

up a vast body of clear water. From the midst of this there arose a pagoda, which rose and fell with the water, floating on the top like a vessel; the spire thrusting itself far up into the sky, and swaying about like the mast of a ship in a storm.

The prince returned to the city filled with wonder at what he had seen, and joy at having so successfully carried out the directions contained in the packet. On all sides he was greeted by the acclamations of the people, who hailed him as the saviour of Peking. Since that time Peking has never had the misfortune to be without water.

The Pagoda is called the "Imperial Spring Mountain Pagoda.* The spring is still

* 御泉山塔; more commonly called Chên-shui-ta, 鎮水塔. This pagoda is dis-

there, and day and night, unceasingly, its clear waters bubble up and flow eastwards to Peking, which would now be a barren wilderness, but for "Yen-wang's pursuit of the water."*

G. C. STENT.

tant about twenty *li* from Peking. It is on the top of the hill, while the spring is at the foot half a *li* distant. The imperial family use the water from this spring, from whence it is carried to Peking in carts.

* Others say that Kao-liang 高亮, a soldier of low rank at that time, is the hero of the "pursuit of the water," but that he was drowned after spearing the water basket. He had successfully performed his task, and was galloping back to Peking, when, like Lot's wife, he "looked behind him" (having been prohibited from doing so), and the waters at once overwhelmed him. His tomb may be seen to this day; it is half way between the "Western Straight Gate" and the "Great Bell Temple." A bridge near the Hsi-chih-mên is also named Kao-liang's Bridge, in commemoration of his death.

CHINESE EXPLORATIONS OF THE INDIAN OCEAN DURING THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

(Continued from page 87.)

IV.

III. KWA-WA 瓜哇 (Java*).—According to the Geographical Memoirs of the Ming dynasty, this is the same as the

* The intelligent Chinese scholars employed in the administration of this splendid colonial possession of Holland have not been indifferent to the sources of information relating to the early history of the Island which Chinese literature affords, and Dr. Gustav Schlegel, in particular, has devoted much attention to this subject. In a small brochure published at Batavia in 1870, under the title "*Jets omtrent de Betrekkingen der Chinezen met Java, voor de Komst der Europeanen aldaar*," Dr. Schlegel has presented the Chinese text, accompanied by a version in Dutch from his own pen, of a description of Java compiled at Peking on his behalf from existing records. The Chronicle of the Ming dynasty was in all probability consulted for the materials thus obtained, but the original authorities were no other than those from which the text now followed was compiled, as is evident from the

country anciently known as Shê-p'ô.* The chapter on Java in the Chronicle of the Yuan dynasty states that one who embarks at Ts'ian-chow† proceeds first to Chan-ch'êng (Champa) and thence on to this country.

This country lies south of Champa it may be one thousand *li*.‡ Sailing from Champa the course is steered for Ling-shan,§ where

fact that the particulars narrated and the language used are in both cases almost absolutely the same:

* 閩婆 read Shê-wa. See Note I. at foot.

† 泉州 See Note II. at foot.

‡ So in the text. The character for "one" is perhaps a misprint for "seven," which would be more nearly correct.

§ See note to Part II., 322. Since this note was published, however, the writer has seen reason to identify the headland of Ling-shan with

the depth of water is about sixty fathoms. In fifty watches more, Wu-kung Yü ("Centipede" Island) is reached; and five watches westward from the rocks at the point of this island bring the vessel to Mao-shan. Again ten watches, and the eastern Shê-lung-shan ("Serpent and Dragon" Headland) is sighted, after which the vessel passes between Round Island and Double Island. Passing by Lo-wei-shan, where there are eighteen fathoms of water, five watches more bring the vessel to "Bamboo" Island, and thence, in five watches, Ki-lung Yü* ("Hien-coop" Island) is reached. From this point it is ten watches to Kow-lan-shan,† where wood and

Cape Varela, lat. 12° 55', long 109° 30' E., described by Crawford as "the most remarkable point of Cochin Chinese navigation." (*Embassy to Siam and Cochin China*, I., p. 352). Charts, both Chinese and English, which have come into the writer's possession since the publication of Part II., leave no farther doubt respecting the identity of Wai-lo-shan, therein mentioned, with Cape Tourou, and Sin-chow-kiang, therefore, with Tourou Harbour. The Ku-lao rock 古老石, mentioned in the same note, is Cham Collao, in lat. 16° N., close to which a small island is marked on our Admiralty charts as Goat Island—probably the 羊嶼 of the Chinese text.

* The distinction drawn in the text between 山, which may signify either a large island, a headland, or simply a mountain, and 嶼, which invariably denotes an island (of no great size), is followed in the translation by preserving in all cases the word *Shan* where it occurs in the names of localities given.

† 甸欄山, the most patient research has failed to discover the exact whereabouts of this point, but from all the data obtained, it would seem to lie somewhere on the western coast of Borneo. It is undoubtedly the same with Kiao-lan Shan 交欄山, of which mention will be found further on. In support of the view taken respecting its probable situation, reference may be made to the *Sing-ch'a*, in which it is stated that "the cluster of islands called Kia-li-ma-ting 假里馬丁 lie opposite to Kiao-lan Shan." In the Chronicle of the Yüan dynasty the name is written 假里馬答, Ka-li-ma-ta. This group can be no other than the Carimata Islands, lying between Borneo and Billiton (or Britung). The last named would appear to be the large island described in the same work as Ma-(Ba)-yih-tung 麻逸凍, where it is said to lie to the southwest of Kiao-lan Shan. If this identi-

fication be correct, Kiao-lan Shan would lie somewhere in the neighbourhood of the present settlement of Pontianak.

* 吉里門山, this point there is no difficulty in identifying with Pulo Krimun, or Carimon Java, a small group of islands, lying immediately opposite the northernmost headland of Java. The same name occurs also in other parts of the Archipelago, and is applied moreover to a portion of the coast of Borneo, of which, according to Knight's *Cyclopaedia of Geography*, "the native name is Kalamantin."

† 胡椒山, Pepper Headland or Mountain. This would appear, from the above and other data, to be Tanjong Buang, as the northernmost headland of Java is called on Crawford's map.

‡ 那參山, this may also be read Na-shên. Its proximity to Tupan (Tuban) and to the Strait of Madura identifies this locality with the cape marked Tanjong Uwer Uwer of Crawford's map.

§ 新村, *i.e.* New Town. This appears to have been a settlement founded by the early Chinese colonists, at the entrance to the Strait of Madura, in the neighbourhood of Gresik.

¶ 滿者伯夷, there can be no doubt that this sound is intended to represent Modjopahit, the name of one of the ancient States of the island, with reference to which Crawford gives the following particulars: "The origin of the last and best known of the Hindu states of Java, Mojopahit, remains as undetermined as that of Pajajaran. . . . All accounts agree that Mojopahit was destroyed in the year of Salivana 1400, or 1478 of Christ, and from presumptive evidence it is inferred that it may have been founded about a century and a half before. The dynasty of princes which reigned at Mojopahit appears to have extended its authority over the finest provinces of the island" (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 301).

¶ The character 枝 in the text is doubtless a block-cutter's error for 板 *pan*, the name being Tu-pan, as stated lower down.

** 蘇魯馬益, Surabaya.

the Annals of the Yuan dynasty, it is stated that the Pa-tsieh-(tsit) channel 八節澗 leads to Tu-ma-pan 杜馬班, the King's residence. This the interpreters have erroneously represented as Tu-pan 杜板. —There are no walled cities in this country. The King's palace is surrounded with lofty walls, with gateways one within the other. The buildings are in shape like towers, and are roofed with planks of wood. The custom is to sit upon mats.—*Obs.* The walls are upwards of three *chang* in height (=about 40 feet), and they are built of brick. They are two hundred and odd paces in circuit.* Planks of hard wood are used instead of tiles. The palace is very elegantly adorned. For every three or four persons a board is laid down, upon which fine mats of rattan are spread, and on these people take their seats, crosslegged.—The habitations of the common people are covered with a thatch of leaves. For the storage of articles of every description they use receptacles like chests, made of brick, three or four feet high, and upon these the natives sit or lie down to sleep. The King wears his hair gathered up on the head, and sometimes he puts on a crown adorned with leaves of gold. He wears no clothing on the upper part of his person, and his feet are likewise bare. From the waist downwards he wears a garment†

* This is a statement borrowed, with other particulars, from the *Ying Yai*, where, however, the dimensions given are one hundred and odd paces, and are probably meant to refer to the royal residence 王之所居 which is spoken of as enclosed within the walls. Crawford states that "The walls of the most ancient *Karatons* (or palaces) were constructed of hewn stone. They were afterwards constructed of an excellent fabric of mortar, as at Mojopalit. . . . Of the extent of these walled cities we may form some notion by that of the modern one of the Sultan of Java, which is three miles round, and contains a population of ten thousand inhabitants, the largest of all was Mojopalit." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., p. 165).

† 幌, properly speaking a scarf. By this, undoubtedly, the *Sarong* is intended, of which Crawford gives the following description: "The *Sarong* . . . is a piece of cloth, generally coloured, six or eight feet long, and three or four feet wide, usually sewed at both ends. This sort of petti-

embroidered with silk; and the waist is wrapped round with a satin sash. He wears a dagger* by his side, to which the name of *Pu ts'ze t'ow*† is given. When he goes abroad, he rides upon an elephant or in a chariot drawn by oxen. He has eight ministers. Of the natives, the men wear their hair gathered in a knot, and carry daggers.—*Obs.* From the time a child reaches the age of three, every one, whether rich or poor, has the *pu ts'ze t'ow* by his side. These weapons are invariably of the very finest steel,‡ of the "rabbit hair" or "snow

coat, which is common to both sexes, is of the same breadth above and below, and is not secured to the body by any permanent contrivance, but the upper part being contracted to the size of the waist, the superfluous portion, as occasion requires, is twisted with the hand, and tucked in between the rest of the garment and the body of the wearer." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., p. 209).

* 刃, lit. a sharp-pointed weapon, doubtless the well-known *Kris* or dagger of the Malay race. Cf. Crawford, (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., pp. 224-226).

† 不刺頭, lit. "Strike not at the head." According to Crawford (II., p. 349), "spears, cannon, and kris are frequently particularized by name." The character 刺 *la*, however, in M. Schlegel's version, substituted for 刺, *ts'ze*, as in the text, has led him to read the name as *pu-la-t'ow*, a combination to which it is difficult to assign a meaning. The great degree of reverence for the head, mentioned farther on in the text, appears sufficiently to account for the name given to the *kris* as above stated.

‡ 鑛鐵—*Pin-t'ieh*. This is defined in K'ang-hi's Dictionary as simply signifying "good iron, of which swords are made." The article is mentioned among the products brought from Arabia to China under the Sung dynasty. Julien was of opinion that the diamond was understood by this term—for what reason, it is not easy to conceive. Cf. *Mélanges de Géographie Asiatique*, (I., p. 91), quoted by Dr. Bretschneider in his pamphlet "On the Knowledge possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs and Arabian Colonies and other Western Countries," p. 12. In the *P'ei Wên Yün Fu* the character *pin* is written without the radical "iron," and the following passages are quoted as authorities for the words: (1°). "In the country of Kao Ch'ang (the land of the Uigurs), there is a kind of grit-stone 礪石, from which, when it is broken open, *pin-t'ieh* is obtained. To this the name 'iron-eating stone' is given." *Chronicle of the Sung Dynasty.—Chapter on Foreign Countries.*—(2°). "The nation of the Liao took the name of *Pin T'ieh* as their

flake" temper. The handles are of gold, or of rhinoceros horn or ivory, and engraved with figures of men or other objects.—The women wear their hair in a knot, and are clothed in a short vest covering the upper part of the person, with a sarong below the waist. Both men and women are very particular in the regard they cherish for the head. If any one receive a blow in that part, he instantly draws his dagger to stab the offender.

Flogging or bastinadoing is not practised in this country. The only punishment inflicted is that of death. This is the way they execute. The victim's hands are bound behind his back with rattans: he is driven forward a few steps, and then stabbed.* If one who has slain another man keep out

designation, in allusion to its quality of hardness. Yet, *pin-tieh*, hard though it be, in time becomes subject to decay. The only thing that will not perish by decay is gold (kin—**金**). For this reason, the title of KIN was adopted for the state." (*Chronicle of the Liao dynasty.—History of T'ai Tsu, the founder of the dynasty*):—(3^o). "The diamond borer perforates the jadestone: the sword of *pin-tieh* will [sever] the floating down." (*Poems of Yüan Chên—flourished A.D. 779-831*). It seems probable that the finely-tempered metal thus extolled was the same with the *Ondanique* or *Andaine*, the Indian steel, respecting which Colonel Yule has a highly instructive note (*Marco Polo, II., chap. xvii*). In the same way as Avicenna, according to Roger Bacon, quoted by Colonel Yule, distinguishes three different species of iron, the third of which is *Andena*, so the author of the *Pên Ts'ao Kang Mub*, writing in the 16th century, declares that there are three kinds of steel

鋼鐵. The method of manufacturing two of these is described. The third is said to be "naturally produced among the islands of the Southern ocean, and to resemble the amethyst in form." All sharp-edged weapons, axes, and chisels are made, it is added, of this steel. (**本草綱目**, B. 8).

* The particulars here given are strikingly in accord with the statements made by Crawford respecting the laws in force among the Javanese. Cf. *Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, III., p. 105. The concise details of the text are abridged in the most ruthless manner from the much fuller account given in the *Ying Yai*, where the manner of giving the death-blow by a stab in the region of the abdomen is described. The author adds: "Not a day passes in this country without some one's life being taken—a dreadful state of matters, in good sooth."

of the way for three days, he is pardoned; but if taken on the spot, he is put to death.

At Tu-pan, there are some thousand or more of the natives (*fan jên*) living. The water near Tu-pan is known by the name of *Shêng shui* (Holy Water).—*Obs.* In the Annals of the Yüan dynasty this place is called Tu-ma-pan. A headman of the barbarians is governor there. Among the inhabitants there are numbers of emigrants **流戶** from Kwangtung and Chang Chow [in China]. Near the sea-shore there is a lake, respecting which the natives relate that when the generals of the Yüan dynasty, She Pih and Kao Hing,* invaded Java, they were kept from landing for a whole month and ran short of water. The two generals made prayer to Heaven, upon which a fountain of sweet water burst forth: and hence it has received the name of Holy Water.—The number of inhabitants at Sin Ts'un is about one thousand and upwards. Another name of the place is Keh-rh-si Yüan.†—*Obs.* Travelling eastward from Tu-pan one comes in half a day's journey to Keh-rh-si Yüan, which was originally [named] Ku T'an **古灘**. The people of the country having established a settlement here, it received the name of Sin Ts'un (New Town). The King of the town is a native of Kwangtung. Here the foreign shipping all congregates, and merchandize of every description is stored. The people of the place are very wealthy. Their houses are covered with woven *Kadjang* leaves, and the shops and places of trade joined in rows form a market.—At Su-lu-ma-yih (Strabaya) there are a thousand or more households. The place is also called Su-rh-pa-ya.—*Obs.* In one day's journey southward from Sin Ts'un one arrives at a shallow harbour (or stream), and the place is reached by a journey of 30 odd *li* (about 12 miles) in small boats.—Here

* See Note III. at foot.

† **革兒昔原**. The third character would be sounded in Southern Chinese as *sik*, and the name would seem to signify the plain (*Yüan*) of Keh-rhsik, by which no doubt Gresik or Garsik near Surabaya is denoted.

are multitudes of apes, to which women who are desirous of conceiving offer up prayers. —*Obs.* There is an island in the harbour which is densely overgrown with trees, and in this forest some ten thousand long-tailed apes have their habitation. An old black male ape is their chief, and he is followed by an old native (or savage 番) woman. Women who are childless carry offerings of wine, victuals, fruit, and flowers, which they present with supplications to the old ape. If he be pleased, he eats of the offerings, and his followers devour the remainder. After this a male and female ape come out before them and copulate. The woman, on returning home, becomes with child. If the offerings are not eaten and the ceremony fulfilled, the woman will not become pregnant. The local tradition is to the effect that during the period of the T'ang dynasty some five thousand of the inhabitants, being in a state of destitution, were visited by a priest who wielded supernatural powers, and who transformed them into apes. Only one old woman was left unchanged in shape. Their dwellings still exist. In the Annals of the Sung dynasty it is stated that the mountains abound in apes, which have no fear of man. When summoned with a sound resembling the words *siao-siao* they will come forth, and if fruits be offered to them two of their company will come forward first. These are called by the natives the monkey King and Queen. When they have eaten their fill the others come and help themselves. In this account, nothing is said about women becoming with child.—

At Man-chê-peh-i there are some 300 households.—*Obs.* By travelling for 70 or 80 *li* in a small boat from Su-'rh-pa-ya one reaches a town which the natives call Chang-ku 漳沽. Landing here, a day-and-a-half's journey brings one [to Modjopahit].— At this place the people sleep without pillows, and in eating they use neither spoons nor chopsticks. At their meals, having rinsed their mouths and hands, they gather

in a circle, when platters of butter and rice are set before them, which they take up with the fingers. They drink water, and [chew] areca-nut with the betel leaf and chunam (shell lime). In their entertainment of guests the proceeding is the same.

Among the inhabitants of this country there are but three classes, namely, the Mohammedans (*hwei-hwei*), Chinese (*T'ang jên*),* and the natives (*'u jên*). The Mohammedans are descendants of the foreign traders from different parts, who have taken up their residence here. They cultivate elegance and daintiness in their apparel and way of living. The natives are repulsive in aspect and black in colour. Their heads are monkey-like in shape, and they go barefoot. Their religion is the worship of demons, and they use as food all manner of unclean things, such as serpents, ants, and worms, which they devour after scorching them over a fire.† They take their food and lie down to sleep together with their dogs.

There [was formerly] in this country a supernatural occurrence [called that of] “the rogue elephant” 罔象.‡ In all their let-

* See foot note, *ante*, Part III. (*China Review*, Vol. IV. No. 2, 1875, p. 62).

† Cf. Crawford: “In the *Niti Sastra* of the Javanese there is a passage which recommends to persons of rank not to eat dogs, rats, snakes, lizards, and caterpillars. The practice of using these disgusting animals as food must have been frequent, or the injunction were unnecessary.” (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 233.)

‡ This statement would be unintelligible without a reference to the *Ying Yai*, which gives the following as an ancient legend of the country: “It happened that a *Māra Rāja*, son of the devils, who had a blue face, a red body, and scarlet hair, united himself here with a rogue elephant. From this union more than one hundred sons were born, whose custom it was to drink blood and to devour men's bodies. Many were those devoured by them, until of a sudden, one day, a thunderbolt struck a rock and split it open, when a man was discovered seated within. All were astonished at this sight, and they hailed him as king. Upon this he caused a valiant army to drive out the progeny of the rogue elephant, and to do no harm to the people, who increased and multiplied in peace thereafter.”

The *Māra Rāja*, in Chinese 魔王, of the text is the arch-enemy who plays so prominent a part in Sanskrit and especially Buddhist literature. He “is often represented with one hundred arms

ters between officials they use the date 1376.* —*Obs.* This would make their era commence with the period of the Western Han in China.—In their calendar, the year begins with the tenth moon. In this moon, the sovereign rides abroad in a lofty chariot, and presides at the feast of lances.—*Obs.* In proceeding to the place of entertainment, the sovereign's female consorts go first, and he follows behind. They ride in tower-like carriages, more than a *chang* (14 feet) high, borne on two wheels, and with windows on four sides. These carriages are drawn by horses. The men of the country come with their wives, and are drawn up in ranks, holding in their hands bamboos pointed to form spears. The women are armed with staves three feet long. They advance to combat at the sound of a drum, and desist at a given signal. The encounter takes place three times in succession. The women attack with their staves. When *na-tsze, na-tsze*, is called out, they fall back. Whoever kills an opponent is held to be victor. The victor gives a piece of gold to the family of the man he has slain, and takes to himself his wife.†

At the marriage ceremony among this people, the union takes place at the house of the bride, who, after three days have elapsed, removes with her husband to his abode. On the way, she is met by musicians, and she is conveyed to her new home in a gaily-decorated boat.‡ The bridegroom's parents

and riding on an elephant" (Eitel, *Hand-book of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 73).

* See Note IV. at foot.

† This festival, mentioned in the account supplied to M. Schlegel, is stated by him, in a foot note, to be "Klaarblijkelijk het Jav. *Séninan* of *Steekspel*" (p. 17); but I have not been able to meet with any description of the performance referred to. In many details, however, the account given in the text corresponds with the minute description of the festivals in which the Javanese delight, given by Crawfurd (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 262-264). The introduction of Mohammedanism has done little, it is remarked, toward modifying the ancient customs, derived from India, in this respect.

‡ Cf. Raffles, *Hist. of Java*. "At sunset on the wedding day, the bridegroom went in procession to visit the parents of the bride, after which

go to meet the bride, with beating of kettle-drums and gongs and blowing of calabash-horns. The [bride and bridegroom are] surrounded by persons with fire-tubes,* short swords, and circular shields. The bride wears her hair gathered in a knot, the upper part of her person uncovered and her feet bare. Below the waist she is clad in an embroidered *sarong*. On her neck she wears a collar of gold and pearls, with bracelets upon her arms. The relations, friends, and neighbours deck the marriage-boat with betel leaves and garlands of flowers, and in this wise escort her home. A feast lasting several days is then indulged in.

she was visited by his parents. Five days after the consecration of the marriage the parents of the bride, with whom she staid for that period, prepared a feast." I. p. 363. Again: "Among the people termed *Kalang*, (an aboriginal race), the married couple lived in the house of the bride's father till the third day," p. 366. Crawfurd says: "All the native ceremonies are solemnized at the house of the bride's father. The bride and bridegroom, with their friends, parade the country, village, or town, attended by music, decorated in their gayest attire, and decked with the borrowed jewels of the best part of the neighbourhood. The bridegroom is always mounted. The bride is conducted in a kind of open litter. (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., p. 91).

* This a noteworthy passage, if by the expression fire-tube 火銃, used in the text, the discharge of gun-powder be implied. The original authority upon which the above passage is based is the *Ying Yai*, where the statement is even more explicit, the expression employed being 放火銃 *letting off* fire-tubes. As the author of this work, Ma Hwan, dates his preface in A.D. 1416, and gives 1413 as the year in which he accompanied the eunuch Chêng Ho on his voyage, the period at which fire-arms would seem to have been known among the Javanese is fixed with tolerable certainty. Crawfurd, indeed, asserts that "the use of small arms the Indian islanders undoubtedly acquired from the Europeans. The matchlock they call by its Portuguese name, the firelock by a Dutch, and the pistol by a Dutch or English one. The matchlock was not employed in Europe for ten years after the Portuguese conquered Malacca (A.D. 1511); so that, if Europeans had observed the use of it among the islanders, they could not have failed to notice so extraordinary a fact, when so frequently engaged in hostilities with them." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., p. 228). In immediate juxtaposition with this remark, however, Crawfurd observes that "it is possible that the East Indian islanders were not indebted to the European nations for this first knowledge of fire-arms, but may have acquired it in the course of

Three methods are followed in disposing of the dead. One is cremation; the other casting into the water; and the third leaving the body to be devoured by dogs.* Wives and concubines are greatly addicted to the practice of self-destruction on a husband's death.†—*Obs.* When parents are about to die, the children enquire of them what their last wishes are. If the dying person express a desire to be devoured after death by the dogs, the body is cast out into the fields, and if it be wholly devoured the survivors rejoice thereat; but, if otherwise, there is grief and lamentation, and the remains are cast into the sea. When the wives and concubines of principal persons devote themselves to death in fulfilment of a vow on the decease of their lords, a scaffolding is formed of wood, about which fuel is heaped, and at the proper moment the women, their hair decked with ornaments and flowers, and wearing robes of many colours, throw themselves weeping into the flames and are consumed together.—

their commerce with China." In an enquiry on the Introduction and Use of Gunpowder and Fire-arms among the Chinese (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Shanghai, 1871), the writer has already shewn that, as a propulsive agent, gunpowder was not in use among the Chinese before the early part of the 15th century, but that in the invasion of Tonquin in 1407 the natives of that region were found employing tubes filled with inflammable material for purposes of warfare. In this paper, it has been suggested (p. 95), that the embassies which were sent by the Emperor Yung Loh to almost every part of southern and western Asia may have been the means by which China became possessed of the secret of the use of gunpowder in its most efficacious form of application. With the statement of Ma Hwan before us, there can be little doubt that in the very beginning of the 15th century, fire-arms of some description were in the hands of the people of Java.

* This is in exact correspondence with the description given by Raffles: "There were three modes of disposing of the body of a deceased person before Mohammedanism was introduced: by fire, termed *obong*; by water, termed *larung*; or by exposing it upright against a tree in a forest, where it was left to decay, termed *setra*." (*Hist. of Java*, I., p. 364).

† See Crawford's account of the prevalence of sutteeism in the island of Bali, where, he states, "the practice is carried to an excess unknown even to India herself." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 241).

The people are wealthy. In their commerce they make use of Chinese copper *cash* of successive reigns of the past. The chief products of the soil are rice and pulse. Two crops are gathered yearly. The six kinds of domestic animals (*i.e.* the horse, the ox, the sheep or goat, the pig, the dog, and the domestic fowl) are reared among them. Their writing they form by incisions with a knife on *Kadjang* leaves. The written character resembles that of So-li.* Touching their weights: 2 *fên* 2 *li* make one *kupang*, and 4 *kupang* make 1 *ts'ien*; sixteen *ts'ien* make 1 *liang*, and 20 *liang* make one *kin*.† Their measures of length are formed of segments of bamboo. Of measures of capacity, that which answers to the Chinese *shêng* is called *kula*, and holds 1 *shêng* 8 *koh*; and their *tow* is called *nali*, holding 8 *shêng*.‡

The women of the country are used to sing in the public roads on the night of the full moon. Their voices are sweet and tender.—*Obs.* At these times of song, the

* 鎖俚. By the name of So-li, the inhabitants of the Malay Archipelago appear to have designated the Southern portion of the Indian Peninsula, to which, indeed, the same name is given by Marco Polo. The Venetian traveller speaks of "the Kingdom of Maabar called So-li, which is the best and noblest province of India." (Yule's *Marco Polo*, 1st. ed. II., p. 299). Colonel Yule is of opinion that, almost beyond a doubt, So-li is the same with Chola or Soladesam, *i.e.* Tanjore (p. 272, *note*). Chulia is at the present day a common designation for the natives of Southern India, or their descendants, in the Malay islands. The derivation of the Javanese written character from the Sanskrit alphabet is well-known (See Crawford, *Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 3).

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‡ The four measures actually in common use among the Chinese are the *hoh* 合, the *shêng* 升, the half-*shêng*, and the *tow* 斗. The three

Three methods are followed in disposing of the dead. One is cremation; the other casting into the water; and the third leaving the body to be devoured by dogs.* Wives and concubines are greatly addicted to the practice of self-destruction on a husband's death.†—*Obs.* When parents are about to die, the children enquire of them what their last wishes are. If the dying person express a desire to be devoured after death by the dogs, the body is cast out into the fields, and if it be wholly devoured the survivors rejoice thereat; but, if otherwise, there is grief and lamentation, and the remains are cast into the sea. When the wives and concubines of principal persons devote themselves to death in fulfilment of a vow on the decease of their lords, a scaffolding is formed of wood, about which fuel is heaped, and at the proper moment the women, their hair decked with ornaments and flowers, and wearing robes of many colours, throw themselves weeping into the flames and are consumed together.—

their commerce with China." In an enquiry on the Introduction and Use of Gunpowder and Fire-arms among the Chinese (*Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*, Shanghai, 1871), the writer has already shewn that, as a propulsive agent, gunpowder was not in use among the Chinese before the early part of the 15th century, but that in the invasion of Tonquin in 1407 the natives of that region were found employing tubes filled with inflammable material for purposes of warfare. In this paper, it has been suggested (p. 95), that the embassies which were sent by the Emperor Yung Loh to almost every part of southern and western Asia may have been the means by which China became possessed of the secret of the use of gunpowder in its most efficacious form of application. With the statement of Ma Hwan before us, there can be little doubt that in the very beginning of the 15th century, fire-arms of some description were in the hands of the people of Java.

* This is in exact correspondence with the description given by Raffles: "There were three modes of disposing of the body of a deceased person before Mohammedanism was introduced: by fire, termed *obong*; by water, termed *larung*; or by exposing it upright against a tree in a forest, where it was left to decay, termed *setra*." (*Hist. of Java*, I., p. 364).

† See Crawford's account of the prevalence of sutteeism in the island of Bali, where, he states, "the practice is carried to an excess unknown even to India herself." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 241).

The people are wealthy. In their commerce they make use of Chinese copper *cash* of successive reigns of the past. The chief products of the soil are rice and pulse. Two crops are gathered yearly. The six kinds of domestic animals (*i.e.* the horse, the ox, the sheep or goat, the pig, the dog, and the domestic fowl) are reared among them. Their writing they form by incisions with a knife on *Kadjang* leaves. The written character resembles that of So-li.* Touching their weights: 2 *fên* 2 *li* make one *kupang*, and 4 *kupang* make 1 *ts'ien*; sixteen *ts'ien* make 1 *liang*, and 20 *liang* make one *kin*.† Their measures of length are formed of segments of bamboo. Of measures of capacity, that which answers to the Chinese *shêng* is called *kula*, and holds 1 *shêng* 8 *koh*; and their *tow* is called *nali*, holding 8 *shêng*.‡

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native women gather joyously in bands of twenty or thirty, having one person as their leader. She, with waving arms and measured paces, chants one of the melodies of the people. After each verse the whole company raise their voices together in chorus. Presents of money and other things are given them as they pass the doors of friends or kinsfolk.—

The people draw pictures and assemble together to interpret their meaning.—*Obs.* Figures of human beings, birds, beasts, and fishes are drawn upon paper in the form of a scroll, the roller* of which is of wood, three feet in length. People seat themselves in a circle on the ground and unroll the drawings, the meaning of which is explained in a loud voice; and bystanders gather around to listen to the merry tale.—

The climate is one of unchanging warmth. Among the productions of the country there are sappan-wood in abundance, diamonds, white sandal-wood, cardamoms, steel (*pin-t'ieh*—see previous Note), tortoise-shell, many red and green birds of the parrot kind,

first are made of the cylindrical joints of the bamboo; and the *tow* is made of wood in the shape of the frustum of a pyramid. There are two sizes of the *tow* and *shêng*; one, called 十斤斗 or ten-catty *tow*, contains precisely that quantity of rice, and the *shêng*, one-tenth of the *tow*, is made to hold one catty. The second size, called the 倉斗 or granary *tow*, holds about six and a half catties of rice. The corresponding *shêng* contains 30.48415 cubic inches, and is therefore about one-sixth less than the English pint. Ten *hoh* make one *shêng*. See Bridgman's *Chinese Chrestomathy*, p. 383. The Javanese measure equivalent to a gallon is said by Crawford to be called by some tribes a *kulah*. (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., p. 273).

* The whole of this passage, as also the foregoing details with reference to the manners and customs of the Javanese, is obviously transferred from the *Ying Yai*, the plain and circumstantial language of which, however, is absurdly travestied in the compiler's pedantic anxiety for literary elegance. Instead of a "roller" 軸, as stated in the text, the eye-witness from whose record the description is transferred says that "two posts three feet high are planted in the ground to suspend the pictures upon, and the exhibitor squats on the ground beside them to deliver his narration." This is doubtless one of the "professed story-tellers" of whom Crawford speaks.

pearl-fowls, love-birds, peacocks, areca-nut sparrows, pearl and green doves, white deer in great numbers, and white monkeys.* Plantains grow abundantly, and there are also sugar-cane, pomegranates, nelumbium seed-vessels, and vegetables of the love-apple and melon kind. There is one kind of fruit, in shape like the pomegranate, with a thick rind and white pulp, called the *mang-ki-she*.† Another, resembling in shape the *p'i-pá* (*loquat eribotrya*), contains a very delicious white pulp, and is called *lang-ch'a*.‡ There is also a plant, the leaf of which is like the *kü* 蒟 (betel pepper), and its stalk like a slender stem of bamboo. It flowers in Spring, and produces a fruit like the mulberry, but closer and smaller. The name of this is *pi-po*.§ When eaten, it cures internal congestions; and its root is a specific against swellings.

A turtle is found here, which has a head

* According to Raffles, "of the parrot-kind, two only, the *bétet* and *selindit*, are found in Java. The peacock is very common in large forests. Two varieties of the turtle are found in the seas surrounding Java. Both yield the substance called tortoise-shell." (*Hist. of Java*, I. pp. 57, 59). The birds designated as "pearl fowl" and "areca-nut sparrows" in the Chinese text I am unable positively to identify. The 倒掛鳥 is identified by Swinhoe with the *loriculus paniculus* or Love Bird. Its Chinese appellation, based upon its habit of hanging head downwards, he translates topsy-turvy hanger. See *Birds and Beasts of Formosa*, in *Journal N. C. B. R. As. Society*, Vol. II., p. 46.

† 莽吉柿. This is evidently the mangostin, (*Garcinia mangostana*), called *Manggis*, or *Manggusta* by the natives of the Archipelago. Crawford says of it: "In external appearance it has the look of a ripe pomegranate, but is smaller, and more completely globular. A rind something hard on the outside, but soft and succulent within, encloses large seeds or kernels, surrounded by a soft, semi-transparent snow-white pulp, now and then having a very slight crimson blush. This pulp is the edible part of the fruit." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, I., p. 417).

‡ 郎极. This may perhaps be the *langseh*, described by Crawford, Vol. I., p. 432. The character *Ch'a* 极, given in the *Ying Yai*, is erroneously written *pan* 板 in the text.

§ 華撥. The long Pepper (*Chavica Roxburghii*). Cf. F. P. Smith's *Chin. Mat. Med.*, p. 138.

and snout like a parrot's beak. It has a large mouth and rounded back. Its scales, which are covered with red spots and markings, are called *tai-mei*,* and they serve if worn on the person as a charm against witchcraft and poison. [Near Java] there is a mountain, very lofty and of great extent, called Kiao-lan,† which abounds in leopards. The natives make hunting with bows and arrows their occupation.—*Obs.* According to what is related, when the generals Kao-Hing and She Pih led their expedition against Java, they landed at this place to build some ships, and they left behind them some hundred or more of their sick, whose progeny has increased and multiplied here.—

Bordering upon Java there lies the [island] called Chung-ka-lo,‡ in which there are lofty mountains and rocks of beautiful shape.

* **瑇瑁**. The scales of the *Chelonia imbricata* or hawk's-bill turtle, commonly found in the seas of the Archipelago.

† **交欄** Kiao, or Kao, Lan. This, it is evident, is the same with the Kow Lan **句欄** spoken of at the commencement of the present section, as lying 30 watches from Carimon Java, and identified conjecturally with a point on the coast of Borneo. In the *Sing Ch'a* a separate description is devoted to this locality, which is said to lie at a distance of ten days' sail, with a fair wind, from Ling Shan on the coast of Cochin China, whilst Surabaya is said, in the same work, to be 20 days' sail from that headland. It is further stated that the expedition under the Mongol leaders was driven by stress of weather to Kiao-lan, and that, a large portion of the fleet being disabled, it was necessary to build no less than 100 vessels here, in order to continue the voyage to Java. The adjacent forests are represented as producing all materials requisite for shipbuilding. In the Chronicle of the Yüan dynasty the name is written **勾蘭**—Kow-lan.

‡ **重迦羅**. The compiler here draws his information from the *Sing Ch'a*, in which, however, no indication is given as to the whereabouts of the locality described. This omission can be repaired by reference to the Chinese sailing directions, dating from the early part of the 17th century, which have already been made use of for the coast of Cochin China (See. Vol. III., p. 322). In this work a course is laid down, starting from Gresik **吉力石港**, which is described as a town in the district of Tupan, and proceeding first E. by S. and then S. W. by S. to

Beneath one of the mountains there is a cavern, which is so large that ten thousand men would find room within. The natives here make salt by boiling sea-water, and they distil spirits from grain. Antelopes abound here, and parrots. The tree-cotton* and cocoa-nut tree are cultivated. From this point, at a distance of several days' sail, there lie the following places: Sun-t'o-lo; P'i-pa-she; Tan Ch'ung; Yüan K'iao; and P'êng-li.† The natives live by piracy, and hold intercourse with the kingdoms of Ki-t'o-k'i. It is seldom that trading-vessels are able to go near them.

Mo-li Shan **磨里山**, which it is observed is the same with the P'êng-li Shan **彭里山** mentioned in the *Sing Ch'a Shêng Lan*. This, it is evident, is the island of Bali, immediately contiguous to Java on the east. Next comes Lang-muk **郎木**, or Lombok, and beyond this Sam-ba-wa **三吧哇**. The next point steered for, five watches distant from Lombok, is said to be Chung-ka-lo, which would seem, therefore, to be the island of Floris; and five watches farther lies Volcano Island, **火山**, a term which would apply to almost any island of this group. The great cavern mentioned in the text may perhaps have been the crater of some extinct volcano.

* **木棉**. This term was most probably used to denote the true cotton plant, so largely cultivated in the islands of the Archipelago. As the writer has elsewhere shewn, the plant received this appellation in Southern China on its introduction from the countries farther south, probably at some time during the 10th century, the name being borrowed from the cotton tree or *Bombax*, with obvious reference to the silky down produced by that tree (See *Notes and Queries on China and Japan*, Vol. II., 1868, p. 73).

† The following are the Chinese characters employed for the names given above: 1. **孫陀羅**;—2. **琵琶施**;—3. **丹重**;—4. **圓嶠**;—5. **彭里**. The third and fourth have less the appearance of native names, phonetically rendered, than of purely, Chinese designations. The fifth, as explained in the note above, is intended for Bali. By the "Kingdoms of Ki-t'o-k'i **吉陀崎諸國**" it is possible that Celebes, with its singular peninsular formation, may be referred to. The passage rendered above "at the distance of several days' sail" is, in the text: **其山水程有五** (*lit.* from

There are no fixed seasons for sending tribute from Java. In the third year of Hung Wu (A. D. 1370) the Sovereign, named Si-li-pa-ta-la (Sri Badra?) sent one of his officers named Pa-ti-chen-pi and others to offer tribute of productions of the country, and to give back two edicts which had been bestowed by the Yüan dynasty. In 1381 the King sent an address written on leaves of gold, together with tribute, and also three hundred black slaves.* After this, tribute was broken off. In 1404 the King of Yüan Tung (*lit.* East Garden) sent an envoy with tribute, and begged that a seal be given to him. Upon this it was decreed that a silver seal should be cast, and plated with gold, and this was sent by the hands of an envoy. In 1443 it was arranged

this island there are five journeys by water); but this scarcely intelligible passage is a garbled version of the text of the *Sing Ch'a*, where, with perfect distinctness, it is stated that 其處約去數日水程; and this reading has been followed in the translation.

* The following is extracted from a note on this subject communicated by the writer to *Notes and Queries on China and Japan* for July, 1869 (Vol. III., No. 7): "The fact of negro slavery having at one time been numbered among the institutions of China is not generally known. The work entitled 粵中見聞, a valuable repertory of notices relating to the province of Kwangtung, states as follows under the heading 黑人—Black Men: 'During the most prosperous times of the Ming dynasty large numbers of black men were purchased by the great houses at Canton to serve as gatekeepers. The name given to them was 鬼奴—devil slave—and their strength was most extraordinary, to such an extent that they were capable of carrying a weight of several hundred catties on their backs. In language, habits, and inclinations there was no similarity between them and the natives of China; but in disposition they were tractable and not given to running away. In colour they were black as ink, with red lips and white teeth, their hair curly and of a yellow hue. They were of both the male and female sex, and were produced among the islands beyond the sea, where they lived on raw food. When caught, and fed on a diet cooked with fire, they were attacked with violent and long-continued purging, which was called "changing their inwards," and in many cases the result was death. Those who did not die could be kept in captivity for a length of time, and were capable of being taught to understand ordinary speech, although they

that tribute should be sent every third year; but since then it has not been sent with regularity. The tribute that was sent was of pepper; long pepper; sappan wood; bees' wax; catechu; diamonds; ebony; native red earth (?); rose-water; lign aloes; sandal wood; *ma-t'êng hiang*; *suh hiang*; laka wood; patchuk; olibanum; Baroos camphor; dragon's blood; nutmegs; cardamoms; *t'êng kieh*; *assa-fœtida*; aloes; myrrh; lucrabau seeds; clove bark; native *muh pieh tsze*; vermin-destroying preparation; pottery stone; cubebs; *wu hiang*; precious stones; pearls; tin; iron from the western seas; iron weapons; wrought-iron knives; *mi* cloth; glazed red cloth (calicoes); peacocks; fire birds;* parrots; tortoise-shell; peacock-feathers; kingfisher feathers;

themselves were not able to talk. There was one variety who, diving into the sea, would remain under water for one or two days. These were called Kw'ên-lun Nu 崑崙奴, and during the period of the T'ang dynasty they were kept in large numbers by families of distinction and wealthy houses." In the curious little work called the 海島逸誌, by Wang Ta-hai, published about A.D. 1791, and translated under the title of "The Chinaman Abroad" (Mission Press, Shanghai, 1849), the black slaves which were owned in Java in the middle of the last century, and which are described as being natives of Papua and Ceram, are amusingly noticed. It is said that they were called 烏鬼 or black demons. In connection with the fact that these Papuan blackamoors were not unnaturally called "devils" by the Cantonese of the 15th and 16th centuries, as stated in the extract quoted above, may not the ill-famed appellation 番鬼—foreign devil—with which Europeans have so long been saluted in the south of China have owed its origin to the currency of this nickname? The transfer would have been easy and almost natural, from one class of "foreigner" to another.

* In its description of Palembang (in Sumatra) the *Ying Yai* describes the 火鷄 or "fire bird" as follows: "It is a bird as tall as the Manchurian crane 仙鶴, with a round body, an upright neck longer even than the crane's, a soft red crest like a red cap, and two wattles on the neck. Its beak is pointed. The plumage over its whole body is like sheep's wool, loose, long, and of a dark 青 colour. Its feet are long, and iron-black in colour. Its claws are very sharp, so that if it strikes a man in the belly it tears out his entrails and kills him. It is fond

cranes' crests;* rhinoceros-horns; tusks of ivory; turtle shells; prepared lign-aloes; and gum benzoin.†

EPILOGUE:—In the reign Ch'un Hwa (A.D. 990-994) an envoy from this country named T'o-chan 陀港 declared himself, saying,—In China there has come to reign a true lord over men; and upon this an embassy was fitted forth and offerings of tribute were despatched. The Mongol who reigned under the title of Yüan 胡元 sent She Pih and Kao Hing with a fleet of a thousand sail, bearing victuals for a whole year, and invested with ten warrants of command in the shape of "tiger" staves, with forty

of eating live coals, and hence it is called the fire bird." In this description it is easy to recognize the cassowary, which, at the present day, according to Wallace, inhabits the island of Ceram only. He describes it as follows: "It is a stout and strong bird, standing five or six feet high, and covered with long coarse hair-like feathers. The head is ornamented with a large horny casque or helmet, and the bare skin of the neck is conspicuous with bright blue and red colours. . . This bird is the *Casuarinus Galeatus* of naturalists, and was for a long time the only species known. Others have since been discovered in New Guinea, New Britain, and North Australia." (*The Malay Archipelago*, Vol. II., p. 149). The cassowary, when attacked, defends itself by kicking obliquely backwards with its feet, (*Chambers's Cyclopædia*). The name *hwo-ki* 火鷄 or "fire fowl," by which the turkey is now known in Southern China, may not improbably have been given to it from some general resemblance to the cassowary of the Indian islands, on its first introduction to the knowledge of the Chinese.

* The *Ying Yai* gives the following description of the substance referred to: "The cranes'-crest bird 崔頂鳥 is of the size of a duck, with black plumage, a long neck, and a large beak. The bone of its skull is more than an inch in thickness. It is red on the outside and like yellow wax within, presenting a most beautiful and delicate appearance. The name given to it is cranes'-crest; and it is used for making dagger handles, clasps, and the like." The bird thus described is doubtless the great Hornbill (*Buceros*), belonging to a family abundantly represented in the islands of the Archipelago. The fine drawing of a specimen of *Buceros bicornis* given by Wallace (*Malay Archipelago*, Vol. I., p. 212), shews the huge bill and prominent crest which Chinese artists at Canton transfer to the head of an otherwise graceful but purely imaginary crane. The ornaments carved at Canton from the wax-like substance of the crest are well known to residents in China.

† See Note V. at foot.

tablets of gold and one hundred tablets of silver. Of ingots of silver they carried forty thousand. Great, in sooth, were the cost and pains of this expedition; and yet, withal, it returned discomfited. Not so has it been in the days of our Sovereign the Exalted Founder, when, without need of a single warlike armament, for more than one hundred and fifty years tribute has been sent without misliking or remissness. Could such things come to pass with those who lie pillowed on the ocean far away, unless a Sovereign commissioned from on high were in our midst? Would men be willing, were it otherwise, to fare submissively so far across the seas, and to confess allegiance within the limits of the Empire?

NOTE I.—The notices of Java supplied by the Chinese historical compilations have been collected by Amiot in the *Mémoires concernant les Chinois*, tom. 14, and the originals may be referred to in the *Yüan Kien Lui Han Cyclopædia*, B. 234. It is here stated that Kwa Wa 瓜哇 is the same as the country anciently known by the name of Chê-p'o 閩婆. Another name for it is P'u-ka-lung 莆家龍 (probably the modern Pekalongan). Amiot, following, it is charitable to presume, some Chinese authority, proceeds to explain that "Les Yuen ou les Mongoux sont les premiers qui lui aient donné le nom de *Koua-oua*, qui signifie *son de courge*, parce que le son de voix des peuples de ce Royaume approche beaucoup de celui que rend une courge sèche, quand on la frappe, ou qu'on la fait rouler par terre!" It is a decided act of injustice to the memory of the Mongols to saddle them with this piece of eighteenth century etymology. The Mongols, or rather the Chinese who fought and wrote in their service, designated the island we know as Java quite correctly by means of the characters 爪哇 Chao-wa, as may be seen to this day in the Chronicle of the Yüan dynasty, compiled from the records they bequeathed. The addition of a single dash to the cha-

racter *chao* converts it into *kwa*, and supplies P. Amiot with his vocal theory. The first mention of the island by a Chinese writer occurs in the *Fo-kwoh-ki* of Fah Hien, who, on his return voyage from India, after many perils and anxieties, arrived in the country of Yeh-p'ò-t'i 耶婆提. This was long ago identified by Landresse, in his annotations of Rémusat's work, with the Yava dwipa or "Island of Barley" which makes its appearance for the first time in Ptolemy's map, about the middle of the second century of our era. Fah Hien's voyage took place in about the year A. D. 413; and only a few years later direct intercourse between the Hindu sovereigns of Java and the Chinese court was inaugurated by the first of a long series of embassies. The Yü Hai 玉海 Cyclopædia, compiled in the 13th century by Wang Ying-lin, supplies the means of tracing these successive missions from their earliest date. In the section headed "Tributary Relations" 朝貢 (Books 152 to 154 of the work) it is stated that in the 9th and the 12th years of Yüan Kia of the earlier Sung dynasty (A. D. 432 and 435) "embassies arrived from the country of Ho-ling 訶陵, otherwise called She-wa 闍婆, which lies in the midst of the southern ocean, had cities walled with timber, possessed a written language, and was acquainted with the science of astronomy. At the summer solstice a staff eight *ch'ih* high was erected there, which cast a shadow to the south 2 *ch'ih* 4 *ts'un* in length." In the name Ho-ling, or Ko-ling, which is given here as appertaining to Java, one is tempted to recognize the Kalinga of the Coromandel coast, from which the earliest Hindu invaders of the island appear to have proceeded. (Cf. Crawfurd, *Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 226). It is curious to note, in this connection, that in speaking of the trade between India and Java, which Crawfurd states "has always been chiefly conducted from the ports of Coromandel and by the nation called Kalinga or Telinga," he adds that "the Telingas, more expert and

skilful navigators than the Chinese, have learned from the Arabs, who had their knowledge of the Greeks, to take the sun's altitude with the forestaff." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, III., p. 197). The *Yüan Kien Lui Han* Cyclopædia (B. 234) gives under the head of "Java" a highly interesting document in the shape of the actual credentials presented by the envoys who visited the Chinese court in the reign above mentioned. Nothing could exceed the humility of tone with which, in this *piao* 表 or respectful Address, the sovereign of Shê-p'ò-p'ò-ta 闍婆婆達國, named She-li-p'ò-ta-t'ò-a-lo-pa-ma, is made to pour out his expressions of loyalty "at the feet of the great King of the land of Sung, the Great Fortunate One, the Son of Heaven." It is very noteworthy that the imagery of this document is conspicuously Buddhistic. The Chinese sovereign is addressed in a strain of fulsome adulation, as he whose kingdom is wide-spreading and his people many in number, whose palaces and cities are in the likeness of Heaven (忉利天宮, the heaven of Trayastrimsha), the title of which is Ta Sung, the great kingdom of Chow," and the sovereign himself is likened by implication to the possessor of all wisdom, the subjugator of the Mâras, he who turned the wheel of the law, who brought salvation to all created beings, and who, this task completed, has entered upon Nirvâna, etc. etc. The compilers of the *Yüan Kien Lui Han* omit to name the source whence this document is derived; but if, as may fairly be assumed, it is a genuine extract from the records of the period, it serves to fix the date at which Buddhism had already found its way into Java. On the other hand, the scribes employed to draw up the document in Chinese may also, perhaps, be credited with having added flourishes of their own invention to the Javanese text. The address continues with a proffer of allegiance, inspired by the admiration which, even far beyond the seas, has been excited by the bounties diffused from the fountain of uni-

versal benevolence. If his offer be accepted, the King entreats that a message be sent to him in the same year. He commissions 佛大陀婆 Fuh-ta-t'o-p'o as his chief, and Koh-ti 葛抵 as his assistant envoy, requesting that a hearing and credence be given to what T'o-p'o has to unfold; and he expresses his hope that the requests to be preferred may be acceded to. Some trifling presents, in token of the humble feelings cherished, are presented with this royal letter.

Notwithstanding these tenders of allegiance—and, perhaps, in consequence of a refusal to join in the projects indicated in the credentials which embody them—the Chinese records state that no further embassies arrived from Java until more than five hundred years later, in A.D. 992, the third year of the reign Ch'un Hwa of the Sung dynasty. The sovereign by whom this mission was despatched is said to have been named Muh-lo-ch'a 木羅茶. The *Yü Hai* records that his ambassadors landed at Ming Chow (the modern Ningpo), and arrived four months afterwards at the Court (then established at Pien Liang in Honan), with tribute of ivory-tusks, pearls, cowry shells, and white parrots. The next embassy arrived about A.D. 1110; and, after this, relations again became suspended for a century and a half, until the majesty of China was once more asserted in the hands of the Mongol invader. The expedition to Java undertaken by Kublai is discussed in Note III. below.

NOTE II.—The mention of Ts'üan Chow, commonly known at the present day as Chinchew, one of the principal cities of Fuhkien, as the port at which the expedition against Java was embarked, invites some farther notice of this spot, more particularly in respect of its identification with the Zaiton or Caiton of Marco Polo's narrative. Since the days of Klaproth, no room for doubt has been left on this subject, and the recent labours of Pauthier and Yule have accumulated a mass of evidence confirmatory of

Polo's statements regarding this celebrated emporium. During the last year or two, however, Mr. G. Phillips has brought forward some interesting particulars in connection with the port anciently known as Geh-kong 月港, on the site of which the present city of Hai-ch'êng Hien 海澄縣, in the neighbourhood of Amoy, is built; and he has contended that Chang-chow, not Ts'üan Chow, was the Chinese emporium of the middle ages, which was described by Polo, Ibn Batuta, and other travellers, under the name of Zaiton. In the latest edition of his work, Colonel Yule has met, so far as was necessary, the contention raised in favour of Chang-chow, and whilst admitting, what is undeniably the fact, that in the 15th century Chang-chow had become the resort of travellers, merchants, and missionaries from foreign countries, he points to the fact that Ts'üan Chow, and Ts'üan Chow almost alone, is the port of debarkation mentioned in historical notices of the arrival of ships and missions from abroad during the reign of Kublai, and of departure for his foreign expeditions. (*The Book of Marco Polo*, London, 1875, Vol. II., p. 221). In elucidation of the ancient importance of Ts'üan Chow as a commercial emporium, some extracts from Chinese sources, in addition to those amassed by Pauthier, may be given here. In the great Imperial Geography compiled by order of the Emperor K'ien Lung, entitled 大清一統志, or Description of the Empire, historical as well as topographical details are comprised in the account given of each prefecture. Under the head of Ts'üan-chow Fu, we read the following of Chên Têh-siu, who governed this city under the Sung dynasty. "When Chen Têh-siu was governor in the reign of Ning Tsung (A.D. 1195-1224), the foreign shipping stood in such dread of the oppressive taxes then levied that not more than three or four vessels came in the course of a year. Chên Têh-siu took the lead in affording them relief, upon which the numbers rapidly increased to as many as 36." A

century earlier than this, Tu Ch'un held the office of Judge at Ts'üan Chow, and of him it is related that "in his time the place was largely frequented by foreign shipping 番船, and merchandize of all descriptions was piled up there mountain-high. The officials of the city were used to trade privily on their own account, paying not so much as one-tenth of the value of what they bought. The only persons who did not engage themselves in this illicit traffic were the Governor, whose name was Kwan Yung, and Tu Ch'un. Nothing was known for a time of the conflux that was practised, but it eventually came to light and was brought before the tribunals. Tu Ch'un and Kwan Yung alone escaped the punishment that ensued." In the same section, the following description is given of what must have been the principal anchorage of the port of Ts'üan Chow. "An-hai Ch'êng 安海城 lies 60 li south-east from Tsin-kiang 晉江 (the district seat of government within the walls of Ts'üan Chow). It was anciently called Wan Hai. Early in the Sung dynasty (*i.e.* about the last quarter of the 10th century) it received the name of An-hai She 安海市 (trading-place of An-hai). The eastern side is called the old town, and the western the new town. When sea-going ships arrived, the officials at the city (*i.e.* Ts'üan Chow) sent an officer to collect duties at this place. The name Shih-tsing Tsin 石井津 was [also] given to the place; and in the fourth year of Kien Yen (A.D. 1130) a military command was established here under the name Shih-tsing Chên 石井鎮. A rampart of earth was thrown up in the 26th year of the reign Shao Hing (A.D. 1156) when the place was beleaguered by sea-rovers. Under the Yüan dynasty a deputy-Magistrate was established here with the title of supervisor of Shih-tsing; but in the 20th year of Hung Wu (A.D. 1397) the deputy-Magistrate was removed to Ch'ên-k'ang Chên 陳坑鎮 in the T'ung-an district, upon which the place again became a great

resort for traders." The collectorate of Customs 稅務司 for the port of Ts'üan Chow under the Yüan dynasty is elsewhere stated to have been fixed at a point called T'ang She 塘市, 20 li South of Tsin-kiang.

Mr. Phillips has doubted whether the seat of government of the Viceroyalty of Fuhkien was established at Fuhchow at the time of Marco Polo's visit; but the precision of the Chinese historical records leaves no room for doubt in this respect. The *Yih T'ung Che* states that in the 15th year of the reign Che Yüan (A.D. 1278), *i.e.* at the moment of the final collapse of the expiring Sung dynasty, a Viceroyalty 行中書省 was established at Ts'üan Chow, but that in A.D. 1281 the seat of government was removed to Fuh Chow. In the year following the seat of government was moved back to Ts'üan Chow, but in the next year after that it again returned to Fuh Chow. (大清一統志, B. 260-264).

With reference to the importance of Ts'üan Chow under the Yüan dynasty as an emporium of the shipping trade of the Indian and eastern seas, authorities by the dozen might be adduced from the records of that period; but the following interesting passage from the chronicle of the reign of Kublai will suffice to shew that this port, not Chang Chow, was the principal mart of Fuhkien at the period now in question. In the 30th year of the reign Che Yüan (A.D. 1293), it is recorded, "assent was given to the proposal made by Liu Mêng-yen, that Superintendents of Trade and Shipping 市船司 should be appointed at Hang Chow, Shang-hai, Kan-p'u, Wên Chow, K'ing-yüan (the modern Ningpo), Kwangtung (Canton), and Ts'üan Chow; and that as an assessment of three in thirty was levied on merchandize at Ts'üan Chow, whilst elsewhere the rate was only one in fifteen, the practice prevailing at Ts'üan Chow should be adopted as the general rule" (元史, B. 17). It is evident, moreover, from the statements handed down respecting the

expeditions of Chêng Ho and his colleagues, that so late as toward the middle of the fifteenth century the port still retained its character as a place of embarkation for foreign voyages.

A geographical detail which is noted in the *Tu Ts'ing Yih T'ung Che* appears to throw some light on a doubtful passage in Marco Polo's account of Fuhchow, beside tending to elucidate the manner in which foreign trade was carried on in the immediate neighbourhood of that port at the time to which his narrative refers. In the text followed by Pauthier we read (*Livre de M. Polo*, cap. clv., p. 527): "Pres de cette cité est li ports de Kayteu, qui entre en la mer oceanne. Et va ledit fleuve à ce port. Ilz ont moult beaux jardins et désirables. Et si est moult belle cité et bien ordonnée." For Pauthier's *Kayteu* both Marsden and Yule read *Zaiton*, which may, indeed, be not improbably the correct rendering (*Kayton* being a very likely error of transcription for *Çaiton*); and Pauthier's proposal to fabricate a Chinese name of *Hai-théou 海頭*, as a possible equivalent of *Ma-théou* or "landing-place," in order to provide an identification for *Kayteu*, is only too characteristic of his facile imagination. A port called *海口* *Hai K'ow* (Sea-Port), did indeed flourish at the mouth of the Min during the Ming dynasty; and it is singular that this fact should have been overlooked by Pauthier in his anxiety to find a local habitation for Polo's "belle cité;" but the point to which attention is now to be directed is still another. In the Topography of the Empire, already quoted from above, the following description is given of the Hai-t'an group of islands, lying some thirty miles south of the entrance to the river Min: "The Hai-t'an islands *海壇山* lie 120 *li* eastward from the district of Ch'ang-loh, in the midst of the sea. They are 300 *li* in circuit. Under the T'ang dynasty they were employed as a pasturage for horses. The Sung dynasty appointed an official to superintend the pasturage, which appoint-

ment was subsequently abolished. In the reign Hwang-Yeo (A.D. 1048-1054) the people were allowed to bring the land under tillage. In the reign Shun Hi (A.D. 1174-1189) three thousand and odd families were settled here. Under the Yüan dynasty the number of families reached the amount of forty thousand, principally engaged in the fishery. In the 20th year of Hfung Wu (A.D. 1387) a decree commanded the population to be removed to the mainland. Upon this the territory was laid waste." After a number of topographical details of the various channels and anchorages, the account is concluded with the statement that "this was a great place of resort for shipping *船舶之都會*. Subsequently to the period of the Five Dynasties (which terminated *circa* A. D. 960) it became a mart where the seafaring traders dealt with each other *海賈互市之地*; and it was commonly called 'Little Yang Chow *小揚州*' (Yang Chow being a city exceptionally famous for its wealth and luxury). In the early years of the Ming dynasty the population was removed to the mainland." It seems at least not impossible that this may be the port described by Marco Polo in the following terms, as given by Colonel Yulo (Vol. II., 2nd ed., p. 216); "*Il li se fait grand mercandies de perles e d'autres pieres presiose, e ce est porce que les nés de Yndie li viennent con maint merchant qe usent en les ysles de Endie; et encore voz di que ceste ville est près au port de Caiton en la mer Ostiane; et illuec viennent maintes nés de Indie con maintes mercandies, e puis cest part viennent les nés por le grant flum jusque à la cité de Fugui.*"

The Hai-t'an Islands are in the district of Ch'ang-loh; and it was at a port in this district that the great naval expedition of 1431 made its first stoppage on the coast before proceeding on its voyage to the South (See *ante*, Part II., Note II.)

NOTE III.—Beyond fragmentary allusions such as those in the text, no account of the great expedition fitted out by Kublai against Java is to be found elsewhere than in the

Chronicle of the Yüan dynasty. In the history of Kublai's reign itself, the notices of this undertaking are, as usual, extremely brief. Under the 29th year of the portion of his reign styled Che Yüan, or A.D. 1292, it is recorded that "the T'ai K'ing 太卿 of Ts'üan Chow, Ihamish 亦黑迷失, the 'commander of ten thousand,' She Pih 史弼, and the vice-Governor of Fuhkien, Kao Hing 高興, were named in the second moon joint High Counsellors of the vice-Royalty of Fuhkien, and placed in command of the expedition against Java. Five hundred vessels, large and small, and twenty thousand troops were employed for this purpose." In the seventh moon it is recorded that the three commanders were summoned into the imperial presence, and it is further added that his Majesty, in personally addressing the departing generals, gave special charge of all arrangements concerning the fleet to Ihamish, as one experienced in navigation, and the chief command of the land forces to Kao-Hing. The only additional mention of the expedition occurs under the twelfth moon of the 30th year, which corresponds (as we should now reckon) with January, 1294, only a month before Kublai's death, where it is recorded that "for their want of success, Ihamish, She Pih, Kao Hing, and their associates, on their return, were punished with blows, disgraced, and mulcted in one-third of their household goods." The details which are omitted in these laconic notices are supplied in the biographies of the three commanders themselves, forming part of the section of the Yüan Chronicle devoted to individual histories, and in the account of their expedition furnished under the head of Java in Book 97. Of Ihamish we learn (列傳, B. 18,) that he was a Uigur by birth, who, from employment in the imperial guards, was selected by Kublai early in his reign for the office of envoy to foreign countries. In A.D. 1264, on returning from a mission to Champa, he was despatched to Ceylon to

obtain a sight of the Holy Grail of Buddhism, the relic of the páttra or almsbowl of Shâkyamuni. A few years later he was sent on a mission to Malabar. His many voyages marked him out for service when the expedition to Java was contemplated. She Pih, the generalissimo of the landforces, (B. 19,) was a highly distinguished soldier and was acting as Governor of Cheh-kiang at the time of his appointment to this post. Kao Hing, his lieutenant, was another of the trusted generals of Kub-lai, who bestowed numerous gifts of value upon him at the time of his appointment. It is in his biography that we meet with the cause assigned for the invasion of Java. An envoy named Mêng K'i 孟琪, it appears, had been sent by Kublai to the island, and had returned, branded in the face by order of the native sovereign. It was to avenge this insult that the expedition was resolved upon. The provinces of Fuhkien, Kiangsi, and Hukwang furnished twenty thousand troops, who were equipped with provisions for a year, and with paper money to the value of four hundred thousand ounces of silver. Sailing from Ts'üan Chow in the beginning of A.D. 1293, when "owing to the rolling of the vessels in the stormy weather, the whole force was for several days unable to take food," they reached a halting point at Kow Lan, near the Carimata Islands, where a council of war was held 議方畧. In the 2nd moon Ihamish, with ten vessels and a force of five hundred men, went forward to summon the islanders to submission; and the main body of the force shortly afterwards followed him, and effected a landing on the shores of the 八節澗 or Strait of Madura. At this period, it is narrated, the kingdom of Chao-wa—which had its seat of government at Modjopahit—was at enmity with the neighbouring kingdom of Koh-lang 葛郎; and the King of Chao-wa, named 哈只葛達那加刺 Ha-chi-ko-ta-na-ka-la, had been slain by 哈只葛當 Ha-chi-ko-tang, King of Koh-lang. The son-in-law of the deceased

sovereign, named 土罕必闍耶, T'u-han-pi-shê-yeh, had attacked the conqueror, but had been driven back to his defences at Modjopahit 麻諾八歇. On the arrival of the Chinese army he invoked its assistance, and joined his forces with those of She Pih, who agreed to advance with him against Ta-ho 荅合,* the capital of the State of Koh-lang. The military measures taken in this campaign are circumstantially described, and it is stated that the army of Koh-lang, upwards of one hundred thousand strong, was defeated, whereupon Ha-chi-koh-tang surrendered himself a prisoner, with his family and his ministers. T'u-han-pi-shê-yeh made entreaty for their release, on a formal attestation of submission being delivered, together with much store of precious stones and other valuables, to the Chinese commanders; and his request was granted. Meanwhile T'u-han-pi-shê-yeh's son, 昔刺八的昔刺丹 Si-la-pa-ti-si-latan, had revolted against the Chinese, and Kao Hing vainly sought to impress his colleagues with the dread of meditated treachery which he himself entertained. A guard of 200 men was sent as escort with T'u-han-pi-shê-yeh on his return to his capital (or, as one account alleges, with the King of Koh-lang), and this party was set upon and massacred by the perfidious T'u-han-pi-shê-yeh. The mask being thus thrown off, he attacked the Chinese army as it was retiring to the coast, taking it at a disadvantage in a narrow defile. She Pih himself commanded the rear, and by maintaining a running fight for a distance of 300 *li* (one hundred miles) he succeeded in reaching his ships. This was about three months after the landing had been effected. The armament having been reëmbarked, it was conducted back

* This, it seems highly probable, was Doho, mentioned by Crawford as one of the principal native states of Java during the centuries preceding the introduction of Mahomedanism. The ruins of Doho, he states, "are in the fertile district of Kadiri, about the centre of the island, counting by its length, and toward the southern coast." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 299).

to Ts'üan Chow by a voyage of sixty-eight days' duration. The loss incurred was upwards of three thousand men. On the landing of the force, an inventory was taken by the officers of government of the treasures that were brought back with it, consisting in gold, gems, scented woods, cotton cloths, and other booty, the value of which was estimated at more than 500,000 ounces of silver. During the absence of the main body of the force, moreover, commissioners had been sent to conciliate the allegiance of the lesser states, and She Pih was able to produce a respectful letter, engrossed on a golden scroll, from the King of Muh-li 沒里 (Bali?), with presents of gold and silver, ivory, rhinoceros horns, etc. For the miscarriage of the expedition, notwithstanding, Kublai condemned She Pih to the penalty of 17 blows, and to confiscation of one-third of his property. In the following year, however, on the accession of a new sovereign, he was restored to favour and created a Minister of State.

NOTE IV.—The statement respecting the Javanese era is derived from the *Sing Ch'a*, in which it is alleged that "at the end of official letters in this country, they write the date 1376. On examination, the epoch is found to commence in the period of the Han dynasty, coming down to the seventh year of the reign Süan Têh of our dynasty of Ta Ming." The 7th year of Süan Têh corresponds with A.D. 1432, in which year, as we have already seen, a great Chinese expedition visited Java, and the commencement of the Javanese era should be placed, accordingly, in A.D. 57. There is a difference of some 20 years, however, for which it is not easy to account, between this date and the period assigned by Crawford as that with which the Javanese chronology begins. He states that "an examination of the institutions of the Indian islanders furnishes an argument, and, as far as I know, one only, in favour of the hypothesis of *Kalinga* being the native country of those who propagated Hinduism in the Indian islands. This argu-

ment is drawn from a comparison of the kalenders of Southern India, and that which prevailed in the Indian islands. The year in Karnata and Telinga is lunar, with an intercalary month in every thirty, and the era commences with the birth of *Salivana* or *Saka*, 78 years after Christ. This, with all its particulars, is the kalender which prevailed in Java, and which at present obtains in the Hindu country of Bali, as its name, *Saka warsa chandra*, distinctly implies." (*Hist. Ind. Archipel.*, II., p. 229.) Sir Stamford Raffles, in his *History of Java*, seems to admit a further variation of three years, when he writes that "the Hindu empire of Majapahit was overthrown in the first year of the 15th century of the Javan era, or about the year of our Lord 1475," (Vol. II., p. 66). In the absence of material for a fuller investigation, this question can only be left as it stands.

NOTE V.—The majority of the names occurring in this long catalogue of foreign products are the same with those in common use at the present day, as identified by Williams in his *Chinese Commercial Guide*, and more fully by Dr. F. P. Smith in his *Chinese Materia Medica*. To this work in particular obligation must be expressed for the identification of the drug *wu-tieh-ni* 烏爹泥 with catechu, or, as it was formerly designated by pharmacologists, *terra japonica*, the brownish cakes in which the drug is seen suggesting to both Europeans and Chinese the idea of an earth (*ni*). Its common name in China at the present day is *urh ch'a* 兒茶. For the "native red earth" 番紅土 of the text no positive identification can be suggested. The "rosedew" or rose water (? attar) 薔薇露 appears to have been more familiarly known to the Chinese of the middle ages than in later times. It is mentioned in the Treatise on Perfumes 香譜, a work which according to K'ien Lung's Bibliography (四庫全書目錄) dates from the Sung dynasty, under the name of *tsiang-wei shuei*, or, literally, rose-water, and is defined as a scent ("dew") distilled from flowers in the

country of the Persians 大食國. As a substitute for it in the present day (that is to say, about the 12th century of our era) the essence of the *mo-li* or jasmine flower is, it is said, employed. In A.D. 958, it is further added, fifteen flasks of the perfume were sent as a present to the Chinese Court from the kingdom of Kw'en-ming 昆明, in the modern region of Yunnan, with the statement that it had been obtained from *Si Yü*—Central Asia. Clothing imbued with the scent, it is observed in conclusion, may decay sooner than the perfume disappear (*K'eh Che King Yüan*, B. 57).

The *ma t'êng hiang* 麻藤香, literally *ma* (or "hemp") rattan gum or resin, may not improbably be gambodge, which is commonly known as *t'êng huang*, or "rattan yellow." The *t'êng kiek* 藤竭 is another drug which must be left unidentified. It may be imagined to be somewhat akin to the "dragon's blood," 血竭, a resinous substance, blood-red in colour, which is believed to be the product of *Pterocarpus draco*. The *mu pieh t'ze* of China are the seeds of *muricia cochinchinense*, a cucurbitaceous plant, which grows wild in the southern provinces. The Javanese drug to which the same name is given in the text may be the product of another but similar species. The drug named *lu hwei*, commonly named by Europeans "aloes," is in reality, according to Dr. Bretschneider, (*Arabs and Arabian Colonies etc.*, p. 20), brown catechu. The "vermin destroying preparation," "pottery stone" 碗石, and *wu hiang* (black gum or resin) of the text are unidentified. For particulars relating to the drugs that are named, see Smith's *Chinese Materia Medica*. The kingfisher-feathers 翠毛 are, doubtless, the plumage, of exquisite blue-green tints, used at the present day in the manufacture of enamelled ornaments, principally for female headgear, in all parts of China. The precise nature of the *mi* 苾 cloth mentioned in the text—most probably some description of calico—must be left undetermined.

W. F. MAYERS.