671.
Nur ul Hak wa ud din, 19.
Nurin, 380–2, 408–9, 435.
Nurin Aka, 337, 380, 405, 463.
Nurin, Amir, 338.
Nurinaga, 320.
Nuruz, 303, 313, 316, 335–7, 340, 365–6, 374–5, 378–82, 385–8, 396–402, 405–6, 478, 547, 608, 610, 617, 693, 742.
—— and Fakhr ud din, 412.
—— and Ghazan, 337–9.
—— death of, 413.
—— erects pillar to commemorate Ghazan's conversion to Islam, 384.
—— family of executed, 409.
—— greatly feared, 339.
—— intrigues against, 408.
—— persecutes Christians, 421.
Nushirvan, 100, 144.
Nushirvan Borlas, 675.
Nusrat ud din Ahmed, 751.
Nusret ud din Ibrahim, 205.
Nusret ud din Pir Ahmed, 483.
Nusret ud din Yahia 750.
Nussal, 15, 39–40.
Nuvinsadeh Hassan, 568.
Nuyir, 667, 669.
Nuzhetol Kolub, 626.
Nuzrat ud din Ahmed, 407.
Nuzret ud din, 606.
Nymphius River (Golden River), 156.
Nymphœa, 184.

Oath taken by drinking water mingled with gold, 267.
Odoric, Friar, 628–30.
—— quoted, 91.
Oghlan Khatun, 638.
Oghlubeg, 203.
Oghul, 400.
Ogota, 15.
Ogotai Khan, 10, 14, 20, 31, 34, 39, 40, 202, 316, 364, 680.
—— and Jagatai, strife between houses of, 538.
Ogul Beg, *v.* Oghlubeg.
—— Gamish, 79.
—— Kandi, 586.
Okbakhshi, 395.
Okrunj, *v.* Ekrenj.
Oladai, 301.
Oladu, 405.
Oljai Khatun, 96–7, 130, 212, 218, 224, 262, 278, 285, 312, 319, 325–6, 580.
Oljai Kutlugh, 479, 486, 626.
—— birth of, 408.
Oljai Timur, 346.

Oljaitai, 362.
Oljaitu, 329–30, 346, 404.
Oljath, 423, 425–6.
Oljitai, 561.
Omar Abbas, 660, 723.
—— Behadur, 725.
—— Khalif, 270.
—— II, Khalif, 170.
—— Kipchak, 659.
—— Mirza, 674.
—— Shah, 415, 703–4.
—— Sheikh, 711, 713, 715, 720, 722, 755.
Omdat Altalib, 562.
Ommiades, Mosque of the, 428, 441.
Onk Khan, *v.* Wang Khan.
Opiza, story concerning hermitage of, 230.
Ord, *v.* Aradh.
Ordai Ghazan, 335.
Ordu Kazan, 538–9.
—— Khan, 344.
Ordukaya, 275.
Ordukia, 285, 320, 323, 331–3, 341–2
Orghana, *v.* Irghana.
Orkhan, 18, 20.
Orodn, 65.
Oroktu, *v.* Arkatu.
Orpelian, Stephen, quoted, 15, 63, 65, 198, 300, 343, 357, 378, 397–8, 400, 422–3.
Orpelians, 11, 87.
Ortok, 650.
Ortokids, 162, 750.
Osdan, 660–1.
Oshin, 557, 602, 604, 682.
Oshmiah, 136.
Osman Abbas, 664.
—— Amir, 712, 714.
—— beg, 749.
—— Behadur, 664.
—— Khalif, 274.
—— Moti, 628.
Osses, 11.
Ossetes, 542, 587.
Ossethi, 433.
Ostai, 484.
Ostia, Archbp. of, 352.
Othaka, *v.* Toktogu.
Othman, 579.
Ottomans, 220.
Otuz, 9, 17–18.
Ouseley quoted, 418.
Oweis, Karni, pilgrimage to tomb of, 676.
—— Khan, Sultan, 679–80, 696–8, 719.
Oxus River, 1, 9, 10, 228–9, 232, 238, 251, 550, 569, 744.

Pachymeres quoted, 1, 487, 535.
Padishah Khatun, 220, 241, 278, 359, 364, 377, 417, 542.
Paizah, golden, 560.
Palaeologus, Maria, 223.
Palaeologus, Michael, 87, 184, 223, 231, 279–80.
Palestine, crusaders in, attacked by Egyptians, 225.
Pallas, quoted, 152.
Palmyra, 172.
Panj Angusht, 117.
Pantocrator, convent of, 223.
Papa, 265.
Papertum, *v.* Baiburt.
Parcecht, Saint, sacrilege at tomb of, 6.
Paris, M., quoted, 76.
Parma, Anthony of, 281.
Pasblank, 258.
Pashnan, 741.
Pashtin, *v.* Bashtin.
Patila, 712.
Paximiatus, monastery of, 249.
Pegollotti quoted, 630.
Pehluvan Ali Shah Mezinani, 702.
Pehluvan Mehdi, 745.
Pehluvan Yar Ahmed, 415.
Pehluvans, 13.
Peloponnesus, 223.
Penchdeh *v.* Yendi.
Penj Angusht, plain of, 691.
Perek, *v.* Pir Padishah.
Perkri, 17.
Perpignan, 279.
Persepolis, 481.
Persia, dues on merchandise in, 630–1.
—— literary culture in under Ghazan, 487.
—— trades with Venetians, 657.
Persian Empire, prosperous under Shems ud din Md., 220–1.
Persig, 227.
Pesheng, 703, 753.
Phakradaula I, 87.
Phanawar, 239.
Pharadaula, 45.
Pharejan, 345.
Phariman, 567.
Pharwana, *v.* Phariman.
Phentukhtar, 174.
Phijutha, 230.
Philadelphia, 48, 487.
Philip III (King of France), 280.
Phkhoels, 111.
Pigeon-post from Biret to Aleppo, 432.
—— from Katia to Cairo, 474.
—— news of Mussulman victory brought to Damascus by, 274.
—— used in Timur's campaign, 663
Pilarghu, *v.* Barlogi.
Pileh, 42.
Pilsuvar, 321–2, 376, 405, 462.
Pir Ali Baduk, 658–9.

Pir Ali Barik, 701–2.
Pir Haji Kukeltash, 675.
Pir Hussein, Amir, 638, 642, 644, 648, 690, 694, 744.
Pir Muhammed, 672, 675, 711, 744, 746, 749, 755.
Pir Padishah, 724–6, 738-9.
Pir Sultan, 636.
Pir Yakub, 480.
Pishabur, 327.
Pishkaleh, 484.
Poictiers, 556.
Poole, quoted, 214, 283, 310, 377, 486, 646, 650, 653, 657, 659, 718.
Pora Noyan, 190.
Portents—
Auguries by shoúlder-blades of sheep and horses' teeth, 237, 493.
Comet presaging Khulagu's death, 208.
Conjunction of stars, 362, 393,450.
Divine displeasure at Mongol cruelties shown, 33.
Dream of Sadr ud din, 403–4.
Flights of locusts presage defeat, 437.
Geomancer consulted, 548.
Lance-shaped comet, 423.
Luminous cross, 64.
Omens of death, 276.
—— of prosperous reign for Abu-said, 585.
Omens of victory, 301.
Sack of town presaged, 21.
Potion for securing long life, 341.
Prato, Gerhard of, 281.
Premonstantensians, 556.
Ptolemais, 353.
Ptolemy, 138.
Pul Enjil, 716.
Pulad Aka, 492.
Pulad Chingsáng, 318, 370, 382, 464, 535–7, 540.
Pulad Kaya, 540.
Pulad Kia, 599.
Pulatamur, 297.
Puleh Malan, 554.
Puli Khosrau, 399.
Purbeha Jami, 282.
Pushenk, 100, 238, 366, 416, 569, 745.
Pytamus, 248.

Quatremere quoted, 95–8, 101–5, 107–9, 114, 116–17, 119, 121–2, 127, 130–3, 136–40, 144–5, 147–9, 161–2, 165–71, 173, 181–2, 185, 151–3, 156, 192, 197–9, 200, 202, 204–6, 208–16, 237, 241, 292, 311, 343, 356, 398, 444, 452, 457, 535, 537, 561, 563–4, 589, 590, 658, 659.

Raba Rashidi, 453, 636.
Rabah, 667.
Radegan, 235, 585.
Radekan, 102, 269.
Radikan, 336, 722.
Radkian, 337–8, 378, 405.
Rahaba, 205.
Rahbah, 172, 178.
Rahbat, 466–7.
Rahbet, 246, 267, 273-4, 565–6.
—— siege of, 566–7.
Rahbeth, 401.
Ráhin, 707.
Rai, 3, 8, 9, 15, 60, 93, 241, 297, 302, 313, 386, 410, 590, 622, 659, 707, 710, 719.
Raigan, *v.* Radkian.
Raja, 242.
Rakka, 13, 455.
Ram Hormuz, 675, 711, 754.
Ramadhan Akhtaji, 702.
Ramazan, 150, 296, 484, 534.
Ramusio quoted, 347.
Ran, *v.* Arran.
Ra'nan, *v.* Roban.
Rashid ud daulat, 369.
Rashid ud din, 539, 541.
—— quoted, 8, 14, 137, 153, 158, 220, 223, 234, 271–2, 277, 285, 287, 307, 343–4, 387, 392, 398, 426–7, 466, 487, 490, 493, 536–7, 569.
—— alleged a Jew, 589.
—— and Ali Shah, jealousy betwcen, 571-2, 587.
—— executed, 588–9.
—— his books transcribed, 561.
—— plot against, 562.
Rashidia, the, 589.
Rasiq ud din Bela, 282.
Rasol Ghul, *v.* Hosnkeif.
Rastak, 282.
Rat, 304.
Rat Beqashurli, 322.
Raverty, Major, quoted, 14, 18, 19, 37, 43, 97–8, 135, 151.
Raynald, Odoric, 210.
—— quoted, 612.
Razi Khoja, 661.
Razi ud din, 724.
Rebiiol-Kolub, 555.
Rees Ain, *v.* Reisolain.
Reis Kutlugh, 415.
Reisolain, 13, 67, 249, 433, 434.
Remusat quoted, 278–81, 350–3, 488–9, 575, 577, 579.
Resania, *v.* Reisolain.
Resht, 540.
Rieu, Dr. quoted, 750, 754, 756.
Riza, Imaum, 315.
Roban, fortress of, 227.
Robat Moslim, *v.* Mosellim.
Roha, *v.* Edessa.

Rokh, Shah, 712.
Rokn Sain, 696.
Rokn ud din, 1–2, 12, 36, 68, 101, 139–40, 183–4, 201, 249, 251–2, 363, 410–1, 415, 627, 689, 750.
—— and Khulagu, 102–5.
—— death of, 364.
Rokn ud din Abubekr, 99, 750.
Rokn ud din Bibars, *v.* Bibars.
Rokn ud din Khurshah, 95.
Rokn ud din Kilij Arslan, 259, 686.
Rokn ud din Mankuris, 311.
Rokn ud din Said Khoja, 707.
Rokn ud din Simnani, *v.* Ruknud din Alai ud daulat Semnany.
Roman, 255.
Rome, 348, 556.
Rostan, Malik, 543.
Rostan, Prince, 542.
Rubruquis quoted, 80, 82.
—— travels of, 83.
Rudbar, 91, 96, 106.
Rudolfo Pietro, 632.
Rug, 243.
Rugeth Mt., 239.
Rughi, 721.
Ruj, 431.
Rukn ud din, 737.
Rukn ud din Alai ud daulat Semnany, 728.
Rukn ud din Mahmud, 418.
Rum, 13, 17, 43, 53, 59, 68–9, 97, 119, 183, 206–7, 219, 220, 225–6, 242, 244–5, 249, 252, 254–5, 258, 260, 271, 298–9, 313, 332, 336, 361, 378, 381, 384, 422, 556, 571, 597, 601, 613, 623, 637, 639–40, 646, 689, 697.
—— and Egypt, 252.
—— and Karamanians, 613–15.
—— disintegration of, 429.
—— divided into four prefectures, 427.
—— government of refused by Armenian king, 260.
—— literary men of, 282.
—— Mongols in, 44–8.
—— poets in, 282.
—— rebellion in, 405.
—— revolt of, 567.
—— towns in rebuilt by Abaka, 260.
Rumeitha, 617.
Rumkalaa, Simon of, 325.
Rupen the Great, 681.
Rupen II, 681.
Rupen III, 681.
Rustem, 169, 568, 653.
Rustem Shah, 756.
Rustemdar, 723, 726, 731.
Rusudan, Queen, 5, 6, 11, 23–5, 32–3, 49–51, 297, 330, 683.
—— plots against Prince David, 53–4
Ruzukan, 190.
Rymer quoted, 280.

Saadi, 282, 715.
Sab, 464.
Sabadin Arkhaun, 348.
Sabuktigin, 175.
Sacarh, 86.
Sacrifice of camel, 709.
Sacureth, *v.* Scoreth.
Sada daula, 344.
Sadagun, *v.* Samdaghu.
Sadakbeg, 483.
Sadak Terkhan, 435.
Sadet, 711–12.
Sadr Jihan, 340, 368–9, 403.
Sadr ud din, 106, 220, 241, 261, 268, 282, 302, 358, 361, 368, 386, 484, 521, 605.
Sadr ud din Chaoyi, 384–5, 497.
—— corrupt administration of taxation by, 502–3.
Sadr ud din Ibrahim, 384.
Sadr ud din, Khoja, 417, 482.
Sadr ud din Malik, 181, 206.
Sadr ud din Zenjani, 323, 395, 399, 409, 426–7, 480.
Sadren, 220.
Sadun, Prince, 160, 268–9, 277.
Sadun Mankaberdel, 193, 242.
—— wrestles at Khulagu's court, 187–8.
Safad, 225, 272, 432, 450.
Safed, *see above*.
Safi ud din Abd ul Mumin al Urmevi, 221–2, 283.
Safi ud din Ardebil, 537.
Safiyeh, 627.
Sagam, *v.* Sékan.
Sagaruni, 267.
Sahensa, *v.* Shahan Shah.
Sahir ud din Ibn Hush, 258.
Sahra i Mush, 160.
Sahuin, 268.
Sai Muzaffer Shashi, 707.
Said, Atabeg, 2.
Said Behai Jami, 627.
Said Kutb ud din, 457.
Said, Malik, 162, 168.
Said, Prince, 146, 167 174–5.
Said Nejm ud din Ghazi, 686.
Said ud Daulat (The Jew), 313, 341–2.
—— appoints governors of dependent provinces, 332.
—— power of, 333.
—— wishes Arghun to found new religion, 340–1.
Said ud Devlet, *see above*.
Said ud din, 259, 287, 323, 445, 466, 480–1, 538.
Said ud din (of Saveh), 427.
Said ud din Habesh, 379.

Said ud din Sanji, 560, 605.
Said Weji ud din, 534.
Saida, 275.
Saidabad, 707.
Saif ud din (vizier), 100–2.
Saif ud din Arkali, 157.
Saif ud din Hasan, 43.
Saif ud din Kalavun, 225.
Saif ud din Nazrat, 418.
Saifandkar, 450.
Saighan, 366.
Sain, 318, 405.
Sain ud din Museri, 560.
St. Agatha, John of, 281.
St. Denis, 281.
St. Gregory, cross of, 388.
St. John, Knights of, 167.
St. John the Baptist, story of shrine of, 230.
St. Louis, 77–83, 165, 180.
St. Martin, quoted, 250, 269, 357.
St. Michael's monastery, 247.
St. Thaddeus, monastery of destroyed, 397.
Sajur, 252.
Sakha, Thorel, 239.
Sakhaber, 242.
Sakhaltu, 207.
Saki Begum, *v.* Satibeg.
Sakia munim, Sakyamuni, 211.
—— (statues of Buddha) worshipped, 113.
Sakkai quoted, 588.
Saladin, *see* Salah ud din.
Salah, 271.
Salah ud din, 699.
Salahiyet, 163, 167, 172–3.
Salamish, 213.
Salamiyet, 146, 273, 432, 436–7.
Salar, 433, 438–9, 469–70, 472–3, 564.
Salasalar, 376.
Salcon, Nicholas, 556.
Salem, 709.
Salgar, 3.
Salarid dynasty, 3.
—— end of, 204, 320, 687.
Salghan Khatun, 108.
Salghur, Shah, 3, 358, 756.
Salghurabad, 756.
Sali, 184, 723, 728.
Sali Noyan, 99–100.
Salih, 139, 143, 182, 362.
Salih Ibn Julun, 665.
Salih, Malik, 171.
Salih Mahmud, 686.
Salih Nur ud din Ismael, 164.
Salih, Prince, 274.
Salih Sultan, 174, 266, 268, 274.
Salihiyans, 433.
Salihiyat, 444–5, 449–50, 459.
Salmas, 677.
Salomon, 249.
Salt, mountain of near Tebriz, 629.
Salt (town of), 163.
Samadaula, 422.
Samag, *v.* Shamakhi.
Samaghar, 237–9, 242–3, 272, 308, 359.
Samarkand, 98, 216, 227, 232, 665, 673, 709, 714; 720, 747–8.
Samatkam, 337.
Sambad, *v.* Sempad.
Samdaghu, 181–2, 308–9.
Samdzimar, 239.
Samsan ud din Mahmud, 407.
Samshwildé, 426, 543.
Samsun, 259, 580.
Samtzkhé, 7, 52, 189–90, 269, 330, 424, 426.
Sanasun, *v.* Sasun.
Sanek, 204.
Sanga, 680.
Sanik, 481.
Sanjar, 363, 402, 667.
Saphda, 314.
Sapor Julektaf, 711.
Saracens, 489.
Saraj ud din Omar Harun, 413.
Sarakhana, 489.
Sarakhs, 112, 338, 374, 463, 544, 551, 722, 742–5.
Sarban, 231, 538.
Sared, 20.
Sargis, 46, 48, 188, 191, 197–8, 206, 230, 362.
Sargis, Bishop, 223.
Sargis, General, 425.
Sargis Jakel, 188–9, 224, 242, 260, 269.
Sargis Thmogwel, 196.
Sargis Thmogwi, 52–3.
Sargu, 192–3.
Sari, *v.* Sali.
Sari Kemash, 610.
Sarijé, Prince, 535.
Sarik Adil, 701–3.
Sarik Etekeh, 744, 747.
Sarik Kamish, 707.
Sarik Omar hirad, 673.
Sarkhad, 430.
Sarmak, 702.
Saron, 354.
Sarrakhs, *see* Sarakhs.
Sartakht, 102.
Saruj, 145.
Sassanians, 481.
Sasun, 160.
Sati, 400, 593.
Satibeg Khan, 580, 598, 610, 635, 642–6, 680.
—— coins of, 645.
Satilmish, 336, 365, 367, 374, 400, 408, 438, 456.
Saulcy, De, quoted, 377, 628.
Sava, 315, 484.

Savah, 730.
Saveh, 610.
Sawa, 300.
Saweh, 580.
Scam [Sham], *v.* Syria.
Schiefner quoted, 87, 89, 355.
Schindler, Genl. quoted, 706–7.
Schmidt quoted, 283, 350.
Scoreth, 330.
Sdéphané, 681.
Seba, *v.* Bahai ud din.
Sebaste, 83, 489.
Sebtani, 660.
Sebzevar, 234, 338, 711, 720, 722, 724, 730, 734, 737–8, 743.
—— religious strife in, 728–30.
Segzi, 230.
Segzi-Badur, 239.
Seh-Chah, 698.
Sehend Mts., 475, 649.
Sehir ud din, 732.
Sehyun, 347.
Sehkünbed, 406.
Seif ud daulat ibn Hamdan, 144.
Seif ud din Aehaj Behadur Halebi, 401.
Seif ud din, Amir, 707, 748.
Seif ud din Asan Timur, 431.
Seif ud din Beg Timur, 432, 469.
Seif ud din Bilban Azzeini, 250.
Seif ud din el Malik, 614.
Seif ud din Jenderbek, 252.
Seif ud din Kerai, 457.
Seif ud din Khalid, 446.
Seif ud din Tenker, 570.
Seif ud din Yusuf, 318–9.
Seifi Heravi, 416.
Seinol Aabidin, 749.
Seistan, 100, 234, 265, 411, 414, 435, 693, 722, 726.
Sejas Mt., 320.
Sékan, 112.
Sekman Abad, 14.
Selasun, 568.
Selencia, 283.
Selim I, Sultan, 179.
Seljuk, 346, 394–5.
Seljuk, Amir, 699.
Seljuk Shah, 202–3, 205, 482.
Seljuks, 20, 253–4, 278, 429.
—— genealogy of, 686.
Selman Saveji, 627, 636, 648, 657.
Semaghar, *v.* Temagu.
Semendu, 254.
Semnan, 302, 394, 410, 719, 728, 734, 738.
Sempad, 61–5, 87, 247, 249, 346, 402, 430, 440.
Sempad, Prince, 677.
Sempad, King, 682.
Semsat, 245.
Sengkinder, 728.
Serab, 305, 318.
Serai, 301.
Serai Mulk Khanum, 704.
Seraj ud din Kumri, 627.
Serbedarians, 717–19, 724, 726–39.
—— origin of, 727.
Serdkesh, 565.
Serfenkiar, 431.
Serguseshti Sidina, 107.
Serirs, 11.
Sermak, 709.
Serser, 663.
Sertak, 62, 83, 301, 377.
Serund, Fortress of, 225.
Sevend Kutluk Agha, 744.
Sevinj, 534–6, 541, 566, 568, 585–6, 588.
Sevinjbeg, 65.
Sevinjik, 668.
Sevinjik Behadur, 722.
Sghur, *v.* Shems ud din Sonkor el Ashkar.
Shabur, 481.
Shaburan, 322.
Shaburghan, 234, 339.
Shadi, 326, 336, 386.
Shadi Akhtaji, *v.* Shashi Akhtaji.
Shadi Gurkan, 379–80, 400.
Shafi, 179.
Shafiyi Sect, 558.
Shah Alam Khatun, 365.
Shah Ismail, 551, 554.
Shah Jihan Timur Khan, 537, 645–6, 680.
Shah Mahmud, 679.
Shah Muhammed, 569, 679.
Shah Nameh quoted, 118.
Shah Rokh, 670, 677–8, 724, 726, 738.
Shah Sefi, bewitched, 535.
Shah Shuja, 659.
Shah Sultan, 507, 750.
Shah Walad, 678–9.
Shahaalem, 534.
Shahan Shah, 28, 30–1, 52–4, 82–3, 86, 103–5, 157, 189, 190, 230, 242, 313, 362, 424.
Shahdiz, 105.
Shahi Lake, *v.* Urmia Lake.
Shahinshah Mkhragrdzel, 424.
Shahmasp, 144.
Shahnah, note on, 152.
Shahrud, 91.
Shahu Is., 209.
Shaizar, 267, 444.
Shajrat ul Atrak quoted, 250, 252, 276, 285, 301–2, 305, 307, 317, 322, 344, 357, 377, 381–2, 384, 386, 389, 404, 559, 642, 645–9, 651, 653, 659, 717.
Shakhab, 469.
Shakif, 225.
Shalwa, 5–6, 544.
Sham, 625.

Sham Ghazan, 485, 531.
Shamagar, *v.* Samaghar.
Shamaghar, 162; 405.
Shamakhi, 82, 197, 322.
Shaman rule practised by Mussulmans, 464.
Shamans, 558.
—— consult burnt shoulder-blades of sheep, 341.
Shamkor, 12, 85.
Shamlagan, 722.
Shampandin, 207.
Shamsan, 721.
Shams ud din Altamush Sultan, 2.
Shamshuildé, 29.
Shankyan, 338.
Sharf ud din Mahmud Inju, 688.
Sharil (supposed ossified heart of a saint), 321.
Shashi Akhtaji, 299.
Shasman, 719.
Shasuman, 722.
Shaval, 723.
Shebankareh, 690.
—— note on, 757.
Shebankiareh, 203, 378, 408.
Shebankiars, 204.
Shebankyarehs, dynasty of, 482.
Shébéli, Sultan, 701–2, 714.
Shebertu, 726.
Shegghan, *v.* Shekkan.
Shehab ud din Zengani, 127.
Sheharzur Mts., 375–6.
Sheherek, 106.
Sheherzur, 50.
Shehr i Sebz, 746.
Shehraban, 408.
Sheibawaji, Amir, 455.
Sheikh Ali, 622, 657.
Sheikh Arslan, 664.
Sheikh Hassan, 637–8, 642–6, 648, 651.
—— accused of plot against Abu said, 623.
—— and Hassan Kuchuk, 647.
—— death of, 648.
—— made governor of Rum, 623.
Sheikh Hassan Kuchuk, 616, 641.
Sheikh Mahmud, 617.
Sheikh Maksud, 673.
Sheikh ul Jibal (old Man of the Mountain), 90.
Shekendian, 236.
Shekkan, Fort of, 735–6.
Shelaun, 135.
Shem, *v.* Shenb.
Shemali, 618.
Shemam, 182.
Shemasan, *v.* Shasman.
Shems, *v.* Shenb.
Shems ud daulat, 332, 341.
Shems ud din, 44, 50, 58, 92, 95, 99, 100, 134–5, 262, 276, 282, 285, 297–8, 300–2, 312, 314–16, 622–3.
Shems ud din and Khulagu, 135.
—— finance under, 286–9.
—— put to death, 317.
—— sons of, executed, 317.
Shems ud din Albarli, 172.
Shems ud din Ali, 726, 732–4.
Shems ud din Alp Arghun, 140, 357.
Shems ud din Alp Arslan, read Shems ud din Alp Arghun, *q.v.*
Shems ud din Behadur, 245–6.
Shems ud din Fadl Allah, 733.
Shems ud din Hussain, 562.
Shems ud din Ibn Yunus, 182.
Shems ud din Juveni, 258.
Shems ud din Kalyuni, 41.
Shems ud din Kara Sonkor, 556.
Shems ud din Kert, 101, 134, 232, 234, 250, 282, 366.
Shems ud din, Majd ul Mulk, intrigues against, 261–3.
Shems ud din Malik, 750.
Shems ud din Muhammed, 202, 219–20, 255, 308–9, 314, 364, 464, 599.
—— has canal made from Euphrates to Meshed, 220–1.
Shems ud din Md. Zakaria, 637–8, 645, 659.
Shems ud din Omar Shah Khonduri, 569.
Shems ud din Pésheng, 702.
Shems ud din Sallar, 256.
Shems ud din Sonkor el Ashkar, 174, 227.
Shems ud din Uj Kara, 725.
Shemsiyet, 618.
Shenb, 344, 421.
—— observatory of, 494.
Shenb Ghazan, *v.* Sham Ghazan.
Shenob Gazani, 661.
Shepshemal, 672.
Sherbaweji, *v.* Sianji.
Sherek i nau, *v.* valayed.
Shereknev, 367.
Sherif Tebrizi, 199.
Sherif ud daula Gustehem, 731.
Sherif ud daulet, 540.
Sherif ud din [Ali Yazdi], 39, 60, 93, 100, 137, 427, 540, 651, quoted, 660–2, 667–8, 673–4, 684–5, 691, 708–14, 719–22, 728, 740–55.
Sherif ud din (grand Judge of Fars), believed to be the Madhi, 203.
Sherif ud din Ahmed ibn Bilas, 119.
Sherif ud din Bbiti, 309.
Sherif ud din ibn Duzy, 116.
Sherif ud din Issa ibn Mohanna, 172, 245, 248, 253.
Sherif ud din Jelali, 134.
Sherif ud din Mahmud Shah Inju, 635

Sherif ud din Masud Ibn Alkhatir, 250.
Sherif ud din Meraghi, 127.
Sherif ud din Mozaffar, Shah, 694.
Sherif ud din Musa, 752.
Sherif ud din Saadan, 484.
Sherif ud din, Seyid, 323.
Sherif ud din Sheikh es Shoiush, 172.
Sherif ud din Yasa, 599.
Sherif ul Mulk, 7, 8, 11, 13, 92–3.
Sherubaz, 234.
Sheruyaz, *v.* Sultania.
Shervan, 668.
Shevkian, 338, 378.
Shias, 114, 127, 203, 558–9.
—— doctrines of encouraged by Ali Muayid, 743.
—— self-declared Messiah of, 555.
Shibly Jany-Kurbany, 718.
Shiburgan Shireh, 610, 642.
Shiburghan, 42, 101, 251, 375, 617, 620, 647, 649, 650, 717, 739, 742, 744.
Shidaghu, *v.* Samdaghu.
Shidun, 409.
Shifateh, 565.
Shigra, 20.
Shihab ud din Elias, 407.
Shihab ud din Fazlullah, 726.
Shihab ud din Ibn Abu Shamah, 159.
Shihab ud din Ibn Amru, 147.
Shihab ud din Jam, 415.
Shihab ud din Karttai, 602.
Shihab ud din Mubarek Shah, 484, 560.
Shihab ud din Suhrwerdi, 627.
Shiktur, *v.* Singtur.
Shindara, 189.
Shipar, *v.* Siba.
Shipauchi, 423.
Shir Ali, 725.
Shiramun, 197, 219, 230, 238–42, 269.
Shiraz, 3, 203, 265, 282, 289, 290, 319, 324, 341, 358, 378, 380, 408, 451, 453, 481, 580, 648, 690, 699, 710, 711.
—— besieged by Shah Mahmud, 697.
—— buildings of, 687, 692.
—— captured by Timur, 708–9, 713.
—— Hafiz buried in Mosalla of, 716.
—— ruled by Jemal ud din.
—— wall of, 532, 539.
Shirgai quoted, 641.
Shirin Ikaji, 339.
Shirin Khatun, 549–50.
Shirkebut, 15.
Shirkhan, 417.
Shirkuh, 95.
Shiruyei-Talish, 541.
Shirvan, 5, 60, 101, 219–20, 224, 297, 380, 461, 651.
Shishi Bakhshi, 285.
Shnorhavor, 206.
Shoglaa, 431.
Shogr, 175, 267–8, 327.
Shotha-Kupri, 54.
Shubek, 164.
Shuja ed din Hasan Sarabani, 96.
Shujaa Shah, 699, 709, 737, 750, 753.
—— character and attainments of, 704.
—— death of, 704.
—— dislikes Hafiz, 705–6.
Shuja ud din, 2, 646.
Shuja ud din Fazl, 599.
Shuja ud din Mahmud, 754.
Shulistan, 691, 703.
Shuls, 240, 713.
Shurukan Kendeh, 711.
Shushen, *v.* Dopu.
Shuster, 4, 358, 658, 675, 701–3, 708, 711, 752, 754.
Shutur kiuh, 338, 366.
Si shi ki quoted, 130–1.
Siah Kuh (Black Mts.), 136, 223, 225, 286, 306, 378, 382.
Siauji, 213, 680.
Siba, 223–4, 241.
Sibuchi, *v.* Sipauchi.
Sichuarseam, *v.* Oweis Khan.
Sicily, 279.
Sicily, Joan of, 602.
Sidak, read Susak, *q.v.*
Sidi Abulwefa, 464.
Sidon, 164, 362.
Sigistan, read Sijistan or Seistan, *q.v.*
Sihiun, 267, 274.
Sihun River, 255.
Sijas, 386.
Sijas Mt., 344.
Sijektu, 232.
Sijilol-ervah, 384.
Sikadur, *v.* Samaghar.
Sikh ul Hadid, Fortress of, 227.
Siktur, 325, 333, 360.
Siktur Noyan, 322.
Silmas, 136.
Simeon (Bar Kaliq), 283.
Simon de St. Quentin Friar, 72.
Simnan, 609.
Sind, 70, 99.
Sind-Surakh, 15.
Singtur, 144, 218, 285, 306–7, 312, 357, 359, 361, 368, 370.
Singtur Noyan, 151, 286, 289.
Sinjan Mt., 452.
Sinjar, 267, 271, 274, 466, 565, 598, 667, 756.
Sinjar el Chomakdar, 614.
Sinjar Es Shujayi, 429.
Sinjars, 730.

Sinkian, 680.
Sinope, 259.
Sinric, King, *v.* Sacarh.
Sipah Salar, 106.
Sipauchi, 325, 422, 425, 472, 540, 542–3.
Sipid rud, 380, 382, 386, 541.
Sirchol, *v.* Buscarel.
Sirgherans, *v.* Kubechi.
Sirjan, 707, 709, 713–14.
Sirmon, *v.* Shiramun.
Siro, Nicholas de Sancto, 83.,
Sirustan, 335.
Sis, 226, 248–9, 311, 363, 428, 431, 557, 602.
Sishi Bakshi, 297, 304.
Sisian, 112.
Sitai Kutlugh, 568.
Sitai Oghul, 96, 98, 101.
Sitiens, 72.
Sitilmish, Prince, 741–2.
Siukshah, 617.
Siunia, 85, 397, 660.
Siurghatmish, *v.* Siyurghatmish.
Siurkukteni, 64.
Sivas, 13, 228, 243, 255, 258, 428, 557, 639, 672, 749.
Siyuk Shah, 417.
Siyurgan, *v.* Shiburghan.
Siyurghatmish, 364–5, 417–18, 534, 580, 593, 597, 687, 699, 721.
Slavery—
  Georgian slaves sold in Abkhazia, 7.
  Kipchak slaves sold at Derbend, 5
  Slaves sent as present to Khuarezmian Shah, 3.
Sokah, 105.
Sohravrad, 386.
Solivero, Peter, 488.
Soltania, 261.
Soluk, Prince, 541–2.
Somkheth, 6–7, 11, 31, 268–9, 423, 425–6, 542, 544.
Sondavé Behadur, 541.
Sonitha, 14.
Sonkor, 253–4, 268, 270–1, 273, 276.
Sonkor Afrem, 565.
Sonkor Ashkar, 244, 267.
Sophane Mts., 18.
Sorghala, 330.
Soukor, read Sonkor, *q.v.*
Soyuk Kotoghtai, 162.
Spauta, Lake, *v.* Urmia.
Sper, 424.
Srav, 378.
Stéphan Tsmida, 424.
Stephanos, Abbot, 103.
Stephen the Orpelian quoted, 157, 216.
Stephen IV, 363.
Stritter quoted, 1, 87, 184, 486–7, 493, 525, 579.
Suans, 191.
Succession, Jingis Khan's Law of, 285.
Sugai, *v.* Suka.
Sughunjak, 218, 285, 287, 305–6.
Sughurluk, 321, 383, 389, 403, 479.
Suidat, 270.
Sujukshah, 482–3.
Suka, 360, 279–80.
Sukai, 395, 399, 400, 404.
Sukurluk, 382, 510.
Sulamish, 401, 405, 421, 427–8, 434.
Suliman Khan, 646–650.
Suliman Shah, 114, 117, 140, 259 580, 618, 750–1.
Sulkadr, Prince of, 749.
Sultan Abad, 560.
Sultan bakht, 608.
Sultan Devin, 379.
Sultan Dowin, 719.
Sultan Hussein Khan, 657–9.
Sultan Khatun, 746.
Sultan Oweis Khan, 654–7.
Sultan Shah, 638.
Sultan Tahir, 673.
Sultania, 235, 261, 306 383 555, 564, 565, 580, 585, 638, 642–3, 659, 701, 703, 727.
—— Abusaid buried at, 634.
—— college at, 559.
—— founding of, 344, 581–2.
—— mausoleum at, 582.
—— occupied by Omar Abbas, 660.
—— Uljaitu in, 542.
Sultania Jarmejan, *v.* Jemjalabad.
Sum, Amir, 406.
Sumatra, 347.
Sün Sze Kan, *v.* Samarkand.
Sunatai, 238, 410, 412, 469, 472, 587, 595, 608, 637.
Sunjak, 119, 123, 147, 219, 336.
Sunnis, 114, 559, 581.
Suntai, 119, 157, 218, 538.
Superstitions—
  Alms distributed to avert death of Gaikhatu, 362.
  Charms against lightning, 558.
  Name changed to avert evil eye, 535.
  Thursday unlucky day, 437.
Surhegan, 318.
Surikuri, 639.
Surita quoted, 279.
Surkh, 302.
Surmari, 5.
Surmenrai, 22.
Surmish, 335.
Suruj, 13.
Susak, 140.
Susu, 680.
Sutai, 366, 381, 408, 466–7.
Sutai aktaji, 428.
Sutai, amir, 455.

Suti, 647.
Sutun-avend, 2.
Syria, 59, 141, 154, 164, 235, 242, 267, 274–5, 348, 362–3, 429, 431–4, 444, 669.
—— Abaka in, 267–8.
—— and Egypt, 640.
—— and Khulagu, 142–3.
—— Famine in, 257.
—— Ghazan in, 454–6, 465, 467–71.
—— Kalmuks in, 401.
—— Mongols in, 205.
—— Monophysites in, 153.
—— Uljaitu in, 566.
—— women and children, removal from before invasion, 257.

Tabakat-i-Nasiri quoted, 2, 3, 15, 19, 36–43, 60, 70–2, 97, 99, 102, 106, 135, 137, 160, 151, 157, 181, 184–7, 193–4.
Taban Behadur, 744.
Tabarek, 707–8.
Tabas, 358.
Taberan, 734.
Taberistan, 597.
Tabor, Mt., 200.
Tabrek, 691, 699.
Tabs, 315.
—— desert of, 621.
Tabui, 305.
Tachar, *v.* Togachar.
Tacudar, *v.* Nigudar.
Tadmor, 565.
Tagachar, 308.
Tagai Kokoltash, 300
Taghai, 409.
Taghai Timur, 213.
Taghan, 303.
Taghy Khatun, 639.
Tagudar, *v.* Ahmed Khan.
Tahamtan, 36, 202.
Tahir, 145, 667, 672–3.
Tahmasp Shah, 756.
Taibad, 745.
Taibars, 245, 255.
Taicho, 242.
Taichu, 368.
—— executed, 421.
Taidu, 488.
Taifur, 544, 580.
Taiju, 320, 322, 400, 405.
Taiju Kushi, 305.
Taimaz, 16.
Tainchar, 409.
Tainjar, 427–8.
Tair Baghatur, 69, 185.
Tair Behadur, 36, 100.
Tairbuka, 107.
Taishi, note on, 152.
Taitak, 401, 471–2.
Taizma, 455.
Taj ud din, 332, 334, 589.
Taj ud din Abu fazl Md., 562–3
Taj ud din Ali, 220–1, 569, 595–6.
Taj ud din Binal Tigin, 38.
Taj ud din Ilduz, 379, 413.
Taj ud din Isa, 134.
Taj ud din Khurrem, 701.
Taj ud din Md., 114.
Taj ud din Osman, 99, 750.
Taj ud din Shah, 140, 406.
Taj ud din Uj, Seyid, 560, 562.
Taj ud din Yilduz, 554.
Taji, Genl., 8.
Tajiks, 95, 536.
Tak, 729.
Tak Kesra, 119, 653.
Taki Khatun, 607.
Taki ud din, 445, 448.
Taki ud din Abdur Rahman, 418.
Taki ud din Abdur Rahmal Al Thaibi, 539.
Taki ud din Fasi, 590.
Takish, Sultan, 2.
Takrit, 140.
Takt Karajeh, 709.
Takteni, 312.
Takudar, son of Hulagu, 224. *See also* Nikudar.
Tala, 288.
Talek, 745.
Talikan, 91, 234, 300.
Talish, pillaged, 541.
Talishan, 462.
Tamaji, 370, 377.
Tamdui, 324.
Tamudai Aktaji, 326.
Tamudar, *v.* Uljaitu Khan.
Tanaun, *v.* Tukuz.
Tangauls, 528.
Tangezlu, *v.* Thonguzalo.
Tangnu Mts., 97, 107.
Tangut, 154.
Tankreghul, 63.
Tao, 7, 424–5.
Tara, 271.
Taragaih Gurkan, *v.* Targai Gurkan.
Tarak, 726.
Tarakai, 213, 300, 680.
Tarantai, 271.
Tarantaise, Peter of, 280.
Tarem, 96, 541.
Taremtan, 484.
Taremtas, 408.
Taremtaz, 558–9, 567, 590.
Tarentai, 274.
Targai Gurkan, 401.
Tarikhi Bedr ud din quoted, 669.
Tarikhi Guzideh, 284, 618, 626, 637.
Tarsaij, 87, 247.
Tarsus, 228, 248, 556–7, 602.
—— sacked by Egyptians, 245.
Tartary, 20.
Tash Khatun, 689.

Tash Timur, 607, 619–21.
—— executed, 622.
Tashir, 85.
Tashkend, 722.
Tashmenku, 318.
Tasiku, 219.
Tasis-sar, 330, 424.
Tasuj, 136.
Tath, *v.* Monastery of, 355, 375.
Tauta Sutena, *v.* Buba Suta.
Tauza, 20.
Tavakkul, 726.
Tavashi Rihan, 601.
Tavush, 85.
Tawtai, 301.
Taxation, corrupt administration of, 495–8.
—— in Egypt, 166–7, 455.
—— in Fars, 420, 482.
—— in Kerman, 727.
—— in Tiflis, 188.
—— reforms by Ghazan, 498–500.
—— under Abusaid, 598.
—— under Mangu, 63.
Taz, Amir, 595.
Tebani, 138.
Tebriz, 4, 6, 10, 15, 19, 206, 219, 220, 222–3, 234, 236, 241, 247, 257, 282–3, 285, 300, 308, 318, 321, 332, 336–7, 377–8, 385, 387, 395, 453, 475, 479, 484, 487, 489, 534, 536, 580, 582, 595, 625, 637, 639, 647, 650, 654, 656, 658–60, 667, 677, 688, 690, 699–700, 702, 715, 724.
—— Alai ud din buried at, 297.
—— captured by Toktamish, 660.
—— Christian Churches at, 34.
—— described by Friar Odoric, 629.
—— —— Ibn Batuta, 625–6.
—— five gates of compared with five senses of body, 532.
—— market at, 625.
—— occupied by Kara Yusuf, 675.
—— paper money made at, 370.
—— peace between Persia and Egypt proclaimed at, 602.
—— taken by Mubariz ud din Md., 696.
—— tomb built by Ghazan at, 421.
—— wall of, 532.
Tebshin Oghul, *v.* Tekshin.
Tegana, 308.
Tegudar, *v.* Nigudar.
Tegur, 135.
Teikhan Timur, 326.
Teivèreh, 99.
Teixeira quo, 161, 418.
Tekajbek, *v.* Meka Bey.
Teke, 136, 277, 478.
Tekele, 140.
Tekia, 306, 324, 357.
Tekin, 338.
Tekne, 359.
Tekrit, 666, 673.
Tekshi, 680.
Tekshin, 219, 224, 232, 234–5, 238, 240, 250–1.
—— death of, 241.
Tekta, 300.
Tekucheneh, 204.
Tekyujin, 481–2.
Tel bashr, 669.
Tel Hamdun, 225, 248, 275, 402, 431, 437, 450, 556.
Tel Okmá, 403.
Tel Rahet, 445.
Tel Ukhama, *v.* Tel Okma.
Tel-el-Aajul, 436.
Tela, *v.* Teke.
Telbashir, 159.
Temagu, 218.
Temaji Aktaji, *v.* Batmaji.
Témijan, 541.
Temisbeh, 405.
Temish, 367.
Temkian, 96, 680.
Tempesack, surrendered to Egypt, 227.
Temuheh Kuchin 714.
Tenasemar, 725.
Tendu, 679.
Tenghur 162.
Tengir, Kurkan, 306.
Tenguiz, *v.* Tengir Kurkan.
Tenk Shikem, 265.
Tepash, 247.
Tephriké, 47.
Ter Hakob, 354.
Ter Nerses, 55.
Ter Tiratsu, 397, 422.
Terek, 605.
Terek Lamshi, 415, 592.
Terentai, 531.
Tergan Haji, 409, 411.
Terjughan, 580.
Termed, 231, 722, 746.
Termésherin, Khan, 606.
Tersa, 471.
Tershiz, 96, 721, 747.
Terunakan, 85.
Tetkaul, 296, 300.
Tetkauls, *v.* Tangauls.
Thaddeus, 422.
Thaghiatin, Grand Prince, 160.
Thagudar, *v.* Nigudar.
Thaguthar, *v.* Nigudar.
Thamar, Queen 24 44, 141, 254, 269, 683.
Thamgha, 311.
Thamtha, 13, 20, 49.
Thamtha II, 86.
Thamtha Ire, 86.
Tharem, 539.
Thavan, 695.

Thavrej, 397, 422.
Thélaf, 268.
Thelka Démur, 230.
Theodosiopolis, 433.
Theophilus, Emperor, 336.
Thmogwi, 425.
Tholak-Démur, 239.
Thonguzalo, 361.
Thor, 111, 425.
Thor Agha, 65.
Thorel, Prince, 111.
Thorgua Pandel, 111.
Thoros, 402, 430, 555, 681.
Thoros II, 681.
Thoros III, 682.
Thrialeth, 240, 423.
Thudan, *v.* Tudun.
Thugut, 565.
Thunichtsgut, *v.* Thugut.
Thutha Mangu, *v.* Tuda Mangu.
Tiflis, 6, 7, 12, 50, 66, 83, 85, 191, 199, 224, 242, 269, 330, 362, 422–5, 544.
—— conquered by Jelal ud din, 6.
—— taxation in, 188.
Tigado, *v.* Girdkuh.
Tigranocerta, *v.* Amid.
Tigris River, 456, 555, 665, 711.
Tikneh, 251.
Tilai Timur, 305.
Timur, Aidaji, 379.
Timur Buka, 359, 417, 482, 613, 617.
Timur Khan, 487, 574, 703–4, 719, 737–8, 742, 744, 748, 751, 754–6.
—— and Ahmed, 662.
—— and Ali Bey, 720–3.
—— and Amir Vali, 720–3.
—— and Khorasan, 747.
—— and Shah Mansur, battles between, 712
—— and Toktamish, 667.
—— besieges Baghdad, 669–72.
—— captures Alenjik, 662.
—— —— Fortress of Kalaa Sefid, 711–2.
—— —— Isferain, 720.
—— —— Ispahan, 707.
—— —— Shiraz, 708–9.
—— —— Tershiz, 747.
—— coins of, 724.
—— conquers Herat, 746.
—— defeats Turkomans, 663.
—— enters Shiraz, 713.
—— in Georgia, 669.
—— in Iran, 659.
—— in Kumuz, 723.
—— —— Mazanderan, 660, 723.
—— —— Mesopotamia, 666.
—— massacres people of Ispahan, 708.
—— orders wine to be poured into Tigris R., 665.
Timur Khan, princes of Muzaffar submit to, 713–4.
—— sends envoys to Uljaitu, 536.
—— victorious in Azerbaijan and Armenia, 661.
Timur Oghul, 538–9.
Timur Sultan Ali, 724.
Timurids, 725.
Timurlenk, 153.
Timurtash, 587, 597, 601, 613, 640, 642, 669, 746.
—— commands Mamluks, 614.
—— death of, 616.
Tinai, 313.
Tirah, 100.
Tittak, 469.
Titus, 6.
Tob Timur, 626.
Togachar, *v.* Toghachar.
Togai, 545, 550, 610.
Togan, 308, 553.
Togan Tayissi, 2, 4.
Togha Timur, 302–3.
Toghachar, 261–4, 275, 289–90, 296, 300, 307, 312, 318, 322, 324, 329, 333, 337, 342, 345, 354, 357, 360, 368, 370, 375–6, 378–82, 384–5, 399 404.
Toghai Timur, 638, 640, 643–6, 680, 717–18, 727, 730, 733.
—— attacks Tebriz, 639.
—— defeated by Hassan Kuchuk, 647.
Toghajar, read Toghachar, *q.v.*
Toghan Shah Khorasani, 700.
Toghdai, 359.
Toghli, 325.
Toghrilji, 401, 438.
Toghrulji, 322.
Toghuz Timur, 534.
Togmak, 571–2, 587–8, 595–7.
Togril-Igani, 469.
Toka Timur, 324, 652.
Tokal, 568.
Tokat, 254, 258, 749.
Tokhtamish, *v.* Toktamish.
Tokini, 278.
Tokmak, 560.
Toktamish, 724.
—— and Timur, 667.
—— captures Tebriz, 660.
Toktogu, 422–3.
Toktu, 404, 461, 537, 555.
Tokuz, 97–8, 140.
Toledo, 279.
Tomaso, *v.* Tuman.
Tongai Gurkan, *v.* Targai Gurkan.
Tonghul Khatun, *v.* Dokuz Khatun.
Tonghuz Aka 33.
Tongudar, *v.* Tagudar.
Toros, 225–6.
Tortosa, 362.

Tortures—
Cangue, 190, 264.
Pins driven through spy's tongue, 265–6.
Stephanos roasted, 104.
Torture of Bethag Alden, 326–7.
—— captives by Abusaid's officers, 595–7.
—— Monks by Mongols, 229.
Totil, *v.* Babul.
Tougha-Bugha-Jinilis, *v.* Bugha Chingsang.
Tovin, 5, 85.
Transoxiana, 8, 63, 154, 228, 233, 235, 240–1, 385, 399, 660, 709, 722, 740.
Trebizond, 367, 489.
Trebizond Mts., 14.
Trialeth, 7, 242.
Tripoli, 48, 347, 362, 430, 446, 468, 556, 578, 602.
Tripolis, 84.
Tsaghats-Kar, Monastery of, 355.
Tsena, 113.
Tuda Mangu, 423.
Tudai, 278, 305, 307, 346, 381.
Tudai Khatun, 300, 304, 310.
Tudaju, 373, 378.
Tudakun Khatun, 310.
Tudan, 206, 219.
Tudukash, Princess, 321.
Tudun, 253.
Tugal, 342, 359, 380, 382, 385–7.
Tugan, *v.* Tughan.
Tuganjuk, 374.
Tugha, *v.* Dua.
Tughan, 299, 323, 325–6, 335, 340, 361, 378, 398, 405, 421, 469, 539, 569, 601.
Tughan Princess, 406.
Tughan Timur, 475.
Tughan-i-Sunkar, 37.
Tughanjak, 341.
Tughanjik, 310.
Tughanshah, 454.
Tughata, 14.
Tughata Noyan, 29.
Tughluk Karauna, 324–5.
Tughrul, 313, 756.
Tughu, 219.
Tugji, 432.
Tuguz, *v.* Tughu.
Tuins, 211.
Tuka, 380.
Tukai Gurkan, *v.* Targai Gurkan.
Tukal, *v.* Tughan.
Tukal Bakhshi, 149.
Tukal Noyan, 362.
Tukchak, *v.* Tughanjak.
Tukel Kutlugh, Prince, 635.
Tukhi, 296.
Tukini, 434.
Tukiti, 212.
Tuklah, 132.
Tuktai Khatun, 286, 298.
Tuktan, 349.
Tuktimur, 382–3.
Tuktini, *v.* Tuktai Khatun.
Tuktukha, 574.
Tukuri, *v.* Tukiti.
Tukuz, 253.
Tuladai, *v.* Doladai.
Tulan Khatun, 483.
Tulek, 100, 401, 545, 569, 591, 675.
Tulka Bakhshi, 443.
Tulkhiz, 653.
Tului, 15, 212, 680.
Tuma Suta, *v.* Buba Suta.
Tuman, 575.
Tuman Aga, 704.
Tumar, *v.* Tutar.
Tumin, 540.
Tun, 96, 102.
Tundi, 486.
Tunga, 15.
Tungat Mts., *v.* Tangnu Mt.
Tunis, 242, 280.
Turabden, 318.
Turakina, 42–3, 85.
Turalje, 96.
Turan, 231.
Turanshah, 702, 751.
Turbat-i-Haidari, 102.
Turcomans, 179.
Turi, 404.
Turjan, 619.
Turkan Khatun, 219.
Turkan Muran, *v.* Kuih R.
Turkestan, 98, 154.
Turkhan Khatun, 180, 206, 756.
—— death of, 202.
Turkomans, 68, 167, 249, 255, 271, 275, 300, 338, 661, 666, 674, 679, 749.
—— defeated by Timur, 663.
—— Karamanian, 361.
—— raid Cilicia, 249.
Turner, T. Hudson quoted, 489.
Turt, 621.
Turunji, 267.
Turus, 148.
Turuvan, 380.
Tus, 40, 96, 112, 235, 301, 335, 336, 339, 463, 550, 554, 646, 719, 733, 738, 748.
—— fort of, 736.
Tus, Nasir ud din of, 445.
Tusal, *v.* Nussal.
Tushin, *v.* Tekshin.
Tushkina, 325.
Tutak Bela, 544, 547, 549.
Tutar, 96, 109, 122, 134.
Tutaré, *v.* Khutaré.
Tutu, 14.
Tutukaj, *v.* Budakaj.
Tuzin, 213, 680.

Tyre, 362. 402.
Tzikaré, 424.
Tzikhisjuarel, 330.
Tzkhavat Mts., 424.
Tzkhrazma, *v.* Lomisa.
Tzotné Dadian, 50, 52–3.

Ubash, Prince, 542.
Ubeh, 384.
Uch, 71, 185.
Uchara Behadur, 659, 722.
Udia, 12.
Ugeto turciman, 348.
Uighar Masud, 314.
Uighuria, 348, 397.
Uighurs, 68.
Uirads, 97, 271, 296, 635, 637, 639, 642, 647.
Uirat Tengkir, 213.
Uiratai, 405.
Uirats, *v.* Kalmuks.
Uji, Amir, 565.
Uk, 37.
Ul-Umera, Amir, 692.
Ulatai, 308.
Ulatair, 346.
Uljai Kutlugh, 572.
Uljai-buka, *v.* Uljaitu.
Uljaitu Khan, 215, 346, 354, 386, 406, 408, 410, 414, 434, 463, 480, 484–5, 534–84, 680, 693, 717.
—— and Christians, 543.
—— and Khutbeh, 581.
—— besieges Rahbet, 566–7.
—— birth of, 535.
—— character of, 573.
—— coins of, 580.
—— death of, 573.
—— encourages work of Rashid ud din, 561.
—— encourages work of Wassaf, 564.
—— equipment of his army, 565–6.
—— his religion, 557–9.
—— —— concealed by envoy to England and France, 576–7.
—— in Ghilan, 539–42.
—— in Sultania, 542.
—— invades Syria, 565.
—— prepares to invade Egypt, 578–9.
—— recieves Chinese envoys, 536.
—— receives letter from Pope Clement V, 576.
—— sends envoys to Egypt, 537.
—— —— France, 573–5.
—— tomb of, 583–4.
—— will of, 573.
Ulugh Khan i A'zam, 185–7.
Ulugh Noyan, 152.
Ulusi Arba quoted, 357.
Umbrella, Khan's right to use, 109, 111.
Umeg, 66.
Ungu Timur, 40.
Unkaitu, 704.
Uns, *v.* Abish Khatun.
Ur Khan, 7.
Urba Kerim, 560.
Urgenj, 247.
Urha, 48.
Urmia, Lake, 136, 209, 276, 478.
Urudgerd, 709–10, 755.
—— captured by Timur, 661.
Urugtu, 253.
Uruk Khatun, 342, 346, 354, 359, 360–1, 381, 535.
Uruz Buka, 744.
Usal, *v.* Nussal.
Usen, *v.* Hussein.
Ushin, 402.
Ushish, Prince, 542.
Usseil ud din Rogdi, 42.
Uveis Kutluk, *v.* Isen Kutlugh.
Uwishjin, 213.
Uz identified with Erzerum, 44.
Uz Khan, *v.* Otuz.
Uzbeg, Atabeg, 2, 4.
Uzbeg Ibn Alpehluvan, 5–6.
Uzbeg Khan, 570, 590, 605, 612, 623–4, 717.
—— and Arpagaun, 635.
Uzbeg, Naib, 440.
Uzbeg Timur, 339, 374.
Uzes, *v.* Turkomans.

Vahram Gagel, 11, 52–3, 86.
Vahram, Prince, 12, 25.
Vaiotz-Tzor, 85.
Valayed, 728.
Valencia, 279.
Vali, Amir, 656, 700, 718–23, 735–6, 747.
—— and Timur, 720–3.
—— dresses women as soldiers to make army look more numerous, 719.
—— executed, 724.
Vali ud din, 151.
Valian Mt., 452.
Van, 336, 666, 755.
Van, Lake, 661.
Vanakan, 26.
Vané, 86.
Varam-Gagel, *v.* Vahram Gagel.
Vardzia, 421.
Vartan quoted, 5, 110, 158, 209, 218–19, 223, 226.
—— addresses Khulagu on behalf of Christians, 206–7.
Vartenis, 112.
Vartoish Kontsa, 61.
Vasalli, James, 280.
Vasalli, John, 280.
Vasburgan, 661.
Vasith, 256, 464, 580, 755.

Vassaf, quoted, 220.
Vassit, 132, 327, 673, 679.
Vastan, 336, 755.
Vataces, Emperor, 47, 81.
Vayscham, *v.* Oweis Khan.
Vefa, Khatun, 668.
Vefa Malik, *v.* Hasan Karluk.
Vefadar, 597.
Vejih ud din, 545, 547, 549.
Venetian traders, Abusaid's concessions to, 632.
—— and Mongols, 631.
Venice, 367.
Veramin, 410.
Victory, Hill of, 437–8.
Virdgan, 607.

Wadi al Khazinadar, 438.
Wajih ud din Ismael, 656.
Wakhf, 127.
Wakhoucht quoted, 23.
Wakhtang, 86, 329–30, 357, 422, 425–6, 435, 439, 472, 542–3.
Wakhtang II, 683.
Wakhtung III, 683.
Wakhucht, 51.
Wakhusht quoted, 300, 543.
Walad, Shah, 680.
Wang Khan, 90, 260.
Wasith, 665, 668, 672.
Wassaf quoted, 115, 122–3, 136, 209, 218, 222, 229, 231–4, 239–40, 245, 252, 261–4, 266, 270, 272, 276, 282–3, 286, 289, 292, 296, 298, 300–5, 307–8, 312–15, 317, 321, 342–3, 369, 387, 434, 438, 532, 538–9, 560, 563, 566, 568, 595, 687.
—— presents his works to Ghazan 466.
—— work of, praised by Uljaitu, 564.
Weil quoted, 4, 163, 197, 218, 225, 229, 232, 243, 247, 250, 255, 257–8, 268, 271–2, 276, 331, 348, 431, 450, 478, 567, 570, 617, 640, 642, 657, 662, 666–7, 669, 677, 679, 711, 712, 714.
Weji ud din, Khoja, 219, 297–8.
—— executed, 321.
Wejih ud din Masud, 726, 728–32.
—— attacks Herat, 730.
Wen tsung, Emperor, *v.* Tob Timur.
Wine, destruction of to avert calamity, 598.
Wirdansor, 756.
Wusdadar, 595.

Yaballaha, 283.
Yadgar, 330.
Yadghiar Ektachi, 668.
Yafa, 225.
Yaghi Basti, 617, 647, 649, 650, 690.
Yaghmish, 379, 536.
Yahaballaha, 348.
Yahia, 317, 715.
Yahia ibn Abdallatif, 692.
Yahia Khoja, 717.
Yahia Kieravi, 734–5.
Yahia Shah, 696–7, 700, 707, 709–10, 713.
Yakub, 13, 15.
Yakub Aphrash, 273.
Yakub Baghban, 480.
Yakub ibn Leith, 117.
Yakub Shah, 648.
Yakub the Sikurji, 458.
Yakuba, 4, 120.
Yakuba Shehrizuri, 469.
Yala, *v.* Lake Urmia.
Yalgu, *v.* Balighu.
Yalkhur, 242.
Yalus, 723.
Yamin ud din Toghrayi, 628.
Yamuk, 484.
Yanbulak, 662.
Yanhia ibn Khalid, 726.
Yankaji Noyan, 298.
Yanua, B. de, 349.
Yar Ahmed, 552.
Yarghuji, 301.
Yarligh, derivation of, 356.
Yas, 534.
Yasaul, 538.
Yasaur, 617.
Yasaur the Great, 232.
Yasaur the Little, 232.
Yasbugha, 238, 275.
Yas Buka, 306.
Yaser, *v.* Yazer.
Yashmut, 157, 159, 205, 213, 218–19, 234–5, 241, 250, 265, 283, 314, 680.
Yasminelateh, 731.
Yassaul, 550, 569.
Yassaur, 15, 103, 235, 590, 598, 591.
Yassaur Noyan, 48.
Yassavur, 374.
Yassi Dapan, 747.
Yatmish Kushji, 331.
Yazer, 729–30.
Yedutai, 400.
Yelturmish, Princess, 379.
Yendi, 748.
Yermans, 694–5.
Yesas, *v.* Yasaur the Great.
Yesaul, read Yassaul, *q.v.*
Yesd, *see* Yezd.
Yesen Timur, Prince, 483.
Yeshed, Amir, 637.
Yesidi (devil-worshipping Kurds), 162.
Yessar, 305.
Yessaul, 568.
Yessugat, 184.

Yessulun, 184.
Yesu Kurkan, 321.
Yesu Timur, 346.
Yesubuka Kurkan, 307.
Yesudar, 213, 303, 680.
Yesutum, 336.
Yetmish, 480.
Yezd, 3, 220, 221, 359, 383, 497, 507, 629, 646, 667, 690–1, 695, 697, 700, 707, 709, 714–15.
—— atabegs of, 693.
—— note on, 756–7.
Yézid, Khalif, 465.
Yisubuka Kurkan, 261.
Yisunchin, 213, 224, 241.
Yişut, *v.* Yisunchin.
Yoané, 300.
Yor River, 7, 224.
Yuan Shi quoted, 95, 106, 488.
Yuin, *v.* Yun Garbani.
Yul Kutlugh, 324, 409, 680.
Yula Timur, 301.
Yulak Koshuk Murad, 568.
Yule, Colonel, quoted, 85, 91, 92, 307–8, 347, 377, 389, 418, 629.
Yumai, Amir, 597.
Yun Garbani, 719, 721.
Yunis Semnani, Khoja, 736.
Yusagaj, 367, 479.
Yushmut, read Yashmut, *q.v.*
Yusuf, 752.
Yusuf Beka, 596–7.
Yusuf Shah, 238, 240, 300, 312, 315, 317, 358, 680
Yuz Agach, *v.* Kamsiun.

Zaal Malik, 544.
Zab River, 245.
Zabel, 681–2.
Zabir Majd ud din Isa, 686.
Zacchæus, 183.
Zadeli, Khan, 700.
Zafer Nameh quoted, 153.
Zagan, 352, 432–3.
Zahir, 12, 256.
Zahirits, 347.
Zain al Abidin, 700–3, 707–14, 749–50, 755.
—— captured by Musa Shuker, 710.
—— imprisoned at Selaseh, 709.
Zain Hafidi, 149–51, 169.
Zain ud din, 427.
Zain ud din, Abubekr Taibadi, 706, 745.
Zain ud din Abul Muayid Suliman, 202.
Zain ud din Alhafiz, 257.
Zain ud din Hafedi, 142.
Zain ud din El Hafizi, 145.
Zain ud din Kazvini, 674.
Zakaria, 82–3, 86, 190.
Zakyani, 627.
Zal, River, 711.
Zamil ibn Ali, 175.
Zanburi, 585.
Zangan, 388.
Zanghi Nakhjivani, 116.
Zanjan, 15.
Zavali, 726.
Zawah (Turbat-i-Haidari), 102.
Zebr, 205.
Zeidan, 718.
Zek, 119.
Zenburi, 589.
—— exiled, 590.
Zengan, 235.
Zengi, 325.
Zengui, 3, 325–6.
Zenjan, 261, 382, 386, 596.
Zenk Abad, 22.
Zeraj ud din Fazli, 319.
Zeravi, Sultan Shah, 651.
Zerban, 437.
Zermin, 436.
Zerwana, 325.
Ziael Mulk, Palace of, 661.
Ziai ul Mulk, 593.
Ziffein, 454.
"*Zij Ilkhani*" quoted, 282.
Zinan, 87.
Zindan, 510.
Zira, Lake of, 163.
Zirkuh, 96.
Ziza, Lake, 164.
Zoban Begilay (probably Choban, *q.v.*).
Zobir Mt., 344.

APPENDIX TO INDEX TO VOLUMÆ III

Thefollowing is a list of the best-known proper names mentioned in Volume III spelt in the generally accepted fashion; against each of which will be found the variant spellings appearing in the volume.

Abulastayn, *v.* Ablestin, Ablastan.
'Ádil, *v.* Aadil, Adel.
Afzal, *v.* Afdal.
Aïbeg, *v.* Eibeg, Ibeg.
Aïa, *v.* Aiar.
'Ánah, *v.* Aana, Anah.
Ayaz, *v.* Aias, Ayas.
'Azíz, *v.* Azis, Aziz.
'Azud, *v.* Adhad, Azd.
Bahá, *v.* Bahia.
Elizaetpol, *v.* Jelizavetpol.

Dawlat, *v.* Devlet.
Erzerum, *v.* Arzeron.
Ganja, *v.* Gándja, Gandza, Kantzag.
Hulagu, *v.* Khulagu.
'Imád, *v.* Amad, Emad, Imad.
'Izz, *v.* Az, Iz.
Juwaini, *v.* Juweni.
Kaviyan, *v.* Gavian, Giawe.
Sa'íd, *v.* Said.
Sáva, *v.* Sava, Savah, Saveh, Sawa, Saweh.
Sayyid, *v.* Said.
Sharaf, *v.* Sherif.
Záhir, Žahír, *v.* Sahir, Sehir, Dahir, Dhahir.
Žákáni, *v.* Zakyani.
Zayn, *v.* Sain, Sein.
Žohák, *v.* Sohak.

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