

The Muslims in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 at the End of the Yüan Dynasty

Part 2

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At the end of the Yüan Dynasty, when the whole country was in turmoil, Fuchien Province also could not remain peaceful. Particularly in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 (Zaitun of Marco Polo and others) there took place the rebellion of I-ssü-pa-hsi 亦思巴奚 (or I-pa-êrh-hsi 伊巴爾希) which continued almost ten years from the 17th year to the 26th year of Chih-chêng 至正 (1357-66 A.D.) under Emperor Shun-tsung 順宗. The circumstances of the rebellion are referred to in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* 泉州府志, the *Hsing-hua-fu-chih* 興化府志, the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* 福建通志, the *Min-shu* 閩書 and other books, but they are described in details especially in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志 (Vol. 87) by Huang Chung-chao 黃仲昭 and the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih 同治 edition (Vol. 266). Huang Chung-chao got materials mainly from the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* 至正近記 written by Wu Yüan 吳源 of the same province.⁽⁴⁹⁾ This book

49) The life of Huang Chung-chao 黃仲昭 is found in the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of Ch'ien-lung edition (Vol. 44), the *P'u-t'ien-hsien-chih* 莆田縣志 of the Ch'ien-lung edition (Vol. 16) and others. His name is Ch'ien 潛, but he was known by his second name. He was native of Pu-t'ien and passed the examination of Chin-shih 進士 (Doctor) in the 2nd year of Ch'êng-hua 成化 (1466 A.D.). He was appointed Compiler of the Academy 翰林編修 and was engaged in the compilation of the *Annals* 實錄 of Emperor Hsien-tsung 憲宗. He compiled the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*, the *Fu-chih* 府志 of Yen-p'ing 延平 and of Shao-wu 邵武, and the *Nan-p'ing-hsien-chih* 南平縣志. He also participated in the compilation of the *Hsing-hua-fu-chih* 興化府志 in cooperation with Chou Ying 周瑛. His writings were collected into the *Wei-hsien-wên-chi* 未軒文集 in 15 volumes.

seems to have long been lost, while there is a short biography of the author, Wu Yüan, in the *P'u-t'ien-hsien-chih* 莆田縣志 (Vol. 21, the Biographies of Scholars 儒林傳), published in the 23rd year of Ch'ien-lung (1758 A.D.), and others. His second name was Hsing-ch'uan 性傳. In the third year of Hung-wu 洪武 of the Ming Dynasty he was appointed Instructor of the County School of Hsing-hua 興化縣學教諭 with the status of Ming-ching 明經 ('Versed in Canons'). Afterwards he was transferred to the instructorship of the Prefecture School (府學教授) of Hsing-hua. In the 13th year of Hung-wu (1380 A.D.) he was called to the Imperial Capital Nan-king by the special imperial order on the recommendation of Lin T'ing-kang 林廷綱 who was Chung-shu Shê-jên 中書舍人 (Drafter of the Central Drafting Office) at that time. Wu was appointed Ssü-fu-kuan 四輔官 ('Four-Assistant-Officer', i.e. Chamberlain) and concurrently T'ai-tzū-pin-k'ò 太子賓客 (Adviser to the Heir Apparent), and was ranked after princes and barons (公侯都府). Later on he retired to his native place because of his old age, but he was called back again to Capital by the imperial order and was appointed Kuo-tzū-ssü-ye 國子司業 (Director of Studies in National University). Before long he died while he was still in office. Moreover, according to the same book (Vol. 33, Literature 藝文), Wu Yüan wrote the *P'u-yang-ming-kung-shih-shu* 莆陽名公事述 (Biographies of Eminent Persons of P'u-t'ien) in 5 vols. and the *Pao-su-hsüan-kao* 抱素軒稿 in 8 vols. besides the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* in two vols.

Since Wu Yüan was appointed Instructor of the County School in the 3rd year of Hung-wu, he must have been born at least at the beginning of the period of Chih-chêng of the Yüan, and consequently it is evident that he was a witness of the rebellion of I-ssü-pa-hsi. Moreover, as he was a man of great learning, I think that his records are considerably trustworthy. But his description of the rebellion of I-ssü-pa-hsi is nothing but the record of the man who observed the rebellion from his native place, i.e. Hsing-hua 興化 City (P'u-t'ien 莆田), and accordingly he mentions almost nothing of the circumstances of Ch'üan-chou, the original base of the rebels. Although the same contents as those of the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* are quoted from this book, the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi*, in the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* 福建通志 of the T'ung-ch'ih 同治 edition, there are found several differences of character between the two T'ung-chih.

Prof. Chang Hsing-lang 張星娘 quotes the passages concerned item by item in his "*Chung-hsi Chiao-t'ung-shih-liao Hui-p'ien* 中西交通史料匯編 (No. 4, *Ku-tai Chung-kuo yü I-lan chih Chiao-t'ung* 古代中國與伊蘭之交通 'The Communication between Ancient China and Iran') from the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*, with the headings "the Rebellion of the Persian Garrison in Ch'üan-chou at the End of the Yüan Dynasty" and "the Persian Army Stationing in China". Were the I-ssü-pa-hsi really the Persian garrison? My purpose is to examine the true nature of the I-ssü-pa-hsi in this chapter. Though somewhat diffuse, I should like to describe the outline of the development of the rebellion, chiefly making use of the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* quoted in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*, be-

cause this is considered to be the most reliable source, so far as the original text of Wu Yüan is not discovered.

This rebellion burst out in the spring of 1357 A.D., as it is recorded in the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih edition (Vol. 266) that "in March, the spring of the 17th year of Chih-chêng 至正, Sai-fu-ting 賽甫丁 and A-mi-li-ting 阿迷里丁, both of them the Commanders of Wan-hu 萬戶 (Ten Thousand Military Families), rose in revolt, having occupied the walled city of Ch'üan-chou." The time was not long after the repair of the *Jāmi'* Mosque called Ch'ing-ching-ssü 清淨寺 and the compilation of the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* 清源續志 took place. Many of the persons who had participated in these undertakings, such as Hsia-pu-lu-han-ting 夏不魯罕丁 (Shaikh Burhān al-Dīn), Chin A-li 金阿里 and the like, were still alive at that time.

Prof. Chang Hsing-lang identified Sai-fu-ting with *Seif-uddin* and A-mi-li-ting with *Amireddin*.⁽⁵⁰⁾ The former is no doubt the transcription of *Saif ud-Dīn* ('Sword of the Faith'), but is the latter really the transcription of *Amīr ud-Dīn*? The name is written as A-mi-li-k'o 阿迷里可 in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li 萬曆 edition (e.g. Vol. 1: History 沿革), or in the *Fu-chien-hsü-chih* 福建續志 of the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 edition (Vol. 44), and others. But as in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* quoted in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* the name is rendered with A-mi-li-ting 阿迷里丁, this form will be more correct. The form *Amīr ud-Dīn* sounds rather strange. This should be amended as *Amīd ud-Dīn* ('Support of the Faith').

The record tells us that they rose in revolt, but we do not know what were the actual intentions of the rebels. It is clear from their names that Sai-fu-ting and A-mi-li-ting were Muslims. Probably they could at best command foreign residents of Ch'üan-chou, most of them Persians, and established a small self-governing community. In the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* 泉州府志 of the Wan-li edition (Vol. 24), it is said: "In the 17th year of Chih-chêng of the Yüan Dynasty, Sai-fu-ting and A-mi-li-k'o 阿迷里可, the Commanders of Wan-hu (Ten Thousand Military Families), rose in revolt and occupied Ch'üan-chou City. People suffered a great deal." In the same book (Vol. 13) it is told: "Chêng Shou 鄭壽 was a native of Chin-chiang 晉江 (Ch'üan-chou City). He was quite well read and could write a fine style....He was raised to the military rank of Hsüan-wu-chiang-ch'ün 宣武將軍 (General of Displaying Military Arts), and promoted to the Upper Commander of Wan-hu 上萬戶 from the Commander of Ch'ien-hu 千戶 (One Thousand Military Families). During the period of Chih-chêng Sai-fu-ting and A-mi-li-k'o, both Commanders of Wan-hu, raised a revolt and occupied outrageously Ch'üan-chou City. Chêng Shou attempted to attack the rebels, but the secret leaked through to the enemy so that he was slain. A number of his kinsmen died. His residence was burnt down. His descendants were dispersed. People of Ch'üan-chou lamented over his death."

50) *Chung-hsi Chiao-t'ung-shih-liao Hui-p'ien* 中西交通史料匯編, Vol. 4, p. 218.

From this we know that there were some Chinese who tried to resist the rebels.

The force which made the core of the army of Sai-fu-ting and A-mi-li-ting was the troop called I-ssü-pa-hsi. While Prof. Chang Hsing-lang assumed them to be the soldiers who came from Ispahān of Iran,⁽⁵¹⁾ I prefer to suppose that I-ssü-pa-hsi is a word affiliated to the Persian *Ispāh* (presumably *Ispāh-i-Ch'üan-chou*) which means 'army', related to the word *Sipāhī* meaning 'soldier' or 'knight'.

In December of the 18th year of Chih-chêng, Buka Timur 普化帖木兒,⁽⁵²⁾ Governor of Province Fu-chien 福州行省平章政事, came to engage in a battle with Surveillance Commissioner 廉訪司 (most likely his name was Pan-jo Timur 般若帖木兒). At that time, in District Hsing-hua 興化 (the centre of the district was P'u-t'ien 莆田 City), halfway between Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou, San-tan-pa 三旦八, the former governor of Chiang-(su-) Chê(-chiang) Province 江浙行省平章政事, lived, and An T'ung 安童, the former governor of Hsing-hua District 興化路總管, resided as a Taoistic monk, retired from the official life. Buka Timur sent his men to San-tan-pa and An T'ung in order to urge them to recruit soldiers and to help him. After that, it is said, "he bribed I-ssü-pa-hsi of Ch'üan-chou in order to invite the soldiers to his side (又賂泉州亦思巴奚調其兵進)" (the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* cited in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*). In the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* it is said that "he also bribed the I-pa-êrh-hsi soldiers led by A-mi-li-ting of Ch'üan-chou to march into the capital of Fu-chou (復賂泉州阿迷里丁所部伊巴爾希兵進省)". This seems to be the first instance where I-ssü-pa-hsi or I-pa-êrh-hsi made their appearance in records. I-pa-êrh-hsi 伊巴爾希 should be corrected to I-ssü-pa-hsi 伊思巴希, and I prefer to accept the statement of the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*, since it is considered to be more faithful to the original source than that of the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*.

In January of the 19th year of Chih-chêng, San-tan-pa called himself Governor 平章 and An T'ung also assumed himself the title of Ts'an-chêng 參政 (Administration Vice Commissioner). It is said in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* that "they instituted a sub-province 分省 at the district capital 路治; they forced the military and civil officers to assemble with their soldiers." The district capital 路治 here means the capital of Hsing-hua District 興化路, i.e. the present P'u-t'ien town 莆田縣. Again, in February "San-tan-pa went to Fu-chou in order to help Buka Timur, having led several thousand soldiers of Hsing-hua District and of I-ssü-pa-hsi. But An T'ung remained behind and administered solely the affairs of the sub-province of Hsing-hua. He despised the I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers and considered them easily manageable. Thus he often challenged to them. Accordingly, A-mi-li-ting, the chief of I-ssü-pa-hsi, came there personally with his army. In reality he intended to attack Hsing-hua, though under the pre-

51) *ibid.*

52) According to the *Main Chronology* of the *Yüan-shih* (Vol. 45), it is said that "on the day of *i-wei* 乙未 of November in the 18th year of Chih-chêng Buka Timur was appointed P'ing-chang-chêng-shih 平章政事 (Governor) of Fu-chien Province."

text that he would rescue Buka Timur of Fu-chou. As for An T'ung, he himself perceived this intention." "In March, A-mi-li-ting came near to the rampart of Hsing-hua City. Being confident in the stratagem of Ch'ên Chün-yung 陳君用, the governor 總管 of Chang-chou 漳州, and others, An T'ung closed the gates and showed his full preparations for defence, by displaying soldiers upon the ramparts. On the other hand, he gathered a gang of mobs outside the western gate, thinking that the enemy might retreat, by assuming the mobs as ambush. At this moment San-tan-pa heard that the troop of A-mi-li-ting was coming, he returned to Hsing-hua by galloping his horse and tried to persuade An T'ung to withdraw his troop, but An did not follow his advice. San-tan-pa came for himself out of the city to welcome the troop of A-mi-li-ting. A-mi-li-ting detained him outside the city. He made his men set fire to the gates and shoot arrows frantically against the soldiers on the wall. The soldiers in the city extinguished the fire by pouring out water in haste. But arrows and stones were thrown down over the ramparts like a heavy rain. The both parties stood face to face with each other for a day, but the issue was still undecided. Next morning A-mi-li-ting made a sudden attack. To the western part of the city wall he discovered a somewhat low place near the hill, where he put hundreds of guardians to flight by fierce shooting. His men climbed the wall and finally occupied the city. An T'ung took to flight in confusion. At last A-mi-li-ting entered the city with San-tan-pa and made it their headquarters. They captured the family and the treasures of An T'ung, and despatched their soldiers to every quarter of the district to plunder during almost a month. Intending to resist them, An T'ung rose in arms at Lung-chi-sü 龍紀寺 in Hsing-hua County 興化縣 and a mob of inhabitants of the district gathered here and there. A-mi-li-ting was frightened at heart, having heard no people would agree to obey him. At last, in April, he arrested San-tan-pa. Driving the man and other captives, male and female, he hurried back to Ch'üan-chou."

During the siege, it is told, A-mi-li-ting discovered a somewhat low place near a hill to the western part of the city wall, and he made the I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers climb the wall and rush into the city. Really, in the corresponding part there lies a hill called Wu-shih-shan 烏石山 (Black Stone Hill). The wall surrounding the city had been constructed half way up the hill, while the summit was situated outside the wall. A-mi-li-ting took advantage of this weak point and succeeded in entering the city. Later on I shall discuss once more about this point.

In this way the attack of Hsing-hua by the I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers failed. County Hsing-hua 興化縣 where An T'ung who had escaped rose again in arms, is the abolished former County Hsing-hua that is found in the *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要 (Vol. 96, the article of Hsing-hua City 興化府). It was located about 85 *li* to the northwest of the fortified town of County P'u-t'ien 莆田縣 (the administrative centre of Hsing-hua Prefecture 興化府) and its

physical aspects were rugged. There were two fortified towns, new and old. The old one was established in Yu-yang-chên 游洋鎮 in the 5th year of T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo 太平興國 (980 A.D.) of the Sung Dynasty. After this was abolished, the so-called new county was set up at Hsiang-hsi-ts'un 湘溪村 of Kuang-ye-li 廣業里 during the years of Huang-ching 皇慶 (1312-13 A.D.) and continued until it was abolished in the 13th year of Chêng-t'ung 正統 (1448 A.D.) of the Ming Dynasty.⁽⁵³⁾ It goes without saying that it was this new county that An T'ung had recourse to.

According to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih edition, it is said that "in this year, Sai-fu-ting entered Fu-chou and made it his headquarters." Probably he invaded the city with a part of the I-ssü-pa-hsi troop, taking advantage of the disorder there. The destiny of An T'ung and that of Santan-pa who were taken away are quite obscure thereafter.

II

In the 20th year of Chih-chêng (1360 A.D.) leading personages of the uprising of Hsing-hua District 興化路 changed completely. Newly appeared Lin Tê-lung 林德隆, Shams ud-Dîn (苦思丁), Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên 陳從仁 and his brother Ch'ên T'ung 陳同 on the stage. In the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* quoted in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* it is said: "In January of the 20th year, Lin Tê-lung, T'ui-kuan 推官 (Undersecretary) of Hsing-hua District, gathered militiamen and took up a position at Huang-shih 黃石. He scared away Liu Po-hsiang 柳伯祥, Assistant Prefect 府判. At length he entered the city with his troop." The town of Huang-shih was situated 25 li to the southeast of the city of Hsing-hua (P'u-t'ien). It was near by the sea. During the period of Chih-chêng of the Yüan Dynasty, it is said, the Office of Taxation 稅課局 of Huang-shih was set there.⁽⁵⁴⁾

Shams ud-Dîn was formerly the Supreme Commander 元帥 of the military headquarters of Kuang-tung 廣東元帥府 and afterwards was promoted to Yu-ch'êng 右丞 (Right Vice Governor) of the sub-province of Hsing-hua 興化分省. He seems to have been a Muslim originated from the Western Frontiers. According to the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi*, he "looked on the quarrel between (Liu) Po-hsiang and (Lin) Tê-lung with indifference. When Po-hsiang ran away, he did not hinder Tê-lung from entering with his troop into the city. No one knew what he (Shams ud-Dîn) intended."

In autumn a new person entered the stage and began to contend with Lin Tê-lung. "In autumn of this year, Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên, native of Hui-an 惠安, was promoted to the office of T'ung-chih 同知 (Vice Magistrate) of Hsing-

53) Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹, *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要, Vol. 96, the item of P'u-t'ien-hsien 莆田縣, Hsing-hua-fu 興化府.

54) *ibid.* Further, cf. the article of P'u-t'ien-li 莆田里 in the *P'u-t'ien-hsien-chih* 莆田縣志 of the Ch'ien-lung edition (Vol. 1).

hua District due to his several distinguished war services. In winter, Lin Tê-lung, native of P'u-t'ien, also was promoted to the governor 總管 of Hsing-hua District for his several distinguished war services. Both of them did not yield to each other in valor. They defended themselves with their armies because of their mutual hatred and frequent conflicts. But the party of Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên was more numerous and stronger. Moreover, his brother Ch'ên T'ung stole into the city with his troop and attempted to murder Lin Tê-lung in conspiracy with Shams ud-Dîn. In December Tê-lung happened to go out from the city owing to some business. Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên despatched his soldiers to arrest him and put him in prison. Ch'ên brought a false charge against him, by accusing that he would conspire against the government. Tê-lung was whipped all over the body. Meanwhile he was suffocated under sand bags. Next day it was officially announced that he died of illness. His corpse was examined and was carried by soldiers to a hill west of the city where it was burnt and trampled. Further, soldiers were sent to his house at P'u-hsi 莆禧 to confiscate his property. His eldest son, Lin Chiung 林琮, ran to Sai-fu-ting in Fu-chou, while Lin hsü-ying 林許英, his second son, fled to A-mi-li-ting in Ch'üan-chou. They told their grief to both of the chiefs and implored them to conspire against Ch'ên. Both the chiefs accepted a bribe from them and pitied them for their father's death on a false charge and because of cruel murder. Day and night they sent their men to Shams ud-Dîn in order to discuss secretly the way of revenge." According to the *Hsing-hua-fu-chih* 興化府誌 of the Hung-ch'ih 宏治 edition of the Ming (the revised edition of the 10th year of T'ung-ch'ih of the Ch'ing Dynasty, Vol. 2, the Annual List of Officers 各官年表), among the list of the Yüan offices, (1) Chien-ch'ün 監郡 (Governor), Darhachi 達魯花赤 (Governor), Tsung-kuan 總管 (Governor of District); (2) T'ung-chih 同知 (Vice Magistrate); (3) P'an-kuan 判官 (Secretary); (4) T'ui-kuan 推官 (Undersecretary), and others, there are found the following accounts: "In the 19th year of Chih-chêng Lin Tê-lung was appointed P'an-kuan", "in the 20th year Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên was appointed T'ung-chih", and next to this "in the 21st year of Chih-chêng Lin Tê-lung was made Tsung-kuan." The date is, however, wrong and it should be corrected as "in the 20th year of Chih-chêng" according to the text of the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi*, as Lin Tê-lung had already been murdered by the end of the 20th year. The military quarters of Pu-hsi where the house of Tê-lung was was located 90 li to the southeast of the city of Hsing-hua (P'u-t'ien) and at the tip of the promontory. It was on the opposite bank to Mei-chou 湄州, the renowned isle for the temple of Ma-tsu 媽祖.

In April of the 21st year of Chih-yüan 至元, Lin Chiung who had escaped to Fu-chou "returned from the camp of Sai-fu-ting. He gathered a great many militia and pitched several camps at Hu-t'ou 湖頭 and other places. A-mi-li-ting also sent all of sudden an army to him and attacked Ch'ên T'ung at Hui-an 惠安. Now Shams ud-Dîn had already made a secret promise with the two

chiefs. At last he killed Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên in the hinder-hall of the government office by playing a trick. Ts'ung-jên was accused of conspiracy. His corpse was mutilated. At that time the army of A-mi-li-ting arrived at Fêng-t'ing 楓亭. The troop of Lin Chiung hurried to attack Huang-shih 黃石. Having heard the news that Shams ud-Dîn had got the head and the arms of Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên, they withdrew. Ch'ên T'ung tried to save his brother with his army, but when he arrived outside the southern gate, he heard Ts'ung-jên was already dead and he fled to Chang-chou 漳州 in order to look to Lo-liang 羅良 for assistance. Before long Shams ud-Dîn returned to the city of Fu-chou. He despatched Ts'an-chêng 參政 (Administration Vice Commissioner) Hu-tu-sha 忽都沙 and Yüan-Shuai 元帥 (Supreme Commander) Hu-hsien 忽先 (Husain, Hosenin) to administer Hsing-hua. In June Ch'ên T'ung and others came back to Hui-an by sailing the sea from Chang-chou. They captured the town of Hui-an and slaughtered local officials. They forced the majority of inhabitants to serve as soldiers and declared that they had avenged the death of Ts'ung-jên. Lin Chiung, being informed of the news, proceeded to Fêng-t'ing and attacked the enemy with the troops of Liu Hsi-liang 劉希良, Lin Tzŭ-ching 林子敬, County Captain 縣尉 Ch'ên 陳, and others, but was defeated. Liu Po-shun 柳伯順, husband of Ch'ên T'ung's sister, ran after Chiung with his troop together with his partisans, Yang Chiu 楊九, Huang Kuo-fu 黃國輔 and others and invaded Wu-shan 吳山, Hsia-lin 下林 and other places.⁽⁵⁵⁾ Roads were soaked by bloodshed and the sky was burnt by flames. The damage extended throughout the area. But the invaders entered deeply into an unfamiliar land and thus they could not control the land even after a long time. Kung 攻 (may be Lin Chiung?) was in touch with Hu-hsien (according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* "(Liu) Po-shun was secretly in touch with Hu-hsien, but Hu-tu-sha did not take notice of it"). Hu-t'ou 湖頭 is a village name. The village is located in Wên-fu-li 文賦里 15 li to the southeast of P'u-t'ien. A village of the same name is also in Kuo-ch'ing-li 國清里 15 li to the east of P'u-t'ien.⁽⁵⁶⁾ The administration centre of Hui-an was 50 li to the northeast of the city of Ch'üan-chou, along the highway to P'u-t'ien. The stage of Fêng-t'ing 楓亭 was situated about halfway between Hui-an and P'u-t'ien. It was called Fêng-t'ing-kuan 風亭館 during the T'ang Dynasty and T'ai-p'ing-i 太平驛 during the Sung Dynasty. In the 7th year of Chih-chêng of the Yüan Dynasty the name was changed to Fêng-t'ing-i 楓亭驛. It was 50 li from Hui-an.⁽⁵⁷⁾ "In July (Liu) Po-shun (柳)伯順 attacked Hsing-hua City with the troops of Tu Wu-ching 杜武慶, Hu Ching-fu 胡慶甫, Lin Ch'üan 林全, Li Tê-chêng 李德正 and others. They entered the city by ladders from the western gate, made an assault on the house of Hu-sha-tu 忽沙都 (correctly Hu-tu-sha 忽都沙) where they got by

55) The name of a village in the neighbourhood of P'u-t'ien (it is mentioned in the *P'u-t'ien-hsien-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition, Vol. 1).

56) *P'u-t'ien-hsien-chih*, Vol. 1.

57) *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, Vol. 96, the item of Hsien-yu-hsien 仙遊縣 of Hsing-hua-fu.

threatening the official seals and marks 除授 (印授 according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*) and also the written order to destroy Lin Chiung. Thus Po-shun claimed to be Fu-p'an 府判 (Assistant Prefect) and occupied the city. He menaced and forced soldiers and militia as well as Liu Tzū-i 柳子儀 and others to make an attack against Lin Chiung. Lin Hsü-ying 林許英 (Lin Chiung's younger brother) again fled rapidly to Ch'üan-chou and implored A-mi-li-ting to give reinforcements. In August Fu-hsin 扶信 advanced with the army of I-ssü-pa-hsi and others from Ch'üan-chou and drew near Hsing-hua City. Day by day they attacked furiously. Po-shun's army was less in number and weaker in force. He guessed that he could not withstand and thus he sent first Hsien back to Fu-chou, and then he himself ran out of the city under the cover of darkness with his party. In September Fu-hsin entered the city with his army and claimed to be Yüan-shuai 元帥 (Supreme Commander). Lin Chiung also entered the city with his troop and called himself Tsung-kuan 總管 (Governor). He kept the city and guarded it. The soldiers of I-ssü-pa-hsi indulged in killing and plundering. (Lin) Hsü-ying, too, raided daily by patrolling the southern and northern parts of the sea coast of P'u-t'ien (Hsing-hua). Ma-ho-mou 馬合謀 (Maḥmūd) captured the town of Hsien-yu County 仙遊縣 by the forces of I-ssü-pa-hsi and others. Hu Hsing-tsu 胡興祖 and Shang-kuan Wei-ta 上官惟大 pursued Liu Po-shun with their army and arrived at Hsing-hua. People of Hsing-hua District met the disaster and could not find any way of escaping from it."

III

Next, when we find the following passages in the account of February of the 22nd year of Chih-chêng: "A-wu-na 阿巫那 of Ch'üan-chou killed A-mi-li-ting and tried to persecute the party of the latter. Fu-hsin was frightened. Lin Chiung fled to Fu-chou with him. Sai-fu-ting made Chiung return to Hsing-hua and made him occupy the city as Tsung-kuan", we may infer that there happened an internal strife among the leaders of the I-ssü-pa-hsi army in Ch'üan-chou and that as the result a person called A-wu-na seized power in place of A-mi-li-ting. About this person there is an account in the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih edition (Vol. 266): "A-wu-na was originally a barbarian (i.e. foreigner) and took charge of merchant ships. After he killed A-mi-li-ting, he tried to persecute the party of A-mi-li-ting, etc." (阿巫那, 本以番人主市舶, 既殺阿迷里丁, 將窮其黨. . .) The status with which he took charge of merchant ships as a barbarian (foreigner) was quite similar to that of Pu-shu-kêng 蒲壽庚 of the older days. A-wu-na made a display of his influence as a leader of the I-ssü-pa-hsi army for about four years and four months until he was caught by Ch'ên Yu-ting 陳友定 (or 有定) in May of the 26th year of Chih-chêng. The *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih edition (Vol. 266) says in its article on the event of the 22nd year of Chih-chêng: "In this year Na-wu-

na 那兀納, a Muslim rebel, revolted by occupying Ch'üan-chou. Meanwhile he was caught. Before that, when the government army arrived there, Chin Chi 金吉, Commander of Ch'ien-hu 千戶 (Thousand Military Families), opened the gate and led them in. At last Na-wu-na was arrested." (是年, 回寇那兀納據泉州叛. 尋被執. 官軍至. 千戶金吉開門迎之. 遂執那兀納.) From the circumstances in which Ch'üan-chou was situated it is probable that A-wu-na who led the I-ssü-pa-hsi army consisting mainly of Persians was also a Muslim. Na-wu-na who appeared here is recorded to have been a Muslim rebel 回寇. The accounts of this person are found in several works. Vol. 1 (Geography 地理) of the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* describes Ch'üan-chou and says: "In the 22nd year (of Chih-chêng) Na-wu-na-na 那兀那納 of the Western Frontier origin occupied secretly the place. In a short time Ch'ên Yu-ting 陳有定 made the place the base of his operations and defended it." ((至正) 二十二年, 西域那兀那納等竊據其地. 未幾陳有定據而守之.) Na-wu-na-na must be identical with Na-wu-na 那兀納. Again in Vol. 66 (Persons 人物) there is an account of Kung Ming-an 龔名安 of Chin-chiang 晉江 (Ch'üan-chou) in which it is said that "at the time of..., the officials of Province Fu-chien received the orders from the emperor and raised the army to attack Na-wu-na of the Western Frontiers in Ch'üan-chou (…時, 福建行省奉辭興兵, 討西域那兀納等于泉州). In the account of Liu I 劉益 of the same volume it is said: "Na-wu-na of the Western Frontiers and others occupied Ch'üan-chou and oppressed the people of that locality. They robbed their fortunes. They were apt to murder the citizens, when they could not get money and property. (西域那兀納等據泉虐州民, 以取貨財. 不得者多置於死)." In the biography of Kung Ming-an of the Min-shu 閩書, Vol. 125 (英舊志) it is said that "at that time, Na-wu-na of the Western Frontier origin occupied Ch'üan-chou, maltreated many people of the province, and murdered them with cruelty (時, 西域那兀納據泉, 炮烙州人, 殺戮慘酷)." According to Vol. 1 (Geography 輿地志) of the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition, "in the 22nd year (of Chih-chêng) Na-wu-na the Muslim rose in revolt and occupied Ch'üan-chou ((至正) 二十二年回寇那兀納作亂, 又據泉州)." The biography of Kung Ming-an in Vol. 13 (the Account of the Guardians 武衛志) says: "At that time Na-wu-na of the Western Frontier origin unlawfully occupied Ch'üan-chou and slaughtered many people cruelly. He despatched his soldiers to plunder Hsing-hua and tried to invade Fu-chou. (時, 西域那兀納等竊據泉州殺戮甚慘. 分兵掠興化將侵福州)."

Dr. J. Kuwabara seems to have identified A-wu-na with Na-wu-na. He states in his "*the Deeds of Pu-shu-kêng* 蒲壽庚の事蹟" (p. 224) that "at the end of the Yüan the Muslims inhabiting Ch'üan-chou, such as Sai-fu-ting 賽甫丁 (Saif ud-Din?), A-mi-li-ting 阿迷里丁 (Amir ud-Din?), and Na-wu-na 那兀那 (=那兀納), raged for several years in the province of Fu-chien." He pointed out that the detailed account of the Muslims are described in Vol. 87 of the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* and then referred to the passage in the *Ku-chin-t'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* 古今圖書集成 (Vol. 1052, the Book of Local Government 職方典), which tells:

“Na-wu-na of the Western Frontier origin came to Ch'üan-chou, as he was appointed to superintend the marketing of foreigners. At the time of disorder in the last years of the Yüan Dynasty he attacked Ch'üan-chou and occupied it. Yen-chih-pu-hua 燕只不花, P'ing-chang 平章 (Governor) of Province Fu-chien, caught Na-wu-na by the devices of Ch'ên Hsüan 陳駘 and sent him to the province government....” The name 那巫那 Na-wu-na which was mentioned by Dr. Kuwabara is found nowhere in any record, so the correct name may be A-wu-na 阿巫那. Either A-wu-na 阿巫那 or Na-wu-na 那兀納 is said to be the Muslim of West Asia who was called a Hsi-yü-jên 西域人 (the man originated from the Western Frontiers) or a Hui-k'ou 回寇 (a Muslim rebel). Both of them assumed military power in Ch'üan-chou in the 22nd year of Chih-chêng. A-wu-na is mentioned only in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* and its quotations in other works. The *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* that has quoted the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* also refers to Na-wu-na 那兀納 in another passage. The *Min-shu* and the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition exclusively mention Na-wu-na, not A-wu-na. I also am convinced that both names indicates the same person. For one evidence we can cite the following passage in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition (Vol. 24, Thiefs 盜賊類): “(In the 26th year of Chih-chêng,) Na-wu-na 那兀納 of the Western Frontier origin came to Ch'üan-chou, as he was appointed to superintend the marketing of foreigners. At the time of disorder in the last years of the Yüan Dynasty he attacked Ch'üan-chou and occupied it. Yen-chih-pu-hua, P'ing-chang of Province Fu-chien, caught Na-wu-na by the devices of Ch'ên Hsüan and sent him in fetters to the province government.” (西域那兀納者, 以總諸蕃互市至泉。元末兵亂遂攻泉州據之。福建行省平章燕只不花用陳駘計, 執那兀納檻送行省。...)” This is identical with the passage quoted by Dr. Kuwabara from the *Ku-chin-t'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* (Vol. 1052). The latter is supposed to be based on the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition or some older document quoted in the *Fu-chih*. If Na-wu-na was caught in the 26th year of Chih-chêng, the year coincides with the year when A-wu-na was caught according to the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi*. It is justified that the two names denote the same person, for the two persons rose and died in the same year, the name A-wu-na resembles very much that of Na-wu-na, and finally both of them were Muslims. In the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih edition (Vol. 266), after the description of the event of A-wu-na, it is said: “In this year, Na-wu-na, a Muslim rebel,....” This is evidently an error. The compilers clearly mistook the same person for different ones. In my opinion, A-wu-na correctly represents the original name of this person, and it seems to be the transcription of *Abnā'*. The word *abnā'* means sometimes the descendants of Persian immigrants.

IV

The events that happened during the 22nd year of Chih-chêng are described in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* as follows:

"In March, Liu Po-shun 柳伯順 marched secretly with his troop from Yung-fu 永福 and captured the county town of Hsing-hua. He killed the officials there and drove the inhabitants of the county to draw near up to the city of P'u-t'ien, the capital of Hsing-hua District. He agreed upon a pincer attack with Ch'ên T'ung. But Ch'ên did not arrive there. Po-shun reached outside the gate Ning-chên-mun 寧眞門 all of a sudden with his own men. The army of Lin Chiung was defeated, his party almost collapsed. It happened that two I-ssü-pa-hsi horsemen of Ch'üan-chou had just arrived at P'u-t'ien. Chiung bribed them by costly presents and declared that the army of Ch'üan-chou had come in great force. Then he got out of the city with a great uproar, following after the two horsemen together with his soldiers. Po-shun thought that the army of Ch'üan-chou had come in great force. His soldiers were tired and hungry. They wanted to take a rest and waited for food. Chiung took them by surprise and vehemently attacked them. At length the troop of Po-shun was utterly defeated so that the dead was counted by thousands. Po-shun and his men retreated much mortified. In April, (according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*, in May), Yen-chih-pu-hua, P'ing-chang of Fu-chou, assembled various armies and besieged Sai-fu-ting.⁽⁵⁸⁾ He demanded the soldiers of Lin Chiung. Chiung rejected the demand by making an excuse.

"In June, Po-shun again came to attack by leading the militia of Hsing-hua County. In one encounter he was disastrously defeated, and the dead were numbered by thousands. Thereafter he came out no more. In a few days after Chiung occupied the city, Yü A-li 余阿里⁽⁵⁹⁾ (Chin A-li 金阿里 according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*) came again by the sea route and guarded Hsing-hua by getting a temporary manifesto from Yen-chih-pu-hua. Meanwhile Shang-shu 尙書 (Minister) Li Shih-chan 李士瞻 invited Sai-fu-ting and Fu-hsin to embark a sea-ship. Ts'an-chêng 參政 (Administration Vice Commissioner) Wei-liu-chia-nu 魏留家奴 (Kuan-in-nu 觀音奴 according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*) slaughtered hundreds of I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers. Yen-chih-pu-hua restored the governorship of Fu-chien Province. Yü A-li, who was at

58) In the article of the day of *kêng-tzū* 庚子 of August in the 21st year of Chih-yüan 至元 of the *Main Chronology* (Vol. 46) of the *Yüan-shih*, it is said that "Buka Timur, Governor of Fu-chien Province, was appointed Yü-shih-t'ai-fu 御史大夫 (Censor-in-Chief) of Chiang-nan Hsing-t'ai 江南行臺 (Branch Tribunal of Censors of Chiang-nan)." Yen-chih-pu-hua presumably went after the resignation of Buka Timur.

59) The name seems to have been confounded with Chin A-li 金阿里, one of the influential persons among the Muslims in Ch'üan-chou. I cannot decide which one is correct, but Chin may be preferable. As Tso-ch'êng 左丞 of Chiang-hsi Province, he entered Hsing-hua by sea with his army.

Hsing-hua as Tso-ch'êng 左丞 (Left Vice Governor) of Province Chiang-hsi 江西, detained the defeated soldiers of Sai-fu-ting and Fu-hsin. He opened the government of the sub-province 分省 and instituted the offices. The surviving people resumed again their will to live. Before long Ts'an-chêng 參政 Chêng Min 鄭旼 took the place of Yü A-li to govern the sub-province. He effected a reconciliation between the families Liu and Lin. At length Liu Chiung could return to P'u-hsi 莆禧, while Ch'ên T'ung and Liu Po-shun also put an end to warfare. P'u-t'ien had been the centre of high culture for four hundred years.⁶⁰⁾ Since Ch'ên Ts'ung-jên and Lin Tê-lung began to stir up trouble, the war had not been stopped. Finally even foreign elements were invited (e.g. Persians of Ch'üan-chou). These employed every means of atrocity. Throughout the period of trouble more than twenty thousand people were slain and thirty or forty thousand houses were burnt down. Though the reconciliation was already effected and the warfare was stopped, Ch'ên T'ung still occupied Hsien-yü County and Liu Po-shun held the county town of Hsing-hua. Lin Chiung and Lin Hsü-ying also possessed a territory of more than 10 villages including Hsin-an 新安 and Ho-p'u 合浦. The jurisdiction of the governor of the sub-province was restricted only to several villages near P'u-t'ien City."

Sai-fu-ting and Fu-hsin were driven out by Yen-chih-pu-hua from Fu-chou City. This event is described in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* as "they were invited by Li Shih-chan to embark a sea-ship". In the *Main Chronology* of the *Yüan-shih* 元史本紀 (Vol. 46, the first day *i-ssü* 乙巳 of May in the 22nd year of Chih-chêng) it is said: "Sai-fu-ting of Ch'üan-chou held Fu-chou City. Yen-chih-pu-hua, Governor of Fu-chien Province, defeated him. The remnants of his party sailed back to Ch'üan-chou and occupied the city (Zaitun)," while it is clearly stated in the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* of the T'ung-ch'ih edition that "Sai-fu-ting sailed back and occupied Ch'üan-chou." However, as Sai-fu-ting and Fu-hsin belonged to A-mi-li-ting's party, it is quite doubtful whether they were safe when they returned to Ch'üan-chou, since A-wu-na (or Na-wu-na) who had killed A-mi-li-ting and occupied Ch'üan-chou is said to have tormented the partisans of A-mi-li-ting. Anyway nothing of them has been heard ever since. According to the biography of Lin I-shun 林以順 (the second name was Tzū-mu 子木) in the *Hsing-hua-fu-chih* 興化府志 (Vol. 42) published during the years of Hung-ch'ih 宏治 of the Ming Dynasty, I-shun was appointed Magistrate 知州 of Fu-ch'ing Subprefecture 福清州. At that time "a partisan of I-ssü-pa-hsi had been ruling Fu-ch'ing Subprefecture, but he was killed by the populace there. Consequently, the chief of the I-ssü-pa-hsi party, Sai-fu-ting, abused his authority and arrested Lin I-shun. When (Sai-fu-ting) was defeated, Lin could get back to his post." By this account we can see that Sai-fu-ting and his party of I-ssü-pa-hsi, based on Fu-chou City, tried at one time to rule even Fu-ch'ing,

60) "莆四百年文物郡." In the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* the passage reads: "興化四百年文物郡."

south of Fu-chou, beyond the river Min-chiang 閩江. However, now they lost their base in Fu-chou and at that moment several hundreds of I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers were slain. Their remnants were routed to Ch'üan-chou by land and sea. Those who took to flight by land were waylaid by Yü A-li at Hsing-hua. Yü A-li seems to have been a chief of I-ssü-pa-hsi, if he can be identified with Chin A-li. But it is clear that by that time the I-ssü-pa-hsi rebels had been splitted into two parties.

V

In the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* (quoted in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*) we find the following passages: "In November of the 23rd year of (Chih-chêng) A-na-wu 阿那巫 (correctly A-wu-na 阿巫那) of Ch'üan-chou sent his fellows, Po-p'ai 白牌 (Po-pai 博拜 [Bahā'i?], according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*), Ta-k'uo 大闊 and others with their troops to attack Ch'ên T'ung at the fort of Hui-an, but they could not catch him, though they searched after him. Following after him, they arrived at the county of Hsien-yu 仙遊. At last they took the county town and killed officials and inhabitants. Then they reached Lung-chi-ssü 龍紀寺 of Hsing-hua and sought for Liu Po-shun, but they could not find him. Finally they indulged in murdering and plundering. On the way back they gathered up their soldiers at Fêng-t'ing 楓亭. They were indignant with Chêng Min, Tso-ch'êng of the sub-province, who took sides with Po-shun and T'ung."

"In January of the next year (the 24th year of Chih-chêng), (A-wu-na) approached the city of Hsing-hua with his army. All the officials of the sub-province ran away with their wives and children. A-wu-na prohibited the inhabitants to move. The inhabitants were in keen anxiety. Finally he ordered Yüan-shih 掾史 (Clerk) Jên Shou-li 任守禮 to assassinate several persons who had been despatched by Po-shun. Meanwhile, the government of Fu-chien Province sent Tê-an 德安, Tso-yu-ssü-yüan-wai-lang 左右司員外郎 (Vice Director of Left-Right Bureau), to Ch'üan-chou to persuade A-wu-na to draw back his army. In February, the I-ssü-pa-hsi army returned back (Po-p'ai, Ta-k'uo and others returned back, according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*)."

"In April Kuan-sun 觀孫, Tso-ch'êng of Fu-chien Province, arrived at his post from the Imperial Capital. By the imperial order he began to exercise jurisdiction over Hsing-hua and Ch'üan-chou and put the whole of ships and war horses under his control. Relying upon his possession of the imperial order and the official seals he came to despise A-wu-na and his party so that he was hastily convinced that they would easily obey him. He sent Jên Li 任立, a Yüan-wai-lang 員外郎 (Vice Director of Bureau) that he installed, to Ch'üan-chou to seal the warehouses of the customs and to inspect the storehouses, moneys and grains. A-wu-na made the warehouses of the customs empty and waited. He hindered Li from the sealing and the inspection as well as from

making a requisition. Kuan-sun was in charge of the letter authorizing him to recruit soldiers and war horses 軍馬之文 (軍馬文檄 according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*). A-wu-na sent 300 soldiers within the jurisdiction of Tso-fu-ch'ien-pai-hu 左副千百戶 (Left Vice Commander of Thousand and Hundred Military Families) of Hu-chou 湖州 (湖州 according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*) to Hsing-hua to obey the order. Outwardly A-wu-na respected Kuan-sun, but in reality he was insolent and watched for a chance. Kuan-sun did not know how to deal with him. He could not prohibit A-wu-na to resort to violence. Consequently A-wu-na began to neglect and oppress this superior. Since then there was no day when his envoy did not come. All of them insulted their superiors, raised trouble and talked insolently. Day by day A-wu-na despatched his soldiers to plunder about the border of Hui-an so that they menaced and terrified the inhabitants. But Kuan-sun was scared and did not know how to do. At last A-wu-na pressed many people into service for the repair of the city wall and the dredging of the river. As the result of these cruel policies the burden of people became more and more intolerable. When Kuan-sun was dismissed from the office of the sub-province and returned to the Imperial Capital, Tê-an administered the affairs of the sub-province with the status of Lang-chung 郎中 (Director of Bureau). The A-wu-na withdrew his soldiers and the inhabitants at last were restored to peace."

It is probable that Tê-an and A-wu-na took each other into confidence.

VI

In the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi* the events that happened in the 25th year of Chih-chêng are described as follows:

"In March, Timur Buka 帖木兒不花, Tso-ch'êng of Fu-chien Province, extended his jurisdiction to Hsing-hua, and Tê-an, the former Lang-chung taking charge of this sub-province, assisted him. In April, A-wu-na of Ch'üan-chou, resuming the same measures as he adopted when he menaced Kuan-sun, sent 300 soldiers within the control of Tso-fu-i-ch'ün 左副突軍 (Left Vice Commander of Subprefectural Army) of Hu-chou 湖州 (洲) to Hsing-hua. Further, T'ung-chih 同知 Shih-chia-nu 石家奴, and T'ui-kuan 推官 Lin Tsung-ho 林宗和 were sent to take military stocks away. They boldly went in and out of the city of Hsing-hua. They dared to commit outrages in public and showed no reserve. As Timur Buka was dismissed and returned to Fu-chou City, Tê-an took charge of the affairs of Hsing-hua in his place. (A-wu-na) then ordered his army to withdraw from Hsing-hua.

"In November of the year, Kuan-sun, the former Tso-ch'êng, was again ordered by the Crown Prince to take charge of the affairs of Hsing-hua and Ch'üan-chou. Yen-chih-pu-hua, Governor of Fu-chien Province, secretly suggested to Tê-an a stratagem to reject Kuan-sun. Therefore, Tê-an gathered up

a great number of militia. And Yen-chih-pu-hua sent the troops of both Mêng 孟 and Sun 孫 T'ung-ch'ien 同僉 (Assistant Commissioner) to defend Hsing-hua against Kuan-sun. Tê-an adopted the opinion of Yü Tsung-hai 余宗海 and sent an envoy to A-wu-na of Ch'üan-chou to ask his assistance. Then A-wu-na despatched his interpreter Ha-san 哈散 (Hasan) and Huang Hsi-shan 黃希善, the chief of Hui-an County, to go to the outside of the city wall of Hsing-hua with the government troops and militia. Ha-san wanted to attack and rout the troops of the two T'ung-ch'ien, but Mêng T'ung-ch'ien made a sudden sortie and chased Ha-san, having killed two men. Ha-san and his men fled back to Ch'üan-chou. On this the officials and people in the city of Hsing-hua, high and low alike, guessed that the soldiers of I-ssü-pa-hsi would surely come, and they ran away with their families at night. Next day Tê-an also took to flight. Meanwhile Ha-san and Huang Hsi-shan suddenly came with the I-ssü-pa-hsi troops as expected. At that time the officials of the sub-provincial government had already left the city and no one took charge of the affairs. Finally Ha-san and Huang Hsi-shan entered the city with their troops. Immediately after them Ma-ho-mou 馬合謀 (Maḥmūd) and Po-p'ai 白牌 (Bahā'i) also arrived with their men. Next day Po-p'ai and others despatched their soldiers to plunder Han-t'ou 涵頭, Chiang-k'ou 江口, Hsin-ling 新嶺 and other places.⁽⁶¹⁾ They invaded Suan-ling 蒜嶺 and Hung-lu 宏路,⁽⁶²⁾ approached Fu-ch'ing 福清. Everywhere they went they burnt and plundered. The provincial governor (Yen-chih-pu-hua) rapidly sent troops to defend Ch'ang-ssü-ling 常思嶺.⁽⁶³⁾ Tso-ch'êng Chêng Min and Lang-chung I-li-ya-ssü 易里雅思 (Iliyas or Eliyas) visited Po-p'ai in his camp and tried to persuade him to withdraw his troop, but he did not obey. Finally, only by the order of A-wu-na, Po-p'ai and his party returned."

It is evident that Po-p'ai and Ma-ho-mou intended to attack Fu-chou City, but we do not know why A-wu-na ordered them to give up the plan.

"In January of the 26th year of Chih-chêng, Po-p'ai, Chin A-li and others talked together and they made the troops of Ha-san and Huang Hsi-shan remain to keep the city (of Hsing-hua). They themselves led their armies and captured the two towns of Hsing-hua County and Hsien-yu County. Everywhere they committed slaughterings and plunderings with cruelty. In February (in March, according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*) Lin Chiung consulted with Liu Po-shun and, taking advantage of inferiority in force of the enemy in the

61) These places are on the highway from P'u-t'ien toward Fu-ch'ing and Fu-chou-fu along the sea-shore.

62) At 50 li to the southwest of the walled town of Fu-ch'ing-hsien 福清縣 there lies a mountain pass called Suan-ling 蒜嶺. Directly north from there one gets Fu-chou-fu, while a little northeast one gets Fu-ch'ing Town (the *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, Vol. 96, the item of Fu-ch'ing-hsien of Fu-chou-fu).

63) It is the fixed route to reach the city of Fu-chou-fu that one proceeds directly north from Suan-ling and crosses the river Min-chiang 閩江, after having passed Ch'ang-ssü-ling 常思嶺.

city of Hsing-hua, they ordered Li Fo-pao 李佛保 and Hsü Ying-yüan 許應元 to go in disguise to the foot of the city wall and to climb the wall by ladders. They combatted with the troops of Ha-san in the streets and won victory. They killed several tens of I-ssü-pa-hsi and captured Ha-san, whom they killed at P'u-hsi 莆禧. Huang Hsi-shan was left to run away. Now Li Fo-pao and Hsü Ying-yüan called themselves with the titles that Chiung and Po-shun had instituted without official permission (called themselves with the false titles that they instituted, according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*) and occupied Hsing-hua. Po-shun sent his fellow Tu Wu-hui 杜武惠 and others to force a thousand people to build a fort at Han-t'ou. People could not endure labour and trouble. As Po-p'ai and Ma-ho-mou heard of an incident within the city of Hsing-hua during they stayed at Hsien-yu, they returned to Ch'üan-chou with their armies.

"In March, Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou, Chin A-li and others led their armies along the seashore from Fêng-t'ing 楓亭 directly to Wu-shan 吳山. They attacked Chiung and Hsü-ying. Chiung offered resistance to them, by guarding Fort Li-ch'ien 壩前寨 which he had built. On the other hand, Hsü-ying aided him by going and coming by sea with his troop. So, Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou and Chin A-li attacked before everything Hsü-ying on the sea. Hsü-ying was defeated in battle and was in a fix. His party were drowned to the last man (he was drowned together with his party, according to the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih*). Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou, Chin A-li and others arrived at P'u-hsi with their armies and they ransacked the town where they seized Hsü-ying's family and possessions. Having heard the defeat of Hsü-ying, Chiung took to flight. Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou, Chin A-li and others sent their soldiers to violate the tombs of the family of Chiung and to burn his house and fort. They also massacred and plundered the inhabitants of Hsin-an 新安, Wu-ch'êng 武盛, Fêng-kuo 奉國, Li-ch'üan 醴泉, Ho-p'u 合浦 and other villages, which were entirely destroyed. Thus the I-ssü-pa-hsi army devastated the seashore areas, while Tso-ch'êng of the sub-province of Hsing-hua returned to Fu-chou. Taking advantage of the defenseless state of the city Liu Po-shun entered and occupied the city of Hsing-hua.

"At that time Ch'ên Yu-ting 陳有定, who had received the order to attack and capture the barbarian rebels, descended southward with his army. At this news Po-shun was relieved. Fortunately there were several persons in the city of Hsing-hua, official and lay, who dared to take charge of the affairs. They declared that they would defend the city with suitable plans. Therefore, people of the city were ready to follow them. Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou, Chin A-li and others returned their armies, having heard Po-shun had occupied the city, and rapidly drew near the city walls. In March, they arrived at the bridge Hsi-ning-ch'iao 熙寧橋. Then they surrounded the city walls, especially the four gates, east, west, south and north. But they left the gate Ning-chên-mên 寧真門 alone unattacked. Therefore, the communication could be kept in and out of the city.

"In April, Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou, Chin A-li and others removed their headquarters on the hill Wu-shih-shan 烏石山 for the first time and attempted to attack the gate Ning-chên-mên.⁶⁴⁾ But they did not perceive that Tsung-hai 宗海, son of Ch'ên Yu-ting, entered the city during the night with his troop. Next day Tsung-hai marched out of the city to attack the enemy, by opening the western and the southern gates. Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou and Chin A-li became anxious when they saw the gates suddenly opened. They became more and more frightened at seeing the banners and uniforms distinguished and the march of the file and rank in order. The strong point of the I-ssü-pa-hsi army was their bows with arrows and swords with shields. But the soldiers of Tsung-hai advanced straight in thorough cooperation and closed in upon the enemy to come to grips. Now the I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers were quite at a loss and did not know how to do. They were utterly defeated, the corpses numbering several thousands. Tsung-hai pressed hard upon them, captured Po-p'ai, Ma-ho-mou, Chin A-li and others, and killed them. The remainders were scattered. Peasants, who lived at nearby villages, also murdered the defeated with their spades and hoes. No one could escape from the disaster except four horsemen who ran away. On this day the army of Ch'ên Yu-ting, too, arrived at. He reassured the army and the inhabitants and restored the administrative function of the district, so that his fame became distinguished.

"Liu Po-shun who had already returned to the city obeyed the order. Ch'ên T'ung and Lin Chiung also assembled their soldiers and entered the city to follow Ch'ên Yu-ting's orders. Yu-ting at last ordered Tsung-hai to advance and attack Ch'üan-chou, by controlling the armies of Po-shun and T'ung and in cooperation with the navy of Chiung. Yu-ting himself went with his army. In May, the armies conquered Ch'üan-chou and captured A-wu-na and his band. Just then the two districts of Hsing-hua and Ch'üan-chou could get rid of the trouble of I-ssü-pa-hsi."

Thus the army of I-ssü-pa-hsi collapsed. The Chin A-li who appears in

64) Wu-shih-shan 烏石山 is a hill which is now inside the city wall of P'u-t'ien-hsien (the capital city of Hsing-hua-fu) and is located in the middle between the northern and the western gates, i.e. at the northwestern corner of the city (Cf. the map appended to the *P'u-t'ien-hsien-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition). But until the repair in the 9th year of Wan-li of the Ming, the summit of this hill lay outside the wall, and therefore the defence of the city very often became critical when attacked from there. In the 19th year of Chih-chêng the I-ssü-pa-hsi army led by A-mi-li-ting penetrated into the city by taking advantage of this hill. In the 41st year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1562 A.D.) a branch of the Japanese Pirates 倭寇 broke through this point and succeeded in entering the city. Therefore, in the fifth year of Wan-li (1577 A.D.) the wall of the city was extended so that the whole hill was surrounded by the wall. Besides, the city formerly had five gates, but from the beginning of the Ming Dynasty the gates were altered to four, namely the east, the west, the south and the north. The gate of Ning-chên-mên 寧眞門 was abolished. It seems to have been at the northwestern part of the city. (Cf. the *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, Vol. 916, the account of P'u-t'ien-hsien of Hsing-hua-fu).

the passages cited above may be the same person who contributed to the repair of the *Jāmi'* Mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü by Shaikh Burhān ad-Dīn and others in the 9th year of Chih-chêng. In the inscription by Wu Chien it is said that "at that time, Chin A-li, a native of this place, wanted to reconstruct anew the mosque with his money and came to me to ask to write about the matter." From this it can be imagined that he was one of influential persons among the Muslims in Ch'üan-chou and that the inscription by Wu Chien was written to meet the demand of this person.

The I-ssü-pa-hsi army was so powerful in strength until its ruin at the foot of the city walls of Hsing-hua that its menace extended from Ch'üan-chou to Fu-chou. The circumstances concerning their activities are well depicted in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi*. As for their strategy, it is said that they gave priority to cavalry and their arms consisted of swords with shields and bows with arrows. So, their appearance may be just like that of the knights portrayed in the miniatures of Persia in the times of the 13th or 14th century.

VII

How A-wu-na was captured is only briefly described in the *Chih-chêng-chin-chi*, but we can supplement to some extent from the sources such as the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*, the *Min-shu*, the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition and others. It largely depended on the effective strategy of Ch'ên Hsüan 陳駘 (his second name was Hsüan-fu 玄甫), one of the staff officers of the government forces, and of Kung Ming-an 龔名安 who was the chief 司令 of Ping-chou-ch'ang 泃洲場, one of the salterns of Ch'üan-chou. According to the biography of Ch'ên Hsüan in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition (Vol. 10, Government Organization 官府志), during the years of Chih-chêng, while he was appointed Ssü-ch'êng 司丞 (Deputy Chief) of Hsün-mei-ch'ang 潯溪場, one of the salterns of Ch'üan-chou,⁶⁵ he had got the credit for his ability to restore the once rotten regulations of salt and to supervise all illegal dealings very efficiently so that he was promoted to the office of Yüan 掾 (subordinate officer) of Hsing-chung-shu-shêng 行中書省 (Provincial Government) of Fu-chien. "Na-wu-na of the Western Front origin and his band occupied Ch'üan-chou. The provincial governor attacked them by the imperial order. As Hsüan had been the official

65) In the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition (Vol. 4, Miscellaneous Offices 雜署) it is said: "The Salt Taxation Office 鹽課司 at Hsün-mei-ch'ang Saltern is located at Shih-ch'i-tu 十七都 and Shih-pa-tu 十八都 Villages, southeast of Ch'üan-chou City. In the 16th year of Chih-chêng (Chih-yüan?) of the Yüan the Kuan-kou-ssü 管勾司 (Office in Charge) was set up there. In the 2nd year of Chih-ta 至大 the name of the office was changed to Ssü-ling-ssü 司令司 (Office of Chief), etc." (潯溪場鹽課司在縣東南十七八都。元至正(至元?)十六年置管勾司。至大二年爲司令司...). Shih-ch'i-tu and Shih-pa-tu were 70 li to the south of Ch'üan-chou City.

of the salt and had obtained the heart of officials and people at large, he was appointed to the staff of the national defence. Hsüan said, 'The people of Ch'üan-chou are all good-natured. But they are threatened by the rebels. If we pacify them with a manifesto, we will surely get their assistance.' At that time Na-wu-na plundered Hsing-hua as he liked and consequently the roads were blocked. Hsüan entrusted the manifesto to his servant and made him hand over it to Kung Ming-an, then Vice Magistrate of the county 縣丞, through a secret path. Na-wu-na raised soldiers and Ming-an pretended to agree with him. He stationed at Tung-shan Ferry 東山渡 with his naval forces and waited for tomorrow. As Hsüan came with his government army, they entered together Ch'üan-chou City with the banners of the provincial governor flying. They did not violate the law in the least. At last Na-wu-na was arrested and sent in fetters to the capital of the province (Fu-chou)." Ch'ên Hsüan was a learned man. Late in life he was retired to Ch'üan-chou and died at the age of 70. People of the district erected the shrine in his memory. He also has been told to be the author of the work called the *Fang-shan-t'ang-chi* 方山堂集 (Collection of poems and prosés of Fang-shan-t'ang).

The biography of Kung Ming-an who raised a loyal army is seen in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* (Vol. 67), the *Min-shu* (Vol. 125), the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition (Vol. 13) and others, but the contents are substantially the same. His second name was Chun-ching 俊卿. He was native of the capital city of Ch'üan-chou (Chin-chiang 晉江). During the years of Chih-chêng he was appointed to the office of Hsüan-wei-ssü 宣慰司 (Pacification Office) due to his ability and had once been despatched to the imperial capital. As it is stated that he was promoted to the chief of Ping-chou-ch'ang 涇洲場 Saltern after he had become the official of County Shang-t'ien 上田 and that of Hsün-mei-ch'ang 潯溪場 Saltern, it is probable that he made his acquaintance with Ch'ên Hsüan as a colleague when he was at Hsün-mei-ch'ang Saltern. He was the chief 司令 of Ping-chou-ch'ang Saltern, when Na-wu-na rose in revolt. According to the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition (Vol. 4), "Ping-chou-ch'ang Saltern is located at Shih-i-tu 十一都, a village southeast of Ch'üan-chou City. It was established in the 25th year of Hung-wu 洪武", but it is clear that already in the period of the Yüan there were these salterns. Shih-i-tu is 70 *li* and more from the city of Ch'üan-chou and it was Jên-ho-li 仁和里 of the Sung Dynasty.⁽⁶⁶⁾

The army of Na-wu-na (A-wu-na) consisted chiefly of the I-ssü-pa-hsi soldiers of the Western Frontier origin, but they were not sufficient in number. Therefore, militia were recruited from Chinese natives. It seems that heavy taxes were exacted from people for military preparations and other purposes. The biography of Liu I 劉益 (the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*, Vol. 67; the *Min-shu*, Vol. 124; the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition, Vol. 10, etc.) tells us:

66) *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition, Vol. 1.

"Na-wu-na of the Western Frontier origin occupied Ch'üan-chou and persecuted the inhabitants of the province. He exploited goods and moneys from people. If people would not offer moneys or properties to him, few could escape death. Liu I offered his own property and compensated for them. There were very many people who owed their lives to him."

Even when Na-wu-na heard the coming of the government army, he seems to have raised many soldiers. According to the biography of Kung Ming-an in the *Min-shu*, "(The governor of Fu-chien Province) delivered a manifesto to Ming-an by a secret path so as to muster volunteers in the areas along the sea. Na-wu-na got the news and forced the inhabitants to be enlisted in his own army in order to resist the government army. Ming-an made the inhabitants on the shore pretend to agree with Na-wu-na. Then Ming-an ordered his son Ping 炳, Hsüeh-chêng 學正 (Instructor of Subprefectural School) of Ch'üan-chou, and his son-in-law Chang Jên 張仁, Li-wên 理問 (Supervisor of Judicial Proceedings) of the province 行省, to station at Tung-shan Ferry 東山渡 with their navies. Next day, they hoisted all at once the banners of the provincial governor on the board of their ships and took over the ships of the inhabitants which were forced by Na-wu-na into his navy. Without a battle Na-wu-na was defeated. For a time the security of navigation depended on Kung Ming-an." Again, according to the biography of Kung Ming-an in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih*, "Ming-an stationed at Tung-shan Ferry with his navy. Next day, the government army arrived at. Then they hoisted the banners of the provincial governor. A multitude of rebels trembled and surrendered to the army, by opening the gates. At that time, many distinguished services in regard to sweeping the enemy from the shore and to maintaining the security in the area should be attributed to Ming-an."

Further, in the *Chin-chiang-hsien-chih* 晉江縣志 of the Ch'ien-lung edition we read: "In the 22nd year of (Chih-chêng), Na-wu-na, the Muslim rebel, rose in revolt. He occupied Ch'üan-chou. When the government army arrived at, Chin Chi 金吉, Commander of Ch'ien-hu (Thousand Military Families), opened the city gate and received the army. Then at last they could capture Na-wu-na." ((至正) 二十二年, 回寇那兀納叛, 據泉州. 官軍至. 千戶金吉開門納之. 遂執兀納). From this we know that there was a person called Chin Chi inside the city of Ch'üan-chou who communicated secretly with the government army.

Tung-shan Ferry was southeast of the city of Ch'üan-chou and outside the gate Ying-ch'un-mên 迎春門 (earlier T'ung-huai-mên 通淮門, the name being changed to Nan-hun-mên 南薰門 at the end of the Yüan Dynasty), where three streams flowing out through sluice gates from within the city and several other rivers in neighbourhood joined the river Chin-chiang 晉江. Until a long bridge extending over five *li* was built during the years of K'ang-hsi 康熙 (1662-1722 A.D.) of the Ch'ing Dynasty, there was a ferry, whence the name was given. It was located at the village of San-shih-wu-tu 三十五都 outside the city of

Ch'üan-chou (two *li* to the southeast of the city).⁽⁶⁷⁾

In Ch'üan-chou there was a powerful colony of foreigners originated from the Western Frontiers, presumably consisting chiefly of Persians, at least from the time of the Southern Sung Dynasty. With this colony for a background the House of Shih-lo-wei 尸羅圍 (or Shih-na-wei 施那嶂, originated from Sirāf in Pārs)⁽⁶⁸⁾ since the years of Shao-hsing 紹興 (1131–62 A.D.), the House of Pu-shu-kêng 蒲壽庚 from the end of the Sung to the period of the Yüan, and other powerful families appeared one after another. A-mi-li-ting and then Na-wu-na who took the place of the former seem also to be added to this series. However, with the destruction of the I-ssü-pa-hsi army that terrified the territory of Min 閩中 (Fu-chien) in disorder at the end of the Yüan Dynasty, acting as the wings of these powerful families, the influence of the colony of the people of West Asia in Ch'üan-chou received a bitter blow. Na-wu-na was the last hero of theirs and from that time on there appeared no influential Muslim clan in Zaitun.

Ch'ên Yu-ting 陳友定 (or 有定) was originally a peasant of Fu-ch'ing 福清 County. He took part in a loyal army at Ch'ing-liu-hsien 清流縣 of Ting-chou 汀州 and at last he came to rule over the vast area covering the entire Fu-chien Province and the northern part of Kuang-tung Province. It was on the 29th of August in the 26th year of Chih-chêng (1366 A.D.) that he was appointed Governor 平章政事 of Fu-chien Province.⁽⁶⁹⁾ But his rule was only ephemeral. Soon in the 27th year of Chih-chêng (1367 A.D.) the Ming army entered Fu-chou. In January of the next year Hsing-hua surrendered to the Ming and Ch'üan-chou followed it. Yu-ting who was at Yen-p'ing 延平 was arrested and was killed in the Imperial Capital after he was escorted there. Tsung-hai 宗海, son of Yu-ting, who almost annihilated the picked troops of I-ssü-pa-hsi at the foot of the city wall of Hsing-hua, shared his fate with his father.⁽⁷⁰⁾

67) *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao*, Vol. 99, Chin-chiang-hsien 晉江縣 of Ch'üan-chou-fu, the item of T'ien-shui-huai 天水淮. Cf. the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition (Vol. 1).

68) According to an Iranian scholar, Sharaf az-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī who is considered to be native of Merv (his work, *Tabā'i' al-ḥayawān*, written about 1120 A.D.), the most part of Persians (furus) and Arabs who came to Chinese ports as merchants sailed in their own ships. "Persian merchants sailed from Sirāf and Arabs from Baṣrah." (V. Minorsky: *Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir Marwazī on China, the Turks and India*, Arabic text (circa A.D. 1120), London, 1942; Text 10 pp., English translation 22 pp.).

69) The biography of Ch'ên Yu-ting of the *Ming-shih* (Vol. 124).

In the description of the *Yu-shih-shan-jên-i-k'ao* 友石山人遺藁 in the *Ssü-ku-ch'üan-shu-tsung-mu* 四庫全書總目 (Vol. 168) it is said that the author of this book, Wang Han 王翰 (his ancestor was native of Hsi-hsia 西夏) was given by Ch'ên Yu-ting "the governorship 總管 of Chao-chou District 潮州路 and concurrently controlled three sub-prefectures (州) of Shun 循, Mei 梅 and Hui 惠." This shows that the rule of Ch'ên Yu-ting extended up to Chao-chou. The fact that he was appointed Governor of Fu-chien Province is found in the *Main Chronology of the Yüan-shih* (Vol. 47).

70) The biography of Ch'ên Yu-ting in the *Ming-shih* (Vol. 124).

Concluding Remarks

Finally, why and how did the rebellion of I-ssü-pa-hsi break out in Ch'üan-chou? I think that the I-ssü-pa-hsi army was at first organized as a kind of vigilance corps just like the Mao-hu-lu 毛胡蘆 army in Ho-nan Province. It is said in the biography of Ch'ên Yu-ting in the *Ming-shih* 明史 (Vol. 124): "At the end of the Yüan Dynasty, robbers were rampant everywhere. People organized vigilance corps to defend their towns and villages. Those who called themselves General 元帥 were numberless. The Yüan government appointed them officers as occasion demanded. Later some of them went out as robbers, while some others served the Yüan court, but all did not come to good ends." (元末, 所在盜起. 民間起義兵, 保障鄉里. 稱元帥者, 不可勝數. 元輒因而官之. 其後或去爲盜, 或事元不終). In such a way rebellions broke out everywhere at the end of the Yüan Dynasty and the so-called loyal troops (義兵) were organized one after another, as the public peace was disturbed. Among these loyal troops there were not a few which changed to rebels after they became powerful.⁽⁷¹⁾ According to the *Main Chronology* of the *Yüan-shih* 元史本紀 (Vol. 43), in May of the 14th year of Chih-chêng, "the Mao-hu-lu Loyal Army Wan-hu-fu 萬戶府 (Headquarters of Ten Thousand Military Families) were established at Nan-yang 南陽, Têng-chou 鄧州 and other places. Local people were enlisted in the Army. They were relieved of compulsory labour service so as to attack enemy or to defend themselves. As villagers were united for their self-defence, they called themselves 'Mao-hu-lu'. Thus their troops also were called by this name." (立南陽鄧州等處毛胡蘆義兵萬戶府. 募土人爲軍. 免其差役, 令討賊自効. 因其鄉人自相團結號毛胡蘆, 故以名之.) The appellation Mao-hu-lu is said to have been caused by the fact that they were united of their own accord. In the item dealing with militia (民壯士兵, 鄉兵) of the *Account of Army* (兵志) of the *Ming-shih* (Vol. 91), we read: "In many places, there exist volunteers who are not formally enlisted. In Sung-hsien 嵩縣 of Ho-nan Province there is a troop called Mao-hu-lu 毛胡蘆. The members of this troop are skilful in handling short weapons and excell in running among mountains." (其不隸軍籍者所在多. 有河南嵩縣曰毛胡蘆. 習短兵長於走山). The above record shows that the Mao-hu-lu troops were still existing during the period of the Ming.

71) In the *Main Chronology* of the *Yüan-shih* (Vol. 45) it is said:

"(On the day of *chi-niu* 己丑 of July in the 17th year of Chih-chêng,) T'ien Fêng 田豐, Commander of Wan-hu 萬戶 of the Loyal Volunteer Army defending Huang-ho 黃河, rose in revolt. He reduced Chi-ning District 濟寧路....Mêng Pên-chou 孟本周, Commander of Wan-hu of the Loyal Volunteer Army, attacked him. T'ien Fêng was defeated and ran away. Pên-chou returned and held Chi-ning District." On the day of *hsin-ssü* 辛巳, "Wang Hsin 王信, Commander of Wan-hu of the Loyal Volunteer Army, rebelled against the government at Shêng-chou 勝州. He surrendered to Mao Kuei 毛貴." These are the examples of the rebellions of the persons who had the title of Wan-hu (Commander of Ten Thousand Military Families) of the Loyal Volunteer Army.

In the article of August of the 15th year of Chih-chêng in the *Main Chronology* of the *Yüan-shih* (Vol. 44) it is said that "in the year of *kêng-shên* 庚申 the government ordered the Wan-hu-fu of the loyal volunteers' army of Nan-yang and other places to muster a ten thousand of Mao-hu-lu in order to attack Nan-yang." (庚申, 命南陽等處義兵萬戶府, 召募毛胡蘆萬人, 進攻南陽). It seems that there were many civilians who were appointed Commanders of Wan-hu 萬戶 of the Loyal Army, and Sai-fu-ting of Ch'üan-chou also seems to have been one of them. On the day of *i-hai* 乙亥 of March of the same year, according to the *Yüan-shih* (Vol. 45), "Sai-fu-ting and A-mi-li-ting, both the Wan-hu of the Loyal Army, rose in revolt and occupied Ch'üan-chou." (義兵萬戶賽甫丁阿迷里丁叛據泉州). It seems that Sai-fu-ting led the foreign residents of Ch'üan-chou with A-mi-li-ting and others, and organized a kind of vigilance corps in order to cope with the social disturbances there. The residents thus organized were probably called in the Persian language as *Ispāh* which means 'army', or as *Sipāhī* which means 'soldiers'. The reason is that, as often mentioned above, there resided many Persians especially in Ch'üan-chou. I-ssü-pa-hsi can be recognized as the transcription of *Ispāh* (-i- Ch'üan-chou or *Zaitun*).

When the Persians were organized into a vigilance corps, they became the most powerful army in Ch'üan-chou at that time. As the result they became involved in the troubles of Fu-chou and Hsing-hua. It is said that they rose in revolt, but it is doubtful whether they really cherished such a political ambition. It is very probable that at first they aimed to the utmost at establishing a small self-governing community of their own, making Ch'üan-chou their base.

I think that in the time of disorder as at the end of the Yüan Dynasty there ought to have been some circumstances in which they as the residents were obliged to take such measures in order to defend their life and property and to continue their activities in foreign trades. But it was their misfortune that they incurred the strong antipathy of the Chinese, as they intervened in the political troubles at Fu-chou and Hsing-hua, as they became more and more powerful. Soon there grew a discord among them. Na-wu-na (A-wu-na) killed A-mi-li-ting and oppressed the party of the latter. Such a development of events should be said to be the result of their foolish, self-destroying acts, for they stayed in the strange country thousand miles distant from their native place. The result is that they finally lost their special footing ground for their trade in East Asia that they had maintained for more than two hundred years. Further, they themselves were for the most part butchered, shedding blood on the shore of the sea of Fu-chien. However, even if their uprisings were avoided, it is quite doubtful whether the Persian society in Ch'üan-chou could continue their prosperity, since the aspect of the intercourse between the East and the West was going to meet a drastic change due to the rise of the

Ming Dynasty on the one hand and the decline and retreat of the Islamic world on the other. I strongly incline to prefer a rather pessimistic view.

When we consider that they were obliged to tread the path of the fatal ruin anyway, the brilliant activities of the I-ssü-pa-hsi knights may be evaluated as the funeral march that they could display in their last days, because we can hear its sorrowful echoes still in the history of East-West intercourses.