

像帝皇文祖成



Portrait of the emperor Ch'eng-tsu (Yung-lo)

MA HUAN
YING-YAI SHENG-LAN

'THE OVERALL SURVEY OF
THE OCEAN'S SHORES'

[1433]

*Translated from the Chinese text
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Introduction

visited Mecca; and, finally, certain precise details given in the book indicate that he actually went there.¹

Since the journey from Calicut to Mecca took three months and since a year elapsed before they arrived back in China during July 1433, we may provisionally conclude that they left Calicut about July 1432, came to Mecca about October 1432, stayed there for some three months till about January 1433, and reached Calicut in time to join Cheng Ho's fleet which sailed from there on 9 April. This was Ma Huan's third and last voyage, and it may have been on this occasion that he visited Dhufar and Aden. Kung Chen and Fei Hsin also served on this expedition of 1431-3.

Ma Huan never went to East Africa; but he claimed to have visited twenty Asian countries; twelve of these have already been mentioned, and Aru, Lambri, Cochin, and the Maldivé islands may have been visited either in 1414-15 or in 1421-2; but we have no express information as to the dates when he visited the other four countries, namely, Thailand, Nagur, Lide, and Quilon.

After his return to China in 1433 Ma Huan incorporated in his book the description of Mecca, possibly that of Dhufar and Aden, and the mention of relations with Palembang in 1424 and 1425. His friend Kuo Ch'ung-li collaborated with him in the preparation of the book; but, as it is always Ma Huan who signs the documents, we may conclude that it was he who composed the record of the observations which the two men had made. We may presume that his book *Ying-yai sheng-lan* received its final form about 1434-6, since in 1434 King Chen wrote the Foreword of his almost identical book called *Hsi-yang fan-kuo chih*, and in 1436 Fei Hsin wrote the Foreword of his *Hsing-ch'a sheng-lan*. It seems probable that Ma Huan's manuscript, like that of Fei Hsin, was 'circulated', and this might account for the existence of different copies.

We presume that Ma Huan and Kuo Ch'ung-li made attempts to have the book printed in 1444, and that, to this end, Ma Ching wrote his Foreword in that year. Eventually, Kuo Ch'ung-li, through his friend Lu T'ing-yung, prevailed on the imperial clerk Ku P'o to write an Afterword, and the book was published, Pelliot thought, in 1451; but this edition has long disappeared. Ma Huan died, we presume, about 1460 and, despite the fulsome eulogies of Ma Ching and Ku P'o, his book was never widely read, he never achieved fame, and he had been forgotten before 1773, when the imperial library of the Ch'ien-lung emperor was being formed.²

¹ On the other hand Duyvendak (*Ma Huan*, p. 73, n. 5) thought that Ma Huan did not go to Mecca.

² On Ma Huan and his book see Rockhill, Part II, pp. 69-73; Duyvendak, *Ma Huan*, pp. 9, 13, 73, n. 5; Pelliot, 'Voyages', pp. 257-64; Pelliot, 'Encore', p. 211.

We cannot glean much about Ma Huan as a man. He could hardly have been free at first from the subconscious sentiment of contempt which the Chinese felt for the 'barbarian'; and he was too narrow-minded to believe the marvels recounted by Wang Ta-yüan. But he candidly admits that he changed his views; and he makes many appreciative remarks about the people and the things which he observed. He appears a simple-minded person, he loathed violence, and was aghast at the frequency of judicial killings in Java.

As readers then expected of travel-writers, he cultivated a spirit of enquiry for 'some new thing', and so, in addition to more important matters, he gives us much folk-lore and stories such as that of Moses and the golden calf at Calicut, as well as descriptions of unusual objects such as jack-fruit, durian, and mango among flora, and rhinoceros, zebra, and giraffe among fauna. On some points he is too gullible, as when he describes in all seriousness the vampire of Champa, and the were-tiger of Malacca. On other points, again, commentators have found it difficult to distinguish between fact and fable; for instance, when Ma Huan relates the custom of obtaining human gall in Champa, or the history of the 'old fisherman' at Semudera. In general, Ma Huan seems to have formed his judgments fairly and without prejudice.

B. Extant versions of the 'Ying-yai sheng-lan'

The *editio princeps* of 1451 having long disappeared, we now rely for our knowledge of Ma Huan's book on three printed Ming copies, herein called C, S and K. The irresponsible vagaries of Chinese copyists are almost beyond belief; and we may not unfairly apply to them Moule's stricture on those who copied the manuscripts of Marco Polo, 'each copyer omitted, abridged, paraphrased and made mistakes as he saw fit'.

Version C

The version primarily used here appeared in a collection called *Chi-lu hui-pien*, 'A Collection of Records', published by Shen Chieh-fu in about 1617, the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* comprising the forty-seven folios of chapter 62. Examples of the *Chi-lu hui-pien* may be found in the Cambridge University Library, in the Institut des Hautes Études chinoises at Paris, and in the Library of Congress at Washington (used for this study). Manuscript copies of this version of the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* exist in the British Museum (Or. 6191) and in the Sinological Institute at Leyden. In addition to the *Ying-yai sheng-lan*, the *Chi-lu hui-pien* contains Ma Huan's Foreword of 1416, the Poem, and Ku P'o's Afterword of 1451. The *Chi-lu hui-pien* version in all probability reproduces the 1451 printed text or a copy made from it; it is a

Muslims, that they travelled within the territories of the twenty countries which they visited, and that they went to Mecca. We also learn that both men gave frequent talks about their experiences abroad, and that Kuo Ch'ung-li was anxious to have Ma Huan's book printed in order that these matters might come to the knowledge of a wider public.

The Ying-yai sheng-lan. At this time accounts of foreign travel were not uncommon, and the Chinese court welcomed them. As Fei Hsin's book was illustrated,¹ it may well be that the first printed edition of the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* also contained illustrations. These would probably take the form of rough woodcuts such as those appearing in the *San-ts'ai t'u-hui* encyclopaedia of 1609.² From the Forewords written by Ma Huan and Ma Ching and from the Afterword of Ku P'o, we ascertain the topics with which an account of foreign travel was expected to deal. These included geography and topography; climate; political changes; the appearance, costume, customs, morals, and diet of the various peoples; laws and regulations; crimes and punishments; and economic products. And there are indications that a chief desideratum was an account of unusual things. Ma Huan purported to give the reader a brief summary of all the important facts.

His accounts vary greatly in length and content; thus, the description of Lide [Meureudu], of Aru [Deli], and of Quilon takes less than a page; while the longer accounts of Calicut and Java occupy about half a dozen normal pages of English print. Ma Huan's descriptions are comparatively short to read, and in order to ascertain the matters which he thought fit to note, it will suffice to analyse the least detailed and the most detailed account.

From his description of Li-tai [Lide, Meureudu] on the north coast of Sumatra, we may draw conclusions as to what he considered the barest essentials.

He remarks on the small size of the country, and explains its situation in relation to the sea, the mountains, and the adjoining countries. He states that they have a king, who is subject to Semudera. He gives the number of the population, and says that their speech and customs resemble those of Semudera. He comments that the land has no products, but that the mountains contain wild rhinoceros. Finally he adds the usual formula to the effect that the country sent tribute to China.

In contrast with that meagre sketch, Ma Huan's account of Ku-li [Calicut] contains a great deal of interesting information. He emphasizes its importance as the principal emporium of the Western Ocean, and shows its geographical position as regards Ko-chih [Cochin] on the south, Hen-nu-erh [Honavar]

¹ Duyvendak, 'Dates', p. 394.

² For an example, see *T'oung Pao*, vol. x, no. 3 (1899), facing p. 27.

on the north, and K'an-pa-i [Coimbatore] far to the east. He calls the king a Nan-k'un man [or Nan-p'i, Brahman or Kshatriya], a staunch Buddhist who venerated the elephant and the ox; he gives an elaborate description of the king's religious devotions in what he calls a 'temple of Buddha'; and he appends a version of the story concerning Moses and the golden calf. He also notices the rule of succession through the son of the king's sister. The great chiefs, he notes, were Muslims. The administration, he observes, lay in the hands of two great chiefs, both of whom were Muslims. After mentioning the absence of flogging, he sets out the permissible punishments, in order of severity, as severance of hand or foot, fine, death, confiscation of the offender's property and extermination of his family; he also describes the process of ordeal by boiling oil in cases where the accused person contests the allegation of guilt. On the subject of religion he further remarks that the majority of the population were Muslims, and explains the usual routine on the day of public worship.

He admires the smart, fine, and distinguished appearance of the people, and praises their honesty and trustworthiness. He divides the population into five classes as Muslims, Nan-k'un, Che-ti, [Chetty], Ko-ling [Kling], and Mu-kua [Mukava]. He comments on their predilection for butter, and stresses that, like the king, they refrained from eating beef, while the Muslims abjured pork; and he recites the pact between Muslims and non-Muslims to respect each others' tenets. He extols the excellence of their music, and points out that the 'So-li' [Chola] people and the Muslims followed their own customs in marriages, funerals, and other matters. He treats of the currency (the gold *fanam* and the silver *tar*), and of the system of weights (*farsala* and *bahar*) and measures. He refers to their use of steelyard and scales, and expresses astonishment at the unerring accuracy of their calculations by means of digits alone. He specifies the flora and fauna, and tells of the pepper and coconut cultivation, and the manufacture of cotton and silk cloths. He gives an account of the pepper-trade and the trade of the Chetties in gems, and the many foreign ships bringing imports which were sold under official supervision to ensure payment of duty. Lastly, on the subject of relations with the Chinese, he recounts the visit of Cheng Ho in 1407 to proclaim the imperial will and bestow honours on the king and his chiefs, the erection of a commemorative plaque, and the manufacture of a jewelled girdle especially made on the king's order for presentation as tribute to the emperor of China.

As might be expected, the matters on which Ma Huan reports differ from one country to another; so that in addition to the topics to which he refers in his longest account, that of Calicut, he makes mention of such things as the calendar, wine-drinking ceremonies, vampires, local legends, jousting,

suttee, singing-parties, the *wayang*, gaming, temporary marriages, were-tigers, *jogis*, jugglers, and tricks, besides noting such unusual animals, birds, and products as the rhinoceros, tapir, crocodile, camel, zebra, giraffe, lion, lynx, buceros, cassowary, ostrich, jack-fruit, *kemenyan* [benzoin], damar, sago, nipa-wine, durian, mango, oysters, gem-stones, ambergris, cowries, frankincense, almonds, and dates.

It goes without saying that we should have liked further information on many points, for instance, the Thai calendar, Javanese coinage, methods of warfare, or the system of weights and measures used in Aden, Bengal, Hormuz, and Mecca.

II. *The importance of the work*

The Chinese records constitute valuable authorities for conditions in southern Asia before the arrival of the Portuguese, whose first relation, the anonymous *Roteiro de Vasco da Gama*, refers to the year 1498. If we consider the period of a century and a half before that date, we find that there are six travellers who wrote considerable accounts: at about the beginning of the period, Ibn Battuta (1326-49) and Wang Ta-yüan (c. 1330-50); and at about the middle of the period Fei Hsin (1409-33), Ma Huan and Kung Chen (1413-33), and Nicolò de Conti (c. 1420-44).¹

It will be seen that four of these six writers were Chinese travellers; and on the whole Ma Huan is the best of our Chinese informants.² Detailed comparison is difficult; but we may note that of the twenty countries described by Ma Huan, Ibn Battuta describes only ten and Wang Ta-yüan only thirteen; further, while Fei Hsin gives a description of eighteen countries, his accounts are much shorter, and those of Conti must be considered very poor except in regard to Vijayanagar, a country which Ma Huan does not include.

Ma Huan's accounts are superior to those of Ibn Battuta except as regards Ceylon, Quilon, and the Maldive islands, superior to Wang Ta-yüan except as regards Ceylon³ and Quilon, superior to Fei Hsin except as regards Champa⁴ and Quilon, and superior to Conti except as regards Quilon.

One naturally enquires how Ma Huan compares with the *Ming shih* in

¹ Various relevant matters were mentioned by a number of less important writers, for instance, Abdur Razzak (1442-4), Nikitin (c. 1470), and Hieronimo de Santo Stefano (c. 1496).

² The book of Kung Chen has recently come to light, and it transpires that Kung Chen and Ma Huan described the same twenty countries, and that their books are of much the same length and scope; further examination may disclose that Kung Chen is as informative as Ma Huan.

³ Wang Ta-yüan includes accounts of Dondra head, Colombo, and 'Ti san Chiang' (the Gulf of Mannar?).

⁴ Fei Hsin includes accounts of Cape Varella and Panduranga.

completeness; again, only a rough generalization can be made, since the *Ming shih* is concerned more with politics and Ma Huan more with manners. Generally speaking, in their respective descriptions of these twenty countries during the period from 1403 to 1453 the *Ying-yai sheng-lan* is approximately twice as long as the *Ming shih*; in the accounts of Calicut and Hormuz it is nearly three times as long; and in one instance only, the description of Quilon, does the *Ming shih* contain a longer account. Ma Huan is important because nearly every item of information which he gives deserves to find a place in any detailed account of the countries which he describes.

The following sketch specifies what seem to be the more important matters mentioned by Ma Huan; and in this connection we may note that for the contemporary Chinese reader the more important information would normally be that which was not given by Wang Ta-yüan (1350), since it is to be presumed that at the time when Ma Huan's book was first published, probably in 1451, the books of Kung Chen and Fei Hsin had not yet appeared in print. The sketch sets out what Ma Huan says, and not what one might think he ought to have said; but a few of the Chinese readings have been corrected.

Champa. The country was reached after sailing south-west for ten days from Fu chou to the main port of Qui Nhon, the strong point of Sri Banoy and the walled capital of Champapura being in this locality. The king belonged to the Chola race, and professed the Buddhist religion. Products included superior ebony wood, valuable lign-aloes, the unique 'Kuan yin' bamboo, and the rhinoceros. Fishing constituted the main occupation. Marriages were contracted by consummation. Writing was done with white chalk on goat-skins or tree-bark folded into book form. Punishments included branding and impalement. Gold and silver were used as currency. The Chinese traded porcelain, silks, and beads. Tribute was constantly presented to China.

Java. Ships first reached Tuban, next Gresik, and then Surabaya, the terminus for large ships, whence the journey was made in small ships to Canggu, and thence overland to Majapahit, the capital. Males universally wore the poniard and flew to it on the least provocation. Judicial executions were frequent. The population consisted of Muslim merchants from the west, Chinese, and the rude local people. The king held annual jousting tournaments. The people contracted marriages by consummation. The dead were devoured by dogs, cremated, or committed to the waters. Upper-class families practised *suttee*. Many foreigners amassed wealth. Chinese copper coins were in general use. Writing was done in Indian script with a stylus on palm-leaves, and composition followed grammatical rules. In the system of weights one

'ounce' equalled one and four-tenths Chinese 'ounces'; in the system of measures one *kula* (pint) equalled one and eight-tenths Chinese 'pints'. The Chinese traded porcelain, musk, silks, and beads. The king constantly sent tribute to China.

Palembang. The country, locally called 'P'o-lin-pang' was identical with the former San Fo-ch'i [Sri Vijaya], and subject to the suzerainty of Java. It had the sea on the north, mountains on the south, Java to the east, and Malacca to the west. Ships came from all places. The people enjoyed great wealth, and the soil was very fertile. Men trained to fight on water. Dry land being scarce, the common people lived on rafts. Customs coincided with those of Java. The outrages of the pirate chief Ch'en Tsu-i having been reported, Cheng Ho [on his first expedition] captured and deported him, and subsequently Shih Chin-ch'ing and his descendants were appointed as governors by the emperor. Products included benzoin, the rhinoceros hornbill, the cassowary, and the tapir. The people loved gambling. Chinese copper coins were in use. The ruler constantly sent tribute to China.

Thailand. From Champa ships travelled towards the south-west and after seven days reached this mountain-girt swamp-land with barren soil. The king was of the Chola race, and a devout Buddhist. Monks and nuns abounded. The women excelled in intelligence, and managed affairs. A Buddhist priest escorted a prospective bride-groom to the bride's family-house, and the marriage was afterwards contracted by consummation. The bodies of the wealthy were buried, and the bodies of the poor devoured by birds. Some sixty miles north of the capital [Ayutthaya] lay the busy mart of Shang shui [Lopburi], where men from the Chinese fleets went to trade. Products included an abundance of sapan-wood. The language resembled a patois of Cantonese. The people practised fighting on water, and the king committed frequent acts of aggression. Cowries, or gold, silver, or copper coins, but not Chinese copper coins, might be used as currency. The king regularly sent tribute to China.

Malacca. From Champa junks steered due south for eight days to Lung ya strait [near Singapore], and then due west for two days. Formerly the territory of 'Five Islands' was controlled by a chief who paid tribute to Thailand under threat of invasion. Cheng Ho [on his third expedition] raised the status of the territory to that of a 'country', and promoted the chief to be a 'king'. The king visited the emperor to return thanks and present tribute.

The sea-coast faced south-east, and mountains lay to the north-west. The

soil was infertile, and agriculture little practised. A bridge with twenty trading-booths spanned the river. The Muslim religion prevailed. Fishing constituted the main occupation. Products included dammar, tin, and sago. Tin was used as a medium of exchange. Language, writing, and marriage-rites approximated to those of Java. Animals included crocodiles and tigers. The Chinese here constructed a depot for their fleets. The king attended the emperor's court and presented tribute.

Aru [Deli]. Ships reached here after a voyage of four days from Malacca. On the north lay the great sea, on the south great mountains, on the east flat land, and on the west the country of Semudera. The people practised agriculture and fishing. Customs were identical with those of Java and Malacca. Islam prevailed. Products included lign-aloes and benzoin.

Semudera [Lho Seumawe]. This formed the principal emporium for the Western Ocean. From Malacca ships steered towards the south-west, and they arrived here after five days' sailing. The great sea formed the northern boundary, on the south and east rose great mountains, and the great sea lay away to the west. A pretender named Sekandar, rebelling against the reigning king, was captured by Cheng Ho [on his fourth expedition] and taken to China; and the king, in gratitude, constantly sent tribute to the Chinese court. People cultivated dry-land rice only. Pepper from local gardens sold at the rate of one hundred catties for eighty gold coins, equivalent to one Chinese 'ounce' of silver. Cattle-breeding was extensively practised. Language, writing, and marriage- and funeral-customs coincided with those of Malacca. Numerous foreign ships brought an abundance of imports. Currency comprised a gold *dinar* and tin 'cash'. The catty was divided into sixteen 'ounces'. Adjacent on the west lived the people of Nagur [Peudada], the 'tattooed faces', whose language and customs were identical with those of Semudera.

Lide [Meureudu]. On the north was the great sea and on the south great mountains; Nagur adjoined on the east and Lambri [Atjeh] on the west. The king recognized the suzerainty of Semudera, and the language and customs of that country prevailed here. Wild rhinoceros abounded in the mountains, and the king sent men to capture them. Tribute was remitted to China.

Lambri [Atjeh]. Ships reached here after sailing due west from Semudera for three days. The great sea was on the north and west, mountains on the south, and Lide on the east. The king held the Muslim faith. Traders used copper coins. Products included laka-wood and rhinoceros. Half a day's journey to the north-west lay the island called Mao shan [Poulo Weh], serving as a

NAMES OF THE FOREIGN COUNTRIES¹

- The country of Chan city [Champa, Central Vietnam] [1.1]
 The country of Chao-wa² [Java] [2.2]
 The country of Old Haven [Palembang] [3.4]
 The country of Hsien Lo [Siam, Thailand] [4.3]
 The country of Man-la-chia³ [Malacca] [5.5]
 The country of Ya-lu [Aru, Deli] [6.6]
 The country of Su-men-ta-la⁴ [Semudera, Lho Seumawe] [7.7]
 The country of Na-ku-erh⁵ [Nagur, Peudada] [8.8]
 The country of Li-tai [Lide, Meureudu] [9.9]
 The country of Nan-p'o-li [Lambri, Atjeh] [10.10]
 The country of Hsi-lan [Ceylon] [11.13]
 The country of Little Ko-lan⁶ [Quilon] [12.14]
 The country of Ko-chih [Cochin] [13.15]
 The country of Ku-li [Calicut] [14.16]
 The country of Liu Mountains [Maldiva and Laccadive islands] [15.11]
 The country of Tsu-fa-erh⁷ [Dhufar] [16.17]
 The country of A-tan [Aden] [17.19]
 The country of Pang-ko-la⁸ [Bengal] [18.12]
 The country of Hu-lu-mo-ssu⁹ [Hormuz] [19.18]
 The country of The Heavenly Square [Mecca] [20.20]

¹ This list appears only in C. The editor translates the list as given by Feng, who has altered the order and some of the characters. The first square bracket contains the mediaeval name when it differs from the modern name, and the modern locality when it is not immediately recognizable. Within the second square bracket, the first figure denotes the order in Feng's list, and the second figure denotes the order in C.

² Feng writes *chao* (Giles, no. 484); C prints *kua* (Giles, no. 6281), a frequent error in Chinese works.

³ For the second and third characters C wrongly prints *ko t'ü* (Giles, nos. 6069; 12,412).

⁴ For the last character C wrongly prints *t'ü*.

⁵ In the body of the work this country has no separate heading and is treated as an addendum to the description of Semudera.

⁶ C prints *ko lan* (Giles, nos. 6069; 6710); in order to comply with the body of the work, Feng introduces the word *hsiao*, 'little' (Giles, no. 4294) and writes a different character (Giles, no. 6721) for *lan*.

⁷ For the last character C wrongly prints *kuei* (Giles, no. 6430).

⁸ For the last character C wrongly prints *t'ü*.

⁹ For the character *lu* (Giles, no. 7388) C wrongly prints *erh* (Giles, no. 3333); in order to comply with the body of the work, Feng writes *mo* (Giles, no. 7994) for *mo* (Giles, no. 8016) and *ssu* (Giles, no. 10,296) for *ssu* (Giles, no. 10,262).

[Page 1]¹

THE OVERALL SURVEY OF THE OCEAN'S SHORES ANNOTATED

THE COUNTRY OF CHAN CITY²

[CHAMPA, CENTRAL VIETNAM]

This is the country called Wang she ch'eng³ in the Buddhist records.⁴ It lies [in the] south of the great sea [which is] south of the sea of Kuang tung.⁵ Starting from Wu hu strait⁶ in Ch'ang lo district of Fu chou prefecture in Fu chien [province] and travelling south-west, the ship can reach [this place] in ten days with a fair wind.⁷ On the south the country adjoins Chen la;⁸ on the west it connects with the boundary of Chiao chih;⁹ [and] on both east and north it comes down to the great sea.

¹ The page-numbers in square brackets refer to the pagination in Feng Cheng-chün's edition of the Chinese text.

² Champa; Central Vietnam; at this time a powerful kingdom, important both politically and economically. The name 'Chan city', or capital of the Chan tribe, came to be used as the name for the country in general. For Champa see Hsiang Ta, *Kung Chen*, pp. 1-4; Fei Hsin, ch. 1, pp. 1-8 (Rockhill, Part II, pp. 92-9); *Ming shih*, p. 7914, row 1; R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East*; I. Champa (Lahore, 1927), pt. 1, pp. 134-8; pt. II, pp. 223-4; G. Maspero, *Le Royaume de Champa* (Paris, 1928), pp. 135-9; Le Thanh Khoi, pp. 204-20; J. Buttinger, *The Smaller Dragon* (New York, 1958), pp. 37, 56, n. 8, 190, n. 46; Coedès, *États*, pp. 228, 428-9; Hall, *History*, pp. 122, 182, 187-8.

³ Wang she ch'eng (Giles, nos. 12,493; 9789; 763), 'the town of the Royal Lodge' was Rajagrha, the old capital of Magadha in the modern Indian state of Bihar (P. Lévy, 'Les Pélerins chinois en Inde' in *Présence du Bouddhisme* (Saigon, 1959), ed. R. de Berval, pp. 420-1, and see map facing p. 219). The location of this place in Champa remains unexplained, and Feng (p. 1) states that Ma Huan is mistaken. Chou Ch'ü-fei and Chao Ju-kua mention a tradition that the place was in Pin-t'ung-lung, Panduranga, modern Phan-rang, which they say was a dependency of Champa (F. Hirth and W. W. Rockhill, *Chau Ju-kua* (St Petersburg, 1911), p. 51). Panduranga repeatedly rebelled (Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. 1, p. 77); and Chou shows that in 1178, and Ma Huan shows that in 1433, it was considered a part of Champa.

⁴ *Shih* (Giles, no. 9983), the first syllable of 'Sakyamuni', 'the teacher of the Sakya tribe', the designation of the historic Buddha (Reischauer and Fairbank, p. 142).

⁵ Probably the correct reading should be that of Kung Chen, 'It lies south of the great sea of Kuang tung [Canton]'.

⁶ Five Tigers strait, in the estuary of the Min chiang.

⁷ Cheng Ho's seventh expedition took 15 days.

⁸ Cambodia.

⁹ Also called An nan by the Chinese; Tongking, Northern Vietnam; Champa lay rather to the south than to the east of it.

part [of his body] a kerchief¹ of coloured silk; [and] he has bare feet. When he goes about, he mounts an elephant, or else he travels riding in a small carriage with two yellow oxen pulling in front.²

The hat worn by the chiefs is made of *chiao-chang*³ leaves, and resembles that worn by the king, but has gold and coloured ornamentation; [and] differences in [the hats denote] the gradations of rank. The coloured robes which they wear are not more than knee-length, and round the lower part [of the body they wear] a multi-coloured kerchief of foreign cloth.⁴

The house in which the king resides is tall and large. It has a roof of small oblong tiles on it. The four surrounding walls are ornately constructed of bricks and mortar, [and look] very neat.⁵ The doors are made of hard wood, [and] decorated with engraved figures of wild beasts and domestic animals.

The houses in which the people live have a covering made of thatch; the height of the eaves [from the ground] cannot exceed three *ch'ih*;⁶ [people] go in and out with bent bodies and lowered heads; [and to have] a greater height is an offence.

As to the colour of their clothing: white clothes are forbidden, and only the king can wear them; for the populace, black, yellow, and purple coloured [clothes] are all allowed to be worn; [but] to wear white clothing is a capital offence.

The men of the country have unkempt heads; the women dress [Page 3] the hair in a chignon at the back of the head. Their bodies are quite black. On the upper part [of the body] they wear a short sleeveless shirt, and round the lower part a coloured silk kerchief. All [go] bare-footed.⁷

¹ *Shou chin* (Giles, nos. 10,011; 2041), 'hand cloth', in Ma Huan a piece of fabric in which the people of the Western Ocean wrap themselves (Pelliot, 'Voyages', p. 419); he often uses the expression, applying it, among other things, to the Malay *sarong*.

² For an account of the royal life in Champa, see Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. I, pp. 160-3.

³ The first character is Giles, no. 1308; the second character does not appear in the dictionaries; no doubt it should be pronounced as Giles, no. 390; the expression is a transliteration of the Cham word *kajan* or the Javanese and Malay word *kajang*, a waterproof matting made from the leaves of screw-pines (*pandanaceae*); see Yule and Burnell under 'Cadjan', p. 139b.

⁴ For the functions of the chiefs in the administrative system and the status of the aristocracy in society, see Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. I, pp. 148-51 and pt. II, pp. 214-19.

⁵ Cham monuments, mainly built of bricks, have mostly disappeared; Cham temples are described by Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. II, ch. x, and P. Stern, *L'art du Champa* (Paris, 1942); but Cham achievements in architecture and sculpture do not equal the masterpieces of Burma, Thailand, Cambodia, and Java, and they are ignored by Le May, *The Culture of South-East Asia* (London, 1956); for a comparative sketch see M. Hallade, *Arts de l'Asie Ancienne, II. L'Asie du Sud-Est* (Paris, 1954).

⁶ That is, 36.7 inches.

⁷ For the dress of the people see Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. II, pp. 220-2.

The climate is pleasantly hot, without frost or snow, always like the season in the fourth or fifth moon. The plants and trees are always green.

The mountains produce ebony, *ch'ieh-lan*¹ incense, Kuan yin bamboo, and laka-wood.² The ebony is a very glossy black, and decidedly superior to the produce of other countries. The *ch'ieh-lan* incense is produced only on one large mountain in this country, and comes from no other place in the world; it is very expensive, being exchanged for [its own weight in] silver.

The Kuan yin bamboo resembles a small rattan stick; it is one *chang* seven or eight *ch'ih* in length,³ and iron-black [in colour]; it has two or three joints to every one inch; it is not produced elsewhere.

Rhinoceros⁴ and elephants' teeth are very abundant. The rhinoceros resembles a water-buffalo in shape; a large one [weighs] seven or eight hundred *chin*;⁵ the whole body is hairless, black in colour, and all covered with scales; the skin is lined, mangy, and thick; the hoof has three digits;⁶ [and] the head has one horn which grows in the middle of the bridge of the nose, a long horn being one *ch'ih* four or five *ts'un* [in height].⁷ It does not eat grass, but it eats prickly trees and prickly leaves; it also eats large [pieces of] dry wood. It drops excrement which resembles the sumach-refuse⁸ of a dyer's shop.

Their horses are short and small, like donkeys. Water-buffaloes, yellow

¹ Giles, nos. 1558; 6732; the expression may be a transliteration of the Malay word *kelembak*, the finest kind of lign-aloes (lignum-aloes, aloes wood, aquila-wood, eagle-wood); alternatively the Chinese may have learnt the word from the Persians, from whose tongue the Malay word was derived; lign-aloes is an odoriferous concretion caused by disease in the wood of about half the trees comprising the genus *Aquilaria*; it was once much valued in Europe as an incense (Yule and Burnell, under 'Calambac', p. 144a; Hirth and Rockhill, p. 205, n. 1; Rockhill, Part II, p. 86; J. Filliozat, 'L'Agalloche et les manuscrits sur bois dans l'Inde et les pays de civilisation indienne', *Journal Asiatique*, vol. CCXLVI (1958), pp. 86-9; Wheatley, 'Commodities', under 'Gharuwood' p. 69.

² *Chiang chen hsiang* (Giles, nos. 1255; 589; 4256), 'aromatic which brings down the True-Ones'; Malay *kayu laka*, whence 'cayolaque', sometimes 'laka-wood' in English; a rose-wood liana, *Dalbergia parviflora* of the East Indies, whose scented heartwood is still imported into China for 'joss-sticks' (Yule and Burnell, under 'Cayolaque', p. 177b; Hirth and Rockhill, p. 211; Pelliot, 'Voyages', p. 381; E. H. Schafer, 'Rose-wood, Dragon's Blood and Lac', *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, vol. LXXVII, pt. 2 (1957), p. 134; Wheatley, 'Commodities', p. 119).

³ That is, about 17½ or 18½ feet.

⁴ K has 'rhinoceros horns'. On rhinoceros horn see Wheatley, 'Commodities', p. 77.

⁵ That is, about 900 or 1000 pounds.

⁶ Literally, 'three treads'; according to the *Tz'u-hai*, the character *ch'ia* (Giles, no. 1195) is used for *chih* (Giles, no. 1896) and the latter is used for *t'a* (Giles, no. 10,496), 'to tread on'. The editor has been advised to translate 'three digits'.

⁷ That is, about 17 or 18 inches.

⁸ Feng adopts the reading of K; Pelliot, differing from Duyvendak, had already suggested this reading; sumach is *Rhus succedanea* (Pelliot, 'Voyages', p. 355).

and becomes a priest, directing his brothers, sons, and nephews¹ to administer the affairs of the country. The king goes into the depths of the mountains, and fasts and does penance,² or else he [merely] eats a vegetarian diet. He lives alone for one year. He takes an oath by Heaven and says 'When formerly I was the king, if I transgressed while on the throne, I wish wolves or tigers to devour me, or sickness to destroy me.' If, after the completion of one whole year, he is not dead, he ascends the throne once more and administers the affairs of the country again.³ The people of the country acclaim him, saying 'Hsi-li Ma-ha-la-cha',⁴ this is the most venerable and most holy designation.

The so-called 'corpse-head barbarian' is really a woman belonging to a human family, her only peculiarity being that her eyes have no pupils; at night, when she is sleeping, her head flies away and eats the tapering faeces of human infants; the infant, affected by the evil influence which invades its abdomen, [Page 6] inevitably dies; [and] the flying head returns and unites with its body, just as it was before. If [people] know [of this] and wait till the moment when the head flies away, [and then] remove the body to another place, the returning [head] cannot unite [with the body], and then [the woman] dies.⁵ If the existence of [such] a woman in a household is not reported to the authorities, in addition to the killer the whole family become parties to an offence.

Again, there is a large pool connected with the sea, called 'the crocodile pool'; if in litigation between persons there is a matter which is difficult to elucidate and the officials cannot reach a decision, they make the two litigants ride on water-buffaloes and cross through this pool; the crocodiles come out and devour the man whose cause is unrighteous; but the man whose cause is righteous is not devoured, even if he crosses ten times; [this is] most remarkable.⁶

¹ Or 'a brother, son, or nephew'; Ma Huan fails to make it clear whether the king delegated his powers to one person or to a committee of all these persons. Feng should have read *chih* (Giles, no. 1819), 'nephew', as in K, instead of *chih* (Giles, no. 1818), which means 'firm'.

² *Ch'ih chai shou chieh* (Giles, nos. 1982; 234; 10,016; 1531). Ma Huan applies the expression to the Buddhists of Thailand and also to the Muslims of Java and of Malacca.

³ Examples of kings who abdicated in order to devote themselves to religious practices are quoted by Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. 1, pp. 35, 87, 163; but he does not mention any resumption of the throne.

⁴ 'Sri Maharaja', a Sanskrit title, 'Noblest Sovereign', also used in Sri Vijaya (Palembang) and Malacca.

⁵ Similar banshees were said to exist at Malacca. Feng (p. 5) thought that Ma Huan based this passage on Wang Ta-yüan's account of Phan-rang; for which see Rockhill, Part II, p. 97.

⁶ Compare Majumdar, *Champa*, pt. 1, p. 151 on 'the Divine Judgment'; where, however, the rendering, based on Maspero, needs to be corrected (Duyvendak, *Ma Huan*, p. 28). Ma Huan describes another form of ordeal at Calicut.

In the mountains beside the sea there are wild water-buffaloes, very fierce; originally they were domestic plough-oxen which ran away into the mountains; [there] they lived and grew up by themselves, and [in the course of] long years they developed into herds; but if they see a strange man wearing blue¹ clothes, they will certainly pursue him and gore him to death; [they are] most vicious.

The foreigners are very particular about their heads; [and] if [anyone] touches them on the head, they feel [the same] hatred against him as [we in] the Central Country [feel against] a murderer.²

In their trading transactions they currently use pale gold which is seventy per cent [pure], or else [they use] silver.³

They very much like the dishes, bowls, and other kinds of blue porcelain articles,⁴ the hemp-silk,⁵ silk-gauze, beads,⁶ and other such things from the Central Country, and so they bring their pale gold and give it in exchange. They constantly bring rhinoceros' horns, elephants' teeth, *chi'ieh-lan* incense, and other such things, and present them as tribute to the Central Country.⁷

¹ Or perhaps 'black'; *ching* (Giles, no. 2184) is the colour of nature; hence the word may be applied to a black ox, a grey horse, a green plum, or the 'white' of an egg.

² This 'touchiness' has frequently been noticed; Ma Huan says the same thing about the people of Java. Ma Huan's language is highly compressed; the last seventeen English words in this paragraph are used to translate seven characters.

³ Feng adopts the reading of K; S also states that they used both silver and gold; C should be translated 'they currently use pale gold seventy per cent [pure], which is not silver [in spite of its appearance]' (Pelliot, 'Voyages', p. 357).

⁴ The Ming blue and white was very popular abroad, the finer wares being sent to India and the Near East, and coarse and crude potteries shipped to Java, Borneo, and the Philippine Islands (C. N. Spinks, 'Siam and the Pottery Trade of Asia', *Journal of the Siam Society*, vol. XLIV (2) (1956), p. 84). See Wheatley, 'Commodities', pp. 83-5.

⁵ *Chu ssu* (Giles, nos. 2606; 10,259), 'hemp-silk'; this Chinese material, apparently a weave of ramie and silk, was in great demand in southern Asia; the king of Java wore a waist-band made of it; and see the index under 'hemp-silk'.

⁶ So translated by Pelliot, 'Voyages', p. 357.

⁷ A list of tribute-presents is given in the novel called *Hsi-yang chi*, on which see Duyvendak, 'Hsi-yang chi'. Envoys were expected to present things which were 'locally produced', and nothing else (Fairbank and Teng, p. 171).

THE COUNTRY OF CHAO-WA¹

[JAVA]

[Page 7] The country of Chao-wa was formerly called the country of She-p'o.² The country has four large towns,³ none of which is a walled city and suburban area.⁴ The ships which come here from other countries first arrive at a town named Tu-pan;⁵ next at a town named New Village;⁶ then at a town named Su-lu-ma-i;⁷ then again at a town named Man-che-po-i,⁸ where the king of the country lives.⁹

¹ Giles, nos. 484; 12,422; 'Java'. Ma Huan limits his account to the realm of Majapahit in eastern Java; in his time this realm was the supreme power, politically and economically, of Indonesia; it comprised East Java, Madura, and Bali, and possessed a sphere of influence extending over the coasts of Java and Sumatra, of the Malay peninsula as far north as Nakhon (Ligor), and of the coasts of Borneo as far north as Brunei and as far east as Bandjarmasin (Wheatley, *Khersonese*, pp. 301-3; Meilink-Roelofs, p. 22; Coedès, *États*, pp. 431, 439. Hall (*History*, pp. 82-4), following Berg, limits the state of Majapahit to East Java, Madura, and Bali. For Java see Hsiang Ta, *Kung Chen*, pp. 4-10; Fei Hsin, ch. 1, pp. 13-17 (Rockhill, Part II, pp. 246-50); *Ming shih*, p. 7916, row 2 (Groeneveldt, pp. 160-7); R. C. Majumdar, *Ancient Indian Colonies in the Far East: II. Suvarnadvipa* (pt. 1, Dacca, 1937), pp. 339-51, 404-5; B. Schrieke, *Indonesian Sociological Studies* (pt. II, The Hague-Bandung, 1957), pp. 38-44; C. C. Brown, 'Sejarah Melayu or Malay Annals', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. xxv, pts. 2 and 3 (1953), pp. 68, 82, 98; Coedès, *États*, pp. 430-6; Hall, *History*, pp. 87-9.

² Giles, nos. 9783; 9412; the ancient Chinese pronunciation of the characters is said to have been 'Japa'.

³ *Kuo* (Giles, no. 6609), 'country', here, as in some other passages, meaning 'capital, large town'; *ch'u* (Giles, no. 2660), 'place', is here a numerative (Duyvendak, *Ma Huan*, p. 29).

⁴ In the typical 'city and suburban area' of Ming times, the city was surrounded by an inner wall and the suburban area by an outer wall; see the sketch in Wang Ch'i, section *Kung-shih*, ch. 2, f. 31.

⁵ Giles, nos. 12,043; 8588; Tuban, a port on the north coast of Java, 6° 50' S, 112° 04' E. And see below on Tuban, Gresik, Surabaya, and Majapahit.

⁶ Hsin ts'un (Giles, nos. 4574; 11,968); Gresik, a port on the east coast of Java, 7° 09' S, 112° 40' E. Feng adopts the reading Hsin ts'un of S and K; for the first character C has Ssu (Giles, no. 10,296), 'latrine', which Damais, differing from Pelliot, would prefer to retain (L. C. Damais, 'Études Javanaises', *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient*, vol. XLVIII (1957), p. 362, n. 3); Hsin, however, is also the reading of Kung Chen and Fei Hsin.

⁷ Giles, nos. 10,320; 7388; 7576; 5485; Surabaya, a port on the east coast of Java, 7° 12' S, 112° 44' E.

⁸ Giles, nos. 7622; 542; 9340; 5397; Majapahit; the ruins are probably near Trawulan, 35 miles south-west of Surabaya.

⁹ The king is designated 'Batara' in the *Sejarah Melayu*, 'Malay Annals' (Brown, p. 32, etc.). At the time of Ma Huan's last visit in 1432, the ruler was Queen Suhita (1429-46), by religion a Hindu.

As to the place where the king resides: the walls are made of bricks, and are more than three *chang*¹ in height; in circumference they are something more than two hundred paces;² [and] in the [walls] are set double gates, very well-kept and clean.

The houses are constructed in storeyed form, each being three or four *chang*³ in height; they lay a plank [flooring, over which] they spread matting [made of] fine rattans, or else patterned grass mats, on which the people sit cross-legged; [and] on the top of the houses they use boards of hard wood as tiles, splitting [the wood into] roofing [material].

The houses in which the people of the country live have thatch for their roofs. Every family has a store-room⁴ built of bricks in the ground; it is three or four *ch'ih*⁵ in height; [in this] they store the private belongings of the family; [and] upon this they live, sit and sleep.

As to the dress [worn by] the king of the country: his head is unkempt, or else he wears a crown of gold leaves and flowers; he has no robe on his person; around the lower part he has one or two embroidered kerchiefs of silk. In addition, he uses [a piece of] figured silk-gauze or hemp-silk to bind [the kerchiefs] around his waist; [this] is called a 'waist-band'; [and in it] he thrusts one or two short knives, called *pu-la-t'ou*.⁶ He goes about bare-footed, and either rides on an elephant or sits in a carriage [drawn by] oxen.

As to the dress [worn by] the people of the country: the men [Page 8] have unkempt heads; [and] the women pin up the hair in a chignon. They

¹ The equivalent of 3 *chang* was 30 feet 7 inches.

² The *pu* (Giles, no. 9485), 'pace', consisted of two steps of 2.5 feet each; it measured 61.22 inches at that time; hence 200 paces equalled 340 yards, and a rectangle within such a circumference would measure approximately 1½ acres.

³ The equivalent of 4 *chang* was 40 feet 9 inches.

⁴ *T'u k'u* (Giles, nos. 12,099; 6279), Amoy colloquial *tho kho*, 'store-room, cellar'. Overseas, the expression underwent curious mutations; in Java the Hokkiens from Fukien province extended the meaning to 'shop'; and in this sense it became widely known in the Indonesian archipelago, and was commonly used even in Holland; from 'shop' it became successively 'factory', and 'citadel'; while in Malaya the expression came to mean 'godown', 'firm with a godown', 'big commercial house'. See Duyvendak, *Ma Huan*, pp. 30-4; J. V. Mills, 'The Expression Tho-kho', *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, vol. XVI, pt. 1 (1938), pp. 137-8. Ma Huan also mentions *t'u k'u* in Cochinchina.

⁵ The equivalent of 4 *ch'ih* was 48.9 inches.

⁶ Giles, nos. 9456; 6653; 11,441; the Malay word *beladau*, a curved single-edged dagger. Probably the word was not then utilized by the Javanese for this dagger, but was used in the *lingua franca* which must have been spoken with and by the foreign traders in the larger emporiums (Groeneveldt, p. 172, n.). Damais has pointed out that, in their relations with the Javanese, the Chinese used, not the Javanese, but the Malay language, which from the eighth century onwards remained the language used throughout the archipelago in communications with foreigners (Damais, 'Études', p. 363, n. 3 from p. 362).

wear a garment on the upper part of the body,¹ and a kerchief around the lower part. The men thrust a *pu-la-t'ou* into the waist; from little boys of three years to old men of a hundred years, they all have these knives, which are all made of steel,² with most intricate patterns drawn in very delicate lines;³ for the handles they use gold or rhinoceros' horn or elephants' teeth, engraved with representations of human forms or devils' faces, the craftsmanship being very fine and skilful.

The people of the country, both men and women, are all particular about their heads;⁴ if a man touches their head with his hand, or if there is a misunderstanding about money at a sale, or a battle of words when they are crazy with drunkenness, they at once pull out these knives and stab [each other]. He who is stronger prevails.⁵ When [one] man is stabbed to death, if the [other] man runs away and conceals himself for three days before emerging, then he does not forfeit his life; [but] if he is seized at the very moment [of the stabbing], he too is instantly stabbed to death.

The country has no [such] punishment as flogging; no [matter whether] the offence be great or small, they tie both [the offender's] hands behind his back with a fine rattan, and hustle him away for several paces, then they take a *pu-la-t'ou* and stab the offender once or twice in the small of the back or in the floating ribs, causing instant death. According to the local custom of the country no day [passes] without a man being put to death; [it is] very terrible.⁶

Copper coins of the successive dynasties in the Central Country are in current use universally.⁷

¹ Apparently this statement refers only to the women. K says that no garment was worn on the upper part of the body, and Kung Chen and Fei Hsin agree.

² *Pin t'ieh* (Giles, nos. 9243; 11,156), a very fine steel which was brought from Persia and made extremely sharp swords; in the twelfth century it was imported into China from the country of the Arabs (E. Bretschneider, *Mediaeval Researches* (London, 1888), vol. 1, p. 146, n. 395).

³ Literally, 'rabbit's-hair snow-flakes'.

⁴ Ma Huan said the same thing about the Chams. The feeling of the Javanese is mentioned also by Barbosa, do Couto, Castanheda, and Middleton; a touch on the head made the people of Malacca 'very angry'; and the Thai people, too, have great respect for the head.

⁵ A concise epigram in four characters; we might almost translate 'might is right'; Fei Hsin uses the identical expression, presumably copying from Ma Huan.

⁶ Judicial functions were performed by two Dharmadhyaksas and seven Dharmadhi-karanas. A stereotyped form of highly organized and efficient bureaucratic administration under an absolute monarch continued throughout the Hindu period, that is until at least 1513 (Majumdar, *Suvarnavipra*, pt. 1, pp. 405, 433, 435).

⁷ Ma Huan mentions Chinese cash as current in other places; see the index under 'cash'. The Chinese government issued copper currency under the Western Han dynasty (206 B.C.—A.D. 8); the export of copper was first prohibited in 780, but despite frequent prohibitions which were usually ignored, there was a perennial shortage of

Tu-pan, called by the foreigners 'Tu-pan',¹ is the name of a district; here there are something more than a thousand families, with two headmen to rule them; many of them are people from Kuang-tung² [province] and Chang chou³ [prefecture] in the Central Country, who have emigrated to live in this place. Fowls, goats, fish and vegetables are very cheap.

On a sandbank in the sea there is a small pool of water which is fresh and potable; it is called 'the Holy Water'. Tradition has it that in the time of the great Yüan [dynasty] [the Emperor] ordered the generals Shih Pi and Kao Hsing to attack [Page 9] She-p'o;⁴ a moon passed [and still] they could not land on the shore; the water in the ships was already exhausted; the soldiers of the army were at their wits' end; the two generals worshipped Heaven and prayed, saying 'We received the imperial order to attack the barbarians; if Heaven is with us, let a spring of water rise up; if [Heaven] is not with us, then let there be no spring'; the prayer ended, they thrust their spears with great force into the sandbank in the sea, and at once a spring of water bubbled up in the place where the spears were thrust; the water was fresh to taste; [and] all drank and were able to save their lives. Such was the help which Heaven granted. [This spring] has existed right down to the present day.

From Tu-pan, after travelling toward the east⁵ for about half a day, you reach New Village, of which the foreign name is Ko-erh-hsi,⁶ originally it

copper in and after the twelfth century; the increase in foreign trade during Sung times (960–1279) so accentuated the shortage that a cash famine occurred; Chinese cash were in demand from Japan to the Islamic lands of the West; vast quantities were exported to Java (Hirth and Rockhill, pp. 81–2; Schrieke, pt. 1, p. 247, n. 100; Jitsuzo Kuwabara, 'On P'u Shou-keng', *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko*, no. 11 (1928), pp. 25–7; Duyvendak, *Africa*, p. 17; H. F. Schurmann, *Economic Structure of the Yüan Dynasty* (Cambridge, Mass., 1956), pp. 131–2, 135). The 'copper cash' was an alloy of copper and lead.

¹ Giles, nos. 12,049; 8597; the characters must have been pronounced rather differently in Ma Huan's time. Tuban was a wealthy and important port with many Chinese settlers. Being the port of Majapahit and the point of departure for the Moluccas, it exported an abundant supply of foodstuffs, and imported a rich variety of products from the Moluccas (Meilink-Roelofs, pp. 105–7). Tuban, Gresik, and Surabaya, Duyvendak thought, must have been much larger places than Ma Huan indicates (Duyvendak, *Ma Huan*, pp. 35, 36). ² Canton province.

³ A *fu* (prefecture) in Fukien province. S has 'Chang and T'ing', K has 'Chang and Ch'üan'; T'ing chou and Ch'üan chou were also prefectures in the same province, the latter being the famous 'Zaiton'.

⁴ The attack on Java occurred in 1293. Shih Pi, the commander of the expeditionary force, was a Chinese; he was assisted by I-k'o-mo-se (Ike Mese, Ihamisy), a Mongol, who commanded the fleet, and Kao Hsing, a Chinese, who led the infantry. For the accounts in the *Yüan shih*, 'Yüan History', see Groeneveldt, pp. 147–55.

⁵ Ma Huan omits to mention that from Tuban a ship has to travel almost due south for the last third of the journey.

⁶ Giles, nos. 6073; 3333; 4105; Gresik. Founded by Chinese between 1350 and 1400, this excellent port rose rapidly in importance after 1400; it obtained spices from the

THE COUNTRY OF LI-TAI¹

[LIDE, MEUREUDU]

The land of Li-tai is also a small country. It lies on the west of the boundary with the land of Na-ku-erh;² south of this place there are large mountains; on the north it abuts on the great [Page 32] sea; [and] on the west it joins the boundary of the country of Nan-p'o-li.³

The people of the country [comprise] three thousand families. They themselves elect a man to be king, so that he may administer their affairs. [The country] is subject to the jurisdiction of the country of Su-men-ta-la.⁴

The land has no products.

The speech and usages are the same as in Su-men-ta-la.

In the mountains they have very many wild rhinoceros; and the king sends men to capture them.

[Their envoys] accompany [those from] the country of Su-men-ta-la to bring tribute to the Central Country.

THE COUNTRY OF NAN-P'O-LI⁵

[LAMBRI, ATJEH]

From Su-men-ta-la⁶ you go due west; [and] with a fair wind you can reach [this place after] travelling for three days and nights. This country lies beside the sea, [and] the population comprises only something over a thousand

¹ Giles, nos. 6942; 10,507; the 'Lide' of the Portuguese; this country probably bore some such name as '[M-]rödoe', and it should be located in the Meureudu district, since 'Li-tai' (no doubt Portuguese Lide) reasonably well represents '[M-]rödoe', and the position, c. 96° 15' E, fits in reasonably well between Ië Leubeuë (Portuguese Aeilabu, 96° 02' E) and Peudada (96° 34' E). It was of no political or economic importance. For Li-tai see Hsiang Ta, *Kung Chen*, pp. 20-1; *Ming shih*, p. 7919, row 2; Majumdar, *Suvarnavipa*, pt. 1, p. 375.

² Nagur; which we locate in the Peudada district.

³ Lambri (Lamuri), that is, Atjeh.

⁴ Semudera, that is Lho Seumawe. As has been noted above, the Bataks had been able to force themselves between Semudera and its vassal Lide (Meureudu).

⁵ Giles, nos. 8128; 9423; 6870; Lambri, otherwise Nan-wu-li, Lamuri, of the Arabs and Malays. The country comprised the north-west corner of Sumatra, in and around the Kutaradja district of Atjeh. The port of Nan-p'o-li was Pedir (Pidie), now called Sigli, 5° 23' N, 95° 57' E. Lambri, at the beginning of the thirteenth century a trading point of some importance, had by 1286 been surpassed by Pasai (Pase, that is, Semudera); and in Ma Huan's time, while politically insignificant, it yet retained a certain commercial importance from the export of laka-wood, rhinoceros horn, and various other products. For Lambri see Hsiang Ta, *Kung Chen*, pp. 21-2; *Ming shih* (on Nan-p'o-li, p. 7919, row 2, Groeneveldt, p. 221; on Nan-wu-li, p. 7922, row 1); Majumdar, *Suvarnavipa*, pt. 1, pp. 375-6; Cortesão, vol. 1, p. 139; Schrieke, pt. 1, p. 17; pt. II, pp. 256, 266.

⁶ Semudera (Lho Seumawe).

families. All are Muslims, [and] they are very honest and genuine. On the east the territory adjoins the boundary of the king of Li-tai;¹ on both west and north it abuts on the great sea; if you go south, there are mountains; [and] south of the mountains there is the great sea again.

The king of the country is also a Muslim. For the residence in which the king lives they use great [pillars of] wood, four *chang* high;² it is constructed in storeyed form; underneath the [upper] storey it is quite unfurnished; and under here they release the oxen, goats and [other] domestic animals; on all four sides round the upper story [is a wall] of planks joined together very neatly, and on this [storey] is the place where they do all their sitting, sleeping, and eating.

The dwellings of the populace are the same as in the country of Su-men-ta-la.³

In this place yellow oxen, water-buffaloes, goats, fowls, ducks and vegetables are all scarce.⁴ Fish and shrimps are very [Page 33] cheap. Rice and grain are scarce.

They use copper coins.

The mountains produce laka-wood; this place has the best quality; [and] its name is 'lotus-flower laka-wood'. They also have the rhinoceros.

In the sea to the north-west of the country, there is a large, flat-topped, steep mountain, which can be reached in half a day; its name is Mao mountain.⁵ On the west of this mountain, too, it is all the great sea; indeed, this is the Western Ocean, [this area being] named the Na-mo-li ocean,⁶ Ships coming across the ocean from the west take in sail [here], and they all look to this mountain as a guiding mark.

In the shallow water, about two *chang* deep,⁷ at the side of the mountain there grows a marine tree; the people there recover it, and sell it as a valuable commodity; this is coral; [and] the largest trees are two or three *ch'ih* in height.⁸ At the top of the roots, there is a single large root as big as [one's]

¹ Meureudu region.

² The equivalent of 4 *chang* was 40 feet 9 inches.

³ Semudera. For the houses of modern Atjeh see Loeb, pp. 220-3.

⁴ K also mentions garlic as being scarce.

⁵ Collating sixteen readings in six Chinese works, the editor concludes that the full name was 'Ch'ieh-nan-mao', a Chinese rendering of *kelembak*, the finest kind of lign-aloes. To represent the sound *mao*, the 'Shun-feng' uses the character meaning 'face'; hence Gerini and Pelliot were wrong in thinking that *mao* should be translated 'hat'. The island is Poulo Weh (5° 54' N, 95° 13' E), about nine miles north of Atjeh; see Appendix 5, The voyage from Kuala Pasai to Beruwala.

⁶ Giles, nos. 8090; 8016; 6887; the Lamuri ocean.

⁷ The equivalent of 2 *chang* was 20 feet 4 inches. On coral see Wheatley, 'Commodities', under 'Precious coral', pp. 77-80.

⁸ The equivalent of 2 *ch'ih* was 24.4 inches.