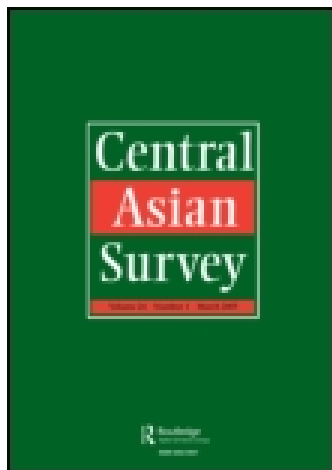




Central Asian Survey

Publication details, including instructions for authors and subscription information:

<http://www.tandfonline.com/loi/ccas20>

On merchants and monsters: Common motifs in tales from medieval China and 19th- century Bukhara

Siamak Adhami

Published online: 01 Jul 2010.

To cite this article: Siamak Adhami (2001) On merchants and monsters: Common motifs in tales from medieval China and 19th-century Bukhara, Central Asian Survey, 20:4, 519-527, DOI: [10.1080/02634930120104663](https://doi.org/10.1080/02634930120104663)

To link to this article: <http://dx.doi.org/10.1080/02634930120104663>

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Siamak Adhami is an independent scholar (E-mail: Asiamak@aol.com).

The occurrence of Iranian astronomical terms in Chinese Buddhist texts is also well attested. As examples, one can mention terms such as Pekinese *ki-houan*, Cantonese *kai-wun*, for Iranian *Kēwān*⁹ or the planet Saturn, hence Saturday, as well as Pek. *ho sen-wou*, Cant. *hap cham-mat*, for Iranian *haft-shambah* or Saturday; these terms were detected almost a century ago by Huber.¹⁰ According to a study by Shinjō Shinzō, the astronomical calculations found in the Indian *Mātanga-avadāna*, a text which was translated into Chinese in the third century AD, were made at 43° N latitude, a latitude not found in the Indian subcontinent; however, 'there is such a latitude in the vicinity of Samarkand',¹¹ the ancient Marakanda,¹² an early centre of Iranian civilization located in modern-day Uzbekistan.

One also encounters numerous instances of the presence of Iranian elements in regions outside China. For example, from Tibetan sources we learn of the activities of a number of Iranian physicians who joined the royal ranks in Lhasa: a 7th-century Iranian physician, who rather modestly called himself the 'Galen of Iran' (*Ga-le-nos*), is mentioned in one such source.¹³ In the 8th century, another physician from Iran, whose Tibetan name *Bi-chi-tsan-ba-shi-la-ha* contains the Middle Persian word for doctor (*bīzešk*), is reported to have been favoured over his Indian and Chinese rivals.¹⁴ Any examination of Tibeto-Iranian relations, no matter how brief, will not be complete without remarking on the Bön religion. According to the scriptures of this Tibetan religion, the original teacher of the faith, Shenrab Miwo, 'lived in the land of Tagzig [Tajiks], usually identified with Iran, well before the time of [the Buddha] Śākyamuni. He is described as visiting Tibet and predicting the later spread of his teachings in that region.'¹⁵

Of further interest are the various traditions of the Cham people inhabiting modern-day Cambodia. One of the legends of these Muslim people is that their first king was named 'Nour-savan', i.e. the Sasanian monarch Xosrow I Anushirvan (*regnabat*, AD 531–579); but more interesting are the names of his four ministers: Ban Ali (*sic*. Banī 'Alī), Bubaker (*sic*. Abu-Bakr), 'Umar, Asmān (*sic*. 'Uthmān).¹⁶ The French scholar of Indochina, Aymonier, writing in 1891, further noted the presence of a sacred text among the Chams entitled *Nourshavan* which, in all likelihood, is yet another reference to Xosrow I Anushirvan; this text, reportedly, was copied only during the holy month of Ramadan.¹⁷ Additionally, a number of Indologists and Iranists have for long associated the name of a tribe of Iranians, the *Kamboja*, also existing as a personal name, i.e. Kambūjiya of Darius I's Old Persian inscription¹⁸ and Καμβύσης of Herodotus (*Hist.* I.107, 111, 122), with the name of the country known as Cambodia.¹⁹

Another aspect of Iranian elements, quite prominent in a number of Chinese medieval tales, has already been examined by the late Edward Schafer in his learned article entitled 'Iranian merchants in T'ang Dynasty Tales'.²⁰ According to Schafer, the picture of the Iranian merchant that emerges from reading the tales is that of one who is,

wealthy as Croesus, and generous withal, a befriender of young and indigent scholars, a

dealer in wonders, a connoisseur of gems and precious metals, sometimes superstitious, occasionally avaricious, always sensible to his own interests and those of his fellow exiles with whom he tends to congregate, elevated above common mortals by his princely origin or by his supernatural powers, and in his speech at times skirting the margins of the truth in the interest of mystery and glamour.²¹

This examination by Schafer brings us to the main topic of the essay. More specifically, our interest lies in a tall tale that one of these merchants might have shared with his Chinese audience.

The story in question is called 'The Crab of the Southern Sea'. In this fable, the Persian merchant recounts his encounter with another *hu* (a foreigner)²² who was stranded on an island in the Southern Sea; in Chinese lore, this body of water was considered as a part of the Chang-hai (The Swollen Sea), a term which was rendered as Šankhay by medieval Iranian and Arab seamen.²³ According to Chinese sources, the Southern Sea was 'inhabited by magicians, monsters and mythical maidens'.²⁴ It also brought the wealth of the 'Western' countries to Canton. The tale of this merchant from the Southern Sea, as translated by Schafer, runs accordingly:

In recent times there was a Persian who often related how he boarded ship and sailed out on the sea, going to the country of India, and he had done this six or seven times. But on the last occasion the ship was driven many thousand miles into a great sea. They reached an island in the sea, and on it found a *hu* wearing clothes of grass and leaves. They were afraid of him, and inquired about him.

'Long ago,' said the *hu*, 'I foundered in a storm with several tens of traveling companions, but I alone was carried by the current to this place. Therefore I gathered fruits and herbs and ate them, and so preserved myself from death.' The whole company pitied on him on this account, and consequently took him on the ship. The *hu* then informed them that on the island was a great mountain covered with nacre, agate, crystal, and many other precious things, incalculable in number. Then all the sailors, leaving behind the least valuable things, took them and filled the boat. The *hu* commanded them to set forth quickly, lest the spirit of the mountain arrive and resent the deed. Therefore they hung out the sail before the wind, and proceeded something more than forty miles, when they saw from afar a red thing on a high peak, in appearance like serpent, and it gradually increased in size.

'That is the mountain spirit,' said the *hu*. 'He begrudges us his treasure, and has come in pursuit. I don't know what we can do.' There was not a sailor who was not terrified. But suddenly two mountains appeared out of the ocean, each several thousand feet high.

'These two mountains,' said the *hu* in delight, 'are the claws of a giant crab, and this crab often likes to fight with the mountain spirit, but the spirit is usually defeated, and fears it greatly. Now its claws appeared, we have no cause for worry. The great serpent had reached the crab, and they struggled round and round for a period. Then the crab took the serpent's head in its claws, and, holding it above the water like a chain of hills, killed it. Therefore the sailors were saved.'²⁵

The main elements in this medieval tale are as follows: (i) a Persian merchant; (ii) his travels to India; (iii) a shipwreck; (iv) the Southern Sea; (v) the two 'monsters'; (vi) riches beyond imagination; and (vii) the rescue of the merchant and his companions. In order to demonstrate the parallels between this story and

the treatise written in Bukhara of the 19th century, a summary of the latter will shortly be presented. The treatise under study here was composed by the Tajik encyclopaedist Ahmad Dānesh²⁶ and is found as a chapter in his *magnum opus* *Nawādir al-Waqāyi* ('The Rare Occurrences', henceforth NW).²⁷ This work is comprised of 24²⁸ 'books' bearing the following titles:

- (1) On determining the rights of parents and the limits of their rights;
- (2) On determining [the value of] worldly goods and the benefits of their accumulation and abandonment, and the discovery of the path of asceticism and seclusion and the truth of its manners;
- (3) On the subject of the history of the universe and the investigation of the created and the Eternal;
- (4) On the cause of the misery of the wise and the reason for the prosperity of the ignoramus;
- (5) On the subject of the 'House of Oblivion' and the proximity of the Hour;
- (6) On the story of the *Hājī* and the benefits of travel and the characteristics of women;
- (7) On the story of Abul-Qāsim Bey and the trip to Russia;
- (8) On the diplomatic mission of Abdul-Qādir Bek and the narration of the wonders of the Russian festival and celebration;
- (9) On the story of the whirlpool of Alexander and the wealth of the Persian [Merchant];
- (10) On the subject of real and virtual love [ερως] and friendship and the etiquettes of love;
- (11) On determining the manners of matrimony and the reason for the enmity of the mother-in-law and conditions of marriage;
- (12) On determining the course of the Divine decree and destiny and the occurrence of that which is possible and the cause of delay in response to prayers and the uselessness of professions and businesses;
- (13) On investigating the soul and its relation to the body and the manner of death and life;
- (14) On testaments to my children and an explanation of the truth about professions and trades;
- (15) The Treatise on the Order of Civilization and Cooperation:
 - (i) Introduction;
 - (ii) Ch. I: On the superiority of kingship and the conducts of Sultans with commanders and the army in the most righteous manner and those who followed it;
 - (iii) On the conduct of kings with subjects and citizens and attending their affairs;
 - (iv) Conclusion: On determining the manners of the courts of kings and their companionship and preparation for diplomatic missions [lit., travel] and residence, movement and residence, and the manner of dealing with the underlings;

- (16) On determining the shape of the Earth and the formation of mines and whatever is related to that subject and explaining the generation of salamander;
- (17) On the happiness following disappointment and weakness;
- (18) On the rare states of those who have escaped the claws of wild animals and thieves;
- (19) Another chapter on the ardour and chivalry of wild animals specially the lion;
- (20) On the interpretation of an interrupted dream which indicated the occurrence of an event and an examined case;
- (21) On 'explaining' certain verses which the notables of the time had requested;
- (22) On the story of the chef-monkey;
- (23) On the meaning of the Prophetic tradition (*hadith*) 'The roof of heaven is the floor of the Merciful One';
- (24) On diagnosis of human behaviour and the differences in natures.

As one can clearly see, the range of topics in Dānesh's writings is rather extraordinary; it includes his thoughts on 'scientific', political, philosophical, religious and literary subjects which all need further analysis. Also, whenever possible and for didactic purposes, Dānesh incorporated some stories in his writings which had enjoyed great popularity throughout the ages. The fantastic tale narrated by Dānesh, entitled 'On the Wealth of the Persian [Merchant] and the Whirlpool of Alexander', revolves around the adventures of a Khurāsānī merchant who, along with a crew, becomes stranded on an unknown island near the Antarctica. This tale is more elaborate than the Chinese version and covers many more topics such as second hand observations on Europe which will be dealt with in the future:

One day, accompanied by a group of merchants and artisans, some of us for the purpose of travel on the sea and some for commercial purposes, left London—whose description is worthy of hearing—and embarked on a journey toward Calcutta and the land of India; we had a large quantity of goods with us. ... The captain of the vessel was a blind man, a European (i.e. *Farangi*), who was an expert in the affairs of the sea. He said: 'Today, we use the sails as favorable winds blow toward the desired destination and the steam engine should be given a rest in order to prevent it from decay ...'. On the third day the speed and movement of the ship increased beyond what they had been before and the sailors began to worry. ... The captain said: 'It is written in our books that in the Ocean, near the South Pole (*Qutb-e Junūb*), fifty degrees south of the Equator, there is a whirlpool which draws ships toward itself from a distance of a month. And in its proximity there exists a mountain protruding into the air from the Ocean similar to a *minaret*; they are known as the whirlpool and *minaret* of Alexander for no one except Alexander has reached them; and if anyone has reached them, he has not returned alive. Even Alexander himself was able to free himself from that place only through the wisdom of philosophers and numerous means and tools ...'

[After two or three days, the ship reached the base of the mountain] we thanked God for escaping from certain death and drowning; we discovered new lives within ourselves and

prepared our drink and food; we ate fully as we had been hungry for days. We observed numerous [other] ships at the base of the mountain, some were wrecked, some decayed, and some broken. And from our companions, who were eighteen originally, twelve had passed away until today and six had survived ...

At any rate, after resting and relaxation, we went about inspecting the ships which had been scattered around that mountain. We saw that the crew of some of these ships had died and had turned into piles of bones and dust. From their condition, we contemplated our own fate and wept profusely. And boxes, filled with expensive goods, all had decayed and rotted; some were filled with gems and others with silver and gold coins ...

In one of the ships, we observed three people lying; two of them were dead but one was alive and barely breathing ... The captain asked him: 'you who have been in this whirlpool for some time, do you have any thought on escape or have you devised any plans?' He answered: 'This whirlpool is analogous to the maw of Azrael; how can anyone trapped in the maw of Azrael dream of escaping? Or, this itself is the mouth of a tomb which has been opened in water, how can anyone return home from it?' He said this and began weeping and we joined him. Indeed, the news of impending death is far worse than death itself ...

The captain asked him again: 'In these nights and days which you have lived in this life-destroying abyss and have sought hope from every corner, have you seen any sign of a living or corporeal being in the air or in the sea? Or, have you observed any peculiarity and feature in the sea which might have amazed you?' He answered: 'Yes! At nights one can observe numerous signs and traces of marine life Once a year a huge monster (Per. *jān-var*, Pah. *gyān-war*, lit.: animal, animate being) comes to this whirlpool and sometimes stays for two to three days. Whenever it appears, the water of the ocean rises into the air similar to mountains ... When this monster leaves, after many hours, the whirlpool returns to its original condition ...'

[Upon hearing this] the captain commanded the ship's blacksmith to prepare chains ranging from 300 to 500 *gaz* [1 *gaz* = 24 fingers] in length as well as nails with rings each one *dhar'* in length, and sharp enough that could penetrate any surface ... Meanwhile, we transported whatever goods and edibles which had suffered the least damage to our own ship ... The captain said: 'Beware that after that monster comes to this whirlpool and the ocean settles down, each one of you must carry these chains which are tied to the nails to your boats and hammer (Ar. *mitraq*) them firmly into the limbs of the monster. This way, maybe we can escape this abyss of destruction and whirlpool of calamity. When we leave the proximity of this whirlpool, then we sever the chains and bring the ship under our own control.

[When the monster appeared] we firmly hammered the nails into every limb of the monster that we encountered and tied the chains to them ... At any rate, after fifteen days and seeing numerous wonders we reached the shores of the Ocean.

The parallels between the two stories are obvious; again we see: (i) an Iranian merchant travelling to India; (ii) a shipwreck on an unknown island; (iii) the location of the island in the Southern Sea or near the South Pole; (iv) a sea monster; (v) the large reward gained from the adventure; and (vi) rescue from certain death.

The one conclusion that these parallels leads to is that the two stories, apparently, had a common source which remains unknown at this point; however, the story was a favourite of many story-tellers for it had survived for

well over a millennium, from at least the T'ang period to the 19th century and was recounted in both China and Central Asia. The genre, a sea voyage and encounter with monsters, however, is common enough and in fact its most famous representative is found in the adventures of Sindbad the Sailor in the *Arabian Nights* or the *One Thousand And One Nights*.²⁹ As is well known, this Arabic version had a Pahlavi source as its most immediate predecessor known as *One Thousand Tales* (*Hazar Afsānah*) which was itself a translation of the Indian original.³⁰ The final point that needs to be made in regard to these two tales concerns a major distinction which one must keep in mind about the aims of their narrators. While the purpose of the Chinese tale might have primarily been entertainment, for Dānesh, the reformer, this story, served a more important and didactic purpose; similar to his other narratives, in the story of the Whirlpool of Alexander, Dānesh attempts to inform his readers of the significance and magnitude of the world beyond the borders of the Khanate and the technological progress which he, either directly or otherwise, had come to know; this new world was one that most of his compatriots, particularly the ruling elite, had stubbornly resisted to embrace for centuries.

Notes and References

1. This is the third article (second published in *Central Asian Survey*, see Ref 26) by the present author devoted to the works and life of the great Tajik intellectual Ahmad Dānesh (1827–1897); as Mme. H. Carrère d'Encausse correctly remarked almost forty years ago, Dānesh represents 'l'un des véritables maîtres à penser de l'Asie centrale du XIXe siècle, précurseur de tous les réformistes proprement turkestanais' (*Réforme et révolution chez les musulmans de l'empire russe* (Paris: Librairie Armand Colin, 1966, p 105). Furthermore, she noted that '[I]l le personnage et l'œuvre de Donish sont encore mal connus, et il faudra pourtant lui rendre un jour la place qui est sienne, une place essentielle, dans l'histoire de la pensée réformatrice musulmane du XIXe siècle' (ibid, pp 105–109). It is only by utilizing the reliable, 19th-century tradition of *Quellenanalyse* that one can hope to fulfil this task and offer a sketch of the life of this Central Asian reformist.
2. A. Burton, *Bukharan Trade: 1558–1718* (Bloomington, IN: University of Indiana, 1993); Stephen Frederic Dale, *Indian Merchants and Eurasian Trade, 1600–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994); I. Ecsedy, 'Early Persian envoys in the Chinese courts (5th–6th centuries A.D.)', in J. Harmatta (ed.) *Studies in the Sources of the History of Pre-Islamic Central Asia* (Budapest: Akademiai Kiado, 1979), pp 153–162; I. Ecsedy, 'The role of long distance trade in connection of China with the Western countries (Hsi-yü)', in *La Persia e l'Asia centrale; da Alessandro al X secolo*, (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, Roma, 1996), pp 229–236; Pugliese Carratelli, Giovanni. 'La mediazione dell'Iran tra l'Europeo e l'Asia', in *La Persia e l'Asia centrale; da Alessandro al X secolo*, (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1996), pp 15–22; M. Rossabi, 'The "decline" of the central Asian caravan trade', in James D. Tracy (ed.) *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long-Distance Trade in the Early Modern World 1350–1750* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), pp 351–370; E. Trombert, 'Une trajectoire d'Ouest en Est sur la Route de la Soie. La diffusion du coton dans l'Asie Centrale sinisée (6e–10e siècles)', in *La Persia e l'Asia centrale; da Alessandro al X secolo* (Roma: Accademia nazionale dei Lincei, 1996), pp 205–228.
3. G. Ferrand, 'L'Élément persan dans les textes nautiques arabes des XVe siècles', *Journal Asiatique*, Vol 204, 1924, pp 193–257; Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation* (London, 1928); G.F. Hourani, *Arab Seafaring* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1995[1951]), pp 36–50; Edward Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand; A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1963); Ismail Rā'in, *Daryānavardi-ye Irānīān* [The Seafaring of Iranians] (Tehran, 1350/1971); O.W. Wolters, *Early Indonesian Commerce* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1967), pp 129–159.
4. I use the term Iranian here in its widest sense which includes those groups who speak/spoke one of the Iranian languages be it Kurdish, Ossetian, Persian, Soghdian, Tajiki, etc.
5. Edward Schafer, *The Vermilion Bird; T'ang Images of the South* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1967), p 83.

6. Berthold Laufer, 'Sino—Iranica: Chinese contributions to the history of civilization in ancient Iran, with special references to the history of cultivated plants and products', *Publication 201, Anthropological Series*, Vol XV, No 3 (Chicago: Field Museum of natural History, 1967[1919]); for an overview of Chinese—Iranian relations across centuries please consult 'Chinese—Iranian relations', in *Encyclopaedia Iranica* (Costa Mesa, CA, 1992) (EI, various authors); the articles by Huber and Yabuuti (*infra*) should be added to the bibliographies found in EI.
7. Schafer, op cit, Ref 5, p 84.
8. E. Schafer, *Pacing the Void: T'ang Approaches to the Stars* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1977), p 187.
9. Of course, as is well known, Iranian *Kēwān* is itself derived from Akkadian *kaiwa/mānu*— 'the permanent', see D.N. Mackenzie, 'Zoroastrian astrology in *Bundahišn*', *Bulletin of Southern Oriental and Asian Studies*, Vol 27, Part 3, 1964, pp 511–529, n 46.
10. E. Huber, 'Termes persans dans l'astrologie bouddhique chinoise', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, Vol 6, 1906, pp 39–43.
11. As found in Kiyosi Yabuuti, 'Indian and Arabian astronomy in China', in *Silver Jubilee Volume of the Zinbun-Kagaku-Kenkyusyo* (Kyoto: Kyoto University, 1954), p 585.
12. Richard Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich: C.H. Beck, 1984), p 112.
13. Rolf Stein, *Tibetan Civilization* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1972), p 61; on Galen consult P.N. Singer (Transl.), *Galen; Selected Works* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997), pp vii—xlii. Ch. Beckwith, 'The introduction of Greek medicine into Tibet in the seventh and eighth centuries', *Journal of Asian and Oriental Studies*, Vol 99, No 2, 1979, pp 297–313, argues that Galenos may have indeed been a Greek.
14. Ibid, p 61. In the same context I should add that Ch. Beckwith, in his excellent *The Tibetan Empire in Central Asia* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), p 109, n 4, has remarked that '[t]he word for Su-lu's "Tibetan" armor is *kā śkhw d h*, i.e. **kāśkhūdāh*; or *kā śkhw r h*, i.e. **kāśkhūrah*. The latter part of the word seems to be a scribal error for New Persian, *z r h*, i.e. *zirih*, "armor", "coat of mail".' Another alternative and perhaps a more fitting one in the context is to derive the latter part from New Persian *xūd* (*kulāh-xūd*) 'head-armor' (OP *xaudā* < Av. *xaoḍa*).
15. Geoffrey Samuel, *Civilized Shamans: Buddhism in Tibetan Societies* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 1993). On possible Iranian influences on Tibetan culture, see Stein, op cit, Ref 13, pp 49, 57–60, 231–236.
16. Etienne Aymonier, 'Légendes historiques des Champs', *Excursions et Reconnaissances*, Vol 14, 1890, pp 153, 183–184.
17. Etienne Aymonier, 'Les Tchames et leur religions', *Revue de l'histoire des religions*, Vol 24, 1891, p 283.
18. Roland G. Kent, *Old Persian; Grammar, Text, Lexicon* (New Haven, CT: American Oriental Society, 1953/1989), p 120.
19. Ernst Kuhn, 'Das Volk der Kamboja bei Yāska', in *Avesta, Pahlavi, and Ancient Persian Studies in Honour of the Late P. B. Sanjana* (Strassburg, 1904), pp 213–214; S. Levi, *Journal Asiatique*, Vol 2, 1923, p 52 ff; B.C. Law, *Some Kshatrya Tribes of Ancient India* (1923), p 232 ff, J. Charpentier, *Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik*, Vol 2, 1923, pp 140–152; A. Foucher, *La vieille route de l'Inde* (1947), p 271; Emile Benveniste, 'Une bilingue gréco-araméenne d'Asoka', *Journal Asiatique*, Vol 256, 1958, pp 46–48; these sources were brought to my attention by Dr Hanns-Peter Schmidt (Emeritus UCLA) for which I am grateful.
20. E. Schafer, 'Iranian merchants in T'ang Dynasty tales', *University of California Publications on Semitic and Oriental Studies*, Vol 11, 1951, pp 403–422.
21. Ibid, p 422.
22. In sixteen of the tales examined by Schafer (op cit. Ref 20, p 413) where the nationality of the *hu* is not identified, he remarks that 'it is improbable that the unqualified term *hu* is meant to refer to Turks or Tibetans, since these personages conform closely to the type of wealthy immigrant merchant associated by the T'ang Chinese with Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, and Sogdiana'.
23. G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient du viii^e au xviii^e siècles*, Vol 2 (Paris, 1914), p 7.
24. Schafer, op cit, Ref 5, p 104.
25. Schafer, op cit, Ref 20, pp 422–423.
26. For a brief biography of Ahmad Dānesh, see Vincent Fourniau, 'Dānesh, Ahmad', *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, Vol 4, pp 647–649, where a useful bibliography is provided. The following, however, should be added to his bibliography: Siamak Adhami, 'The conversion of the Japanese Emperor to Islam; a study of Central Asian eschatology', *Central Asiatic Journal*, Vol 43, No 1, 1999, pp 1–9; Siamak Adhami, 'A note on "The House of Oblivion"', *Central Asian Survey*, Vol 18, No 3, 1999, pp 385–391; R. Hadizade, 'O pervo

- chernovoi redaktsii "Navādir al-vaqā'ii" Ahmada Dānisha', *Kratkie soobshcheniia instituta narodov azi*, No 65, 1964, pp 176–183; B.V. Lunin, 'Iz kommentariiev k peterburgskov poezdke Akhmada Donisha v 1874 g.', *Izvestiia otd. Obshchestvennykh nauk AN tadjikskoi SSR*, No 1 (39), 1965 g., pp 53–61; A. Maniyāzov, 'Mas'alahoi asosii omuzishi ejodiyati Ahmadi Donish', *Izvestiia akademii nauk tadjikskoi SSR, otd. Obshchestvennykh nauk*, No 1 (87), 1977, pp 3–8; K. Rizev, 'Sotsiat'no-ekonomicheski e vzgliady A. Donisha', *Izvestiia akademii nauk tadjikskoi SSR, otd. Obshchestvennykh nauk*, No 2 (100), 1980, pp 15–21.
27. The text used here is taken from the Tajiki (modern Iranian written in modified Cyrillic alphabets) edition: Ahmadi Donish, in R. Hodizoda and A. Devonaqulov (eds) *Navodir-ul-vaqoe'*, Vol 1 (Dushanbe: Nashriyat-i 'Donish', 1988), pp 194–204; an earlier Persian edition of some chapters of NW was prepared by Rasul Hadizadeh and Naser Zarbakht, *Golchini az athar-hā-ye Ahmad-e Dāneš* (Dushanbe: Izdatel'stvo 'Donish', 1977), pp 108–121.
 28. In my 'A note on the "House of Oblivion"', op cit, Ref 26, p 386, inadvertently I wrote '21' instead of '24' which is corrected here.
 29. Richard Burton (Trans.), 'The seven voyages of Sindbad', in *The Arabian Nights* (New York: Modern Library, 1997[1932]), pp 414–490. G. Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et textes géographiques arabes, persans et turks relatifs a l'extrême-Orient du viiiie au xviiiie siècles*, Vols 1–2 (Paris, 1913–1914).
 30. Hussain Haddawy (Transl.), *The Arabian Nights* (New York: Everyman's Library, 1990), p xv.