

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

Part I

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(to be published in Part 2)

INTRODUCTION

This article is divided into three chapters. The first chapter on *Cha-shih-li-mien* 嗒嗜例綿 is a paper in which I dare to try to raise an objection to the view of Dr. Naojirô Sugimoto 杉本直治郎, published in the 5th volume of the *Tôhōgaku* 東方学. In the second chapter is dealt with a Yüan inscription that has remained at an ancient mosque in Ch'üan-chou of Fu-chien Province and its author is investigated. Further, the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷誌畧 by Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵 is also referred to. Chapter III: "The Rebellion of I-ssü-pa-hsi", is an essay to elucidate the trouble caused by Muslims that took place at Ch'üan-chou at the time of the great disorder at the end of Yüan Dynasty.

Each of the three chapters concerns the Islam in the province of Fu-chien and they may at first sight appear to be incoherent, but it would be my great joy, if these three chapters as a whole could shed light, even though very dim, on the cultural history of Fu-chien at that time when things were utterly confused so that only scanty records have been handed down.

Chapter I On *Cha-shih-li-mien* 嗒嗜例綿

Some years ago I published an article titled "the Persians in Ch'üan-chou and Pu-shu-kêng 蒲壽庚" in the *Shigaku* 史學, Vol. 25, No. 3, where

[This article is the English translation of the author's article in Japanese: "Gematsu no Senshû to Kaikyôto 元末の泉州と回教徒", the *Shigaku* 史學, Vol. 27, No. 1, December, 1953. Chapters 1 and 2 of the article are published in this number as Part 1 and Chapter 3 will appear in the next issue as Part 2. (Editor's note)]

I referred to the life of a man called Burhān ud-Dīn who had come from West Frontier. He came over to Ch'üan-chou during the years of Huang-ching 皇慶 of the Yüan Dynasty (1312-13 A.D.). He was chosen *Shaikhu'l-Islām*, bishop of an Islamic order there, and died at an unusual advanced age in the 3rd year of Hung-wu 洪武 of the Ming Dynasty (1370 A.D.). In my article mentioned above I quoted his brief biography from the *Min-shu-ch'ao* 閩書抄 (Extracts from the *Min-shu*) cited in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* 泉州府志 of the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 edition (Vol. 75, Supplements), but I confessed that I could not explain the sentence: 夏不魯丁者西洋啗嗜例綿人. Against this Dr. Naojirō Sugimoto wrote a very interesting article, "What is *Cha-shih-li-mien*?", for the *Tōhōgaku*, Vol. 5. This article deals not only with *Cha-shih-li-mien*, but has shown several lucid explanations about other various problems related to it. Needless to say, I owe very much to his research. I agree with him on many points and think highly of his contributions. Only his interpretation of that *Cha-shih-li-mien* is still not convincing to me. As already pointed out by him, I gave up my interpretation of the name, since I was possessed with the idea that *Cha-shih-li-mien* might be a place name in Western Frontier. Dr. Sugimoto explained that the name was the transcription of *Shaikhu'l-Islāmīn*, a word of the identical meaning with *Shē-ssū-lien* 攝思廉 which meant a chief of an Islamic order. Unfortunately this explanation seems to me to be unacceptable, though I was inspired by his excellent view. Thus, as I told him about my doubt, he encouraged me to publish my opinion so that I dare to express my own view here.

First of all it is quite doubtful whether such a word as *Shaikhu'l-Islāmīn* that Dr. Sugimoto tried to reconstruct as the original of *Cha-shih-li-mien* was used in reality. Dr. Sugimoto explained *Islāmīn* as the plural of *Islām*, saying that "in this case, *Islāmīn* is nothing but the plural form of *Islām*, for in Arabic the *-īn* is one of the plural endings, as seen in *muslimīn*, the plural of *muslim*." According to Yule-Burnell (Hobson-Jobson, London 1903, p. 603) the plural form of *muslim* in Persian is *muslimān* which seems to have been used as singular, thus a new word *musliman* or *musalman* being created. Dr. Sugimoto approved this view. "If so, the word, though it was originally plural, may be said to have obtained the singular meaning. Thus, both *Shē-ssū-lien* and *Cha-shih-li-mien* are supposed to be synonymously used in spite of the difference in ending"¹⁾.

Muslimīn (*muslimūna*) is certainly the plural of *muslim* and this plural form is always used in the *Qur'ān*.²⁾ However, while the word *Islām* appears eight times in the *Qur'ān*, the form *Islāmīn* is never found.³⁾ Of

1) *Tōhō-gaku* 東方學, Vol. 5, p. 129.

2) G. Flügel: *Concordantiae Corani Arabicae*, Lipsae, 1842, p. 95.

3) *ibid.* p. 95.

course, the noun *Islām* is derived from the verb *'aslama*, the fourth form of *salima*. As the verb *'aslama* means "to obey, to be converted to," the noun *Islām* has the meaning "submission, resignation," i.e. the reconciliation to the will of Allah. Consequently the word will naturally do without its plural form. Against this, it is very natural that the word *muslim* is used as a rule in plural, since it denotes individual believers, as it originally means "a man resigned to the will of Allah." This holds good also with the word *mu'min* "believer", a synonym of *muslim*. In the *Qur'ān*, however, there are about one hundred and seventy instances of the plural form *mu'minīn*, while the singular form appears fifteen times.⁴⁾ In short, it is difficult to suppose, as Dr. Sugimoto did, that the word *Islām* was used with the singular meaning in its plural form, at least in Arabic. The technical terms of the Islamic religion are naturally in most cases derived from the *Qur'ān*. Especially the word *Islām* is one of the most important religious terms indicating the basic concept of the Islamic doctrine, as shown in the following passage in Aya XVII of Sura III: "The true religion with Allah is *Islām*", and it is impossible to suppose that men of later times made arbitrarily its plural form. In the *Handwörterbuch des Islam* by A.J. Wensinck and J.H. Kramers (Leiden 1941), the word *Shaikhhu'l-Islām* is explained in detail about its several changes of its meaning and usage, but no mention has been made of the form *Shaikhhu'l-Islāmīn*. Moreover, the fact that the word *Shaikhhu'l-Islām* was used even among the Muslims inhabiting Ch'üan-chou during the Yüan Dynasty can be attested by the word *Shê-ssü-lien* (transcribed form of *Shaikhhu'l-Islām*) in the inscription of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü. This is also one of the reasons why such an uncommon form as *Shaikhhu'l-Islāmīn* cannot be supposed to have been used.

Secondly, according to Dr. Sugimoto the character 喳 is the transcription of *shaikh*, the character 嗜 that of *-s-* of *Islām* and the characters 例綿 that of *-lāmīn*. The character 喳 does not appear in the *K'ang-hsi-tzū-tien* 康熙字典. In the *Chinese-English Dictionary* by H.A. Giles (London 1892), it is regarded as a colloquial which is pronounced as *ché*, *djê* or *cha*, and means a vague response when addressed by someone, approximately meaning "Yes, Sir, I obey." Probably it denotes that voice which is uttered by an inferior in a Chinese play when given orders by his superior.⁵⁾ Giles also cites the examples: 喳喳亂叫, 喊喊喳喳, 喳得一聲, etc. The first example means the manner of sparrows twittering to each other, the second one a whispering talk and the third one the response to an order given. According to Ch. Rey's Hakka dictionary⁶⁾, the character 喳 is read *tsá* or *tsāc* in Hakka (Cf. the reading of 查 is *ts'á* in Hakka). When it is read

4) *ibid.* p. 19.

5) Fukuji Ishiyama: *Shinago Daijū* 支那語大辭彙 (*A Chinese-Japanese Dictionary*), the 7. ed., 1928 Tokyo. On p. 8 the characters 喳 and 嗜 are cited in the inverse order.

6) *Dictionnaire Chinois- français, Dialecte Hac-ka*, Hongkong 1926.

tsá, it denotes a sound of lard falling into fire, or a crackling sound ('craquement' or 'pétitement') and is used in the phrase: 嗒嗒响 (*tsá tsá hiòng*). Further, *tsí tsí tsá tsá* (噹噹嗒嗒) means "sound of lard falling into fire", or "sound of a little branch broken when one pushes one's way through it". And *yoù hiết tsí tsá tít ts'ái fò chóng* (油血噹嗒滴在火上) means "sound caused by lard and blood dripping onto fire". When it is read *tsác*, it means "sound of hulling grains", or "cracking sound". *keòu chít koút t'eoú tsác tsác hiòng* (狗食骨頭嗒嗒响) "a dog crunches a bone", *lào tch'òu chít koúc tsít tsít tsác tsác* (老鼠食穀唧唧嗒嗒) "a rat crunches rice by squeaking"⁷⁾.

Anyway, the character 嗒 is a colloquial denoting an onomatopoeia. It is difficult to imagine that such a colloquial character was adopted in the *Min-shu-ch'ao* or the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* especially as representing the reading of *shaihh*. The *Min-shu-ch'ao* may be affiliated to the *Min-shu* 閩書 by Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠 which was published at the end of the Ming Dynasty.⁷⁾ The *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* that quotes from this book dates from the Ch'ien-lung 乾隆 Period and the reading of the character 嗒 at that time cannot be so much different from that of the present day.

I think that the character 嗒 of 嗒嗜例綿 in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* is a wrong character, miswritten for the character 喋 of the original. Both the characters 嗒 and 喋 resemble each other in form and thus are subject to miswriting in the course of transmission, since either *Cha-shih-li-mien* or *Mu-shih-li-mien* 喋嗜例綿 is a strange name to a common Chinese.

The character 喋 is identified with the character 謀 in the *Chi-yün* 集韻, its variants being 𠵼 and 𠵾. The character 𠵼 is the *ku-wên* variant of the character 謀 in the *Shuo-wên* 說文. Its reading is evidently *mou* or *mu*. As Dr. Sugimoto maintains, 嗜 *shih* corresponds to 思 *ssü*, 例 is read *li*, the Ch'üan-chou or Amoy reading of the character 綿 is *mīn* just like in Cantonese⁸⁾, and, therefore, 喋嗜例綿 is justified to be a transcription of *muslimīn*. If the original text runs as 夏不魯罕丁者西洋喋嗜例綿, we can safely interpret it as 'one of the *muslimīn* from the West', i.e. a Muslim who came from some Western country.

Dr. Sugimoto observes that the character 夏 of 夏不魯罕丁 represents *Hā-* of *Hājjī* and that thus it must be an abbreviation of *Hājjī* (夏敕), i.e. *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih* 夏敕大師 which was the title of the son of Pu-lu-han-ting 不魯罕丁.⁹⁾ On this point I agree entirely with him. But as Dr. Sugimoto did not explain the word *Ta-shih* 大使, I should like to offer my own opinion on this subject.

7) These passages cannot be found in the present edition of the *Min-shu*.

8) C. Douglas: *Chinese-English Dictionary of the Vernacular or Spoken Language of Amoy, with the Principal Variations of the Chang-chew and Chin-chew Dialects*, London 1873. E. Tipson: *A Cantonese Syllabary-Index to Soothill's Pocket Dictionary*, London 1951.

9) *Tôhô-gaku* Vol. 5, p. 124.

Dr. J. Kuwabara writes in his "the Achievements of Pu-shou-kêng 蒲壽庚" that *Ha-ti Ta-shih* 哈的大師 administered the Muslims in the area of Fu-chien, but afterwards the privilege was deprived of and returned to the hands of the Mongol government, taking notice of the article concerning *Ha-ti Ta-shih* in the *Yüan-shih* 元史 (Vol. 102, the Book on Penalty and Law 刑法志, Organization A 職制上) and in the *Yüan-tien-chang* 元典章 (Vol. 53, Ministry of Justice 刑部, Examination 問事).¹⁰⁾

According to the *Yüan-tien-chang*, "On the 29th of March, in the 1st Year of Huang-ching, *Hsüan-i* 宣慰 of Fu-chien Province received the order of Chung-shu-shêng 中書省 through Cha-fu 札付 of Chiang-chê Hsing-shêng 江浙行省: *Ha-ti Ta-shih* who were given the special imperial instructions on the 25th of November of a certain year of Chih-ta 至大, shall be exclusively engaged in their religious business and reciting canons from now on. Any Muslim who has to do with punishment, marriage, lawsuit on property and others, and public affairs, great or small, shall not complain to any *Ha-ti*, but directly to the government according to the regulations." (皇慶元年三月二十九日, 福建省宣慰奉江浙省札付准中書省咨. 至大□□年十一月二十五日特奉聖旨哈的大師只管他每掌教念經者. 回回人應有的刑名·戶婚·錢糧詞訟·大小公事, 哈的每休問者. 交有司官依體例問者. (下略)) From this, one can see that *Ha-ti Ta-shih* seem to have taken charge of judicial administration of Muslims since they were given the special imperial instructions during the period of Chih-ta (1308-11 A.D.) of Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗, but from the first year of Huang-ching (1312 A.D.) they were ordered to devote themselves solely to religious business and recitation of canons, and to return other affairs to the government officials¹¹⁾.

I think that this *Ha-ti Ta-shih* is identical with *Ha-ch'ih Ta-shih* 夏敕大師 and that there were persons bearing such a title among the Muslim society in Fu-chien for a while even at the beginning of the Ming Dynasty, after the Yüan Dynasty had collapsed.

Now, what is the difference between *Shê-ssü-lien* 攝思廉 (*Shaikhu'l-Islām*) and *Ha-ti Ta-shih* (*Ha-ch'ih Ta-shih*)? In my opinion, it consists only in the meaning of the terms and the charge they took of was probably almost the same.

According to the *Min-shu-ch'ao* quoted in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition, Hsia-pu-lu-han-ting 夏不魯罕丁 was nominated by

10) *Ho-ju-kô no Jiseki* 蒲壽庚の事蹟 (The Achievements of Pu-shou-kêng), (the Iwanami edition), p. 105, Supplement 3.

11) In the *Yüan-shih* 元史 it is said, "Every *Ha-ti Ta-shih* is ordered only to take charge of religious business and recitation of the canons, and when the Muslims are in dispute about penalty, marriage, property and lawsuit, they are required to present their petitions to the government officials." (諸哈的大師止令掌教念經. 回回人應有刑名·戶婚·錢糧詞訟, 並從有司問之).

people to *Shê-ssü-lien*, survived the trouble at the end of the Yüan Dynasty and died at the advanced age of one hundred and forty two in the third year of Hung-wu 洪武 (1370 A.D.) of the Ming Dynasty. In the passage following this account it is said: "*Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih* is the son of Pu-lu-han-ting. He learned the Islamic doctrines and succeeded his father. He died at the age of one hundred and eleven." From the fact that the father held the office of *Shê-ssü-lien*, his son was called *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih* and that he succeeded his father's post, one can suppose that the charge of these two was almost the same.

Both *Ha-ti Ta-shih* and *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih* seem to me to be the transcription of *amīri ḥajj* (= *mīri ḥajj*), and *ha-ti* and *hsia-ch'ih* are equally the transcriptions of *ḥajj*, *Ta-shih* being the translation of *amīr* (*mīr*). *Amīri ḥajj* or *mīri ḥajj* is the form modified in Persian and the original Arabic form is *amīr al-ḥajj* (pronounced as *amīru'l-ḥajj*). Needless to say, *amīr* means "leader, ruler, sovereign, guide, head of a family." Steingass explains *mīri ḥajj* as "the chief commander of the pilgrims," "the leader of the pilgrims"¹²⁾. In the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* there is an item dealing with *Amīr al-Hadjdj* in which it is defined as "leader of the caravan of pilgrims to Mecca". According to its description, the first person who was called with this title at the beginning of the Islamic Era was Abū Bakr when he led the pilgrims in 630 A.D.. Later, the Caliphs of successive reigns either adopted this role by himself or nominated a prince to this honourable post. The duty of this post was not only to lead pilgrims to Mecca and to bring back them therefrom, but also to enforce discipline of the pilgrims on the way and to lead the ceremonies performed at the sacred sites of Mecca, Mount Alafat and others. When a political disruption took place, several *amīr al-ḥajj* erected their standards against each other for their own government. Next, Ameer Ali of India wrote that the successive Caliphs established the important post of "a superintendent of the Hajjis (i.e. *Amīr al-Hajj*), in order to defend the pilgrims from plunderings and attacks of nomads, and the chief duty of the superintendents was to accompany the pilgrims with their troops¹³⁾. But this remark seems to be insufficient. The duty of an *amīr al-ḥajj* was never restricted to the defence of the pilgrims, but rather his chief office was to act as a leader in various ceremonies of the pilgrimage. Richard Burton, who smuggled himself into Mecca by joining at Medina in a pilgrim troop that came from Damascus in September of 1853, observed that *Emīr El Hajj* was the title of a Pasha who was given the privilege to lead the pilgrims and that the office was lucrative as well as honourable; for he had the rights to confiscate the goods of a pilgrim who

12) F. Steingass: *A Comprehensive Persian-English Dictionary*, 2nd Impression, London 1930, p. 411 (*ḥajj*), p. 1360 (*mīr*).

13) Ameer Ali: *A Short History of the Saracens*, London 1951, p. 422.

died at the sacred place or on the way thereto¹⁴). Further, according to C.M. Doughty who entered Northern Arabia by joining at Damascus in a caravan in 1875, the leading committee of the pilgrims was organized by several members and its chief was called *Emir el-Hāj* that should be translated as "commander of the great pilgrimage". He says: "In old times, it was often a Sultan's son; but in our days it is some courtier warm from the delicate carpets of Stambûl, and little able to sustain the rudeness of camel-riding"¹⁵). Under *Emir el-Hāj Pasha el-Hāj* took charge of practically all the business of the caravan¹⁶). Further, under *Pasha el-Hāj*, said Doughty, was *Muhāfiz el-Hāj* (a guardian, a watcher) who held also the office of paymaster (*Kasra el-Hāj*)¹⁷). He was a brave soldier and slept only two hours a day¹⁸).

It goes without saying that the participation in the grand festival at Mecca is one of the duties imposed upon the Muslims, the Five Pillars (*rukṅ, pl. arkān*), and therefore pilgrims stream into Mecca from all parts of the world every year. Among them, during the Osman Turkish reign, there were two especially great groups of pilgrims. One of them was the group that descended southward after they were concentrated in Syria, particularly at Damascus. Another was the group from Cairo of Egypt. The former was called *Hāj ash-Shāmī* and the latter *Hāj al-Miṣrī*.¹⁹) Each of these groups had its own *amīr al-ḥāj*, but the groups from other districts, too, had their leaders, who were also called *amīr al-ḥāj*. Persians called the leader as *mīri ḥāj* or *amīri ḥāj*. Those who had attained their long-cherished desire to participate in the grand festival at Mecca were influential for life as a *ḥāj* among the Muslim society. It must be natural that those who had fulfilled the role of leader of pilgrims were more influential to the end of their lives, esteemed as *mīri ḥāj* or *amīri ḥāj*. The fact that there appeared persons titled *Ha-ti Ta-shih* or *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih* in Fu-chien from the end of Yüan to the beginning of Ming, is, I suppose, an interesting example corroborating this fact. Presumably they were called *mīri ḥāj*, specifically in the Persian form, in Fu-chien Province at that time, especially at Ch'üan-chou. A reliable evidence in favour of this supposition is the inscription of a monument remaining at Ch'ing-ching-ssü, a *jāmi'* mosque at Ch'üan-chou, that tells us the imperial instructions of Emperor Ch'êng-tsu 成祖 of the Ming Dynasty. The inscription has been introduced to the

14) Richard F. Burton: *Personal Narrative of a Pilgrimage to El-Medinah and Meccah*, London 1855, Vol. II, p. 228 and note.

15) Charles M. Doughty: *Travels in Arabia Deserta*, London 1936, Vol. I, p. 109.

16) Burton calls this officer as *Wakil* (Cf. R.H. Kiernan: *The Unveiling of Arabia*, London 1937, p. 182).

17) Burton calls the accountant as *Emir el-Surrah* (Cf. Burton: *Pilgrimage*, Vol. II, p. 161).

18) Doughty: *Arabia Deserta*, Vol. I, p. 109.

19) Burton: *Pilgrimage*, Vol. II, p. 223.

learned world by Chinese scholars such as Chang Hsing-lang 張星煒, Ch'ên Wan-li 陳萬理, and Huang Chung-ch'in 黃仲琴²⁰.

This monument is embedded in the wall on the east side of the main gate of the mosque. According to Prof. Huang, "the inscription is written in the square script (楷書) and the size of a character is about one *ts'un* (寸)". "The monument is surrounded by a coiling dragon". The inscription runs as follows:

"The Emperor of the Great Ming gives these Imperial instructions to Mi-li-ha-chih 米里哈只. I think that one who is honest and loves the good always worships the Heaven and serves his superior, so that he may implicitly help the work of the Emperor, by encouraging and leading virtuous people. Therefore, the Heaven rewards him with prosperity and makes him enjoy endless blessing. You, Mi-li-ha-chih, have been engaged in the religion of Muḥammad (馬哈麻) for a long time, aspired after greatness and loved the good. You have guided virtuous people, worshiped the Heaven and served your superior so that you have devoted yourself to me. If I remember these good acts, you should be justly rewarded. Thus, I shall give you my imperial instructions in order to guard your residence. Any official, administrative or military, or anyone in general, shall not offend nor insult you. Anyone who might offend or insult you against my imperial order, shall be punished as a criminal. In this way I have given my instructions. On the 11th, May, the 5th year of Yung-lo 永樂 (1407 A.D.)".

Mi-li-ha-chih in this inscription is evidently the transcription of *mīri ḥajj*. This person ought to have been responsible for Mosque Ch'ing-ching-sū and must have been the representative of the Islamic order at Ch'üan-chou at that time. This Mi-li-ha-chih can be identified with the title *Hati Ta-shih* or *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih*.

As mentioned above, the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* tells us that Hsia-pu-lu-han-ting died at the age of one hundred and forty two in the third year of Hung-wu (1370 A.D.) and that *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih*, his son, succeeded his father and died at the age of one hundred and eleven. The deeds of the father and his son suggest us that they are characterized by the Islamic ascetics of the mystic school (*Sūfism*). Their length of life can hardly be believed, but they must have lived for a considerably long time. Though it may be difficult to conclude that the *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih* who was the son of Pu-lu-han-ting (Burhān al-Dīn), is identical with the Mi-li-ha-chih who was given the imperial instructions in the fifth year of Yung-lo, since thirty eight years passed from the third year of Hung-wu to the fifth year of

20) Ch'ên Wan-li 陳萬里: *Min-nan Yu-chi* 閩南遊記, Shanghai 1930, p. 5. Huang Chung-ch'in 黃仲琴: *Min-nan chih Hui-chiao* 閩南之回教, *Weekly Reports of the Institute of Language and History, National Chung-shan University* 國立中山大學語言歷史研究所週刊, Vol. 9, No. 101. Chang Hsing-lang 張星煒: *Ch'üan-chou Fang-ku-chi* 泉州訪古記, *Shih-hsüeh yü Ti-hsüeh* 史學與地學, No. 4, p. 40.

Yung-lo (1407 A.D.), it is not impossible,—rather very probable,—that they represent the same person. Even if they were different men, Mi-li-ha-chih must have been a central figure among the Muslim society at Ch'üan-chou, and at least he must have been a successor of *Hsia-ch'ih Ta-shih*, son of Pu-lu-han-ting.

Chapter II Wu Chien 吳鑒 and the Inscription of the *Jāmi'* Mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü 清淨寺

I

The erection and repair of the *jāmi'* mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü and the activities of the Muslims about these events are described in full in the *Ch'ing-ching-ssü-chi* 清淨寺記 (the Description of Ch'ing-ching-ssü) by Wu Chien at the end of the Yüan Dynasty (written about 1349 A.D.) and the inscription in Arabic of a monument remaining at the same mosque (written about 1310–11 A.D.), as already stated in my article, "The Persians in Ch'üan-chou and Pu-shu-kêng 蒲壽庚"²¹). Wu Chien's inscription is cited only a part in the *Min-shu* 閩書 (Vol. 7, Geographical Account 方域志) and only this citation has hitherto been utilized in the discussion of this problem. Is the original monument extant even at present? How many parts of this original inscription are quoted in the *Min-shu*? Are the quotations faithful to the original? Are there not any part comprising some important informations? These doubts come of themselves, but no consideration has ever been given to these questions.

In Autumn of 1926, two eminent Chinese scholars visited the mosque, with deep interest in this problem. They were professors of Amoy University, Chang Hsing-lang 張星煊 and Ch'ên Wan-li 陳萬里. But both of them could not clearly identify Wu Chien's inscription. According to Prof. Chang, when he entered the great gate, he found "two monuments in stone at the right side of the wall". "There was no covering that sheltered them from the weather and they were so worn out that one could not discern any character"²²). He seems to have given up his deciphering task. Prof. Ch'ên did not despair of finding something and said: "In the yard there are two stone monuments at the east side. The inscription has been worn out, but some parts will still be readable after it is taken by rubbing"²³), but his work entirely lacks the description of the researches after then. I do not know whether he did his best to decipher it or not. And both of them seem not to have realized that one of these stone monuments was that

21) *Shigaku* 史學, Vol 25, No. 3, pp. 23, 28. Cf. also my "Various Aspects of East-West Cultural Intercourses", Tokyo 1971, pp. 360, 365.

22) *Ch'üan-chou Fang-ku-chi*, p. 50.

23) *Min-nan-yu-chi*, p. 60.

which contained the most valuable inscription by Wu Chien.

It was Prof. Huang Chung-ch'in 黃仲琴 who has for the first time identified the inscription. In the summer of 1928, two years after the visit of Prof. Chang and Prof. Ch'ên, Prof. Huang investigated the same mosque. He confirmed that one of the two inscriptions was the *Chung-hsiu Ch'ing-ching-ssü Pei-chi* 重修清淨寺碑記 (the Inscription of the Mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü Repaired) written in the 37th year of Wan-li 萬曆 (1609 A.D.) of the Ming Dynasty. He succeeded in deciphering a great part of the inscription except a few worn out passages²⁴⁾. This monument is 9 *ch'ih* (尺) high and three *ch'ih* and nine *ts'un* (寸) wide. The inscription is written in square script in 26 lines, 63 characters in each line. The monument is said to stand toward the west inside the second entrance, a little farther from the place where the monument relating the imperial instructions of Emperor Ch'êng-tsu 成祖 of the Ming is embedded. The place was originally a gallery with a dome that has disappeared so that the inscription is now exposed to the open air. Considering the site, it is no doubt one of the two inscriptions that Professors Chang and Ch'ên gave up their decipherment.

The other monument standing side by side with this is regarded by Prof. Huang to be a Yüan monument. According to his description, it is "a little smaller than the Ming monument." "The inscription is written in the *hsing-shu* (行書) script, in 22 lines, 50 characters in each line. Many characters are worn out." But he succeeded in reading about 310 characters. If the inscription is written in 22 line and has 50 characters in each line, the total number of characters amounts to 1100. First of all, by the fact that the inscription has a passage: "written by Wu Chien of San-shan (三山吳鑾誌)", it is quite clear that this is the very inscription of Mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü by Wu Chien. Besides, it admits of no doubt, since 33 characters coincide with those of the citation in the *Min-shu*. As the text quoted in the *Min-shu* numbers 493 characters, when we add the characters deciphered by Prof. Huang to them, we can get 766 characters in total, the duplicates being omitted. Thus, 332 characters remain unknown. (Besides, we can add at least 13 characters by inference.) The part deciphered by Prof. Huang, but not included in the citation in the *Min-shu*, comprises some important parts as historical source. When we compare the quotation in the *Min-shu* and the part of the inscription deciphered by Prof. Huang, we can safely judge that the quotation in the *Min-shu* is very faithful to the original and that it represents the most important part of the original text as it was, no arbitrary alteration of words and phrases nor any ellipsis being found. Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠, author of the *Min-shu*, must have been able to read clearly the whole text of the inscription, either by investigating directly the monument or by copying the text recorded in the

24) *Min-nan chih Hui-chiao*, pp. 17-19.

1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 11 12 13 14 15 16 17 18 19 20 21 22 23 24 25 26 27 28 29 30 31 32 33 34 35 36 37 38 39 40 41 42 43 44 45 46 47 48 49 50

2 1
進士觀戶部 (中欠) 丁儀書丹
(上文) 將軍福建都指揮使司都指揮使 (中欠) 清篆蓋

4 西出玉關万余里有國曰大食於今為帖直氏北連安息支東隔土番高昌南距雲南安南西漸于海地莽平亘袤數万里自古
5 絕不与中国通城池宮室園圃溝渠田畜市列与江淮風土不異寒暑必候民物繁庶種五穀蒲萄諸果俗重殺好善書体旁行有
6 篆楷草三法著經史詩文陰陽星曆醫藥音樂皆極精妙製造織文雕鏤器皿尤巧初默德那國王別諳拔爾謨罕壽德生而神靈
7 有大德臣服西域諸國咸稱聖人別諳拔爾猶華言天使蓋尊而号之也其教以万物本乎天天一理無可像故事天至虔而無像
8 設每歲齋戒一月更衣沐浴居必易常處日西向拜天淨心誦經經本天人所授三十歲計一百一十四部凡六千六百六十六卷
9 旨義淵微以至公無私正心脩德為本以祝聖化民周急解厄為事持已接人內外慎勅迄今八百余歲國俗嚴奉尊信雖適殊域
10 伝子孫累世不敢易宋紹興元年有納只卜穆茲喜魯丁者自撒那威從商舶來泉郡茲寺于泉州之南城造銀灯香炉以供天買
11 土田房屋以給衆後以没塔完里阿哈味不任寺壞不治至正九年閩海憲僉赫德爾行部至泉撰思廉夏不魯罕丁命舍刺甫丁
12 哈悌卜領衆分訴憲公任達魯花赤高昌傑玉立至議為之徵復旧物衆志大悅於是里人金阿里願以己貲一新其寺來徵余文
13 然記余嘗聞長老言曰氏国初首入職方士俗教化与他種特異徵諸 (欠廿六字)
14 兆也莊子書曰書皆曰西方有大聖人 (欠六字) 始出其教頗与理合漢唐通西域 服 先入閩廣其
15 兆已遠矣今泉之禮拜寺僧 (欠卅八字)

16 清源郡志已著其事今復其廢興本末 (欠廿三字) 皆明經進士其於

17 之之心行 其教 偃公治泉有惠期年之内百廢俱興 新者亦余波之及 謂非明儒者郡字則並峙

18 之教 夏不魯罕丁者博學有才德年一百二十歲精健如中年命為撰思廉其曰撰思廉猶言主教也 没塔完里舍刺

19 甫丁哈悌卜謨阿陣薩都 任特也 没塔完里猶言都寺也 撰阿陣者猶言唱拜也 (欠九字) 順推官徐君

20 正奉訓知事郡士 將仕董其役者泉州路平準行用庫副使 馬沙也 三山吳鑿誌按旧碑年久腐敗 錄諸郡志全文募

21 以立石 (欠六字) 立扁清淨寺三大字以輝壯之他如 (欠廿二字) 皆以本教
22 為念或議以修葺之功或厚以俸之施而咸有功斯寺者然教中顯於泉州 (下欠)

Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih 清源續志, compiled chiefly by Wu Chien, as he was native of Ch'üan-chou and was active there during the periods from Wan-li to Ch'ung-chên 崇禎. The Chinese text on p. 37 is my trial to restore the inscription of Mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü, based on the quotation in the *Min-shu* and the reports of Prof. Huang Chung-ch'in:

(N.B. The character marked with ○ on the right side is the one deciphered by Prof. Huang; the character marked with ◎ the one appearing in both the *Min-shu* and Huang's reports; the character marked with △ the one supplemented by me. Though there are several characters more that can be added, if we give somewhat free play to our imagination, I shall give here only reliable characters.)

I shall explain several points to be noticed in the text. The passage from the sixth line can be translated as follows: "In the beginning *Pie-an-pa-êrh* 別諳拔爾 *Mu-han-mo-tê* 謨罕慕德, King of *Mo-tê-na* 默德那, was born divine and endowed with great virtues. He conquered various countries of the Western Frontier. People called him the saint. *Pie-an-pa-êrh* means *t'ien-shih* (天使) 'the errand of the heaven' in Chinese. This appellation is an honourable title.They purify themselves and recite the holy scriptures which were given by the heavenly being. The scriptures comprise thirty pitakas totalling 114 books, 6666 volumes in all.". As already pointed out by Prof. Chang and others, *Mo-tê-na* is Medina (al-Madīnah), *Pie-an-pa-êrh* a Persian word *Paighām-bar*, corresponding to Arabic *rasūl* (errand, prophet), and *Mu-han-mo-tê* is the transcription of Muḥammad²⁵⁾. Next, after the doctrine of Islam has been explained, the text mentions the *Qur'ān*. The heavenly being in the clause: "that which was given by the heavenly being (天人所授)", does not denote Allah, but the angel (*malak*). There is a disagreement between scholars as to who mediated the revelation of Allah to Mahomet. Some scholar attributed him to Archangel *Jibrīl*, some other scholar to Spirit of Faith (*Rūhu'l-Amīn*), another to *Shadīdu'l-Qūwa* (the being with terrible power), but, according to *Hadīth*, i.e. the tradition concerning the words and acts of Mahomet, the mediator is generally considered to be a certain angel (*malak*)²⁶⁾. It is a well known fact that the *Qur'ān* is divided into 114 books (*Sūra*) with different length and that each *Sūra* is further divided into several sections (*Āya*, pl. *Āyāt*). *Sūra* means a row and *Āya* a sign. The number of *Āya* is different according to the way of demarcation, thus 6616 in one case, 6236 in another, and some different enumerations are also existing²⁷⁾. In this inscription *Sūra* is rendered by a book (部), *Āya* by a volume (卷), and the number of volume is written to be 6666, but this number might be the error for 6616, which

25) Ku-tai Chung-ko yü A-la-po chih Chiao-t'ung 古代中國與阿拉伯之交通, (*Chung-hsi Chiao-t'ung-shih-liao Hui-p'ien* 中西交通史料匯篇, Vol. 3), p. 86.

26) T.P. Hughs: *Notes on Muhammadanism*, 3rd edition, London 1894, pp. 15, 16.

27) R. Blanchère: *Le Coran*, Vol. I, Introduction, Paris 1947, pp. 139-140.

was caused by being attracted by the surrounding numeral 6.

The *Qur'ān* is again divided into 30 *juz'* for the convenience of the recitation of believers. Since the *Sūras* are varied in length, the longest attaining at 286 sections and the brief ones comprising only three or four sections, the Muslims follow at their recitation in general the division by *juz'* that divides the whole text into almost equal parts. On the right or left columns outside the text of the *Qur'ān* there are noted a certain *juz'* which is called in Persian *sī-pāra*, and it is said that a *sī-pāra* is recited everyday during the purification of the month *Ramadān*. Besides, there are several ways of division on the basis of *juz'*, namely, the division by *ḥizb* or *nisf*, the half of a *juz'*, the division by *rub'*, the quarter of a *juz'*, or the division by *thulth*, one third of a *juz'*. The "thirty *piṭakas*" in the text of the inscription evidently indicates this division by the *juz'* or *sī-pāra*. And this inscription seems to be the oldest record in China that shows the structure of the *Qur'ān* in considerably detailed way²⁸.

In the text we read: "The script runs in horizontal lines and has three modes, archaic, normative and cursive." The archaic script denotes the *kufic* style and the normative the *naskhi* style. The cursive script probably is the *ta'liq* style which developed in Persia during the 13th century, or some other style of Arabic calligraphy. The elegant *nasta'liq* script that Mīr 'Alī of Tabriz devised by blending the *naskhi* and the *ta'liq* styles belongs to the product after the 15th century and therefore should be out of our consideration.

We can find the text identical with the passage mentioned above of the inscription at Ch'ing-ching-ssü in the *Ming-i-t'ung-chih* 明一統志 (Vol. 90), the *Ming-shan-ts'ang* 名山藏 (the *Wang-hsiang-chi* 王享記, Vol. 5), the *Huang-ming-shih-fa-lu* 皇明世法錄 (Vol. 81), the *Ming-shih* 明史 (Vol. 332, the Account of *Mo-tê-na* 默德那 Country), and others. Also in the *T'ien-fang-tien-li-tsê-yao-chieh* 天方典禮擇要解 (Vol. 1) by Liu Chih 劉智 we find the following passage. "According to Ch'êng Hsiao 鄭曉 of Hai-yen 海鹽, *Mu-han-mo-tê* 穆罕默德 (Muḥammad), King of *Mo-tê-na* 默德那 (al-Madinah) Country, was born divine and had great virtues. He conquered various countries of the Western Frontier and was honoured as *P'ai-ang-po-érh* 陪昂伯爾 which is equivalent to Chinese *t'ien-shih* 天使, the errand of the heaven. His doctrine makes the prime object the service to the Lord. There is no idol to worship. The canon numbers 30 volumes, divided into about six thousand six hundred and more chapters, etc." (海鹽鄭曉曰, 默德那國王穆罕默德生而神靈, 有大德。臣服西域諸國。諸國尊號為陪昂伯爾, 猶華言天使云。其教專

28) A part of the preaching (*khutba*) of a Caliph (presumably Al-Manṣūr) in the *jāmi'* mosque of Kūfa is reported in the *Ching-hsing-chi* 經行記 by Tu Huan 杜環 of the T'ang Dynasty. This is probably the oldest Chinese document relating about the Islamic doctrine. (Cf. Wang Kuo-wêi 王國維: *Ching-hsing-chi* by Tu Huan 杜環經行記, in his *Ku-hsing-chi Hsiao-lu* 古行記校錄).

以事主爲本，而無像設。其經有三十本，凡六千六百餘章。云々²⁹⁾。 The same expression can be found in the *Hsien-pin-lu* 咸賓錄 by Lo Yüeh-chiung 羅曰襲³⁰⁾。 These are derived from the same origin, and there may be some other documents which belong to this category. Among them the inscription by Wu Chien is the oldest extant, so far as we know.

In the passage of the same inscription following the above are told the history of the establishment of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü (Li-pai-ssü 禮拜寺 in the inscription) and the circumstances of the repair in the period of Chih-chêng 至正 under the Yüan Dynasty. These have already been discussed in my previous article³¹⁾. The text of the inscription in the quotation in the *Min-shu* ends at this point. Fortunately, the text that Prof. Huang succeeded in deciphering is certain to be the part immediately following the point, because, if we juxtapose these two parts, the number of characters coincides with that of Huang's observation in which he says that the inscription is written "22 lines in total, 50 characters in each line."

In the 13th and 14th lines of the text, at the beginning of the part which Prof. Huang deciphered, the outline of the introduction of *al-Islām* (Islamism) to China is described. And in the 15th line a mention of the history of the *jāmi'* mosque at Ch'üan-chou is again made, but at the beginning of the 16th line it is said that "the fact has already been recorded in the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* 清源郡志; now, again, the details of its rise and fall....(lacking)."

The *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* seems to be the earliest local gazetteer (地志) of Ch'üan-chou, but it is not extant now. According to the preface by Kuo Kêng-wu 郭賡武 to the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* 泉州府志 of the Ch'ien-lung edition, "the location of Ch'üan-chou was established during the Sung Dynasty and its gazetteer commenced also with that dynasty. In the past two works were written in the periods of Chia-ting 嘉定 and Ch'un-yü 淳祐 respectively, both of which only the names are known. I have never heard of any succeeding work during the ninety and more years of the Yüan Dynasty." In the preface by Chang Cho-piao 章倬標 to the second edition in the ninth year of T'ung-ch'ih 同治 (1863 A.D.), it is said: "No one has ever heard that any book was written about Ch'üan-chou prior to the T'ang Dynasty. The gazetteer began with the Sung Dynasty." Again, in

29) Chêng Hsiao 鄭曉 was a successful candidate of the public official examination (進士) during the period of Chia-ching 嘉靖 and wrote the *Chiu-pien-t'u-chih* 九邊圖志, the *Wu-hsüeh-p'ien* 吾學編 and others. The passage quoted above seems to be a part of the *Chiu-pien-t'u-chih*.

30) Ma I-yü 馬以愚: *Chung-kuo Hui-chiao-shih-chien* 中國回教史鑑, Peking 1941, p. 40. The author of the *Hsien-pin-lu* 咸賓錄 was a native of Chiang-hsi Province and his second name was Shang-chih 尚之. He wrote this book during the period of Wan-li of the Ming (cf. 四庫全書總目卷七八, 地理類, 存目七).

31) Senshû no Perushajin to Ho-ju-kô, *Shigaku*, Vol. 25, No. 3 pp. 23, 35. Cf. my "Vari-ous Aspects of East-West Cultural Intercourses", pp. 360, 371.

the same edition the preface of the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* published in the second year of Lung-ching 隆慶 (1568 A.D.) of the Ming is reproduced as follows³²: "Ch'üan-chou is the highest in rank among the seven Min districts. Only in the period of Ch'un-yu of the Sung Dynasty was published the gazetteer." Thus, there are different opinions about the gazetteer of Ch'üan-chou of the Sung, but it seems to me probable that the first *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* 清源郡志 was published in the first year of Chia-t'ai 嘉泰 (1201 A.D.) under Emperor Ning-tsung 寧宗 and afterwards the second edition appeared in the tenth year of Ch'un-yu (1250 A.D.) under Emperor Li-tsung 理宗, for it will be certain that the first *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* was compiled in the first year of Ch'ia-t'ai, since Chên Tê-hsiu 真德秀, an eminent scholar, who was appointed twice governor of Ch'üan-chou both in the tenth year of Chia-ting (1208 A.D.) and in the fifth year of Shao-ting 紹定 (1232 A.D.), said in his preface to the Anthology of the Notables of Ch'ing-yüan (清源文集序)³³: "The *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* was compiled at the beginning of Chia-t'ai. Geography, administrative divisions, persons and custom of the district were fully described there." (清源郡志成於嘉泰之初。元山川·封域·人物·風俗登載蓋略備矣). This is the one that was erroneously called "the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* of Chia-ting 嘉定 (1208-1224)" in later times³⁴. In the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition there is a

32) During the Ming Dynasty the gazetteer of Ch'üan-chou-fu was compiled three times: in the 4th year of Chia-ching (1525 A.D.), the 2nd year of Lung-ching (1568 A.D.) and the 40th year of Wan-li (1612 A.D.). The book in our *Nai-kaku-bun-ko* and the one referred to in the *Ch'ing-hsüeh-pu-t'u-shu-kuan Fang-chih-mu* 清學部圖書館方志目 (contained in Collection *Ku-hsüeh Hui-k'an* 古學彙刊) are both of the edition of Wan-li. At the beginning of the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* published in the 28th year of Ch'ien-lung (1763 A.D.) it is stated as follows: "The edition of the Sung has long been lost. That of Chia-ching of the Ming has occasionally been found in abridged form, but a greater part was missing. The printing blocks of the edition of Lung-ching exist no more. Who could get a sight of a copy, is always the one who searched it among many old families and could barely borrow the copy. As to the edition of Wan-li, it is brief and defective. Errors and corruptions have been taken over," (宋志久佚。明嘉靖志間有抄本，亦多散失。隆慶志板已無存。其得寓目者，皆展轉假諸故家。萬曆志則簡略不備。訛謬相沿。云々)。Therefore, the editions of Chia-ching and Lung-ching could still be seen during the period of Ch'ien-lung, even if with difficulty.

33) The Anthology of *Hsi-shan-hsien-shêng Chên-wên-chung-kung* 西山先生眞文忠公文集, the edition of Collection *Ssü-pu-ts'ung-k'an* 四部叢刊, Vol. 27.

34) There are many instances that Chia-t'ai is mistaken for Chia-ting. The *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* 清源文獻 by Ho Chiung of the Ming (published in the 25th year of Wan-li; in the collection of the *Nai-kaku-bun-ko*) erroneously quotes the preface by Chên Tê-hsiu to the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* as "the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* was compiled at the beginning of Chia-ting." (清源郡志成於嘉定之初).

Again, at the outset of the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition the names of compilers of the gazetteer of Ch'üan-chou are listed by dynasty, and we read the following two entries: "The Sung *Chia-ting-chih*. Compiled under the supervision of the governor of Ch'üan-chou, Chêng Cho 程卓, a native of Hsiu-ning 休寧. Edited by the undersecretary (觀察推官), Li Fang-tzü 李方子, a native of Shao-wu 邵武." and "The Sung *Chun-yu-chih*. Nothing known."

short biography of Tai Hsi 戴溪 who was T'ung-pan 通判 (Chief Secretary) of Ch'üan-chou. "His second name was Hsiao-wang 肖望 and originated from Yung-chia 永嘉. During the period of Ching-yüan 慶元 he was appointed T'ung-pan of Ch'üan-chou and was celebrated as a competent official. In collaboration with Liu Ying 劉穎 of Hsin-an 信安, the governor of that time, he compiled the *Ch'ing-yüan-chih* 清源志 in seven volumes." This is described in the following way in the *Chih-chai-shu-lu Chieh-t'i* 直齋書錄解題 (Vol. 8):

The *Ch'ing-yüan-chih* 清源志 in seven volumes. By Tai Hsi 戴溪, Hsiao-wang 肖望, of Yung-chia 永嘉, T'ung-pan (Chief Secretary) of Ch'üan-chou. In the year of chi-wei 己未 of Ching-yüan 慶元 (1199 A.D.). The governor was Liu Ying 劉穎 of Hsin-an 信安."

(清源志七卷)

通判州事永嘉戴溪肖望撰。時慶元己未，太守信安劉穎也

According to the biography of Liu Ying, it was in the fifth year (chi-wei 己未, 1199 A.D.) that he was appointed governor of Ch'üan-chou. The year following after the sixth year is the first year of Chia-t'ai. Presumably Tai Hsi undertook in the fifth year of Ching-yüan the compilation of the book that was published in the first year of Chia-t'ai. Anyway, I am convinced that the *Ch'ing-yüan-chih* mentioned here is the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* of Chia-t'ai.

As to the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* of Ch'un-yu, we can find the following comment in the preface to the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* 清源續志 (in 20 volumes, which Wu Chien compiled as the chief editor by order of Hsieh Yü-li 榘玉立 of Kao-ch'ang 高昌; this book was already lost, but fortunately the preface by Wu Chien is extant in the preface to the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略 by Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵). "The former edition of the *Ch'ing-yüan-chih* was lost and the later edition was compiled in the year of kêng-shu 庚戌 of Ch'un-yu (1250 A.D.). And there was no compilation after that." (清源前誌放失。後誌止於淳祐庚戌。) From this we can imagine that the second compilation was finished in the year of kêng-shu (the tenth year, 1250 A.D.) of Ch'un-yu and that it still existed in 1351 A.D. (the 11th year of Chih-chêng 至正) when the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* was published. As at that time the edition of Chia-t'ai was already lost, so the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* to which Wu Chien attributed the history of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü in his inscription is certain to be the edition of Ch'un-yu.

(「宋嘉定志
知泉州事
觀察推官
「宋淳祐志
無考」)

休寧 程卓總脩
邵武 李方子纂輯

This is a great misunderstanding. There was no gazetteer of Chia-ting. What Chêng Cho and Li Fang-tzü compiled during the period of Chia-ting was the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi* 清源文集, the anthology of persons related to Ch'üan-chou.

II

In the 25th year of Wan-li (1597 A.D.) of the Ming the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* 清源文獻 in 12 volumes by Ho Chiung 何炯, native of Chin-chiang 晉江 of Ch'üan-chou Prefecture, was published. Ho Chiung was the father of Ho Ch'iao-yüan 何喬遠, author of the *Min-shu*. His second name was Ssü-mo 思默. He was chosen *kung-shih* 貢士 in the 33th year of Chia-ching 嘉靖 (1554 A.D.). He served at the local government of Ching-chiang-hsien 靖江縣 as a Chiao-yü 教諭.³⁵⁾ The *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* is a collection of verse and prose writings of literati related to Ch'üan-chou, by following the example of the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi* 清源文集, compiled in the 11th year of Chia-ting of the Sung (1218 A.D.). This *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* is taken up and described in the *Ssü-ku-ch'uan-shu Ts'ung-mu* 四庫全書總目 (Ts'un-mu 存目 3, Ts'ung-chi-lei 總集類, Chi-pu 集部) and the original Wan-li edition is found in the collection of the *Nai-kaku-bun-ko* 內閣文庫.

In its introductory remarks it is said that "after the disturbances of war the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* was lost." Further, "the gazetteer of the Chia-ting edition is no longer found, and the edition of Ch'un-yü is by no means complete" (嘉定志世絕不見. 淳祐志已無全編). The so-called "Gazetteer of the Chia-ting edition" should be corrected as that of the Chia-t'ai, but the passage: "the edition of the Ch'un-yü is by no means complete", may be interpreted as indicating that some parts still remained, though not complete. Since Ho Chiung was alive during the periods of Chia-ching 嘉靖, Lung-ching and Wan-li, if some parts of the edition of Ch'un-yü still remained at his time, we can easily be convinced of the reason why the following passages were written in the preface to the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih*, published in the second year of Lung-ching (1568 A.D.): "Ch'üan-chou is the highest in rank among the seven Min districts. Only in the period of Ch'un-yü of the Sung Dynasty was published the *Ch'ing-yüan-chih*." And the reason of the silence about the edition of Chia-t'ai may be due to the fact that the gazetteer had long been lost and that consequently it was entirely forgotten.

The lines from the 17th to the 20th of the inscription are stating the persons who endeavoured towards the repair of the mosque during the years of Chih-chêng (1341-1368). Such as Hsieh Yü-li 契玉立, Ḥājj Burhān ud-Dīn 夏不魯罕丁 as *Shaikhul-Islām*, Sharaf ud-Dīn Khaṭīb 舍刺甫丁哈梯卜 are referred to. Sharaf ud-Dīn is supposed to have played the role of *Mutawallī* 沒塔完里, i.e. Tu-ssü 都寺 (Administrator of the Mosque). Next, in the 19th line there is a passage difficult to decipher: 謨□□薩都□□. In the same line we can read a passage thanks to the decipherment of Prof. Huang as follows: 議阿陣者猶言唱拜也, but in this case the character read as 議 should be corrected as 謨. And we can make up

35) The Preface to the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* 清源文獻.

for the vacancies over 薩都 with two characters 阿陣, and we may supplement two characters 爾丁 under 薩都. In short, this passage may be interpreted as “Şadr ud-Dîn 薩都爾丁, the *Mu'addin* (*Muezzin*) 謨阿陣, is also one of those who made endeavours towards the repair. The word 謨阿陣 may be translated as 唱拜 (caller to prayers)”. *Mu'addin* or *Muezzin* is “a person who does *addana* (the verbal noun being *adān*)” and therefore the person who announces the time of praying to believers, standing on the minaret of a mosque, and who addresses to them, crying “Come to pray and come to seek salvation!” It is said that Bilāl the Abyssinian was the first *muezzin* at the time of Mahomet. Burhān ud-Dīn and Sharaf ud-Dīn together with their official titles are mentioned in the *Min-shu*. They are recorded also in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* and in the famous book of travels by Ibn Battūta who visited there in 1345. But the fact that a person called 薩都 (爾丁) Şadr ud-Dīn served as *muezzin* at the then *jāmi'* mosque of Ch'üan-chou has for the first time been made known by the decipherment of Prof. Huang, and from this the staff of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü about the tenth year of Chih-chêng (1350 A.D.) of the Yüan Dynasty has been made clear.

In the 20th line of the inscription we find that “泉州路□□□用庫副使□馬沙” took charge of the repair construction of the mosque. Under “泉州路” three characters 平準行 should be supplemented for the vacancies, for in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li edition (the edition in the collection of the *Nai-kaku-bun-ko*; Vol. 9, the description of local government organization 官守志) there are enumerated the names of offices of the Ch'üan-chou-lu 泉州路 Government of the Yüan Dynasty and among them we can find “平準行用庫提領大使副使各一員. 豐衍庫大使副使各一員”. We cannot find any more suitable name than this.

At that time the Ta-lu-hua-ch'ih 達魯花赤 (Darhachi, i.e. Governor) was Hsieh Yü-li 契玉立. The same *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* says that “it is from the hatred against the Mongol title that the local gazetteer now calls the official title of Hsieh Yü-li as Chien-ch'ün 監郡”. Hsieh Yü-li was a descendant of a noble family of the Kao-ch'ang 高昌 people (Uighur Tribe). Mr. Ch'ên Yüau 陳垣 states that the family of Hsieh were Manicheans since their ancestors,³⁶⁾ but it is doubtful whether he was really a Manichean or not. While in office at Ch'üan-chou his administration was a success and his fame was parallel to that of Chên Tê-hsiu 真德秀 of the Sung Dynasty. In the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Wan-li (Vol. 9) also it is said that there were 22 persons who were appointed to the office of Darhachi, but among them only Hsieh Yü-li was a successful administrator. The repair of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü was one of his achievements. In the 12th year of Chih-chêng (1352 A.D.) he carried on the repair of the wall of Ch'üan-

36) Ch'ên Yüan 陳垣: *Yüan Hsi-yü-jên Hua-hua-k'ao* 元西域人華北考, Vol. I (上), pp. 603-608.

chou. Up to his time the wing wall 翼城 that Yu Chiu-kung 游九功, chief of the district, had constructed in the third year of Shao-ting of the Sung (1230 A.D.), surrounded the southern outside of the exterior wall 外城 (羅城) which faced the southern port of Ch'üan-chou. Hsieh Yü-li removed the part of the exterior wall which went side by side with the wing wall and reinforced the wing wall to the height of twofold altitude, i.e. 2 *chang* (丈) and 1 *ch'ih* (尺). By this construction the moat surrounding the outer side of the old exterior wall was included within the reinforced wall so that it became usable as a canal, after it was dredged.³⁷⁾ He encouraged education and learning, while he endeavoured to rescue the poor. Among his many other achievements, it may be noteworthy, too, that he invited Wu Chien who served under him as a councillor.

The inscription of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü is of course the writing of Wu Chien. This is clearly stated in the 21st line. But, after the statement the inscription seems to tell the circumstances of the repair in the 21st and 22nd lines and adds the following words. "Because the old monument is worn out in many years, —by quoting the whole text of the inscription from the Ch'ün-chih 郡志, —we have erected this stone monument," From this it seems probable that the inscription of the mosque, i.e. the Yüan Inscription, that has been deciphered by Prof. Huang Chung-ch'in, is not the original inscription, but the revision of later times, and that the text was copied from "the *Ch'ün-chih*", that is to say from an old gazetteer of Ch'üan-chou. Since "the Inscription of the Mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü Repaired" of the 37th year of Wan-li which stands together with the Yüan Inscription suffered far less defacement and thus Prof. Huang could decipher its greater part, the revision of the Yüan Inscription does not seem to have taken place at the same time. In the Wan-li inscription it is said that "during the Chih-chêng period of the Yüan, there was a man called Hsia-pu-lu-han-ting 夏不魯罕丁 who repaired the monument with the aid of Chin A-li 金阿里, a native of this place." "Since the establishment of the Ming Dynasty one does not know how often it was repaired. In the year of ting-mao 丁卯 of Lung-ching (1567 A.D.) the minaret fell down. The guardian Hsia-tê-shêng 夏得升 repaired it with the aid of people. Governor Wan-ling-hu-kung 萬靈湖公 subsidized the repair from his salary. Now, in the 35th year of Wan-li (1607 A.D.), there was a great earthquake. A storm arose and it rained for a long time, so that the buildings shook and the wall declined as days passed away. The guardian Hsia-jih-yü 夏曰禹 came to me with his fellows, old and young, to implore me to repair the mosque,"³⁸⁾ The year of ting-mao 丁卯 of Lung-ching (the first year, 1567 A.D.) is forty years before the 35th year of Wan-li (1607 A.D.) and about 220 years after the year when the original inscription by Wu Chien

37) The *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition, Vol. 11.

38) Huang Chung-ch'in: *Min-nan chih Hui-chiao*, p. 18.

was engraved. I guess that the re-engraving of the Yüan Inscription was made at the beginning of the Lung-ching period when the mosque was repaired. In the lines from the first to the third, one can decipher only two characters in the first line, fifteen in the second line, and only nine in the third line, but these characters do not seem to represent the words that had been in the original inscription, referring merely to the persons engaged in the repair construction. The expression "...將軍福建都指揮使司都指揮(使)" seems to indicate an official title of the Ming government, for in the *Ming-shih* 明史 (Vol. 76, Government Offices 5 職官五) it is fixed that in the office of *Tu-chih-hui-shih-ssü* 都指揮使司 one *Tu-chih-hui-shih* 都指揮使, whose court rank is *Chêng-êrh-p'in* 正二品, should be appointed." In October of the 8th year of Hung-wu 洪武 the emperor ordered to change the name of the former *Tu-wei-chih-hui-shih-ssü* 都衛指揮使司 to *Tu-chih-hui-shih-ssü* and to establish newly thirteen *Tu-chih-hui-shih-ssü* in all, among which *Fu-chou-tu-wei* 福州都衛 was changed to *Fu-chien-tu-ssü* 福建都司 (*Tu-chih-hui-shih-ssü*). The above mentioned title can probably be identified with this office.

III

Details of the career of Wu Chien 吳鑾 are not known to us. No doubt he was native of the district Fu-chien Province, since he was called Wu Chien of San-shan 三山. In the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志 (Vol. 62, Persons, Literati) it is said that "he was native of San-shan." "He excelled in literary arts. His style was so simple and fresh that he was respected by his contemporaries. His writings are in great part lost, but fragments are rarely kept in the hands of some intellectuals." Seeing that Wang Ta-yüan 汪大淵 mentioned him as "San-shan Wu Chien, Ming-chih 明之" in his postscript to his *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略, the second name of Wu Chien was Ming-chih. The inscription of the mosque Ch'ing-ching-ssü may, therefore, be said to be one of the main works among his writings that have remained very rarely. Further, Wang Ta-yüan's *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* has two prefaces written by Wu Chien, and, as is well known, one of them is nothing but the preface to the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* 清源續志 of which he was the chief editor. Besides, Wu Chien seems to have written an inscription for the memorial shrine dedicated to Hsieh Yü-li, as it is said in the article concerning the shrine for Prefectural Governor Hsieh 侯監郡生祠 in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* (Vol. 59, Shrines) that "in the tenth year of Chih-chêng (1350 A.D.) of the Yüan, people of the district raised a shrine for Hsieh Yü-li, Darhachi at that time, and erected there a monument with the inscription by Wu Chien of San-shan." While Hsieh Yü-li was in office, there may have been a considerable number of writings that Wu Chien wrote at Ch'üan-chou,³⁹⁾ and not a few of them must have been engraved

on stone. Among all, his chief contribution was the compilation of the local gazetteer mentioned above. In the *Min-shu* (Vol. 53, Literature) it is stated that "(Hsieh Yü-li) was the chief of the district Ch'üan-chou during the period of Chih-chêng.He examined maps and documents and sought oral traditions. He invited Wu Chien of San-shan to compile the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* in twenty volumes so that he might supplement the defects of the history of this district." In the preface by Kuo Kêng-wu 郭廣武 to the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition it is said that "during the ninety years of the Yüan Dynasty I have never heard of any work continuing the two gazetteers of the Sung." But this is not true. In reality such a work as comprising twenty volumes was compiled. This book existed in part at least until the period of Wan-li, i.e. at the time of Ho Ch'iao-yüan, for, according to his *Min-shu* (Vol. 146, *Tao-i-chih* 島夷志), he wrote as follows: "Wu Chien of San-shan of the Yüan compiled the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* for the sake of Hsieh Yü-li, of which I obtained only one volume from a friend of mine; the title of the volume is *Tao-i-chih*, which describes about a hundred countries, all of which had some communications with Min (Fu-chien Province).". The title of the book, *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih*, suggests that it aimed at following after the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* of the Sung Dynasty. The *Tao-i-chih* 島夷志 (Description of Insular Barbarians) included in it is nothing but the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* (Abridgment of the *Tao-i-chih*) of Wang Ta-yüan. Prof. Tomosaburô Niwa and Prof. Naojirô Sugimoto already made it clear that the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* was originally called the *Tao-i-chih* 島夷志 or 島夷誌 and that its contents were more detailed than those of the present edition.⁴⁰ Based upon the facts that thirty and more items are quoted as those of the *Tao-i-chih* in the *Ming-i-t'ung-chih* 明一統志, and that the *Tu-shu-min-ch'iu-chi* 讀書敏求記 by Ch'ien Tsêng 錢會 at the end of the Ming mentions the work under the name of "*Tao-i-chih*"—in this case the work was a copy by a certain person who lived in the time of the Yüan Dynasty—they suppose that the original *Tao-i-chih* had gradually been abridged after many copyings so that it became to be called the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh* 島夷誌略 or 島夷志略⁴¹. They are quite right. I also can add one more evidence to their supposition. In his *Min-shu* (Vol. of *Tao-i-chih*), Ho Ch'iao-yüan says that about a hundred

39) Wu Chien also wrote a preface to the *Mêng-kuan-chi* 夢觀集 (5 vols.) by Monk Takuei 釋大圭 who lived at Temple Tzū-yün-ssü 紫雲寺 in Ch'üan-chou during the period of Chih-chêng. (Cf. 四庫全書總目, 集部, 別集類 20)

40) Tomosaburô Niwa: *Tô-i-shi-ryaku seiritsu nendai ni kansuru ichi kôzatsu* 島夷志略成立年代に關する一考察 (*Gakugei-hyôron* 學藝評論, published by Mie University, Nos. of April and June, 1953); the same author: *Chûgoku-Jaba Kôshôshi* 中國・ジャバ交渉史 (Tokyo, July, 1953), p. 50. Naojirô Sugimoto: 'Wasureraretaru teikoku', *sono ta ni hirou—Ô Tai-en* 汪大淵 ni kansuru kotodomo (the special issue for No. 50 of *Shigaku-Kenkyû*, published by Hiroshima Shigaku-kenkyû-kai, April, 1953), pp. 35-36.

41) Sugimoto: op. cit., p. 35.

countries are described in the *Tao-i-chih* appended to the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih* (ninety nine countries are recorded in the *Tao-i-chih-lüeh*). Next he quotes from the *Tao-i-chih* the accounts of San-tao-kuo 三島國, T'u-ta-kuo 土塔國 and Ku-li-ti-mên-kuo 古里地閩國. Actually the contents are identical with those of the present *Tao-i-chih-lüeh*. Therefore, we can safely say that the book Ho Ch'iao-yüan called *Tao-i-chih* is nothing but the work of Wang Ta-yüan. Wu Chien himself states definitely in his preface dated the 15th of December in the 9th year of Chih-chêng that Wang Ta-yüan's statement was entirely trustworthy, and consequently he appended it to the *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih*. There is no doubt about it.

Further, it is to be noted that Wang's work is not the first case of a book called *Tao-i-chih* which had been written and was appended to another work. There was a precedent already in the Sung period. Probably Wu Chien followed this example and appended Wang's work to his *Ch'ing-yüan-hsü-chih*.

We do not know the author of the first *Tao-i-chih* of the Sung Dynasty. But it is clear that Ch'êng Cho 程卓 with the second name Ts'ung-yüan 從元⁴²⁾ who was native of Hsiu-ning 休寧 and who served as governor of Ch'üan-chou from March of the 8th year of Chia-ting (1215 A.D.) made Li Fang-tsü 李方子, one of his subordinates, compile the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi* 清源文集 (Anthology of Ch'üan-chou) in 40 vols. to which a *Tao-i-chih* written by a certain person of the district was appended. This fact is clearly stated in "Preface to the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi*" by Chên Tê-hsiu 真德秀 who was appointed the governor there in succession to Ch'êng Cho. The gist of this preface is as follows: "It belongs to antiquity that every district has its own 'chih 志 (gazetteer)', but it begins with the new era that every district has its own 'chi 集 (anthology)'. Why has every district its 'chi (anthology)' in addition to its 'chih (gazetteer)'? The reason is that the 'chih' records the affairs of the district, while the 'chi' depicts the words of persons of the district, and that the 'chih' sketches the outline, while the 'chi' describes the details. Both the 'chih' and the 'chi' are indispensable just like the warp and the woof. The *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* was completed at the beginning of Chia-ting. Geographical conditions, administrative jurisdictions, persons related to the district, customs and other things thereof are minutely described. But essays of eminent individuals and great scholars, verses of authors and poets that are entered in annals or private literary collections and inscriptions on stones or writings on the walls, are the tokens of the abundance of excellent talents and the beauty of landscape. They contain lots of things which are never describable in a local gazetteer. In the following year after his Excellency Ch'êng came to his office, he talked to Mr. Li Fang-tzū, the officer of the district, who was native of Wu-yang 武陽,

42) A short biography of Ch'êng Cho is found in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* of the Ch'ien-lung edition (Vol. 29).

saying, 'Is it not a defect for the district that it has a 'chih (gazetteer)', but not a 'chi (anthology)', while this district is renowned for its literature? Please collect a 'chi' for me.'" Chên continued to say, "Mr. Li accepted the order and retired. Since then he tried to collect as much as possible. As the result he could obtain more than seven hundred poems and proses, which he compiled into 40 volumes. His Excellency Ch'êng put together the whole history by T'ien Lin-shih 田廩士 and the *Tao-i-chih* written by a certain person of the district into a separate volume and appended it to the anthology." (李君既承命, 則退而網羅收拾, 得詩賦雜文凡七百餘篇, 合爲四十卷. 而公括田廩士之本末與郡人所編島夷志, 則別爲之帙, 以附焉 (下略).) At the end of the preface it is written: "On the day of chia-tzŭ 甲子, October, the year of mu-yin 戊寅 (the 11th year) of Chia-ting (1218 A.D.), Chên So-and-so of Chien-an 建安 has written this preface." (嘉定戊寅 (十一年) 十月甲子建安真某序).

From this it is evident that the *Tao-i-chih* of the Sung Dynasty was appended to the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi*, but we cannot know what contents it had. As mentioned above, the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-hsien* 清源文獻 by Ho Chiung 何炯 that was published in the 25th year of Wan-li (1579 A.D.) of the Ming had been compiled after the model of the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi* of the Sung. In its preface it is said, "now we cannot find the 'chih' (i.e., the *Ch'ing-yüan-ch'ün-chih* of the Sung) and the 'chi' (i.e., the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi*) anymore." Moreover, the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 by Chao Ju-kua 趙汝适 with the preface dated September of the first year of Pao-ching 寶慶 (1225 A.D.), in less than ten years after the publication of the *Ch'ing-yüan-wên-chi*, was written at Ch'üan-chou and consequently even from its contents it is very natural to suppose that it could utilize much of the *Tao-i-chih*. Nevertheless, the preface of this book says as if the author had written directly from the informations of foreign merchants due to lack of reliable sources. "Since I came here by the order of the government," said he, "I made use of my leisure to examine maps of foreign countries. In them we can see the so-called shadow of stone beds and long beach and the limits of Indo-Chinese seas and Indian archipelago. When I asked about the gazetteers (chih) of these countries, there was nothing of the kind. Then I consulted foreign merchants and let them enumerate the names of countries and tell their geographical conditions, their administrative organizations and their natural products. Their reports were made translate into Chinese. Then, unnecessary things were omitted and only real facts were selected. I named this book *Chu-fan-chih* (A Description of Barbarous Peoples)." (汝适被命此來, 暇日閱諸蕃圖. 有所謂石牀長沙之陰, 交洋竺嶼之限. 問其志則無有焉. 迺詢諸胡賈, 俾列其國名道其風土與夫道里之聯屬, 山澤之蕃產. 譯以華言, 刪其穢渫, 存其事實. 名曰諸蕃志.) However, as it is already pointed out that this book made

43) The Anthology of Chên-wên-chung-kung 真文忠公文集, the edition of Collection Ssŭ-pu-ts'ung-k'an, Vol. 27.

great use of the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* 嶺外代答, the *T'ung-tien* 通典 and other sources⁴⁴, one cannot conclude that the *Tao-i-chih* of the period of Chia-ting was not utilized. It goes without saying that a *Tao-i-chin* in one volume is incorporated in the *Min-shu* by Ho Ch'iao-yüan, and if we take this into consideration, three kinds of *Tao-i-chih* were written at Ch'üan-chou, each one in the Sung, the Yüan and the Ming Dynasties respectively. Indeed the *Tao-i-chih* might be said to be a traditional work of the seaport Ch'üan-chou.

IV

Dr. Sugimoto's article "Remarks on the 'Forgotten Empire' and Others" is an excellent study on Wang Ta-yüan and his *Tao-i-chih-lüeh*. In particular, it is full of interest that he inferred the date of birth of Wang Ta-yüan, hitherto very vague, from a passage of the *Êrh-ya* 爾雅.⁴⁵ I should like to show my whole-hearted respect to his argument, but I entertain a doubt about the sayings of Wang Ta-yüan himself.

Wang Ta-yüan says in his postscript to the *Tao-i-chih*⁴⁶ as follows: "When young, I have ever been on board a big ship sailing across the seas. Wherever I passed I composed poems in order to describe not only the marvels of mountains and rivers, ethnic customs, landscape and products of the places, but also those things strange, astonishing, contemptible or ridicule. These places are all that I have actually toured, have seen and heard with my own eyes and ears. What I heard from others are not recorded here." (大淵少年嘗附舶以浮于海。所過之域，竊嘗賦詩，以記其山川·土俗·風景·物產之詭異，與夫可怪可愕可鄙可笑之事。皆身所遊覽，耳目所親見。傳說之事，則不載焉)。 Probably Wang insisted, "I would never write what I did not see with my own eyes," even when he met Wu Chien at Ch'üan-chou, or when he afterwards asked Chang Chu 張翥 to contribute a preface for his book. Thus, Wu Chien has written in his preface, "Everything communicated by him must be reliable" (以君傳者，其言必可信)，since he had written what he experienced in reality during his stay of several years abroad. Chang Chu also expresses his confidence in Wang in his preface, saying that "he does not write what he did not see personally, and therefore, it will be truly reliable." (非親見不書，則庶乎其可徵也)。 As in the *Ssü-ku-ch'uan-shu Ts'ung-mu T'i-yao* 四庫全書總目提要 (Part of History 史部, Geography 4 地理類四), too, it is said that, "this book is what the author wrote his own experiences by his hand so that any speculations without evidence are no match for his writing," the strong point of Ta-yüan's writings is considered to consist

44) Mikinosuke Ishida: *Nankai ni kansuru Shina-shiryô* 南海に關する支那史料 (Tokyo 1945), p. 172 ff.

45) *Shigaku-kenkyû*, the special issue for No. 50, p. 40.

46) Included in Collection *Chih-fu-chai-ts'ung-shu* 知服齋叢書。

in describing only what the author experienced. The *Ssü-ku T'i-yao* defends the author in saying that the reason why such an important country as Japan is not referred to, is that his work is not simply a general description of all oversea countries, but a record of only those which he really saw. It is not doubt that Ta-yüan voyaged to considerably distant places during a long time, but among the countries that he mentioned there are some countries which he does not seem to have travelled by himself. On this point Mr. Rockhill has already expressed his doubt. He states that the ninety nine countries which Ta-yüan enumerated extend from the P'êng-hu 澎湖 Islands and Molucca in the east to Arabia and the eastern coast of Africa in the west. The great part of these countries were probably visited by him, but it is very doubtful whether he did go to far more distant places, e.g. Timor or the the westernmost regions, or not. He must have gone to such places as Ma-lu-chien 馬魯潤 (Merv?) or Ma-ho-ssü-li 麻呵斯離 (Mosul?).⁴⁷⁾

I think that "T'ien-t'ang 天堂", i.e. Mecca, can be added to the number of the countries that he did not visit. Needless to say, the area centering Ka'ba of Mecca is the sacred precinct of *al-Islām* (*ḥaram*) and any heathen is not permitted to enter. If Ta-yüan really entered this area, he must have been a Muslim. But he describes this area as follows: "The climate is mild and may be said to be in the spring of the four seasons. The land is fertile and the rice crop is abundant. Thus, the inhabitants enjoy their works." (風景融和, 四時之春也。田沃稻饒, 居民樂業).⁴⁸⁾ It is a well known fact that the neighbourhood of Mecca is the desolate desert without vegetation, and that the temperature attains at 90 degrees Fahrenheit on the average of year. Further, the land is entirely devoid of paddy field.

The case of Mecca is only one example. If we examine more closely, we shall find more cases of such fiction. His words that "I did never describe what I did not see personally" should not be faithfully followed. Probably he did not go as far as Mecca. Consequently there is no evidence that he was a Muslim.

47) W. W. Rockhill: Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the 14th Century, *T'oung Pao*, 1915, p. 63.

48) The account telling Mecca as the paradise of mild climate and fertile land has been wide-spread since the Ming. Not to speak of the *Ta-ming-i-t'ung-chih*, the *Ch'ien-ch'üeh-lei-shu* 潛確類書, the *Hsien-pin-lu* and the like, even a popular story like the *San-pao-ta-chien Hsi-yang-chi* 三寶大監西洋記 (Chapt. 86) describes Mecca as such. Probably it is derived from the record of Wang Ta-yüan. We are quite astonished to see that such a work as the *Hsing-ch'a-shêng-lan* 星槎勝覽 writes in the same way. As may be expected, the *Ying-ya-shêng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽 is more exact. In the latter it is said in the article "T'ien-fang-kuo 天方國 (Mecca)" that "the climate there is always hot as in summer throughout a year." (其處氣候, 四時常熱如夏) This is only one example. The *Account of Foreign Countries* (外國傳) of the *Ming-shih* 明史 is based on this book.

