

Records on the Qarakhanids in *Song shi*

Official Chinese records on the Qarakhanid missions appeared mainly in the Khotan entry of Chapter 490 in *Song shi*. The Khotan entry begins with a short description related to the ancient Khotan kingdom. The Qarakhanids are described starting from the mission sent from Khotan in 1009.

Khotan

于闐國，自漢至唐，皆入貢中國，安、史之亂，絕不復至。晉天福中，其王李聖天自稱唐之宗屬，遣使來貢。高祖命供奉官張匡鄴持節冊聖天為大寶于闐國王。

建隆二年十二月，聖天遣使貢圭一，以玉為柙；玉枕一。本國摩尼師貢琉璃瓶二、胡錦一段。其使言：本國去京師九千九百里，西南抵葱嶺與婆羅門接，相去三千餘里，南接吐蕃，西北至疏勒二千餘里。國城東有白玉河，西有綠玉河，次西有烏玉河，源出崑岡山，去國城西千三百里。每歲秋，國人取玉於河，謂之撈玉。土宜蒲萄，人多醞以為酒，甚美。俗事妖神。

乾德三年五月，于闐僧善名、善法來朝，賜紫衣。其國宰相因善名等來，致書樞密使李崇矩，求通中國。太祖令崇矩以書及器幣報之。至是冬，沙門道圓自西域還，經于闐，與其朝貢使至。四年，又遣其子德從來貢方物。

開寶二年，遣使直末山來貢，且言本國有玉一塊，凡二百三十七斤，願以上進，乞遣使取之。善名復至，貢阿魏子，賜號昭化大師，因令還取玉。又國王男總嘗貢玉欄刀，亦厚賜報之。四年，其國僧吉祥以其國王書來上，自言破疏勒國得舞象一，欲以為貢，詔許之。

大中祥符二年，其國黑韓王遣回鶻羅廡溫等以方物來貢。廡溫跪奏曰：「臣萬里來朝，獲見天日，願聖人萬歲，與遠人作主。」上詢以在路幾時，去此幾里。對曰：「涉道一年，晝行暮息，不知里數。昔時道路嘗有剽掠，今自瓜、沙抵于闐，道路清謐，行旅如流。願遣使安撫遠俗。」上曰：「路遠命使，益以勞費爾國。今降詔書，汝即齋往，亦與命使無異也。」

初，太平興國中有澶州卒王貴者，晝忽見使者至營，急召貴偕行，南至河橋，驛馬已具，即命乘之，俄覺騰虛而去。頃之駐馬，但見屋室宏麗，使者引貴入，見其主者容衛制度悉如王者。謂貴曰：「俟汝年五十八，當往于闐國北通聖山取一異寶以奉皇帝，宜深志之。」遂復乘馬凌虛而旋。軍中失貴已數日矣，驗所乘，即營卒之馬也。知州宋煦劾貴以聞，太宗釋之。天禧初，貴自陳年已五十八，願遵前戒，西至于闐，尋許其行。貴至秦州，以道遠悔懼，俄於市中遇一道士引貴出城，登高原，問貴所欲，具以實對。即命貴閉目，少頃令開，視山川頓異，道士曰：「此于闐國北境通聖山也。」復引貴觀一池，池中有仙童，出一物授之，謂曰：「持此奉皇帝。」又令瞑目，俄頃復至秦州，向之道士已失所在，發其物乃玉印也，文曰「國王趙萬永寶」，州以獻。

天聖三年十二月，遣使羅面于多、副使金三、監使安多、都監趙多來朝，貢玉鞍轡、白玉帶、胡錦、獨峯橐駝、乳香、硃砂。詔給還其直，館于都亭西驛，別賜襲衣、金帶、銀器百兩、衣著二百，羅面于多金帶。

嘉祐八年八月，遣使羅撒溫獻方物。十一月，以其國王為特進、歸忠保順砮鱗黑韓王。羅撒溫言其王乞賜此號也，于闐謂金翅鳥為「砮鱗」，「黑韓」蓋可汗之訛也。羅撒溫等以獻物賜直少不受，及請所獻獨峯橐駝。詔以遠人特別賜錢五千貫，以橐駝還之，而與其已賜之直。其後數以方物來獻。

熙寧以來，遠不踰一二歲，近則歲再至。所貢珠玉、珊瑚、翡翠、象牙、乳香、木香、琥珀、花蕊布、硃砂、龍鹽、西錦、玉鞦轡馬、臘脯臍、金星石、水銀、安息鷄舌香，有所持無表章，每賜以暈錦旋襪衣、金帶、器幣，宰相則盤毬雲錦夾襪。

地產乳香，來輒羣負，私與商賈牟利；不售，則歸諸外府得善價，故其來益多。元豐初，始詔惟齋表及方物馬驢乃聽以詣闕，乳香無用不許貢。

四年，遣部領阿辛上表稱「于闐國僂儺有福力量知文法黑汗王，書與東方日出處大世界田地主漢家阿舅大官家」，大略云路遠傾心相向，前三遣使入貢未回，重複數百言。董氈使導至熙州，譯其辭以聞。詔前三輩使人皆已朝見，錫賚遣發，賜敕書諭之。神宗嘗問其使去國歲月，所經何國及有無鈔略。對曰：「去國四年，道途居其半，歷黃頭回紇、青唐，惟懼契丹鈔略耳。」因使之圖上諸國距漢境遠近，為書以授李憲。八年九月，遣使入貢，使者為神宗飯僧追福。賜錢百萬，還其所貢師子。

元祐中，以其使至無時，令熙河間歲一聽至闕。八年，請討夏國，不許。

紹聖中，其王阿忽都董娥密竭篤又言，緬藥家作過，別無報效，已遣兵攻甘、沙、肅三州。詔厚答其意。知秦州游師雄言：「于闐、大食、拂林等國貢奉，般次踵至，有司憚於供賚，抑留邊方，限二歲一進。外夷慕義，萬里而至，此非所以來遠人也。」從之。自是訖于宣和，朝享不絕。¹

The Yutian [Khotan] state offered tribute to Zhongguo [China] from the Han to the Tang dynasties, during the An-Shi Disturbances² it was terminated and they did not arrive anymore. During the Jin *Tianfu* era [936–942], its king Li Shengtian claimed to be a member of the Tang family, sent an envoy to offer tribute. Emperor Gaozu ordered *gongfeng guan* [Palace Servitor] Zhang Kuangye to hold a credential tag and register Li Shengtian as the Great Gem King of Yutian.

In the twelfth month of the second year of the *Jianlong* era [961], Li Shengtian sent an envoy to offer one *gui*³ in a cage made of jade, and a jade pillow. A Manichaean

1 *Song shi*, 490: 14106–14109.

2 The An Lushan Rebellion (755–763) is known in Chinese historiography as the An-Shi Disturbances, as after An Lushan it continued under his son An Qingxu and his successor Shi Siming.

3 *Gui* is an elongated pointed tablet of jade held by ancient rulers on ceremonial occasions as a symbol of power.

teacher from this state offered two glass jugs and a piece of *hujin* [foreign brocade]. Their envoy said: "Our state is located in a distance of 9900 *li* from the imperial capital, in the southwest it reaches Congling [Pamir] connected with Poluomen [Brahman], which is apart at a distance of more than 3,000 *li*, in the south it is connected with Tubo [Tibet], in the northwest it reaches Shule [Kashghar, i.e. the Qarakhanids], at a distance of more than 2,000 *li*. In the east of the state's capital there is the White Jade River, in the west the Green Jade River and further is the Black Jade River. The source is the Kungangshan [Kunlun Mountains], which is apart from the capital city to the west at a distance of 1300 *li*. Every year in autumn people of the state collect jade from the rivers and call it "jade fishing." The land is suitable for grapes and people mainly brew it to make wine that tastes very delicious. Their custom is to serve evil spirits."

In the fifth month of the third year of the *Qiande* era [965] the Yutian monks Shanming and Shanfa arrived to the court and were granted purple gowns. Their *zai-xiang* [Grand Councilor], following the arrival of Shanming and others, sent a letter to *shumishi* [Palace Secretary] Li Chongju seeking contacts with Zhongguo. Emperor Taizu ordered Li Chongju to give him a letter and repay with vessels and silks. This year in winter sramana [Buddhist monk] Daoyuan returned from the Western Regions, he passed through Yutian and arrived with its envoy. In the fourth year [966] their prince Li Decong was also sent to offer local products.

In the second year of the *Kaibao* era [969] they sent the envoy Zhi Moshan to the court to offer tribute and he also said that there is a piece of jade in his state that weighs a total of 237 *jin* and that they are willing to present it to the Emperor and he requested to send an envoy to fetch it. Li Shanming arrived again to offer ferula asafoetida seeds and was granted the title Zhaohua *dashi* [Great Master] and then he was ordered to return to bring the jade. Also the son of the king Li Zongchang offered a knife with a jade handle and was generously rewarded in return. In the fourth year [971] the monk of this state Jixiang arrived at the court of the Emperor with a letter from his king and he said himself that the king defeated the Shule state and obtained a dancing elephant, which he wants to offer as tribute and it was allowed by the imperial order.

In the second year of the *Dazhong Xiangfu* era [1009] *heihan wang* [Qarakhan, i.e. Yusuf Qadir Khan] of this state sent the Huigu [Uyghur] envoy Luo Siwen [Boyla Saghun] and others to come and offer local products. Luo Siwen on his knees presented a memorial and said: "Your servant came to the court over ten thousand *li* to be able to see the light of day and to wish the wise man [Emperor] to live ten thousand years and to take charge of people from afar." The Emperor asked how long they had been on the road and how many *li* they had passed through. The envoy replied: "We went across this road in one year, we walked at daytime and rested at sunset and we are not aware of the number of *li*. In former times, there were looting and plundering on the roads, and now the road from Guazhou and Shazhou to Yutian is quiet and peaceful, and traveling is like a stream. We ask to send an envoy to appease and console

people of faraway places.” The Emperor said: “Sending an envoy by the road of a great distance will increase efforts and expenditure of your state. Now I will issue a Letter of Imperial Edict, you will immediately take it and go to your state, and it will be the same as appointing an envoy.”

At the beginning, during the *Taipingxingguo* era [976–984] in Chanzhou there was a soldier Wang Gui, one day suddenly he met an envoy who arrived at the camp, he quickly called Wang Gui to go with him and when in the south they reached a bridge of the river, a post horse had been already prepared, then the envoy ordered him to saddle the horse and suddenly he felt that he was rising to the sky and went away. Shortly after, the horse was halted and he saw only a magnificent building, the envoy led Wang Gui inside and he saw that the guard of the owner was all such as that of the king. He said to Wang Gui: “When you turn 58 years old, you should go to the Tongsheng Mountains in the north of the Yutian state to obtain an unusual jewel for offering to the Emperor and you should deeply remember it.” Then he rode the horse again into the skies and came back. At the camp Wang Gui was lost for several days already, the horse that he was riding was checked and it was a regular horse of a soldier from the camp. The chief of the prefecture Song Xu filed a complaint against Wang Gui according to what he heard and Emperor Taizong released him. At the beginning of the *Tianxi* era [1017], when Wang Gui turned 58 years old, he wanted to follow the instructions in the past and go to the west to Yutian and he looked for permission for his journey. When Wang Gui reached Qinzhou, he was repentant and fearful due to the long distance, suddenly, in the market he met a Taoist monk, who led Wang Gui outside of the city and they climbed a highland and he asked Wang Gui about his wish and received a sincere answer. He ordered Wang Gui to close his eyes and after a while to open them, then he saw that the mountains and rivers suddenly became different and the Taoist monk said: “This is the Tongsheng Mountains in the northern frontier of the Yutian state.” He also led Wang Gui to look at a pond and in the pond there was Xiantong,⁴ he pulled out something and gave it to Wang Gui and said: “Keep it and offer to the Emperor.” Wang Gui was again ordered to close his eyes and in a short moment he returned to Qinzhou and the former Taoist monk had already disappeared, he opened up that thing and there was a jade seal with the writing “The Eternal Gem of the King of Zhao” and he gave it to the chief of the prefecture in order to present it to the Emperor.⁵

In the twelfth month of the third year of the *Tiansheng* era [1025], they sent the envoy Luo Mianyuduo, the *fushi* [deputy envoy] Jinsan, the *jianshi* [Commissioner]

4 Xiantong is a messenger boy in the Taoist world of immortals.

5 This story gives an assumption that the Song emperor could send an envoy to the Qarakhanids which was depicted as a legend. However, there is no other evidence that may confirm this information.

Anduo, and the *dujian* [Military Commandant] Zhaoduo to come to the court and present jade saddles and bridles, white jade belts, *hujin*, dromedaries, frankincense, and ammonium chloride. The Emperor issued an edict to provide reimbursement and accommodation at the western station of the capital, besides they were granted garments, golden belts, 100 *liang* of silverware, and 200 pieces of clothes and Luo Mianyuduo was also given a golden belt.

In the eighth month of the eighth year of the *Jiayou* era [1063], they sent the envoy Luo Sawen to present local products. In the eleventh month, to the king of his state was given the title *tejin guizhong baoshun houlin wang* [Specially Advanced and Faithful Commandant for Maintaining Submission Tughril Qarakhan]. Luo Sawen said that his ruler hoped to be granted these titles, the Yutian people call the golden-winged bird *houlin*,⁶ is an incorrect form of *kehan* [Khagan]. Luo Sawen and others as the value of the rewards for their gifts was low did not accept it and asked to return the dromedary that was presented by them. The Emperor issued an edict to grant all people, who especially came from afar 5,000 *guan*, return them the dromedary and give them the payment that had been already granted. After that, they frequently offered local products to the court.

Since the *Xining* era [1068–1077] when they were far away it did not take more than one or two years to come and when they were close then they arrived twice per year. Among what they offered were pearls and jade, coral, jadeite, ivory, frankincense, costus root, amber, floral fabric, ammonium chloride, *longyan* [dragon salt],⁷ *xijin* [western brocade], horses with jade saddles and bridles, castoreum, lapis lazuli, mercury, and Anxi [Parthian] clove and some of what they had was not recorded in their memorial and each of them were granted *xuanyu*⁸ robes from shiny brocade, golden belts and vessels and silks, and their *zaixiang* [Grand Councilor] was granted a lined brocade garment decorated with coiled globular clouds.

The land produces frankincense and when they arrived they always carried it in great numbers and privately benefited from it with merchants and businessmen; if it was not sold out, then they returned it to *wai fu* [Outer Treasury] at a good price, therefore, they came more and more. In the beginning of the *Yuanfeng* era [1078] Imperial Edicts began to be issued that stated to bring only a memorial as well as local products, horses and donkeys to get permission to pay a visit to the court and if frankincense was not required it was not permitted to be offered.

6 I suppose that it is the title “Tughril,” which is a large falcon in Turkic culture. For more details about these titles see Chapter 3 and Document 1 in Appendix 2.

7 A type of medicine.

8 A type of traditional Tangut costume that was mostly worn by military generals and later became popular at the Song court.

In the fourth year of the *Yuanfeng* era [1081] they sent *buling* [Commander] Axin [Ashin] to present a memorial to the Emperor titled “The letter from *heihan wang* of the Yutian state [Qarakhan of Khotan], the clever, fortunate, powerful, civilized and rightful, to my uncle and Great Emperor of the Dynasty, the owner of fields and lands of the great world in the East, where the sun rises.” Generally, the letter said that despite the long distances they wholeheartedly desired to meet face-to-face and that three envoys, who were sent earlier to offer tribute to the court had not returned yet. This was repeated several times. The envoy of Dongzhan⁹ who guided them to Xizhou translated their words to be heard by the Emperor. The Emperor issued an edict to inform them that those former three envoys already had an audience at the court, were awarded, and sent back. Emperor Shenzong once asked the envoy about when they left their state, which states they passed through and whether there were looting on the road. He replied: “We left our state four years ago, half of this time we stopped on the road, we traveled through the territories of Huangtou Huihe [Yellow-Head Uyghurs] and Qingtang [Tsongkha],¹⁰ We were only afraid of the Qidan [Khitans] looting.” As the envoy’s map indicated how far and near all states were from the Han borders, he wrote a letter and handed over it to Li Xian. In the ninth month of the eighth year of the *Yuanfeng* era [1085] they sent an envoy to offer tribute, and the envoy fed monks and performed rites to help the deceased Emperor Shenzong attain bliss. He was granted one million [*guan*] and he was returned a lion that he had offered.

During the *Youanyou* era [1086–1093] since the envoys arrived without a fixed time, the Emperor ordered the Xihe Circuit to allow the Yutian envoys to arrive to the gates of the palace once a year. In the eighth year [1093], they requested to suppress the Xia state [Tanguts] but it was not allowed. During the *Shaosheng* era [1094–1098], their king Ahududongemijiedu again said that the Mian-yao family [the Tanguts] made things worse and they had no other way to render service to repay kindness of the Emperor and he had already dispatched an army to attack Ganzhou, Shazhou and Suzhou. The Emperor issued an edict to express his deep appreciation for his intention. The chief of the Qinzhou prefecture You Shixiong said: “Yutian, Dashi, Fulin and other states offer tribute to the court, their *banci* arrive upon the heels of one another, and officials dread terrify about having to provide rewards, so they stop them and keep them on the border and limit them to come to the court once every two years. Foreigners admire our righteousness and arrive through ten thousand *li*, this is not the way of treating people from afar,” and the Emperor accepted it. Since then, until the *Xuanhe* era [1119–1125] their tribute was not interrupted.

9 Dongzhan was the ruler of the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom at this time.

10 Qingtang is a name of the Tibetan Tsongkha kingdom in Chinese sources.