China, das Chinesische Meer und Nordostasien
China, the East Asian Seas, and Northeast Asia

Horses of the Xianbei, 300–600 AD: A Brief Survey

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INTRODUCTION

The Chinese cavalry, though gaining great weight in warfare since Qin and Han times, remained lightly armed until the fourth century. The deployment of heavy armours of iron or leather for mounted warriors, especially for horses, seems to have been an innovation of the steppe peoples on the northern Chinese border since the third century, as indicated in literary sources and by archaeological excavations. Cavalry had become a major striking force of the steppe nomads since the fall of the Han dynasty in 220 AD, thus leading to the warfare being speedy and fierce. Ever since then, horses occupied a crucial role in war and in peace for all steppe riders on the northern borders of China. The horses were selectively bred, well fed, and drilled for war; horses of good breed symbolized high social status and prestige of their owners. Besides, horses had already been the most desired commodities of the Chinese.

With superior cavalries, the steppe people intruded into North China from 300 AD onwards,[2] and built one after another ephemeral non-Chinese kingdoms in this vast territory. In this age of disunity, known painfully by the Chinese as the age of Sixteen States (316–349 AD) and the age of Southern and Northern Dynasties (349–581 AD), many Chinese abandoned their homelands in the Central Plain and took flight to south of the Huai River, barricaded behind numerous rivers, lakes and hilly landscapes unfavourable for cavalries, until the North and the South reunited under the flag of the Sui (581–618 AD).[3]

Although warfare on horseback was practised among all northern steppe tribes, the Xianbei or *Särbi*, who originated from the southeastern quarters of modern Inner Mongolia and Manchuria, emerged as the major power during this period. The early celebrated generals and their best assault equestrians were mainly from the Xianbei confederation. The Xianbei cavalries were feared for their "wind-and-clouds"-like speed and fierce attacks – even by the Xiongnu.[4]

The Murong branch of the Xianbei in southern Manchuria was the first group to found several successive kingdoms in the region of modern Liaoning, Hebei and Shandong, while the Tuoba branch of the Xianbei in the Ordos area established the more stable dynasty of Northern Wei (386–534 AD). Since then, the Tuoba

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2 Besides several expansion models of the steppe nomads, with the most powerful one by Thomas Barfield (*The Perilous Frontier: Nomadic Empires and China* [Cambridge: Basil Blackwell, 1989]) arguing that the steppe nomads in this period intruded into China as a sequel of disintegration of the central power of the Chinese, many Chinese scholars also attributed the intrusion of nomads to a cold climatic period. See Zhu Kezhen 竺可楨, "Zhongguo jin wuqian nian lai qihou bianqian de chubu yanjiu 中國近五千年來氣候變遷的初步研究", *Kaogu xuebao* 1 (1972), pp. 21-22. Zhu maintained that the climate was interrupted by long-lasting cold periods from 200 AD until the seventh century in the Asian half of the northern hemisphere. Jiang Fuya gives an even more detailed description for the period between 280–480 AD, during which the temperatures were probably on average 1-3°C colder. See Jiang Fuya 蔣福亞, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shehui jingji shi* 魏晉南北朝社會經濟史 (Tianjin: Tianjin guji chubanshe, 2005), pp. 220-231.

3 For a comprehensive history of warfare during this period see David A. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare, 300–900* (London and New York: Routledge, 2002).

4 See Fang Xuanling 房玄齡 et al. (comp.), *Jin shu* 晉書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 101, p. 2648. In Eastern Han times the Xiongnu were already much weaker and split into the northern and the southern branches. Even the Chinese were aware of the fact that the Xianbei were then stronger than the Xiongnu; see Cai Yong's 蔡邕 memorandum to the Han emperor Lingdi 靈帝 (177 AD), in Fan Ye 范曄 (comp.), *Hou Han shu* 後漢書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1965), j. 90, p. 2991, and Gerhard Schreiber, "Das Volk der Hsien-pi 鮮卑 zur Han-Zeit", *Monumenta Serica* 12 (1947), pp. 194-195.

became the major rival in war and politics against the Southern dynasties until the end of the sixth century. Besides the Tuoba, the Tuyuhun, originally a faction of the Murong, who had moved to Gansu and Qinghai early in the fourth century,[5] were also of great military prowess.

Despite the close relationship between man and horse in the Xianbei realm, there are few works dedicated to the history of the horse among these tribes. Horses remain a "side-aspect" in the research of Xianbei history, and their importance is further reduced by the fact that the Xianbei, as well as all the non-Chinese groups in this period, rarely catch the attention of Chinese scholars.

This article attempts to summarize some aspects related to horses and riding under Xianbei rule. Relevant information is collected from both written and archaeological sources. Special attention will be given to new developments and inventions. This concerns, for example, the use of saddles and metal stirrups. Yet, my investigation of the relevant textual sources is far from exhaustive. Many written works found in Chinese historical and literary writings, which are of a diverse and heterogeneous nature, still await further evaluation and critical study. Regarding saddles and stirrups, since the technologies and their social impacts have been discussed expertly and thoroughly,[6] the focus will be on how they were used – according to recent archaeological findings.

HORSE SUPPLY AND MANAGEMENT

The imposing figures of armoured horses (*kaima* 鎧馬) in the Xianbei armies of the fourth century, frequently of "tens of thousands" as mentioned in Chinese records,[7] give a rough idea of how the Xianbei took advantage of the vast Mongolian steppes as pastures and perfectly managed their horse supply. Despite numerous military campaigns with unavoidable losses, the Xianbei were able to rebuild within a short term a new cavalry with an immense number of warhorses. The Chinese on the contrary were always in want of horses. In the Han and the subsequent Three Kingdoms (222–265 AD) period, the court was able to secure horse supplies by forcing the neighbouring northern steppe people to send in horses as "tribute" or at least to purchase them.[8] After the Three Kingdoms period the drastic horse deficiency in the Chinese Central Plain led to the deployment of other livestock such as oxen or sheep as draught animals for carriages, while the

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5 See the discussion of Tong Chenzhu who combined both literary and archaeological records for his thesis on the Murong origin of the Tuyuhun; Tong Chenzhu 佟臣祝, "Cong kaoguxue he lishixue shang kan Xianbei ren xi xi de zuji 從考古學和歷史學上看鮮卑人西徙的足跡", *Kaogu yu wenwu*, additional issue: Archaeology of Han and Tang 考古與文物·增刊·漢唐考古 (2004), pp. 147-154.

6 Albert E. Dien, "A Study of Early Chinese Armor," *Artibus Asiae* 43.1/2 (1982/83), pp. 5-56; ibid, "The Stirrup and its Effect on Chinese History", *Ars Orientalia* 16 (1986), pp. 33-56. Yang Hong 楊泓, *Zhongguo gu bingqi luncong* 中國古兵器論叢 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, ^{2}1986); ibid, "Zhongguo gudai maju zhuangkai dui Haidong de yingxiang 中國古代馬具裝鎧對海東的影響", in Zhongguo shehui kexueyuan kaogu yanjiusuo 中國社會科學院考古研究所 (ed.), *Xin shiji de Zhongguo kaoguxue – Wang Zhongshu xiansheng bashi huadan jinian lunwenji* 新世紀的中國考古學 — 王仲舒先生八十華誕紀念論文集 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2005), pp. 626-644; Wang Tieying 王鐵英, "Madeng de qiyuan 馬鐙的起源", *Ouya xuekan* 歐亞學刊 3 (2002), pp. 76-100.

7 See Yang Hong, *Zhongguo gu bingqi*, p. 629. Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, p. 64, citing Wei Shou 魏收 (comp.), *Wei shu* 魏書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 24, p. 609, gives a huge figure of several hundred thousand mounted archers at the Tuoba's command, as well as a million horses on the pastures in the Tuoba's territories about 366.

8 There are numerous such incidences in the treaty on the Wuwan and Xianbei in Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, compiled by (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1959), j. 30. For instance, in 220 AD, Budugen 步度根, the lord of Eastern Xianbei 東部鮮卑, sent horses as tributes to Cao Pi 曹丕, who then ascended the throne as Emperor Wen of Cao Wei 魏文帝 (p. 836); in the same year, the Xianbei lord Samohan 沙末汗 of the West Liao River region also sent horses to the Chinese court as tribute, after he had been appointed the "Lord who is faithful to the Han" (親漢王) by Cao Cao 曹操 (pp. 840); in 222 the Xianbei lord Kebineng 軻比能 of the Ordos region, together with Xiu Wulu 修武盧, the son of a Wuwan Chieftain in the Dai Prefecture 代郡, and his 3,000 riders, drove some 70,000 cattle and horses to the (border) market for exchange (p. 839). Although there is no explicit reference in historical records, it is more than obvious that the Xianbei exchanged their herds and produce for Chinese grain, on which the Xianbei depended. See Schreiber, *Das Volk der Hsien-pi*, p. 153.

military consisted mainly of infantry; few horses were available for wars.[9] With wars against the more mobilized steppe peoples becoming increasingly intense, the Chinese were forced to purchase horses from their enemies in order to build cavalries (even at a high cost for their maintenance).[10] The Xianbei were a particularly good supplier of horses and other livestock from the second half of the second century AD – not only for the Chinese, but also for the Xiongnu.[11] According to a record for the year of 222 AD, the Xianbei seemed to recognize the potential threat if they continuously delivered horses to the Chinese, and thus tried to ban the horse trade with China.[12]

As for the supply of warhorses to the Xianbei troops, an incidence in an expedition of Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 against the Rouran 柔然 reveals that the mounted Tuoba warriors all carried an extra horse (*fuma* 副馬) during their military campaigns.[13] This might suggest that most Xianbei groups constantly demanded large numbers of horses. The same is also observed much later among the Mongolian tribes: one warrior was said to have at his disposal several animals and he rode them alternately to prevent them suffering from exhaustion.[14]

After the establishment of the Northern Wei dynasty by the Tuoba Xianbei, horses became a major livestock item next to cattle and sheep. It is mentioned in the *Wei shu* 魏書 that under Tuoba rule the number of horses in North China grew to over two million in the 430s.[15] When discussing the horse policy (*mazheng* 馬政) of earlier periods, the great Southern Song scholar Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 claimed that the number of horses culminated under the Northern Wei of the Tuoba Xianbei.[16]

The areas Shangjun 上郡 and Dai 代 in the northern Shanxi and Ordos regions, the base of Tuoba dominion – and the traditional "horse country" already praised in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 –, still produced horses throughout the fourth century.[17] However, the extremely high standing of horses under the Northern Wei was most likely achieved primarily through war booties from the western nomadic tribes. After the successful campaign in Hexi 河西 (an area including modern Shaanxi, Ningxia and Gansu provinces) against the Xiongnu leader Liu Weichen 劉衛辰, the first Northern Wei emperor Tuoba Gui 拓跋珪 looted allegedly 300,000 "famous / precious horses" (*mingma* 名馬) in 391 AD. Again in 429, the emperor Tuoba Dao 拓跋燾 crushed the Turkish High Carts (Gaoche 高車),[18] and snatched one million warhorses (*baiwan rongma* 百萬戎馬). Shortly after and still in the same year, Tuoba Dao again forced the rest of the tribal people of the Gaoche to surrender and took hold of their millions of livestock including horses, cattle and sheep.[19] The

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9 See, for example, the petition of Han Fan 韓範 of the Southern Yan (*Jin shu*, j. 127, p. 3171), who, with the argument that the Chinese possessed only some hundred war horses, encouraged his lord Murong De 慕容德 to attack the Eastern Jin Dynasty of the Chinese in the year 403 AD.

10 An experience that the Chinese had to go through quite regularly; see Denis Sinor, "Horse and Pasture in Inner Asian History", *Orient Extremus* 19 (1972), p. 174.

11 See the commentary of Pei Songzhi 裴松之 (Liu-Song) citing the now lost *Wei shu* 魏書 of Wang Chen 王沉 of Jin times in *Sanguo zhi*, j. 30, p. 833. See also Schreiber, *Das Volk der Hsien-pi*, p. 156.

12 *Sanguo zhi*, j. 26, p. 727; Wolfgang Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China. Erster Teil: Die Lokalkulturen des Nordens und Westens* (Leiden: Brill, 1942), p. 14; and Yü Ying-shih, *Trade and Expansion in Han China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1967), p.110.

13 Sima Guang 司馬光 (comp.), *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑑 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), j. 107, p. 3401 (year 391); see also Lü Yifei 呂一飛, *Huzu xisu yu Sui Tang fengyun - Wei Jin Nanbeichao Beifang shaoshu minzu shehui fengsu ji qi dui Sui Tang de yingxiang* 胡族習俗與隋唐風韻—魏晉南北朝北方少數民族社會風俗及其對隋唐的影響 (Beijing: Shumu wenxian chubanshe, 1994), pp. 97-98.

14 See *Meng Da beilu* 蒙韃備錄 (section "horse policy") of Meng Gong 孟珙 (Song period), in Gujin shuo hai 古今說海, Baibu congshu jicheng ed. (Taipei: Yiwen yinshuguan, 1965), 9b-10a. See also Veronika Veit, "Die Überlegenheit von Pferd und Bogen. Die Rolle des Pferdes bei den Mongolen in Frieden und Krieg", in: Kunst- und Ausstellungshalle der Bundesrepublik Deutschland (ed.), *Dschingis Khan und seine Erben. Das Weltreich der Mongolen* (München: Hirmer Verlag, 2005), p. 98.

15 *Wei shu*, *j*.110, p.2875.

16 Lü Zuqian 呂祖謙 (1137–1181), *Lidai zhidu xiangshuo* 歷代制度詳說 (Shanghai: Jiangsu Guangling guji keyinshe, 1990), j. 12, p. 182.

17 *Jin shu*, j. 103, p. 2697; Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, p. 13.

18 For the High Carts see Edwin G. Pulleyblank, "The 'High Carts': A Turkish-Speaking People Before the Türks", *Asia Major*. Third Series 3.1 (1990), pp. 21-26.

19 *Wei shu*, j. 103, pp. 2308-2309.

surrendered Gaoche tribal people together with their livestock were resettled on the Northern Wei state pastures (see below) in the North, and "since then the prices for horses as well as cattle and sheep in the [Northern Wei] country became extremely cheap (由是國家馬及牛羊遂至於賤)".[20]

In order to ensure horses were adequately provided for , the early emperors of the Northern Wei reserved the vast Hexi area to the west and of the grand arch of the Yellow River to the north, called Monan 漠南 ("South of the Desert"),[21] for pastures.[22] Only a few names of these stately owned pastures were preserved in historical records. Beside Hexi and Monan, also the smaller pastures at Xiurong 秀容 and Shanwu 善無 (both in the present day region north of Taiyuan and south of the Gobi) were mentioned. There must also have been many privately owned large ranches of tribal leaders. Tribal people were supposed to deliver one warhorse per twenty households or by rich households who owned 100 sheep.[23] This kind of "taxation" at the beginning of the Northern Wei era was probably negligible and was abolished in the 470s.

In 494 AD the old Tuoba capital Pingcheng 平城 (modern Datong 大同) near the steppe was abandoned in favour of Luoyang at the heart of the Central Plain. At the beginning of the Luoyang period, a new Heyang 河陽 state pasture was established to keep the horses for the army. The region of Heyang from the northern bank of the Yellow River to the area of modern Anyang 安陽 was also known as the "horse district" (*machang* 馬場).[24] Horses were drawn regularly from the old Hexi and Monan state pastures. They had been stationed first at Bingzhou 并州 (present day Taiyuan 太原), also a major pasture at the time, and then transferred gradually southwards. In this way the horses could be acclimatised to a much warmer and humid environment, before they reached the final destination in Heyang. 100,000 warhorses were kept there constantly from 494 to the 520s, "in case of sudden outbreaks of wars or emergencies in the capital".[25]

Already in the 470s the Tuoba ceased to campaign against the Rouran tribes of the steppe and gradually adopted the extreme centralized regime and sedentary way of life after the Chinese model. This means a major switch of the economy from husbandry to agriculture. The pasturelands for horses and other livestock vanished gradually from this point.[26] Except under the first emperor Xiaowen, in the new political centre Luoyang only a few ministers for the Imperial Stud (see below) in the sixth century took care of horse affairs. The resulting crisis of a horse shortage was further aggravated through a steady political conflict between land utilization for grazing and farming. For example, Yang Chun 楊椿, a famous politician of the Northern Wei and minister of the Imperial Stud under Emperor Xuanwu (500–504 AD), was said to have transformed 340 *qing* 頃 of pasturelands illegally into fields for agriculture.[27]

The state-owned pastures in the North (including Xiurong and Shanwu) were abandoned some years after the capital was moved south, and the rich owners of private ranches, now occupying the former state pastures, became significant suppliers of warhorses for the army.[28] Some parts of the major northern state pastures

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[20] Ibid., p. 2309. *Zhizhi tongjian*, j. 121, p. 3812, precisely locates the new settlement of the subjugated Gaoche between the present day Ruyuan 濡源 and Wuyuan 五原 in Ordos.

[21] This area corresponds to modern North Shanxi and southern Inner Mongolia, including such old toponyms as Pingcheng 平城, Lingyuan 凌源, Yunzhong 雲中 and Wuyuan 五原. The area is described as extremely cold (積冰四五十尺，唾出口成冰; "ice accumulates up to 40 or 50 *chi* high, spit freezes into ice as soon as leaving the mouth"), but best for husbandry (畜牧滋繁; "livestock and herds get nourished and multiply"); see *Jizhoutu* 冀州圖 retained in *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記 of Song times (j. 49, p. 14), cited by Tang Changru 唐長孺, "Tuoba guojia de jianli ji qi fengjianhua 拓跋國家的建立及其封建化" in same, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi luncong* 魏晉南北朝史論叢 (Beijing: Sanlian shudian, 1955), p. 218.

[22] *Wei shu*, j. 110, p. 2785; see also Yuanshan 遠山, "Wei Jin Nanbeichao shiqi xumuye shengchan fazhan de tezheng 魏晉南北朝時期畜牧業生産發展的特徵", *Xuchang shizhuan xuebao* 許昌師專學報 (*shehui kexue ban* 社會科學版) 17.2 (1998), p. 64.

[23] A bill of the year 421, see *Wei shu*, j. 3, p. 61.

[24] See Zhou Yiliang 周一良, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi zhaji* 魏晉南北朝史札記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985), pp. 357-358.

[25] *Wei shu*, j. 110, p. 2875; *Zhizhi tongjian*, j. 139, p. 4369; and Yuanshan, "Wei Jin …".

[26] For an excellent analysis of the interdependency of pastoralists and pastures see: Sinor, "Horse and Pasture".

[27] *Wei shu*, j. 58, p. 1287. Given that the allowance for an official of the highest rank was 50 *qing* of agricultural fields, Yang Chun's occupying of almost seven times that amount was considered a criminal offence; consequently, he was almost degraded to a common person.

[28] The most famous one was Erzhu Xinxing 爾朱新興 (*Wei shu*, j. 74, p. 1644), the father of the rebel Erzhu Rong 爾朱榮 who, in 528 AD, slaughtered more than 2,000 aristocrats and members of the royal house and drowned the emperor Suzong 肅宗 and the

were also diverted into huge hunting grounds for royals and aristocrats after the move of the capital to Luoyang.[29] The number of military horses thus decreased drastically, and the state was dependent on tribally owned horses for military expeditions, although the pastures in Hexi were said to remain intact.[30]

The Poem of Mulan 木蘭詩,[31] a ballad generally believed to be of Xianbei origin,[32] implies that warhorses during Northern Wei times were not always provided by the army, but were also purchased privately on the market. The ballad, if dated correctly, gives a glimpse of daily life under the Northern Wei regime; moreover, it also reveals a clearly structured division of labour. This concerns the production of various utensils for horse riding such as saddles and saddlecloths, harnesses, bridles, whips, etc. These products were sold, and probably also manufactured, in different market places at the beginning of the sixth century.[33] There were special horse markets in the capital from later Han times, and certainly also in major townships under the Northern Wei.[34] However, not much information concerning transactions, prices and quantities is available for the pre-Tang period. It is only known that horse markets also served as locations for public executions.[35]

Generally speaking, horse riding was extremely popular under the Northern Dynasties, both in war and peace. Not only officials and soldiers but also common Xianbei people rode horses. Those who did not own ranches and did not receive them as rewards probably bought horses in public markets. In short, to the northern societies horses were like automobiles to modern European families. This was in sharp contrast to the Southern Dynasties, or the Chinese in general, who would prefer to use a coach or cart, mostly drawn by oxen. The Xianbei lords encouraged their subjects to learn riding and archery, while the Han Chinese were compelled to raise crops and feed their non-Chinese compatriots.[36] Riding was so popular and demand for trained horses so high that some commercially-minded northerners created a "rent-a-horse" (*ke qi ma* 客騎馬) business in Luoyang during the sixth century as a means of living.[37]

Since horses are animals who can panic, and particularly loud noises and aggressive movements of infantry often frightened the inexperienced horses in cavalries, special training was necessary for warhorses.[38] While special drill sites for warhorses are mentioned sporadically in the context of other ethnic groups – the

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empress dowager Ling 靈太后. Xinxing was the descendant of the tribal leader of the Erzhu clan. With the base in Xiurong, he led more than 8,000 households of tribal people and raised some 10,000 horses; see Tang Changru, "Tuoba guojia", p. 217.

29 See Zhou Yiliang, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao*.

30 Ibid.

31 See Guo Maoqian 郭茂倩 (Song), *Yuefu shiji* 樂府詩集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1975), j. 25, pp. 373-375.

32 See Wan Shengnan 萬繩楠, *Wei Jin Nanbeichao shi lungao* 魏晉南北朝史論稿 (Hefei: Anhui jiaoyu chubanshe, 1983), pp. 283-286.

33 "In the East Market she bought a swift horse; in the West Market she bought a saddle and saddlecloth; in the South Market she bought a bridle and harness; in the North Market she bought a long whip." (東市買駿馬、西市買鞍韉、南市買轡頭、北市買長鞭。), in *Yuefu shiji*, p. 374.

34 *Wei shu* (j. 77, p. 1708) recorded an event at the horse market in Heyin 河陰 (present day Mengjin 孟津 in Henan province), where the county administrator Gao Qianzhi 高謙之 set a trap to catch the gangsters who paid the horse price with forged money.

35 See for example *Hou Han shu*, j. 21, p. 3243 (腰斬马市; "to cleave through the waist at horse market"); *Sanguo zhi*, j. 26, p. 731 (袁尚首懸馬市; "the head of Yuan Shang was hung at the horse market"); *Wei shu*, j. 74, p. 1657 (咸梟馬市; "[those who rebelled] were executed at the horse market"); *Wei shu*, j. 77, p. 1708 (枷一囚立於馬市; "a prisoner was handcuffed and was displayed at the horse market"). Only Yang Xuanzhi mentions that the "horse market" was located in the eastern section of Luoyang, but there are no additional details; see Yang Xuanzhi 楊衒之 (author), Xu Gaoruan 徐高阮 (comm.), *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji* 重刊洛陽伽藍記, Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo zhuankan 42 (Taipei: Zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo, 1960; 2nd print 1992), 14a.

36 *Jin shu*, j. 126, pp. 3145-3146.

37 See Lü Yifei, *Huzu xisu*, p. 101, citing Li Yanshou 李延壽 (comp.), *Bei shi* 北史 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), j. 55, p. 2000. The event was related to the time shortly after 528 AD. It may be of interest to point out that the business of mounts (such as horses and camels) for hire was practised in Niya from the third to the fourth centuries AD, probably only among the nobility; see for example the Kharos□□□□t□hi inscriptions 223 (horse-rental), 468 and 505 (camel-rental) found by Sir Aurel Stein in ancient Niya, in Thomas Burrow, *A Translation of the Kharos□□t□hi Documents from Chinese Turkestan* (London: The Royal Asiatic Society,□ 1940) pp. 42, 91, and 98.

38 See Marcus Junkelmann, *Die Reiter Roms. Teil III: Zubehör, Reitweise, Bewaffnung* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 1992), pp. 115-119.

"horse cooling terrace" (*liang ma tai* 涼馬臺) associated with Shi Hu 石虎 of the *Jie* 羯 (fourth century) is one example[39] – it is only in the chronicle of the Northern Wei (*Wei shu*) that one encounters detailed notices on military training involving horse and man. Such activities are described as an integral part of the New Year's celebrations near the palace gate at the capital Pingcheng 平城 (modern Datong), where equestrians and foot soldiers fought against each other.[40] These special horse-and-man-drills probably did not occur accidentally, since they were recorded at a time, during which the Tuoba were engaged in heavy warfare against the Chinese in the South.

The structure of "horse administration" under the Northern Wei remains largely unknown. However, several titles of officials in charge of "horse affairs" are registered in the dynastic records, for example, "Horse Master" (*zhuma* 主馬), "Herder" (*muzi* 牧子), "Stable Master" (*zhu jiuxian* 主廄閑), "Special Agent for Supervising Pastures" (都牧給事)[41], and the "Department for Riding and Carriage" (*jiabu* 駕部).[42] After the capital was moved to Luoyang, traditional Chinese titles such as "Director of [Livestock] Herding" (*dianmuling* 典牧令)[43] were adopted. These offices were under the Ministry for the Imperial Stud *taipu* 太僕, headed by the Minister *taipuqing* 太僕卿.

A "Ministry for the Imperial Stud" had already existed in Eastern Zhou times and was solely in charge of horse affairs. Since the dynastic history of the Northern Wei was written by Wei Shou 魏收, a Chinese scholar with a Confucian background, this office title and other sinicized titles were possibly adopted by him to describe the posts of the Xianbei dynasty which were very likely originally expressed in the Xianbei language . In such a manner, not only would Chinese readers easily understand the functions of the posts, but the dynasty would also present itself as just as civilized as a Chinese dynasty. There is at least one example which indicates that this could have been the case: the term *muzi* 牧子 (literally: herd boy), although it sounds Chinese, was not mentioned before the Northern Wei. Tang Changru pointed out that several non-Chinese persons of the Yuwen-Xiongnu, Xianbei and Gaoche, all of the fifth and sixth centuries, and all related to government horse-herding, carried the "personal name" Feiyetou 費野頭 or Poyetou 破野頭. These name variations, according to Tang, should be the Chinese transcriptions of a widely adopted Altaic term current on the steppes, which can be translated as "herder" (*muzi*).[44] Unfortunately, the original transcriptions of other names and titles have not been transmitted. But it seems likely that they were in use

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[39] The terrace was also named "horse entertainment terrace" (*xima tai* 戲馬臺) or "terrace for horse parade" (閱馬臺); see Shing Müller, *Yezhongji. Eine Quelle zur materiellen Kultur in der Stadt Ye im 4. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1993), p. 66.

[40] *Wei shu*, j. 108D, p. 2180. This paragraph describes an impressive event on the 12th month of the year 462: "The Emperor Gaozong (452–465) organized a grand *nuo* festival to celebrate the end of the year. He ordered parades of armies to demonstrate military strength. … The foot soldiers positioned in the south, the riders in the north. Drums (attacking signal) were beaten and bells (retreating signal) were rung which gave the timings for the movements of the armies. The foot soldiers wore blue, red, yellow and black clothes according to their regiments. Those holding shields, spears, lances and halberds followed one another, alternated their positions and corresponded with each other. … After this performance, the soldiers in the south and in the north drummed and blew horns together. All shouted. From each of the (cavalry) squadrons, six mounted commanders were sent out to challenge the infantrymen. The infantry moved forwards and backwards and tried to fight the cavalry. (At the end) as a climax (of the event) the north (regiment) defeated the south (regiment)." According to the same paragraph, "this parade was held each year afterwards." (高宗和平三年十二月，因歲除大儺之禮，遂燿兵示武，……步兵陳於南，騎士陳於北，各擊鍾鼓，以為節度。其步兵所衣，青赤黃黑，別為部隊，盾矟矛戟，相次周回，轉易以相赴就。……陳畢，南北二軍皆鳴鼓角，衆盡大譟。各令騎將六人，去來挑戰，步兵更進退以相拒擊。南敗北捷，以為盛觀，自後踵以為常。)

[41] In the early days of the Northern Wei there were *dumu shangshu* 都牧尚書 (Ministers for Pastures), who, though in charge of all state livestock and pastures , took special care of horses. Under *dumu shangshu* probably came the *dumuling* 都牧令 (Supervisor of Pastures). After the capital was moved to Luoyang, the office of *dumu shangshu* was renamed *dumu jishi* 都牧給事, i.e., Head of Supervising Agent for Pasture and Livestock. The new post was still responsible for the special duty of horse herding.

[42] Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯 (comp.), *Nan Qi shu* 南齊書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1972), j. 57, p. 985. The office "Department for Riding and Carriage" (駕部) obviously was installed in Western Jin times (*Jin shu*, j. 24, p. 731). The Chinese historians clearly adopted the Chinese appellation to describe the corresponding Xianbei office. Most of the *jiabu* ministers or officials in Northern Wei times, as illustrated in the *Wei shu*, were of steppe origin.

[43] The title was already seen in the Three Kingdoms period; see Yang Chen 楊晨 (Qing), *Sanguo huiyao* 三國會要, Zhongguo xueshu mingzhu ed. (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1962), j. 9, p. 145.

[44] Tang Changru, "Tuoba guojia", pp. 210-214.

under the Northern Dynasties until they gradually disappeared in early Tang days. No doubt they belonged to the nomadic organisation of the "horse administration". Furthermore, the few known persons serving these horse-herding posts during Northern Wei times were all either of Xianbei or of other steppe origins[45] who could undoubtedly bring in their expertise in matters of horse affairs. Yang Chun, mentioned above, could have been the only minister of Chinese origin for the Imperial Stud under the Northern Wei.

Breeds According to Literature and Art

Military horses of the Han dynasty hardly reached 14 hands (roughly 140 cm to the withers), i.e., they were merely a little higher than wild horses.[46] By the fourth century, warhorses, in order to carry the load of iron armour plus the weight of a fully armoured warrior and his weapons[47] and still be able to charge the enemy, must have undergone a substantial change with regard to their body size, stamina and speed.

As mentioned above, the northern Shanxi and Ordos regions were famous for their "fine foals" (良駒). These "native horses" (土馬) must have been the wild horses (*Equus przewalski*) in this region. The Northern Wei Emperor Taiwu 太武帝 (424–452) ordered Yunzhong 雲中 (the present day northern Shanxi) to be a "wild horse park" (*ye ma yuan* 野馬苑) to keep these local horses roaming freely in the area. Wild horses were famous for their persistency and speed. The Xiongnu had already used them as warhorses. However, nomadic tribes in these regions also seemed to breed chargers "large / swift horses" (駿馬) or "thousand *li* horses" (千里馬). These horses were usually brought as prestigious tribute by subordinating tribes to their nomadic overlord.[48] While horses from the west of the Yellow River and Ordos were frequently imported into the northeastern areas, the horses from the western regions, such as oases on the Silk Road or even Central Asia, were highly treasured and probably also contributed to the improvement of breeds (see below).

Despite the many archaeological findings of horse skeletons from the third and fourth centuries, these were never examined for the possible breeds. Thus, implications can only be drawn from literary sources. Art works may also give some rough ideas of the diversity of horses in North China during the early medieval period.

The most important written source is probably *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 by Jia Sixie 賈思勰 (c. 530s), one of the earliest handbooks about agriculture and husbandry. It gives some physiognomic criteria about good and bad horses, which can definitely be traced back to the accumulated equestrian experience of the steppe nomads.[49] According to this book, a good horse should have a "heavy" head of little flesh, "like the skinned

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[45] The known "herder" (*muzi*) are Wanyuqizhen 萬于乞真 (Southern Xiurong 南秀容; *Wei shu*, j. 9, p. 237, and j. 74, p. 1645), and Suhepolun 素和婆崙 (of Bingzhou 并州; *Wei shu*, j. 74, p. 1645). Xijin 奚斤, one of the famous tribal leaders during the early Northern Wei, and his paternal forebears were said to have served the Tuoba emperors as horse herders (*ma mu* 馬牧) (*Wei shu*, j. 29, p. 697). Chang Jixian 常季賢 was mentioned as "Horse Master" (主馬) and "Stable Master" (廄閑長) (*Wei shu*, j. 93, p. 2002); Yuwen Fu 宇文福 was mentioned as "Special Agent for Supervising Pastures" (都牧給事) and "Director for [Livestock] Herding" (典牧令) (*Wei shu*, j. 44, p. 1001).

[46] Wild horses or most of the steppe horses are 13-13.5 hands high (c. 137.5 cm); see Franz Hančar, *Das Pferd in prähistorischer und früher historischer Zeit* (Wien: Herold, 1956), p. 366, and H. G. Creel, "The Role of the Horse in Chinese History", *The American Historical Review* 70.3 (1965), p. 655.

[47] According to the finds in the tomb of Feng Sufu 馮素弗 (died 415 AD), one set of horse armour of iron weighed c. 42.5 kg, while the weight of the armour of the warrior was not given. However, written sources recorded that the iron armour of soldiers of Song times was not allowed to exceed 50 *jin*, roughly 30-32 kg; see Yang Hong, *Zhongguo gu bingqi*, pp. 45, 67-68. One set of iron wrought armour for a warrior and a horse together can easily weigh up to 130 kg, given a soldier of 170 cm weighing roughly 60 kg.

[48] See note 11. This seems to be a ceremonial ritual operation among steppe peoples, in which the power positions of the giver and the receiver were clearly defined. Already in the third century BC the Donghu 東胡 asked for a 1000-*li* horse from the Xiongnu Modun 冒頓 as "tribute". This was considered a provocation by the Xiongnu elites; see Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen*, p. 14.

[49] Jia Sixie 賈思勰, (annotated by Miu Qiyu 繆啟愉 and Miu Guilong 繆桂龍), *Qimin yaoshu* 齊民要術 (Beijing: Nongye chubanshe, 1982), section 6, chap. 56 "herding cattle, horses, donkeys and mules" 養牛馬驢騾, pp. 277-312. See also Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting", *Artibus Asiae* 57.1/2 (1997), pp. 138-140, 149. The section concerning horse physiognomy in this work, according to Miu Qiyu and Miu Guilong, contains texts of a heterogeneous nature; therefore the original text could have been mixed up with some later sources (p. 295, note 51). Some parts may reflect traditional Chinese medicinal theories, such as the combination of physiognomy with the Five Viscera (*wuzang* 五臟) Theory. A

head of a rabbit"; the eyes should be "full and bright and large" (a sign for great persistency and a large heart, which implies fearlessness); the ears should be "small and sharp" (which implies obedience) and close to each other, the nostrils should be large (a sign for large lungs which means a fast runner) and the flanks should be small (easy to raise). Its cervical spine should be long but not heavily fleshed, its back should be short and square, the spine (on the back) should be large and raised, and the muscles on either side of the spine should be big as well. Horses with broad breasts, according to the text, can walk long distances. A "thousand-*li* horse", the best and fastest of all horses, has a skull like a dragon, protruding eyes, a level spine coupled with a large belly, and heavy fleshy hind quarters. A bad horse has, on the contrary, a big head and a short or long but not an arching neck, or a weak spine and big belly, or small legs and large hoofs.[50] There are also different speed categories, which are related to the physical characteristics of horses.[51] Such physical traits reveal that gelding and selection from among different breeds was common. For example, Hančar mentions that an early gelding would extend the neck and leg length, but not effect the length of the spine. Such a process was aimed at increasing the speed of a horse.[52]

Jia Sixie's criteria for good horses can also be related to certain works of art, some of which predate the *Qimin yaoshu*. The glazed[53] or painted pottery images of fully armoured "large horses" from the Xi'an area (see below), dated to the late fourth or early fifth century, are depicted with relatively long and slender legs (pl. 46). A newly discovered pottery horse from a cemetery of the Northern Wei in present day Datong 大同, Shanxi province, dated to the end of the fifth century, as well as the glazed horse figurines from the tomb of Sima Jinlong 司馬金龍 (died 484 AD), also reveals certain traits mentioned in the *Qimin yaoshu*, such as a long and arching neck, a large head, and a short and square back (pl. 47).[54] The same preference for long shanks – to an exaggerated degree – can be found in the tomb of a Xianbei aristocrat of the Northern Qi, Lou Rui 婁叡 (died 570 AD), in Taiyuan 太原 (pl. 48).[55] The meticulous painting or glazing, or simply the "larger-than-average" size - a general rule of thumb in the artistic expression to distinguish a person or object - all underline the high status of fine horses. Some of them carry bridles and tassels of the Sasanian types (pl. 48), indicating the great influence of Sasanian equestrian traditions, possibly even horse breeds, on contemporaneous North China. Indeed, according to written sources, in the sixth century, highly prized horses from Persia (波斯馬) continued to be imported directly in order to fill the stables of the richest princes of the Northern Wei dynasty.[56]

The Murong of the fourth and fifth centuries in southern Manchuria were the first ones to set up military units with great numbers of "armoured horses" (*kaima*) - several thousand were mentioned for one campaign.[57] However, so far no archaeological finds can clearly demonstrate that they possessed horses

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major portion, however, still represents the summary of advice which is "imbued with a barnyard practicality that speaks of great experience with horses" (Harrist, p.138) of the steppe peoples.

50 See note 49.

51 There were, for example, horses which ran 300 *li*, 400 *li*, 500 *li*, 700 *li*, or 1,000 *li* per day; see *Qimin yaoshu*, pp. 278-283.

52 Hančar, *Das Pferd*, pp. 364-365.

53 After a long pause following the Han dynasty, glazed pottery ware became popular again in the mid-fourth century. However, only small quantities of these wares appear in the richer tombs of the period, and glazes were applied only to objects of high value, commonly to the largest horse figurines in a tomb.

54 See Datongshi kaogu yanjiusuo 大同市考古研究所, "Shanxi Datong Yingbin dadao Beiwei muqun 山西大同迎賓大道北魏墓群", *Wenwu* 10 (2006), p. 57, fig. 18.

55 Lou Rui was of the upper echelon of the Northern Qi dynasty and of Xianbei origin. The walls of his tomb, discovered in 1979, were fully covered with murals. The number of depicted horses in this tomb and the superb quality is single for the period up to this date; see Taiyuanshi wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 太原市文物考古研究所, *Bei Qi Lou Rui mu* 北齊婁叡墓 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2004).

56 It was said that the super rich Tuoba prince Yuan Shen 元琛 sent an envoy to Posi guo 波斯國, probably the Sasanian empire, to fetch a "thousand-*li* horse" (*qianli ma* 千里馬) for his personal stud; see *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji* 重刊洛陽伽藍記, j. 4, 33a; Li Fang 李昉 et al., *Taiping yulan* 太平御覽, Guoxue jiben congshu, 12 vols. (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1959), j. 895, 4a, cites Sanguo dianlue 三國典略. See also Qiu Yue 丘悅 (of Tang times, comp.), Glen Dudbridge (Du Deqiao 杜德橋) and Zhao Chao 趙超 (eds.), *Sanguo dianlue jijiao* 三國典略輯校 (Taipei: Dongda tushu gongsi, 1998), p. 5.

57 "Horses' armour" (*makai* 馬鎧) were first mentioned in the Chinese cultural sphere, at the beginning of the third century by Cao Cao 曹操. As Graff, *Medieval Chinese Warfare*, p. 42, pointed out, it is not clear if the armour for horses at this early age was

larger than wild stocks, as shown in several mural depictions of armoured mounted warriors.[58] Armour for man and horse unearthed in the homelands of the Murong and in Koguryo, unfortunately do not indicate the size of the animals.[59] On the other hand, the contemporaneous or somewhat later Western Xianbei 西部鮮卑 (for example, the Qifu 乞伏) and the proto-Tibetan Di 氐 (Fu Jian 苻堅), located in the present day Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia, seem to have owned even larger numbers of armoured cavalries. Written sources maintain that Qifu Qiangui 乞伏乾歸 lost 60,000 armoured horses in one single battle against Yao Xing 姚興 of the Later Qin 後秦.[60] Fu Hong 苻宏 gave Lü Guang 呂光 5,000 "iron equestrians" (*tieji* 鐵騎) in order to conquer the western regions.[61] It is interesting to note that most of the pottery equestrians from Xi'an tombs of the late fourth or early fifth century seem to sit on horses larger than the ones of previous times (pl. 49).[62] Horse sizes for these areas are not mentioned in written sources. But considering the rather dense concentration of early archaeological sites in Xi'an and adjacent areas,[63] and the huge numbers of horses mentioned in texts, it appears that "large" horses were first introduced or bred in great numbers in the Guanlong 關隴 region (present day Shaanxi and Ningxia). The rather "Indo-European" countenance of several pottery figurines from the tombs at Xinji 新集 near Guyuan 固原 (fourth to fifth centuries), Ningxia (pl. 50),[64] may provide a hint, in addition to the ethnic complexities of the region, for the possible origins of these horses: most likely at this early stage they came from the oasis kingdoms along the Silk Road or even from Western Turkestan.

STATUS OF THE HORSE

The horse as motif, especially on representative objects such as belt buckles or necklaces, was strikingly dominant among the early Xianbei works of art,[65] thus underscoring the central position of horses in Xianbei culture. Furthermore, clues to the high esteem of horses in Xianbei society can be drawn from certain titles and names, either of a tribe or an individual, which are preserved only in Chinese transcriptions. Examples are: (1) Helan 賀蘭, a tribe which offered marital alliances with the imperial clan of the Tuoba-Xianbei from the third century; (2) Helaitou 賀賴頭,[66] Helutou 賀虜頭,[67] Eloutou 閼陋頭,[68] Aliutou 阿六頭, Heliuhun 賀

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already in complete bardings or only in part. For "armoured horses" in literature see Yang Hong "Zhongguo gudai maju", p. 629. Beside the citations Yang Hong drew, attention must be also paid to the term "iron horses" (*tiema* 鐵馬) and "iron equestrians" (*tieji* 鐵騎), which seem to refer to the fully armed riders as well as to their horses. Literary sources have it that Murong De of the Southern Yan, in present day Shandong, organized a military drill in 403 with no less than 53,000 "iron equestrians" (*Jin shu*, j. 127, p. 3172; *Zizhi tongjian*, j. 113, p.3567-3568); see also Dien, "The Stirrup and its Effect", p. 37.

58 The most famous tomb murals for this area are the ones in the tomb of Dong Shou 冬壽 (died AD 359) und the tomb of dancers of the Kokuryo period; see Dien, "The Stirrup and its Effect".

59 As mentioned by Yang Hong, "Zhongguo gudai maju", p. 629, several complete armours for men and horses were excavated from tombs in Liaoyang 遼陽 and Beipiao 北票 in the once territory of the Former Yan (337-370AD).

60 *Jin shu*, j. 107, p. 2981.

61 *Jin shu*, j. 122, p. 3054.

62 This seems at least to be a local tradition, see also the horse depiction of the Guyuan 固原 area in Tang times; Ningxia guyuan bowuguan 寧夏固原博物館 (ed.), *Guyuan lishi wenwu* 固原歷史文物 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2004), pp. 173-175.

63 So far several tombs of similar dates of the fourth century were discovered in this area, but only a few have been published; see, for example, Shaanxisheng wenwu guanli weiyuanhui 陝西省文物管理委員會, "Xi'an nanjiao Caochangpocun Beichao mu de faxian 西安南郊草場坡村北朝墓的發現", *Kaogu* 6 (1959), pp. 285-287; Shaanxisheng kaogu yanjiusuo 陝西省考古研究所, "Chang'anxian Beichao muzang qingli jianbao 長安縣北朝墓葬清理簡報", *Kaogu yu wenwu* 5 (1990), pp. 57-62; Xianyangshi wenwu kaoguyanjiusuo 咸陽市文物考古研究所, "Xiangyang Pingling Shiliuguo mu qingli jianbao 咸陽平陵十六國墓清理簡報", *Wenwu* 8 (2004), pp. 4-28; Yue Qi 岳起, Liu Weipeng 劉衛鵬, "Guanzhongdiqu Shiliuguo mu de chubu rending – jiantan Xianyang Pingling Shiliuguo mu chutu de guchuiyong 關中地區十六國墓的出土認定—兼談咸陽平陵十六國墓出土的鼓吹俑", *Wenwu* 8 (2004), pp. 41-53. One tomb of Later Qin times was discovered in Dongjiacun 董家村, Xi'an, with similar finds. No report has been published, but an unclear photo was given on the back cover of *Kaogu yu wenwu* 5 (1998).

64 Luo Feng 羅豐, "Pengyang Xinji Beiwei mu 彭陽新集北魏墓", *Wenwu* 9 (1988), pp. 26-42.

65 Zhang Jingming 張景明, *Zhongguo beifang caoyuan gudai jinyin qi* 中國北方草原古代金銀器 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 2005), pp. 61-93, especially pp. 76-77.

66 *Jin shu*, j. 110, p. 2838; a Shanyu of the Xiongnu, who surrendered together with his fellows of the confederation in 357 to Murong Jun. Helaitou and others were confined in the Pingshu fortress in the Dai Prefecture 代郡平舒城. See Peter A. Boodberg

六渾, or Heluhun 賀鹿渾,[69] all names or titles of princes and high-ranking persons; (3) and Helazhen 曷剌真,[70] the title of the bodyguards serving the Northern Wei emperor in the fifth century. All these names or titles may be traced back to the old-Turkish or Turco-Mongolian *alaγ*, *atlan*-, or **alutu*, meaning "variegated", "dapple", or "piebald"[71] – i.e., they describe the preferred coat colours of warhorses of the northern nomads.[72] Although the Chinese transcriptions cited above may imply the idea of "mixed races",[73] these terms were obviously not meant to throw a negative light on the high-ranking persons who bore these names. Finally, not only did the close association of distinguished persons with horses attest to the high reputation of horses in these nomadic societies,[74] but the various coat colours mentioned above – and in the literature more generally – also indicate that crossbreeding was already widely practised.

Despite the fact that even common members of the Tuoba were experienced and devoted riders, good horses remained status symbols. Just as with the Sasanian aristocrats, to choose a horse for his personal use marked an event in the life of a Xianbei prince. And a good choice served as an indication of the above-average intelligence of the young lad.[75] The question of how to denote or mark a personal horse through branding, already common in Liao times, is not noted in art works or literature of the time. It seems that horses were then recognised through markings on the coat.[76]

It was probably the privilege of a Tuoba queen that she was escorted by female bodyguards in armour.[77] However, pottery figurines of female riders suggest that during Northern Wei times women also rode horses, if not many. Neither the mounted female escort nor female aristocratic equestrians were evidenced for the Murong, which implies a difference in gender status between the Tuoba and Murong societies. The scarcity of Tuoba female riders as reflected in pottery figurines can be affirmed through Song Yun 宋雲 of the Northern Wei. On his way to India this early pilgrim was so amazed by the sight at Khotans (Yutian 于闐) that he

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(author) Alvin P. Cohen (comp.), *Selected Works of Peter A. Boodberg* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), p. 51. Boodberg identified this Helaitou and Liu Eloutou (see note 68) as the same person.

67 Prince of a Tuyuhun king, who came to the court of the Northern Wei in the year 492; see *Wei shu*, j. 7B, p. 168.

68 Name of the second son of Liu Hu 劉虎, the Tiefu Xiongnu 鐵弗匈奴. He "usurped" the lordship of the confederation after the death of his brother Wuhuan 務桓; see *Wei shu*, j. 95, p. 2054, and Boodberg, *Selected Works*, p. 50.

69 Heliuhun was the nickname of Gao Huan 高歡, the founder of the Northern Qi dynasty. This name occurs in *Bei Qi shu*, j. 1. A variation of the same name, recorded in the fifth century as the name of a high Tuoba official, reads Heluhun 賀鹿渾. Boodberg also listed a whole range of variations of these "names" or terms which all have the same root and meaning "mixed" (*Selected Works*, pp. 260-263).

70 Ibid., p. 108. According to Boodberg the title *Helazhen* represents "undoubtedly *atlačin 'horseman' from tk. atla 'to mount a horse'", thus "a purely Turkish form in T'o-pa [Tuoba]". Strangely enough, this foreign language title occurs only in the *Nan Qi shu* (j. 57, p. 994) but not in the *Wei shu*. The *Nan Qi shu* explained that *Helazhen* means *Sanlang* (三郎) in Chinese, i.e., the bodyguards of emperors. The author of *Wei shu* adopted the Chinese term *sanlang* obviously in order to present the Tuoba as sinicized and cultured. According to written sources, the post of *sanlang* was occupied by young royal members of the Tuoba confederation who became perfect horsemen and archers. The proximity to the Tuoba emperors made the position of *sanlang* a most prestigious one.

71 For the reconstruction see Boodberg, *Selected Works*, pp. 111-112, 260-263. According to Boodberg, *atlan*- means "to ride" in Old-Turkish while *at*- stood for horse, whereas *ala* means variegated. Later on, these terms were equated with the horse. Boodberg and Edouad Chavannes, *Documents sur le Tou-Kiue (Turcs) occidentaux* (Paris 1903; rpt. Taipei: Chengwen shuju, 1969), p.56, 2, give the example in *Tongdian* 通典 (j. 197), where "Helan" was explained as "horse"; see also Annemarie von Gabain, *Alttürkische Grammatik*. Porta Linguarum Orientalium (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 1974; 3rd ed.), p. 67, no. 89.

72 As was mentioned already in *Qimin yaoshu* (p. 278). the same applies to the Sasanian rider; see A. Sh. Shahbazi, "ASB. i. in Pre-Islamic Iran", in: Ehsan Yarshater (ed.), *Encyclopaedia Iranica*, II. 7 (London and New York: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1987), p. 729.

73 Cf. note 69.

74 This was already the case in the Avestan period in Western and Central Asia where many eminent people combined their names with the element *aspa*- (horse). Cf. Shahbazi, "ASB. i. in Pre-Islamic Iran", p. 725.

75 Ibid., p. 729; Linghu Defen 令狐德棻 (comp.), *Zhou shu* 周書 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1971), j. 12, p. 187.

76 Again *Zhou shu*, as in note 75.

77 *Nan Qi shu*, j. 57, p. 985.

jotted down: "(here) women wore shirts, pants and belts, and rode (horses) like men",[78] which clearly demonstrates that horse riding in this part of the world was definitely a normal way of life.

SADDLES AND STIRRUPS

The origins of stirrups and saddles with high cantles remain obscure. The Parthian cavalries already had relatively advanced saddles with thick plates in the front and at the back. The warriors and their mounts were fully covered with armour in small plates. The famous graffito of Dura-Europos in Syria (third century) demonstrates a fully armoured rider with a lance. Lances became the major weapons on horseback in West Asia during this period. However, as indicated by Shahbazi, most of the Parthian warriors rode bareback horses and wore little protective clothing.[79] At least from the beginning of the fourth century onwards the Murong based on the western Liao River deployed a similar type of saddle built on a wooden saddletree (pl. 51), and metal stirrups.

New weapons on horseback could have included lances *mao* 矛. Long chopping swords *dao* 刀 are definitely evidenced.[80] Both the new saddles and stirrups gave heavily armed warriors the necessary support while fighting with these weapons on horseback. Possibly, after other Xianbei groups and non-Xianbei nomads had deployed these new inventions and got hold of better horses from the West, the Murong lost their superiority in wars. At least the finds of stirrups from east to west could partly support this hypothesis (see below).

Both saddles and stirrups developed progressively from the fourth to the sixth centuries. The murals from the tomb of Lou Rui show that the saddles developed into a new form and are already similar to finds in Xinjiang (pl. 52), dated to Tang times. These new saddles, comparable to military saddles of nowadays, are more comfortable both for horse and rider on long journeys.

The earliest evidence of stirrups in the Chinese cultural sphere comes from Changsha and is dated to 302 AD. But it remains undisputable that the early archaeological finds concentrate on the Liao River basin, where the Murong used to preside. Based on archaeological finds, the use of new saddles and stirrups did spread not only eastwards to the Korean peninsula and Japan,[81] but also from east to west,[82] which coincided roughly with the military success of different Xianbei groups. The earliest one-sided stirrups were used for mounting only. Paired stirrups were invented soon after. Both types existed in parallel for over one century.[83] The early paired stirrups are oval rings and have no tread,[84] thus not necessarily giving a comfortable foothold. However, with an inner diameter of 10.6-11.3 cm they are wide enough to have the ball of the foot resting on them.[85] Considering the newly introduced horse breeds of larger sizes as mentioned above and the

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78 See *Chong kan Luoyang qielan ji*, j. 5, p. 39b.

79 Shahbazi, "ASB. i. in Pre-Islamic Iran", p. 728.

80 A sword with a length of 122 cm was found in Meiligaitou, Zhuozi County, City of Wulanchabu. It has been dated to the Western Jin (third century AD) and has been attributed to the Tuoba-Xianbei; see Zhonghua shijitan yishuguan 中華世紀壇藝術館 (ed.), . *Zhongguo gudai beifang caoyuan youmu wenhua* 成吉思汗. 中國古代北方草原遊牧文化 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2004), p. 128, fig. 2.

81 See Yang Hong and Wang Tieying, as in note 6.

82 Shing Müller, *Die Gräber der Nördlichen Wei-Dynastie (386–534)* (Munich: Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität München, 2000; Dr. phil. Dissertation), pp. 158-160.

83 Ibid.

84 See the detailed study of Dien, "The Stirrups and its Effect".

85 Such a manner of horse riding with stirrups is exactly depicted in the Koguryo and Silla finds; see Dien, ibid., p. 35. For the width of the early stirrups and the body height of their users see, for example, M101, M202 and M266 at Lamadong; Liaoningsheng wenwu kaogu yanjiusuo 遼寧省文物考古研究所 et al., "Liaoning Beipiao Lamadong mudi 1998 nian fajue baogao 遼寧北票喇嘛洞墓地 1998 年發掘報告", *Kaogu xuebao* 2 (2004), pp. 209-242. The two skeletons in M266 are not completely preserved. However, the better preserved one, under whose feet the saddles, stirrups and horse trappings were found, can be calculated to be 178 to 179 cm tall by this author according to the scale given in fig. 7, p. 214. The modern European stirrups also have standard widths of 10, 11, 12 cm, seldom exceeding 15 cm. Some excavated Mongolian stirrups may have a width of up to 15 cm; see Xiang Chunsong 項春松, "Neimenggu Chifengshi Yuanbaoshan Yuandai bihua mu 内蒙古赤峰市元寶山元代壁畫墓", *Wenwu* 4 (1983), p. 42, fig. 7 (The widths of the excavated stirrups were seldom reported. In this case, the height of the stirrup is

heavy load of the armour and weapons for riders, stirrups probably became necessary for mounting and rides. Pottery figurines and tomb murals of the late fourth to the fifth centuries elucidate that stirrups became widespread. They were used by the steppe people not just in warfare; be it a military drill or a favourable pastime, stirrups became a part of the requisite (pl. 53).

RITUAL

For the Tuoba period, the ritual value of horses was mainly reflected in historical texts. White horses, still the most desired ones for ritual and ceremonial purposes,[86] were sacrificed to Heaven, other horses were sacrificed to the ancestors and higher gods, while lesser gods received oxen or sheep. There are many burials of the early Xianbei discovered in Manchuria and Mongolia. They - like the Xiongnu - buried horse crania and toes to represent the sacrifice of a complete animal for the high-ranking deceased. However, burial rites similar to the ones used for Skythian and Saka lords, with a large number of animals being sacrificed, cannot yet be manifested archaeologically for the Xianbei or other steppe peoples from the fourth to the sixth centuries.

It seems solely to be a custom among the Murong that they buried the highly valued and costly horse trappings and saddles and, occasionally, stirrups with persons of the uppermost echelons while horse skeletons were rarely found in graves. The excavated tombs of the Murong in Liaoning revealed a direct relationship between the richness of grave-goods and the presence of horse saddles and stirrups, which occur only in male burials. In addition to obvious economic affluence and high social prestige, this gender dependency probably also indicates a warrior status. The same sepulchral habit cannot be attested for the other Xianbei groups. Some members of the Tuoba confederation kept on depositing horse crania and hoofs until the sixth century, even for women's burials, though not frequently.[87] But not a single saddle or stirrup was found in the large graveyards of the tribal members of Tuoba-Xianbei confederation, south and east of Datong.[88] Only from the end of the fifth century onwards, down to the end of the sixth century, stirrups were sporadically located in the tombs of Tuoba and other non-Xianbei aristocrats, possibly with a Murong affiliation, and became a token for such status in mortuary practices. As late as in Tang and Liao times, stirrups, sometimes also in miniature, were occasionally placed in the tombs of the nobility, while saddles, also not being attested in any burials of the Tuoba period, were deposited in tombs of Liao aristocrats and occasionally in Tang tombs.

As mentioned above, large troops of mounted warriors were either depicted as tomb murals or as pottery figurines on the border regions of the Later Han, Wei and Jin dynasties. These depictions forcefully suggest that the mounted warriors were an integral part of the funeral procession among the nobility. The pottery equestrian figurines and tomb murals of cavalry were integrated into the burial customs of the upper class, both for the Tuoba and the Chinese, from the fifth century. Moreover, in the North, through the Tuoba, the depiction of mounted warriors also became a special feature of Tang funerals until the eighth century. Finally, from the second half of the Northern Wei in the early sixth century, the Sasanian way of condolence – leading the favourite horse of the deceased, fully caparisoned but without the rider, in the funeral proces-

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stated to be 15 cm, and the width, judging from the photo, seems to be rather close to the length.). It seems that the Murong already realized the danger of getting caught by the stirrups when a rider fell from his horse.

86 Based on literary writings, there is no direct link between a horse with a white coat and its speed.

87 For example, the tomb of Yao Qiji 姚齊姬 (died 499) at Baotou 包頭, Inner Mongolia; Zheng Long 鄭隆, "Neimenggu Baotou shi Beiwei Yao Qiji mu 内蒙古包頭市北魏姚齊姬墓", *Kaogu* 9 (1988), pp. 856-857; see also Müller, *Die Gräber der Nördlichen Wei-Dynastie*, p. 189.

88 For the cemetery with 157 excavated burials to the south of Datong see Shanxi daxue lishi wenhua xueyuan 山西大學歷史文化學院 et al. (eds.), *Datong nanjiao Beiwei muqun* 大同南郊北魏墓群 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 2006). Cf. also the most recent find of a cemetery east of Datong city with 75 excavated burials, Datongshi kaogu yanjiusuo 大同市考古研究所, "Shanxi Datong Yingbin dadao Beiwei muqun 山西大同迎賓大道北魏墓群", *Wenwu* 10 (2006), pp. 50-71. The burials can be dated roughly between the 43's and the end of the fifth century.

sion – became fashionable among the nobility (pl. 54).[89] This string of traditions lasted even down to the Liao dynasty.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Turning away from the practical use of horses for the Xianbei and other steppe peoples during the time from 300 to 600 AD and looking at the artistic aspect of this period, it is noted that the horse became one of the focuses for artistic expressions in the North. Never before were horses so superbly and beautifully depicted as the ones on the murals of Lou Rui's tomb (pl. 55). The esteem and status of horses deeply rooted in the Xianbei societies had obviously been transformed into a new tradition in paintings of Tang times. Besides, certain customs of Tang times were a reminiscence of the nomadic way of life of the Xianbei. It was said, according to *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 of Duan Chengshi 段成式 of the eighth century, that a deep blue felt tent for the newly wed was to be raised in front of the residence. Wolfgang Eberhard explained plausibly that this custom originated in the Northern Dynasties and that such tents were erected in studs for sires to cover mares.[90] It was also during this period that through the contact with oasis states the Chinese learned about the dancing horses;[91] it is unlikely that the Xianbei regime was not aware of or did not appreciate this artistic talent of horses, but written sources remain silent. The policy and attitudes towards horses in the early medieval period left an imprint on the cultural life in northern China. The esteem of the Xianbei towards horses fused into the way of life of the Tang society and greatly influenced the Han Chinese of the following centuries. This can also be regarded as a contribution of Xianbei culture to that of the Han Chinese.

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89 Riboud, Pénélope, "Le cheval sans cavalier dans l'art funéraire sogdien en Chine: à la recherche des sources d'un thème composite", *Arts Asiatiques* 58 (2003), pp. 148-161.

90 See Eberhard, *Lokalkulturen im alten China*, p. 22. Eberhard cites the *Youyang zazu* 酉陽雜俎 of Duan Chengshi 段成式 (see the annotated version by Fang Nansheng 方南生 [Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1981], j. 1, p. 7) and points to a record in *Bei shi* (j. 8, p. 301) concerning the pairing of horses at the court of Northern Qi.

91 *Taiping yulan*, j. 895, p. 3973 (Tuyuhun presented the emperor of Song in 461 with a dancing horse), j. 896, p. 3980 (The king of Shule brought Lü Guang in 393 AD a dancing horse). For dancing horses in Tang times see Paul W. Kroll, "The Dancing Horses of T'ang", *T'oung Pao* 67 (1981), pp. 240-268.

Vom Roß zur Schindmähre:
Bilder des Pferdes in den Künsten der Tang-Zeit (618–907)[1]

Wolfgang KUBIN[2]

Meine Aufgabe ist eine einfache und eine schwierige zugleich. Einfach, weil es bereits seit langem und ausreichend Material zur Geschichte des Pferdes in China gibt,[3] schwierig, weil ich die bekannten Dinge nicht simpel wiederholen darf, sondern etwas Neues aufzuweisen habe. Überdies bin ich kein Fachmann für das Thema der Konferenz. Es wird mir daher hauptsächlich um die übertragene Bedeutung des Pferdes in der chinesischen Kultur gehen, die mit dessen früher Heiligsprechung zu tun hat und vielleicht inhaltlich noch nicht hinlänglich ausgeschöpft worden ist. Bekanntlich folgt, was seine symbolische Bedeutung und Funktion angeht, in der chinesischen Tierskala auf den Drachen an der Spitze unmittelbar das Pferd an zweiter Stelle, und ein gutes Pferd wurde entsprechend gern „Drachenpferd" (*longma* 龍馬) oder „Himmelspferd" (*tianma* 天馬) genannt, nicht selten gar mit dem Drachen gleichgesetzt und somit in die Nähe einer höheren Wasser spendenden Kraft gerückt. Doch zu übertragenen Dingen wie diesen später.

I

Der amerikanische Sinologe Herlee G. Creel hat im Rahmen seiner kurzen Geschichte des Pferdes in China (1965) die Bedeutung besagten Tieres für das Reich der Mitte wie folgt konstatiert:[4]

> For some two thousand years China's foreign relations, military policy, economic well-being, and indeed its very existence as an independent state were importantly conditioned by the horse.

Er zitiert auch die Worte des Generals Ma Yuan 馬援 (14. v. Chr. bis 49 n. Chr.), der nicht zufällig den bald gängigen Familiennamen Ma (Pferd) trug.[5] Einer seiner Vorfahren hatte nämlich bereits den Wert einer Kavallerie für Kriegszwecke entdeckt und war deshalb mit dem Titel „der Fürst, der die Pferde zu zähmen versteht" (Mafu jun 馬服君) geehrt worden. Ma Yuan nun ließ auf dem Bronzemodell eines Pferdes die folgenden Worte eingravieren: „Horses are the foundation of military might, the great resource of the state."[6] In diesen Zusammenhang paßt auch, was ein weiterer amerikanischer Sinologe, nämlich Edward H. Schafer (1913–1991), aus den Tang-Annalen (*Tangshu* 唐書) zu unserem Gegenstand anzuführen weiß: „Horses are the military preparedness of the state; if Heaven takes this preparedness away, the state will totter to a fall."[7]

Wenn nun Creel und Schafer mit ihren Zitaten recht haben, was ohne Frage der Fall ist, dann sind auch der Anfang und das Ende meines Beitrages, ja die Zielvorgaben nahezu beliebig. Zu alltäglich, zu allgemein, zu selbstverständlich scheint die Sache mit dem Pferd zu sein. Nehmen wir nämlich noch neuerliche Erkenntnisse aus der Erforschung von Orakelknochen- und Bronzeinschriften hinzu, würde sich der Raum

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1 Wertvolle Anregungen verdanke ich Gesprächen mit Prof. Wang Jinmin von der Universität Peking.

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3 Immer noch äußerst lesenswert ist z.B. Eduard Erkes, „Das Pferd im Alten China", *T'oung Pao*, 2. Ser., 36 (1942), S. 26-63.

4 Herlee G. Creel, „The Role of the Horse in Chinese History", in: Ders.: *What is Taoism? and Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Chicago u. a.: University of Chicago Press, 1970), S. 160.

5 Nach Xu Zhongshu 徐中舒 u. a. (Hg.): *Jiaguwen cidian* 甲骨文辭典 (Chengdu: Sichuan cishu, 1988), S. 1067f, ist *Ma* allerdings schon auf den Orakelknochen als Familienname neben der Bedeutung von Haustier und Aufseher über die Pferde nachgewiesen.

6 Creel, *The Role of the Horse*, S. 173.

7 Edward H. Schafer, *The Golden Peaches of Samarkand. A Study of T'ang Exotics* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1963), S. 58. Der Autor behandelt das Thema Pferde erschöpfend auf den Seiten 58-70.

unseres Gegenstandes um weitere tausend bis zweitausend Jahre nach hinten erweitern. Zögen wir die Philosophie zu Rate, müßten wir uns von dem Sophisten Gongsun Long 公孫龍 (frühes 3. Jh. v. Chr.) belehren lassen, daß ein weißes Pferd kein Pferd sei. So oder ähnlich könnte unser Unterfangen endlos fortgehen und sehr bald allzu spitzfindig werden. Doch glücklicherweise war das Pferd in China, unabhängig von seiner mal kleinen, mal großen Gestalt,[8] auch in seiner Rolle und Funktion nicht immer und überall gleich.[9] Nach dem, was wir heute wissen, war es zunächst seit der vermeintlichen Xia-Dynastie (trad. ca. 2070–1600 v. Chr.) als Haustier ein Esstier, wurde dann in der historisch belegbaren Shang-Dynastie (ca. 1600–1046) als Zugtier benutzt, um Wagen, auch Streitwagen zu ziehen. Erst am Ende der Zhou-Dynastie (1046–221) hatte man um 300 v. Chr. von den „Barbaren" das Reiten erlernt und den Wert von berittenen Bogenschützen für die Kriegsführung erkannt. Gleichwohl sollte die hohe Kunst des Reitens den Chinesen lange Zeit eher fremd bleiben[10] und ist auch heute wenig verbreitet (von Hongkong und Macau einmal abgesehen).

Doch es gab seit jeher neben dem rein pragmatischen noch einen spirituellen Aspekt. Wie in anderen Kulturen ebenfalls wurde das Pferd in der mythologischen Überlieferung anfänglich mit der Sonne gleichgesetzt und dadurch zum Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit.[11] Das Bild des von einem Pferd gezogenen Sonnenwagens ist zentral für einen der großen schamanistischen Gesänge in den *Liedern des Südens* (*Chuci* 楚辭, ca. 300 v. Chr.).[12] Unter all den Ehren, welche dem Pferd im Opfer- und Totenkult Chinas zuteil wurden, sticht die Vorstellung insbesondere hervor, welche im Pferd den Ahnherrn der Menschheit erblickt. So heißt es in vielen Überlieferungen des Altertums und des Mittelalters ganz schlicht: „Das Pferd hat den Menschen geboren" (*ma sheng ren* 馬生人). Mythischen Vorstellungen vom Pferd als Ahn der Menschheit mag *Das Buch der Wandlungen* (*Yijing* 易經) vorausgehen, welches das Pferd als von der Erde geboren ansieht und daher mit der Erde gleichsetzt. Und wir wissen, wie viel das zu besagen hat, kommt doch der Erde im Rahmen der Lehre von der weltimmanenten Dreieinigkeit neben Himmel und Mensch eine entscheidende kosmologische Bedeutung zu. Wenn auch nicht ganz passend zu späteren Vorstellungen von Yin und Yang, steht das Pferd für die männliche Kraft des Yang. Es hatte dieses in seiner Funktion als gern verwendete Grabbeigabe den Toten zukommen zu lassen. Und es stand auch für den Mond, weil man in der Antike der Auffassung nachhing, daß der Weg des Mondes schneller als der der Sonne war. In letzterem Fall avancierte das Pferd übrigens vom Zeichen für Schnelligkeit auch zum Zeichen der fliehenden Zeit. Ein berühmtes Gleichnis des ausgehenden Altertums sprach von der Zeit als einem weißen Fohlen (*bai ju* 白駒), das, an einem Spalt vorübereilend, vom menschlichen Auge nur flüchtig wahrgenommen wird.[13]

Gleichwohl dürfen wir im Einzelfall nicht von einer rein dienenden Aufgabe des Pferdes ausgehen, sonst würde nicht erklärlich, warum später Kaiser ihre Lieblingspferde nicht nur schon zu Lebzeiten für ihre Mausoleen nachbilden ließen (T. 56),[14] sondern ihnen auch Epitaphe widmeten, um ihrer über den Tod hinaus gedenken zu lassen (T. 57).[15] Das heißt, zwischen Mensch und Tier bestand augenscheinlich kein

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[8] Vgl. hierzu die nüchterne Sicht von Bernd Melchers, *Himmelspferde. Pferde in der Kunst Chinas* (Kassel: Friedrich Lometsch, 1958), S. 6f. Der Autor war, als „Reiter und Pferdefreund" Anfang des 20. Jahrhunderts in China, enttäuscht über die kleinen chinesischen Pferde. Ebd., S. 6.

[9] Vgl. hierzu Jeanette Werning und Melanie Janssen-Kim: „Himmlische Pferde im Reich der Mitte. Historische und archäologische Dimensionen", in Alfred Wieczorek/Michael Tellenbach (Hg.): *Pferdestärken. Das Pferd bewegt die Menschheit*. Publikationen der Reiss-Engelhorn-Museen 23 (Mannheim: Philipp von Zabern, 2007), S. 77-86.

[10] Vgl. hierzu Creel, *The Role of the Horse*, S. 181, 185; Erkes, „Das Pferd im alten China", S. 49-55.

[11] Vgl. hierzu Robert Hans van Gulik, *Hayagrīva. Horse-Cult in Asia* (Bangkok: Orchid Press, ²2005).

[12] Für das *Lisao* 離騷 (*Die Elegie des Qu Yuan*), s. Peter Weber-Schäfer, *Altchinesische Hymnen* (Köln: Hegner 1967), S. 201. Zur Verbindung von „Dichterroß" und „Himmelspferd" in der abendländischen Kultur siehe Friederike Wappenschmidt: „Pferd und Reiter in der Kunst. Die Physiognomie einer Beziehung", in *Ars Antique Frankfurt*, Katalog der Messe Frankfurt (27.11. bis 5.12.1993), S. 10.

[13] Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shi ji* 史記, 10 Bde. (Hongkong: Zhonghua shuju, 1969), VI, j. 55, S. 2048; Burton Watson (Üb.), *Records of the Grand Historian of China*. Bd. 1: *Early Years of the Han Dynasty, 209 to 141 B.C.* (New York und London: Columbia University Press, 1968), S. 150.

[14] Bekannt sind die sechs Reliefs der Lieblingshengste von Tang-Kaiser Taizong 唐太宗 (reg. 627–649), entworfen von dem berühmten Maler Yan Liben 閻立本 (601–673), s. *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits. Ausstellungskatalog Bonn* (Mainz: Philipp von Zabern, 2006), S. 267, 270f.

[15] So für die sechs Lieblingspferde des Song-Kaiser Taizong 宋太宗 (reg. 976–997), s. ebd., S. 270.

grundlegender Unterschied, zumal Konfuzius schon früh befand, daß sich ein gutes Pferd (wie ein Edler) durch seine „Tugend“ (*de* 德) auszeichne[16], eine Tugend, die wir bei dieser Erweiterung des Begriffs sicherlich in die Nähe der griechischen αρετή bringen können, die neben Menschen auch auf Dinge wie z.B. eine Wagendeichsel bezogen wurde. Vielleicht ist in dieser veranschlagten Nähe von Pferd und Tugend ein Grund dafür zu sehen, daß bei der gleichzeitigen Abbildung von Mensch und Tier zur Tang-Zeit die dreifarbige (*sancai* 三彩) Pferdeskulptur nicht selten einen hehreren Eindruck macht als die ebenfalls dreifarbig gebrannte Figur des oder der Reitenden (T. 58).[17]

Es kann hier nicht meine Aufgabe sein, vor meiner eigentlichen Pflicht all die Dinge aufzuzählen, die sich seit alters mit dem Pferd verbanden, besonders seit Kaiser Wu der Han (reg. 140–87 v. Chr.), ein Liebhaber arabischer Hengste, kostspielige Feldzüge nach Ferghana, ins heutige Turkestan, unternahm, um seinen Besitz von erstklassigen Reittieren zu sichern. Wichtig scheint mir gleichwohl der Hinweis, daß das Pferd, ob nun vor oder nach dem Eindringen des Buddhismus, immer auch als Übermittler heiliger Schriften angesehen wurde. Aufgrund der guten Überlieferung sind vor allem Bilder bekanntgeworden, die berittene Pilger auf dem Wege von und nach Indien zeigen (T. 59).[18] Der Grund ihrer Unternehmungen sind selbstverständlich buddhistische Sutren.

Im folgenden möchte ich mich auf die Tang-Zeit beschränken, weil sie dem Pferd in ihren Künsten einen besonderen Stellenwert zugestanden hat. Dies hat einen einfachen Grund. Das damalige China war wesentlich vom Adel geprägt, dem das Privileg der Pferdehaltung zustand, und der auch gern Polo spielte. Da die Aristokratie 907 unterging und 960 durch die Bürokratie ersetzt wurde, ging im Laufe der Zeit auch deren Pferdekultur verloren. Man ritt später nicht mehr ins Amt, man spielte auch kein Polo mehr, als alles Militärische – wir würden vielleicht heute sagen, alles Sportliche – als Tugend einer Zivilisation zu weichen hatte, die nicht mehr den wehrtüchtigen Mann zum Ideal erhob. Es war dieser oftmals längst schon im Niedergang begriffene Adel der Tang-Dynastie, der dem Pferd eine kulturelle Bedeutung zukommen ließ und durch das Pferd, ob in Form einer Skulptur, auf einem Gemälde oder mittels Lyrik wie Prosa, die eigene Weltanschauung zum Ausdruck brachte. Damit ist besonders der Gedanke der Unzeit gemeint – jene Vorstellung, alles Schöne und Edle auf Erden habe keine wahre Heimat, sei vielmehr zum Untergang verdammt. Beispielhaft kommt dies in dem Gleichnis vom Tausend-Meilen-Pferd bei dem Essayisten Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824) zum Ausdruck.[19] Umgekehrt weiß die damalige Erzählkunst auch davon zu berichten, daß alles, was „diese Welt“ übersteigt, nicht ewig auf den Beistand seines vierbeinigen Trägers rechnen darf, sondern sein bitteres Ende allein zu gewärtigen hat. So beschließt Shen Jiji 沈既濟 (ca. 840–ca. 800) seine bekannte Erzählung über die von Hunden zerrissene *Fuchsfee* (*Renshi zhuan* 任氏傳) mit dem folgenden großen Bild einer gleichgültigen Kreatur:[20]

> Er sah Fräulein Rens Pferd am Wegesrand Gras rupfen. Ihre Kleider hingen noch am Sattel, ihre Schuhe und Strümpfe in den Steigbügeln gleich der leeren Haut einer Zikade, nur der Kopfputz war zur Erde gefallen. Sonst aber deutete nichts mehr auf sie, selbst ihre Dienerinnen und Diener waren spurlos verschwunden.

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16 Vgl. hierzu Magdalene von Dewall, *Pferd und Wagen im frühen China*, Saarbrücker Beiträge zur Altertumskunde 1 (Bonn: Habelt, 1964), S. 198f. Zum Wagenjunkerideal dort S. 85-95. Der im *Buch der Lieder* erwähnte Wagenjunker wurde im (konfuzianischen) Sinne des Edlen (*junzi* 君子) rezipiert.

17 Vgl. hierzu die Abbildungen in: *Xi'an. Kaiserliche Macht im Jenseits*, S. 277-283, 290f, 320f.

18 Vgl. z.B. Anil de Silva, *Chinesische Landschaftsmalerei. Am Beispiel der Höhlen von Tun-huang* (dt. Üb. Leopold Voelker) (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1964), S. 137, 155, 204f (Buddha als Reiter).

19 Vgl. meine Ausführungen zum klassischen chinesischen Essay in: Marion Eggert u. a., *Geschichte der chinesischen Literatur*. Bd. 4: *Die klassische chinesische Prosa* (München: Saur, 2004), S. 33.

20 Unter Benutzung der heutigen Umschrift zitiert nach Wolfgang Bauer und Herbert Franke (Üb.), *Die goldene Truhe. Chinesische Novellen aus zwei Jahrtausenden* (München: Hanser, 1959), S. 76.

II

Wie gesagt, zur Tang-Zeit ritten Mann und Frau (T. 60),[21] über die Seidenstraße zogen Karawanen mit Kamelen und Pferden, ihre Reiter waren oft nichtchinesische Händler, „Perser", „Araber", Muslime, die im damals kosmopolitischen Reich allerdings keine Fremden, sondern ein natürlicher Teil der chinesischen Welt waren. Die damaligen Künste haben sich ihrer gern angenommen.[22] Die Skulptur, die Malerei und das Gedicht sind hier besonders zu rühmen. Zwar ist der Han-Zeit mit dem berühmten „fliegenden Pferd" (T. 22)[23] ein Meisterwerk gelungen, doch stellt dessen Leichtigkeit unter den ansonsten seinerzeit massiv nachgebildeten Pferdeleibern eine Ausnahme dar. Eine realistische Sicht herrschte damals eher vor. Dies gilt auch bedingt noch für die Tang-Zeit. Doch mit der Herausbildung der dreifarbigen Keramik setzt sich ein Typus durch, der die Wirklichkeit der Geschäftswelt zu übersteigen beginnt. Bekanntheit erlangt in dieser Zeit die Modellierung des „tanzenden Pferdes" (*wuma* 舞馬). Tanzende Pferde dienten damals der Unterhaltung bei Hofe.[24] Ein Vergleich mag den Nutzwert und den ästhetischen Wert eines Pferdes vor Augen führen. Das von einem „nördlichen Barbaren" (*Beihu* 北胡) geführte Pferd (T. 61)[25] ist gesattelt und scheint Scheuklappen zu tragen. Sein Kopf ist gesenkt, wahrscheinlich weil es geführt wird und einem fremden Willen unterliegt. Das tanzende Pferd (T. 62)[26] dagegen ist weder gesattelt noch trägt es Scheuklappen. Sein Kopf ist aufgerichtet, seine Augen sind geöffnet. Es hebt spielerisch das linke Bein, nimmt folglich eine andere Haltung ein und scheint nicht so auf der Erde zu ruhen wie sein Artgenosse. Ihm wächst eine spirituelle Kraft zu, die sich am ehesten am Beispiel eines der berühmten Pferdebilder der Tang-Zeit veranschaulichen läßt.

Unter den Pferdemalern der Tang-Dynastie[27] zählt heute Han Gan (韓干, gest. 780) zu den bedeutendsten. Er malte, 742–755 bei Hofe, das Lieblingspferd des Kaisers Xuanzong 玄宗 (reg. 712–756) namens „Leuchtende Nacht" (Zhaoyebai 照夜白) (T. 63).[28] Das Bild ist entsprechend als „Bild von dem Pferd ‚Leuchtende Nacht'" („Zhaoyebai tu" 照夜白圖) überliefert. Ich habe dieses Pferd, dessen Namen ich nach Werner Speiser wiedergebe, schon einmal zum Anlaß einer Betrachtung chinesischer Ästhetik genommen.[29] Die Konferenz gibt mir nun die Gelegenheit, meine damaligen Erkenntnisse zu substantiieren. Was uns zunächst auffällt, ist, daß das Pferd im Gegensatz zu den zuvor gezeigten beiden Pferden, ja selbst im Gegensatz zu dem fliegenden Pferd der Han-Dynastie, keinen Grund unter den Füßen hat. Es ist an einem Pflock angebunden, aber dennoch befindet es sich in Bewegung, gar mehr noch als das tanzende Pferd. Trotz allem scheint es seinen Lauf bremsen zu müssen und daher nur auf einer rechten und linken Hufe zu „stehen", während die anderen beiden Hufe im Lauf angehoben innehalten. Weiter fällt der Gegensatz von massivem Körper und

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21 Berühmt ist das Gemälde von der kaiserlichen Konkubine Yang Guifei 楊貴妃 (718–756) beim Besteigen des Pferdes. Es stammt von Qian Xuan 錢選 (1239–1299), s. Werner Speiser, *China. Geist und Gesellschaft* (Baden-Baden: Holle, 1959), S. 3, 156.

22 Zu einer schlichten Bestandsaufnahme s. Ma Junmin 馬俊民 und Wang Shiping 王世平, *Tangdai mazheng* 唐代馬政 (Taibei: Wunan tushu, 1995), S. 185-197.

23 Zum Stammbaum des Fliegenden Pferdes s. Eleanor von Erdberg, *Zur Kunst Ostasiens. Schriften und Vorträge* (Waldeck: Siebenberg, 1998), S. 271-281. S. 270 bietet auch eine Abbildung. Die chinesische Archäologie spricht eher vom „Pferd mit einem Huf auf einer fliegenden Schwalbe". Allerdings sind die Namen so vielfältig wie die Deutungen! Dieses 1969 ausgegrabene „Himmelspferd" ist seit 1984 Markenzeichen der chinesischen Tourismusindustrie, die im Juli 2007 bereits zum sechsten Mal ein „Festival zur Kultur des Himmelspferdes" in der Provinz Gansu veranstaltet hat.

24 Es gab eigens Trainingsstätten für die Pferdedressur, s. Dorothee Schaab-Hanke, *Die Entwicklung des höfischen Theaters in China zwischen dem 7. und 10. Jahrhundert*, Hamburger Sinologische Schriften 1 (Hamburg: Hamburger Sinologische Gesellschaft e.V., 2001), S. 39, 71.

25 Abbildung in Ma Junmin und Wang Shiping, *Tangdai mazheng*, letzte Farbtafel im Einband.

26 Ebd., vorletzte Farbtafel im Einband.

27 Zu einer Auflistung der Namen und Bilder s. ebd., S. 190. Einen kurzen, aber brauchbaren Abriß bietet Speiser, *China*, S. 155f.

28 Zu einer Abbildung s. Melchers, *Himmelspferde*, S. 38f. Das Gemälde befindet sich heute im Metropolitan Museum von New York. Volker Klöpsch, *Der seidene Faden. Gedichte der Tang* (Frankfurt: Insel, 1991), S. 163, 165, übersetzt den Namen mit „wie Wetter leuchtende[r] Schimmel", und David Hawkes, *A Little Primer of Tu Fu* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1967), S. 150, 154, „Night Shiner".

29 Vgl. meinen Beitrag, „Die Pferde des Xu Beihong. Zum Verständnis moderner chinesischer Malerei", in: Ursula Toyka-Fuong (Hg.), *Brücken und Brüche. Chinas Malerei im 20. Jahrhundert*, Sonderheft der *Orientierungen* (1998), S. 99-104.

zarten Beinen auf: Solch dünne Läufe können kaum einen so schweren, eher einem Schwein ähnelnden Körper tragen! Dem Maler kann es daher nicht um die vermeintliche Wirklichkeit seines Gegenstandes gehen! Und so nimmt es nicht Wunder, daß Han Gan, nach seinem Gemälde, das so anders sei, befragt, antwortet, er habe keinen Menschen als Lehrer, sondern die Pferde. Es gehe ihm auch nicht darum, wie andere die „Knochen", d.h. die äußere Erscheinung eines (schlanken) Pferdes zu malen, sondern dessen Lebenskraft, die er in der Fülle des Leibes verbergen müsse.

Nochmals: Wenn es einem Maler wie Han Gan nicht darum zu tun ist, die augenfällige Realität nachzuzeichnen, worum geht es ihm dann? Nun, wie gesagt, Ziel der chinesischen Ästhetik ist die Andeutung alles Lebendigen, der Lebenskraft, kurz, des Uranfänglichen, wie dieses dank der Interaktion von Yin und Yang über den Odem (*qi* 氣) der Welt erahnbare Gestalt gewinnt. Der Odem ist grundsätzlich in Bewegung, er verhilft den „zehntausend Dingen" zu ihrer Erscheinung. Das geschieht über den Austausch von Fülle und Leere, von Sein (*you* 有) und Potens (*wu* 無). Im Falle unseres Pferdes deutet sich derlei im Kontrast von massivem Leib und zartem Geläuf an. Ein solcher Austausch findet normalerweise in einer Art Wellenbewegung bzw. Schlangenlinie statt, die wir der gewundenen Form des Pferdes noch ansehen können.

Da über diese Dinge schon hinreichend geschrieben worden ist, muß ich hier nicht weiter ausholen.[30] Soviel sei gesagt: Für einen chinesischen Maler ist die Abbildung dessen, was wir die mit Augen wahrnehmbare Realität nennen, langweilig und uninteressant. Es geht ihm nur um das, was wir hinter den Dingen nicht sehen, aber vielleicht erahnen können. Dieses Etwas entzieht sich notwendigerweise dem Blick, ja unter Umständen auch dem Gedanken. Es läßt sich also weder mit Worten hinlänglich benennen noch mit Farben vollendet malen. Um aber von ihm dennoch eine sinnliche Ahnung bekommen zu können, bedarf es des einfachen Pinselstrichs, gleichsam des ersten Atemzuges. Unser Bild ist ja, wenn wir genau hinsehen, kaum gemalt, bemalt. Es zeigt nur die Umrisse eines Pferdes, der Leib selbst ist – so sieht es aus, und so paßt es auch zur Vorstellung von chinesischer Kunst – nicht (aus)gestaltet. Das große Bild hat eben keine Form.[31] Es ist dem Betrachter nur soviel zu erkennen gegeben, daß er die Kraft zu ahnen in der Lage ist, die neben den Hufen noch im Auge und im Maul Sinnbild werden möchte. Man nennt dieses Verfahren heute Essentialismus (*xieyi* 寫意), das ein moderner chinesischer Theoretiker am Beispiel von Xu Beihongs 徐悲鴻 (1895–1953) berühmten, auch in deutschen Haushalten anzutreffenden Pferdebildern veranschaulicht hat (T. 64).[32]

Wenn ich Han Gans ungewöhnliches Porträt (!) eines Pferdes richtig deute, so versinnbildlicht es eine *vis vitalis*, die sich nicht ganz frei entfalten kann, die aber trotz „Gefangenschaft" nicht gänzlich zu lähmen ist. Chinesische Literati der damaligen Zeit haben nicht selten das Beispiel des Pferdes bemüht, um über ihre innere Zerrissenheit zu reflektieren und der Welt Auskunft zu geben.[33] Sie befanden sich oft im Amt und sehnten sich nach einem Rückzug, und wenn nicht nach Rückzug, dann um eine Erfüllung im Amt, die nicht selten wegen Intrigen oder Mißgunst unmöglich war. Das Pferd steht hier wie auch sonst nicht selten in der klassischen Dichtung der Tang-Zeit für einen heroischen Geist, der sich immer wieder eingeschränkt sieht. Dazu mehr im folgenden.[34]

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[30] Von mir thesenhaft zusammengefaßt in: „Fragmente einer chinesischen Ästhetik der Leere", in: Rolf Elberfeld und Günter Wohlfart (Hg.), *Komparative Ästhetik. Künste und ästhetische Erfahrungen zwischen Asien und Europa* (Köln: chōra, 2000), S. 129-135.

[31] Vgl. hierzu François Jullien, *Das große Bild hat keine Form oder Vom Nicht-Objekt durch Malerei. Essay über Desontologisierung* (dt. Üb. Markus Sedlaczek) (München: Fink, 2005). Der Autor behandelt auf den S. 99-115 das Prinzip von Fülle und Leere.

[32] Kurz und bündig von Huang Zuolin in dem u. a. von ihm herausgegebenen Buch *Peking Opera and Mei Lanfang* (Beijing: New World, 1981), S. 15f.

[33] So verfaßte z.B. Li He 李賀 (791–817) *23 Gedichte über Pferde* (*Ma shi ershisan shou* 馬詩二十三首), die in Wahrheit von ihm als einem verkannten Gelehrten handeln. Dazu J. D. Frodsham (Üb.), *The Poems of Li Ho* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), S. 69-77. Zum Original s. *Li He shige ji zhu* 李賀詩歌集注 (Shanghai: Renmin chubanshe, 1977), S. 99-110.

[34] Mein Material verdanke ich Xia Zhaohui 夏朝暉 vom Lehrerseminar in Linyi 臨沂 (Shandong).

III

Interessanterweise nimmt Du Fu 杜甫 (712–770), Chinas vielleicht größter Dichter, die Diskussion über Han Gans Pferdebilder in einem seiner bekannteren Gedichte auf. Er kommt dabei zu einer anderen Einschätzung als wir Heutigen. In dem am Ende seines Lebens, wahrscheinlich 764 verfaßten siebensilbigen Langgedicht im alten Stil „Die Ballade von dem Gemälde. Für General Cao Ba“ („Danqing yin. Zeng Cao jiangjun Ba“ 丹青引. 贈曹將軍霸)[35] räumt er dem „General“, ein Ehrentitel, Cao Ba den Vorrang vor dessen Schüler Han Gan ein. Dabei führt er zwei Argumente für den ersten und ein Gegenargument wider den zweiten Maler ins Feld. Was Cao Ba auszeichne, sei die Gabe, das Leben in der Kunst einzufangen. Im Mittelpunkt der Ausführungen steht ein Pferd des oben bereits erwähnten Kaisers Xuanzong (hier: „der vorge Kaiser“) namens „Jadeblume“ (Yuhuacong 玉花驄):

[...]
Ein Pferd besaß der vorge Kaiser,
das Jadeblume hieß,
und das er unzählige Male
vergebens malen ließ,
bis man es eines Tages dann
vor seinen Thron gezogen:
stolz stand es im Geviert, als hätte
sich ein großer Sturm erhoben.
Ein Wink des Kaisers, und es ward
die Seide ausgebreitet,
der Kaiser hat den Entwurf
bedächtig vorbereitet.
Auf einmal war’s, als führ vom Himmel
ein leibhaftiger Drache,
und wollte jedes Pferdebild
mit eins zunichte machen!

Als Jadeblume einen Platz
über dem Throne fand,
da sah das Leben Aug in Aug
sich in der Kunst gebannt.

Zu der vermeintlich realistischen Abbildung des Pferdes tritt ein „göttliches“ Moment hinzu: Es ist dies der Windsturm bei dessen Auftritt am Hofe. Überdies vermag der Maler – durch den Akt des Malens – einen Drachen aus den Himmeln herniederfahren und im Gemälde Gestalt gewinnen zu lassen. Vieles liegt hier offensichtlich auf der Hand: Symbol des Himmelssohnes ist der Drache, ebenso sind Pferd und Drache untrennbar miteinander verbunden, des weiteren vermag nach der allgemeinen Auffassung von Du Fu jeder begnadete Künstler die jenseitigen Mächte zu rühren und zum Einzug in ein Kunstprodukt zu bewegen. Gleichwohl scheint die vom Dichter so betonte Ähnlichkeit von wirklichem und gemaltem Pferd nicht so recht zu den „Götterkräften“ (*you shen* 有神) zu passen, die er „in seinem Bild erstrahlen“ ließ. Wir lesen auch etwas von einem „wirklichen Drachen“ (*zhen long* 真龍) und hören von bisherigen Bildern, auf denen ein gemaltes Pferd mit einem gesehenen „im Äußeren nicht übereinstimmte“ (*mao bu tong* 貌不同). Im Gedicht dagegen stehen sich die wirkliche Jadeblume im Hof und die gemalte Jadeblume über dem Thron „Aug in Aug“ (*xiangxiang* 相向) als identisch gegenüber. Wie sollen wir dies erklären? Die Tang-Zeit ist keine Zeit des „Realismus“, zu sehr ist sie durchwirkt von religiösen und magischen Vorstellungen. Wir kommen vielleicht zu einer Antwort, wenn wir uns einmal Du Fus kritischer Sicht von Han Gan zuwenden.

Sein Jünger Han Gan wird als Meister
in seinem Fach verehrt,
denn in der Vielfalt des Sujets

[35] Deutsch von Klöpsch, *Der seidene Faden*, S. 160-163 (einschließlich Kommentar). Zum Original s. *Du shu yinde*, 2 Bde. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), I, S. 121-122 (VIII.12).

hat er sich längst bewährt.
Allein Han Gan malt nur das Fleisch,
die Knochen malt er nicht,
so daß der Geist, das innre Feuer
in seinem Bild erlischt.

Es war nun exakt die Praxis der Zeit, die „Knochen" und nicht das „Fleisch" zu malen, nach damaliger Auffassung das Wesentliche und nicht das Äußerliche. Folge war die Abbildung von schmächtigen Pferden, bei denen die Knochen entsprechend hervorstehen konnten. Han Gan jedoch hat sich diesem Trend widersetzt und die Knochen zum äußerlich Sichtbaren erklärt, das es nicht nachzuahmen galt. Du Fu nimmt nach wie vor die herkömmliche Position ein, indem er dessen Bilder als „des Odems verlustig" (*qi diao sang* 氣凋喪) ansieht. Dies mag verwirrend erscheinen, doch bringen wir vielleicht Klarheit in die Umstände, wenn wir bedenken, daß Du Fu und Han Gan eine unterschiedliche Auffassung von der *vis vitalis* (*qi*) zu haben scheinen. Tatsächlich „verschwindet der Odem" (*sang qi*) im massiven Leib von Leuchtende Nacht. Er findet sich aber wieder beim Anblick der Läufe, Hufe und der gewundenen Gestalt, jedenfalls für ein Auge, das an einer späteren Ästhetik geschult ist. Wie dem auch sei, Du Fu versteht die moderne Sicht von Han Gan nicht. Seine Gedanken, wenn weitergesponnen, führen uns in ein noch größeres Dilemma hinein. So interpretiert der amerikanische Sinologe Stephen Owen (geb. 1946) besagte Verse zugespitzt wie folgt:[36]

> Like a photograph that steals the soul of its subject, the work of art can replace the living creature; it will take the name of the living horse and its place in His Majesty's affections. Everything centers on that moment when the living horse and the painted horse face one another, one hanging up the royal couch and enjoying new favor, the other down in the courtyard. Two pairs of animate eyes seem to meet, both proud. Yet the scene is a lie. The art that seems so perfectly to mirror the creature's spirit, thus usurping the creature's place in the master's affections, has eyes that look, but do not see; there is only the hard, unmoving surface, the toy. Encountering that mirror without depth, the living horse is finished, its vitality drained – as the despair of the grooms and stableboys shows. Where that vitality has gone is uncertain. Perhaps it has withdrawn into a third dimension of art behind the two-dimensional painting, giving force to the figure on the hard, unmoving surface; perhaps it is gone altogether.

Du Fu, der ein weiteres Langgedicht über Cao Ba und das Malen von Pferden, darunter auch besagte Leuchtende Nacht, verfaßt hat,[37] hat nicht nur in den letzten Lebensjahren gern das Bild des Vierbeiners bemüht, um seiner Sicht von der unabänderlichen Endlichkeit menschlicher Existenz Ausdruck zu verleihen. Das Bild des einst stolzen freien Rosses wandelt sich im Laufe seines Lebens zum Bild des abgezehrten Gauls (*shouma* 瘦馬), des kranken Kleppers (*bingma* 病馬) im Stall.[38] Nicht selten handelt es sich um ein und dasselbe Pferd, das nach all den großen Taten im Krieg zu guter Letzt nur noch seinen Tod erwarten darf. Du Fu hat immer wieder für sich und seine Zeit am Beispiel einer Schabracke (*laoma* 老馬) ein Gleichnis entworfen: Wer einmal in seiner Jugend voll politischer Ideale wie ein stattlicher Rappe aufbrach, findet sich am Ende seines Lebens auf der Flucht und mittellos wieder. Beide Gedichte über Cao Ba zeigen das menschliche, aber ebenso das dynastische Elend der Zeit. Auch der Kaiser entgeht seinem Schicksal nicht. Daß es Du Fu gelungen ist, immer wieder Pferde so voller Mitleid und so menschlich zu beschreiben, legt die Vermutung nahe, für ihn habe kein wesentlicher Unterschied zwischen diesem Haustier und einem Menschen bestanden. Betrachten wir diese Angelegenheit zunächst von den Zeitumständen her, so läßt sich die Tatsache anführen, daß es als Zeichen des Reichtums galt, wenn ein sammelwütiger Aristokrat unter die „wunderbaren Dinge" (*youwu* 尤物) daheim möglichst viele Pferde und Konkubinen zählen konnte. Selbstverständlich war es damals Usus, für den Tausch eines guten Pferdes den Freunden seinen Harem zur freien Auswahl anzubieten.[39] Du Fu war nicht von dieser Art. Für ihn war ein Pferd kein Sammelobjekt, sondern das tägliche Fortbewegungsmittel eines Beamten auf dem Wege zum fernen Amtsantritt oder ins nahe Amt. Der treue Weggefährte mag nicht selten auch Gesprächspartner oder Vergleichsgegenstand gewesen sein. Und so schließen wir mit Versen, welche besagten Gegensatz von einst und jetzt, von Jugend und

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36 Stephen Owen, *Mi-Lou. Poetry and the Labyrinth of Desire* (Cambridge, Mass. etc.: Harvard University Press, 1989), S. 161f.

37 Klöpsch, *Der seidene Faden*, S. 163-166 (kommentiert); *Du shi yinde*, I, S. 117f (VIII.8).

38 Zum Verhältnis von Lyrik und Krankheit in der Tang-Zeit s. Hu Ruoshi (Florence Hu-Sterk), „Tangshi yu bing (Maladie et poésie sous les Tang)", *Kuawenhua duihua* (*Dialogue Transculturel*) 18 (2006), S. 269-290.

39 Xiaoshan Yang, *Metamorphosis of the Private Sphere. Gardens and Objects in Tang-Song Poetry* (Cambridge, Mass., und London: Harvard University Asia Center, 2003), S. 160-167.

Alter, von Aspiration und Enttäuschung hinlänglich veranschaulichen mögen. In der „Weise vom Hengst des Statthalters Gao“ (*Gao duhu congma xing* 高都護驄馬行) sagt der Dichter um 749 frei nach Günter Eich (1907–1972) ganz am Schluß:[40]

Von der Jugend der Hauptstadt hat niemand
Es [das Pferd] zu reiten gewagt.
In Tschang-an [Chang'an] kennt es ein jeder,
Das dem Blitz gleich vorüberjagt.

Alternd für seinen Herren
Steht es seiden gezäumt im Haus.
Kehrt es noch einmal im Leben
Den Weg zum Westtor hinaus?

[40] Zitiert nach Günter Eich, *Aus dem Chinesischen*, Bibliothek Suhrkamp 525 (Frankfurt: Suhrkamp, 1976), S. 60. Pointierter übersetzt Erwin Ritter von Zach, *Tu Fu's Gedichte* (hg. von James Robert Hightower), 2 Bde. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1952), Bd. 1, S. 21. Zum Original s. *Du shi yinde*, I, S. 10f (I.13).

Negotiation and Bartering on the Frontier: Horse Trade in Song China

James K. CHIN[1]

INTRODUCTORY REMARK

A spate of research works, mainly in Chinese and Japanese, have been devoted to the study of the horse economy in historical China. But most of these studies are concerned with the administration of horses and the so-called tea-and-horse trade along the northwestern frontier of imperial China, and frequently they focus on the Northern Song period (960–1126), or the Song dynasty in its totality (960–1279 CE).[2] Questions related to the overall situation of the horse trade under the Song, especially the trade conducted across the southwestern borderlands, have rarely been dealt with. This paper will summarize the procurement of horses in the four frontier market clusters, followed by a study on the horse markets established in the peripheral lands of western and southwestern China and the role played by indigenous tribal chieftains, traders and government officials within the context of relations between the Song government and its southwestern neighbours.

CATEGORIES AND ORIGINS OF THE HORSES

A browse of classical Chinese literature and records reveals many different horse names in imperial China, which appears to be somewhat confusing at first sight. While forty-two types of horses were recorded as imports from the northern steppe empires and other polities to the Tang state (618–907),[3] contemporary

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1 The University of Hong Kong.

2 See, for instance, Herrlee G. Creel, "The Role of the Horse in Chinese History", in Herrlee G. Creel, *What is Taoism? And Other Studies in Chinese Cultural History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1970), pp. 160-186; Tani Mitsutaka 谷光隆, *Mindai basei no kenkyu* 明代馬政の研究 (Studies on the Horse Administration of the Ming Dynasty) (Kyoto: Toyoshi kenkyukai, Kyoto University, 1972); Umehara Kaoru 梅原郁, "Seito no uma to Shisen no cha" 青唐の馬と四川の茶 (Horses of Qingtang and Tea of Sichuan), *Toho gakuho* 東方學報 45 (1973), pp. 195-244; Song Changlian 宋常廉, "Beisong de mazheng" 北宋的馬政, *Dalu zazhi* 大陸雜誌 25.10-12 (1973), pp. 19-22, 19-22, 24-30; Sogabe Shizuo 曽我部靜雄, "Sodai no basei" 宋代の馬政 (Horse Administration in the Song Dynasty), in his *Sodai seikeishi no kenkyu* 宋代政經史の研究 (Studies on the Political and Economic History of Song Dynasty) (Tokyo: Yoshigawa kobunkan, 1974), pp. 64-144; Wang Ningsheng 汪寧生, "Gudai Yunnan de yangma ye" 古代雲南的養馬業, *Sixiang zhanxian* 思想戰線 (3/1980), pp. 34-40; Lin Ruihan 林瑞翰, "Songdai bianjun zhi mashi ji ma degangyun" 宋代邊郡之馬市及馬的綱運, in Songshi zuotanhui 宋史座談會 (ed.), *Songshi yanjiu ji* 宋史研究集, No.11 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1980), pp. 221-235; Feng Yonglin 馮永林, "Songdai de chama maoyi" 宋代的茶馬貿易, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* 中國史研究 (2/1986), pp. 41-48; Du Wenyu 杜文玉, "Songdai mazheng yanjiu" 宋代馬政研究, *Zhongguoshi yanjiu* (2/1990), pp. 22-33; Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouse: Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Tang Kaijian 湯開建, "Beisong yu xibei ge minzu de ma maoyi" 北宋與西北各民族的馬貿易, *Zhongya xuekan* 中亞學刊 (3/1992), pp. 139-163; Jiang Tianjian 江天健, *Beisong shima zhi yanjiu* 北宋市馬之研究 (Taipei: Guoli bianyiguan, 1995); Liu Fusheng 劉復生, "Songdai guangma yiji xiangguan wenti" 宋代廣馬以及相關問題, *Zhonguoshi yanjiu* (3/1995), pp. 85-93; Wei Mingkong 魏明孔, *Xibei minzu maoyi yanjiu: yi chama hushi wei zhongxin* 西北民族貿易研究: 以茶馬互市為中心 (Beijing: Zhongguo zangxue chubanshe, 2003); Wang Xiaoyan 王曉燕, *Guanying chama maoyi yanjiu* 官營茶馬貿易研究 (Beijing: Minzu chuban-she, 2004).

3 The forty-two types of horses were Quriqan horse 骨利幹馬, Ximi horse 悉密馬, Karluk horse 葛邏祿馬, Zhangyigu horse 杖曳固馬, Tongluo horse 同羅馬, Sir-tardush horse 延陀馬, Pugu horse 僕骨馬, A-die horse 阿跌馬, Qi horse 契馬, Samarkand horse 康國馬, Turkish horse 突厥馬, Dailinzhoufuliyu horse 蹛林州訇利羽馬, Uighur horse 迴紇馬, Juluole horse 俱羅勒馬, Biyu horse 苾羽馬, Yumohun horse 餘沒渾馬, Chi horse 赤馬, A-shi-de horse 阿史德馬, Enjie horse 恩結馬, Fuliyu horse 訇利羽馬, Qibi horse 契苾馬, Xijie horse 奚結馬, Huxue horse 斛薛馬, Nula horse 奴剌馬, Sunong horse 蘇農馬, Da-a-shi-de

zoologists tend to broadly classify different types of horses in ancient China into two major categories, that is, a "purely Chinese" species and a hybridised species,[4] or further subdivide them into seven groups in accordance with their breeding origins, including the Mongolian horse 蒙古馬 (ranging from China's northeastern provinces to eastern Xinjiang), the Hequ horse 河曲馬 (in the border area between Gansu, Qinghai and Sichuan), the southwestern horse 西南馬 (Yunnan, Guizhou and Sichuan), the Sanhe horse 三河馬 (Inner Mongolian steppes, Northeast China), the Yili horse 伊犁馬 (Yili grasslands of Xinjiang), the Qarasahr horse 焉耆馬 (Tianshan 天山 Mountains, grasslands of Xinjiang), as well as the Chakouyi horse 岔口驛馬 (Hexi Corridor 河西走廊 of Gansu).[5]

Zoological categorisations certainly shed light on the overall distribution of horses in imperial China. A closer look at geographical works is equally helpful because it immediately becomes evident from these sources that China had to procure most of its horses from the four frontier regions in the north, northwest, west and southwest, particularly from the steppes of Serindia, Transoxania, Mongolia, the grasslands of Northeast Asia and the mountainous Southwest.

The simple classification into two major types – with regard to the function and species of horses – can also be applied to the Song period. While horses produced in the northern regions were generally large in size and suitable for long rides, those bred in the mountainous Southwest were small and short and could not be used in speedy military operations. Consequently, the former were called *zhanma* 戰馬 (war horses) or *Xima* 西馬 (horses produced in Serindia or the Western Region 西域), whilst the latter were habitually addressed as *jimima* 羈縻馬 (haltered-and-bridled horses) or *Xi'nanma* 西南馬 (horses bred in the southwest) because the main aim for the Song government to barter horses with the hill tribes in those remote regions was to *jimi* 羈縻 or "bridle" and loosely control them.[6] Apart from these two types of horses, certain other species should be mentioned as well, such as the Khitan horses, the Jurchen horses and the Tartar horses. These were normally war horses imported from the northeastern nomadic empires. Among the locally bred horses were (1) the *Huaima* 淮馬 from the area of modern Shandong, Anhui, Hubei, Hunan and part of Henan, (2) the *Chuanma* 川馬 or *Shuma* 蜀馬 from Sichuan, (3) the *Shuangshuima* 瀧水馬 from Lingnan 嶺南 (i.e., modern Guangdong and Guangxi), (4) and the *Zhouyuma* 洲嶼馬 from central coastal Fujian 福建. However, none of these four could be employed by the Song cavalry, as they were generally too small in size. As a result they were purchased mainly for the local militia and transportation services.[7]

MARKETS

Several major horse markets were established under the Song. Their development was closely related to the changing geopolitical situation faced by the Song state. The growth of Song power was accompanied by the rise of three northern / northwestern empires – the Khitan Liao 契丹遼 (907–1125), the Tangut Xi Xia 黨項

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horse 闥阿史德馬, Bayan-a-shi-de horse 拔延阿史德馬, Re horse 熱馬, Shelizha horse 舍利叱利馬, A-shi-na horse 阿史那馬, Geluozhiya horse 葛羅枝牙馬, Chuo horse 綽馬, Helu horse 賀魯馬, A-yan horse 阿艷馬, Kangheli horse 康曷利馬, Anmuluzhen horse 安慕路真馬, Anshehe horse 安賒和馬, Shatuo horse 沙陀馬, Chubishan horse 處苾山馬, Hun horse 渾馬, Khitan horse 契丹馬, and Xi horse 奚馬. For the details, see Wang Pu 王溥, *Tang huiyao* 唐會要 (Taipei: Shijie shuju, 1960), j. 72, pp. 1305-1308.

4 Yoshida Shinshichiro 吉田新七郎, *Shina ni okeru kachiku no kenkyu* 支那ニ於ヶル家畜ノ研究 (Tokyo: Nippon sanbou honbu, 1926), pp. 1-2, 13-17.

5 Xie Chengxia 謝成俠, *Zhongguo yangma shi* 中國養馬史 (Beijing: Kexue chubanshe, 1959), pp. 272-279.

6 Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji* 建炎以來朝野雜集, Guoxue jiben congshu (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1937), j. 18, pp. 278-279.

7 Zhou Qufei 周去非 (author), Yang Wuquan 楊武泉 (ed.), *Lingwai daida jiaozhu* 嶺外代答校注 (originally 1178), Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1999), j. 9, p. 351; German translation by Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei. Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977); Chao Shuizhi 晁說之, *Songshan wenji* 嵩山文集, Sibu congkan guangbian (Taipei: Taiwan Shangwu yinshuguan 1981), j. 3, p. 47; Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 278-279; Xu Song 徐松 (comp.), *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), VIII, ce 184, "bing 24", 3a-3b. The original description in *Lingwai daida* reads "格尺短小, 不堪行陣".

西夏 (c. 990–1227), and the Jurchen Jin 女真金 (1115–1234) states – as well as the emergence of smaller nomadic polities originating from the Tibetan 吐蕃, Turkish 突厥 and Uighur 回鶻 empires that had existed during the Tang period (618–907). These steppe polities were quite powerful in terms of their cavalry, and each occupied a large section of the northern grasslands and / or China's agricultural terrain, which was often perceived as a threat by the Song authorities.

To strengthen its defence against the nomadic warriors of Inner Asia and the north, the Song established a system of "relay depots" (mayi 馬驛), encouraged tribute trade, and promoted the purchase of horses through government officials and the local populace near the border regions. This was very necessary because, as had been noted, within China herself, horses were available only in a few "pocket areas", including parts of Huainan 淮南, Fujian, and the aboriginal territories of Hunan and Lingnan; furthermore, the horses originating from these regions were usually too small and fragile to be ridden by armoured soldiers.

Generally, the territory inherited by the Song empire was small in comparison to that governed by the Tang. Prior to its foundation in 960 CE, the major pastures in the north had already been occupied by the semi-nomadic Khitan, originally a branch of the Eastern Mongols, who had risen to power in the early tenth century. After the foundation of the Liao dynasty, the Khitan had expanded their territory into both southern Manchuria and northern China. With the "sixteen prefectures south of the Great Wall" 燕雲十六州 being ceded to them by Shi Jingtang 石敬瑭 in 936 CE, a vast expanse of grasslands where excellent war horses could be bred – that also included the area of modern Beijing – had been added to the Liao state under which control it remained for several hundred years. Moreover, in later periods the Liao forbade its own people from selling horses to the Song.

Representing the political zenith of the nomad way of life, steppe empires such as the Liao and Xi Xia states not only enjoyed abundant supplies of horses for their own military, but were also able to deny the Song access to Asia's most productive pastures and foreign horse supplies. Such a geopolitical landscape in a multi-state Asian system trapped the Song state in an ever tighter dilemma that consequently forced the Chinese side to buy horses from wherever possible. The four frontier regions mentioned above became the major sources for the Song to meet these demands.

Northern Markets

The northern markets consisted of several horse bazaars scattered from Korea to modern Shanxi and Hebei. Unlike the other three procurement regions, the northern trade points were mainly booming in the late tenth century when the Khitan and Jurchen tribes maintained a normal trade relationship with the Northern Song state. Each year a large number of horses were brought south from the Khitan controlled grasslands, which in turn gave birth to a number of horse bazaars established within the boundary of today's Hebei, such as Tianxiongjun 天雄軍 (Daming County 大名縣), Zhendingfu 真定府 (Shijiazhuang 石家莊 and Zhengding County 正定縣), Dingzhou 定州 (Ding County 定縣), Cangzhou 滄州 (Cang County 滄縣), Yingzhou 瀛州 (Baoding 保定市) and Beizhou 貝州 (Nangong 南宮市).

One interesting facet of the northern scenario concerns the long-distance trade in horses initiated and conducted by the Jurchen. This trade involved the shipment of animals across the sea. Originally, the Jurchen comprised various tribes and their nomadic activities largely concentrated in the area of the lower Black River 黑水 Valley (the modern Heilong River 黑龍江) and the Hamhyng Plain 咸興平原 on the Korean Peninsula. Their horse trading relations with imperial China can be dated back to the early eighth century when the *Heishui mohe* 黑水靺鞨, the ancestors of the Jurchen, were still under Tang rule. One year after Zhao Kuangyin 趙匡胤 had established the Song state in 960 CE, an envoy named *Wen-tu-la-zhu* 嗢突剌朱 led a sizeable mission from the *Heishui sanshibu* 黑水三十部 or "Thirty Tribes of the Black River", whose domain was in the Hamhyng Plain and the Changbai Mountain 長白山 region, to Shandong. This mission

took the sea route to Dengzhou 登州 (modern Penglai 蓬萊), offering a large number of fine horses (*mingma* 名馬) as tribute.[8]

Of all the different routes employed by the Song to obtain horses, this was the only one to involve a maritime segment. Horse-carrying ships would sail along the Liao River 遼河 first and then across the Korea Sea and the Bohai Gulf 渤海灣 to reach the roadstead of Dengzhou on the northern coast of Jiaodong Peninsula 膠東半島. The *Heishui sanshibu* Jurchens were very venturous in that respect and probably belonged to the confederation of Changbaishan Jurchen 長白山女真 and Yalujiang Jurchen 鴨綠江女真.[9] Aside from horses which were the staple cargo, the commodities they used to barter with the Song included hides of marten, tiger and bear, cloth, different kinds of seafood and other marine products, gold, pearls, eagles (*Donghai qing hu/gu* 海東青鶻), arrows, as well as forest herbs and products such as ginseng, tuckahoe, pine nuts and amber. In return for these local products, they carried back from Song China a variety of goods including silk, porcelain, lacquer, Buddhist images, sutras, Confucian texts and calendars.[10] What needs to be noted is that the Jurchen horse trade was conducted in the name of tribute trade as recorded in the Song records though the Jurchen merchants probably would not agree with the vainglorious perspective of the Middle Kingdom. In any case, the maritime horse trade monopolised by the Jurchen was very large in scale, and each year no less than 10,000 horses were shipped into Song China as mentioned in a memorial by Zhang Qixian 張齊賢.[11]

To facilitate this trade, the Song emperor issued an edict in 963 CE, ordering the residents of Shamen Island 沙門島, near the Dengzhou horse market, to be exempted from paying annual taxes and duties. Instead, they had to prepare more junks and help Jurchen merchants transfer and unload their horses.[12] The peaceful horse trade enjoyed by the Song state, nevertheless, did not last very long. In 979 CE, the Song annexed the Northern Han kingdom 北漢王國, which led to direct confrontation between Song China and Khitan Liao. One of the key measures taken by the Khitan ruler to reduce the military strength of the Song was to stop Jurchen horse supplies to the Song state. In the spring of 991 CE, the Khitan even set up three fortresses at the estuary of the Yalu River 鴨綠江 and deployed 3,000 troops there to implement the prohibitions against this trade. The maritime route previously utilised by Jurchen tribes was thus blocked by Khitan forces.[13] It was opened again for a short period after the Song court had signed the humiliating truce agreement of Shanyuan 澶淵 with the Liao in 1005 CE. Basically, however, the procurement of horses from the Jurchen via the maritime route was now halted and only a small number of Jurchen horses could indirectly reach Song China, usually in the form of "attachments" to Korean tribute missions.

It is highly likely that the Song state deliberated on the possibilites of obtaining further Jurchen horses with Korean assistance, because much later, in 1082 CE, the Song emperor Shenzong 神宗 instructed the Korean king to pass on a message to the Jurchen hoping to resume that trade. The Korean side was also asked to provide Jurchen merchants with various conveniences, including allowing them to reroute Jurchen horses via Korea's territories. The sincere and urgent appeal from the Song court, however, came up with nothing as there was no response from the Jurchen side anymore.[14] In all, the maritime horse trade of the late tenth century had thus only lasted for less than thirty years. From that time onwards, Jurchen horses were bartered at the Dengzhou market on and off until the 1020s (when the sea route was completely sealed off).

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8 Li Tao 李燾, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian* 續資治通鑒長編, 5 vols. (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1986), I, j. 2, 13b; Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 196, "fanyi 3", 1a-1b.

9 For studies on the history of Jurchen tribes, see Sun Jinji 孫進己 et al., *Nuzhen shi* 女真史 (Changchun: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1987); Herbert Franke and Chan Hok-lam 陳學霖 (eds.), *Studies on the Jurchens and the Chin Dynasty* (Aldershot, Hampshire: Ashgate, 1997); He Guangyue 何光岳, *Nuzhen yuanliu shi* 女真源流史 (Nanchang: Jiangxi jiaoyu chubanshe, 2004).

10 Ye Longli 葉隆禮, *Qidanguo zhi* 契丹國志 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 1985), j. 22, pp. 212-214.

11 Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 51, 14a; Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 23", 9b-10a; Xu Mengxin 徐夢莘, *Sanchao beimeng huibian* 三朝北盟會編, 4 vols. (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1962; originally 1878), I, j. 3, 8a.

12 Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 4, 20a.

13 Ibid., j. 32, 6b; Xu Song, *Songhuiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 196, "fanyi 1", 2a-2b; Tuotuo 脫脫 et al. (comp.), *Liao shi* 遼史, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), I, j. 13, p. 141.

14 Xu Mengxin, *Sanchao beimeng huibian*, j. 3, 16b.

During this period the Jurchen had no way out but by affiliating themselves to Korean tribute missions hoping to generate limited profits from selling horses to the Song.

Procuring warhorses from the Jurchen, however, was never the sole objective of the Song. On the contrary, the Song court pursued a dual-goal policy while dealing with the Jin regime. In this sense the horse trade was usually coupled with the political aim of forming a strategic alliance against the Liao. Thus, from 979 CE to 1117 CE, the Song court dispatched several special envoys to the Jurchen, nominally to obtain horses, while the real aim was to join forces and eliminate the Liao state.[15]

The Korean kingdom also offered horses to Song China. The volume of this trade, however, should not be overestimated, because Korean tribute missions were frequently interrupted by the Khitan Liao. In addition, Korean horses were usually small and the number of horses carried by each tribute mission was far from being significant as compared to the quantities offered by the Jurchen. The largest tribute mission from the Korean Peninsula, for example, only brought twenty-two stunted horses – certainly to the great disappointment of Song officials in charge of the cavalry.[16] What is interesting to note is that with the increasing pressure from the Khitan Liao, the Korean tribute missions, for a brief period at least, were also forced to sail to Mingzhou 明州 (modern Ningbo 寧波) in Zhejiang, instead of going to Dengzhou. The route to Zhejiang was much longer and involved higher risks which, in part, may explain the small number of Korean horses then sent to China.[17]

Northwestern Markets

The northwestern markets included horse bazaars in today's Gansu, Shaanxi, Qinghai, Ningxia and parts of Shanxi. These markets constituted a major source for the Song cavalry, especially during the Northern Song period. In early Song times, a total of thirty-three horse procuring offices was set up in the Middle Kingdom, of which twenty-seven were specialized in obtaining horses from the northwest.[18] During the eleventh century, around 64 percent of all horses were imported through that area.[19] By the early twelfth century almost all horse imports came from there – with the exception of occasional purchases from the southwestern border regions. This is why Ma Duanlin 馬端臨 (1254–1323) remarks in his *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 that the "state horse" 國馬 sector, towards the end of Northern Song rule, had completely relied on the northwestern markets established in the Tibetan tribal area of southern Gansu.[20]

One reason for the quick rise of the northwestern horse markets was the decline of the Jurchen horse trade in the northeast. But the principal factor for this shift lies in the bilateral relations between Song China and its northwestern neighbours – especially the Tibetans, Uighurs and Tanguts. While the Song state urgently needed cavalry mounts to be purchased from the high grasslands, particularly the rich valleys of the Yellow River tributaries east of Lake Koko Nor (Lake Qinghai), the nomadic tribes desired China's agricultural and manufactured goods, especially tea, metalware and textiles for their daily lives. Moreover, the similarity of their pastoral economies prevented them from forging an efficient alliance against the Song, because China constituted the only source for agricultural and manufactured goods.[21] Thus, in some sense, China and its

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15 Tuotuo 脫脫 et al. (comp.), *Song shi* 宋史, 20 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1977), XX, j. 491, pp. 14128-14129.

16 Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguo zhi* 三國志, 5 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1973), III, "Weishu" 魏書, j. 30, p. 849; Jeong In Ji 鄭麟趾 (comp.), *Ko-ryo sa* 高麗史 (c. 1449; Taipei: Wenshizhe chubanshe, 1972), j. 4, "Xianzong 1", p. 57; j. 9, "Wenzong 3", pp. 132-134, 136-137; Tao Jinsheng 陶晉生, *Song Liao guanxishi yanjiu* 宋遼關係史研究 (Taipei: Lianjing chuban shiye gongsi, 1984), pp. 178-179.

17 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 487, p. 14046.

18 Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 104, 20b-21a.

19 Ibid., j. 43, 14a.

20 Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考, 2 vols. (1322; Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1986), I, j. 160, "bingkao 12: mazheng", p. 1392. The original text is "自是國馬專仰市於熙河、秦鳳矣".

21 Tang Kaijian elaborates this point ; see his "Song-Jin shiqi Anduo tubo buluo yu zhongyuan diqu de ma maoyi" 宋金時期安多吐蕃部落與中原地區的馬貿易, in his *Song Jin shiqi Anduo tubo buluoshi yanjiu* 宋金時期安多吐蕃部落史研究 (Shanghai: Shanghai guji chubanshe, 2007), pp. 350-386.

pastoral neighbours depended on each other economically, which in turn set the frame for the growth of the northwestern horse bazaars.

In the course of time three different trade patterns emerged in the northwest, largely following the preferences of China's major trade partners. The Tibetans, for instance, preferred bartering at the horse bazaars near the frontier. The Uighurs chose to send horses to the Song capital in the name of tribute trade. Tangut merchants favoured private transactions over official trade controlled by the Song court.

Initially, the total volume of this trade was quite limited, amounting to less than 5,000 animals annually (prior to 995 CE).[22] This was only half of the volume recorded for imports from the Jurchen. While the size of the latter can be advanced as one of the main causes for the "slow start" in the northwest, competition from private Song merchants and wealthy members of the gentry should be taken into account as well. There are records of local officals and wealthy merchants offering gold and silk in exchange for good war horses at different border markets.[23] Evidently, a growing number of war horses changed hands in this way – to the great disadvantage of the Song government, which could not obtain enough mounts for its cavalry.

However, with the introduction of the so-called *gangma* System 綱馬制, large numbers of horses were procured in the second half of the century, and more than 34,900 horses were bought in 1026 CE, which implied a rapid progress as compared with the situation of the late tenth century. Since the horse trade quota assigned to each market was relatively fixed, the annual expense for horse procurement could also be regulated. Each year, for instance, the Song court would as a rule allocate 100,000 taels of silver to buy horses at the Qinzhou 秦州 (modern Tianshui County 天水縣 of Gansu) horse market.[24]

For a long period Qinzhou was ranked first among the northwestern horse markets. Its unique position can be understood from the following example. From 1060 to 1063, 17,100 horses were acquired from the three bazaars in Yuanzhou 原州 (Zhenyuan County 鎮原縣 of Gansu), Weizhou 渭州 (Pingliang County 平涼縣 of Gansu) and Deshunjun 德順軍 (Jingning County 靜寧縣 of Gansu), while Qinzhou alone contributed more than 15,000 horses annually.[25] Probably for this reason, so-called *Qinma* 秦馬, or horses purchased from Qinzhou, became one of the most well-known quality brands in Song China. But Qinzhou's reputation as the leading horse mart did not last for ever. In 1072 CE, Song troops launched a large-scale assault on the Tibetan tribes in the area of modern southwest Gansu. This "Expedition to the regions of Xi and He" (*Xihe zhiyi* 熙河之役), as it is called in Song texts, led to the acquisiton of six regions including Xizhou 熙州 (Lintao County 臨洮縣), Hezhou 河州 (Daohe County 導河縣), Taozhou 洮州 (Lintan County 臨潭縣), Minzhou 岷州 (Min County 岷縣), Diezhou 疊州 (Diebu County 疊部縣) and Dangchangzhai 宕昌寨 (Dangchang County 宕昌縣) together with an extensive expanse of pasturelands. Immediately a new administrative district named Xihelu 熙河路 or Xihe Circuit was established to strengthen the frontier management and the procurement of horses. With the inauguration of four new horse markets in the newly annexed region in 1076 CE, the centre of horse trading under the Northern Song gradually shifted from Qinzhou to the Xihe region.[26]

It would be misleading to believe that the so-called Horse Procurement Offices 買馬司 or 市馬務 established by the Song government only dealt with the horse trade. Apart from horses, commodities imported from the northwestern tribesmen included a wide array of native goods such as camels, cattle, sheep, yaks, furs of martens and desert foxes, different kinds of textiles from Inner Asia, jade, amber, pearl, glass, ivory, musk, bezoar stones, asafoetida, wrought iron swords, armour, arrows, Buddhist relics and images, etc. It is worth noting that large quantities of aromatic substances and products originating from the tropics – for example frankincense, putchuck, benzoin and coral – were also brought to these same markets and traded together with horses. Unfortunately, Song documents remain silent about the precise origin of these exotic commodities. Very likely they came from the Middle East, Africa or even the Mediterranean – via Central

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22 Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 43, 14a.

23 Anonymous, *Song da zhaolin ji* 宋大詔令集 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), j. 181, edict "Jin furen shi neishu rongrenma zhao 禁富人市內屬戎人馬詔", p. 655.

24 Tuotuo et al., *Song shi*, XX, j. 198, pp. 4927-4957.

25 Ibid., and Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 218, 18b.

26 Ibid., j. 272, 14b.

Asia – through the intermediaries of different ports and countries. Another interesting aspect concerns the import of sheep. At times the number of sheep acquired exceeded the number of imported horses, though the primary concern of the northwestern frontier markets was the latter. In 1046 CE, for example, the Song court instructed the northwestern markets to each buy 2,000 horses and 10,000 sheep annually.[27] The real reason behind this administrative order, however, remains unknown.

Western Markets

The Song frontier in the west was in mountainous Sichuan. During the Song dynasty, Sichuan was the second major import region for horses. Fifteen horse procurement markets were established respectively during different periods in the region; meanwhile an official institution named *Sichuan maimasi* 四川買馬司 (Sichuan Horse Purchasing Department) was set up to supervise these markets, which were generally located on the fringe of pastoral Tibetan tribes.[28] Yet the horses procured in Sichuan were generally too small and fragile to be ridden by armoured soldiers. Consequently, *Chuanma* 川馬 or horses produced in Sichuan were a complementary supply whenever there was a scarcity of northwestern war horses in the marketplaces. A special name – *jimima* 羈縻馬 – was thus given to the Sichuan horses in the Song period, as mentioned above.

The Song government distributed procured horses in accordance with their quality. Normally strong war horses purchased from the northwestern markets together with the first class of Sichuan horses would be sent to equip the Song cavalry; the second and third classes of Sichuan horses would be assigned to local troops stationed in Shaanxi or simply given to the national relay depots for local transportation, while the remaining unqualified horses were allowed to be sold freely in local markets.[29]

Of the fifteen western markets listed above, Lizhou ranked first and each year more than 4,000 horses would be provided by this market alone.[30] Similar to Qinzhou, Lizhou was an old installation. Its rise can be traced back to the early Song period and its role was closely related to changes in the northwest.[31] In 1074 CE, for instance, suddenly no horses could be obtained in the latter region due to military campaigns. The Song court then urgently requested the local government in Sichuan to induce tribal groups such as *Qiongbuchuan man* 邛部川蠻 (Qiongbu River Barbarian), a branch of the Yi 彝, located in the border area between Tibet, Southwest Sichuan and Yunnan, to bring good quality war horses for trading, and appointed Viceroy Cai Yanqing 知府蔡延慶 to look after this trade.[32]

Generally, however, Sichuan horses did not receive much attention until 1086 CE, when it was decided to assign them to local troops in Shaanxi while sending fine war horses procured from different Shaanxi

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27 Ibid., j. 159, 14b.

28 The fifteen horse markets included Lizhou 黎州 (modern Hanyuan County 漢源縣 of Sichuan), Xuzhou 敘州 (northeast of Yibin County 宜賓縣), Zhenzhou 珍州 (northeast of Zheng'an County 正安縣), Yizhou 益州 (Chengdu 成都市), Wenzhou 文州 (modern Wen County 文縣 of Gansu), Yazhou 雅州 (Ya'an County 雅安縣), Maozhou 茂州 (Mao County 茂縣), Kuizhou 夔州 (Fengjie County 奉節縣), Weizhou 威州 (Wenchuan County 汶川縣), Luzhou 瀘州 (Lu County 瀘縣), Longzhou 龍州 (Jiangyou County 江油縣), Jiazhou 嘉州 (Leshan County 樂山縣), Changningjun 長寧軍(Gong County 珙縣), Nanpingjun 南平軍(Qijiang County 綦江縣), and Yongkangjun 永康軍(Guan County 灌縣). See Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 184, "bing 24", fol. 2b-24a. Of these horse markets, Wenzhou market belonged to the *Sichuan maimasi* 四川買馬司 originally, but shortly afterwards it was shifted to the *Qinzhou maimasi* 秦州買馬司 due to the fact that the horses purchased at Wenzhou market were much better quality than their counterparts in Sichuan. See Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 278-279.

29 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 184, "bing 24", 17a; Du Dagui 杜大珪, *Mingchen beizhuan wanyanji* 名臣碑傳琬琰集 (Taipei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1969), j. 32, p. 867 ("Zhao daizhi Kai muzhiming" 趙待制開墓志銘). Daizhi 待制 was an official title in the Song dynasty while the official's name was Zhao Kai.

30 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, IV, ce 84, "zhiguan 43", 79a-82b.

31 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 184, "bing 24", 4b.

32 Tuotuo et al., *Song shi*, XX, j. 198, p. 4950; Li Tao, *Xu zizhi tongjian changbian*, j. 259, 7a-7b. For comprehensive studies on the Yi ethnic group in imperial southwestern China, see Ling Chunsheng 凌純聲, "Tangdai Yunnan de Wuman yu Baiman kao" 唐代雲南的烏蠻與白蠻考, *Guoli zhongyang yanjiuyuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo renleixue jikan* 國立中央研究院歷史語言研究所人類學集刊 1.1 (1938), pp. 57-86; Hu Qingjun 胡慶鈞, "Songdai Yizu xianmin diqu nuli zhidu de fanrong fazhan" 宋代彝族先民地區奴隸制度的繁榮發展, *Sixiang zhanxian* (4/1980), pp. 58-67.

markets to the Song capital for distribution among the national cavalry. Since then, Lizhou gradually emerged as an alternative procurement centre with at least some quality horses purchased from the Tibetan tribes. More than 5,280 horses were obtained at Lizhou market in 1099 CE, for instance, and the record for the following year was 4,100 heads, a telling evidence to demonstrate the booming horse trade in the region.[33]

Put differently, Lizhou's sudden rise as a horse centre in the 1070s was to a large extent due to the military expeditions in the northwest that had led to a temporary interruption of supplies from that area, which in turn had forced the Song government to seek alternative supply sources from its frontiers in the west and southwest. Furthermore, the status of Lizhou in China's horse procurement strategies had become increasingly enhanced with the Song dynasty being forced in 1138 CE to move its political centre to the South and the new capital was established in Lin'an 臨安 (modern Hangzhou 杭州). The Southern Song, driven south of the Huai River 淮河, was even more tightly confined in terms of territory and had thus to rely considerably on Lizhou to obtain the horses it urgently needed. The Sichuan horses, on the other hand, were generally small and fragile, as noted above, and could rarely meet the requirement of the Song cavalry. This paved the way for the rise of the southwestern horses, or the so-called *Guangma* 廣馬, in the course of the twelfth century.

Southwestern Markets

The southwestern horse markets were concerned with the borderlands near the Yunnan and Guizhou plateau and the southern part of Guangxi. Since the Khitan and Tangut states had always been the main concern of the Song, the imperial government did not have extra energy and time to manage its southwestern frontier. Instead of deploying elite troops along the southwestern border, it tried very hard to maintain a peaceful relationship with its non-Chinese tribal neighbours through the *jimi* 羈縻 (haltered-and-bridled) *modus operandi*. A policy of "*Lingnan busu zhongbing* 嶺南不宿重兵" (no huge forces should be deployed in Lingnan) was adopted and followed by all successive Song emperors.[34] But this lax attitude repeatedly invited tribal groups to plunder the borderlands from 1038 CE. The riot headed by an indigenous chieftain named Nùng Trí-Cao 儂智高 from Quàng-uyên 廣源 in modern northern Vietnam in 1052 was particularly serious and felt like a deep shock because Nùng's forces sacked more than nine southern cities and towns within a few months. Even Guangzhou (Canton) was ransacked.[35] The Nùng Trí-Cao Riot and its subsequent suppression by the Song cavalry not only introduced mounted combat skills into mainland Southeast Asia, but also made it clear that good quality war horses could be obtained from that region.[36]

Shortly after the demise of the Nùng Trí-Cao Riot, in 1077 CE, the chieftain of Guangxi's Hengshan Stockade 橫山寨 was commissioned by the Song court to purchase war horses, and an official from the Guangxi Military Commission 廣西帥司 was also stationed in Yongzhou 邕州 (Nanning 南寧 of Guangxi)

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33 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, IV, ce 84, "zhiguan 43", 79a-82b.

34 Yu Jing 余靖, *Wuxi ji* 武溪集, Siku zhenben edition, 2 vols. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1976), I, j. 5, "Dasong pingman bei" 大宋平蠻碑, 1b.

35 The Nùng was one of the influential families among the tribes of Quàng-uyên, a frontier region east of Cao-bằng 高平 and bordering China's Guangxi. During the Song period, Quàng-uyên nominally belonged to Song China but the region was controlled by the Ly dynasty of Đại Việt. The territories dominated by the Nùng family had repeatedly been assaulted by Viet forces, and Nùng Trí-Cao hated the Viet very much. He then sent two missions to the Song state, requesting his territories be incorporated into Song China. Being afraid this might cause a major conflict with Dai Viet, the Song government turned down Nùng's request, which in turn led to the Nùng Trí-Cao Riot which lasted almost twelve months before it was put down by the Song cavalry. For the details of this riot, see Tuotuo et al., *Song shi*, XX, j. 495, p. 14214; Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 61a-65a. While few Western historians have mentioned this episode, at least one Japanese historian has devoted several pages to it. See Kawahara Masahiro 河原正博, "Richao to Sou to no kankei (1009–1225)" 李朝と宋との關係 (1009–1225 年) (Relations between the Ly Dynasty and the Song (1009–1225)", in Yamamoto Tatsuro 山本達郎 (ed.), *Betonamu chugoku kankeishi: kyoushi no taitou kara shinnbutsu sennsou made* ベトナム中國關係史: かう清仏戰爭まで (History of International Relations between Vietnam and China: From the Rise of Khúc Family to the Sino-French War) (Tokyo: Yamakawa shuppansha, 1975), pp. 29-82.

36 Sima Guang 司馬光, *Sushui jiwen* 涑水紀聞, Hanfenlou ed., j. 13, 1a-8b.

to oversee the horse procurement from the southwestern frontier. The real concern with and strong interest in southwestern horses, however, did not emerge until the early twelfth century when the Southern Song government was chased by the Jurchen Jin cavalry and keenly felt the twinge caused by the lack of warhorses.[37] In 1127 CE, a local Yongzhou official named Li Yu 李棫, who was familiar with the southwestern tribes, was appointed by the Song government to administer the southwestern horse markets. Shortly afterwards, Li Yu recruited a group of local horse traders headed by Dong Wen 董文 and sent them to negotiate with the Dali kingdom 大理國 of Yunnan in 1130 CE. With lavish gifts such as salt and damask, brocades and other silks, the horse procurement working group successfully persuaded the King of Dali to grant his permission for Dali horses to be sold to Song China. 1,000 war horses from Dali were thus prepared to be traded with the Song state. In the following year, the King of Dali sent one of his ministers, Zhang Luoxian 張羅賢, along with a sample of fifty war horses, to Li Yu.[38] According to the agreement reached earlier, if the Yongzhou authorities were satisfied with the sample horses, the remaining 950 heads would be delivered shortly to the Hengshan Stockade. Yet, to the surprise of Dali officials, Li Yu had suddenly been sacked by the Song court before their arrival due to an internal conflict between him and the Guangxi Military Commissioner, Xu Zhong 廣西帥臣許中. The Dali mission, as a result, cancelled the horse deal and returned to Yunnan, and the Song government only purchased fifty sample horses.[39] Given that personal trust and connections were crucial in traditional China when conducting business, it was highly likely that Li Yu's dismissal made the Dali tribal officials unhappy because they lost a trustworthy person to deal with, which in turn caused the abortion of the first official endeavour of Song China to obtain Dali warhorses.

The Song authorities did not give up their efforts, and in 1133 CE, an official Horse Purchasing Department (*Maimasi*) was installed in Yongzhou. In the meantime, military commanders stationed in four frontier towns, namely Binzhou 賓州 (modern Binyang County 賓陽縣 of Guangxi), Hengzhou 橫州 (Heng County 橫縣 of Guangxi), Yizhou 宜州 (Yishan County 宜山縣 of Guangxi) and Guangzhou 觀州 (Nandan County 南丹縣 of Guangxi), were also instructed to purchase as many war horses as possible.[40] But such an ad hoc arrangement did not last for long as the Southern Song government would not trust any tribes beyond its frontier, and border defence and security were always given priority when discussing the frontier trade.

Yizhou and its subordinate Nandanzhou 南丹州 are cases in point. In terms of traffic and distance, they were more easily accessed than Yongzhou. Therefore, several local senior officials had already suggested establishing a horse market in Nandanzhou, yet in 1174 CE the throne decided to shut down the horse bazaar at Yizhou on the grounds that this site would be too close to the administrative centre and thus endanger the "frontier security".[41] Consequently, only one heavily guarded mart – the Hengshan Stockade Market 橫山寨博易場 – was allowed to continue and remained open to tribal merchants for bartering horses along the southwestern frontier throughout the 153 years of the Southern Song dynasty (1127–1279).

In the meantime, two other markets were set up in the neighbouring regions but targeting traders from Cochin China (modern northern Vietnam), and not from the tribal regions of the southwest. While the Qinzhou Market 欽州博易場 was established at Jiangdongyi 江東驛 outside the town wall, the Yongzhou Yongping Stockade Market 邕州永平寨博易場 was along the border with Cochin China demarcated by a small stream. Three categories of Cochin merchants and peddlers frequenting the southwestern frontier markets can be discerned from contemporary Chinese records. The first category comprised small peddlers and fishermen who sailed to Qinzhou everyday, bartering small amounts of rice and cotton textiles for their fish and mussels; these traders were called *Jiaozhi dan* 交阯蜑, or Cochin boat dwellers, by the Chinese. The second category refers to the well-to-do merchants from Vĩnh An Châu 永安州 (modern Hải Ninh Huyện 海

37 Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, p. 186.

38 The Dali official's name is transcribed differently in *Song huiyao* 宋會要 and recorded as "*fanguan* Zhang Luojian 蕃官張羅堅" (barbarian official Zhang Luojian). The Chinese characters 賢 and 堅 are similar and that might be the reason for their co-existence in this case, though nobody knows which character is correct. See Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 23", 18b.

39 Li Xinchuan 李心傳, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu* 建炎以來繫年要錄, Guoxue jiben congshu (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1956), j. 33, p. 653; Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 22", 17b-18a.

40 Ibid., VIII, ce 183, "bing 22", 19b-20a.

41 Ibid., VIII, ce 183, 7a, 10a, 12a.

寧縣 in Vietnam); these wealthy private Cochin merchants were called *xiaogang* 小綱 as normally their scale of business was relatively small compared to the government trade missions, though they would habitually send a formal notice to the Qinzhou Market authorities prior to their departure for Song China. The third category involved official trade missions from the Ly dynasty of Đại Việt and these official-cum-merchants were labelled *dagang* 大綱 due to their official status and economic clout. Correspondingly, there were peddlers and wealthy merchants of the Song state bartering with their Cochin Chinese counterparts in the market. The commodities imported from Cochin China were mainly tropical products such as incense, various spices, pearls, ivory, rhinoceros horn, etc. Gold, silver, copper coins, and crude salt were also used in trade. Ordinary Chinese peddlers offered locally produced cloth, rice, paper and brush pens; the rich Chinese merchants transacted the well-known Sichuan brocades for different Southeast Asian spices at the markets.[42] Together these two frontier markets played a supplementary role in cross-border exchanges though their role was not directly related to the horse procurement of Song China.

THE HENGSHAN STOCKADE MARKET AND SOUTHWESTERN HORSE TRADE

The Hengshan Stockade Market was located 520 *li* 里 northwest of Yongzhou, and was the only thoroughfare and strategic point connecting Southwest China with Yunnan and the Pagan kingdom 蒲甘王國 of Myanmar in accordance with contemporary Chinese records such as *Lingwai daida* and *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典.[43] Here it should also be pointed out that the term *Guangma* (horses from Guang) did not refer to horses bred in Guangxi proper. Southwestern horses of good quality were mainly produced in Dali and its vicinity but were afterwards procured by the Song government from Guangxi. It is probably due to this fact that southwestern horses were conferred with this unique name.

In Hengshan, the trade season normally lasted from October to April. Each year, with the start of the season, the Horse Procurement Department would send a number of *zhaomaguan* 招馬官 (horse trade enticement officials), who were mainly of local origin, to entertain tribal chieftains with silk, damask and satin brocades. Horse "bands" of different sizes would then set out for the Song state, and another welcome banquet officiated by a senior government official (the *Xi tiju* 西提舉 or Western Supervisor of the Horse Procurement Department) would be given at the border, while the Associate Military Inspector 同巡檢, patrolling on the border with his troops, could escort the horse "bands" all the way from the border to Hengshan Stockade. This trip would take six days.[44] Transactions followed an interesting pattern. While tribal chieftains 蠻首 and the Eastern Supervisor of the Horse Procurement Department (東提舉) sat together on the stage, watching the horses being bartered between the Song officials and tribal traders, Song troops guarded the stockade gate and purposely stayed at some distance from the tribal traders.[45]

Horses would mostly become bare-boned after travelling long distances. Such skinny animals could not be sold for a good price. The southwestern tribal traders, however, had their own methods of solving the problem. According to contemporary records, they would tie the four hoofs together and pull the horse to the ground, forcing it to eat salt – around one kilogram! – before releasing it to have water and grass nearby. Interestingly, the thin and weak animals could become strong and heavy again within a couple of weeks.[46]

Horses purchased at Hengshan Stockade had to be divided into a number of *gang* 綱 or groups, in accordance with government regulations, when the trade season was about to end. While each *gang* of normal horses consisted of fifty heads, the strong and high ?taller/ animals (*chuge ma* 出格馬) were grouped into special *gangs*, which would have about thirty animals. The fifteen administrative regions of Guangxi would then each send one horse conveying group to Hengshan to receive the various horse assignments. These

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42 Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, pp. 195-197.

43 Ibid., j. 3, p. 122; Xie Jin 解縉 and Yao Guangxiao 姚廣孝 et al. (comp.), *Yongle dadian* 永樂大典, j. 8506, entry on "Nanning fu 南寧府", 18a. The original text in *Lingwai daida* reads "中國通道南蠻, 必由邕州橫山寨".

44 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 183, "bing 23", 4b; Xie Jin and Yao Guangxiao, *Yongle dadian*, j. 8570, entry on "Nanning fu", 14a.

45 Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j 5, p. 187.

46 Ibid., j. 5, pp. 191-192.

groups included one senior official, five lower-rank officials, one veterinarian, and twenty-five solders (fifteen soldiers for the special *gang*). The latter had to hold the horse reins, each soldier taking care of two horses. Horse conveying officials would be promoted rapidly if all horses reached their destination alive. Otherwise, they would be downgraded or flogged before being expelled from the military. This demonstrates the importance of horses in Song China.[47]

Attention should also be given to the commodities offered for horses. While the horse trade in the northwest was characterised by the exchange of tea from Sichuan for warhorses, the indigenous tribes at the southwestern frontier were not interested in tea because that was available throughout the southwest. Consequently, the Song court had to provide other commodities, such as gold, silver, copper coins, salt and various kinds of silks, damask and brocade. Contemporary records mention that each year in the 1150s CE the Song court had to allocate 50 *yi* 鎰 of gold, 300 catties of silver, 200 bolts of brocades, 4,000 bolts of damask and satin, as well as 2,000,000 catties of salt to obtain 1,500 horses at the Hengshan Stockade Market.[48] Clearly, salt and silks were the staple commodities offered for horses from the southwest. Aside from horses, other local products from Yunnan and mainland Southeast Asia also entered the Hengshan Stockade Market, such as musk, sheep, Dali fowls, woollen carpets, mercury, firs, Yunnan knives and different kinds of herbs.[49]

The Hengshan Stockade Market not only functioned as a bridge to maintain economic relations between Song China and the southwestern tribes but also played a crucial role in introducing Chinese culture into the non-Chinese tribal regions, which is clearly demonstated from the commodities involved in bilateral trade. The Yunnan and Guizhou plateau had formed part of the Chinese empire prior to the fifth century CE and local elites had largely accepted Chinese civilization. Although most of these indigenous regimes had become politically and economically independent in the late ninth century CE when the Tang dynasty declined, their interest in Chinese culture did not disappear. The Dali kingdom in Yunnan especially was eager to obtain Chinese classical books. In the winter of 1173 CE, for example, the Dali authorities dispatched a mission led by Li Guanyin 李觀音 to negotiate with the Song state about the horse trade. Guided by a Temo kingdom 特磨國 aboriginal (Nùngshi 儂氏), this group of twenty-three, upon reaching Hengshan, presented a long list of goods they desired to purchase. What really surprised the Song officials was that these traders were particularly interested in acquiring a large number of classical texts on literature, history, medical sciences and language. The following titles were among the desiderata: *Wujing guangzhu* 五經廣註, *Chunqiu houyu* 春秋後語, *Qieyun* 切韻, *Baijiashu* 百家書, *Shi ji* 史記, *Han shu* 漢書, *Zizhi tongjian* 資治通鑒, *Wang Shuhe maijue* 王叔和脈訣 and *Qianjinfang* 千金方.[50]

The southwestern horse trade, centered on Hengshan, developed rapidly. In 1135 CE, the Song court fixed the annual procurement quota for that market at 1,400 animals. Shortly afterwards, the annual quota was increased to 1,500 heads. In some years when there were capable officials to oversee the horse procurement business at the market, as many as 3,500 horses could be purchased annually.[51]

THE SOUTHWESTERN BARBARIANS AND THE HORSE TRADE

When discussing the southwestern trade in horses, it should be remembered that some horses were not procured through trade along the frontier. A large number of *manma* 蠻馬 (literally: "horses of the southern barbarians") bred in Tibet and other tribal regions were obtained through regular tribute trade. This can be

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47 Ibid., j. 5, p. 192.

48 Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 162, p. 2629. *Yi* 鎰 denotes an old weight measuring unit in imperial China, particularly for measuring gold; each *yi* equals 24 taels or 750 grams, while 2,000,000 catties (*jin* 斤) of salt mentioned in the Song record can be converted to c. 1,000,000 kilograms.

49 Fan Chengda 范成大 (author), Hu Qiwang 胡起望 and Tan Guangguang 覃光廣 (eds.), *Guihai yuheng zhi jiyi jiaozhu* 桂海虞衡志輯佚校注 (Chengdu: Sichuan minzu chubanshe, 1986), pp. 96-97; Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, pp. 193-194; Xie Jin and Yao Guangxiao et al., *Yongle dadian*, j. 8507, 14b-16a.

50 Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 279-280; Wu Jing 吳儆, *Zhuzhou ji* 竹洲集, Sikuquanshu zhenben ed. (Taipei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1972), j. 10, 9a-9b; Xie Jin and Yao Guangxiao, *Yongle dadian*, j. 8507, 14a-14b.

51 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 182, "bing 22", 17b, 24a; "bing 23", 6a-8b; Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 143, p. 2304; j. 186, p. 3115.

explained in the following way. Fearing that tribal rebellions might occur frequently, like the one led by the Nanzhao kingdom 南詔王國 in Tang times, all Song emperors were particularly careful when dealing with the southwestern tribes. The founding emperor Song Taizu 宋太祖 drew a line which took Dadu River 大渡河 as a natural boundary thus dividing the southwestern territories into two parts.[52] Tribes living north of that River (within the boundary 界內) were generally called *Shuman* 熟蠻 and *Shufan* 熟蕃 ("cooked barbarians", for assimilated "barbarians"), while those on the other side (outside the boundary 界外) were labelled as *Shengman* 生蠻 and *Shengfan* 生蕃 ("raw barbarians", for uncivilized "barbarians") because the vast expanse of land south of the river at that time was still under Dali control. As pointed out, the political strategies of the Song state aimed at neutralizing potential adversaries in the southwest without lifting a sword; this had led to the so-called *jimi* 羈縻 policy. Such formulas as "controlling barbarians with barbarians" (以蠻制蠻) or "acknowledging someone as barbarian chieftain while allowing the barbarians to rule themselves" (樹其酋長,使自鎮撫) were part of the daily rhetoric.[53]

With this policy in mind, we can now look at the role played by indigenous tribal chieftains in the horse trade. Several tribes, usually called *fan* 蕃 or *man* 蠻 in Song works, were actively involved in sending tribute to China. These missions brought horses, deer, leopard furs, cinnabar, woollen carpets, ramie, wines, rice and other products. The generous souvenirs and gifts they received from the Song government included brocades, silk textiles, silver and salt.[54] A careful reading of the sources reveals that quite a number of chieftains regularly sent tribute to the horse markets along the southwestern frontier. The *Xi'nan wuxing fan* 西南五姓蕃 (Southwestern Barbarians of Five Clans) is a case in point. "*Wuxing fan*" refers to the five most influential tribal clans of the southwestern regions; these were surnamed Long 龍, Luo 羅, Fang 方, Shi 石 and Zhang 張. They all belonged to the *shengfan* (raw barbarian) confederation, but were also classified as *qianfan* 淺蕃 ("shallow barbarians"), for example in the famous *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 by Zhou Qufei 周去非, who thought they had already adopted some elements of Chinese civilization and should thus stand between the two extremes of "raw" and "cooked". Zhou's evidence was that these five tribal clans often sent tribute.[55] Shortly afterwards, two families surnamed Cheng 程 and Wei 韋 joined this group, which was now called *Xi'nan qifan* 西南七蕃(Southwestern Barbarians of Seven Clans).[56]

Most tribal groups had their own pasturelands, usually near the frontier, where they also had their settlements. They usually relied on breeding and trading horses for their survival.[57] Song records show that every four to five years they would bring horses and other local products to the frontier markets such as Lizhou (Hanyuan County 漢源縣 of Sichuan), Yizhou 宜州 and Yongzhou. Occasionally tribute missions would also travel to the Song capital to be interviewed by the emperor. Some leaders and tribes, it may be added, had adopted Chinese names and were able to converse in various Han languages, but they belonged to different ethnic groups and should not be confused with the Han Chinese. This is not always evident from the sources.

Of the seven clans, the Long clan was obviously the most wealthy and powerful one. It was based in Nanningzhou 南寧州 (modern Huishui County 惠水縣 of southern Guizhou), a site famous for its excellent horses.[58] In 967 CE, the first Long tribute mission, led by a certain Long Yantao 龍彥綢, reached Song China.[59] From that time onwards, almost every two or three years Long missions, usually comprising several hundred to c. 1,500 tribesmen, would travel to Kaifeng 開封, the imperial capital, offering horses and other local products to the throne. The Song court would usually reward them with expensive textiles and salt, according to their rank. The leading members of each clan would also receive honorary titles. This policy of conferring titles upon loyal leaders aimed at controlling one tribe through another.

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52 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XVIII, j. 353, p. 11149.
53 Ibid., XX, j. 493, p. 14171.
54 Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai xinian yaolu*, j. 64, pp. 1095-1096.
55 Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 1, p. 49.
56 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14241-14242.
57 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, IV, ce 84, "zhiguan 43", 81a.
58 Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 9, p. 349; Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14241-14242.
59 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 10a.

The largest Long mission reached Kaifeng in 1002 CE. There were 1,600 clansmen in all, 460 horses and a large quantity of southwestern products such as herbs and indigenous textiles.[60] Since the journey from the southwestern frontier to the capital was very long and a large number of horses either plummeted from cliffs or died of diseases during the trip, the Song court issued an edict in 1004 CE, permitting the Long clan and other tribal tribute missions to deliver their tributes directly to the Yizhou authorities thus reducing the high mortality of horses.[61]

Relations between the Long clan and the Song court were quite close and would not be disturbed by unexpected changes such as the sudden death of a chieftain. In 971 CE, for example, when Long Yantao died, the Song court immediately appointed his son Long Hantang 龍漢瑭 to become the next border prefect in Nanning. This post, entitled *Nanningzhou cishi jian fanluoshi* 南寧州刺史兼蕃落使 (Regional Chief for Nanning Prefecture and Frontier Affairs Head), was to administer the trade in horses.[62] Long Hantang saw to it that several families within the Long clan began to organise their own tribute missions and also kept an eye on the quality of the horses bred in Nanningzhou. The following decades thus witnessed around twenty southwestern chieftains from the Long clan visiting different frontier markets with their missions and goods, and their official titles were often recorded by the Song government as *fanwang* 蕃王 ("barbarian kings") or *buluo wangzhi* 部落王子 ("tribal princes").[63]

The key role played by these chieftains in promoting the trade in horses along the southwestern frontier was not confined to Guizhou. A similar situation could be observed in Lizhou 黎州, the leading horse market in western Sichuan. During the Song dynasty, there were twelve major tribes in the region surrounding Lizhou: *Shanhou lianglin man* 山後兩林蠻, *Qiongbuchuan man* 邛部川蠻, *Fengpa man* 風琶蠻, *Baosai man* 保塞蠻, *Buluo man* 部落蠻, *Miqiang buluo* 彌羌部落, *Jinglang man* 淨浪蠻, *Bai man* 白蠻, *Wumeng man* 烏蒙蠻, *A-zong man* 阿宗蠻, Xuhen man 虛恨蠻 and Xiaolu man 小路蠻. The majority belonged to the Yi ethnic group.[64] Evidently religious rituals played a key role in the daily life of these tribes because they were controlled by "demon masters" (*guizhu* 鬼主), or shamans, who would protect them against baleful mountain spirits and other dangers. As the *guizhu* exerted great power over the secular affairs of the Yi,[65] they also become involved in the tribute trade. Horse missions sent by the *Shanhou lianglin* and *Qiongbuchuan* groups were thus led by a *guizhu* or *daguizhu* 大鬼主 (Grand Demon Master).

Yi horses were usually classified as *mingma* or "excellent horses", but the volume of this trade was not very significant, ranging from a few dozens to c. 200 or 300 animals per mission.[66] As the Yi tribes were in the south of the Dadu River, beyond Chinese control, their tribute missions had to cross that river with leather boats, which no doubt was very dangerous. To remedy such a precarious situation, in 982 CE the

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60 Ibid., VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 13a.

61 Ibid., VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 15a-15b.

62 Ibid., VIII, ce 198, 10b.

63 Ibid., VIII, ce 198, 10a-13b, 16a-16b, 19a-24a. Song primary sources record to several chieftains from the Long clan, usually in connection with tribute trade missions. This includes Long Hanyao 龍漢嶢, Long Hanxuan 龍漢璿, Long Hanxing 龍漢興, Long Guanglian 龍光璉, Long Guangying 龍光盈, Long Guangdian 龍光腆, Long Guangjin 龍光進, and Long Yixiang 龍以香.

64 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14230-14231. The Yi people, who originally arrived in the Jinsha River 金沙江 valley after the fall of the Han Dynasty, became known as the Black Barbarians 烏蠻, as opposed to the indigenous White Barbarians 白蠻, another group in that area. In early Chinese texts the latter are recorded under different names such as Boren 焻人, Pu 濮人 and Baizu 白族. The Yi then kept on migrating along the western frontier of Sichuan, more or less in sight of the Liang 涼山 and Wumeng Mountains 烏蒙山, both at the easternmost extension of the Tibetan massif. By the fourth century CE they had crossed the Jinsha into Yunnan and Guizhou. The areas occupied by them were usually above 1,800 meters, and they were good breeders of horses, sheep and cattle. For a detailed study on the historical development of these early tribes and China's southwestern frontier in medieval times, see Richard L. von Glahn, *The Country of Streams and Grottoes: Geography, Settlement, and the Civilizing of China's Southwestern Frontier, 1000–1250* (Yale University, unpubl. Ph.D. diss, 1983). Another relevant study is Li Rongcun 李榮村, "Xidong suyuan" 溪峒溯源, *Guoli bianyiguan guankan* 國立編譯館館刊 1.1 (1971), pp. 7-23.

65 Fan Chuo 范綽 (author), Xiang Da 向達 (ed.), *Man Shu jiaozhu* 蠻書校注, Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1962), j. 1, p. 31; Hu Qingjun, "Songdai yizu xianmin diqu nuli zhidu de fanrong fazhan", pp. 60-61.

66 Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14230-14241.

Song emperor ordered the Lizhou local government to built large junks which would make the journey much safer.[67]

On the other hand, the Song government's reservations against the southwestern tribes greatly hampered the development of trade in these areas. The imperial court was always afraid that certain groups might covet Chinese soil. Therefore, precautious measures were quietly arranged while tribal traders were induced to barter for horses. In Sichuan, for instance, the Song government prevented tribal traders from entering the mountainous inland (*jin shan* 禁山). All horse traders had to do their business at the Lizhou market.[68] Moreover, as tribal traders often took a shortcut by crossing the Mahu River 馬湖江 to reach the market in Rongzhou 戎州 (Yibin 宜賓 of Sichuan), the Song authorities installed a thick iron chain across the river, aiming at locking it (*suo jiang* 鎖江).[69]

A similar situation occurred in the area of Ziqi 自杞. Ziqi was a powerful kingdom in the twelfth century and located between Yunnan and Guangxi. It was controlled by the Yi, had a vast expanse of territories, and could raise more than 100,000 soldiers. Due to its strategic location, this polity was able to monopolise the southwestern horse trade for several consecutive decades. Each year, it would dispatch thousands of tribesmen to Hengshan. The horses sold to the Song government in this way, amounted to about three quarters of the total annual imports, which was really impressive. In 1161, instead of bartering at Hengshan as required by the Song, the horse traders from Ziqi proceeded directly from Nandanzhou to Yizhou. At first, the Yizhou authorities refused to buy their horses as this would violate relevant security regulations (Yizhou was too close to the inland cities). The Ziqi traders, however, did not give in and simply camped outside of the town wall, forcing the Yizhou government to eventually purchase 150 horses from them. The Song court was alarmed by this incident and immediately instructed the Yizhou market to be shut down.[70]

Precautions not only targeted the southwestern tribes, but were also applied to the regimes of Southeast Asia. In 1175, the Champa king sent 600 persons aboard thirty ships to Hainan, together with an official letter requesting the Song Military Commissioner Zhang Jingfu 張敬夫 to sell war horses. As soon as Zhang's urgent report reached the Chinese emperor, the court ordered him to turn down Champa's request with the excuse that Chinese horses had never been exported. Disappointed with this negative response, the sizable Champa horse procurement mission had no option but to sail back.[71]

CONCLUSION

The above shows that the trade in horses flourished under the Song, one of the underlying factors being that many horse farms established in earlier times were destroyed in the chaotic war period of the tenth and early eleventh centuries CE.[72] The Song government simply could not meet the basic requirements of its cavalry by providing them with enough warhorses. As a result, Song China was forced to purchase horses from the steppes of Serindia, Transoxania and Mongolia, the grasslands of Northeast Asia, and the mountainous highlands of the southwest. Dozens of horse markets emerged along its borders. Four important market clusters can be identified: the northern markets, the northwestern markets, the western markets, and the southwestern markets. Clearly, they did not all flourish at the same time. Careful observation reveals that overall imports declined in the course of time. Moreover, the centre of trading activities shifted throughout the Song period, moving gradually from the northeastern frontier to the northwest, then to the west, and finally to the southwest. While warhorses purchased from the northern and northwestern borderlands were usually of good quality and thus indispensable for maintaining China's cavalry, those collected at the western and southwestern

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67 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, ce 198, "fanyi 5", 11a-11b.

68 Ibid., VIII, ce 192, "fangyu 12", 7a-7b; Tuotuo, *Song shi*, XX, j. 496, pp. 14233-14234.

69 Fan Chengda, *Wuchuan lu* 吳船錄, Zhibuzu zhai congshu ed. (Taipei: Xinwenfeng chuban gongsi, 1985), j. B, p.5.

70 Zhou Qufei, *Lingwai daida*, j. 5, pp. 189-190; Wu Jing, *Zhuzhou ji*, j. 1, 3b-4a; j. 10, 9b-10a.

71 Li Xinchuan, *Jianyan yilai chaoye zaji*, j. 18, pp. 279-281. Also see the paper by G. Wade, in this volume.

72 For an excellent study on Wudai China, see Wang Gungwu, *The Structure of Power in North China during the Five Dynasties* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1967). A revised edition was recently published in Singapore and entitled *Divided China: Preparing for Reunification 883–947* (Singapore: World Scientific Publishing Co., 2007).

peripheries were less sturdy and less suitable for the military, but also indispensable for the Chinese economy, especially in Southern Song times.

The structure of the horse trade also differed in terms of the other commodities involved in it. In the north, tea was the principal exchange commodity for horses. Along the southwestern frontier, salt and various silks stood *in primo loco*. Historians have devoted much attention to the study of the tea-and-horse trade, but comparisons between the different regions are rare. The southwestern periphery and the horse trade between China and mainland Southeast Asia in particular would need more attention.

Another point concerns the similarity of the pastoral economies in the northwest. Most steppe dwellers – Qinghai Tibetans, Tanguts, Uighurs, Khitans, etc. – faced similar economic conditions and depended on Chinese imports. This prevented them from forming a large anti-Song coalition. Instead of waging costly wars against the latter, they promoted the breeding and selling of horses and the import of Chinese agricultural and manufactured products through the northwestern markets.

The horse trade in the frontier regions has been the central theme of this study. This can be linked to different "theories" of the frontier. Already in 1894 Frederick Jackson Turner defined the term "frontier" as the "meeting point between savagery and civilization"[73] – a definition no longer acceptable today, although it would go well with the official records of Song China and their manner of depicting the tribal neighbours along China's periphery. Perhaps it would be more adequate to describe the "frontier" as a zone without clearly defined political boundaries, but with spaces where different people would meet in search for urgently needed resources – and allies. This article may be seen as an effort to present Song China's frontiers, or borderlands, as contact zones characterized by the active involvement of different ethnic groups, indigenous chieftains, traders, influential local magnates, soldiers, and petty government officials, who lived on the frontier and negotiated for horses and other commodities, or who pursued diplomatic objectives while maintaining economic, cultural and political exchange.

In other words, although the Song government often connected the horse trade to diplomatic considerations and the political management of the frontier, tribesmen and non-Han groups on China's periphery contributed considerably towards the procurement of horses for the Song. A full account of the horse trade in this period still remains to be written, but the above does at least suggest that the role played by frontiers in borderland trade should never be underestimated.

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[73] For Turner's theory, relevant critiques and studies, see Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York: Krieger, 1976); Owen Lattimore, *Studies in Frontier History: Collected Papers, 1928–1958* (Paris: Mouton, 1962); Howard Lamar and Leonard Thompson (eds.), *The Frontier in History: North America and Southern Africa Compared* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981); and Patricia Nelson Limerick, *The Legacy of Conquest: The Unbroken Past of the American West* (New York: Norton, 1987).

Hainan and the Trade in Horses (Song to Early Ming)

Roderich PTAK[1]

INTRODUCTION

Almost throughout recorded history horses have played an important role in China. They were adored by the imperial court and ruling elite, needed in warfare, especially to defend the northern borders, and used for transportation. Countless poems and paintings describe these wonderful animals, veterinary texts discuss their anatomic features and the ways to cure horse diseases. There were times when China had enough horses, but in other periods shortages occurred. Although horse breeding techniques were known, local supplies rarely satisfied demand, particularly in those years during which the army required first-class horses. Access to the caravan routes and northern lands was crucial in order to obtain foreign products, including animals. In certain epochs this led to long-lasting trade cycles between China and her Northern and Inner Asian neighbours. Thousands of horses were thus traded along the borders, often in special "markets", where Chinese merchants or government agents exchanged them for tea, silk and other domestic products. These episodes have been studied by Smith, Serruys, Rossabi, Mackerras and many others – usually with reference to one dynasty or sub-period, and mainly with regard to the northern regions, Korea, and the Southwest.[2] The maritime scenario is less well documented, but there are now also some modern works with notes on Ming imports from Ryukyu and various countries of the "Southern Seas".[3]

The present note will look at yet another regional "market", namely Hainan. It intends to show how this tropical island became involved in China's horse trade. The focus will be on the Song, Yuan and early Ming periods, i.e., on the four or five centuries preceding the arrival of the first few Europeans. In order to proceed with my notes, several preliminary remarks – on geo-political aspects, the sea routes, and Hainan's foreign trade sector – will be necessary. I shall begin with some observations related to the geographical aspects.

MARITIME TRADE ROUTES AND TYPES OF TRADE

In the age of sail Hainan was linked to the so-called western sea lane, or *xi hang lu* 西航路, which ran from Fujian and Guangdong to the Vietnamese coast from where it branched out into the Gulf of Siam, towards the north-western section of Kalimantan and the east coast of the Malaysian peninsula. This route passed Hainan on its eastern and southern sides. Long distance traffic, including diplomatic missions bringing trib-

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[2] Paul J. Smith, *Taxing Heaven's Storehouses. Horses, Bureaucrats, and the Destruction of the Sichuan Tea Industry, 1074–1224* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1991); Yang Bin, "Horses, Silver and Cowries: Yunnan in Global Perspective", *Journal of World History* 15.3 (2004); Henri Serruys, "Mongol Tribute Missions of the Ming Period", *Central Asiatic Journal* 11 (1966), pp. 1-83, and *Sino-Mongol Relations during the Ming*, especially vols. 2 and 3 (Brussels: Institut Belge des Hautes Études Chinoises, 1967 and 1975); Morris Rossabi, "The Tea and Horse Trade with Inner Asia during the Ming", *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970), pp. 136-168; Colin Mackerras, "Sino-Uighur Diplomatic and Trade Contacts (744–840)", *Central Asiatic Journal* 13 (1969), pp. 215-240; etc. From the many Chinese and Japanese titles, only one example is mentioned here: Tan Yinghua, "Mingdai xi'nan bianjiang zhi chama shi yi", *Ming shi yanjiu luncong* 1 (1982).

[3] R. P., "Pferde auf See: ein vergessener Aspekt des maritimen chinesischen Handels im frühen 15. Jahrhundert", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1991), pp. 199-233 (the same journal issue contains additional essays related to the horse trade), and "Pferde auf See: Chinas Pferdeimporte von den Riukiu-Inseln und den Ländern Südostasiens und des Indischen Ozeans (1368–1435)", in the occasional paper series Kleine Beiträge zur europäischen Überseegeschichte 8 (Bamberg: Forschungsstiftung für vergleichende europäische Überseegeschichte, 1991).

ute to China, would follow that trade artery and thereby also move through the waters off Hainan. But ships bound for Guangzhou, Quanzhou 泉州 and other locations further north would rarely stop in Hainan's harbours, the principal reasons being navigational and cost considerations, as I have described elsewhere.[4] True, occasional stays on Hainan are recorded, especially in Ming works; however, they were not the rule.

Merchants engaged in what has often been described as "peddling trade" certainly behaved differently. They would sail from one port to the next, without following a strict plan, or business strategy. Their principle concern was to buy cheap and sell dear, and they would deal in all kinds of goods. In contrast to their long distance "colleagues", these peddling merchants certainly had a greater interest in visiting Hainan's ports, be they located along the island's eastern and southern shores, or along the western and northern littoral facing the Gulf of Tongking and the narrow sea lane between modern Haikou and the Leizhou 雷州 peninsula. Sailing through these waters required much more time and navigational experience, than sailing along the *xi hang lu*. Especially the northern passage in and out of the Gulf of Tongking was always feared. Countless ships got wrecked in these waters, and long distance traders tended to avoid them altogether.

In short, long distance traffic, in the form of tribute trade or "purely" commercial ventures, was one thing. It was intimately associated with the western trade artery and usually bypassed Hainan. Peddling trade can be seen as another category. This form of traffic concerned all harbours and inlets of Hainan – and thereby also the Gulf of Tongking. Hainan's links to the Vietnamese coast, it would seem, mostly fell into this second category, although tribute ships from Champa would certainly use the *xi hang lu* as well, especially when travelling northbound, in the general direction of Guangzhou and Quanzhou.

This general picture can now be amplified. First, trade out of Hainan also implied the transportation of local tribute goods, provided by different Li 黎 groups, to the China mainland. Second, from the mainland, Hainan received certain products, some of which were sent through the hands of government officials. But most products arriving at the island, it would seem, were shipped by private entrepreneurs. Typical Hainanese imports were rice and most manufactured goods; these had to be brought from Guangdong and Fujian. Zhao Rugua 趙汝适, for example, records the shipment of lacquer, ceramics and other such things from Quanzhou. This refers to the Song period.[5]

In geographical terms, trade involving shipments from Hainan to the mainland or in the other direction, had many facets. Some ships would cover longer distances such as the direct route between, say, the modern Haikou region and the coast of Fujian – this segment formed part of the *xi hang lu*; other vessels sailed from Hainan's northern shores to one of the small ports around the Leizhou peninsula, or to some Guangdong location farther north. However, sources pertaining to the periods dealt with in the present paper rarely throw light on the relative importance of these different trading "options", the frequency of local exports and imports, and the extent to which certain goods were shipped in and out on a specific route.[6]

Such uncertainties also pertain to our theme – Hainan's involvement in the trade of horses. Sources do refer to the transportation of horses from Hainan to other locations, as we shall see below, but we are not told which routes were used and in what form these transports occurred. Horses, we know from other regions, could be carried over long distances. Examples are the regular horse shipments through the Arabian Sea, from Hormuz and other places to the west coast of India, or the tribute shipments from Ryukyu to Fujian. Thus, Hainanese horses, when brought to the mainland, were possibly transported over a longer distance, to a major port such as Guangzhou, or alternatively, they were simply sent across the Qiongzhou 瓊州 Strait, to the nearest possible anchorage on the other side of that sea alley. As previously stated the details regarding these two alternatives are not clearly reported.

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[4] R. P., "Hainan: From Zheng He to Fernão Mendes Pinto", at the symposium "Fernão Mendes Pinto e a Peregrinação – Viagens, Visões e Encontros", Convento da Arrábida, Portugal, October 2005.

[5] Friedrich Hirth and W. W. Rockhill (ed. and tr.), *Chau Ju-kua. His Work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries, entitled Chu-fan-chï* (St. Petersburg: Imperial Academy of Sciences, 1911), p. 177.

[6] One source with references to Hainan's routes is Yue Shi 樂史, *Taiping huanyu ji* 太平寰宇記, 2 vols., Songdai dili shu si zhong (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963), II, especially j. 169, pp. 463 and 465 (8b and 11b).

THE SONG PERIOD

In written records, Hainan is first brought into connection with horses under the Song. Both Zhou Qufei 周去非 in his *Lingwai daida* 嶺外代答 (1178) and Zhao Rugua's *Zhufan zhi* 諸蕃志 (1225) refer to horses on Hainan, but give no further comments.[7] The *Yudi jisheng* 輿地紀勝 (c. 1221) by Wang Xiangzhi 王象之, however, denies their existence, claiming that there were "neither horses nor tigers" on the island.[8] This last remark is also found in earlier material, for example, in Han records. It is quoted in later sources as well, another example being the *Qiong tai zhi* 瓊台志 (now *QTZ*) of the Zhengde period (1506–1521).[9] That work in turn cites yet another Song compilation, namely the *Fangyu shenglan* 方輿勝覽 (preface 1239). The latter refers to "small horses" (*xiao ma* 小馬), but also carries the phrase "neither horses nor tigers".[10]

Taken together, these data seem to be contradictory at first sight, especially because of the negative statement in *Yudi jisheng*, but in all likelihood the author of that work had made uncritical use of earlier texts (indeed, he quotes a book entitled *Nanhai zhi* 南海志[11]), so his views on Hainan did not correspond to the situation prevailing under the Song. By contrast, Zhou Qufei and Zhao Rugua were much better informed and we should therefore rely on their observations, rather than on those by Wang Xiangzhi.

The fact that Hainan, under the Song, did have some horses is also corroborated by the *Song huiyao jigao* 宋會要輯稿. There is, for example, a reference to horses in the Lin'gao 臨高 region of northern Hainan.[12] The horses mentioned in that context were borrowed from a Li tribesman. Additional information comes from a very different "corner": obviously Champa needed good horses and thus tried to acquire them from Hainan, or China more generally. In 959, 992/993, 1004, 1010, 1015, 1068 Champa envoys requested and / or received horses from the imperial court. These were symbolic gifts. Usually the Chinese side granted one or two white horses only, if the information collected in *Song shi* 宋史 (c. 1345), *Wenxian tongkao* 文獻通考 (printed 1322), and *Song huiyao jigao* is correct.[13] But that is not all. In 1175, we read, the export of horses to Champa was interdicted.[14] This last statement suggests frequent sales – probably of larger quantities and not just of one or two animals – in the period preceding 1175. Some of these "mass exports", provided they really occurred, were effected through Hainan. A brief entry in *Song huiyao jigao* says that people from Champa, with the assistance of their counterparts in Jiyang 吉陽 Commandry on Hainan, had openly acquired horses on the island. More evidence is found, for example, in *QTZ*: according to that source, "Champa came again to buy horses" in 1172. But its envoys (or ordinary traders?) were not well received by

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7 Almut Netolitzky, *Das Ling-wai tai-ta von Chou Ch'ü-fei. Eine Landeskunde Südchinas aus dem 12. Jahrhundert*, Münchener Ostasiatische Studien 21 (Wiesbaden: Franz Steiner Verlag, 1977), p. 34; Hirth and Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 183; Angela Schottenhammer, "Hainans politisch-ökonomische Anbindung an das chinesische Festland während der Song-Dynastie", in Claudine Salmon and R. P. (eds.), *Hainan: De la Chine à l'Asie du Sud-Est, Von China nach Südostasien*, South China and Maritime Asia 10 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2001), pp. 54, 71. – For horses in the greater context of Song-China, see J. K. Chin's contribution to the present volume.

8 Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, Songdai dili shu si zhong, 2 vols. (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1963), II, j. 125, 2b (p. 661); Schottenhammer,"Hainans... Anbindung", pp. 55, 69. – Other Song geographies, for example *Taiping huanyu ji* (j. 169) and *Yuanfeng jiuyu zhi* 元豐九域志 (j. 9), refer to the products and tribute items of Hainan, but horses are not mentioned in these sources.

9 Tang Zhou 唐胄, *(Zhengde) Qiong tai zhi* (正德) 瓊台志, 2 vols., Tianyi ge cang Mingdai fangzhi xuankan (Shanghai: Shanghai guji shuju, 1964), I, j. 9, 1a-b.

10 Zhu Mu 祝穆, *Fangyu shenglan*, 3 vols. (Taibei: Wenhai chubanshe, 1981), II, j. 43, 2a (p. 899), 6b (p. 908).

11 See n. 5 above. It is not clear to which edition of that lost book he refers.

12 Xu Song et al. (comp.), *Song huiyao jigao*, 8 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1957), VIII, *fanyi* 5, 47a (pp. 7790); Schottenhammer, "Hainans... Anbindung", p. 81.

13 For details see Robert M. Hartwell, *Tribute Missions to China, 960–1126* (Philadelphia: author's edition, 1983), pp. 154-156, 159, and Hans Bielenstein, *Diplomacy and Trade in the Chinese World, 589–1276*, Handbook of Oriental Studies / Handbuch der Orientalistik, Section Four, China, vol. 18 (Leiden, Boston: Brill, 2005), pp. 41-48.

14 Ma Duanlin 馬端臨, *Wenxian tongkao*, 8 Bde., Guoxue jiben congshu (Taibei: Xinxing shuju, 1959), VIII, j. 332, p. 2610 A; *QTZ*, j. 21, 19b; Bielenstein, *Diplomacy*, p. 48.

the local Hainanese and this entailed some violence.[15] The text then continues by mentioning the interdiction of 1175.

The above observations point to two things: first, regular gifts of horses were offered to Champa at the imperial level, mostly during the earlier half of the Song period; second, repeated exports in the twelfth century (note the expression "again" in the *QTZ* statement), from Hainan to Champa, led to some kind of trouble, which in turn resulted in the interdiction of 1175.

Here the question arises why would Champa try to obtain Chinese horses directly from the Song court, or from Hainan? A possible answer is that Champa was engaged in frequent hostilities with its northern neighbour, Jiaozhi 交趾 (different orthographs; Dai Viet), therefore it needed horses and weapons. In certain periods, China also became involved in these constellations. This meant that Jiaozhi was "sandwiched" between two sides, the Song state in the north, and Champa in the south. In 1076, for example, the Song court proposed that Zhenla 眞臘 (Cambodia, a direct neighbour of Champa) and Champa should jointly move against Jiaozhi. In 1092, to mention another example, Champa invited China to attack Jiaozhi.[16]

But tensions between Jiaozhi and Champa did not imply that trade between these two states was halted. On the contrary, there were some periods when Champa obtained horses from Jiaozhi – and not from China. Moreover, Jiaozhi itself was involved in diplomatic exchange with the Song state and on several occasions it offered horses to the Chinese side. These horses, which Jiaozhi passed on to Champa in the south, or to China in the north, probably came from the mountainous regions farther west, i.e., from Guangxi and Yunnan, or even from the Dali 大理 area (Nanzhao 南詔).[17] Recently, Tana Li has collected valuable evidence for this trade. She also drew attention to the fact that Jiaozhi and its western neighbours occasionally fought over the supply of horses.[18]

Put differently, Jiaozhi had to obtain most of its horses from abroad, some of these animals were then sent to Champa or to China. In times of tension, or when these "flows" were interrupted, Champa would turn to Hainan or mainland China instead, seeking to satisfy local demand through alternative channels. Therefore, the temporary Hainan-Champa "horse connection" under the Song can be seen as the outcome of a complex situation on the Southeast Asian mainland. More generally, and placed in a broader perspective, it can also be defined as being part of the mountain-sea exchange chain that connected Yunnan and Guangxi via Jiaozhi to Champa and China's coastal regions.

Here we can briefly return to the "model" outlined in section II. References to the transportation of Hainanese horses under the Song suggest occasional traffic across the Gulf of Tongking. It is unlikely, however, that these shipments were the result of Champanese "shopping tours" compatible with the "peddling category". Rather it would seem, they were undertaken on behalf of the Champa state, as a special kind of short distance venture directed to a neighbouring terrain.

THE YUAN PERIOD

The situation under the Yuan dynasty is all but clear. News on Hainan's exterior links during this period are not as abundant as under the Song. Yuan works dealing with the maritime world – for example the *Daoyi zhilüe* 島夷誌略 (1349/50) – rarely refer to Hainan. Although Hainan was linked to the mainland – militarily, logistically, commercially and in other respects – as well as to the maritime world (as I have shown else-

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15 Xu Song, *Song huiyao jigao*, VIII, *fanyi* 4/83 (p. 7755b). Also in *QTZ*, j. 21, 19b. Li Jinming 李金明 and Liao Dake 廖大珂, *Zhongguo gudai haiwai maoyi shi* 中國古代海外貿易史, Dongnanya wencong (Nanning: Guangxi renmin chubanshe, 1995), p. 67. More in G. Wade's contribution to the present volume.

16 Hartwell, *Tribute Missions*, pp. 160-161; Bielenstein, *Diplomacy*, p. 46.

17 From time to time, Dali itself sent horses to China. See, for example, Bielenstein, *Diplomacy*, pp. 268-269.

18 Tana Li, "The Rise and Fall of the Jiaozhi Ocean Region", in Angela Schottenhammer and R. P. (eds.), *Maritime Space in Traditional Chinese Sources*, East Asian Maritime History 2 (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz Verlag, 2006), pp. 135-137, and sources quoted there. – Yongzhou 邕州 was particularly important for the horse trade. Examples are in Wang Xiangzhi, *Yudi jisheng*, II, j. 106, 4b-5a (pp. 595-596), and Zhu Mu, *Fangyu shenglan*, III, j. 39, 5b et seq. (p. 840 et seq.).

where), close to nothing is reported on its horses during Mongol times.[19] All we may say is this: presumably, the local population continued to raise its own horses, which were used on the island itself. Furthermore, some Li groups openly supported their new masters, even beyond the geographical limits of the island, for example during the costly campaigns against Japan.[20] Thus, military units stationed on Hainan were also employed in various endeavours outside the island. All this may have involved sending Hainanese horses to the China mainland or the area now forming part of Vietnam. In one case, for example, three thousand men and three hundred horses, possibly from Hainan, were requested for war services against Champa. Similarly, within the so-called *tuntian* 屯田 system, which comprised several Li units, horses may have been used as well.[21] Occasionally, "cavalry" was also employed on Hainan itself, as was said – mainly during small campaigns designed to subdue rebel groups.[22] Finally one may think of horses in connection with a sizeable group of Cham soldiers, who were settled near Haikou, together with their families. These were later referred to as "Nanfang bing" 南方兵[23]; possibly they had some horses as well.

THE MING PERIOD: GENERAL SITUATION

Transition from Yuan to Ming rule entailed several changes along China's littoral. Quanzhou declined, Guangzhou became the Ming empire's leading port in the south, and Hainan, formerly placed under the Guangxi government, was now administered through the Guangdong region. The internal setting of the island's administration also underwent certain alterations. Furthermore, sea trade was rigorously controlled. The maritime supervisorates of earlier periods were kept, but on a reduced scale. Officially, Hainan had no share in this structure and did not function as a major gate in and out of China; foreign tribute ships would rather sail to Guangzhou. Furthermore, in theory at least, private trade was largely forbidden.

Thus, in terms of the ideas outlined in section II, most long distance ventures would bypass the island. Even the gigantic armadas of Zheng He 鄭和 had little to do with Hainan. Only in exceptional cases did Chinese envoys use the island as a platform for their missions to Southeast Asia and would tribute ships make stopovers in one of its inlets. These vessels mostly came from Champa, Siam and Malacca and they usually sailed independently of the great Ming fleets directed by Zheng He and other court eunuchs.

As private trade was not permitted, technically, the peddling category did not exist. But of course, private trade flourished clandestinely, and Hainan continued to be in touch with the mainland – as well as with certain other areas, via this sector. As in other Chinese coastal regions, these illegal links led to the emergence of various smuggling gangs, which plundered Hainan's coastal villages, often clashing with regular Ming troops.

One other element within the mosaic of Hainan's outside connections was the Ryukyu kingdom. Ships registered in Naha did occasionally visit Hainan on their way to Southeast Asia and back. The Ryukyuan shipping network profited from very special tribute regulations, from the general ban on private trade, and from secret connections to Fujian and other areas along the China coast. One of the "commodities" provided by the Ryukyuans, via regular tribute trade, was horses, as had already been mentioned above. But these horse shipments from Ryukyu were in no way related to Hainan.

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19 R. P., "Hainan's Position in Maritime Trade, c. 1000–1500", paper read to an international conference in Hong Kong, summer 2001, and, in revised form, to a meeting at the Academia Sinica, Taibei, summer 2006. – Works such as *Yuan yitong zhi* 元一統志 are silent on Hainan's horses. – On horses under the Yuan, more generally, see, for example, Gunther Mangold, *Das Militärwesen in China unter der Mongolenherrschaft* (Bamberg: aku Fotodruck, 1971), pp. 44-46 (on the acquisition of horses). – The *ma zheng* 馬政 section in the Yuan annals and other parts describing military affairs do not refer to Hainan. See Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuan shi* 元史, 15 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), especially, IX, j. 100, pp. 2553-2558.

20 For example, Song Lian, *Yuan shi*, I, j. 12, p. 257; XV, j. 209, p. 4647.

21 For example *QTZ*, j. 20, 11a-12a (*tuntian*), j. 21, 20a (request). More generally Tang Kaijian 湯開建, "Yuandai dui Hainandao de kaifa yu jingying" 元代對海南島的開發與經營, *Ji'nan xuebao* 暨南學報 45 (4/1990), pp. 133-134.

22 For example *QTZ*, j. 21, 7b.

23 *QTZ*, j. 21, especially 21a; Tang Kaijian, "Yuandai", p. 133; Zhang Xiumin 張秀民, *Zhong Yue guanxishi lunwenji* 中越關係史論文集 (Beijing: Wen shi zhe chubanshe, 1992), p. 304.

Champa, Malacca, Java, Siam and many other countries sending tribute in the times of Zheng He, and even thereafter, also offered horses. Indeed, horses are the most frequently mentioned import item to China in the context of maritime tribute trade. Even though regular tribute ships sailed along the *xi hang lu*, following Hainan's east coast, there are practically no records that might bring them into connection with Hainan's own horse supplies. It thus appears that Hainan's horse "market" had nothing to do with tribute shipments from Southeast Asia and countries of the Indian Ocean.

What then did Hainan's market look like? To begin with, we know from local gazetteers that horses were used by the military on Hainan, as in previous periods. The *QTZ* refers to cavalry units, saddles and other equipment.[24] Under the early Ming, according to one count, there were 23 war junks (plus many other patrol ships), next to 16,000 regular soldiers, and 160 military horses in all. According to another count, relating to 1542, Hainan had 171 horses.[25] But the local distribution of these animals, or the cavalry more generally, remains open. Nor do we know whether locally bred horses used by the military were also provided to military units stationed on the mainland, especially to units engaged in war against Annam 安南 (Dai Viet). By and large it seems that this long-lasting war was fought quite independently from Hainan. True, Hainan did provide some logistic support, but sources do not mention the shipment of cavalry across the Gulf of Tongking.

What else can one say? The total number of horses referred to above – 160 animals – appears to be rather small, especially when compared against the gigantic numbers found in connection with the horse trade along China's northern borders, or the numbers given for military units stationed in these regions.[26] On the other hand, we read in a very different source – a famous letter by Cristovão Vieira – that Hainan had "many *sendeyros*" (various spellings), i.e., "many small horses". Vieira was a captive in Guangzhou during the early sixteenth century, more or less at around the time when the *QTZ* was compiled, and he certainly had access to reliable information, so his statements should bear some weight. He adds that in the whole of Guangzhou one could find some 200 animals in all. Furthermore, in his account horses appear *in primo loco* among the products of Hainan. All this suggests that these animals, at the beginning of the sixteenth century, and perhaps even earlier, were of some importance to the Hainan economy, or at least in the military context.[27]

THE MING PERIOD: TRIBUTE IMPORTS FROM THE LI

Additional information comes from yet another source. The *Ming shilu* 明實錄 (now *MSL*), one of the key works for the Ming period, refers to several Hainanese tribute missions offering horses to the imperial court. These missions were usually dispatched by local Li groups living on the island itself. As far as one can tell, they had nothing to do with the tribute missions arriving from overseas countries, nor with private illegal

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24 *QTZ*, for example, j. 18, 24a; j. 20, 21b.

25 Generally on Hainan's military under the Ming: Kobata Atsushi 小葉田淳, *Hainandao shi* 海南島史 (Chin. tr.) (Taibei: Xuehai chubanshe, 1979), pp. 100 et seq.; Yang Dechun 楊德春, *Hainandao gudai jianshi* 海南島古代簡史 (Changchun: Dongbei shifan daxue chubanshe, 1988), pp. 82-86; Lu Wei 盧韋, "Mingdai Hainan de 'haidao', bingbei he haifang" 明代海南的 '海盜', 兵備和海防, *Ji'nan xuebao* 暨南學報 45 (4/1990), p. 107; R. P., "Hainans Außenbeziehungen während der frühen Ming-Zeit (Hongwu bis Hongzhi)", in Claudine Salmon and R. P., *Hainan*, pp. 88-89. – Other recent surveys dealing with Hainan's history also discuss the island's military equipment, but these works can be cited here. – Besides local chronicles one important "primary" source is Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉 et al., *Ming shi* 明史, 28 vols. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1974), especially VIII, j. 90, pp. 2202, 2217 (Hainan *wei* 衛), 2218 (various battalions). Also see Liew Foon Ming, *The Treatises on Military Affairs of the Ming Dynastic History (1368–1644)*, 2 vols., Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasiens e.V. Hamburg 129 (Hamburg: Gesellschaft..., 1998), II, pp. 165, 169, 170. – For the numbers, see Huang Zuo 黃佐, *Guangdong tongzhi* 廣東通志, 4 vols. (Hong Kong: Dadong tushu gongsi, 1977), II, j. 31, pp. 807-808 (30b, 32a).

26 For this see, for example, the relevant chapters in Zhang Tingyu, *Ming shi*, especially VII, j. 80, pp. 1947-1955, j. 81, pp. 1982-1983, and VIII, j. 92, pp. 2269-2277. – Other important works, such as Yang Shiqiao's 楊時喬 *Huang Ming mazheng ji* 皇明馬政記, 4 vols. Xuanlantang congshu 69-72 (Nanjing 1947), and Mao Yuanyi's 茅元儀 *Wu bei zhi* 武備志, 22 vols. (Taibei: Huashi chubanshe, 1984), XIII, j. 146-147, are not very helpful for our theme.

27 R. P., "Hainan in the Letters by Cristovão Vieira and Vasco Calvo", in Roberto Carneiro and Artur Teodoro de Matos (eds.), *D. João e o império. Actas do Congresso Internacional Comemorativo do seu Nascimento (Lisboa e Tomar, 4 a 8 Junho de 2002)* (Lisbon: Centro de História de Além-Mar, 2004), pp. 495-496.

trade across the Gulf of Tongking, or the shipment of military goods in and out of Hainan. Below is a summary of these Li missions listed in the *MSL*:

- Yongle 6: The prefect of Qiongzhou, Liu Ming 劉銘, leads the tribal district heads (*tongshou* 峒首) of the "raw" Li (*sheng* Li 生黎), Wang Xianyou 王賢祐, Wang Hui 王惠 and Wang Cunli 王存禮 and others, to present horses as tribute to the imperial court. In reward, Wang Xianyou is appointed vice magistrate of Danzhou 儋州, the other two are appointed assistant magistrates in the district (*xian* 縣) of Wanning 萬寧. Furthermore, they receive official insignia and paper money as gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 646; *Taizong* SL, j. 76, p. 1039).
- Yongle 11: A further embassy, led by Huang Mao 黃茂 of Lin'gao district, and headed by Wang Ju 王聚, Fu Xi 符喜 and others, representing twenty-four tribal districts of the "raw" Li, offers horses (*MSLLZ*, p. 647; *Taizong SL*, j. 141, p. 1692).
- Yongle 12: Wang Guanjian 王觀監, the tribal district head of the "raw" Li in Chengmai 澄邁 *xian*, and others, send their sons, who present horses, receiving money in return (*MSLLZ*, p. 647; *Taizong SL*, j. 158, p. 1801).
- Yongle 14: The tribal district heads of the "raw" Li, Wang Sa 王撒, Li Fojin 李佛金 and others, guided by Wang Xianyou – the official appointed in 1408 (Yongle 6) –, offer horses. They are sent back with money (*MSLLZ*, p. 648; *Taizong SL*, j. 177, pp. 1933-1934).
- Yongle 16: The magistrate of Gan'en 感恩 *xian*, Lou Jifu 樓吉福, and others guide one or several tribal district head(s) of the "raw" Li to the court. Again, horses are presented and money is received in compensation (*MSLLZ*, p. 648; *Taizong SL*, j. 203, p. 2101).
- Hongxi 1: Horses and local products are presented by Xu Tang 許棠, son of Xu Zhiguang 許志廣, and other envoys. The text is somewhat ambiguous here: not all envoys come from Hainan, and one cannot tell whether horses are offered by all delegates or just by one envoy. Furthermore, the characters for "aboriginal officer, district magistrate" may refer to Xu Zhiguang only, or to several persons. Perhaps this envoy represented Qiongshan 瓊山 *xian* and other districts. – In a further entry it is said that Xu Tang and others were rewarded with gifts and robes (*MSLLZ*, p. 649; *Xuanzong SL*, j. 10, pp. 269, 290).
  Xuande 8: Fu Zhongde 符忠得, son of the aboriginal officer and assistant magistrate of Qiongshan *xian*, Fu Tongqing 符通卿, and others offer horses and local products. Further entries say they received gifts and ceremonial robes in return, and Fu was promoted to assistant magistrate (*MSLLZ*, p. 653; *Xuanzong SL*, j. 106, pp. 2357, 2363).
- Xuande 10: Ni Tong 倪通, son (?) of a former tribal officer from Lin'gao *xian*, and an envoy from Guangxi submit horses, receiving gifts in reward (*MSLLZ*, p. 653; *Yingzong SL*, pp. 209-210).
- Zhengtong 3: Lou Jian 樓鑒, the aboriginal magistrate representing Gan'en *xian*, sends the Li leader Fu Nakang 符那康 and others, who offer horses and local products, receiving silks in return (*MSLLZ*, p. 654; *Yingzong SL*, j. 47, pp. 908-909).
- Zhengtong 5: Envoys from the north, as well as the aboriginal officer of Danzhou, his son Wang Mao 王懋 and others, present horses and furs, receiving gifts in reward (*MSLLZ*, p. 655; *Yingzong SL*, j. 72, p. 1399).
- Zhengtong 6: Wang Mao 王茂 of Lingshui 陵水 *xian*, Li Min 黎珉 of Yazhou 崖州, Huang Zheng 黃政 of Ningyuan 寧遠 *xian* – all tribal drafters – and Chen Bao 陳堡, a tribal leader, present horses and local products. They receive gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 655; *Yingzong SL*, j. 76, p. 1505).
- Zhengtong 6: Fu Yingqian 符應乾, son of the tribal associate magistrate in Changhua 昌化, and other envoys from different regions offer horses and local products. They are rewarded with money (*MSLLZ*, p. 655; *Yingzong SL*, j. 78, pp. 1541-1542).
- Zhengtong 12: Several envoys, including the tribal head of the Li in Changhua *xian*, Zhao Keyong 趙克勇, present horses and local products. They are rewarded with gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 658; *Yingzong SL*, j. 155, p. 3027).

- Zhengtong 14: Several envoys, including Huang Qi'nan 黃其男, a tribal vice police chief of Yazhou, and Luo Muchou 羅幕籌, a Li leader, offer horses and local products. They receive silks in return (*MSLLZ*, p. 658; *Yingzong SL*, j. 176, p. 3392).
- Jingtai 3: Wang Chi 王篪, a tribal officer in Wanzhou 萬州, and an envoy from Sichuan submit horses; they are rewarded with gifts (*MSLLZ*, p. 658; *Yingzong SL*, j. 216, p. 4672).
- Tianshun 1: An envoy from Sichuan, together with Ni Ze 倪澤, a tribal drafter in Lin'gao *xian*, and others come to court, offering horses and local products, for which they are compensated with gifts and ceremonial robes (*MSLLZ*, p. 659; *Yingzong SL*, j. 280, p. 5996).

The above list was compiled on the basis of the Guangdong and Hainan data found in the modern *leizuan* version of the *MSL*. Several interesting observations can be derived from this list:

(1) Before the Yongle era and after the Tianshun reign horses are not mentioned as tribute items in connection with envoys arriving from Hainan; to some measure the main period of imports from Hainan coincides with the "peak period" of imports from other maritime areas. (Note, however: the Ryukyu kingdom sent horses for a much longer time).
(2) A general review of the *MSL* data suggests that most Li delegations, including those whose tribute gifts are not specified in the text (and not listed here), came during the earlier part of the Ming dynasty; very often they were indeed led by Chinese officials.
(3) In most cases the tribal leaders and officers of a delegation received rewards; this was a common practice within the tribute system.
(4) Hainanese envoys were made up of both "raw" Li representatives and "ordinary" Li leaders; it seems, the first category was most frequently found during the Yongle reign.
(5) Evidently personal relations played an important role in tribute trade. There are, for example, references to fathers and sons. Obviously a trustworthy and well-connected person could send relatives on his behalf.
(6) Now and then the text is ambiguous because one does not know whether it was the Hainanese envoy who offered horses, or another envoy arriving at the same time, and listed jointly with the Hainan delegate – or whether all envoys presented the same gifts. Typical examples are the last five entries. Similar textual problems can be found in the context of tribute missions from other maritime areas.[28]

Here we may turn to a different set of questions. Unfortunately, the number of Hainanese horses presented as tribute is nowhere stated in our text. Indeed, the term *ma* might stand for several animals, or just one horse. Nor do we know how these horses were carried across the sea from Hainan. Moreover, it is also possible that additional animals were bought *en route* to the imperial capital, for example in Guangzhou, but evidence for this was not found.

In the absence of the relevant details, it is of course difficult to gain a clear picture of Hainan's horse exports during the early and mid Ming periods. How important were they for the Li and the Hainan economy *in toto*? Are we looking at a phenomenon that only carried symbolic weight, or at a major "commercial" branch of Hainan's foreign relations, as Vieira's statements seemed to suggest?

The very fact that horses are the most frequently mentioned tribute item in connection with Li delegations travelling to the mainland, in most cases indeed the only item specified by our text, is puzzling. Several explanations can be thought of: the *MSL* editors, following the conventions of their time, exaggerated the importance of these animals for the mainland economy and the military, possibly because of shortages in the northern areas and constant threats emerging from the Mongols and others powers, or simply because already under the Hongwu emperor, proposals had been made, and orders given, to intensify the acquisition of horses, for example, via the tribute trade through "aboriginal officers" (*tuguan* 土官).[29] Hence the import of horses would always be recorded, irrespective of their place of origin and the size of the shipment in

[28] For some of these issues, see R. P., "Pferde auf See".
[29] See, for example, Yang Shiqiao, *Huang Ming mazheng ji*, j. 5, 2a. Also see, more generally, Zhang Tingyu, *Ming shi*, for instance, VIII, j. 92, p. 2277.

question.[30] Or, alternatively, horses did indeed play a significant role in the context of "diplomatic" exchange between the Li and the Ming – quite in contrast to other "commodities" that were perhaps traded by private merchants between Hainan and the mainland, within the illegal sector, and therefore rarely "surfaced" in the tribute segment. Interestingly, many references to aromatic substances, precious stones and highly-priced woods, rare animals and various other *mirabilia* can be found, side by side with references to horses, in the context of tribute shipments from Southeast Asia and countries of the Indian Ocean as was said. This might suggest that Hainan did not have very much to offer then that was considered valuable by the officials on the mainland, or the editors of official history works – with the exception of horses.

Nothing else can be said with certainty. The internal market situation on Hainan remains unknown, prices and quantities as well as the ports through which horses were channelled from the island to the mainland are not clearly recorded. Only some general observations can be made to round off this incomplete picture: first, under the Song period, horses were sent to the region now called Vietnam. Under the Ming, no evidence for this was found; instead, for the first time in history, horses appear in northbound tribute traffic dispatched by the Li. Furthermore, if Guangzhou was the principal harbour for these tribute vessels to call at, then one might be tempted to put this branch of Hainan's foreign trade into the long distance category.

One conclusion for the Ming period would then be that, due to strong demand on the continent, the maritime flow of certain commodities, including horses, was diverted to the metropolitan centres in China – at least in part. Viewed from a longer perspective, this was an artificial phenomenon, indeed a singular "affair" in history – and a rather short-lived one as well. No doubt, at some point in time, Hainan's horse shipments came to an end, possibly in the third quarter of the fifteenth century, but the circumstances under which that happened remain unknown. Nor do the sources tell us how Hainan's domestic horse market developed from that point onwards. Put differently, we are faced with a mystery here – or, positively, with two clusters of data, one pertaining to the Song period, and one to the Ming.

Final Observation

Horses, it would seem, do not belong to the indigeneous fauna of Hainan. Modern works on Hainan's animal world usually do not mention them. However, Qing writers and early Western authors occasionally refer to Hainanese horses, saying they would be very small, like ponies. Hence the term *xiao ma* (which should not be confused with yet another term, *shanma* 山馬). Fenzel believes that these horses were imported to Hainan in historical times.[31] But it is not clear when exactly the first imports had occurred. Probably they had taken

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[30] Similar questions can be raised in connection with horse imports from Indian Ocean and Southeast Asian countries during the days of Zheng He. Almost no numbers are available for these shipments. This is very different in the case of Ryukyuan tribute shipents, where a much clearer picture can be reconstructed. See, for example, the table in Chang Pin-tsun, *Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth Century Fu-chien (Fukien)* (Princeton 1963; unpubl. PhD dissertation), p. 355-357.

[31] Gottlieb Fenzel, "Die Insel Hainan. Eine landeskundliche Skizze, dargestellt auf Grund eigener Reisebeobachtungen und des vorhandenen Schrifttums", *Mitteilungen der Geographischen Gesellschaft in München* 26 (1933), p. 180; Schottenhammer, "Hainans... Anbindung", pp. 54-55. – Zhao Rugua and Zhou Qufei speak of *xiao ma* in the Li area (see references in n. 4 and 6 above). According to Hans Stübel and P. Meriggi, *Die Li-Stämme der Insel Hainan. Ein Beitrag zur Volkskunde Südchinas* (Berlin: Klinkhardt & Biermann Verlag, 1937), pp. 49-50, 199, Hainan's horses were similar to the "Mongolian pony"; this might explain the attribute *xiao*. An early description may be found, for example, in Gu Jie 顧价 (with R46!), *Haicha yulu* 海槎餘錄 (c. 1540; Jilu huibian ed. in Baibu congshu jicheng), 5b, where Hainan's horses are compared to donkeys and mules. Han Zhenhua, quoting a Qing work – Li Tiaoyuan's 李調元 *Nan Yue biji* 南越筆記 (see the Hanhai ed., in Baibu congshu jicheng, III, j. 9, 1b-2a), is of a different opinion: he thinks *xiao ma* should refer to *shanma* (not horses). Han's comment is in *Zhufan zhi zhubu* 諸蕃志注補, in Chen Jiaorong 陳佳榮, Qian Jiang 錢江 et al. (eds.), *Han Zhenhu xuanji* 韓振華選集, vol. 2, Centre of East Asian Studies Occasional Papers and Monographs 134.2 (Hong Kong: The University of Hong Kong, 2000), p. 478 n. 52. However, in *QTZ*, j. 9, 5b, and other sources (for example Gu Jie, *Haicha yulu*, 3a) *shanma* is compared to some kind of deer, possibly the *sambar* or others. For these animals, in the modern Hainan context, see, for example, Shi Haitao 史海濤, Meng Jiliu 蒙激流 et al., *Hainan luxi jizhui dongwu jiansuo* 海南陸栖背椎動物檢索 (Haikou: Hainan chubanshe, 2001), pp. 211-212. – Also note: *Sambar* is a term current in some parts of South and Southeast Asia. *Shanma* could thus be an early phonetical version of *sambar*, invented by local or Fujianese residents on Hainan. Interestingly, in *Grzimeks Tierleben* (Munich: DTV, 1979), XIII, pp. 171-173, the expression "Pferdehirsch" is used, which reminds one of a remark in *QTZ*, where it is said, this animal would be "as big as a horse".

place prior to the Song period, because, as was shown above, by then the local population was already in a position to export these animals.

Possibly Hainan's horses had originally come from continental Southeast Asia. A number of references to horses in the areas of modern Cambodia and Vietnam are known to exist. Old Cham and Khmer sculptures depict them, and horses can also be associated with the Mon state and other polities in the modern Thai, Myanmar and southern Yunnan regions.[32]

Zoologically, Hainan's earliest horses were certainly related to their "relatives" on the neighbouring mainland, and these in turn were probably mostly connected to those found in the plateau regions of Laos, northern Thailand, and Yunnan. Thus, in all likelihood, the Hainan horse was a variation of *Equus caballus* – "cochinchensis", "yunnanensis", etc., if one may say so – or a mixture of several "types". Later Arabic infusions cannot be totally excluded because, under the Song, Hainan was not only in touch with Champa and the China mainland, but also with the so-called Bosi 波斯 traders from western Asia, some of whom did in fact trade out of Champa, on an "axis" that connected this country, via Hainan, with Guangzhou, Quanzhou and other ports on the China mainland. Therefore it could be that – occasionally – horses from the Gulf region had reached Champa and / or Hainan on board foreign vessels hailing from the "Far West", and that these imports were crossed with some smaller continental variety. However, if so, this was certainly the exception and not the rule…

[32] For references to early continental Southeast Asia, see, for example, William G. Clarence-Smith, "Horse Breeding in Mainland Southeast Asia and Its Borderlands", to appear in Peter Boomgaard and David Henley (eds.), *Smallholders and Stockbreeders. Histories of Foodcrop and Livestock Farming in Southeast Asia* (Leiden: KITLV Press, 2004). For early Yunnan and its adjacent areas, see Michèle Pirazzoli-t'Serstevens, *La civilisation du royaume Dian à l'époque Han d'après le matériel exhumé à Shizhai shan (Yunnan)*, Publications de l'École française d'Extrême-Orient 94 (Paris: École française d'Extrême-Orient, 1974), pp. 19-20, 76; Charles Backus, *The Nan-Chao Kingdom and T'ang China's Southwestern Frontier* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), pp. 9, 30, 119, 163.

Horses in Late Imperial China and Maritime East Asia: An Introduction into Trade, Distribution, and other Aspects (Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries)

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非馬上得守者
又當毋忘馬上勞
(Emperor Qianlong)

INTRODUCTION

For China, the import of horses over the centuries played a very important role. China did breed its own horses, but they were regarded as being of minor quality[2] and in addition could not meet by far the government's demand for horses. The main foreign source of horses was the steppe countries in the north and west of China. Horses were obtained through trade and tribute relations with neighbouring nomadic or semi-nomadic peoples. Well aware of the problem that they did not have at their disposal sufficient horses of a high enough quality, the first Ming (1368–1644) emperor, Hongwu 洪武 (r. 1368–1398) had established two organizations to breed horses for battle – the *Yuanma si* 苑馬司 (Pasturage Office) and the *Taipu si* 太僕司 (Court of the Imperial Stud); in addition, so-called "horse households" (*mahu* 馬户) in the north and northwest of China had to provide the government with horses. But already by the end of the fifteenth century, the government had to allow these horse households to purchase "Western horses" (*xima* 西馬) from private traders, who bought the horses at frontier markets in the northwest. Once again, more or less the only option to obtain horses was the trade with the nomads.

A sufficient supply of high quality horses and the horse trade itself remained important also for the subsequent Manchu Qing dynasty. The Qing obtained their horses at private markets with government funds, requisitioned them from surrendered Mongols – as we shall see below, the Zunghars, for example, delivered vast quantities of horses to the Qing – or from government pastures in north and northwest China. Thus there were, basically three sources of horses under the Qing – self-breeding, especially in the newly conquered areas in inner Asia like Outer Mongolia and Xinjiang (1), trade (2), and tribute (3). I would, however, like to emphasize that the term "tribute" comprised various kinds of trade and mutual relationships and should not solely be understood in the narrow meaning of a vassal paying tribute to its supra-ordinate master.

Mongols and Tibetans in Kokonor, for example, provided mares for 8 taels each and stallions at 12 taels each, which was an extremely high price. The Kazakhs, on the other hand, promised to provide valuable horses for a reasonable price in exchange for tea and cloth from the interior. China's north trade bartered horses and sheep for cloth, mostly cheaper satins and silks in bold colours, which were delivered by Jiangnan

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[2] Matteo Ricci noted in the late sixteenth century that most Chinese army horses were so "degenerate and lacking in martial spirit that they are put to route even by neighing of the Tartars' steeds and so they are practically useless in battle." Quoted according to Morris Rossabi, "The Tea and Horse Trade with Inner Asia during the Ming", *Journal of Asian History* 4 (1970), pp. 136-168, here p. 139.

officials in the silk factories of the south.[3] A 50,000 men army with three horses per soldier required 150,000 horses and certainly more than 200 to serve for replacements over a four-year campaign.[4]

The major source of horses for China throughout the centuries remained inner Asia. However, during certain time periods, horses were also imported from overseas. One typical example is the import of tribute horses from the Ryūkyūs in the early Ming period. Roderich Ptak has already investigated this maritime horse trade of China during the early fifteenth century.[5] But, as we shall see below, by Qing times, the Ryūkyūs were no longer important as a source for horses. Yet, this did not mean that no more horses were shipped across the Asian waters.

Although some aspects of Ming and Qing period horse trade have been examined so far[6], no thorough investigation of horses, horse trade, and horse policies in late imperial China or maritime East Asia has yet been undertaken. The present article – albeit it does not and cannot provide an *in extenso* analysis of all aspects of late Ming and Qing period as well as maritime East Asian horse politics and horse trade[7] – seeks to provide the reader with a general and systematic overview on the role of horses in early modern China, concentrating in particular on the early and high Qing period, and will then proceed to introduce examples of horses being shipped across the East Asian waters. One the one hand, it will soon become plausible why "horses on sea"[8] during the Qing period were rather an exception than the rule. On the other hand, we will come across various interesting examples providing evidence for "maritime horse transports", which attest to the importance horses – and not forgetting the knowledge required to use and cherish them – played during the time period investigated.

CHINA

Horses played an important role in Qing politics and culture. The sleeve of a former Manchu's official costume, for example, was shaped like the hoof of a horse. And the well-known Manchu cue or tail of hair is even said to have been adopted in imitation of a horse's tail, as a grateful tribute to the animal to which they owed so much.[9] Also books on the physiognomy and equine medicine from the Ming and Qing dynasties, some of which can be traced back to Tang dynasty accounts, attest to the importance the animal played in early modern China. The early Qing emperors especially sought to cherish a kind of military spirit among the Manchus that was closely related to the horse.

In this context, the Kangxi Emperor (r. 1662–1722) laid great emphasis on the cavalry. He liked riding and archery and personally led the imperial archery. His equestrian skills were praised repeatedly, for example

> On *bingshen* the Emperor rejoiced in appearing himself at a campus for military exercises. He inspected the troops and personally supervised the Imperial Princes shooting [ability]. His majesty himself shot twice and the arrows both reached the middle of

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[3] The mutual trade relations between the Qing and the Khazakhs have been examined by James A. Millward. Cf. James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs in Yili and Tarbaghatai, 1758–1853", *Central and Inner Asian Studies* 7 (1992), pp. 1-42.

[4] Peter Perdue, *China Marches West. The Qing Conquest of Central Asia* (Cambridge, Mass. Harvard University Press, 2005), pp. 354 and 400-401.

[5] Roderich Ptak, "Pferde auf See: Ein vergessener Aspekt des maritimen chinesischen Handels im frühen 15. Jahrhundert", *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 34 (1990), pp. 199-233.

[6] See for example the studies by James A. Millward, Roderich Ptak, or Peter C. Perdue mentioned above; also Niu Guanjie 牛貫傑, "Qingdai mazheng chutan 清代馬政初探", *Yanshan daxue xuebao* 燕山大學學報 7, 2 (2006), pp. 57-63; Jie Xiufen 解秀芬, "Ming Qing chama maoyi zhong de jiage wenti 明清茶馬貿易中的價格問題", *Xibei minzu xueyuan xuebao* 西北民族學院學報 1 (1990), pp. 36-41; Lü Weixin 呂維新, "Qingdai de chama maoyi 清代的茶馬貿易", *Chaye jixie zazhi* 茶葉機械雜誌 3 (1977), pp. 30-33; Guo Mengliang 郭孟良, "Qingchu chama zhidu shulun 清初茶馬制度述論", *Lishi dang'an* 歷史檔案 3 (1989), pp. 87-90.

[7] This would require a systematic analysis of all related entries in contemporary sources, above all, the *Veritable Records* of the Qing rulers (*Qing shilu*), local gazetteers, memorials etc., and would go far beyond the scope of this article.

[8] The present article, however, does, not investigate horses transported on warships for war purposes.

[9] C. A. S. Williams, *Outlines of Chinese Symbolism & Art Motives: Third revised edition with 402 Illustrations* (New York: Dover Publications, 1976), p. 225.

> the target. He also ordered fifteen skilful archers with a firm bow to shoot from amongst the imperial guardsmen and then ordered the official troops to shoot from their galloping horses.
> 丙申上幸演武場閱兵親率諸皇子射上親射二次發矢皆中又命十五射硬弓侍衛等射次命官兵分班校馬步射既畢."[10]

Also the Yongzheng Emperor (r. 1723–1735) stressed that ever since the founding of the dynasty, archery had been an important tool of the Manchus' success in governance.[11] And still the Qianlong Emperor (r. 1736–1795) noted that

> Ever since Manchu soldiers have been very good at the art of shooting from horseback; but recently the use of this custom has gradually declined. … Even high officials no longer consider it an undertaking for drill and discipline, as a result of which this custom gradually gets worse and worse and no longer resembles its former quality by any means.
> 向來滿洲兵丁以騎設技術為重近日漸染習俗…該管大臣又不以訓練為事以致技術漸劣迥不如前."[12]

Riding and shooting from horseback were considered essential and also seen as part of the so-called "Manchu Way" (*Manjusai doro*) in contrast to the Chinese.[13] For shooting while riding the Manchu language even has a separate verb called "*niyamniyambi*". To keep these skills alive, the court and some garrisons organized hunts in addition to regular training. Equestrian skills were however not limited to this. Some bannermen are said to have been engaged in practicing stunts and tricks in the saddle.[14] To provide bannermen entry into the Chinese bureaucracy, they not only had to go through the regular examinations including translation, but also had to prove their skills at archery, both from a stance and from horseback.[15] The Frenchman Léon Rousset still observed in 1878:

> Les exercices sont nombreux et variés. Je vis d'abord successivement les candidats parcourir, au galop de leur cheval, une distance déterminée, tandis que, pendant la durée de cette course, ils chargeaient et déchargeaient plusieurs fois leur vieux fusil à mèche contre un ami imaginaire. L'aisance, la rapidité de la manœuvre, la tenue du cavalier et son habileté à diriger son cheval sans le secours des mains, sont les principales qualités mises en relief par cet exercice. Dans une autre série le fusil à mèche est remplacé par l'arc et les flèches qu'il s'agissait de décocher à des buts fixes placés de distance en distance le long de la piste. Plus tard, je vis exécuteur des tours de voltige sur un cheval au repos."[16]

Tartar women, too, were described as being able "to ride astride like men, and make a notable figure either afoot or a-horseback."[17] The importance of horses – including the qualities the animals should possess – is both reflected in the numerous detailed regulations and rules,[18] also for religious (shamanic) sacrifices and court ceremonies,[19] and, last but not least, by the numerous paintings of tribute horses, ordered by

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[10] *Da Qing Shengzu Renhuangdi shilu* 大清聖祖仁皇帝實錄 (Taibei: Hualian chubanshe, 1964), *j*. 192, p. 29b.

[11] *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨 (Taibei: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1983–86), XXIII, pp. 16-17.

[12] *Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, *j*. 102, p. 3a.

[13] For details on the Manchu way, cf. Marc Elliot, *The Manchu way: the eight banners and ethnic identiy in late imperial China* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001).

[14] Marc Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, p. 180. The *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志 has a separate chapter on horse politics (*mazheng* 馬政). Ortai 鄂爾泰 (1680–1745, ed. and comp.), *Baqi tongzhi* 八旗通志 (*Historical encyclopœdia of the Eight Banners*) (Taibei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1968; copy of the 1739-ed. (Qianlong 4), in *Zhongguo shixue congshu xubian* 中國史學叢書續編, fasc. 1), *j*. 41. I used the reprint by Zhao Degui 趙德貴, Liu Suyun 劉素雲 *et al*., *Qinding Baqi tongzhi* 欽定八旗通志, 12 vols. (Jilin: Jilin wenshi chubanshe, 1998), II, *j*. 41, pp. 739-754.

[15] Marc Elliot, *The Manchu Way*, p. 204.

[16] Léon Rousset, *A travers de Chine* (Paris: 1978), p. 69, quoted in François Aubin, "Entre Ciel et Terre: l'idéal du cheval en Chine", in Valérie Courtot-Thibault, *Le Petit Livre du Cheval en Chine* (Paris: Caracole : 1989), pp. 79-100, here p. 95.

[17] J. S. Cummins, Haklyut Society (ed.), *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette*, 1618–1686 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1962), II, p. 217.

[18] See for example the *Qinding Baiqi zeli* 欽定八旗則例, *j*. 9 (*mazheng* 馬政), pp. 1-5, in *Siku weishoushu jikan* 死庫未收書輯刊 (Beijing: Beijing chubanshe, 2000), XXV, pp. 236-238.

[19] See for example Ortai 鄂爾泰 (Qing) (rev.), *Manzhou Xilin Gioro shi jisi shu* 滿洲西林覺羅氏祭祀書 (1928), in *Beijing tushuguan cang jiapu congkan* 北京圖書館藏家譜叢刊, *Minzu juan* 民族卷, XLIV; Lin Shixuan 林士鉉, "Qianlong shidai de gongma yu Manzhou zhengzhi wenhua 乾隆時代的貢馬与滿洲政治文化", in Di'erjie Qingdai dang'an guoji xueshu taolunhui 第二届清代檔案國際學术討論會 (Taibei: Taibei Guoli bowuguan, 2005), pp. 1-48, here pp. 37-42.

the Qing Court and often drawn by Western Jesuits.[20] Chinese horses were obviously of inferior quality compared to the fine Arab or European horses.[21] But the report by the Italian Jesuit Laureati from 1714 that "(l)es chevaux chinois n'ont ni la beauté, ni la vigeur, ni la rapidité des nôtres, et les habitants du pays ne savent point les dompter; ils les mutilent seulement, et cette opération les rend doux et familiers. Ceux qu'ils destinent aux exercises militaires sont si timides qu'ils fuient au hennissement des chevaux tartares… "[22] seems to be exaggerated and we may only speculate that Laureati was rather eulogizing the European manner of horse riding, or perhaps may have seen one exeptionally badly performed exercise.

The entire quantity of horses during different time periods in Qing China is difficult to assess. First of all, one has certainly to keep in mind that the cavalry was the basis of the Manchu armies; in addition, the army supplies were transported on horseback. Projections speak, for example, of 75,304 warhorses (*yingma* 營馬) alone in the Eight Banners during the Kangxi reign period (1662–1722) and 95,305 during the Yongzheng reign period.[23] The following table may provide a survey on the quantity of horses in the various local units of the Green Standard Army (*lüying bing* 緑营病; M. *niowanggiyan turun-i cooha*) of the Eight Banner system. Most of the horses were "stationed" in Shaanxi and Gansu that is, along the northern border, followed by Fujian and Zhejiang, LiangGuang, Yunnan und Guizhou as well as Zhili. These listings, it must be emphasized, provide only selected figures. Additional statistics can be found in numerous local chronicles. So far, they have never been examined in a comprehensive manner, but it goes beyond the scope of the present article to introduce an *in extenso* analysis of all the information included in these local gazetteers. The information is, of course, especially valuable in chronicles of northern border regions, such as Gansu, Xining, Qinghai and the like.[24]

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[20] One of the most famous paintings in this respect certainly are the scrolls of the "Ten fine horses" (*shi junma* 十駿馬) by Giuseppe Gastiglione and Ignatius Sichelbarth. Cf. for example Lin Shixuan, "Qianlong shidai de gongma yu Manzhou zhengzhi wenhua", pp. 1-48.

[21] It is not clear what kind of species Laureati saw, but even the Asiatic or Mongolian wild horse, the Przewalski horse (*Equus ferus przewalskii*), also *Takhi*, is smaller. The Mongolian horse is one of the most important and numerous breeds also found among the indigenous horse breeds of China. They are distributed widely throughout the Northeast, North China and the Northwest, mainly in the high plains and highland areas. It is a dual-purpose horse, used primarily for riding and carting, but is also used for meat and milk production. The average wither height of males is 128 cm, females 127 cm, but body size varies with environmental conditions. Cf. Lee Boyd and Katherine A. Houpt (eds.), *Przewalski's Horse: The History of an Endangered Species* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 1994). The Przewalski's wild horse was mentioned in literature and even known to the scientific world long before it was described taxonomically. Colin P. Groves refers to "the description of a wild horse hunt, in what would now be Gansu, by Genghis Khan in 1226, and of a wild horse captured at Tachijn-us (central Mongolia) by order of Chechen Khansóloj and presented to the Emperor of Manchuria in 1637." Colin P. Groves, "Morphology, Habitat, and Taxonomy", in Lee Boyd and Katherine A. Houpt (eds.), *Przewalski's Horse*, pp. 39-59, here p. 48. Also later descriptions speak for example of the Chinese-Mongolian horses as "an undescribed species of diminuitive horse brought from the Chinese frontier …." (Ibid, p. 49).

[22] *Lettres édifiantes et curieuses de Chine par des missionaires jéuites*, 1702–1776 (Paris: 1979), p. 200, quoted by François Aubin, "Entre Ciel et Terre", p. 95.

[23] Niu Guanjie, "Qingdai mazheng chutan", p. 58.

[24] Cf. for example Mu Shouqi 慕壽祺 (b. c. 1812), *GanNingQing shilue zhengfu bian* 甘寧青史略正附編 (Lanzhou: Lanzhou junhua yinshuguan, 1936), *j.* 18, pp. 23b-24a includes a long passage on the system of tribute horses (*gongma zhi zhi* 貢馬之制). With the exception of a few tribes, most had to offer tribute horses according to the size of their tribe, 100 households being the limit (*qi yu fanzu an buluo daxiao mei buluo yi yibai hu wei xian gong na* 其餘番族按部落大小每部落以一百户為限共納).

Numbers of horses of the Green Standard Army (*lüying bing* 緑营兵) in the various provinces:

Military district	**Kangxi**	**Yongzheng**	**Qianlong**
Zhili	7,467	8,472	9,307
Shanxi	3,221	4,753	4,939
Shandong	4,493	4,488	3,783
Henan	2,332	2,179	2,099
LiangJiang	8,348	7,865	6,276
MinZhe	13,296	12,384	9,181
HuGuang	5,297	5,566	4,420
ShaanGan	41,755	47,286	44,216
Sichuan	7,166	6,746	5,524
LiangGuang	10,017	9,533	6,713
YunGui	10,416	10,109	9,277
Xinjiang			
Beijing Metropolitan Police (*xunfu ying*)	1,200	1,622	1,440
Total	**115,008**	**121,003**	**107,193**

Source: Niu Guanjie 牛貫傑, "Qingdai mazheng chutan 清代馬政初探", *Yanshan daxue xuebao* 燕山大學學報 7:2 (2006), pp. 57-63, p. 59.

The *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* 欽定大清會典則例 (1764) contains a list of how many warhorses were sold to the brigades in every province according to a memorial of 1750:[25]

- Zhili: 9,668 *pi*
- Shandong: 3,377 *pi*
- Shanxi: 5,255 *pi*
- Henan: 2,101 *pi*
- Jiangnan: 5,638 *pi*
- Jiangxi: 1,389 *pi*
- Fujian: 4,983 *pi*
- Zhejiang: 3,634 *pi*
- HuGuang: 4,438 *pi*
- Shaanxi: 45,298 *pi*
- Sichuan: 5,599 *pi*
- Guangdong: 5,267 *pi*
- Guangxi: 1,511 *pi*
- Yunnan: 5,625 *pi*
- Guizhou: 3,811 *pi*
- In all: 107,594 *pi*

From these two lists it becomes evident that by far the greatest number of horses was "stationed" in the Shaanxi region, followed by Zhili and subsequently other border and coastal regions.

The Qianlong Emperor once compared the horse policy of his dynasty with that of Tang times and spoke of "more than 200,000 horses that were being raised, the number of foals being born increasing annually, and warhorses and postal horses being fed separately, so that the amount reaches 200,000 horses per year."[26] This figure may, thus, perhaps serve as a clue or guideline for the entire quantity of horses in Qing China. The reason why the Manchus bred and disposed of so many more horses than earlier dynasties has primarily to be

[25] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 21b-22a (559-560).

[26] Qing Gaozong 清高宗 (1711–1799, i.e. Qianlong Emperor) (author), Peng Yuanrui 鹏元瑞 (1731–1803) (comp.), *Yu zhishi si ji* 御製詩四集 (Shanghai: Shangwu yinshuguan, 1936), *j*. 44, pp. 29-30. *Congshu jicheng chubian*, fasc. 2179-2188.

sought in their control on Mongolia, where the ideal pasturelands were located. In 1751 (Qianlong 16), for example, the complete figures for "official horses" (*guanma* 官馬) being shepherded and bred solely by the Eight Banners is said to have come up to 20,773 *pi*; monthly, they were provided with three *lian*g of silver for hay and dry fodder (*magan* 馬乾).[27]

In 1649 (Shunzhi 6), it was memorialized that the horses ridden by officials all had to be provided personally (*zibei* 自備); they were called "*lima* 例馬". Monthly, fodder was allotted according to the number of horses: a provincial military commander (*tidu* 提督) was permitted to possess fifteen *lima*, a regional commander (*zongbing guan* 總兵官) twelve, or a vice general (*fujiang* 副将) only eight, etc.[28] From the monthly allotments and salary of military officials, a fixed amount of silver had to be deducted according to the quantity of their horses to be used for the costs of shepherding them; this sum was called "*pengkou yin* 朋扣銀" or simply "*pengyin*" (stable, stake and fodder costs). Sometimes, the *pengkou yin* had also to be used to purchase additional horses.[29]

At the beginning of the Shunzhi reign, the so-called "Ever-full Hay Barn" (*changing ku* 常盈庫) was established. Money (silver) from the Bureau of Communications (*chejia si* 車駕(清吏)司) and the government stakes (*pengzhuang* 朋樁) as well as the Bureau of Provisions (*wuku si* 武庫(清吏)司) and the horse prices in the *Taipu si* was stored there.[30]

Breeding of horses

Like the Ming, the Manchus established an Imperial Stud (*Taipu si*) to supply animals for court use and they maintained pasturelands in Manchuria as well as in other provinces in north and northwest China, like Gansu, Shaanxi, Shanxi, Chahar, Zhili, Henan and Sichuan.[31] But already starting with the military campaigns of the Kangxi Emperor into Mongolia, the costs of providing horses at these distances became too high, and the emperor's own pastures could not provide sufficient horses to meet the demand. In 1736 (Qianlong 1), the first horse farms (*machang* 馬廠) in the three brigades in Jingzhou 涼州, Xining 西寧 and Suzhou 肅州 in Shaanxi and Gansu, where the main body of troops was stationed, were established. Each horse farm kept 1,200 stud horses, with one commander-general (*zongtong* 總統) supervising the camp. Every camp was divided into five herds with 200 stallions and 44 mares and one battalion commander (*qianba* 千把) as chief

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[27] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* 欽定大清會典則例 (1764): Guangxu 25 (1899) *j*. 119, p. 4b (551) (Reprint: Taibei: Zhongwen shuju 1963), 24 vols; and *Siku quanshu*, fasc. 620-625. The text continues that because recently the price of beans in the capital had rocketed, the allotted amount of silver per horse was insufficient and an exceptional arrangement had to be agreed upon. See also Zhao Erxun 趙爾巽 (1844–1927) *et al*. (eds.), *Qingshi gao* 清史稿 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1976), *j*. 141, p. 4172. 10,000 were shepherded around the metropolitan area, 1,000 in Rehe 热河 and the others in Zhili.

[28] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, pp. 13a-b (555). The *Hanyu da cidian* explains that "*lima*" refers to the quantity of horses allotted according to the regulations. Luo Zhufen 罗竹风 (ed.), *Hanyu da cidian* 漢語大詞典, 12. vols. (Shanghai: Hanyu da cidian chubanshe, 4th edition 1994), I, p. 1335.

[29] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 17a (557) with examples from 1684 and 1698. This expression seems to have derived from the character for "stable" (棚), comprising the costs for constructing a stable. The term was apparently later extended in meaning referring also to the costs for fodder; this may have been the reason why the character was later simply written as "朋".

[30] *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4177.

[31] At the beginning of the Qing dynasty the Manchus, following the Ming system, established a Directorate of Imperial Horses (*yuma jian* 御馬監) which, in 1677, was changed to the Palace Stud (*shangsi yuan* 上駟院); it was responsible for the provision and management of imperial horses. Those bred for imperial purposes are called "*neima* 内馬" (lit. inner horses); when they are used for the insignia carried in front of the emperor (*yizhang* 儀仗), they are called "*zhangma* 仗馬". The imperial horses were branded and a Mongol veterinarian official had to take care of horse diseases. When the emperor visited the ancestral tombs, more than 23,000 (!) horses were needed, for the Eastern and Western tombs more than 4,300. These horses were all provided by the horse farm in Chahar 察哈爾. Cf. *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4171. Horse breeding is also mentioned in the *Baqi tongzhi*, II, *j*. 41, p. 740. For details on the Palace Stud, see *Baqi tongzhi*, II, *j*. 41, p. 741. From 1661 to 1667, the official designation of the Palace Stud was temporarily changed to *Adun Yamen* 阿敦衙門 (lit. "Horse herd Yamen"; *adun* in Manchu means horse, cattle, or sheep herd). Further information on the breeding of horses among the Eight Banners can be found in the *Baqi tongzhi*, II, *j*. 41, pp. 745-749; for horse breeding in the outer provinces (*waisheng muma* 外省牡馬: Gansu, Xining, Suzhou 肅州, Balikun 巴里坤), see ibid., pp. 749-750.

shepherd.[32] By the early nineteenth century, these had increased to 20,000.[33] As mentioned above, in 1751 (Qianlong 16), the entire quantity of "official horses" bred by the Eight Banners reached 20,773 *pi*. In 1760, large farms were opened in Xinjiang at Ili, Barköl, Tarbaghatai, and Urumqi – the largest one in Ili had to provide a quota of 9,524 horses every three years.[34] The idea to establish horse folds (*quanma* 圈馬) was first proposed by the Manchu official Šuhede 舒赫德 (1711–1777) in 1687.[35]

Already in 1648 (Shunzhi 5), it was determined that civil and military officials as well as soldiers were permitted to breed horses, but this was not allowed for the common people.[36] This prohibition was enforced and specified in 1662.[37] All horses issued by the government to soldiers were evaluated for price (*majia* 馬價) and in case of loss the price had to be paid by the soldier. Or, if a soldier's horse damaged the stake in a government stable, the indemnity had to be deducted from his monthly allotment for fodder (*pengkou yin*) and this was called "*peizhuang yin* 賠樁銀" (indemnity for a damaged stake).[38]

In 1687 (Kangxi 26), the general Yang Fu 楊福 requested to purchase the horses for soldiers, but the Kangxi Emperor rejected this proposal with the following argument:

> The Court constantly provides soldiers with horses from the *Taipu si*, the horse farms, or the Tea and Horse Office, so there is nothing detrimental in having to take care of indemnities for horses. Looking back in history, both the Song and the Ming had no satisfactory policy in their treatment of horses. Pasturelands are best only outside the Great Wall (i.e. in Mongolia), water supply and grasslands are rich and expansive, there are no extraordinary costs for provisions and (the horses) breed very well. If we now drive them into the interior pasture lands (of China), the daily expenses would rise to more than 10,000 *jin* 金.[39]

Trade and trade restrictions

If the number of horses was insufficient, additional ones had to be purchased, but also tribute horses were used to compensate for the lack of regular horses.[40] Responsibilities were generally determined in detail. Already in the Shunzhi reign (1644–1661), it was fixed that in case there were not sufficient horses for war, the governor-generals and governors had either to use the next best opportunity to buy additional horses or to report it to the authorities to provide more.[41] As mentioned above, sometimes also the "*pengkou yin*" had to be used by officials to purchase additional horses.[42] When a horse was sick or of very low quality, a soldier was permitted to sell it and use the proceeds plus a small additional sum provided by his brigade to buy a new one (*dima bian jiayin* 底馬變價銀).[43] And it was strictly forbidden to slaughter horses and sell them.[44] On the other hand, limits and trade restrictions were set up, when the embassies were getting too large. It became known, for example, that the embassies of the Zunghars' leader Galdan apparently looted and plundered the horses of the Mongols beyond the pass.[45]

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[32] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 6b (552).
[33] Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 354.
[34] Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 355.
[35] Cf. *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4172. Šuhede was a member of the Šumuru 舒穆魯 clan of Hunchun, Kirin, and came from a family which belonged to the Plain White Banner.
[36] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 23a (560).
[37] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, pp. 24a-b (561): Manchu, Mongol, and Han bannermen, civil and military officials, military *jinshi* and *juren* as well as soldiers were permitted to breed horses, while this was prohibited to the people (*minren*).
[38] E-tu Zen Sun, Ch'ing *Administrative Terms. A Translation of The Terminology of the Six Boards with Explanatory Notes*. (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991) p. 253 (entries 1619 and 1623). *Harvard East Asian Studies* 7.
[39] *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4173. I suspect that the term "*jin* 金" refers to gold pieces – in contrast to the normally used silver *liang* – and was used here in order to emphasize the high costs for the breeding of horses in the interior of China.
[40] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 16b (557): In Gansu 8 silver *liang* was paid per horse, in Sichuan 12 *liang*.
[41] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 13a-b (555).
[42] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 17a (557) with examples from 1684 and 1698. This expression seems to have derived from the character for "stable" (棚), comprising the costs for constructing a stable. The term was apparently later extended in meaning referring also to the costs for fodder, and was perhaps therefore simply written as "朋".
[43] E-tu Zen Sun, *Ch'ing Administrative Terms*, p. 254 (entry 1630).
[44] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 27b (562).
[45] For details see Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, pp. 152ff.

Tea, horses, grain and silver had been essential components of Ming frontier trade with Central Asia and they remained so during the Qing. In exchange for horses from inner Asia silk also played a major role.[46] In 1651 (Shunzhi 8), for example, 35,453 baskets of tea were exchanged for 1,791 horses, in 1652 37,178 baskets for 3,079 horses.[47] In 1653, Wu Sangui 吳三桂 (1612–1678) alone is said to have purchased 3,078 horses in exchange for tea.[48] At the beginning of the Shunzhi reign a high quality horse was bought for 12 baskets, a middle quality horse for 9 and a low quality horse for 7; in 1732 (Yongzheng 9), still the same prices are recorded.[49] But, unlike the Song or the Ming, the Qing did not try to establish either a monopoly or a subcontracted tea-for-horses trade. Yet, until 1705 the Qing also had a Tea and Horse Trading Office (*chama si* 茶馬司).[50] There, the price of horses was directly commuted into tea quantities. A superior quality horse was equivalent to 12 baskets of tea (each basket of 10 *jin*), a middle quality horse 9 baskets and an inferior quality horse 7 baskets. Compared to the early Ming, these prices were slightly higher, but they were much cheaper than during Song times for example, when a good quality horse was to be bartered for c. 250 *jin* of tea.[51]

Quantity of horses exchanged for tea between 1647 and 1653 (Shunzhi 4 to 10):

	Shunzhi 4	Shunzhi 7 (1st month) ~ 8 (2nd month)	Shunzhi 8 (2nd ~ 7th month)	Shunzhi 9 (10th month) ~ 10 (6th month)
洮州司	97	497+191	200	362+130
河州司	240	878	241	927
西寧司	250	580	1.150	1.300
庄浪司	546	183	200	300
甘州司	71			
sum	**1.204**	**2.322**	**1.791**	**3.079**

Source: Guo Mengliang 郭孟良, "Qingchu chama zhidu shulun 清初茶馬制度述論", pp. 87-90, 99, here p. 90.

The quantity of horses purchased from abroad is difficult to assess. Especially during the consolidation period of the Manchus in China and later in the wars in inner Asia, great quantities of horses were required, and the sources speak repeatedly about the purchase of horses. In 1651, Kong Youde 孔有德 (d. 1652; Chinese bannerman in the Plain Red Banner) dispatched Guo Jiuxi 郭九錫, Zhang Yunfeng 張雲鳳, Lu Wanzhong 盧萬鐘 and others to go to Xining to purchase horses in exchange for tea.[52] Also in the early fifties of the seventeenth century, Wu Sangui twice dispatched people to go to the northwest to buy horses. The first time, he "prepared 30,000 *liang of* silver to be taken to the Xining district to buy horses". In all, they bought 2,866 horses. The second time, he sent Long Youming 龍有名, a representative of the Tea and Horse Trading Office, with 3,000 *liang* of silver to buy 130 horses.[53] The horses were primarily obtained from the nomads and minority peoples in the northwest of China proper.

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46 James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", pp. 142.

47 Lü Weixin, "Qingdai de chama maoyi", p. 33.

48 Diyi lishi dang'an guan (ed.), *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian* 清代檔案史料叢編 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, Xinhua shudian, 1978-), X, p. 37.

49 Jie Xiufen, "Ming Qing chama maoyi zhong de jiage wenti", p. 40.

50 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 17a: "In the past, in Gansu five Tea and Horse Trading Offices had been established, namely in Taomin 洮岷, Hezhou 河州, Xining, Zhuanglang 莊浪, and Ganzhou; and in Kaicheng 開城, Anding 安定, Guangning 廣寧, Heishui 黑水, Qingping 清平, Wan'an 萬安, and Wu'an 武安 seven Directorates (*jian* 監) existed. Annually, a censor (*yushi* 御史) was dispatched as manager. In Kangxi 7 (1668), the responsibilities were returned to the provincial governor (*xunfu* 巡撫) of Gansu to manage the affairs concurrently, until in Kangxi 44 (1705) buying horses for tea ceased." Cf. also *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4174.

51 Lü Weixin, "Qingdai de chama maoyi", pp. 30-33.

52 *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, p. 15.

53 *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, p. 37.

After the Manchus had eliminated the Zunghars as a force in the steppe in the late 50s of the eighteenth century, a trade in silk for horses was initiated with the Kazakhs in 1758. This trade has been described in detail by James A. Millward. "Communication between Zungharia, Gansu, and Beijing", as he states, "created the conditions for a trade based *not* (my emphasis) on tributary relations (as the trade with Zungars had been), but on the principle of fairness and mutual advantage" (*liang de qi ping* 两得其平).[54] The variety of goods, the Kazakhs obtained from their trade in northern Xinjiang, where trade with the Kazakhs was carried out, and which, except for the textiles, most probably all came from private traders – ranged from ceramics, lacquer ware, tea, printed cloth, brocade, velvet, serge, satin, piece goods, to armoury, bows and arrows as well as silver pieces (*yambu* or *yuanbao* 元寶).[55]

As "those adept at political matters are not necessarily accomplished traders",[56] the Qianlong Emperor called the famous Fan 范 family from Shanxi province, who also dominated the copper trade until c. 1783[57], to direct and control the barter trade *in situ*.[58] The governor-general of Shaanxi and Gansu, Huang Tinggui 黃廷桂 (1691–1759)[59], had recommended the circuit intendant, Fan Qinghong 范清洪[60], and his brother, the sub-prefect, Fan Qingkuang 范清曠. Already in 1717, another copper merchant, Wang Gangming 王綱明, had been involved in the horse trade. In successive years, Wang Gangming had clocked up a deficit of c. 2,000,000 silver *liang* when procuring copper for the government. Subsequently, in 1717, he was engaged to provide the government with horses in order to enable him to repay the Imperial Household Department his defaults[61] – a calculation that did not work out. At the same time it provides an example which may both attest to the country-wide networking of imperial merchants providing the government with "commodities" of major importance – horses and copper –.and to the problems the government had with guaranteeing their supply. But at least procurement of horses seems to have been solved relatively satisfactorily with the new agreement with the Kazakhs after 1758.

In 1650, it was agreed upon that Mongolian horses were not allowed to be traded privately in the capital. There were fines, differing according to status and rank, if somebody offended against this regulation.[62] In 1749 (Qianlong 14), it was memorialized that all the horses required by the Eight Banners in the metropolitan area had to be purchased at the tax stations where the Imperial Guardsmen bought their horses from mer-

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54 James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", p. 10.

55 James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", p. 19, refers to a nineteenth-century Russian account for evidence.

56 *Da Qing Gaozong Chunhuangdi shilu* 大清高宗純皇帝實錄, *j*. 500, pp. 10-13 (according to Millward, fn 24).

57 See for example the tomb report of Fan Yubin 范毓馪 "Taipu siqing Fan Fujun Yubin mubiao 太僕寺卿范府君毓馪墓表", in *Qingdai beizhuan quanji* 清代碑傳全集 by Qian Yiji 錢儀吉 (1783–1850) (comp.), *j*. 43, p. 224, part of which is also quoted by Fu Yiling 傅衣凌, *Ming Qing shidai shangren ji shangye ziben* 明清時代商人及商業資本 (Beijing: Renmin chubanshe, 1956), pp. 190-191.

58 James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", p. 8.

59 He has a biography in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period* (1644–1912), 2 vols. (Taibei: SMC Publishing 2002), I, pp. 349-350.

60 For his biography see Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'anguan 中國第一歷史檔案館 (ed.), *Qingdai guanyuan lüli dang'an quanbian* 清代官員履歷檔案全編 (Beijing: Zhongguo diyi lishi dang'an, 1997), II: 42 xia; XVI: 577 shang, 581 shang, 17: 230 shang, 236 shang, 680 xia, 685 shang.

61 The required horses had previously been purchased locally and were then bought at Zhangjiakou with a price deduction of three *liang* per horse. These savings would be deducted at source from the regular price and remitted by the provincial authorities to the Household Department treasury. Wang Gangming's method to reduce costs was to supply horses of minor quality which, as Helen Dunstan put it, "tended to drop dead on the road south" to the postal relay stations of Jiangxi. Thus the latter, lost 345 horses in 1718 and 556 in 1719. Eventually, the services of Wang Gangming had to be discontinued – although he had neither paid back his debt nor were the allocated funds sufficient to purchase good quality horses. Consequently, local officials had constantly to compensate funds for excess equine deaths. See Helen Dunstan, "Safely Duping with the Devil: The Qing State and its Merchant Suppliers of Copper", *Late Imperial China* 13:2 (1992), pp. 42-81, pp. 57-59, for this horse procurement deal. Also other copper contractors engaged in the early eighteenth century had formerly been involved with horse management, namely the Office of Imperial Stud, for example Shige 十哥, Saodazi 騷達子, or Xi Deku 希得庫, whereas prior to that the copper contractors had basically all been attached to the Imperial Household Department (*neiwufu* 內務府).

62 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, pp. 23a-b (560).

chants who possessed certificates with the official seal of the Imperial Guard; otherwise this was prohibited.[63]

Prices

The prices of horses were subject to various fluctuations. During Ming times the lowest price recorded was 8 *liang*, the highest in contrast 30 *liang*. Prices varied of course according to type, race, and quality of the horse, but it was also dependent on political decisions and developments. The Ming government for example mostly fixed the prices of horses officially and very often we find official (*guanjia* 官價) and market prices (*shijia* 市價) mentioned in the sources. The highest price (30 *liang*) during the Ming dynasty was recorded for 1637 (*chongzhen* 10), a time when great quantities of horses were required both for the wars against the Manchus and against the peasant revolts.[64]

Also during the Qing dynasty we can observe greater price fluctuations. However, generally speaking, prices tended to decrease in the course of time, with highest figures being reported for the Shunzhi reign period, that means the time of the conquest of China. As the following examples may show, Qing period horse prices are also classified in much more detail according to their quality, such as race, age, height, sex, etc.: a mare of eight years, 3 *chi* and 4 *cun* tall, with upright mane and a short tail, was worth 17 silver *liang* and 3 *qian*. Or, a six-year old mare, 3 *chi* and 3 *cun* tall, with an upright mane and a long tail, was worth 19 silver *liang* and 2 *qian*. Another six-year old mare, 3 *chi* and 3 *cun* tall, with a divided (*fen*) mane and a short tail, was worth 19 silver *liang* and 7 *qian*. A three-year old mare, 3 *chi* and 4 *cun* tall, with a divided (*fen*) mane and a long tail, was worth 19 silver *liang* and 3 *qian*.[65]

The official prices recorded for the early Shunzhi reign period (1649) were 18 silver *liang* and 5 *qian* for a superior quality horse, 16 *liang* for a middle quality horse and 12 *liang* for a low quality horse.[66] The official price recorded for 1726 (Yongzheng 4) was 10 silver *liang* per horse according to the *GanNingQing shilue zhengfu bian*.[67] For 1733 (Yongzheng 11), the price recorded was only 8 silver *liang* per tribute horse.[68] But, as an example from the *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* may show, high quality horses could fetch prices as high as 130 *liang*.[69] The section on "horse politics" (*mazheng* 馬政) in the *Da Qing huidian zeli* provides changes in prices through the early and mid Qing: in 1733 (Yongzheng 11), for example, the horse price in Zhili, Shanxi, Henan, Xi'an and Gansu as well as in Shandong did not exceed 10 *liang*.[70] Or, in 1750 (Qianlong 15), the horse price in Guangdong was deducted by 3 *liang*, as there were not sufficient public financial resources in the battalions, and also in Guangxi the price per horse was lowered by 3 *liang* and 17 *liang* was recorded in the accounts.[71]

Tribute horses

Right from the beginning of the dynasty, the Mongols especially played a major role in providing the Qing with horses. Kangxi's Mongol policy was to restrict China's intervention on the frontier by encouraging his tributaries to manage their relations by themselves. After the suppression of the revolt of the Three Feudato-

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63 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 34b (566).

64 Jie Xiufen, "Ming Qing chama maoyi zhong de jiage wenti", p. 39.

65 *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, pp. 7-14

66 *Qingdai dang'an shiliao congbian*, X, pp. 7-14.

67 *GanNingQing shilue*, *j*. 18, p. 23b: one tribute horse offered by tribes with more than 100 households was exchanged for 10 silver *liang*. If the tribe consisted of less than 100 households, every household paid one *qian* of silver as tribute (*mei hu na yin yi qian* 每户納銀一錢).

68 *GanNingQing shilue*, *j*. 18, p. 24a. As for tribes with less than 100 households, every household received 8 *fen* of silver.

69 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 159, p. 45b (178): At the beginning of the Shunzhi reign the prices for horses from Mongolian Kazakhs were fixed. The prices for horses ranged from 130 to 10 *liang*, that of camels from 60 to 15, each being paid differently and as a rule in brocat (*duan* 緞).

70 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 18b (558).

71 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, pp. 21a-b (559).

ries, he fixed general rules for the policy towards the Mongols and also sent an embassy to Galdan (r. 1671–1697) in response to the latter's request to offer tribute. As Peter C. Perdue has shown, the tribute presentations served as a flexible means of using economic incentives to secure border control. And Kangxi also pressed Galdan to execute tighter control over his tributary envoys.[72] In 1690, Kangxi personally lead an expedition against Galdan. This was the first of a series of military campaigns against the Zunghars – and enormous quantities of horses were needed.

A general entry on tribute horses is included in the *Qingshi gao* 清史稿:

> The sending of tribute horses began right at the beginning of our dynasty, the two banners at Guihuacheng and Tümet sent one hundred tribute horses four times annually. In Shunzhi 3 (1646), Turfan sent 324 horses, afterwards (this quantity) was decreased and Turfan was ordered to offer four Western horses and ten Mongol horses. In Kangxi 8 (1669), Mongols from the outer regions sent tribute horses, and it was not permitted to purchase them along the trade routes; this was (subsequently) prohibited in an edict. In 1691, it was proclaimed that both Tüsiyetü and Sečen could keep their titles of Qaγan and offer one white camel and eight white horses as in the beginning; the others did not have to offer nine white animals. In 1696, the Khalkha Mongols sent camels and horses, so many that they could not be counted, to influence Shengzu (i.e. the Kangxi emperor) to destroy Galdan and they would thus be able to gain back their original pasture land. The regular tribute of each local office in Sichuan and the percentage of horses to be paid as taxes were reduced by one or two, the utmost being twelve horses per camp. The quota of regular tribute horses for the seven tribes of the Tibetans in Gansu, Sari Yoghurt, was at most 82 horses per camp and, if it were fewer, (the amount) was reduced to two or three only. In Qianlong 1 (1736), the lowered price of the local office in Sichuan was 12 *liang* per horse, as for warhorses throughout the provinces the regulations were changed following those for horses at postal stations, and to pay 8 silver *liang*, this was written as a permanent order. In 1765, the Kazakh Jin Demür offered horses. It was decreed that their surplus horses should be sent to Yili (Chinese Turkestan), and there should be no trade with any of the regions in Kashgar. And it was ordered that the Kazakh nomads who sue the pasture land of Šarbor should offer horses together with the latter.[73]
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> 貢馬昉於國初，歸化城土默特二旗，每歲四時貢馬百匹．順治十三年，吐魯番貢三百二十四匹，嗣減令貢西馬四匹，蒙古馬十匹。康熙八年，以邊外蒙古貢馬，沿途抑買，諭嚴禁之。三十年，諭土謝圖、車臣俱留汗號，貢白駝一、白馬八如初，自餘毋以九白進。三十五年，喀爾喀蒙古獻駝馬，多不可計，感聖祖破噶爾丹，得歸原牧地也。四川各土司例貢及折徵馬，各營少者一、二匹，最多十二匹。甘肅唐古特七族西喇古兒例貢馬匹，各營最多者八十二匹，少者遞減至二、三匹。乾隆元年，諭四川土司折價馬每匹納銀十二兩，通省營馬改從驛馬例，納銀八兩，永著為令。三十年，哈薩克沁德穆爾等獻馬．敕其餘馬赴伊犁，毋於喀什噶爾諸地貿易．尋令沙拉伯爾游牧之哈薩克，與沙拉伯爾一體貢馬。

Most of the horses, as mentioned, came from the nomads in Inner and Central Asia. The *Qingshi gao* includes several entries of foreign tribes and nomads sending tribute.[74]

Also the *Baqi tongzhi* contains a passage on tribute horses, which not only provides us with additional information on who sent horses as tribute but also on the procedures following the act of handing over tribute horses:

> When the Mongols and the Suolun 索倫 tribe [in Xinjiang] annually send horses and camels as tribute, from the *Lifan yuan* (Court of Colonial Affairs) a memorial is drawn up and sent to the Grand Minister in the *Shangsi yuan* 上駟院 (Palace Stud) who is controlling and testing the imperial horses; imperial guardsmen (then) report to the throne that they could jointly with officials of our department select and examine (the horses). Those which are not selected are returned. As for the accepted ones, (the tribute senders) go to the Storage Office (*kuangchu si* 廣儲司) and according to the regulations receive their reward. Camels are

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72 Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 142.

73 *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4175.

74 Examples can be found in the *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, *j*. 276, *j*. 341, *j*. 517, *j*. 521, *j*. 522, *j*. 523, *j*. 526 (passim): In Shunzhi 2 (1645), the son of Gushri Qaγan (1582–1654), Dalai Batur, sent tribute horses 顾实汗子达赖巴图爾貢馬至 (*j*. 522, p. 14447); in Shunzhi 3 (1646), (…) Erdeni Toyın of his tribe sent tribute horses 額爾德尼陀音貢馬至 (*j*. 521, p. 14397); in Shunzhi 13 (1656), Turfan sent 324 horses 貢馬匹 (*j*. 141, p. 4175); in Shunzhi 14 (1657), Dörbet Taiji Toyın sent envoys to Kashghari and others via the place of Ejirtu and came to bring tribute horses. In 1658 (Shunzhi 15), Embudaiqing and the son of Qošiji Iszabu again sent Erke to offer horses. 杜爾伯特台吉陀音遣使哈什哈等自鄂齐尔图所，以貢馬至。十五年，鄂木布岱青和硕齐子伊斯扎布复遣使額爾克貢馬 (*j*. 523, p. 14474); in Qianlong 1 (1736), Cao Tongwenbu (this may perhaps be the transcription of a Tibetan name; I am very grateful to Liu Yingsheng for providing me with this information) had been a native of Datong chuan; in 1736 (Qianlong 1), he got the position of the chiliarch of Datong chuan and could pass this position on to his descendents; he had to offer twenty-four horses annually with a price reduction of 173 silver *liang*. 曹通温布, 大通川人。乾隆元年，以功补大通川土千户，世袭。每年应纳贡马二十四匹，共折银一百七十三两 (*j*. 517, p. 14311); in Qianlong 36 (1773), the son of Abu'l Bis (?), Bolad (?), came to offer horses 偕阿布勒毕斯之子博普来貢馬 (*j*. 341, p. 11095).

sent forth to the Inner Stables, horses to the Six Stables (*liujiu* 六廄) of the Southern Park (*Nanyuan* 南苑) for shepherding. Also the two Mongol banners at Guihua cheng 歸化城 annually send tribute horses, the Kalkha Jebtsundamba Khutughtu 哲卜尊丹巴胡圖克圖 (Mong. Javzandamba Hutagt) annually sends camels and horses; the barbarian monks (*fanseng* 番僧) in the twenty-four temples in the Minzhou guard 岷州衛 in Shaanxi annually send horses; as a rule, these are sent from the *Lifan yuan* and sent forth to every stable to be fed with hay and grain. The responsible Grand Minister leads the imperial guardsmen of our department to proceed to the stables to examine and inspect (the horses) and assess if they are adequate to serve as imperial horses, as inner horses, or public horses, arrange them in this order and make this known. After 1758 (Qianlong 23), the Kazakhs from Xicheng 西城 and all the tribes of Badakhshan 巴達克山 sucessively returned to allgiance and dispatched envoys to bring tribute horses. The finest and most beautiful ones (among them) were subsequently by imperial decision provided with a good name (*jiaming* 嘉名), the others were distributed among the various stables. And from that time on, horses traded with the Kazakhs were particularly numerous, the quantity per year was not fixed. In Urumqi and Yili large horse herds were established, which were used for all the armies stationed in Xinjiang. Surplus horses were sent to compensate for the shortage in horses in all military units (commands) in inner China.[75]

In addition, also private persons occasionally sent tribute horses. Ten horses and five camels were presented by Sereng in March 1643. On April 1 1643, tribute was presented by the noblemen – *jianggin*, that is military officers serving in the Manchu army – of the Tümet 土墨特 of Köke Qota: the Lieutenant-general Gölüge 古錄格 among other items presented forty horses, Colonel Tobuγ 託博克 ten horses, Colonel Tuuqu one stud, nine mares and one horse, Colonel Dorji 多爾齊 fifteen horses, Colonal Baγa Norbu 小諾爾布 one horse, Captain Buyantai 布顏代 fifteen horses and two camels, Officer Wawa ten horses, Officer Naqu twelve horses, Officer Bilik 畢禮克 a stud, nine mares and one horse, Officer Usum two horses, Officer Čekčemü 車克車木 five horses, G'abču Lama nine horses, Gelüng Lama five horses, the Buddhist nun from the Jau Temple five horses, Demči Ombu two horses, Lori Ombu one horse, Batu, three horses, and Sidang two horses.[76] But not all the tribute items were accepted. The documents translated by Nicola Di Cosmo and Dalizhabu Bao also speak repeatedly of horses with saddles, horses with carved saddles, horses with painted saddles, or even a horse with a copper or a tree-bark saddle.[77]

After many years of war with the Zunghars, in autumn 1734, the Yongzheng Emperor sent his top ministers to Zungharai to negotiate a peace that should divide the Khalkha and Zunghar domains. But because the Zunghar leader, Galdan Tseren (r. 1727–1745), preferred another boundary (Khanggai Mountains) than the Qing envoys (line running along the Altai Mountains and the Irtysh River), no peace treaty was signed. Yongzheng, however, started to reduce the number of forces stationed at the boundary. Galdan Tseren subsequently sent his first tribute mission to Beijing in 1735. Emperor Qianlong later used the strong desire of the Zunghars for trade as a tool to obtain a final delineation of the boundary – or, in other words, he blackmailed them. In 1739, regular trade relations were established. This officially regulated tribute trade allowed three types of missions – embassies to Beijing, border trade at Suzhou 素州 in Western Gansu and the "presentation of boiled tea" (*aocha* 熬茶) to the Lamas in Tibet. The Zunghars were allowed to send tribute to the Qing every four years.

However, one has to be aware that the term "tribute" in reality comprised many different kinds of trade and power relationships, both in Ming and Qing times.[78] These missions were, for example, very much dominated by experienced Central Asian merchants. The caravans consisted of diplomatic envoys, Zunghar officials, herders, merchants, and certainly also Qing spies.

Galdan Tseren (died 1745) had three sons and one daughter. His second son was Tsewang Dorji Namjal (r. 1746–1750) who succeeded him in 1746. In 1747, a third mission was sent to the Qing Court.[79] The goods traded were worth 164,350 *liang*. In 1750, the Zungars brought goods worth 186,000 *liang*. As the table below may show, horses ranked first besides sheep, camels and cattle.

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[75] *Baqi tongzhi*, *j*. 41, pp. 742-743.

[76] Nicola Di Cosmo & Dalizhabu Bao, *Manchu-Mongol Relations on the Eve of the Qing Conquest: A Documentary History* (Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2003), part 2: "Mongol Tribute Missions to the Qing (1643)", pp. 171-226, here pp. 178-180.

[77] Nicola Di Cosmo & Dalizhabu Bao, *Manchu-Mongol Relations*, esp. p. 222.

[78] Nicola Di Cosmo, "Kirghiz Nomads on the Qing Frontier: Tribute, Trade, or Gift Exchange?", in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Political Frontiers, Ethnic Boundaries, and Human Geographies in Chinese History* (London: Curzon Press, 2003), pp. 351-372; James A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", pp. 1-42.

[79] For more details see Peter P. Perdue, China Marches West, esp. pp. 256-289.

Tribute trade at Beijing and Hami:

Year	No. of traders	Quantity of animals
1735–36	26	237 horses, 344 sheep, 113 camels
1737–36	24	animals
1738–39	42	428 horses, 145 camels
1739–40	65	701 horses, 3,000 sheep 388 camels
1742/2–7	42	484 horses, 5,000 sheep, 715 camels
1742/9	26	146 horses, 5,629 sheep, 114 camels
1743–44		84 horses, 545 sheep, 42 camels
1744–45	38	543 horses, 7669 sheep, 191 camels, 378 cattle
1745–46	28	290 horses, 945 sheep, 95 camels, 28 cattle
1746–47	46	913 horses, 13,700 + sheep, 217 camels, 690 cattle
1748	28	407 horses, 1,267 sheep, 87 camels
1749–50	47	678 horses, 2,585 sheep, 181 camels, 129 cattle
1750–51	52	957 horses, 3,600–3,700 sheep, 346 camels, 156 cattle
1754	33	animals

Source: Zhungar shilue bianxiezu 準噶爾事略編寫組 (ed.), *Zhungar shilue* 準噶爾事略 (Beijing: Beijing renmin chubanshe, 1985), pp. 123-137; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 259.

Tribute trade at Hami and Suzhou:

Year	No. of traders	Quantity of animals
1743–44	122	545 horses, 26,800 sheep, 726 camels, 260 cattle
1746	213	1,628 horses, 40,615 sheep, 726 camels, 2,642 cattle
1748	136	984 horses, 71,505 sheep, 585 camels, 402 cattle
1750	301	1,900+ horses, 156,900+ sheep, 1,000+ camels, 2,200 cattle
1752	200	1,279+ horses, 77,000 sheep, 588 camels, 1,200 cattle

Source: Zhungar shilue bianxiezu (ed.), *Zhungar shilue*, pp. 134-137; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 260.

Boiled tea (*aocha*) missions to Tibet:

Year	No. of traders	Quantity of animals
1741	300	1,716 horses, 7,392 sheep, 2,080 camels, 400 cattle
1743	312	2,300+ horses, 2,800+ sheep, 1,700+ camels
1747	300	3,000+ horses, 3,000 sheep, 2,000 camels

Source: Zhungar shilue bianxiezu (ed.), *Zhungar shilue*, pp. 134-137; Peter C. Perdue, *China Marches West*, p. 261.

Transportation and Communication

Horses were of course not only required for the military or for hunting, but also for transportation purposes. Horses were needed by merchants, officials or ordinary people to get from one place to another. An important institution within overland transport and travelling were the postal stations (*yi* 驛 or *yizhan* 驛站). They were sponsored by the government, which also made sure that sufficient horses were provided, as the following examples may show:

> The establishment of postal stations commenced in the Former Han Dynasty (206 B.C. – 9 A.D.) and has been continued throughout the dynasties. The Qing, following the Ming system, arranged postal horses reaching a quantity of more than 43,300 in all. The postal system of each province was fixed in 1662 (Kangxi 2). The number of postal horses for all government couriers (*jizouguan* 齎奏官) was five per hedge; honourables (*gong* 公), generals (*jiangjun*), provincial military commanders (*tidu*), supervisors (*tu* 督), and governors (*fu* 撫) receive three horses, regional commanders (*zongbing*), salt control censors (*xunyan yushi* 巡鹽御史) two. This had been requested by the Vice Minister of the Ministry of War (*bingbu shilang* 兵部侍郎), Shi Lin

石麟. The (regulations on) postal stations beyond the borders were fixed in 1669; an imperial envoy was dispatched to all places, and the Court of Colonial Affairs (*lifan yuan* 理藩院) instructed to go to all divisions in Mongolia and proclaim this as a public affair, that beyond the borders horses for postal stations shall be arranged.
In 1696 (Kangxi 35), when troops were raised against Galdan 噶爾丹, postal stations beyond the borders were established at five places, and the required chariots and provisions were transported there. Also the idea of the Lifan yuan was followed to establish a Mongol postal station beyond Zhangjiakou 張家口.[80]
In Kangxi 31 (1692), it was agreed upon and sanctioned that in Xifengkou and other five provinces for every postal station 50 horses are to be arranged, each for a price of 5 silver *liang*; every postal station will (thus) be provided with 250 silver *liang*. In Mongolia, the land has abundant water and grass, so one does not have to provide another sum for fodder. Every year another 125 silver *liang* are provided only for horses which have fallen dead.
康熙三十一年議準喜峰口等五路每驛置驛馬五十匹每馬各給價銀五兩每驛給馬價銀二百五十兩蒙古地方水草滋盛不必再給草料每年惟給與倒斃馬價銀一百二十五兩.[81]

Also for their transport to the capital, foreign envoys could rely entirely on the postal network system. The Japanese Nakagawa Tadateru 中川忠英 (1753–1830) in his *Shinzoku kibun* 清俗紀聞 (*Manual on what has been recorded and heard about Qing customs*; 1799), originally designed to function as a kind of travel manual for Japanese in China, provides us with a description of these postal stations.[82] The postal stations, he tells us, also had a horse doctor (*mayi* 馬醫) and a so-called horse master (*mafu* 馬夫). If, for example, sixty-four horses were raised in a postal station, then there were eight horse masters, every one had to take care of eight horses. Among eight horses there was one to be used by officials, two racehorses for express purposes, one filly horse for the transportation of goods (*baotou ma* 包頭馬), and beyond that three small servant horses (*xiaochai ma* 小差馬). Finally, there was still one horse for miscellaneous purposes (*sanchai ma* 散差馬). In addition to the eight horse masters, there were also four persons who helped to feed the animals. And, if extra horses were required, animals from the ordinary people were used, which were called (*minma* 民馬).[83]

Veterinary knowledge on horses has a long tradition in China. The famous physician Zhang Zhongjing 張仲景 (c. 150–219) also wrote on the treatment of the six house animals (*Xiang liuxu sanshiliu juan* 相六畜三十六卷) and around the same time the first "*Classics of horses*" (*Majing* 馬經) appeared. Various other works on equine diseases and their treatment followed – one of the most famous ones perhaps the "*Bole liao ma jing* 伯樂療馬經" from the sixth century[84] – reaching a peak in the Ming dynasty. Worth mentioning are for example the "*Collection by Heng and Yuan on the treatment of horses*" (*Yuan Heng liaoma ji* 元亨療馬集) from the sixteenth century, which was written by two brothers from Anhui province and based on the

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[80] *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4176.

[81] *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 140, pp. 89b-90a (441-442).

[82] *Shinzoku kibun* 清俗紀聞 (1799) by Nakagawa Tadateru 中川忠英 (1753–1830), translated by Fang Ke 方克 and Sun Xuanling 孫玄齡. (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2006), *j*. 10, p. 425-426. Nakagawa Tadateru was a high local official of the Tokugawa government. His manual is a well-illustrated introduction to the customs of former Jiangnan and Zhejiang Provinces; it describes various aspects of daily life, from houses and food to annual observances and ceremonial occasions, accompanied with lively illustrations ranging from a scene at the public bath to many kinds of sweets. The information was mainly obtained through interviews with Chinese merchants who stopped at Nagasaki. The book was designed to give the Japanese a more accurate knowledge of the customs of daily life in Ch'ing-dynasty China, the most important trading partner of Japan. In particular, one of the volumes includes dwellings in the Fujian, Zhejiang and Jiangsu regions, with unbelievably detailed drawings, though it was actually of not much use generally except for the diplomatic information it contained.

[83] *Shinzoku kibun*, *j*. 10, p. 426.

[84] "Bole 伯樂", also named Sun Yang 孫陽, lived during the seventh century B.C. He studied the body of horses and gave special attention to its bone structure and the sizes and shapes of its various parts. His excellent understanding of horses enabled him correctly to assess the quality of horses in the markets. The type of horse mostly associated with Bole is the mythic "thousand-*li*-horse" (*qianli ma* 千里馬) believed capable of running a thousand *li* per day. The famous Tang scholar, Han Yu 韓愈 (768–824), laments the failure of the government to recruit talented scholars and comments (*zashuo* 雜說) "only after there is a Bole in the world, will there be thousand-*li*-horses; thousand-*li*-horses are common, but only rarely is there a Bole". For further information on Bole see for example Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting", *Artibus Asiae*, LVII, no. 1/2 (1997), pp. 135-156, here p. 136.

classics by Bole, the *Majing* 馬經 with a preface written in 1635 by Zhang Wei 張維[85], or the (*Xinke zhenyi canbu*) *Majing daquan* 新刻針醫參補馬經大全 (between 1621 and 1644) by Ma Shiwen 馬師問 (fl. 1600). This long tradition of knowledge on the treatment of horses was of course cherished and continued under the Qing. We have, for example, the "*Zengding majing* 增訂馬經", which explicitly builds upon this tradition.[86] Treatises, such as the *Lidai mazheng zhi* 歷代馬政志 by Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳 (1626–1709), provide overviews of China's horse politics from ancient times until the present.[87] And we know from the *Qingshi gao* that horse doctors had their position within the official system, especially in the army, for example as "*zong mayi guan* 總馬醫官".[88] For imperial horses, obviously special Mongol veterinarian officials (*Menggu mayi guan* 蒙古馬醫官) were engaged to take care of equine diseases.[89] The *Baqi tongzhi* speaks of two Mongol senior doctors (*yizhang* 醫長), eighteen Mongol doctors (*yishi* 醫師), six skin specialists (*laiyi* 癩醫), and twelve Han veterinarians (*shouyi* 獸醫) in the inner stables (*neijiu* 內廄).[90]

Nakagawa Tadateru also provides us with a description on how the animals were fed.[91] Not only green grass and hay were used but also black beans, which were cooked up with fresh water to a mush. The dried mush is put on mats to cool down again. Early in the morning and at night, the horses are fed with approximately four *sheng* of beans and fifteen *jin* of grass and hay. During daytime they only get a little food. At dawn they are again fed as in the morning. As for water, they receive only a little in the morning, the amount of water is increased slightly during day time, and in the evenings they receive plenty of water to drink. A small amount of wheat dregs is mixed into the grass, and when it is very hot weather some water is added as well. Every two or three days, the horses are washed and their bodies groomed clean. After leading them around leisurely (*huanxing* 緩行) for a little while, they are brought back again into the awning, located behind the house and sheltered from sun and wind. During winter, each month a relatively warm day is selected to clean them. As for the racehorses, they cannot be fed with a large amount of food at a time. They first get both a little grass and water and afterwards again and again receive something to eat and to drink.[92]

Horses in Qing art and ritual

As mentioned above, the importance of horses is also reflected in court art, especially painting. Court painters were often commissioned to record the "dispatching of generals embarking on campaign" (*mingjiang* 命將), in order to popularize them. Horses were included in rituals performed before campaigns, hunts, etc. This can be seen as an encoded reference both to the military power of the Manchus to whom horses were so essential, and to the tradition of Inner Asian regions from which horses were imported and with which the Manchus had close ties. The scrolls produced before the departure of troops under Fuheng 傅恆 (d. 1770) to fight the Jinchuan peoples in western Sichuan in the 1740s is one example. In an ideal way, they record both military preparedness and martial prowess, both of which formed an essential part of Qing culture.[93] In painting, horses for the emperor were given personal names and they all belonged to the category of tall, fine horses (*junma* 駿馬).[94] The famous scrolls of Father Giuseppe Castiglione (1688–1766)

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[85] There is a German dissertation on a late Ming dynasty horse classic, preface dated to 1635, by Michael Heerde, 馬經 *"Pferdeklassiker": Ein altchinesisches pferdeheilkundliches Werk aus der Ming-Dynastie* (München: PhD dissertation, Veterinary Faculty, 1997)

[86] Author and exact date are unclear, but we know from the information provided in the introduction that it was printed on the orders of the Qing court.

[87] Cai Fangbing 蔡方炳 (1626–1709), *Lidai mazheng zhi* 歷代馬政志 (ed. Daoguang 1), in *Siku quanshu xuxiu*, fasc. 859, pp. 1-14.

[88] *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 119, pp. 3458, 3460, 3474, 3475, and 3476. The sources explicitly speak of "doctor officials" (*yi guan* 醫官).

[89] *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4171.

[90] *Baqi tongzhi*, *j*. 41, p. 742.

[91] *Shinzoku kibun*, *j*. 10, p. 455.

[92] *Shinzoku kibun*, *j*. 10, p. 455.

[93] Joanna Waley-Cohen, "Military Ritual and the Qing Empire", in Nicola Di Cosmo (ed.), *Warfare in Inner Asian History* (500–1800) (Leiden, Boston: E. J. Brill, 2002), pp. 405-438, pp. 417 and 421-422. *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 6, section 8, Central Asia.

[94] Robert E. Harrist, Jr., "The Legacy of Bole: Physiognomy and Horses in Chinese Painting", pp. 135-156.

and Ignatius Sichelbarth, court painter for the Qianlong Emperor, may serve as examples. Famous also are the horse paintings of Jin Nong 金農 (1687–1773).

Illustrations:

Pl. 65	Image of Yunli, hereditary prince of Guo 果親王允禮像 by Guiseppe Castiglione
Pl. 66	*Hongli Hunting* 弘曆射獵圖 by Guiseppe Castiglione
Pl. 67	One leave from the *Ten Fine Horses* 十駿馬圖 by Jean Denis Attiret
Pl. 68	*Hongli Shooting Two Deers with One Arrow* 弘曆一發雙鹿圖 by Anonymous
Pl. 69	*Hongli Shooting a Wolf* 弘曆射狼圖 by Anonymous
Pl. 70	Battle scenario included in the *Qing shilu* (*Da Qing Gaozong huangdi shilu*, p. 83)

MARITIME EAST ASIA

From Ming to Qing

The Ming period *Shuyu zhouzi lu* 殊域周咨録 (1574) still mentions Korea, Japan and the Ryūkyū Islands (*j*. 1, 2, 3, and 4) as countries sending tribute horses.[95] The Chinese emperor, for example, ordered the purchase of 10,000 horses from Korea in the early Ming.[96] In Hongwu 5 (1372), a Japanese monk was sent to China to pay tribute. He handed over the "vassal letter" (*biao* 表)[97] – one of the identification documents required for the tribute missions to China – to the throne on a memorandum tablet (*biaojian* 表箋) and offered horses and local products as tribute.[98] Japan is even described as a country with "valuable swords and famous horses" (*baodao yu mingma* 寶刀與名馬).[99] Horses are mentioned in first place in Japan's (*j*. 3) and Ryūkyū's (*j*. 4) tribute goods, and we know that the Japanese also privately sent tribute horses, tea, textiles, swords, fans and other commodities (*sigong* 私貢) to China.[100]

According to the *Ming shi* and *Ming shilu*, the Japanese were already sending tribute horses in the Hongwu period (1368–1398). As a rule, Japan sent twenty, sometimes only ten horses as tribute. In 1453, for example, a Japanese embassy offered twenty horses after an audience with the Ming emperor in Beijing.[101] Or, in 1468, twenty horses were sent to China.[102] From these twenty horses, ten are said to have been provided by various *daimyōs*, such as Isshiki 一色, Yamana 山名, Toki 土岐, Hosokawa 細川, Shiba 斯波, Hatakeyama 畠山 etc., one horse per *daimyō*. According to a vassal letter dating from 1401, the first mission sent to China after the appointment of Ashikaga Yoshimitsu 足利義満 (1358–1408) as Shōgun, ten horses were sent as tribute.[103] In 1403, he even sent twenty horses.[104] But already during the fifteenth century, the

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[95] Yan Congjian 嚴從簡 (*jinshi* 1559) (author), Yu Sili 余思黎 (comment.), *Shuyu zhouzi lu* 殊域周咨録 (1574) (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1993), *j*. 1, pp. 11, 21, and 48, *j*. 2, pp. 52, 55, *j*. 3, p. 123, *j*. 3, pp. 126, 166. *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan* 中外交通史籍叢刊.

[96] *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, *j*. 1, p. 16.

[97] In our project "The East Asian Mediterranean" we finally agreed upon translating this document as "Vasallenbrief" or "vassal letter" respectively, because they had to be brought to China as an identification document by the foreign states bringing tribute to China. Because of the profits that could be made in trade with China, it happened not infrequently that foreign merchants or other persons privately sent tribute missions and incorrectly claimed to be representatives of the court – the so-called imposter missions. With a vassal letter a foreign country also classified itself officially as a vassal of China. For a discussion of these documents, see Oláh Csaba, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert*. (Unpublished PhD dissertation).

[98] *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, *j*. 2, p. 52.

[99] *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, *j*. 2, p. 53.

[100] *Shuyu zhouzi lu*, *j*. 2, p. 55.

[101] "Inbō nittōki 允澎入唐記", in *Shintei zōho Shiseki shūran* 新訂増補史籍集覧; *Zokuhen* 続編 1 (Tōkyō: Rinsen shoten 臨川書店, 1967), p. 415.

[102] "Boshi nyūminki 戊子入明記", in *Shintei zōho Shiseki shūran*. *Zokuhen* 1, p. 357.

[103] Zuikei Shūhō 瑞溪周鳳 (1391?–1473) (author), Tanaka Takeo 田中健夫 (ed. and comment.), (*Shintei*) *Zenrin koku hōki* (新訂) 善隣国宝記 (1470) (Tōkyō: Shūeisha, 1995), p. 108. *Nihon shiryō* 日本史料 For a list of Japanese tribute to China during this time, cf. Oláh Csaba, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (unpublished PhD dissertation).

quantity of horses sent as tribute was gradually decreasing. In 1434 and 1451 again twenty horses were sent as tribute, yet in 1475 and 1483 only four each time.[105] Oláh Csaba cites yet another source, the *Inryōken nichi roku* 蔭涼軒日録 by Kikei Shinzui 季瓊真蘂 (d. 1469). According to that, a Japanese once asked a Chinese official if China did have at its disposal enough horses and sulphur. The Chinese official replied that this was not the case, but that China would receive sufficient horses and sulphur from the Ryūkyūs so that it was not necessary for Japan to send horses as tribute.[106] Also the *Da Ming huidian* mentions horses exported to China from Japan.[107] But, as a rule, Japanese horses most probably served more as gifts and not commodities.

The situation changed during the Qing dynasty. Then, except for the tribes and countries from the steppe regions north and northwest of China, horses are, as a rule, no longer mentioned as tribute from Asian countries. Chinese entries on the import of horses from not only Japan, but also from Korea or the Ryūkyūs too become very rare. The peace treaty between Korea and the new Manchu rulers of China, agreed upon under extreme pressure from the Manchus, determined the products Korea had to send to China as tribute. Among these were gold, silver, ox horn, leopard and deerskins, tea, paper, mats, several kinds of fabrics, and even rice – but no longer horses. Horses are mentioned, on the other hand, as gifts to members of Korean embassies, the price of one horse being equivalent to 20 to 24 silver taels. Four horses with saddles cost 176 silver taels or 528 copper taels. Along border markets cows instead were purchased from the Korean merchants.[108] The *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli* even forbids Koreans to come to Liaoning to trade for large horses:

> In Qianlong 12 (1747), it was memorialized and agreed upon that in Liaoning province Koreans are strictly forbidden to purchase large horses (*da ma* 大馬). Originally, (this trade in horses) had a profound significance (*shenyi* 深意).[109] Nowadays, Koreans come to the capital and frequently purchase large horses, which they subsequently take back. One should order the Left and Right Wing Units (of the Imperial Guardsmen) to forbid this and not permit Koreans to carry out these purchases. In addition, the tax station at Shanhaiguan as well as other border stations should look out, if there are any interpreters scheming for wealth and purchasing (the horses) acting on behalf (of Koreans), and seize them.[110]

An entry in the *Qingshi gao* even claims that in 1747 Koreans were generally prohibited from purchasing horses (*jin Chaoxian mai ma* 禁朝鮮買馬).[111]

Horses, especially large and fine ones, were not only required for warfare, but generally highly valued throughout the East Asian countries. Consequently, fine horses were presented as gifts to rulers and aristocrats. And we also have examples of horses, veterinarians and equine knowledge being smuggled across the East Asian waters.

Qing law prohibited the private export of horses overseas, but we have several examples of horses being privately shipped to Japan: a certain Yi Fujiu 伊孚九, younger brother of Yi Daoji 伊韜吉, in 1719, used the trade permission of his elder brother and secretly shipped horses to Japan. Or, horses were being gathered on the Zhoushan 舟山 archipelago to be shipped to Japan from there.[112] Chinese veterinarian knowledge and equestrian skills were also highly valued in Japan at that time. Already in 1721, one physician from Suzhou

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104 *Zenrin koku hōki*, p. 112.

105 *Zenrin koku hōki*, pp. 218, 224, 198, and 238.

106 Oláh Csaba, *Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen China und Japan im 15. und 16. Jahrhundert* (unpublished PhD dissertation).

107 Shen Shixing 申時行 (1535–1614) *et al*. (comp.), *Da Ming huidian* 大明會典 (1587), 5 vols. (Taibei: Huawen shuju, 1964), III, *j*. 105, p. 5b (1587). *Juan* 107 to 113 provide names of numerous states and peoples in the west and northwest of China who sent horses as tribute; see also Charlotte von Verschuer (author), Kristen Lee Hunter (trans.), *Across the Perilous Sea: Japanese Trade with China and Korea from the Seventh to the Sixteenth Centuries* (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University, 2006), p. 163. *Cornell East Asia Series*, 133.

108 Chun Hae-jong, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch'ing Period", pp. 101, 103 and 110, notes 49 and 50.

109 This probably refers to the importance of tribute horses from Korea during the Ming.

110 *Qinding Da Qing huidian zeli*, *j*. 119, p. 34a (566).

111 *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 141, p. 4174.

112 Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei: Sakoku ka de no Nitchū kōryū* 德川吉宗と康熙帝: 鎖国下での中日交流 (Tōkyō: Taishūkan, 1999), pp. 253-254.

蘇州, Chen Zhenxian 陳振先, and one from Tingzhou 汀州 in Fujian (later he lived in Ningbo), Zhu Laizhang 朱來章, had come to Japan. In 1725, Zhu Laizhang also helped his elder brother, Zhu Peizhang 朱佩章, a copper merchant, to get to Japan. Zhu Peizhang was also involved in getting horse specialists to Japan. In 1726 (*kyōhō* 11), he reached Nagasaki on board the ship no. 33 belonging to his son, Zhu Yunchuan 朱允傳. He had promised to bring equestrian archers to Japan who, as he explained, would come with one of the following ships. But after the archers had not arrived by the following year in the 6th month, Zhu Peizhang was forced to leave Nagasaki. Only about one week after he had left (1727, 21st day of the 6th month), the archers Shen Dacheng 沈大成 and Chen Cairuo 陳采若[113] as well as the horse doctor Liu Jingxian 劉經先 reached Nagasaki.[114] A passage in a manuscript entitled *Tangma chengfang buyi* 唐馬乘方補遺 (Jap. *Karauma norikata ho'i*; *Supplement on Chinese Horse Riding*) held by the Naikaku bunko 内閣文庫 in Japan includes the following information:

> Zhu Peizhang attempted to bring with him (to Japan) in the same vessel a man learned in riding and raising horses by the name of Shen Dacheng. But because *it was forbidden to leave the country with someone capable in martial arts* (my emphasis), numerous rumors began to circulate, and they postponed their departure. Zhu Peizhang left (China) first by himself and Shen Dacheng agreed to follow him on a subsequent vessel. The latter became further and further delayed, and Zhu Peizhang was eventually ordered (by the Japanese authorities) to return home alone. His younger brother Zhu Laizhang worried about him. Shen Dacheng was not the only man skilled in archery and horses; there were in fact men even more talented than he. He selected Chen Cairuo and escorted him together with the equine doctor Liu Jingxian on a vessel number 20 in the year of the sheep (1727) under the captain Zhong Qintian 種覲天. Both came (to Japan) on this ship. Zhu Peizhang wrote letters to a man named Chen Liangxuan 陳良選 in which he requested the transport of Shen Dacheng to Japan.[115]

This quotation not only informs us about the importance of knowledge in martial arts, horsemanship and equine skills in general. It is also an excellent example of how Japanese sources may supplement brief and uncontextual statements in Chinese sources. Zhong Qintian 種覲天 is for example only briefly mentioned in Chinese sources as a maritime merchant smuggling bows, doctors, monks and maps to Japan (cf. below). One very informative Chinese source concerning the problems of China's relations with Japan during this time period and which also includes entries on smuggling is the *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨. Accordingly, Chen Liangxuan 陳良選, a merchant from Fujian, took the Company Commander (*qianzong* 千總), Shen Dacheng, a native of Guangdong but resident in Ningbo, to Japan to teach martial arts.[116]

Also Zhu Laizhang is repeatedly mentioned in the *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi*. He enjoyed a very good reputation in Nagasaki, because he had once cured the illness of the local *daimyō* of Nagasaki and later also acted as a merchant in Sino-Japanese trade. He was generously rewarded and permitted to go anywhere he liked in Japan, while other Chinese merchants were under strict surveillance. Due to his knowledge of Japan, in late 1728, Zhu Laizhang was even sent to Japan as a kind of secret agent in order to find out why the Japanese trading policy concerning the exportation of copper had become so restrictive.[117] Such examples may provide a first insight into the East Asian merchant networking in the eighteenth century.

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[113] Xu Shihong 徐世虹, *Jianghu shidai RiZhong mihua* 江户時代日中秘話 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1997), pp. 139-140. This is a translation of Ōba Osamu's work 大庭脩, *Edo jidai no Nitchū hiwa* 江户時代の日中秘話 (Tōkyō: Tōyō shoten, 1980). Chen Cairuo was thirty-five years old and came from Hangzhou, Zhejiang; Shen Dacheng was thirty-two years old and came from Ningbo. Both were skilled at archery in horsemanship.

[114] Cf. Ōba Osamu, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei*, pp. 254-256, according to the *Tsūkō ichiran* 通航一覽, Hayashi Fukusai 林復斎 (1800–1859, ed.), (Osaka: Seibundō shuppan, 1967). This Japanese source is indispensable for obtaining a better insight into the picture of and attitudes towards China in Tokugawa Japan. We have recently purchased a copy for our East Asian Maritime History project, but prior to that I have been using an online database with images of the original manuscript; cf. http://www.hi.u-tokyo.ac.jp/ships/shipscontroller.

[115] *Tangma chengfang buyi* 唐馬乘方補遺 (Jap. *Karauma norikata ho'i*; *Supplement on Chinese Horse Riding*), in *ZSSXDJ*, pp. 289-360, here pp. 352-353.

[116] *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* 世宗憲皇帝硃批諭旨, *j*. 174, section 9, pp. 31b-32a, in *SKQS*, fasc. 423. According to the *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi* Shen Dacheng in reality belonged to a family named Yang 楊.

[117] *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhi*, *j*. 174, section 8, pp. 53a-54a, in *SKQS*, fasc. 423. According to Ōba Osamu, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei*, p. 255, Zhu Laizhang, too, was skilled in archery and horsemanship.

The *Tongmun hwigo* 通文會考 (Ch. *Tongwen huikao*, published 1787) mentions horses as items being smuggled.[118] According to the report by the governor-general of Zhejiang, Li Wei 李衛 (1687?–1738)[119], thirty-three smugglers were caught during the four months from September to December 1728. They had been smuggling bows, doctors, monks and maps. The *Qingchao Rouyuan ji* 清朝柔遠記 provides us with the information that, in Yongzheng 6 (1728), the maritime merchants Zhong Qintian 種覲天 and Shen Shunchang 沈順昌 had in their possession Japanese trade certificates. Zhong repeatedly took the Military Selectee, Zhang Canruo 張濬若, from Hangcheng 杭城 to Japan as an archery trainer. With these transactions, he annually made a few thousand silver ingots (*de yin shuqian* 得銀数千). Shen Shunchang on one occasion not only took archery to Japan but also a veterinary doctor from Suzhou, named Song 宋, who was to treat horses.[120] A certain Guo Yuguan 郭裕觀 from Xiamen smuggled a monk and a horse to Japan.[121] Consequently, at least from time to time, horses, archery, veterinary knowledge, in this case a horse doctor, as well as knowledge in archery was secretly "exported" to Japan. One older Company Commander (*qianzong*) with long hair from Guangdong, it is said, even annually received several thousand gold pieces from the Japanese for nailing and constructing more than two hundred warships (*dingzao zhanchuan erbai yu hao* 錠造戰船二百餘號) and training sailors.[122] But horses, as a rule, together with maps, military equipment, as well as books on law and statecraft, belonged to the commodities prohibited to be taken across the border.[123] Because of all these smuggling activities, Emperor Kangxi eventually only permitted merchants of the Imperial Household Department (*neishang* 内商) to conduct trade in the Eastern Ocean (*Dongyang maoyi*).[124] Anyhow, rumours had it that the Japanese "enticed worthless Chinese merchant fellows to teach them mechanical (and martial?) skills" (*fengwen Riben gouyou Zhongguo wulai shangmin wang bi jiaoxi jiyi* 風聞日本勾誘中國無賴商民往彼教习技藝), whereupon merchant vessels were strictly prohibited to sail abroad.[125]

JAPAN

In Japan, Chinese skilled in horsemanship and equine knowledge not infrequently received great honours and could even make good careers. Chen Cairuo, Shen Dacheng and Liu Jingxuan, whom I have introduced in the last subsection, were all generously received in Japan. They had come to Japan on the order of Tokugawa Yoshimune 德川吉宗 (1684–1751), who was particularly fond of fine horses. On the 29th day of the 6th month 1727, the Nagasaki Magistrate (*bugyō*) ordered the interpreters from Sakaki 彭城 Tōjiemon 藤治右衛門 downwards to take care of them. Consequently, on the 10th day of the 7th month they were allowed to live in the Finance Building at Sakurababa 櫻馬場 in Nagasaki together with three servants – Yu Tiancheng 俞天成, Guo Dawei 郭大爲 and Li Yaqing 李亞慶. They were allowed to move about relatively freely, could visit temples and go sightseeing in the city. The same month, Tomita Matazaemon 富田又左衛門 paid them a visit from Edo and subsequently asked them all manner of questions in their residence. The record of these questions is preserved in a document entitled *Taigo ki roku* 對語驥錄 (*Questions and Answers concerning Horses*), which is also preserved in the Naikaku bunko in Japan. Also a number of other accounts concerning horses are kept by the archive, such as the *Karauma norikata kikigaki* 唐馬乘方聞書 (*Notes on How to Ride a Chinese Horse*), the already mentioned *Karauma norikata ho'i*, the *Basho* 馬書 (*On Horses*),

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118 Chun Hae-jong, "Sino-Korean Tributary Relations in the Ch'ing Period", in Immanuel C. Y. Hsü (ed.), *Readings in Modern Chinese History* (New York, Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1971), pp. 90-112, pp. 93 and 100.

119 He has a brief entry in Arthur W. Hummel, *Eminent Chinese of the Ch'ing Period*, II, pp. 720-721.

120 Wang Zhichun 王之春 (b. 1842) (author), Zhao Chunzhen 趙春震 (comment.), *Qingchao Rouyuan ji* 清朝柔遠記 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 2000), *j*. 4, p. 72 and 76. *Zhongwai jiaotong shiji congkan*. The same information is also included in Anonymous, *Yangqiu shengbi* 陽秋賸筆 (Beijing: Beijing guji chubanshe, 1999), p. 229. *Qingdai yeshi congshu* 清代野史叢書.

121 *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, *j*. 4, p. 76; *Shizong Xianhuangdi zhupi yuzhij*, *j*. 174, section 9, p. 32a.

122 *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, *j*. 4, p. 72.

123 *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, *j*. 4, pp. 72-76.

124 *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, *j*. 4, p. 72.

125 *Qingchao Rouyuan ji*, *j*. 4, p. 74.

which touch upon a wide variety of topics concerning horses – how to judge the quality of a horse, how to breed them, how to treat them medically, how to train archers, etc.[126] Yet, the knowledge covered in all these questions and answers had little impact on society as a whole, as the manuscripts were kept secretly.[127] Such examples, however, can provide evidence for the great interest in horses and martial arts among the Japanese aristocratic and ruling élite. And they provide evidence for that, at least in East Asia, Chinese horsemanship and equine knowledge were obviously considered as superior to their own Japanese tradition. But, as the export of horses and martial skills from China was officially prohibited, this trade and smuggling remained a tricky matter, and references in the sources are, thus, not very frequent.

Scattered information on the smuggling of horses from China to Japan can also be found in the Dutch *Deshima Diaries*. One entry in the diary of Opperhoofd P. Boockesteijn (22 March 1729), for example, states: "I have been told that in China, eighteen skippers and merchants have been put in prison because of their alleged involvement in the export of horses and an elephant to Japan".[128]

In the eighteenth century, the Dutch also repeatedly sent mostly between one and five grazing horses (*bokuba* 牧馬) from Batavia to Nagasaki. As Tokugawa Yoshimune particularly liked fine horses, it is therefore not surprising that entries for Dutch presenting horses at Nagasaki are especially frequent during his reign period.[129] If members of the Japanese aristocratic and ruling élite eventually preferred Dutch or Chinese equine knowledge would be an interesting question to examine. We do have examples that the Bakufu ordered large horses (*da ma*) from the Dutch.[130] Yoshimune also laid great emphasis on equestrian skills and had, for example, Dutch masters perform their abilities on horseback.[131] In 1676 (*gempō* 4), 3rd month, 15th day, there were two donkeys among the tribute items of the Dutch. The year before, 1675, on the 6th day of the 12th month, Tokugawa Mitsukuni 德川光圀 (1628–1700), received twelve Dutch horses.[132] The *Deshima Diaries* from time to time also mention Dutch exports of Perian horses to Japan.[133] According to the *Nihon basei shi*, further evidence that foreign horses were imported into Japan is provided by the *Sendai sanba enkaku shi* 仙臺産馬沿革誌 (1890) by Umemori Iku 梅森郁.[134]

From time to time horses were also shipped to Japan as official gifts from more Western regions. On May 29 1587, four Japanese envoys arrived at Goa. They had visited Portugal and left Lisbon on April 13 1586 and were on their return journey to Japan. In Goa, the local commander, Don Jorge De Menezes, is said to have provided them with a small galleon and the Viceroy, Don Duarte, presented them with four fine horses so that they could move around freely – everything according to King Philip II's order. The horses were fine Arabian horses, and the Japanese envoys intended to take at least a few of them home to Japan as a present to

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126 A veritable gold mine concerning veterinarian knowledge and other texts related to horses and horsemanship transferred from China to Japan, is a volume edited by Ōba Osamu 大庭脩, *Kyōhō jidai no Nitchū kankei shiryō 2* 享保時代の日中關係資料 2 <*Shushi san kyōdai shū* 朱氏三兄弟集>. *Kinsei Nitchū kōshō shiryō shū* 3 (Kyōto: Kansai daigaku shuppansha, 1995), pp. 109-153. *Kansai daigaku Tōzai gakujutsu kenkyūjo shiryō shūkan* 關西大學東西學術研究所資料集刊 9-3 (henceforthwith *ZSSXDJ*). In addition to the *Karauma norikata ho'i*, the *Karauma norikata kikigaki* 唐馬乘方聞書 (*Verbatim notes on Chinese Horse Riding*, in *ZSSXDJ*, pp. 233-287), it includes the *Ba'i Tōjin ryōjihō kakitsuke* 馬醫唐人療治方書付 (*Study of the healing methods of the Chinese equine medicine*) by Chen Cairuo and Shen Dacheng (*ZSSXDJ*, pp. 155-231), the *Taigo ki roku* 對語驥錄 (*ZSSXDJ*, pp. 363-377).

127 Ōba Osamu, cf. Xu Shihong, *Jianghu shidai RiZhong mihua*, pp. 139-140.

128 Paul van der Velde & Rudolf Bachofner, *The Deshima Diaries: Marginalia* 1700–1740 (Tokyo: The Japan-Netherlands Institute, 1992), p. 352. *Deshima Series*, ed. by J. L. Blussé and W. G. J. Remmelink, *Japan-Netherlands Institute Scientific Publications of the Japan-Netherlands Institute* No. 12.

129 I have selected only a few examples from the eighteenth century; the list is consequently far from complete. Cf. Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō henshū iinkai 対外関係史総合年表編集委員会 (ed.), *Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō* 対外関係史総合年表 (Tōkyō: Yoshikawa kōbunkan 吉川弘文館, 1999), pp. 772 (1725 and 1726), 774 (1727 and 1729), 776 (1730), 778 (1734), 780 (1738).

130 Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō henshū iinkai (ed.), *Taigai kankeishi sōgō nempyō*, p. 770 (1723). Other examples speak for example of Tokugawa Yoshimune watching the Dutch riding horses at a horse camp (e.g. 1730 and 1735, cf. *op. cit*., pp. 776 and 778).

131 Ōba Osamu, *Tokugawa Yoshimune to Kōki tei*, p. 252.

132 *Nihon basei shi*, II, pp. 48-49.

133 See, for example, *Deshima Diaries. Marginalia* 1700–1740, pp. 327, 351, 356-7.

134 *Nihon basei shi*, II, p. 47.

be offered to Toyotomi Hideyoshi 丰臣秀吉 (1536–1598). So two of the horses found space on the ship taking them further to Malacca and Macao, where they arrived on July 1588. The two horses, together with their accessories, are said to have cost more than 2,000 gold *pardão*.[135] Due to the political situation in Japan, they did not proceed immediately back home but eventually reached Nagasaki together with the Jesuit Alessandro Valignano 范禮安 (1539–1606) on July 21 1590. The horses were treated as tribute brought by Valignano to the Japanese authorities, but apparently only one horse survived. Father Luís Fróis (1532–1597), the first Jesuit who personally met Oda Nobunaga 織田信長 (1534–1582), later wrote a *História do Japão* which covers the years 1549–93.[136] In his history the surviving horse is described in great detail:

> At the front, a beautifully adorned horse strode forward. The horse was not only beautiful, but large as well, so it drew everyone's attention, as was always the case whenever it appeared. In fact, any Japanese horse looked pathetic compared to that horse…. [Hideyoshi] and the other samurai were extremely impressed by the beauty, size and speed of the horse and praised it vociferously.[137]

We even have an example of Chinese envoys bringing a horse to Japan. In 1594 (*bunroku* 3), two Ming Chinese envoys came to Edo, the Head Envoy and Assistant Regional Commander, Xie Yongting 謝用梴, and the Vice Envoy, You Jixu 遊擊徐, and among other things presented Tokugawa Ieyasu 徳川家康 (1543–1616) a horse as a gift. This horse was described as different from those of Japan, namely as tall and possessing outstanding abilities.[138]

In the winter of 1599 (*keichō* 4), Shimazu Yoshihisa 島津義久 (龍伯), an opponent of Toyotomi Hideyoshi 丰臣秀吉 (1536–1598), sent Ieyasu a Korean horse as a present. This is recorded in the *Hosokawa Tadaoki gunkōki* 細川忠興軍功記 (*Record of the military successes of Hosokawa Tadaoki*). The entry says that it was an imperial horse with something tied around the nostrils – apparently a usual habit in order to give the outer appearance of the horses more dignity.[139]

We also have examples of Japanese horses being shipped to countries in Southeast Asia. In 1605 (*keichō* 10), 9th month, 19th day: the Cambodian king told the Japanese merchant, Nagaishirō Uemon 長井四郎右衛門, that he wished to buy good Japanese horses, copper, iron, swords and mirrors and gave him a letter to be handed over to the Japanese ruler. What the king had in mind were horses of a height of about 5 feet (*chi*). In his letter he noted: "In my country there are many horses, but because they are small, they are not adequate for use: I have heard that your honourable country produces good horses. I wish to purchase two of a height of 5 *chi*." He mentioned beeswax and tiger skins as local products and asked for excellent Japanese copper, iron, swords, mirrors, and horses. The Japanese court thereupon replied to this "notably unexpected letter":

> Although your country lies millions of *li* by sea route away, the people of both our countries annually come and go and, when Japanese merchants get into distress, they have the possibility to consider thoroughly right and wrong and can use the constitution of your honoured country. Long swords, flank swords (*wakigatana* 脇刀) shall, therefore, be bestowed in order to express our congratulatory and ceremonial feelings; this and all other items will be sent with the next ship.[140]

Consequently, the request of the Cambodian king was fulfilled and in 1608, three horses were sent to Cambodia.

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135 Cf. http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/earns/yuki.html (15.09.06).

136 Georg Schurhammer, *Die Geschichte Japans von Luis Frois: Nach der Handschrift der Ajudabibliothek in Lissabon, übersetzt und kommentiert von G. Schurhammer* (Leipzig: Asia Major, 1926).

137 Cf. http://www.uwosh.edu/faculty_staff/earns/yuki.html (15.09.06).

138 Teikoku keiba kyōkai 帝国競馬協會編 (ed.), *Nihon basei shi* 日本馬政史, 5 vols. (Tōkyō: Hara shobō 原書房, 1981–1982), II, p. 47.

139 *Nihon basei shi*, II, p. 47.

140 *Nihon basei shi*, II, pp. 43-44.

In 1621 (*genna* 7), Thailand also received three saddled horses from Japan.[141] In a kingly edict from Thailand which reached Nagasaki, again the commercial and friendly relations between both countries were emphasized:

> We have heard that in your honourable place famous horses (*mingma* 名馬) are produced. The king of our country longs very much for such horses, but sees no way of acquiring any.[142]

So he ordered that an envoy should buy two or three. Subsequently, in 1621, 1626, and 1629 Thailand received eleven horses in all from Japan.

THE RYŪKYŪS

As Chang Pin-ts'un and Roderich Ptak have shown, during the early Ming period especially some quantities of horses were shipped to China as tribute from the Ryūkyūs.[143] Already in 1374, the Hongwu Emperor sent Li Hao 李浩, a Vice Minister of Justice, and the interpreter Liang Ziming 梁子名 to purchase horses on the Ryūkyūs (*jiu qi guo shi ma* 就其國市馬) in exchange for 100 bolts of coloured damask, 50 bolts of gauze, 50 bolts of fabrics, 69,000 pieces of ceramics (*taoqi* 陶器), and 990 iron pots.[144] Only a few years later, in 1383, the eunuch Liang Min 梁珉, was sent to the Ryūkyūs to buy 683 horses (*yi huobi wang Liuqiu yi ma* 以貨幣往琉球易馬).[145] During Ming times, according to Chang Pin-ts'un, most of the Ryūkyūan tribute horses had been distributed among the postal stations in mountainous Fujian, as they could manage very well in hilly regions. According to the *Lidai bao'an*, they were handed over to the special agency of the Palace Stud (*Shangsi yuan* 上駟院).[146] But even during Ming times, although the horses were not inexpensive, the Ryūkyūs did not produce many and thus the economic potential of the Sino-Ryūkyūan horse trade remained very limited.[147]

But during Qing times, the Ryūkyūs were no longer important as a source for horses. In 1681, horses were even deleted from the list of regular tribute items:

> In 1679, Tei (= Shō Tei 尚貞, r. 1669–1709) dispatched a second official in order to supplement the regular tribute sent in 1678. According to the old regulations, the tribute items consisted of gold and silver cans, gold and silver ornamented boxes, gold jars for wine and seaweeds (?), coloured painted surrounding screens splashed with gold, fans splashed with gold, fans splashed with silver, painted fans, banana cloth, hemp cloth, red flowers (?), pepper, sappan wood, waist swords, fire swords, spears and lances, helmets and chainmail, horses, saddles, silk, floss silk, and conch plates, and there was no fixed amount as for the quantity of extra goods to be offered. In 1680, the second official came to offer tribute, but the Emperor (i.e. Kangxi) ordered that he should be exempt from bringing tribute. Afterwards, frequently tribute was offered, only **horses**, prepared sulphur, conch shells, red copper and the like…..In addition, **tribute horses** were deleted from the list of regular tribute items in 1681. This was made known as the rule.
> 十八年，貞遣陪臣補進十七年正貢．舊例貢物有金銀罐、金銀粉匣、金缸酒海、泥金彩畫圍屏、泥金扇、泥銀扇、畫扇、蕉布、苧布、紅花、胡椒、蘇木、腰刀、火刀、鎗、盔甲、馬、鞍、絲、綿、螺盤，加貢之物無定額．十九年，陪臣來貢，帝俱令免進．嗣後常貢，惟馬及熟硫磺、海螺殼、紅銅等物。…**又常貢內免其貢馬，著為例**。[148]

This statement would imply that at least until the early Kangxi reign, the Ryūkyūs apparently still sent horses as tribute and that they were deleted from the list only after 1681. There is no reason provided why

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[141] *Tokugawa jikki* 德川實紀 according to *Nihon basei shi*, II, pp. 44-45.
[142] *Nihon basei shi*, II, p. 44.
[143] Chang Pin-ts'un, *Chinese Maritime Trade: The Case of Sixteenth Century Fuchien (Fukien)* (PhD dissertation, Princeton University, 1983, Ann Arbor: University Microfilms International, 1983), p. 174ff; Roderich Ptak, "Pferde auf See", pp. 199-233.
[144] This information is also included in the *Yanshan tang bieji* 弇山堂別集 by Wang Shizhen 王世貞 (Ming), annot. by Wei Lianke 魏連科 (Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, second edition 2006), *j*. 89, pp. 1707-1708. *Zhongguo lishi wenji congka*n 中國歷史文集叢刊.
[145] *Ming Taizu shilu* 明太祖實錄, *j*. 95, pp. 3a-b (1645-1646) (*Hongwu* 7, 12th month, *yimao*) and *j*. 156, p. 4a (2429) (*Hongwu* 16, 92th month, *yiwei*). Edition edited and annotated by the Zhongyang yanjiu yuan lishi yuyan yanjiusuo 中央研究院 歷史語言研究所.
[146] *Lidai bao'an* 歷代寶案 (*Precious documents of successive generations*, Jp. *Rekidai hōan*), 15 vols. (Taibei: Guoli Taiwan daxue, 1972), here I/6, p. 214.
[147] Chang Pin-ts'un, *Chinese Maritime Trade*, p. 174.
[148] *Qingshi gao*, *j*. 526, p. 14618.

the Kangxi Emperor undertook this step. However, we may assume that, as the Manchus obtained most of their horses, both for use in war and for postal stations, from Inner Asia, there was no longer any necessity to import small horses from the Ryūkyūs. And land transport was probably not only easier – there are no statistics about how many horses died during sea transportation, but it seems plausible that a sea voyage was even more stressful for the animal than long trips over land[149] – but perhaps even cheaper. Against the background that the Kangxi Emperor had anyhow stationed greater numbers of horses in Fujian to be used in battle (against the rebels of the Three Feudatories and the Zheng clan) and taking into account that Ryūkyūan horses could hardly be used in warfare as they were too small, it seems plausible that the Kangxi Emperor eventually abandoned the tribute of horses from the Ryūkyūs.

In 1719, a Chinese investiture mission went to the Ryūkyū Islands under the supervision of Hai Bao 海寶 and Xu Baoguang 徐葆光 (1671–1723/1740). Xu Baoguang left a report on this mission, which includes a brief note that horses and sulphur are traded (*qi guo shi ma ji liuhuang* 其國市馬及硫磺) on the island as well as a description of the local horses:

> The horses are not different from those in China. Those which are seven to eight *chi* tall are extremely rare. They walk well; on mountainous roads, they go up and down over steep paths; in sand or gravel one does not see them stumbling. This is because they are used to that. Going up a hill, when they have to wade through water, they gallop. In that region the winters are mostly warm and the grass does not wither. The horses thus eat fresh food the whole year round; they do not know stables or beans. This is why, although the households in the villages are extremely poor, yet they all raise horses. Whenever they have a business, they wish to use them. When the business is over, they scatter and return to their villages. Among the farmers there are also some who plough their fields with horses.[150]

If the entry "*qi guo shi ma ji liuhuang*" can be interpreted in the sense that horses, as well as sulphur, were still sold abroad, is difficult to assess. If this was the case, it most probably happened as a kind of private trade. As a matter of fact, horses were no longer an official tribute item to China after 1681.

Conclusion

It is evident that horses were occasionally sent by ship from one East Asian port to another. But on the other hand, it is also true that the quantities involved were rather small. Nevertheless, the fact that some exchange took place in the period considered here shows that horse transports on sea routes formed one element within a complex system of maritime links which had already come into existence at an earlier point in time.

That horse shipments from and to China were not the rule during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries should perhaps not be surprising as, on the one hand, the Manchus, themselves a people with a strong and influential horse culture, simply had much easier access to much better horses through their tribute and trade relations with inner Asian nomadic peoples. A supply of lower quality horses from overseas, such as in the early Ming period from the Ryūkyūs, was consequently no longer required. The Mongols especially played a major role in the provision of Qing China with horses.

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that transports of both horses and people skilled in horsemanship did take place across the East Asian waters. The aristocratic and ruling élite in Japan especially was greatly interested in obtaining people skilled in equine knowledge, martial arts and equine medicine from China. The examples presented here attest to the importance horses played during the time period investigated. And they suggest that, at least as far as East Asia was concerned, the equine knowledge existent in China was obviously considered superior to surrounding countries' own traditions. Certainly, "horses or horse-specialists on sea" were not the rule, and many horses that crossed the oceans and that are mentioned in the sources were exchanged for prestige purposes or presented as gifts. The classical high

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[149] There is no doubt that not few horses passed away during long overland journeys or were half starved when they reached their destination and had first to be fattened up again before being ready for battle or war. Cf. A. Millward, "Qing Silk-Horse Trade with the Qazaqs", p. 5. But generally speaking, they are more apt to survive long overland journeys.

[150] *Zhongshan chuanxin lu* 中山傳信錄 by Xu Baoguang 徐葆光 (1721), *Guojia tushuguan cang Liuqiu ziliao huibian* 國家圖書館藏琉球資料彙編, vol. 2, (Beijing: Beijing tushuguan chubanshe, 2000), pp. 1-588, p. 202 and 517-518.

riding horse from Arabia, for example, continued to be a welcome luxury item as a gift to rulers or as a rare tribute item.

But the examples clearly show that horses were at the same time not only shipped from one Asian country to another to serve as gifts for members of the ruling élite. During times when horses were highly valued both for practical military and for luxury and prestige purposes equestrian skills, veterinarian knowledge, and horses remained a commodity much in demand throughout East Asia – a fact which is substantiated by various examples we possess about secret trade and the smuggling in horses and any kind of "horse specialists".

APPENDIX

Year	Direction of trade	Additional information	Quantity
1367	Ryūkyū – Ming		horses
1382	Ryūkyū – Ming		horses
1370	Japan – Ming	Prince Kanenaga	horses
1401	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	10 horses
1402	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimitsu	20 horses
1433	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshinori	20 horses
1451	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshinori	20 horses
1475	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimasa	4 horses
1483	Japan – Ming	Ashikaga Yoshimasa	4 horses
1543	Japan – Ming		4 horses
1408	Ming – Japan		horses
1452–1455	Mongolia – Japan		horses
1532–1555	Western country – Japan (Satsuma)		Arab horses

Source: Teikoku keiba kyōkai 帝国競馬協會編 (ed.), *Nihon basei shi* 日本馬政史, 5 vols. (Tōkyō: Hara shobō, 1981–82), vol. 1, pp. 701-714.

Year	Direction of trade	Additional information	Quantity
1608	Japan – Cambodia		3 horses
1621	Japan – Thailand		3 horses
1626	Japan – Thailand		2 horses
1629	Japan – Thailand		7 horses
1599	Korea – Japan		1 horse
1600	Western country – Japan		1 horse
1636	Korea – Japan		2 horses
1638	Netherlands – Japan		1 horse
1674	Western country – Japan		1 horse
1675	Western country – Japan		1 horse
1676	Netherlands – Japan		2 donkeys

Source: Teikoku keiba kyōkai (ed.), *Nihon basei shi*, vol. 2, pp. 42-49.