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CHAO JU-KUA'S ETHNOGRAPHY :

TABLE OF CONTENTS AND EXTRACTS REGARDING  
CEYLON AND INDIA, AND SOME  
ARTICLES OF TRADE.

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BY  
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ART. XII.—*Chao Ju-kua's Ethnography: Table of Contents and Extracts regarding Ceylon and India, and some Articles of Trade.* By F. HIRTH, PH.D.

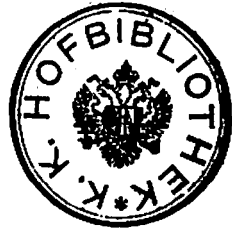
[For an introduction to this paper see Art. III—*Chao Ju-kua, a new source of Medieval Geography*, p. 57 seqq. of this volume.]

CHAO JU-KUA'S ethnographical work, the *Chu-fan-chih*, consists of two parts (books, *chüan*). In the first part the author describes the various countries concerned in the Oriental sea-trade of his time; while the second part treats upon the foreign products brought as merchandise to China, and is followed, by way of supplement, by a detailed description of the island of Hainan, which in those days had among all the possessions of the empire risen to a high state of civilization, owing to a large number of statesmen, poets, and philosophers having spent years of their lives there in banishment during the Sung dynasty.

The following Table of Contents gives the headings under which the various countries and articles of trade are discussed:—

PART I. COUNTRIES, viz.:—

1. Chiao-chih [Tungking].
2. Chan-ch'êng [Annam; Cochinchina].
3. Pin-tung-lung [a territory of Southern Annam, comprising the island of Pulo Condor, so called from the name of a Buddhist saint—Pin-t'ou-lu].
4. Chên-la [Kambodja].
5. Têng-liu-mei [a territory in the west of Kambodja].
6. P'u-kan [Pagán in Burma].
7. San-fo-ch'i [Palembang, Sumatra].



8. Tan-ma-ling.
9. Ling-ya-ssü [Lingas].
10. Fo-lo-an.
11. Hsin-t'ò [Sunda?].
12. Chien-pi [Kampar?].
13. Lan-wu-li [Lambri].
14. Shê-p'ò [Java].
15. Su-chi-tun [Sukitan, the central part of Java].
16. Nan-p'i [Malabar].
17. Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat].
18. Ma-lo-hua [Malwa].
19. Chu-lien [Orissa, the empire of the Kesari dynasty].
20. Ta-ts'in [Syria, perhaps blended with matter belonging to the See, then removed farther east, of the Nestorian patriarch].
21. T'ion-chu [part of India].
22. Ta-shih [the Arab territories].
23. Ma-chia [Mecca].
24. Tsêng-po [Zanzibar].
25. Pi-pa-lo [Berbera].
26. Wu-pa.
27. Chung-li [some African territory: Somali?].
28. Yung-man [Oman].
29. Chi-shih [the island of Kish].
30. Pai-ta [Baghdad].
31. Pi-ssü-lo [Basra].
32. Chi-tzū-ni.
33. Wu-ssü-li.
34. Lu-mei [Rûm].
35. Mu-lan-p'i [Murâbit, Andalusia].
36. Wu-ssü-li [Masr, Egypt].
37. Ngo-kên-t'ò [Alexandria].
38. Miscellaneous countries, viz. :—
  - a. Yen-t'ò-man [the Andaman Islands].
  - b. K'un-lun-tsêng-chi [the Zingis, Zinj, or Zeng tribes on the coast of Africa].
  - c. Sha-hua-kung [a pirate state in the Archipelago].
  - d. The Country of the Women.

- e. Po-ssü [here probably not Persia, but some other country, which I have not been able to identify].
- f. Ch'a-pi-sha [Djabarso].
- g. Ssü-chia-li-yeh [Sicily].
- h. Mo-chieh-la [Maghrib, Morocco].
39. Po-ni [Bṛni, Borneo].
40. Ma-yi [Mindoro, Philippines].
41. San-hsü [certain islands among the Philippines].
42. Liu-chiu [part of Formosa].<sup>1</sup>
43. Pi-shê-yeh [Bizaya?—savages of South Formosa].
44. Hsin-lo [Sinra, Corea].
45. Wo [Japan].

## PART II. ARTICLES OF TRADE, viz. :—

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| 1. Camphor.  | 18. Lakawood.   |
| 2. Frankincense.   | 19. Musk Wood [ <i>Shê-hsiang-mu</i> ].   |
| 3. Myrrh.  | 20. The Jack Fruit.   |
| 4. An incense called <i>Chin-yen-hsiang</i> .              | 21. The Areca Palm; Betel Nuts.   |
| 5. Dammar [dhuna, <i>Tu-nao-hsiang</i> ].                  | 22. Cocoa Nuts.   |
| 6. Liquid Storax.  | 23. Galls [ <i>Mo-shih-tzū</i> ].   |
| 7. Benzoin.  | 24. Ebony Wood [ <i>Wu-mên-tzū</i> , in the Amoy dialect <i>o-ban-tzū</i> = Persian <i>abnûs</i> ]. |
| 8. Becho Nuts [ <i>Chi-tzū-hua</i> , Gardenia floribunda]. | 25. Sapanwood.  |
| 9. Rosewater.  | 26. Cotton.   |
| 10. Lignaloos.   | 27. Mats.   |
| 11 to 14. Certain fragrant wood incenses.                  | 28. Putehuck.   |
| 15. Sandalwood.  | 29. The Cardamom.   |
| 16. Cloves.  | 30. Pepper.   |
| 17. Nutmegs.   | 31. Cubebs.   |

<sup>1</sup> The text of Chao Ju-kua's *Liu-chiu* contains various passages identical with the old account in the *Sui-shu*, which it has been shown does not apply to the Loo-choo Islands, but Formosa. See Schlegel, "Problèmes géographiques," in *Toung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 165 *seqq.*

- |                                  |                            |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 32. Asa Foetida.                 | 40. Rhinoceros Horns.      |
| 33. Aloes.                       | 41. Castoreum.             |
| 34. The Coral-tree.              | 42. Kingfishers' Feathers. |
| 35. Glass.                       | 43. Parrots.               |
| 36. Cats' Eyes.                  | 44. Ambergris.             |
| 37. Pearls.                      | 45. Tortoise Shell.        |
| 38. Ch'ê-ch'ü [a kind of shell]. | 46. Yellow Wax.            |
| 39. Ivory.                       | Appendix: Hainan.          |

## SPECIMEN OF TRANSLATION.

(a) *Extracts from Part I: FOREIGN COUNTRIES.*

## 13. LAN-WU-LI.

The country of Lan-wu-li [Amoy dialect: Lam-bu-li = Ramni or Lambri<sup>1</sup>] produces sapanwood, ivory, and white rattan. The inhabitants are warlike and often use poisonous arrows. With the north wind you come within a little more than twenty days to the country of Hsi-lan [Ceylon], which is under the government of Nau-p'i [Malabar]. Sailing from Lan-wu-li, you know that you are coming to Hsi-lan [Ceylon] by the flashing of lightning always visible. The king is black, with unkempt hair, and wears no covering on his head; he wears no regular clothes, but is merely wrapped in cloth of various colours, and his feet are protected by sandals of red leather [fastened] with gold thread. When going out he rides on an elephant or in a kind of litter [*juan-tou*, a word which Professor Schlegel, *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 163, suggests to be a transcription of a Ceylonese word *handul*, meaning a litter]. He eats every day a paste made of betel nuts burnt together with

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Yule, *Marco Polo*, 2nd ed., vol. ii, p. 283, note 1. A German version of Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Lan-wu-li and Nan-p'i has been published in the *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 152 *seqq.*, where the sinological reader will find the Chinese characters of some of the names.

real pearl ashes. His palace is decked with cats' eyes and blue and red jewels [sapphires and rubies?], cornelians, and other precious stones; the very floor he walks upon is so adorned. There is an eastern and a western palace, at each of which there is planted a golden tree; their stems and stalks being made of gold, their flowers, fruits, and leaves of cats' eyes, blue and red jewels, and the like precious stones. Underneath [each of] these trees there is a golden throne with [partition] walls of glass. When holding court, the king ascends the eastern throne in the morning and the western throne in the evening. At the spot where the king sits down there is continuous glittering of the jewels reflecting the sun's rays, the glass and the jewel tree shining upon each other like the glory of the rising sun. Two attendants constantly hold up a golden dish to receive the dregs of the betel nuts chewed by the king. The king's followers pay a monthly tax of one *yi* of gold [about 16 taels] into the Government treasury for receiving the betel-nut dregs, which contain camphor and all kinds of precious substances. The king holds in his hand a jewel [*lit.* precious pearl] five inches in diameter, which will stand the test of fire and shine at night like a torch; by rubbing his face with it every day, the king will keep his youthful looks, though he may be over ninety years old. The inhabitants are very dark-skinned; they wrap their bodies round with silk stuffs, are bareheaded, and go barefoot. They use their hands in taking their food. Household vessels are made of bronze. There is in the country a hill [or, an island] called Hsi-lun [*lit.* fine wheel], peaks rising over peaks, [on the top of which] there is the imprint, over seven feet in length, of the foot of a huge man, a like imprint being visible in the water within a distance of over 300 *li* from that hill. The trees in the forests of the hills, whether high or low, all round are bent towards it [as if curtsying].<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> There can be little doubt as to the identity of this hill Hsi-lun with the Sripada of Buddhist lore, the footprints of Buddha on Adam's Peak (as it is called by the Muhammadans—the Samanta Kūpa of the Sinhalese). Some

thousand Buddhist temple buildings,<sup>1</sup> in which there are living over twenty thousand nuns, who, twice every day, sing hymns, while offering food to Buddha or while offering flowers. When offering flowers they bind them into bouquets with cotton thread, of which they use about three hundred catties every day. They have over four hundred war elephants and about 100,000 cavalry horses. When the king goes in or out, he rides on an elephant; on his head he wears a cap [or, crown]. His followers ride on horseback and are armed with swords. The following products are found in this country: indigo in great quantities,<sup>2</sup> red kino, myrobalans, and all kinds of foreign cloth. Every year these goods are transported to the Arabian countries for sale.

#### 18. MA-LO-HUA [Malwa].

The country of Ma-lo-hua [Malwa] connects with Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. This country has under it over sixty *chou* [cities], and it is on the land road [*i.e.* it does not lie on the sea-coast]. The manner of dressing and the local customs are the same as those of Hu-ch'a-la [Guzerat]. Of products white cloth is very common. Every year 2000 oxen, or more, laden with cloth, are sent along the land road to other countries for barter.

<sup>1</sup> Guzerat was famous for its many temples, most of which were situated on the south-western coast in the territory called Okamandala, which afterwards became the seat of a cruel set of pirates.—Lassen, *Ind. Alterthumsk.*, vol. i, p. 134.

<sup>2</sup> Regarding the indigo of Guzerat, see Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 325; and Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 383.

#### 19. CHU-LIEN [Orissa, the Empire of the Kesari Dynasty].

The country of Chu-lien<sup>1</sup> is the Southern India of the Western Heaven. In the east it [*i.e.* its capital, or chief city] is five *li* distant from the sea; in the west you go to Western India [*Hsi T'ien-chu*], 1500 *li*; in the south you go to *Lo-lan*, 2500 *li*; in the north you go to *Tun-t'ien*, 3000 *li*. This country has not, from olden times, carried on trade with us. By water you reach Chinchow in about 411,400, or more, *li*.<sup>2</sup> If you wish to go to this country, then you must change boat in Ku-lin [Coilom], and thence travel there; some say that from [or, by way of] the country of P'u-kan [Pagán] you can also go there. In this country there is a city with a sevenfold wall, the wall being as high as seven Chinese feet, and extending twelve *li* from north to south, and seven *li* from east to west; the different walls are a hundred paces distant from each other. Four of these walls are built of brickwork, two of mud, and the one in the centre, of wood, and there are flowers, fruit-trees, and other trees planted [on them]. The first and second walls enclose the dwellings of the people—they are surrounded by small ditches; the third and fourth walls are for the dwellings of court officers; the fifth wall is for the dwellings of the king's four sons; within the sixth wall are the Buddhist [?] monasteries where the various priests dwell; and the seventh wall encloses over four hundred buildings forming the royal palaces where the king lives.<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Chu-lien* may be a Chinese corruption of the name *Chola*. Cf. Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 199.

<sup>2</sup> There must be an error in this statement; if not, the *li* has here been confounded with a considerably smaller measure.

<sup>3</sup> It appears that we possess an unmistakable record regarding this city in the fragments left to us of the history of the Kesari dynasty in India. It must be the ancient capital of that empire. Lassen (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 6), speaking of the events recorded in the history of Orissa, describes a king Jajāti, not as the founder, but as the restorer, of the Kesari dynasty, who established his court at

There are in all thirty-two<sup>1</sup> divisions [*pu-lo*, 部落, possibly *pura*, cities]: of these, twelve are in the west, namely [47 characters, see below]; eight are in the south, namely [38 characters]; twelve are in the north, namely [44

the city of Djadjapura. Here he built a palace, called *Chaturdvāra*, because it had four gates. The chief event of Jajāti's reign is, according to Lassen, the establishment of the service of a deity called Djagannātha, whose image had been carried away and concealed and was then recovered. Four images of that deity, including the original one, were brought to Puri, where a new temple was erected for them. "The entire surroundings of the city," Lassen says, "were devoted to the service of Djagannātha, or Vishnu, and the maintenance of that temple; and Jajāti laid the foundation for the wealth of its priesthood. One of his successors, Lalita Indra Kesari, who ascended the throne in A.D. 617, was the founder of a large and well-defended city in the neighbourhood of the above sanctuary, which was divided into seven quarters and contained thirty-two streets and where the King resided" (Lassen, *l.c.*, p. 11). I am not able to say whether there is any connection between the "thirty-two streets of the city" mentioned by Lassen and the thirty-two *pu-lo*, or divisions, occurring in our text. These I would under ordinary circumstances consider to be divisions of the country, but I cannot do so in the face of Indian tradition as known to me through Lassen's account, pending an inquiry into the text forming the basis of that account of "thirty-two streets," which Lassen appears to have derived from A. Stirling's "*An Account, Geographical, Statistical, and Historical, of Orissa Proper in Cattaek*," in *As. Res.* xv, p. 269 *seqq.*, which I have not been able to look up. In the *Sung-shih* the names of two kings are mentioned who sent embassies with tribute from this country to China, viz.: in A.D. 1033, *Shih-li-lo-ch'a-yin-to-lo-chu-lo*, which may stand for Sri Raja Indra Chola [or, Andhra Chola]; and again, in A.D. 1077, *Ti-wa-ka-lo*, which may stand for Dēva Kala, or Dēva Kara. The last-named king made a good bargain with his colleague on the dragon throne, since the embassy, consisting of 72 men, were given 81,800 strings of copper cash, *i.e.* about as many dollars, in return for the articles of tribute, comprising glassware, camphor, brocates [called *Kimhwa*, 錦花, in the Chinese text], rhinoceros horns, ivory, incense, rosewater, patchuck, asa foetida, borax, cloves, etc. This so-called embassy was probably, like most of the missions to the coast of China, nothing better than a trading expedition on joint account, the 72 ambassadors being the shareholders, or their supercargoes. It appears that the relations between China and Orissa were not resumed after this expedition, and it is very likely that Chao Ju-kua's chapter on Chu-lien is derived from the account of one of the travellers having reached China during the rule of the Kesari dynasty. Such an account would most probably have been placed on record by one of our author's predecessors in the office of Shih-po, or Superintendent of Trade, at Ch'üan-chou.

<sup>1</sup> The text says "thirty-one," but the enumeration following (12+8+12) shows them to be "thirty-two."

characters].<sup>1</sup> When anyone among the people is guilty

<sup>1</sup> It may not be quite hopeless to attempt identifying some of these names, whether they represent "streets," "divisions" (of the city, or of the country), or "cities" (*pura*). Should they prove to be names of cities, their identification would assist us in gaining some positive knowledge of the political extent of the Kesari empire. The repetition of certain groups of sounds, such as *p'u-t'ing* (twice, viz. *a*, 23, 24, and *b*, 21, 22), which may stand for *patam*, as an ending in city names, or *mung-ka-lan* (four times, viz. *b*, 36, 37, 38; *c*, 12, 13, 14; *c*, 21, 22, 23; and *c*, 42, 43, 44), which may stand for *Mangalor*, might lead to some interesting discoveries. The characters follow each other thus:—

a. In the West (12 names).		b. In the South (8 names).		c. In the North (12 names).	
1. 只	25. 故	1. 無	20. 藍	1. 撥	23. 藍
2. 都	26. 里	2. 雅	21. 浦	2. 羅	24. 皮
3. 尼	27. 婆	3. 加	22. 登	3. 耶	25. 林
4. 施	28. 翰	4. 黎	23. 蒙	4. 無	26. 伽
5. 亞	29. 岑	5. 麻	24. 伽	5. 沒	27. 藍
6. 盧	30. 本	6. 藍	25. 林	6. 密	28. 浦
7. 尼	31. 蹄	7. 眉	26. 加	7. 江	29. 稜
8. 羅	32. 揭	8. 古	27. 藍	8. 注	30. 和
9. 琶	33. 蹄	9. 黎	28. 琶	9. 林	31. 藍
10. 離	34. 閻	10. 苦	29. 里	10. 加	32. 堡
11. 甌	35. 黎	11. 低	30. 琶	11. 里	33. 琶
12. 琶	36. 池	12. 舍	31. 密	12. 蒙	34. 來
13. 移	37. 密	13. 里	32. 遊	13. 伽	35. 田
14. 布	38. 那	14. 尼	33. 亞	14. 藍	36. 注
15. 林	39. 部	15. 蜜	34. 林	15. 漆	37. 高
16. 琶	40. 尼	16. 多	35. 池	16. 結	38. 廬
17. 布	41. 遮	17. 羅	36. 蒙	17. 麻	39. 娑
18. 尼	42. 古	18. 摩	37. 伽	18. 藍	40. 囉
19. 古	43. 林	19. 伽	38. 藍	19. 握	41. 迷
20. 檀	44. 亞			20. 折	42. 蒙
21. 布	45. 里			21. 蒙	43. 伽
22. 林	46. 者			22. 伽	44. 藍
23. 浦	47. 林				
24. 登					

of an offence, one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence were light, the culprit is tied up on a wooden frame and given fifty, or seventy, or up to a hundred blows with a stick; heavy crimes are visited by decapitation or by the culprit's being trampled to death by elephants. At State banquets the king salaams with his four court ministers at the palace steps, and the whole company then engages in instrumental music, hymns, and pantomimes; he eats meat, though he takes no wine, and by the native custom dresses in cotton cloth and eats flour cakes; for his table and escort he employs fully ten thousand female attendants, three thousand of whom are in waiting every day in rotation. When contracting marriage, one first sends a female go-between with a gold and silver finger ring to the bride's house. Three days afterwards there is a meeting of the bridegroom's clan to decide on the amount of land, or cattle, or betel nuts, or wine, and the like, to be given as marriage gifts; and the bride's family sends the gold or silver finger ring, Yüeh-no cloth,<sup>1</sup> and the brocaded clothing worn by the bride, to their [intended] son-in-law. In case the man should wish to withdraw from the engagement, he will not dare to reclaim the marriage gifts; but if the girl should wish to reject the man, then she will make double compensation for it. Since the taxes and duties of the kingdom are numerous and heavy,<sup>2</sup> travelling merchants rarely go thither. This country is at war with the countries of the Western Heaven.<sup>3</sup> The Government possesses 60,000 war elephants, all seven or eight Chinese feet in height; when fighting, they set houses on the backs of these elephants, and the houses are full of soldiers, who shoot with arrows at long range and fight with spears at

<sup>1</sup> Yüeh-no cloth is frequently mentioned in mediaeval texts on Central and Western Asia. Among other places Baghdad was engaged in its manufacture (see *Die Länder des Islâm nach chines. Quellen*, Supplement to *T'oung-pao*, vol. v, p. 42, note 4); also in Rûm (*Lu-mei*), whatever may be meant by that name (*ibid.*, p. 48).

<sup>2</sup> This may refer to the imposts levied by Varja Kesari.—Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 11.

<sup>3</sup> This seems to show that, when this item of information was placed on record, the great conquest of North India had not taken place.

close quarters. When they are victorious, their elephants are also granted honorary names to signalize their merit. The inhabitants are hot-tempered and reckless of life; nay, in the presence of the king they will fight man to man with swords, and die without regret. Father and son, elder and younger brothers, will have their meals cooked in separate kettles and served on separate dishes; yet they are deeply alive to family duty. The following articles are produced in the country: pearls, ivory, corals, transparent glass [*po-li*], betel nuts, cardamoms, opaque glass [*liu-li*], dyed silk cloth, and cotton cloth. Of quadrupeds, they have goats and oxen; of birds, pheasants and parrots; of fruits, the *yü-kan* [a kind of mango: *Spondias amara*], the *t'eng-lo* [some kind of epidendrum; according to Parker in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 193: Rattan], dates, cocoa nuts, the *kan-lo*, the *k'un-lun* plum, and the jack fruit; of flowers, the white jasmine [18 characters, some of which probably represent Indian, if not Persian, or Arabic, sounds<sup>1</sup>]; of grain, green and black beans, wheat, and paddy; and the bamboo is indigenous there. In former times they have not sent tribute to our court; but in the eighth year of the period Ta-chung and Hsiang-fu [A.D. 1015] the chief of the country sent an embassy with pearls and the like articles as tribute. The interpreters, in translating their speech, said that they wished to evince the respect of distant people for [Chinese] civilization. They were ordered by Imperial decree to remain in waiting at the side gate of the Palace, and be entertained with a repast by the Associates in the College of Court Annalists. By Imperial favour they were ranked with the envoys from Kuei-tzü [Kutsha in Eastern Turkestan]. It just happened to be

(1) 1 散 2 絲 3 蛇 4 臍 5 桑 6 麗 7 秋 8 青 9 黃 10 碧 11 婆 12 羅 13 瑤 14 逕 15 蟬 16 紫 17 水 18 蕉. Mr. E. H. Parker, in a similar passage, transliterates the characters 11 and 12 by *solo*, which he calls "a sort of cotton" (*China Review*, vol. xix, p. 193); but the term reads *polo* ("blue, yellow, and green *polo*"), not *solo*. The character which Mr. Parker has in view is probably 婆, *so*.

the Emperor's birthday, and the envoys had a fine opportunity to witness the congratulations in the "Sacred Enclosure." In the tenth year of Hsi-ning [A.D. 1077] they sent further tribute of local produce.<sup>1</sup> The Emperor Shên-Taung sent an officer of the Inner Department [a chamberlain, *nei-shih*], to bid them welcome.

The remaining countries, *Nan-ni-hua-lo*, etc., are more than one hundred in number; they are all included under the term Western Heaven.

Of the city which is called *Wang-shê* [*lit.* Royal Lodge], tradition says that, in the north of Chiao-chih [Tungking] you go to Ta-li [Ta-li-fu in Yunnan], and west of Ta-li you come to the city of Wang-shê in less than forty days' journey.<sup>2</sup> The *Huang-hua-hsi-ta-chi* ["Record of Imperial Chinese Missions to the West"] by Chia Tan<sup>3</sup> says: "To reach T'ien-chu [India] from Annam, there is an overland road by which one may go to this country; yet Ta-mo [Dharma]<sup>4</sup> came floating on the sea to P'an-yü [Canton], and we may fairly ask whether the sea journey be not more expeditious than that lengthy road overland?"

<sup>1</sup> Of the embassy mentioned in the *Sung-shih*. Note on p. 490, above.

<sup>2</sup> *Wang-shê*, *lit.* Royal Lodge. I believe that our author here confounds the city of Radjagriha, the Wang-shê of Buddhist lore, with the new capital founded in A.D. 989 by Nirüpa Kesari and named Kataka, the translation of which name is given as "Royal Residence." This is the same city which has given its name to the present province of Cuttack.—Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 12.

<sup>3</sup> A great geographer of the T'ang dynasty, who lived about A.D. 730 to 805. He was the author of a number of important ethnographical works, none of which appear to have come down to our days. From his biography (*T'ang-shu*, ch. 166, p. 1 *seqq.*) I conclude that he devoted considerable interest to foreign nations. He drew several maps, among others one entitled *Hai-wei-hua-i*, i.e. "Chinese and Foreigners within the Seas"; and that this was not a mere illustration of ethnographical types, which the word *t'u* (map, drawing) often denotes, may be concluded from the remark, made in the *T'ang-shu*, that "it measured three *chang* and three *ch'ih* in breadth, and that it was drawn on the scale of 100 *li* to the inch." The geographical section of the bibliographical chapter of the *T'ang-shu* (ch. 68, p. 32) mentions under his name, besides "Ten books of Maps" (*Ti-t'u shih chüan*), the work quoted by Chao Ju-kua, with a slight variant, placing *ssü* (four) for *hsi* (west) in the title.

<sup>4</sup> *Alias* Lu Hui-nêng. Cf. Rémusat, "Sur la succession des trente-trois patriarches de la religion de Bouddha," in *Mél. Asiat.* i, p. 124; Lassen, *Ind. Alt.*, vol. iv, p. 660 *seq.*; Eitel, *s.v.* Bodhidharma; Watters, *Essays on the Chinese Language*, p. 393; Mayers, *Manual*, No. 428.

The capital of the country of *Péng-ka-lo* [Bengala] in the west is called Ch'a-na-chi.<sup>1</sup> This city is 120 *li* in circuit. The common people are combative and devoted solely to robbery. They use white cowry shells, ground into shape, as money. The country produces superior double-edged sword-blades, cotton, and other cloth. Some say that the doctrine of Buddha has originated in this country: for, when Hsüan Chuang, [the Master versed in] the Three Canons, of the T'ang dynasty, fetched the sacred books, he had come to the Western Heaven.

NAN-NI-HUA-LO [or, Southern Ni-hua-lo].<sup>2</sup>—Its city has a threefold wall; and the inhabitants, in the morning and in the evening, bathe and besmear their bodies with turmeric, thus imitating the golden colour of a Buddha. They are mostly called Po-lo-mên [Brahmans], as being genuine descendants of Buddha. The walls of their rooms and the mats they sit on are besmeared with cow-dung, which they look upon as a clean substance. In their houses they erect altars, three Chinese feet in height, which are ascended by three steps, and where they burn incense and offer flowers every day in the morning; this they call the sacrifice to Buddha. When the foreigners of Ta-shih [Arabs, Muhammadans] come to this country, they give them seats outside the doors, and lodge them in separate houses supplied with bedding and mess gear. When a married woman has been guilty of adultery she is killed, and the officials will not ask about it. The country produces first-class putchuck and fine white flowered and spotted cotton cloth. The people eat much kumiss [*su-lo*, ghee?], rice, beans, and vegetables; they will rarely eat fish or meat. The road leads to the Western Regions [*Hsi-yü*]. When there are raids made by the light horsemen from the Western Regions, all the resistance they offer is to lock

<sup>1</sup> In Cantonese *Ch'a-na-kat*, which may correspond to some name like Chanagar = Chandernagor? Cf. Champanagara, Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 175; and Sunarganu, Yule, *Cathay*, p. 465.

<sup>2</sup> An account similar to Chao Ju-kua's will be found in the letterpress, accompanying an illustration in the Chinese *Orbis Pictus San-ts'ai-t'u-hui*. It is reproduced in the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'eng*, sect. 8 : 107, ch. i, p. 60.



their gates. In a few days provisions run short, and [the intruders] withdraw of their own accord.

## 21. T'ien-chu [part of India].

The country of T'ien-chu<sup>1</sup> is subordinate to the country of Ta-ts'in; for the chiefs of the country are all selected by Ta-ts'in.<sup>2</sup> It is customary with the people to plait their hair, which hangs down, whereas the temples and the top of the head are covered by a silken turban. In their dwellings they use plaster in lieu of tiles. They have walled cities for the people to dwell in. The king dresses in brocaded silk, and his hair is wound into a spiral tuft

<sup>1</sup> The term *T'ien-chu*, usually rendered by India, has a much more limited sense in Buddhist texts than the name thus rendered would suggest. The *Hsiang-chiao-p'i-pien*, a well-digested Buddhist cyclopaedia of the Ming dynasty (see my notes regarding it in *T'oung-pao*, vol. vi, p. 318) says (ch. i. p. 4) that "Bangala [*Pang-ko-la*] is in the east of T'ien-chu; *Chao-no-p'o* [Chanderungor?], in the middle; Magadha, in the south; Kapila [Buddha's birthplace in the north of Oudh; Cunningham, *The Ancient Geogr. of India*, p. 414 *seqq.*], in the west; and Gazna [*Ka-shè-na*], in the north." Chao Ju-kua probably excludes the T'ien-chu of Buddhists from his own account, which forms the first part of this chapter, and is followed by a quotation from other sources, in which T'ien-chu is taken in another sense; for *Wu-t'ien-chu*, "The Five Indies," was well known as a general term for India in the wider sense before Chao Ju-kua. "*T'ien-chu* is said to be an imitation of the sound *Sun-tu* or *Shên-tu* [Sindh], just as *T'u-fan* is said to stand for *T'u-fal* [Tibet]." I find this remark in a work published in A.D. 1175, the *Yen-fan-tu*, by Ch'êng Ta-ch'ang, a most interesting cyclopaedic collection of miscellanies and by no means the kind of work which Wylie (*Notes on Chinese Lit.*, p. 129) represents it to be.

<sup>2</sup> The only interpretation I am able to offer with regard to this remarkable statement is, that at some time or other Nestorian Bishops were regarded "chiefs of the country." With the exception of the Buddhist devotee Lo-hu-na, who called himself a native of T'ien-chu and who, as coming from T'ien-chu, or India, in the wider sense, may not be at all connected with the T'ien-chu here described, nothing occurs in this account which points to Buddhism or which strongly speaks against the assumption that Nestorians are referred to as "chiefs." I am inclined to think that Chao Ju-kua's T'ien-chu refers to the coast of Madras, the legendary burial-place of St. Thomas (see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 342 *seqq.*), to which should be added the adjoining territory described by Marco Polo as the kingdom of Mutfli. Chao Ju-kua's T'ien-chu produces diamonds: of these Marco Polo says (Yule, vol. ii, p. 347) that "no other country but this kingdom of Mutfli produces them." Possibly the pieces of talc referred to in the Chinese text as looking like silken gauze have some connection with Polo's "delicate buckrams" which look "like tissue of spider's web." Whether a bishop, or some other church authority, was in charge of the St. Thomas Christians, it is most probable that he took his appointment from the Nestorian patriarch as the ecclesiastical "King of Ta-ts'in." Cf. *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 284 *seqq.*

on the top of his head, the remaining hair being cut short. When holding court in the morning he sits on a skin of the Têng [explained as the name of an animal in a gloss of our text, the native dictionaries affording no clue in this matter], adorned with representations of various objects painted with red wax; and his courtiers all do him reverence and pray for his life. When going out he rides on horseback, and his saddle and bridle are thickly set with dark gold [*wu-chin*, whatever metal this may have been] and silver. His followers, three hundred in number, are armed with spears and swords. His consort wears a gold embroidered scarlet dress with large sleeves. Once in a year she shows herself in public, when a considerable bounty is given to the poor. In the country there is the sacred water which can still wind and waves. The foreign merchants fill glass bottles with it, and when they suddenly get into a rough sea, they still it by sprinkling out this water.<sup>1</sup> It is said that,<sup>2</sup> during the reign of Hsüan-wu of the Posterior Wei dynasty [A. D. 500-515], T'ien-chu sent envoys offering large horses. This country produces lions, sables, leopards, camels, rhinoceroses, elephants, tortoise shell, gold, copper, iron, lead, and tin; golden rugs made by weaving gold threads, white cotton cloth, and *ta-têng* [rugs?]. There is a stone like talc, but of a reddish colour; when split it is as thin as a cicada's wing; when put together, these pieces look like silken gauze. They have diamonds, resembling fluor spar, which will not melt though a hundred times exposed to the fire; they cut jadestone. There are, further, sandalwood and the like incenses, sugar-cane, sugar-candy [*shih-mi*],<sup>3</sup> and all kinds of fruit. They

<sup>1</sup> I am strongly tempted to here suspect an allusion to the use of consecrated water (*aqua lustralis*), known to the ancient Christians long before the existence of Roman Catholicism.

<sup>2</sup> The entire passage following down to the words "they cut jadestone" appears with almost the same reading in the *Tung-tien*, a work of the eighth century A. D. Altogether Chao Ju-kua's accounts of Ta-ts'in and T'ien-chu are blended with matter occurring in older texts, to which fact the authors of the great Catalogue of the Peking Imperial Library have drawn attention.

<sup>3</sup> "Sucre cristallisé." This is the translation adopted by Julien for the term *shih-mi* (*lit.* "stone honey," "petrified honey") on the strength of a definition,

have trade once every year with Ta-ts'in and Fu-nan [Siam]; they use cowries as a means of exchange. They are clever in jugglery, and know the use of bows and arrows, armour, spears, flying ladders, and mining underground ways [or, tunnels], and also the contrivances of "the wooden ox" and "the gliding horse" [*mu-niu-liu-ma*]<sup>1</sup>; yet, they are cowards in battle. They are good astronomers and chronographers, and understand the "Siddham Rule Books"<sup>2</sup> . . . . [a gap of seven characters follows here in the text, though no gap is mentioned in the corresponding paragraph of the *T'ung-tien*]. They make paper of the leaves of the Pei-to [Patru] tree. During the periods Chêng-kuan [A.D.

derived apparently from the ancient work *I-wu-chih* (*P'ei-wên-yün-fu*, ch. xciii, p. 72). The *I-wu-chih* says: "The juice pressed out of the sugar-cane produced in Chiao-chih [Tungking] is like *i-hsing* ["sweet cakes"], and is called *t'ang* [i.e. sugar]; when further boiled and exposed to the sun, it may be broken up like bricks, after it has coagulated and crystallized. To eat it, you take it into your mouth and dissolve it. At the time people called it *shih-mi*." This name *shih-mi* occurs as early as the *Hou-han-shu*, in the description of India, which involves that sugar-candy was known there during the first centuries of our era. The *Hsi-ching-tsa-chi*, a record of events at the Western capital during the Han dynasty, even mentions that the king of Nan-yüeh presented the emperor Kao-ti [A.D. 206-194] with *shih-mi* (see *P'ei-wên-yün-fu*, i.c.). Regarding Sugar and Sugar-cane in ancient India, see Lassen, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 317 *seqq.*

<sup>1</sup> "The Wooden Ox" and "the Gliding Horse," according to the *San-kuo-chih* (Chu, ch. v, pp. 13 and 15), were contrivances facilitating the transport of provisions invented by the great hero of the third century, Chu-ko Liang. The Chinese attach great value to these inventions, a detailed description of which has been preserved by the scholiast commenting on the passage referred to. I am not able, from a cursory perusal of it, to form a clear idea as to how they were constructed and how they worked.

<sup>2</sup> *Hsi-tan ch'ang-shu*. According to Julien (Hiouen-Tsang, iii, p. 527), the first chapters of a syllabary in twelve chapters attributed to Brahma. Cf. Eitel, *Handbook for the Student of Chin. Buddh.*, s.v. Siddha Vastu. Watters, "The Shadows of a Pilgrim," in *China Review*, vol. xix, p. 220, shows it to be the beginning of a child's primer, or A B C, the first chapter of which was headed by the word *Siddham*, forming an auspicious invocation. This may be the primary meaning and would be the orthodox interpretation according to the traditional explanation of this term as found in Buddhist glossaries. Since a gap appears in the text following it, we cannot easily decide what the author was going to say. His speaking of the astronomical achievements of the Hindus, however, seems to suggest that by the term *Hsi-tan* (= *Siddhanta*) the astronomical literature is referred to. Alberüni (Sachau, vol. i, p. 153) says: "The book known among Muslims as *Sindhind* is called by them *Siddhanta*, i.e. straight, not crooked nor changing. By this name they call every standard book on astronomy, even such books as, according to our opinion, do not come up to the mark of our so-called *Zij*, i.e. handbooks of mathematical astronomy. They have five *Siddhantas*," etc. Lassen (*op. cit.*, vol. iv, p. 621) calls the *Siddhanta* "ein Lehrbuch, in dem ein wissenschaftliches System durch Gründe bewiesen wird, besonders ein astronomisches."

627-650] and T'ien-shou [A.D. 690-692] of the T'ang dynasty they have sent envoys with tribute. At the time of Yung-hsi [A.D. 984-988], a Buddhist devotee, by name Lo-hu-na, arrived here by sea; he called himself a native of T'ien-chu [India]. The foreign merchants [*fan-shang*, who must have been Buddhists; possibly Chinese merchants trading to foreign countries, if not Indians, Ceylonese, etc., since Muhammadans would not build a Buddhist temple], considering him a foreign priest [*hu-sêng*], vied with each other in presenting him with gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones; but the devotee was not in want of these himself. He invested the presents thus received in the purchase of a piece of ground, on which he built a Buddhist temple; it stood in the southern suburb of Ch'üan [Chinchew], and the present Pao-lin-yüan [Monastery] is identical with it.

(b) *Extracts from Part II: ARTICLES OF TRADE.*

1. CAMPHOR.

Camphor comes from P'u-ni [Buni, Borneo], according to some Fo-ni; it also comes from the country of Pin-su.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Pin-su*, in Cantonese *Pan-sök*, the latter form representing the sound *Pansor*; for, since I had shown ("Chinese Equivalents of the letter R in foreign names" in *Journ. of the China Br. Roy. As. Soc.*, vol. xxi, p. 220) that final *n* and final *t* were employed in Ancient Chinese transcriptions to represent final *r* in foreign names, M. Terrien de Lacouperie added *k* and *p* to the number of Chinese finals which can take the place of final *r* (see "The Djurtchen of Mandshuria" in *Journ. Roy. As. Soc.*, Vol. XXI, p. 442). Although this name *Pansor* is not mentioned anywhere else by our author, I do not hesitate to identify it with the country distinctly described as a producer of camphor under the name *Fansur* by Arab and other mediaeval writers. "The camphor *al-fansuri* is mentioned as early as by Avicenna, and by Marco Polo, and came from a place called *Pansür* in Sumatra, perhaps the same as Burus, which has now long given its name to the costly Sumatra drug."—Yule, *Anglo-Indian Glossary*, p. 116. The name *Pansür* is first mentioned by Mas'üdi (about A.D. 940) and Abu Seyd (Reinaud, *Relation*, etc., vol. i, p. 7; *fansur*). Marco Polo describes a kingdom of *Fansur* which produces camphor. Chao Ju-kua was apparently not aware that this country of Pin-su (*Pansur*, or *Fansur*) and his *San-fo-ch'i* were situated on the same island; and he may be correct, in a certain sense, in maintaining that in *San-fo-ch'i* (Palembang) itself the drug was not produced, but merely imported for re-shipment. This passage need not, therefore, involve the exclusion of the camphor industry from Sumatra. Regarding the *Fansur* question and its literature, see Yule, *Marco Polo*, vol. ii, p. 235 *seqq.*