

P'ü Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚

A Man of the Western Regions, Who was Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office in Ch'üan-chou 泉州 towards the End of the Sung Dynasty, together with a General Sketch of Trade of the Arabs in China during the T'ang and Sung Eras

By

Jitsuzô KUWABARA

III

Let us now treat of P'ü Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚, our principal subject. This P'ü Shou-kêng was by origin a foreigner, and towards the end of the South Sung dynasty held the post of superintendent of the trading-ship office in Fu-chien for about thirty years, became in course of time a very rich and influential man, and played an important part in the transition of the Sung to the Yüan dynasty.⁽¹⁾ But no biography of this man is found either in the dynastic history of the Sung or in that of the Yüan. In the *Yüan-shih-hsin-pien* 元史新編 written by WEI YÜAN 魏源 of the Ch'ing dynasty, we find his name in the table of contents (元史新編卷廿九, 平宋功臣列傳), but curiously enough the biography itself is missing in the text.⁽²⁾ Dr. KO CHAO-MIN 柯劭忞 of the present Republic gives a life in his *Hsin-Yüan-shih* (新元史卷百七十七), but the description is very short, and no mention is made even of his foreign origin.⁽³⁾ In the *Sung-shih* 宋史 and especially in the *Yüan-shih*, his name occurs here and there, but the descriptions are so insufficient

and fragmentary that we can form no idea either of his life or origin, and consequently hitherto no sinologist of the East or West has had any exact knowledge of this interesting man.⁽⁴⁾

In investigating into his origin, the earliest material we have is the *Hsin-shih* 心史 written by CH'ENG SO-NAN 鄭所南 who was a Fu-chien man, and a contemporary of P'u Shou-k'eng.⁽⁵⁾ He persisted his whole life through in entertaining a hostile feeling against the Yüan court, and his writings breathed a bitter animosity to all foreign tribes of that time. For these reasons, he hesitated in publishing his writings, put his manuscripts in an iron casket, and enveloping it in cement, deposited it at the bottom of a well, but in the eleventh year of *Ch'ung-chên* 崇禎 A. D. 1638, it was discovered and his writings first appeared in the world. During the Ch'ing dynasty, the *Hsin-shih* was banned by the government owing to its anti-foreign feelings, but towards the end of that reign, it was read eagerly among the young Chinese scholars, and exercised a deep influence in rousing their patriotism and a deep hatred to the Manchu reign.⁽⁷⁾

This being the case, there are some scholars who entertain a doubt as to the authenticity of the *Hsin-shih*, and some went so far as to condemn it as a spurious book.⁽⁸⁾ But when we investigate the contents of the work, we can not agree with them, but must regard it of sufficient value as a contemporary historical material.

In the *Hsin-shih*, P'u Shou-k'eng 蒲壽庚 is spelt as 蒲受叻, and is described as of South barbarian descent. Ho CH'IAO-YÜAN 何喬遠 who lived towards the end of the Ming, in his *Min-shu* 閩書, gives a fuller biography of P'u Shou-k'eng, mentioning that he was a descendant of a man of Western Regions. We thus see that both agree in regarding him as a foreigner.

Inferring from the surname P'u 蒲, we take him as an Arab. Dr. HIRTH some twenty years ago said that the surname P'u of the foreign men in Chi-

nese records is a transliteration of Abu (Abou), a common Arab name. I would regard the P'u 蒲 of P'u Shou-kêng as of the same origin.⁽⁹⁾ And if he was an Arab, he might be called a South barbarian 南蠻人 or a man of Western Regions 西域人 quite indifferently.⁽¹⁰⁾

In the *Sung-shih* (宋史卷四百九十, 大食國條), we find many Moslem envoys to the Sung court, who have the same surname P'u 蒲. To mention only a few, there came to China,

in 976 開寶九年(太祖), P'u Hsi-mi 蒲希密 (Abu Hamid?),

in 978 太平興國二年(太宗), P'u Ssu-na 蒲思那 (Abu Sînâ?),

in 995 至道元年('), P'u Ya-t'o-li 蒲押陁黎 (Abu Adil?),

in 1004 景德元年(眞宗), P'u Chia-hsin 蒲加心 (Abu Kashin?),

in 1019 天禧三年('), P'u Ma-wu-t'o-p'o-li 蒲麻勿陁婆離 (Abu Mahmud

Dawal?), and

during 1056—1063 嘉祐中(仁宗), P'u Sha-i 蒲沙乙 (Abu Said?).

As has been mentioned already, the Arabs, after the middle of the T'ang dynasty, came through the Southern seas to China and carried on brisk trade. We thus find along the principal ports of the Southern seas their settlements, among which Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 or Çribodja (Çri Vijaya) lying between the East and West, was the most prosperous.⁽¹²⁾ The Arabs called it Sarbaza or Serboza,⁽¹³⁾ and this name seems identical with what the Chinese of the Sung dynasty called San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊. In CHAO JU-KUA'S *Chu-fan-chih*, 諸蕃志, there is a description of this San-fo-ch'i country, where it is written, "A large proportion of the people of this country are surnamed P'u," 國人多姓蒲, (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 60), and this we suppose was only a description of the Arab traders living there.⁽¹⁴⁾

In Chan-ch'êng 占城 or Chan-p'o 占婆 i. e. Champa, there lived also probably many Arab traders. This country was known to the Moslem as Senf

(Sanf), which is of course a corruption of Champa.⁽¹⁵⁾ According to the *Sung-shih* (宋史卷四百八十九, 占城國條) during the *Hsien-tê* 顯德 period, A. D. 954-959, an envoy of Champa, called P'u Ho-san 莆訶散 presented the emperor with the rose-water. This rose-water was a product of the Moslem countries 大食國 and especially of the coast of the Persian Gulf, but not a product of Champa. The name P'u Ho-san 莆訶散 seems to represent the Arab name of Abul Hassan,⁽¹⁶⁾ and besides his we find many others of seemingly Arab origin among the envoys from that country during the Sung dynasty.⁽¹⁷⁾ In Hai-nan 海南 island, the South gate of China, at the latest during the Sung and Yüan eras, if not earlier, many Arab traders seem to have settled, and there are also found many people with the surname of P'u 蒲.⁽¹⁸⁾

Now, to resume our principal subject, the forefather of P'u Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚 is fully described in the *Min-shu* 閩書 compiled towards the end of the Ming. His forefather lived originally at Kuang-chou (廣州 Canton), was the head-man of the foreign quarters, and seems to have acquired vast wealth. In the *Hsin-shih* 心史, the forefather of P'u Shou-kêng (蒲受暉 = 蒲壽庚) is described as the richest man in Liang Kuang 兩廣 provinces (modern Kuang-tung and Kuang-hsi provinces).⁽¹⁹⁾ The fact that the forefather of P'u Shou-kêng was the head-man of the foreign quarters who lived at Kuang-chou during the South Sung dynasty and had vast wealth, reminds us of the description of a P'u family 蒲姓 at Kuang-chou, that is given in the *T'ing-shih* 程史 written by Yo K'o 岳珂 of the South Sung.

This Yo K'o was a son of Yo Lin 岳霖 and a grandson of the famous patriotic hero Yo Fei 岳飛. When in the third year of *Shao-hsi* 紹熙, A. D. 1192, his father Yo Lin was appointed governor of Kuang-chou,⁽²⁰⁾ he accompanied his father, and held a familiar intercourse with the P'u family living there. He described in his *T'ing-shih* what he personally observed there. According to him, among the Hai-liao 海獠 (sea-barbarian) living at Kuang-chou, the richest man had the surname of P'u 蒲. This man was

by origin a noble man of Champa, lived in China, and superintended the mercantile affairs of his countrymen. As time went by, he built a large house within the town-walls of Kuang-chou (Canton). He led a luxurious life which would have incurred the censure of the magistrates in case of Chinese, but being a foreigner and also an influential trader who contributed much to the national revenue derived from the trade, he was exempted from punishment. The customs of the P'u family which attracted notice of the Chinese were, firstly that they scrupulously kept everything clean,⁽²¹⁾ secondly that their temple had no image in it,⁽²²⁾ thirdly that they used only one hand in eating, the other hand being reserved for more unclean acts, for instance, in lavatory,⁽²³⁾ and fourthly that their characters in writing were very strange, much resembling the so-called "seal characters" of the Chinese. From these descriptions by Yo K'ò 岳珂, we should think that the customs of the P'u family resemble very much those of the Moslem, and therefore the P'u family of Canton must certainly have been Arabs. The word lao 獠 originally meant a Southern or Southwestern barbarian tribe,⁽²⁵⁾ but by and by all foreigners who came by ship to trade in China, were also called Hai-lao 海獠 (sea-barbarians) or Po-lao 舶獠 (ship-barbarians),⁽²⁶⁾ and the Arab traders might very well be called Hai-lao. There was at Chüan-chou 泉州 in Fu-chien province a very rich Po-lao called Shih-lo-wei 尸羅圍, a contemporary of the P'u at Kuang-chou. I think this man was from Sirâf on the coast of the Persian gulf.⁽²⁷⁾ Though Yo K'ò says that the P'u family were originally Champa people, as there were many Arabs living at Champa, as has been mentioned above, this P'u family may very probably be the Arabs, who removed their residence from Champa to Kuang-chou. According to Yo K'ò, there was behind the house of the P'u family a gigantic stupa which was entirely different in shape from an ordinary Buddhist one. Between the fourth and fifth moon (May and June), the foreigners at Kuangchou ascended to the top of the stupa, and prayed from Heaven to send the south wind, that would bring foreign ships to China.

At the top there was originally a large gilded cock 金鷄, but one day one of its legs was stolen, and afterwards the one-legged cock used to stand at the top.⁽²⁸⁾

From this description by Yo K'ò, we should think that there is some relation between the Fan-t'a 番塔 (barbarian-pagoda) in the Huai-shêng-ssu, 懷聖寺, the famous mosque in Canton and the stupa behind the P'u's house. Tradition says that the pagoda and mosque of Huai-shêng-ssu were built by Wo-ko-ssu 斡葛思 or Wakkâs, who first introduced the Islam into China, but this is utterly incredible.⁽²⁹⁾ The construction of the Fan-t'a 番塔 and also the gilded cock at the top bear too much resemblance to the stupa behind the P'u's house,⁽³⁰⁾ and so we should think that it is the same pagoda that still remains to-day. Further, we should say that the pagoda and mosque of the Huai-shêng-ssu themselves might have been built by the P'u family.⁽³¹⁾

Be that as it may, the P'u family of Kuang-chou, described in the *T'ing-shih*, was the richest in that city and superintended the foreign trade. The forefather of P'u Shou-kêng lived also in Kuang-chou, held the same post, and was the richest man in the Liang-kuang 兩廣 provinces. From these facts, the man surnamed P'u, mentioned in the *T'ing-shih*, may be taken as identical with the forefather of P'u Shou-kêng. If this supposition be true, as the man surnamed P'u lived towards the middle of the twelfth century, and P'u Shou-kêng was also a man of the middle of the thirteenth century, the former must have been the grand-father of the latter.⁽³²⁾

According to the *T'ing-shih*, the rich P'u family soon after was not so well off.⁽³³⁾ That P'u Shou-kêng's father P'u K'ai-tsung 蒲開宗 removed from Kuang-chou to Ch'üan-chou seems to have a connection with the adversity of the P'u family at Kuang-chou.

NOTES

(1) Ku Tsu-yü's criticism of P'u Shou-kêng. Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹 who wrote

towards the end of the Ming dynasty, says in his *Tu-shih-fang-yü-chi-yao* 讀史方輿紀要:— "P'u Shou-kêng who had absolute authority in Ch'üan-chou prefecture was at first no more than a run-away fellow (the *Sung-shih* says that P'u Shou-kêng was a man of the Western Regions, and with his elder brother P'u Shou-ch'êng, 蒲壽晟 for the purpose of trade, became subjects of the Sung court); P'u Shou-kêng, on account of his paltry merit, was given a salary and an official rank; he monopolized the profit accruing from foreign trade for thirty years, and was promoted to the high rank of Chao-fu-shih 招撫使, but the wolf-like fellow entertained ambition, revolted against the Sung, and secretly presented a piece of land in his possession to the Yüan; the Sung was afraid of the invasion of the mighty enemy (Mongols) from outside and the revolt of the influential P'u Shou-kêng from inside; and so could not help running away to Chang-chou (in Fu-chien province), and then to Ch'ao-chou (in Kuang-tung province) and at last took to sea; it must have been foreseen that this disaster would overtake them even when they first fled to Fu-chou" 蒲壽庚之擅有泉州也,其初不過一亡命匹夫耳,宋史曰壽庚西域人,與其兄壽晟,以互市歸於宋,壽庚以鷹犬微功,過假之以祿位,擅有市舶利者三十年,官招撫使,狼子野心,背宋而潛獻地於元,宋外懼敵師之侵,內惕壽庚之叛,不得已而走漳(福建省),不得已而走潮(廣東省),以入海也,當其駐福州之初,而已知其勢之必至此也, (讀史方輿紀要卷九十五).

We can not agree with Ku Tsu-yü 顧祖禹 who as is usual with Chinese scholars maintain simply from a geographical point of view, that it had been better for the Sung court to have taken the Kuang-tung province as their first standing rather than Fu-chien, but it is an undeniable fact that the South Sung, after the fall of Hang-chou 杭州, their temporary capital, in spite of their utmost effort to rally from their last camp in Fu-chien, utterly failed in their object, principally owing to the revolt of P'u Shou-kêng. By the way, the above-quoted notes relating to the P'u brothers, are not found in the now extant text of the *Sung-shih* owing perhaps to the slip of memory on the part of the transcriber.

(2) WEI YÜAN, author of the New Book of Yüan History 元史新篇. The life of the famous scholar WEI YÜAN is not found in the *Hsü-pei-chuan-chi* 續碑傳集 compiled by MIU CH'ÜAN-SUN 繆荃孫 towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty. In GILES's *Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (p. 871), and also in the recently published *Chung-kuo-jên-ming-ta-tzu-lien* 中國人名大辭典 (a Complete Dictionary of Chinese Biographical Names, p. 1741), he is mentioned, but the description is very short and insufficient. We know, however, from the *Kuo-ch'ao-hsien-chêng-shih-liao* 國朝先正事略 (卷四十四) compiled by LI YÜAN-TO 李元度 that he was a man of Shao-yang 邵陽 district (present Pao-ch'ing 寶慶 in Hu-nan 湖南 province), that his literary name was Mo-shên 默深, and that passing the palace examination in the twenty-fourth year of *Tao-kuang* 道光 1844,

became governor of Kao-yu 高郵 department in Chiang-su 江蘇 province, dying in the sixth year of *Hsien-fêng* 咸豐 1856. He published several works relating to Confucian classics. Among his historical works, the best known are the *Hai kuo-t'u-chih* 海國圖志, the *Shêng-wu-chi* 聖武記, the *Huang-chao-ching-shih-wên-pien* 皇朝經世文編, etc. His last work, the *Yüan-shih-hsin-pien* 元史新編, was left without his final revision, but was published in the thirty-first year of *Kuang-hsü* 光緒 1905, by his descendant Wei Kuang-tao 魏光燾.

(3) K'ò SHAO-MIN, author of the New History of Yüan Dynasty 新元史. Dr. K'ò SHAO-MIN 柯劭忞, born at Chiao 膠 district in Shan-tung province, became a *chin-shih* 進士 (metropolitan graduate) in the twelfth year of *Kuang-hsü* 光緒, 1886, in the same year as Hsü Shih-ch'ang 徐世昌, the late president of the Chinese republic. After passing the palace-examination, he served in the Han-lin-yüan 翰林院 (the college of literature) and the Kuo-shih-kuan 國史館 (the state historiographer's office), then became the T'i-hsüeh-shih 提學使 (director of education) of Hu-pei 湖北 province, from which he was transferred to the secretaryship of the Board of Education 學部右參議. In the second year of *Hsüan-t'ung* 宣統, 1910, when the Metropolitan University 京師大學堂 was opened, he became Director of the college of Chinese classics 經科大學監督. After the establishment of the present Republic, he was for a time elected a member of the Ts'an-chêng-yüan 參政院 (the State council) and also in the Yo-fa-hui-i 約法會議 (the constitutional council). For many years he had been engaged in writing a new history of the Yüan dynasty, which he finished and recently published in 257 volumes. The present Republic ordered to include this great work among the dynastic Histories 正史, which hitherto consisted of twenty-four in number. As I remarked somewhere (see the *Shih-lin* 史林, April, 1916, p. 141), many scholars since CH'ÏEN TA-HSIN 錢大昕 (1728—1804) devoted themselves to the study of the Yüan history with the object of revising the dynastic Yüan History ill-reputed as the worst of the twenty-four Histories, though in my opinion this criticism is subject to some doubt. This long-entertained object has at last been nearly accomplished by Dr. K'ò SHAO-MIN. His New History of the Yüan, though not free from some blemishes, may be said far superior, for instance, to the work by WEI YÜAN 魏源, and may well be included in the dynastic Histories.

(4) How the name of P'u Shou-kêng was introduced. In Dr. ISHIBASHI's article, "About the Foreign Trade and Trade-ports in the T'ang and Sung Eras" (*Shigaku-zasshi*, Nov. 1901, p. 56), the name of P'u Shou-kêng is mentioned, but he quotes there only one passage from the *Sung-shih* (宋史卷四十七, 瀛國公本紀). In ROCKHILL's "Notes on the Relation and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean" (T'oung-pao, 1914, pp. 428—430), the writer mentions the name of P'u Shou-kêng here and

there, but the quotations from the *Yüan-shih* (元史,卷九,卷十,卷十三,世祖本紀) are quite fragmentary.

It is Dr. FUJITA who first took notice of this man, and gave to the world a brief outline of his life. In the appendix of his *Two Supplementary Notices to Yule's Marco Polo*" (Toyo-gakuho, Nov. 1913, pp. 446—448), Dr. FUJITA treated of the Arabs in Ch'üan-chou 泉州, wherein he spoke of P'u Shou-kêng and his brother P'u Shou-ch'êng on the authority of the *Shih-hua-tsung-kuei* 詩話總龜 quoted in the *Ta-ming-yü-ti-ming-shêng-chih* 大明輿地名勝志 written by Ts'AO HSÜEH-CHUAN 曹學詮 of the Ming dynasty. But unfortunately this article of Dr. FUJITA's has been overlooked by most scholars. As I was so busily occupied with a family affair for a few months in the winter of 1913, that I had no leisure then for reading and thus I also failed to notice his article. In 1914, the next year, I discovered independently a new fact of P'u Shou-kêng in the *Chung-tsuan-fu-chien-t'ung-chih* (the revised topography of Fu-chien province, 重纂福建通志,卷二百六十六), and read a paper relating to this man at a meeting of the Society of Chinese Learning 支那學會 of the Kyoto Imperial University. In April, 1915, I introduced a more detailed life of P'u Shou-kêng to the public at the mass meeting of the Historical Society of Japan. It was only in September of that year that I chanced to read Dr. FUJITA's article. So I hastened to write to him explaining how I came to publish in the *Shigaku-zasshi*, quite independent of him. By the way, the work, the *Shih-hua-tsung-kuei* 詩話總龜 quoted by Dr. FUJITA from the *Ta-ming-yü-ti-ming-shêng-chih* is a book written by YÜAN YÜEH 阮閱 towards the end of the North Sung dynasty (see 四庫全書總目提要,卷百九十五), and treats of poems and poets of the Sung and preceding dynasties. Therefore, we can not expect to see any description of the P'u brothers who lived about one hundred and fifty years later than the author. Indeed, when I read through the whole book, and did not come across any such records, I came to entertain some doubt concerning the *Shih-hua-tsung-kuei* quoted in the *Ta-ming-yü-ti-ming-shêng-chih*. But in the *Shih-hua-tsung-kuei* edited by CH'ENG KUANG 程琬 of the Ming dynasty, we find the postscript: "I have been collecting ana of great Chinese poets of modern times and preceding generations to form a continuation to the present work, but being an immature student in such an outlandish place, the compilation has not been complete enough to be worthy of publication. I simply mention my intention here at the end of the book." 復俾采集近代及國朝諸大家者,而續成之第荒僻淺鮮,蒐輯尙未成帙,姑識于卷末云. We know thus the editor had the intention of writing a continuation to this book, but whether the work quoted in the *Ta-ming-yü-ti-ming-shêng-chih* is this continuation or not must await a further investigation.

(5) Biography of CH'ENG SO-NAN. CH'ENG SO-NAN 鄭所南, whose personal

name is Ssü-hsiao 思肖 (the character 肖 is a contracted form of Chao 趙, the royal family name of the Sung, Ssü-hsiao thus meaning "yearning after the royal Chao family), his "tzu" 字 (style) is I-wêng 億翁 (億 is probably "i" 憶, to yearn after), so I-wêng means an old man yearning after the Sung dynasty, and So-nan 所南 is his 'hao' 號. Under these disguises, his true name seems to be concealed. He was born at Lien-chiang 連江 district in Fu-chien province, and lived at Wu 吳 district in Chiang-su 江蘇 province. His biography is mentioned in the *Sui-ch'ang-tsa-lu* 遂昌雜錄 written by CHÊNG YÜAN-YÜ 鄭元祐 of the Yüan dynasty: "Master Chêng So-nan was a native of Fu-chien province. His personal name was Ssü-hsiao. While the Sung held the reign of China, his father was an official of Wu district. After the fall of the Sung dynasty, he lived at Wu. . . . Thenceforth, the master avoided all intercourse with the northern people (the Mongols). Whenever in any company he saw a man who spoke the strange language (Mongolian), he would instantly go away. As people all knew his eccentricity, they were not surprised to see the strange act. His father was a teacher of ancient classics, while the Master was only too glad to study Buddhist and Taoist doctrines. He was fond of drawing the pictures of orchids. The drawing was a rough one, never aiming at the accuracy of the form. To the sketch of the plant, he used to write a short poem, which was very unusual and eccentric, venting thereby his dissatisfactory feelings. A dilettante in Wu district published his work named *Chin-chien-chi* which prevailed at the time. 閩人鄭所南先生諱思肖, 宋有國時, 其上世仕於吳, 宋亡, 遂客吳下, . . . 先生自宋亡, 矢不與北人交接, 於友朋坐間, 見語音異者, 輒引起, 人知其孤僻, 故亦不以爲異, 其上世本業儒, 而先生於佛老教則喜之, 平日喜畫蘭, 疎花簡葉, 不求甚工, 其所自賦詩以題蘭, 皆險異詭特, 蓋以摠其憤懣云, 吳人好事者, 爲板刊其所謂錦錢集行於世, (學海類編本遂昌雜錄).

In the appendix of a Ming edition of the *Hsin-shih* 心史 we find a detailed account of CHÊNG SO-NAN, quoted from the *Ku-su-chih* 姑蘇志 (Topography of Su-chou 蘇州) by the editor WANG AO 王鏊. I give some passages from it, but without translation, for those who are curious to know: 鄭思肖字億翁, 號所南, 連江縣人, 祖咸卒於枝江主簿, 父震字叔起, 淳祐 (A.D 1241—1252) 道學君子, 爲安定和靖二書院山長, 有菊山詩集, 景定壬戌 (A.D 1262) 卒於吳, 葬長洲縣甌山, 思肖太學上舍, 應博學宏詞科, 侍父來吳, 寓條坊巷, 元兵南下, 扣關上太皇太后幼主, 疏辭切直, 忤當路, 不報, 初名某, 宋亡, 乃改今名, 思肖卽思趙, 億翁所南皆寓意也, 素不娶, 孑然一身, 念々不忘君, 形言於詩文中, 如過徐子方書塾云, 不知今日月, 但夢宋山川, 題鄭子封寓舍云, 此世但除君父外, 不曾別受一人恩, 寒菊云, 寧可枝頭抱香死, 不曾吹落北風中, . . . 又云, 古人重立身, 今人重養身, 立身者蓋超乎千古之上, 與天地周流於不知不識之天也, 養身者惜一粟, 以活微命, 役於萬物, 死於萬變者也, 何足道哉, 遇歲時伏臘, 輒野哭南向拜, 人莫測識焉, 聞北語, 必掩耳亟走, 人亦知其孤僻, 不以爲異也, 坐臥不北向, 扁其室曰本穴世界, 以本字之十, 置下文則大宋也, 精墨蘭, 自更祚

後，爲蘭不畫土，根無憑籍，或問其故則云，地爲番人奪去，汝不知耶，· · · 趙孟頫才名重當世，思肖惡其宗室而受元聘，遂與之絕，孟頫數往候之，終不得見，嘆息而去，· · · 疾亟時，囑其友唐東嶼曰，思肖死矣，頫爲書一位牌，當云大宋不忠不孝鄭思肖，語終而絕，年七十八，蓋其意謂不能死國與無後也，· · · 嘗著大無工十空經一卷，空字去工而加十，宋字也，寓爲大宋經，造語奇澁如庾詞，莫可曉，自題其後云，臣思肖嘔三斗血方能書，此後當有巨眼識之。又著釋氏施食心法一卷，太極祭煉一卷，謬餘集二卷，文集一卷，自叙一百二十圖詩一卷。

Also in the *Kuo-sui-hsüeh-pao* 國粹學報(史篇) published in the thirty-first year of *Kuang-hsü* 光緒, 1905, we find a biography of Chêng Ssü-hsiao by HUANG CHIEH 黃節, which has some value. In the *Chung-tsun-fu-chien-t'ung-chih* (revised topography of Fu-chien province 重纂福建通志, 卷六十九) under the heading 元明經籍 are enumerated the works of CHÊNG SO-NAN:

(1) 修真全書十二卷, (2) 釋氏施食心經一卷, (3) 太極祭煉一卷, (4) 題書詩, (5) 錦錢集一卷, (6) 雜文一卷, (7) 心史一卷, (8) 大無工十空經一卷, (9) 一百二十四(?)圖詩一卷, (10) 謬餘集一卷, (11) 文集一卷。

Of these books, 一百二十圖詩 and 鄭所南先生集 are found in the *Chih-pu-tsu-chai-ts'ung-shu* 知不足齋叢書(第廿一集), but we do not know whether any other works of this man are extant.

(6) How the *Hsin-shih* was found. How the *Hsin-shih* 心史 of CHÊNG SO-NAN was found is fully described in the monument erected near the well of the Ch'êng-t'ien-ssü 承天寺 where the manuscripts had been interred. The inscription of the monument was composed by CH'EN TSUNG-CHIH 陳宗之 towards the end of the Ming dynasty, and is appended at the beginning of the Ming edition of the *Hsin-shih* :—

“In the year, 1638, there was a long dearth in the district of Wu, and people suffered very much for want of water. When on November 8th, an old well in the grounds of the Ch'êng-tien-ssu temple was cleared, they came across an iron casket enveloped all over with cement. On opening it, the *Hsin-shih* was discovered. On the outside of the casket were written the five characters, *Ta-sung-tieh-han-ching* 大宋鐵函經 (A sacred book of the great Sung dynasty enclosed in an iron casket), while inside were written the ten characters, 大宋孤臣鄭思肖百拜封 (Enclosed with hundred kow-tows by Chêng Ssü-hsiao, a solitary subject of the great Sung.) Though three hundred fifty-six years have now passed since the time of its interment or the twentieth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元(1283), yet no injury has occurred either to the paper or the characters. With a contribution of some fund given by a high dignitary, the work was printed and published to the world, and a monument was erected beside the well where it was found. The original was left in the temple in charge of the abbot.”—崇禎戊寅歲,吳中久旱,城居買水而食,爭汲者相粹於道。仲冬八日,承天寺狼山房潛管井,鐵函重匱,錮以聖灰,啓之則

宋鄭所南先生所藏心史也。外書大宋鐵函經五字，內書大宋孤臣鄭思肖百拜封十字。自勝國癸未(至元廿年)迄今戊寅，閱歲三百五十六載，楮墨猶新，古香觸手，當有神護。於是鄉先輩陸子嘉穎，始發明其書，假鈔題識，冀廣其傳，同志中多興起者，而諸生張劭遂獻其書於大中丞金華張公，公覽而異之，立捐俸繡梓，并植碑井傍。……書成，其原本鑄度祠中，俾僧達始世守，以梓本行。

(7) Index expurgatorius in Ch'ing dynasty. As the Ch'ing dynasty rose from the Eastern barbarians (the Manchus) to have the supremacy of China, they were very sensitive to the distinction of the Hua 華 or true Chinese and then I 夷 or the barbarians, which the native Chinese insisted on making, and took very severe measures to suppress it. Especially during the fifteen years from the thirty-ninth year of *Ch'ien-lung* 乾隆, 1774, to the fifty-third year of the same period, 1788, they established censorship on all books in China. If they found books containing remarks unfavorable to the Manchu government respecting the fall of the Ming dynasty, or even old books of the Sung or Ming times, in which some anti-racial opinions against the Khitans 契丹, the Jurchins 女真 or the Mongols 蒙古, which might indirectly incite the people to entertain animosity against the Manchus, all these books were strictly banned, neither allowing them to circulate nor to keep in possession. Some books were wholly burnt (銷燬), some were expurgated (抽燬), and the number is counted by thousands. (see Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, p. 76.) The words of T'ENG SHIH 鄧實 towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty are nothing but truth when he says: "Indeed since the emperor Shih-huang 始皇 of Ch'in 秦 dynasty burnt nearly all the then extant books, this vandalism of the Ch'ing dynasty is the greatest calamity that has ever happened to books. 一蓋自秦政以後，實以此次焚禁爲書籍最大厄。(國粹叢書第二集，禁書目合刻跋) We must thus bear in mind that almost all books treating of the northern or northeastern foreign tribes, published since the *Ch'ien-lung* period, have been mutilated. (For details, vide Dr. INABA's *Ten Lectures on Modern China*. 近世支那十講，清代禁書). And the *Hsin-shih* forms no exception to the rule, and indeed we find its name—井中心史(鄭思肖著)—in the *Index Expurgatorius* 禁書總目(國粹叢書第二集所收). But in the thirty-first year of *Kuang-hsü*, 光緒, 1905, Mr. LIANG CH'Y-CHAO 梁啓超 reprinted the Ming edition of the *Hsin-shih*, and wrote in the preface: "I have read many old books, but I have never been moved so much as by this book." 一嗚呼啓超讀古人詩文辭多矣，未嘗有振蕩余心，若此書之甚者。" It will thus be seen that this book had a very deep influence on some patriots of China towards the end of the Ch'ing dynasty.

(8) Is the *Hsin-shih* a spurious book? The authors of the *Ch'in-ting-ssu-k'u-ch'üan-shu-tsung-mu* criticized the *Hsin-shih* as follows: "The book is writ-

ten in an archaic and difficult style, and the facts therein do not accord with authentic history This is surely a forgery composed by a man towards the end of the Ming dynasty, who wrote on purpose in so difficult a style as to dazzle the eye of the uncritical people. In his commentary on the *T'ung-chien-hou-pien* 通鑑後編, Hsü CH'ÏEN-HSÜEH 徐乾學 of the Ch'ing dynasty says that it was forged by YAO SHIH-LIN, 姚士粦, a native of Hai-yen 海鹽 district in Chê-chiang 浙江 province, which is a conclusion surely founded on fact." 一文詞皆蹇澁難通,紀事亦多與史不合. . . . 此必明末好異之徒,作此以欺世,而故爲眩亂其詞者,徐乾學通鑑後編考異,以爲海鹽(浙江)姚士粦所僞託,其言必有所據也。(欽定四庫全書總目提要,卷百七十四).

Now, looking up the *Tsu-chih-t'ung-chien-hou-pien* of Hsü CH'ÏEN-HSÜEH, we find, under the second year of *Hsiang-hsing* 祥興, 1279, the following passage: "Towards the end of the Ming dynasty, there appeared the *Ching-chung-hsin-shih*. 井中新史. But what it describes the conversation of Wên T'ien-hsiang 文天祥 with Po-lo 李羅 is quite different from that of authentic history. This spurious work was written by YAO SHIH-LIN in the name of Chêng Ssu-hsiao 鄭思肖 of the Sung dynasty. It is a book quite unreliable. . . . Yao Shih-lin styled Hsü-hsiang 叔祥 was a native of Hai-yen 海鹽 district in Chia-hsing 嘉興 prefect." 一明季有井中新(心?)史,載(文)天祥對李羅之言,頗不同. 是書乃姚士粦僞撰,託名宋鄭思肖,不可用. . . .

士粦字叔祥,嘉興海鹽人. It is on this statement of Hsü CH'ÏEN-HSÜEH that the criticism of the authors of the *Ch'in-ting-ssu-k'u-chüan-shu-tsung-mu* is founded. But Hsü CH'ÏEN-HSÜEH gives no positive proof that the *Hsin-shih* was written by YAO SHIH-LIN. Moreover, he cites the *Hsin-shih* 心史 as *Hsin-shih* 新史, which fact makes us very reluctant to rely on him. From the biography of Chêng Ssu-hsiao by HUANG CHIEH 黃節, we learn also that many great scholars of the Ch'ing dynasty, such as Wan Ssu-tung, 萬斯同(季野), Yen Jo-chu, 閻若璩(百詩), or Ch'üan Tsu-wang, 全祖望(謝山), all agree in thinking the *Hsin-shih* as a spurious work. Though I do not know on what grounds these scholars founded their conclusion, the Chinese scholars in general have the tendency of humouring the reigning government. It is, therefore, not surprising that under the Manchu government they should throw an ill-name on such a book as the *Hsin-shih* which is full of anti-racial spirit. Moreover, most of the Chinese scholars are habitually noted for their want of critical judgment, so that their statements must always be submitted to verification before accepting them. Though the authors of the *Ssu-k'u-chüan-shu-tsung-mu* founded the spuriousness of the *Hsin-shih* on its incongruity with authentic history, that incongruity itself sometimes may argue the authenticity of the rejected book. When I myself verified the statements in the *Hsin-shih*, I came to the conclusion that it is a very reliable book. I hope I shall have some future occasion to prove the authenticity of the book,

(9) Etymology of the word P'u. Dr. HIRTH's opinion is said to have appeared in his "*Die Insel Hainan 海南 nach Chao Ju-kua, 趙汝适*" 1896, (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 64), which article, however, I have not yet read. To state my own opinion respecting the surname P'u 蒲, the name Abu, which means father, is a very common one with the Arabs (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 429). The Chinese usually transliterate the Abu by the characters A-p'u 阿蒲 or A-pu 阿卜, for instance, in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書(卷百九十八西戎傳), Abu Jafar, the second Caliph 哈利發 of the Abbâside, is represented by 阿蒲恭拂, in which Kung-fu 恭拂 is of course a mistake for Ch'a-fu 茶拂 (BRETSCHNEIDER, *On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, etc.*, p. 9). In the *Ming-shih* 明史(卷三百二十五蘇門答刺國), we find the characters 阿卜賽亦的 as the name of King of Sumatra, which probably stands for Abu Said. Sometimes the initial vowel A being omitted, the single character Pu 卜 or P'u 蒲 represents Abu, for instance, in the *Yüan-shih* 元史(卷三十六文宗本紀) the characters 不賽因 are used to represent Abu Said, one of the Il-khans of Fersia (BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 13) and in the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志(卷上勿斯里國條) the three characters 蒲囉咩 transliterate Abraham (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 144—145).

(10) The Ta-shih as South barbarians. All Chinese histories, since the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書(卷百九十八西戎傳), and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書(第二十二下,西域傳下) counted the Ta-shih 大食國 (Arabia) among the countries of the Western Regions, but as the Arabs 大食國人 came to China mostly from the Southern seas, they might well be called the South barbarians. There were of course not a few Arabs who came by land through Central Asia to trade in China. Their route, being described, since IBN KHORDADBEH, by the Arabs, may even today be accurately known (BARTHOLD, *Zur Geschichte des Christentums in Mittel Asien*, ss. 33—38; HARTMANN, *Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 843). But the land-route was very inconvenient, and especially as the influence of the Sung was not very strong in the Western Regions, they had much difficulty to come to China. Already in the first year of *Tien-shêng* 天聖, 1023, the envoy of Arabia who came by land, was commanded by the Sung court to come hereafter by sea-route, "henceforth to take the sea-route and to come to the Capital through Kuang-chou." 一自今取海路,繇廣州至京師(宋史,卷四百九十). During the South-Sung era, as the land-route had become almost impossible, all Arabs began to come by the sea-route. Hence, in the Sung, especially in the South Sung era, all Arabs came to be known as South-barbarians. In the *Wên-ch'ang-tsa-lu* 文昌雜錄(雅雨堂叢書本,卷一) written by P'ANG YÜAN-YING 龐元英 towards the end of the North Sung dynasty, the Hung-lu-ssu 鴻臚寺 or the office of foreign affairs is said to have classed the Ta-shih or Arabs among the South bar-

barians. In the *Kuei-hsin-tsa-shih* 癸辛雜識, (學津討原本續集下) written by CHOU MI 周密 at the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, the foreigners living at Ch'üan-chou were called the Nan-fan-hui-hui (South barbarian Mahomedans) 南蕃回回, which means the Moslem traders coming from the Southern seas. Also in the tenth year of *Chia-ting* 嘉定, A. D. 1217, the Japanese abbot Keisei 慶政上人 met some Moslem traders at Ch'üan-chou and obtained Persian (or Arabian) handwritings which he called "South barbarian characters," showing that then the Moslem traders were called South-barbarians. Vide Dr. HANEDA's article, "*The Persian Writings in Japan*," in the *Shigaku-kenkyukai-koyenshu*. (史學研究會講演集第三冊).

(11) Dr. HIRTH on P'u family. After the publication of my essay in the *Shigaku-zasshi*, my former teacher, Prof. Tsuboi of the Tokyo Imperial University wrote me a letter dated May 23, 1916, in which he says that Dr. HIRTH's opinion mainly coincides with mine on the P'u surname, and kindly gave me an extract from "*Die Insel Hainan nach Chao Ju-kua*" in his library:— "Eine Zusammenstellung der in der chinesischen Annalen meist als überbringes von Tributgeschenken erwähnten Ta-shih (Araber) zeigt, dass thatsächlich nach der chinesischen Transkription arabische Eigennamen gern mit der Silbe P'u 蒲 anfangen, was nach chinesischer Auffassung so gedeutet werden musste, als ab der hsing oder Familienname aller dieser Individuen P'u laute. Ich bin geneigt anzunehmen, dass es sich um weiter nichts als eine Verstümmelung des arabischen Abú (Vater) handelt. Vgl. im Sung-shih (Kap. 490, pp. 16—19) die arabischen Eigennamen P'u Hsi-mi (蒲希密 = Abú-Hamid?); P'u Ma-wü (蒲麻勿, wu, canton, mat = Abú Mahmed?); P'u Ka-hsin (蒲加心 = Abú Kasim?); P'u Sha-i (蒲沙乙, i, canton., yit = Abú Said?), u. A. (*Die Insel Hainan nach Chao Ju-kua*, ss. 4—5).

(12) Arab settlements in the Far East. As soon as the Arabs became engaged in oriental trade, they established from early times many trade settlements along the western coast of India (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Vol. I, Introduction, pp. xlvii-xlviii), and since they had many settlements along the coast of China, it might be easily supposed that they sought naturally to get footings somewhere between these positions either by peaceful or forced means. They had early, even before the rise of Islam, established themselves in Serendib 師子國 i. e. Ceylon (TENNETT, *Ceylon*, Vol. I, pp. 555—557; *The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 830), and perhaps, though for a short time, in Kalahbâr 箇羅國 near the strait of Malacca (MACOUDI, *Les prairies d'or*, Tome I, p. 308), and then eastward at Çribôdja (Srivijaya) 室利佛逝, Champa 占婆, and Hainan 海南. (for these three settlements, see *infra*).

(13) About Shih-li-fo-shih or San-fo-shi, Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 (大唐求

法高僧傳,卷上) is written either Shih-li-fo-shih 尸利佛逝(南海寄歸內法傳,卷一) or Shih-li-fo-shih 尸利佛誓(新唐書卷二百二十二下南蠻傳下), or simply Fo-shih 佛逝(新唐書卷四十三下,地理志七下) or Fo-shih 佛誓(冊府元龜,卷九百七十一). Towards the end of the T'ang dynasty, it was called San-fo-shi 三佛齊. Since JULIEN (*Méthode de transcription des nomes sanscrits figurés en Chinois*, p. 103.) Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 has been taken as a transliteration of the Sanscrit Śrībodja, but recently some scholars began to disagree with JULIEN, and quite recently Mr. COEDIS takes Shih-li-fo-shih as identical with Śrīvijaya mentioned in the Kcto Kapur inscription discovered in the Bangka island (*The Royaume de Crivijaya*, B E F E O, 1918, pp. 23—25), and Mr. FERRAND insists that it is rather a transcription of the Sanscrit Śrī Bu⁴jay^a (*Le K'ouen-louen*, J. A., 1919, pp. 59—63).

As I have but insufficient knowledge on this question, I shall simply quote here the opinions of some representative scholars without any criticism.

In the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* 嶺外代答 by CHOU CH'Ü-FEI 周去非 of the South-Sung dynasty, we read: "San-fo-ts'i 三佛齊 is in the Southern sea. It is the most important port-of-call on the sea-routes of the foreigners from the countries of Shō-p'ō 閩婆 (Java) on the east and from the countries of Ta-shih 大食 (Arabs) and Ku-lin 故臨 (Quilon) on the west; they all pass through it on their way to China (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 63) — 三佛齊國,在南海之中,諸蕃之要衝也. 東自閩婆諸國,西自大食,故臨諸國,無不由其境而入中國者(嶺外代答,卷二,三佛齊國條).

CHAO JU-KUA 趙汝适 in his *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 says: "This country (San-fo-ts'i) lying in the ocean, and controlling the straits (lit. gullet) through which the foreigners' sea and land (lit. ship and cart) traffic in either direction must pass (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, p. 62) — 其國在海中,扼諸蕃舟車往來之咽喉(諸蕃志卷上,三佛齊國條).

Shē-po (Shō-p'ō) 閩婆 is same as Ya-p'ō-t'i 耶婆提 mentioned in FA-HSIEN 法顯's *Fo-kuo-chi* 佛國記 and also Shē-p'ō-ta 閩婆達 in the *Nan-shih* 南史(卷六十八,夷貊傳上), namely Yava-dvīpa, principally the modern Java, while Ku-lin 故臨 is Koulam of the Arabs, being identical with Quilon in South India. Therefore, San-fo-ts'i, which lies between these two places, must without doubt be in Sumatra or thereabouts.

MA HUAN 馬觀 at the beginning of the Ming dynasty says: "Chiu-chiang 舊港 is the old San-fo-ch'i (San-fo-ts'i), and is also called P'ō-lin-pang 淳淋邦 (Palembang). It is under the rule of Java. Towards the east it adjoins Java, to the west Malacca." — 舊港即古名三佛齊是也. (曰淳淋邦,屬爪哇所轄,東接爪哇,西接滿刺加國,紀錄彙編本,瀛涯勝覽). From this passage, most scholars, following GROENEVELDT, have identified San-fo-ch'i with Palembang in Sumatra ("Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca," in Essays relating to Indo-China, II series, Vol. I p. 197). Only Mr. PHILLIPS insisted that it should be Djambi (Jambie) to the west of Palembang (VAN DER LITH et MARCEL

DEVIC, *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 252). Dr. FUJITA, though formerly agreeing with PHILLIPS (vide his article, "Where was Shih-li-fo-shih, San-fo-ch'i, or Chiu-chiang?" in the *Gei-bun*, A.D. 1913), recently made a new proposition, that there were in the T'ang era, old and new Shih-li-fo-shih, the old one being Palembang and the new one was Djambi (vide *國學叢刊*,卷十四所收, *島夷志略校註*四十枚).

Though I have not yet made a thorough investigation on this subject, there are mentioned, in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要(卷一百), Chin-li-p'i-chia 金利毗迦 and Chan-pei 占卑 countries, the latter of which, like Chan-pei 詹卑 of the Sung era, is clearly a transliteration of Djambi, while Chin-li-p'i-chia 金利毗迦, according to PELLIOT, being a corruption of Shê-li-p'i-shih 舍利毗逝, is nothing but Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝 (*Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, p. 324). Thus, according to the *T'ang-hui-yao*, Shih-li-fo-shih 室利佛逝(三佛齊) is not same as Chan-pei 占卑 (Djambi). Moreover, from the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* 嶺外代答(卷二) we learn that in the third year of *Yüan-fêng* 元豐, A. D. 1080, the King of San-fo-ch'i paid tribute to the Sung court by sending the envoy of Chan-pei 詹卑 country, and also from the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要(粵海關志卷二所引), that in the fifth year of *Yüan-fêng*, A. D. 1082, the chief of Chan-pei country in San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊詹卑國主 sent a letter and presents to the officials of Kuang-chou. From all this we would infer that Chan-pei was a country somewhat subordinate to San-fo-ch'i. Therefore, as Shih-li-fo-shih or San-fo-ch'i, at least from the T'ang to the end of the North Sung era, could not be regarded as Djambi, I must necessarily accede to the ordinary opinion that San-fo-ch'i was Palembang.

(14) P'u family at San-fo-ch'i. The *Sung-shih* records that in San-fo-ch'i country, many inhabitants are surnamed P'u 蒲,一其國居人多蒲姓,(宋史,卷四百八十九,三佛齊條). WANG TA-YÜAN 汪大淵 of the Yüan era, in his *Tao-i-chih-liao* 島夷志略,(三佛齊條) and CH'ÊN YÜAN-CHING 陳元靚 of the same era, in his *Shih-lin-kuang-chi* 事林廣記,(辛集,卷八), both affirm that many inhabitants of San-fo-ch'i have the family-name of P'u. So also in the *Ta-ming-i-t'ung-chih*, we read: "Many of the countrymen of San-fo-ch'i are surnamed P'u" 一其(國)人多姓蒲(大明一統志,卷九十). As a common fault of Chinese writers, all these statements may have been borrowed from the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, but it may also be a fact that during the Yüan and Ming eras, there were still many inhabitants living who had the surname of P'u.

In the *Shu-yü-chou-tzu-lu* by YEN TSUNG-CHIEN 嚴從簡 of the Ming dynasty, we read: "From that time (i. e. the North Sung) down to the present there have been in Kuang-chou many inhabitants surnamed P'u, all being Arab descendants." 一自是(北宋)廣州至今多蒲姓者,皆其(大食)裔也(殊域周咨錄,卷九,蘇門答刺條). So also the *Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih*: "The P'u families of foreign origin, now living at Kuang-chou, are Arab descendants," 一今色目

蒲姓者,是其(大食)裔也(康熙廣東通志,卷廿八,蘇門答刺國條). Both acknowledged that the P'u families in Kuang-chou are descendants of the Islam settlers. That there were, during the Sung era, many P'u families in San-fo-ch'i may be proved from the fact that many envoys of San-fo-ch'i mentioned in the *Sung-shih* were surnamed P'u, for instance, 蒲葦 (Abu Mahdi?), 蒲陀漢 (Abu Dahan?), 蒲押陀黎 (Abu Adil?), 蒲婆藍 (Abu Bahran?), 蒲謀西 (Abu Musa?), &c.

According to the *Sung-shih* 宋史, (卷四百八十九,外國傳卷五,闍婆國條), the country Shê-p'ò 闍婆 (Java) is only a five-days' voyage from Ta-shih. Moreover, in the *Kuang-chou-fu-chih*, we read: "Sumatra is the ancient Ta-shih country. Its customs and language are same as those of Ta-shih" — 蘇門答刺,古大食國也. 其風俗語音與大食同, (廣州府志,卷六十). BRETSCHNEIDER (*On the Knowledge Possessed by the Ancient Chinese of the Arabs, &c.*, p. 16) and GROENEVELDT (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, pp. 139, 142, 145), founding on Chinese records like such ones, inferred that in the T'ang and Sung eras, there existed a powerful Arab settlement in the present Sumatra. It is, therefore, quite right that Dr. HIRTH should take the P'u families in San-fo-ch'i to be Arab settlers there. According to CRAWFURD (*A Descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands, &c.*, p. 236), the Islam was first taught in Sumatra in 1204. About ninety years after, Marco Polo described that the religion had already been disseminated in towns along the coast of Sumatra (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 284), and about fifty years after Marco Polo, Ibn Batûta spoke of a still wider dissemination of Islam (HANS VON MŹIK, *Reise des Arabers Ibn Batûta*, ss. 395—398). Though the historical records of the Moslem missions are of a comparatively late date, it is a very plausible fact that even in an earlier time, along with the extension of their trade, the Arabs must have given some religious influence on the islanders with whom they had come in contact.

(15) About Champa. *Záβα* or *Záβai* in Ptolemy's geography has been identified, since YULE's time, with Champa (*Notes on the Oldest Records of the Se-route to China from Western Asia*, pp. 656, 657). Senf (Sanf=Āanf) is the nearest possible approach for an Arab to the sound of Champa (FERRAND, *Relations de Voyages et Textes géographiques Arabes &c.*, Tome I, pp. vii, viii; YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson Jobson*, p. 183). The Kingdom of Champa, though its boundaries varying at various times, mainly corresponds with the present Annam.

Capital of Champa. In the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書(卷二百二十二下,南蠻傳), another name of Chan-p'ò 占婆 (Champa) is given as Chan-pu-lao 占不勞, which represents the sound of Champura. Now, as 'pura' means capital in Sanscrit, Champura meant originally the capital of the Cham tribe. Also the name Chan-ch'êng 占城 (capital of the Chan tribe) has the same

meaning as Chan-pu-lao 占不勞, and, though originally meaning the capital, came afterwards to be used for the country in general in Chinese history (see Mr. TAKAKUWA's 高桑 article, "On the Ch'ih-t'u country" 赤土國考 in the Shigaku-Zasshi, A.D. 1920).

Though AYMONIER placed the capital of Champa during the T'ang era in Modern Quang-binh 廣平 (Dong-hoi) (*The History of Tchampa*, Asiatic Review, Oct. 1893, pp. 365, 366), modern scholars generally would place it in Quang-nan 廣南 (Dong-duong) (MASPERO, *Le Royaume de Champa*, T'oung Pao, 1910, p. 195). The old capital of Champa in Quang-nan at the beginning of the North Sung was taken by Li Huan, king of Cochin (交趾王李桓), and the capital was removed to Fo-shih 佛逝 (Vijaya), the modern Binh-dinh 平定. In the *Sung-shih* 宋史(卷四百八十九, 占城國條), it is mentioned that the king of Champa who sent his envoy to China in the first year of *Shun-hua* 淳化, A. D. 989, called himself 新坐佛逝國揚陁排; which may mean Yang (in) Dravar (man), King newly established at Fo-shih 佛逝 (PELLIOT, *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, p. 194; MASPERO, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Toung Pao, 1911, p. 72). For the situation of the capital of Champa in the T'ang and Sung dynasties, vide PELLIOT, *ibid*, pp. 186—195.

(16) Rose-water of the Ta-shih. In the *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi*, we read: "In the fifth year of *Hsien-tê* 顯德, A. D. 958, under the reign of Shih-tsung 世宗, Shih-li-in-tê-man 釋利因得漫 (Çri Indravarman), King of Champa, sent his subject P'u Ho-san 蒲訶散 and others to present native products of his country, among which there were fifteen glass-bottles of rose-water, with which to perfume clothes. They said the rose-water was a product of Western Regions, and fine garments, when sprinkled with the water, would suffer no stain, and the fragrant smell would keep for several years"—世宗顯德五年, 其(占城國)王釋利因得漫遣其臣蒲訶散等來貢方物, 中有洒衣薔薇水一十五琉璃瓶, 言出自西域, 凡鮮華之衣以此水洒之, 則不黦而馥, 郁烈之香, 連歲不歇(太平寰宇記, 卷一百七十九). From this passage, we learn that what is in the *Sung-shih* vaguely recorded "during the *Hs'ien-tê* period," was the fifth year of the same period. We find a similar record also in the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜(卷九百七十二), but there the name of the envoy was given as Hsiao Ho-san 蕭訶散, which is of course a mistake for P'u Ho-san 蒲訶散. In the *Chu-fan-chih*, we read: "Rose-water is the dew of flowers in the country of the Ta-shih. In the time of the Five Dynasties (A. D. 907—960) the foreign envoy P'u Ho-san (Abu-l-Hassan?) brought as tribute fifteen bottles, (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 203. 一薔薇水, 大食國花露也, 五代時, 蕃使蒲訶散以十五餅效貢(諸蕃志卷下).

Ts'AI T'AO 蔡條, in the first half of the twelfth century says: "Rose-water of the Ta-shih country, even though kept in a glass-bottle and sealed with wax on the outside, the fragrant smell would leak out, and be smelt at a

distance of several ten-steps; when sprinkled on garments, it would keep for more than ten days" 一大食國薔薇水雖貯琉璃缶中，蠟密封其外，然香猶透徹，聞數十步，灑著人衣袂，經十數日不歇也(鐵圍山叢談，知不足齋叢書本，卷五). Just before this passage, Ts'AI T'AO describes how in the fourth year of *Chêng-ho* 政和, A. D. 1114, Emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 of the North Sung put into the Imperial treasury called *Fêng-ch'ên-k'u* 奉宸庫 precious foreign products brought as tribute since the Five Dynasties and the beginning of the Sung. We may perhaps safely suppose that the rose-water mentioned by the author was that which was brought from Champa in 985 and kept there since that time. That Fars on the coast of Persian gulf was the principal place famed for the product of rose-water may be seen from LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 293; and *The Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, translated by OUSELEY, p. 132.

(17) Moslems at Champa To give examples from the *Sung-shih* 宋史(卷四百八十九, 占城國條), we see, beside P'u Ho-san, such names as P'u Lo-ê 蒲羅邊 (Abu Rao?), P'u Ssu-ma-ying 蒲思馬應 (Abu Ismail?) among the envoys of Champa. The same history records, moreover: "In the first year of *Tuan-kung* 端拱 A. D. 988, the foreigners from Champa, Hu-hsüan 忽宣 and in all 301 men in number desired to be naturalized (in China)." 一端拱元年占城夷人忽宣等族三百一人求附(宋史, 四百八十九). The name Hu-hsüan 忽宣 probably stands for Hussain, and these men were either the Moslem settlers in Champa or Champa people who adopted the Islam. From the end of the tenth century or at the beginning of the North Sung era, there were battles going on between Cochin and Champa, whereby Champa suffered a severe loss (AYMONIER, *The History of Tchampa*, A. Q. R., Oct. 1893, pp. 365, 366), and not a few people seem to have fled abroad, and Hu-hsüan and his followers may have been among the number (MASPERO, *Le Royaume de Champa*, *Toung Pao*, 1911, p. 11).

The description of Champa in the *Wu-tai-hui-yao*: "Their dress and polity are mainly same as those of the Ta-shih"—其衣服制度大略與大食國同(五代會要卷卅, 占城國條), and a similar description in the *Sung-shih*: "Their customs and costumes are mainly similar to those of the Ta-shih—其風俗衣服與大食國相類(宋史, 卷四百八十九), all these descriptions seem to have some relations with the Moslem settlers in Champa. When the Islam was first introduced into Champa is not certainly known. We may only suppose that with the activity of the Arab traders in the East in the eighth and ninth centuries, their religion spread itself gradually in that country (AYMONIER, *The History of the Tchampa*, p. 376). In the *Sung-shih* 宋史(卷四百八十九, 占城國條), there is a description of Champa, that when a Cham medium 巫 read mass for god, he uttered the words A-lo-ho-chi-pa 阿羅和及拔. Some scholars would interpret those words as a transliteration of the Arabic Allah

Akbar, meaning 'God is great', and consequently proving the establishment of the Moslem teaching in Champa (MASPERO, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Toung Pao, 1910, pp. 181, 182). But to me this opinion seems too forced. To conclude, though it is now impossible to know exactly when the Champa people gave up their own religion and turned Islamites, but, as the Moslem people or Arab traders settled very early in this country, it may easily be supposed that they had had chances of coming in contact with the Islam from quite early times. Most of the Champa tribes, however, are now Mussulmans (AYMONIER, *The History of Tchampa*, pp. 376, 377; YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 268). (For the Moslem of Cambodja and Cochin-China, vide MASPERO, *Le Royaume de Champa*, Toung Pao, 1910, p. 182, note 1).

(18) Moslem in Hai-nan Island. It was Dr. HIRTH who first said that in Hai-nan Island 海南島 at the south extremity of China there was an Arab settlement. He quoted for its proof, from the *T'u-shu-chi-ch'êng* the following passage: "The temple called Chao-ying-miao 照應廟 is situated at the port of Lien-t'ang 蓮塘, thirty-five Chinese miles N. E. of Wan-chou 萬州. The deity there worshipped bore the name of Po-chu 舶主 (presiding angel of ships). In the third year of *Hung-wu* 洪武, A. D. 1370, Wu Su 烏肅, the sub-magistrate of Wan-chou, on account of the deity having the power of preventing calamities and disasters to ships, asked the emperor to confer on the god the imperial sanction, giving it the name of the God of Hsin-tsê-hai-chiang 新澤海港. Pork is never allowed to be offered to the God as a sacrifice. All the crews of the ships going in and out of the port worship the deity, and they call it the Fan-shên-miao 蕃神廟 or temple of foreign deity."—照應廟在(萬州)東北卅五里蓮塘港門,其神曰舶主,明洪武三年,同知烏肅以能禦災捍患,請勅封爲新澤海港之神,祀忌豚肉,往來船隻必祀之,名曰蕃神廟(欽定古今圖書集成職方典,卷千三百八十).

This temple may be the same one as that mentioned in the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, where it is called the Po-chu-tu-kang-miao 舶主都綱廟 or temple of the ship-captain (*Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 181, 188). Though unfortunately escaping the notice of Dr. HIRTH, the same book gives the following interesting and valuable description of Ai-chou 崖州 at the south end of Hai-nan island: "The foreign residents originally came from Chan-chêng 占城 country. Owing to the revolutions in the Sung and Yüan eras, they came by ship with their whole families, and settled here and there along the sea-coast, now known by the name of Fan-ts'un 番邨 (foreign village) or Fan-p'u 番浦 (foreigners' coast). The people now naturalized in China and called San-a-li 三亞里 are all these tribes. They have mostly the family-name of P'u 蒲 and do not eat pork. They have no ancestral shrines in their houses, but have a Buddhist temple (mosque) common to all, therein they chant sutras and worship their deity. Their language and features resemble the Mussulmen…… They do not marry

the natives, who in their turn do not marry them.” 一番俗本占城人，宋元間，因亂挈家駕舟而來，散泊海岸，謂之番邨番浦，今編戶入所三亞里皆其種族也，其人多蒲姓，不食豚肉，家不供祖先，共設佛堂，念經禮拜，其言語像良與回々相似……不與民俗爲婚，人亦無與婚者(欽定古今圖書集成，職方典，卷千三百八十)。 This is a very important material with which to prove the connection of Hai-nan Island and the Islam.

As we see from the *Sung-shih* 宋史(卷四百八十九，占城國條) that in the third year of *Yung-hsi* 雍熙, A. D. 986, a Chan-chêng man called P'ü Lo-ê 蒲羅遏 who may be supposed to be a Moslem (Abu Rao?) with his hundred followers came to settle at Chan-chou 儋州(廣東省瓊崖道儋縣) in Hai-nan island to avoid the internal disturbance of their country, such an occurrence may not have been infrequent. But, as, during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Champa made frequently battles with Cambodja 真臘國 and especially with Cochin, we can not ascertain the exact date of the so-called revolution of the Sung and Yüan eras, which caused so many Moslems to take refuge in Hai-nan island. According to a credible record, there are even now thousands of Moslems and three or four mosques there (BROOMHALL, *Islam in China*, p. 213; THIERSANT, *Mahométanisme en Chine*, Tome I, p. 46).

Mr. GERINI insists that the Sandjy sea and Sander-Foulat described in Soleyman's record to lie near the entrance to South China, should be sought in Hai-nan island or thereabouts (*Researches on Ptolemy's Geography*, pp. 247, 248). I hesitate to agree with Mr. GERINI on this point, but there is no doubt that Hai-nan island was on or near the principal sea-route of foreign trade-ships during the T'ang and Sung dynasties. In the *To-dai-o-sho-to-sei-den*, we read that about the ninth year of *T'ien-pao* 天寶, A. D. 750, there was in Wan-an-chou 萬安州(廣東省萬寧縣) in Hai-nan island, a pirate called Fêng Jo-fang 馮若芳 who attacked foreign trade-ships, on the booty of which he led a luxurious life: "Every year he took two or three Persian ships, made their cargoes his own, and captured the passengers and crews, whom he made his slaves. The place where these slaves live is so extensive that it would take three days to go from the south extremity to the north and five days from the east to the west, passing villages in succession, all of which are inhabited by his slaves." —(馮若芳)每年劫取波斯船二三艘，取物爲己貨，掠人爲奴婢，其奴婢居處，南北三日行，東西五日行，村々相次，總是若芳奴婢之佳處也(唐大和上東征傳).

Also in the *T'ai-ping-kuang-chi*, we read: "In the T'ang dynasty, Ch'ên Wu-chên 陳武振, an inhabitant of Chên-chou 振州(廣東省崖縣) in Hai-nan island, was a very rich man, reputed as the most influential man on the seas. He possessed several hundred warehouses full of rhinoceros horns, elephant-tusks, and tortoise-shells. This was because he plundered the foreign trade-ships wafted there by wind or shipwrecked off the coast. The inhabitants there were very skilled in enchantment. When a foreign ship on the sea, if

unfortunately losing the control through a storm, came drifting towards the coast of Chên-chou, the people would ascend the hills and curse it, whereupon the wind and waves would rise still more, and the ship would be wafted to the place where they liked. It was in this way that Ch'ên Wu-chên had become very wealthy." — 唐振州(廣東省崖縣)民陳武振者,家累萬金,爲海中大豪,犀象玳瑁,倉庫數百,先是西域賈舶漂溺至者,因而有焉,海中人善呪術, …凡賈舶經海路, …不幸風漂失路,入振州境內,振民登山,披髮以呪咀,起風揚波,舶不能去,必漂於所呪之地而止,武振由是而富(太平廣記,卷二百八十六). From this passage we may easily suppose that there were many foreigners including not a few Moslems who came to live there in Hai-nan island through shipwreck or captivity. According to the *Sung-hui-yao* (quoted in 粵海關志卷三), in the ninth year of *Ch'ien-tao* 乾道, A. D. 1173, there was an intention on the part of the government to appoint a superintendent of trade-ships at Ch'ung-chou 瓊州(廣東省瓊崖道瓊山縣) in Hai-nan island, but somehow it was not carried out. Inferring from these facts and circumstances, we must agree with Dr. HIRTH, and might conclude that at least after the Sung era, there were Moslem settlers in Hai-nan island.

(19) Forefather of P'u Shou-kêng. In the *Ming-shu* 閩書, we read: "P'u Shou-kêng's forefather, a native of Western Regions, superintending the trade affairs of all foreign countries, lived at Kuang-chou, but in the time of his father P'u K'ai-tsung 蒲開宗, the family removed to Ch'üan-chou." — 蒲壽庚其先西域人,總諸蕃互市,居廣州,至壽庚父開宗,徙于泉(閩書,卷一百五十二).

CHÉNG SO-NAN 鄭所南 in his *Hsin-shih* says: "P'u Shou-kêng, whose forefather was a man of south barbarian origin, who in wealth had no rival in Liang-kuang provinces 兩廣 (the two provinces of 廣(南)東路 and 廣(南)西路) — 蒲受暎,祖南蕃人,富甲兩廣(心史,大義略叙). In this text, of the phrase "who in wealth had no rival in Liang-kuang provinces," the meaning is rather vague, for it is not explicitly indicated whether Shou-kêng's wealth or his forefather's wealth is meant here, but comparing it with the description of the *Min-shu* and inferring from the fact that P'u Shou-kêng lived at Ch'üan-chou 泉州(福建路), not at Kuang-chou 廣州(兩廣路), it is evident that not P'u Shou-kêng's but his forefather's wealth is here meant.

(20) When YÜEH K'ò lived at Kuang-chou. YÜEH K'ò 岳珂 says: "In the third year of *Shao-hsi* 紹熙, A. D. 1192, my late father was appointed the governor-general of Kuang-chou. I was then only ten years old; I once visited the P'u family." — 紹熙壬子(三年)先君帥廣,余年甫十歲,嘗游焉(程史,卷十一). From this we may ascertain the date when YÜEH K'ò became acquainted with the P'u family. The character *shuai* 帥 originally meant the post of governor-general 經略按撫使. In the Sung era, the governor of Kuang-chou

usually held the post of governor-general of Kuang-tung province 廣(南)東路 (see the *Sung-shih* 宋史,卷百六十七). So the phrase "shuai Kuang" 帥廣 means at the same time to become the governor of Kuang-chou. *The Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih* 廣東通志,(卷十六,職官志) mentions that Yüeh Lin 岳霖 was appointed governor of Kuang-chou in the year 1192 (紹興三年). Yüeh K'o was born in the tenth year of *Shun-hsi* 淳熙, A. D. 1183 (see 清,吳榮光,名人年譜卷七), so that in the third year of *Shao-hsi*, A. D. 1292, his age was just ten.

(21) Cult of cleanliness with Moslems. We see in the *T'ing-shih*, that "The sea-barbarians by nature revere spiritual things and are fond of cleanliness." 一(海)獠性尙鬼而好潔(程史,卷十一). Taking bath has a very important meaning with the Moslems (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 39, 140). In the ancient monument 創建清真寺碑記 at Chang-an district 長安縣 in Shen-hsi province 陝西省 (concerning this monument, see my article in the *Gei-bun*, July, 1912), this doctrine of Islam is mentioned as "With bath they keep their body clean" 一沐浴以潔身. T' IEN JU-CH'ENG 田汝成 towards the end of the Ming described the Mussulmen: "They chant sutras and keep fast, all contributing to spiritual cleanliness." 一誦經持齋,歸于清淨(西湖遊覽志,卷十八). The mosque built at Ch'üan-chou in the Sung era was called Ch'ing-ching-ssu 清淨寺 (see 閩書,卷七). Indeed, from the Yüan and Ming eras downwards, all mosques were called Ch'ing-chên-ssu 清真寺 in China. The characters ch'ing 清 in 清淨寺 or 清真寺 connotes the cleanliness of the Islam doctrine.

(22) Moslem prohibition of idolatry. Concerning the faith of the F'u family in Kuang-chou, YÜEH K'o says as follows: "Usually, all day long they worship and pray. There is a hall to pray in, like a Chinese Buddhist temple, in which, however, no image is found. What they pray to, we can not understand at all, wherefore I know not what deity they worship." 一平居終日相與膜拜祈福有堂焉以祀,如中國之佛,而實無像設,稱謂齋牙,亦莫能曉,意不知何神也(程史,卷十一). This is evidently a description of the Islam.

About a century later than Yüeh K'o, WU CHIEN 吳鑒 of the Yüan era, gives a description of a mosque at Ch'üan-chou, called Ch'ing-ching-ssu 清淨寺 "The doctrine of the Islam attributes the origin of all things to Heaven, but Heaven is pure Reason without any form imaginable. Therefore, though they worship Heaven with great honour, yet they have no idol to set up." 一其教以萬物本乎天,天一理無可像,故事天至虔,而無像設,(閩書卷七所收,清淨寺記).

Also T' IEN JU-CH'ENG 田汝成 of the Ming era, describes a mosque at Hang-chou 杭州, called Chên-chiao-ssu 真教寺, founded by A-lao-ting 阿老丁 (Ala ud-Din?) a great master of the Islam (回々大師) during the Yüan era:

"They face the wall and pray. There is no idol set up. They only praise the deity, calling him by the name sacred to them." 一面壁膜拜,不立佛像,第以法號,祝贊神祇而已(西湖游覽志,卷十八). Comparing these descriptions of the Islam by WU CH'EN and T' IEN JU-CH'ENG with that of YÜEH K' o, we must conclude that the P'u family were most probably Mohammedans.

(23) Cuisine and dinners of Moslems. From the *T'ing-shih*, we learn the cuisine and customs of taking dinner of the P'u family: "At dinner they use neither spoons nor chopsticks. There is (on the table) a large bowl made of gold or silver, in which is put roast salmon and boiled rice or millet mixed together, on which they sprinkle rose-water and camphor. They would put their right hand under the cushion (of their seat), and never use it at dinner, for they reserve it for uncleanly purposes. The whole company thus would pick up the food with their left hand. When the dinner is finished, they would wash the left hand with water." 一會食不置匕箸,用金銀爲巨槽,合鮭炙梁米爲一,灑以薺露,散以冰腦,坐者皆寘右手褥下不用,曰此爲觸手,惟以溷而已,群以左手攫取飽而滌之(程史,卷十一).

It is the rule with the Moslems to honour the right hand above the left; to use the right hand for all honourable purposes and the left for actions, which, though necessary, are unclean (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 161). Therefore the sentence, "put their right hand under the cushion and never use it at dinner"—坐者皆寘右手褥下不用, should have been "keep their left hand, &c"—寘左手褥下不用, and therefore "pick up the food with the left hand"—以左手攫取, should have been "pick up with the right hand."—以右手攫取.

Such a blunder is not infrequent in Chinese historical records. For instance, the *Yüan-shih*, describing the official name of So-to 索多, a famous Mongol general, mistakes, in one place, 右丞, the right vice-minister for 左丞 the left vice-minister, while, in another place 左丞 for 右丞(元史,卷二百十,占城國條考證).

Similar customs of Moslems at Cambodja. CHAO JU-KUA, the author of the *Chu-fan-shih*, says of the customs of Chên-la 真臘 (Cambodja): "[The people of this country] hold the right hand to be clean, the left unclean. They mix cooked rice with any kind of meat-broth, and eat it scooping up with the right hand" (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 53)—以右手爲淨,左手爲穢,取雜肉羹,與飯相和,用右手掬而食之(諸蕃志,卷上). This description is either founded on that of the *T'ai-ping-huan-yü-chi* —以右手爲淨……手搗食之(太平寰宇記,卷百七十七,真臘國條), or a still earlier one in the *T'ung-tien*. —以右手爲淨……手搗(搗? or 掬?)而食之(通典,卷百八十八,真臘國條). Here the right hand is correctly given honour above the left, as the Moslems do.

The Chên-la 真臘 country is situated close to Chan-chêng 占城 (Champa)

and has been known to the Arabs since Ibn Khordâdbeh's time, as Komar (Khmer). The *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (新唐書,卷二百二十下,真臘國條) gives Chi-mieh 吉蔑 as another name of Chên-la, but Chi-mieh is nothing but a transliteration of Komar. As, during the T'ang and Sung eras, the Arabs seem to have come there for the purpose of trade, the above-mentioned custom of the people of this country may have been derived from the reports of the Moslems. But already the *Sui-shu* describes the Chên-la, that "[the people of this country] held the right hand to be clean, the left 'unclean' when they take meal, they first mix rice-cake with any kind of meat-broth, and eat it with the [right] hand." 一以右手爲淨,左手爲穢 欲食之時,先取雜肉羹,與餅(飯?)相和,手搗而食(隋書,卷八十二,真臘國條). Therefore, it would be more correct to suppose that this custom of the Chên-la people was their own, instead of supposing that they had adopted the customs of the Moslems.

(24) Arab characters. Of the hall of the P'u family, YÜEH K'o says: "In the hall there is a tablet, several ten-feet in height and breadth, inscribed with strange characters, resembling ancient Chinese *chuan* 篆 and *chou* 籀 characters. This forms their idol, and those who prayed faced toward it." 一堂中有碑,高袤數丈,上皆刻異書,如篆籀,是爲像主,拜者皆嚮之(程史,卷十一). The strange characters referred to may have been Arabic. That the Chinese should have seen a resemblance between the Arab characters and the Chinese is quite admissible. So also CHANG SHIH 張拭, a famous scholar of the South Sung, says of the characters of the South-sea barbarians: "The writings of the South-sea barbarians deserve admiration, being very forcible in the strokes, just like the inscriptions in our old bronze bells and tripods." 一南海諸蕃書,絜有好者,字畫遒勁,如古鐘鼎款識 (see the 佩文齋書畫譜,卷二). As we have said above (III, note 1), the Arabs may be called the South (sea)-barbarians, and their characters may be included in the so-called writings of the South-sea barbarians. The inscriptions in old bronze utensils consist of ancient Chinese *chuan* or *chou* characters, having curved forms and mostly used for seals.

(25) Of the Liao. As most of the Liao 獠 lived in mountain caves, they were also called Shan Liao 山獠 (mountain Liao) or Tung Liao 洞獠 (cave Liao). There are two kinds of the Liao. One lived towards the South-west of the present Ssü-ch'uan 四川 provinces, perhaps a tribe of Tibet, while the other lived at the frontier of Kuang-hsi 廣西 province and Tong-king, perhaps a tribe of Annam. Mr. GERINI thinks all Liao are a Mōñ-Annam race, but it is certainly a mistake (*Remarks on Ptolemy's Geography*, p. 532).

The name of Liao first appears in the *Chin-shu* 晉書(卷百廿一,李勢傳), and their daily life and customs are described in the *Pei-shih* 北史(卷九十五,蠻獠

條). LI YEN-SHOU 李延壽 at the beginning of the T'ang era, says of the south barbarians: "The south barbarians are called Man 蠻……but they are not of one kind. They live mixed with the Chinese……One is called Tan 蠻, another Jang 獠, a third Li 狸, a fourth Liao 獠, a fifth T'o 匏……They have no chief and live in mountain caves." 一南方曰蠻,……然其種類非一,與華人錯居,……曰蠻,曰獠,曰狸,曰匏,居無君長,隨山洞而居(北史,卷九十五,論贊).

Most of Liao in the Chinese histories before the T'ang, if not all, are those of Ssü-ch'uan district. But during the T'ang and Sung eras, the southern Liao of Kuang-hsi 廣西 became gradually more powerful than the western Liao of Ssu-ch'uan.

TSUI CHIH-YÜAN 崔致遠, a famous Corean scholar towards the end of the T'ang, in his *Kuei-yüan-pi-kêng*, gives a full description of the South Liao of Kuang-hsi: (交趾)管內生獠(獠)多,號山蹄(?),或被髮鏤身,或穿骨鑿齒,詭音嘲啞,姦態睢肝…豹皮裹體,龜殼蔽形,擣木絮而爲裘,(獠子多衣木衣,熟擣有如織纜),編竹苦而作翅,生養則夫妻代患,長成則父子爭雄,縱時有傳譯可通,亦俗無桑蠶之業,唯織雜彩狹布,多披短襟交衫,或有不縫而衣,不粒而食,死裘無服,嫁娶不媒,戰有排刀,病無茶餌,固恃險阻,各稱酋豪,遠自漢朝迄隋季,荐與邊患,頗役還征,(桂苑筆耕,卷十六所收,補安南錄異國記).

As for the southern Liao, see further the *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu* 天下郡國利病書(卷一百三) and the *K'ang-hsi-kuang-tung-t'ung-chih* 康熙廣東通志(卷二十八).

(26) Of the Hai-Liao. In the *K'ang-hsi-kuang-tung-t'ung-chih*, we read: "All those who come to China by ship either from the eastern or western sea are to be called Hai-Liao." 一凡浮海自東西二洋來者皆是(海獠)(康熙廣東通志,卷二十八). It will thus be seen that, in opposition to Land-barbarians (south barbarians) who were called Shan-Liao 山獠 or Tung-Liao 洞獠, all those who came by ship to China were called Hai-Liao 海獠 (sea-barbarians) or Po-Liao 舶獠 (ship-barbarians).

In the *Tung-nan-chi-wên* written by an anonymous author of the Yüan dynasty, we read: "There are many Sea-Liao at Fan-yü 番禺 (Canton) who live mixed with the Chinese within the city-walls. The most prominent among them was a man surnamed P'u, who was by birth a noble of Chan-chêng 占城 (Champa). Later on he took up his permanent residence in China, to attend to the import and export trade. He lived inside the city, where his home was furnished in the most luxurious fashion, for in wealth he was the first of the time. He by nature was very superstitious and fond of cleanliness. For his prayers he had a hall in which was a tablet which served as a god. Whenever there was a gathering (of his people) to feast (at his home), they did not use spoons or chopsticks; they had very large platters of gold and silver in which roasted salmon and boiled rice (or millet) cooked together, sprinkled with rose-water over. They put their right-hands under their cush-

ions, all picking up the food with their left-hands (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 16, 17). 一番禺有海獠雜居,其最豪者蒲姓,本占城之貴人也,後留中國,以通來往之貨,居城中,屋室侈靡,富盛甲一時,性尚鬼而好潔,祈福有堂,堂中有碑,是爲像主,凡會食時不用匕箸,以金銀爲巨槽,合鮭炙梁米爲一,酒以薔薇寘右手於褥下,群以左手攫取,(東南紀聞[守山閣叢書本]卷三). This description is evidently an adaptation from the *T'ing-shih* 程史.

It is Dr. HIRTH who first noticed the P'u family at Canton mentioned in the *T'ing-shih* and pointed out that it was an Arab settler (*Die Insel Hainan nach Chau Ju-kua*, s. 5). But he quoted the *T'ing-shih* only from the grand encyclopaedia "*Ch'in-ting-ku-chin-tu-shu-chi-chêng* 欽定古今圖書集成,職方典,卷千三百〇八), and seems to have had no exact knowledge of the bibliography of the book. For in his work published fifteen years later, he quoted the same description not from the *T'ing-shih* but from the second-hand *Tung-nan-chi-wên* 東南紀聞. Thus he committed a mistake in making the settlement of the P'u family at Canton as an event of the thirteenth century (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 16), owing to his ignorance that the latter-book is simply founded on the former. As Chinese books in general are conspicuous for their absence of an exact idea of date, we must be very careful in making use of the materials afforded by them.

An almost similar description of the P'u family appears in the *Kuang-chou-wai-chih*: "At Fan-yü (Canton) many Sea-Liao lived mixed with the Chinese. The most prominent among them was a man surnamed P'u, who was a native of Chan-ch'êng..... They prayed facing the west, had no idol, nor did they eat pork. They were all believers of the Hui-hui religion (the Islam.)" 番禺海獠雜居,其最豪蒲姓.....本占城人,面西膜拜,不設神像,不食豕肉,謂之回教門(欽定古今圖書集成,職方典,卷千三百十四所引廣州外志). This is also an adaptation from the *T'ing-shih*, but it is worthy of note that the Hai-Liao, including the P'u family, are explicitly mentioned as the believers of the Islam. This *Kuang-chou-wai-chih*, which may be a book written either at the end of the Ming or the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, is not found in any Chinese bibliography I have consulted.

(27) Sîrâf traders in Chinese records. Sîrâf is an important port in Fars, forming the great port in Persia for about three centuries from the middle of the ninth to the first half of the twelfth century. The traders of Sîrâf were the most active in the eastern seas, and of the Arabs who came to China in the T'ang and Sung eras. They seem to have formed the largest number. YÜEN K'ô informs us, that "Also in Ch'üan-chou, there lived a Po-liao, called Shih-lo-wei 尸羅圍, whose wealth was only next to that of P'u." 一泉[州]亦有舶獠,曰尸羅圍,貲乙於蒲[姓],(程史,卷十一). This Shih-lo-wei is probably a transliteration of Shilâvi, meaning a trader of Sîrâf. It is a custom of the Mussulman to make the name of his birthplace his surname, for

instance, a man of Bukhara has the name of Bukhari, that of Mosul Mosuli &c. In the Middle Ages, the name Sîrâf was pronounced Shîlav or Schilaw. (BARBIER DE MEYNARD, *Dictionnaire Géographique* &c., p. 332; LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 259.) Thus a man of Shîlâv might be called Shîlâvi. Now, the Chinese characters Shih-lo-a-tieh-to 尸羅阿迭多 stands for S'iladitya and Shih-lo-po-t'o-lo 尸羅跋陀羅 for S'ilabhadra (EITEL, *Handbook of Chinese Buddhism*, p. 153), so that the characters shih-lo 尸羅 may represent the sound of shîla, while the character wei 圍 stands for Sanscrit vi or ve. (JULIEN, *Methode* &c, pp. 224, 225.) Thus the three characters 尸羅圍 most correctly represent the sound of Shîlavi.

We see in the *Chu-fan-chieh*, "A foreign trader by the name of Shih-na-wei 施那幃, a Ta-shih by birth, established himself in the southern suburb of Ts'üan-chou" (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 119.) 一有番商曰施那幃,大食人也,僑寓泉南(諸蕃志,卷上). This Shih-na-wei may also be a corruption of Shilavi. From such examples as Shih-ch'i-ch'a-nan-t'o 施乞叉難陀 standing for Sikchânanda (EITEL, *Hand-book*, p. 153), and Shih-li 施利 representing the name of Siroes, a king of Persia (CHAVANNES, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue occidentaux*, p. 171), we know that the character shih 施 stands for si or shi. The Chinese often confound *la* with *na*, for instance, Sinhala 僧加羅 (Ceylon) is written as Sêng-ch'ieh-na 僧伽那* in the *Yüan-shih* (元史,卷二百十,馬八兒等國條). According to the *Kuang-yin* 廣韻,(卷一,微第八條), the sound of the character 幃 is same as that of 圍, and may, therefore, stand for vi. Thus it is very probable that the three characters 施那幃 represent the sound of Shîlâvi. HIRTH and ROCKHILL do not give, in their *Chau Ju-kua*, any explanation concerning this Shi-na-wei.

(28) Stupa behind the house of P'u family. In the *T'ing-shih* we read: "At the back (of the house of the P'u family), there is a stupa towering toward heavens. Its form is different from an ordinary one, the circular base is made of bricks piled up tier on tier to a great height, and the outside is coated over with mortar. When seen from a distance, it looks like a silver pen (i. e. white, tapering form). At the base, there is a door, through which one ascends on spiral steps, never visible from the outside. As one ascends each flight of many steps, there is a hole for letting in light. Every year, in May or June, when trade-ships are expected to arrive, a great many people would enter the stupa, and, getting out of the window, make loud noises and cries, with which they pray for the south wind, and the prayer has always been effective. On the top of the stupa, there is a gold cock, very large in dimensions, that stands for the nine-wheels 相輪 at the top of a Buddhist stupa. One of the legs of the cock is now lost." —後有翠塔波,高入雲表,式度不比

* In some edition of the *Yüan-shih*, this is printed as 僧伽耶, which is evidently a misprint for 僧伽那.

它塔環以甃爲大址,案而增之,外圓而加灰飾,望之如銀筆,下有一門,拾級以上,由其中而圓轉,焉如旋螺,外不復見,其梯磴每數十級,啓一竇,每歲四五月,舶將來,群獠入于塔,出于竇,啁嘶號嘯,以祈南風,亦輒有驗,絕頂有金雞甚鉅,以代相輪,今亡其一足,(程史卷之十一)。

How the leg was lost, how the thief who stole it flew down the stupa making use of two umbrellas as wings like modern parachutes, and how he was at last captured, is fully described in the *T'ing-shih*.

(29) Tradition concerning building of Huai-shêng-ssü. CHIN T'ÏEN-CHIU 金天柱, a Chinese Mahomedan writer of the Ch'ing dynasty, in his "*Ching-chên-shi-i-pu-chi*", writes of the first introduction of Islam into China, and the establishment at Canton of the old mosque called Huai-shêng-ssu, as follows: "Heaven favoured the birth of the Great Sage Mu-han-mo-tê 穆罕默德 (Muhammed), and made him king and teacher, to exert a beneficial influence on the world. . . . All kings of the western regions paid him fealty and obeisance, and presented him with the honorable name of P'ei-ang-pai-êrh 賠昂伯爾 (Paighambar). Emperor Wên-ti of the Sui dynasty, yearning after so great a master, sent an envoy to Western Regions to seek the sacred books written by him. In the seventh year of *K'ai-huang* 開皇 A. D. 587, the Great Sage sent his subject Sai-i-tê Wo-ko-shih 賽一德翰歌士 (Said Wakkâs) and others, who brought to China the Heaven-serving sutras 奉天經 in thirty volumes. Then the emperor first built the temple Huai-shêng-ssü, to show publicly his devotion to the Great Sage." 一天乃篤生大聖穆罕默德,作君作師,維持風化, 西域國王皆臣服而信從之,共上尊號,爲賠昂伯爾,隋文帝慕其風化,遣使至西域,求其經典,開皇七年,聖命其臣賽一德翰歌士等,齎奉天經三十冊,傳入中國,首建懷聖寺,以示天下,(清真釋疑補輯,所收天方聖教序). Here P'ei-ang-pai-êrh 賠昂伯爾, like 別庵伯爾 (元史,卷百廿五) or 癖顏八兒 (西使記+) or 別語拔爾 (大明一統志,卷九十), stands for the Persian Paighambar, meaning messenger.

As for the Chinese traditions concerning the building of the Huai-shêng-ssü and the preaching of Islam by Wo-ko-shih, see THIERSANT, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, pp. 19—31; BROOMHALL, *Islam in China*, pp. 62—73; DEVÉRIA, *Origine de l'Islamisme en Chine*, pp. 320—324. But the introduction of Islam by Wakkâs is pure fiction, and the building of the Huai-shêng-ssü in so early a date is quite unbelievable. Of the temple and pagoda of the so-called Huai-shêng-ssü, I shall treat below.

(30) Foreign pagoda of Huai-shêng-ssü. In the *Chu-yü-chou-tsu-lu* by YEN TS'UNG-CHIEN 嚴從簡 of the Ming era, mention is made of the Huai-shêng-ssü in Canton: "In front of the Huai-shêng-ssü in Canton, even now there is

+ A work written by LIU YU 劉郁 of the Yüan era; see BRETSCHNEIDER's *Medieval Researches*, vol. I, p. 109.

a foreign pagoda, built in the T'ang time, which is round in form, and in height about one hundred and sixty-five (Chinese) feet. Every day the followers here pray and worship their religious founder."—今廣東懷聖寺前,有番塔,創自唐時,輪囷直立凡十六丈有五尺,日於此禮拜其祖,殊域周咨錄,卷十一,默德那國條。

Also in the *Yang-ch'êng-ku-ch'ao*, CH'OU CH'IH-SHIH 仇池石 of the Ch'ing dynasty says: "The Huai-shêng-ssü lies two (Chinese) miles to the west of the prefectural office of Kuang-chou-fu. It was built at the time of T'ang. In the grounds there is a foreign pagoda, about 165 (Chinese) feet high. The people of Canton call it Kuang-ta 光塔. . . . Tradition says that formerly there was at the summit a gold cock, moving by wind to the north and south. Every year in June and July, at early dawn the foreign settlers in great numbers ascend to the top, and with loud cries pray for fair wind. They have no idol, but write gold characters on a tablet, which they worship"—懷聖寺在廣州府城西二里,唐時番人所創,內建番塔,輪囷凡十有六丈五尺,廣人呼光塔, . . . 相傳塔頂舊有金雞,隨風南北,每歲五六月,番人率以五鼓,登絕頂,呼號以祈風信,不設佛像,惟書金字為號,以禮拜焉。(羊城古鈔,卷三)。

Further on, the same book says of the pagoda: "The Kuang-ta is in the grounds of the Huai-shêng-ssü. It was built by foreigners at the T'ang era. It is 165 feet high, and its shape is round and stands upright, becoming more and more slender towards the top. All round it there is no rail, the whole construction forming only one story. Formerly there was a gold cock at the top, moving north and south with the wind. Every year in the fifth moon, the foreign settlers wishing for the arrival of trade-ships, ascend to the top at early dawn, and cry for fair wind. During the *Hung-wu* period of the Ming dynasty, the cock was blown off by the wind."—光塔在懷聖寺,唐時番人所建,高十六丈五尺,其形圓,輪囷直上,至肩膊而小,四周無楯欄,無層級,頂上舊有金雞,隨風南北,每歲五月,番人望海舶至,以五鼓,登頂呼號以祈風信,明洪武間,金雞為風所墮。(羊城古鈔,卷七)。Whatever may be the date of the building, the pagoda has never suffered any damage, but still stands as it was built originally, (BROOMHALL, *Islam in China*, p. 110; MADROLLE, *Chine du Sud*, pp. 18, 19). Unlike an ordinary Buddhist pagoda, it has no rails outside nor is built in stories, but has spiral staircases inside, with a gold cock at the top, all which accords perfectly with the description given in the *T'ing-shih*.

Foreign pagoda and minaret. This foreign pagoda is undoubtedly a minaret common to a mosque. According to Mr. GOTTHEIL of America, the minaret is said to have begun in Syria at the time of Walid I (A. D. 705—715) the Ommeyade caliph (*The Origin and History of the Minaret*, Proceedings of A. O. S., 1909, p. 135). If this be true, the foreign pagoda could not have been built in the early T'ang era. The object of a minaret is said to be for the convenience of the muazzin to call together the believers to prayer (GOTTHEIL, *Ibid*, p. 138), as CH'ENG SO-NAN already said in his *Hsin-shih*: "The Hui-hui (Mu-

ssulman), to serve Buddhas (God), erect a very high building, that they might from the top of it pray to Buddha." 一回々事佛, 湏叫佛樓, 甚高峻, (心史).

Explanation of meaning of Kuang-ta. The pagoda has been called Fan-ta 蕃塔 (barbarian pagoda) as it was built by foreigners, but why it was called Kuang-ta 光塔 (light-pagoda) is not known. Such translations as "tour nue" or "tour lisse" do not seem adequate (*Reserches sur les Musulmans Chinois*; Documents scientifiques de la missions d'Ollone, tome 1, p. 386). The word minaret comes from manâr, which means a place where the fire lighted, that is light-house (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 313), and it is so called because, when looked at from below, the lantern held by a muazzin or caller gives the look of a light-house to it. (SCHWALLY, *Lexikalische Studien*, 21, minaret, Z. D. M. G, 1898, ss. 143—146.) Thus in my opinion, the Kuang-ta (light-pagoda) seems to be a literal translation of the word minaret.

(31) Doubts concerning erection of Huai-shêng-ssü in T'ang era. So far as I know, I have not been able to find any records relating to the Huai-shêng-ssü or Fan-ta in the T'ang era. The oldest record, as has been pointed out by Dr. FUJITA (the Toyo-gakuho, May, 1917, p. 170), is found in the *Nan-hai-pai-yung* 南海百詠 written by FANG HsIN-JU 方信孺 of the South Sung era. In that book, we read: "The foreign pagoda. It was built in the T'ang era, and is called the Huai-shêng 懷聖 pagoda. It is round in form and towering up in height about 6150+ Chinese feet. It is not divided into stories. At the top there is a gold cock, moving north and south with the wind. Every year in the fifth and sixth moon, all barbarians, at early dawn, ascend to the top, and loudly cry by the name of God for fair wind. Below the pagoda, there is a prayer-hall.

A big bird is it vaguely seen in firmament?

A pillar it is, circular, lasting long, not frail.

At early dawn, the bell from on high for prayer calls,

To the wind, the gold cock turns, on sea is seen a sail."

In the foot-note, the author adds: "It is written in the *Li-ta-yen-ko*, that as the pagoda was built by a dignitary with the honorable title of Huai-shêng-Chiang-chün, it was called the Huai-shêng pagoda,"——

番 塔

始於唐時,曰懷聖塔,輪囷直上,凡六百十五丈(?),絕無等級,其顯標一金雞,隨風南北,每歲五六月,夷人率以五鼓,登其絕頂,叫佛以祈風信,下有禮拜堂。

半天縹緲認飛翬

一柱輪囷幾十圍

絕頂五更鈴共語

金雞風轉片帆歸

+ For 6150, read 165 (Chinese) feet.

歷代沿革載懷聖將軍所建,故今稱懷聖塔(琳琅祕室叢書本,南海百詠).

According to WU LAN-HSIU 吳蘭修 of the Ch'ing dynasty, who made a special investigation of the *Nan-hai-pai-yung*, this book was written before the second year of *K'ai hsi* 開禧, A. D. 1206. See his *Postscript to the Nan-hai-pai-yung* 南海百詠書後. If so, this pagoda must have existed already at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and even then there was a tradition that it was a building of the T'ang era.

There is, however, another Moslem temple called Ch'ing-ching-ssü 清淨寺 at Ch'üan-chou, this and the Huai-shêng-ssü at Canton are known as the oldest mosques in China. The foundation of the Ch'ing-ching-ssü is assigned by the now extant Arab monument in the temple grounds, dated 710, A. H. (A. D. 1310-11), to the 400th year of the hejira (A. D. 1009-10). (See ARNAIZ et MAX VAN BERCHEM, *Memoire sur les Antiquités Muslmanes de Ts'iuantcheou*, Toung Pao, 1911, p. 705.) On the other hand, *Wu Chien* 吳鑑 of the Yüan era, says of the construction of the mosque as follows: "In the first year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興 (A. D. 1131), there was a man called Na-chih-pu-mutzu-hsi-lu-ting 納只卜穆茲喜魯丁, who came from San-na-wei 撒那威 (Siráf) on board a trade-ship to Ch'üan-chou, where he built this temple in the southern suburb of this city. He dedicated silver, candle-sticks, and incense-burners to the God, and gave land and houses to the believers." —宋紹興元年,有納只卜穆茲喜魯丁,自撒那威從商舶來泉,翬茲寺于泉州之南城,造銀灯香爐以供天,買土田房屋以給衆, (閩書卷七所引清淨寺記).

It will be seen thus that there was a disagreement about the date of the foundation of the Ch'ing-ching-ssü even in the Yüan era. Therefore the foundation of the Huai-shêng-ssü at Canton could not be attributed to the T'ang era, simply relying on the authority of the *Nan-hai-pai-yung*, and, as I have once pointed out somewhere, it may have received repairing as well as additions in later times (Shigaku-zasshi, July, 1918, pp. 15, 16). Moreover, in the Arab monument of the Ch'ing-ching-ssü above-mentioned, it is explicitly written that the temple was erected in the 400th year of the Hejira, and that it is the "première mosquée dans ce pays" (Toung Pao, 1911, p. 705), making us suppose as if the Huai-shêng-ssü had been built afterwards. So we must look for some other surer sources to prove the origin of the Huai-shêng-ssü and Fan-ta in the T'ang era.

Of the now extant monuments in the grounds of the Huai-shêng-ssü, the oldest one is that erected in the eleventh year of *Chih-chêng* 至正, A. D. 1351, written in Arabic and Chinese (THIERSANT, *Le Mahométisme en Chine*, vol. I, p. 22.) The monument shows, that the Huai-shêng-ssü was burnt down and afterwards rebuilt, but before that date, we have no proof whatever to decide whether the temple and pagoda had been founded in the T'ang or Sung era. In Kerr's Canton guide, the pagoda is said to have been built about the year 900 (BROOMHALL, *Islam in China*, p. 110), but we are not sure on what

grounds it is based. The *T'ing-shih* and the *Nan-hai-pai-yung*, are contemporary works, therefore, it is natural to take the stupa behind the P'u house mentioned in the former to be one and the same as the Fan-ta in the latter, inferring from their form and construction, as I have shown above.

Comparison between the stupa behind P'u house and the Fan-ta. But according to the *T'ing-shih*, the stupa was built in the Sung era, while the *Nan-hai-pai-yung* says that the Fan-ta was built in the T'ang dynasty. To conciliate the discrepancies, we have to suppose the following two cases:—

(A). When we suppose the description in the *Nan-hai-pai-yung* to be incorrect. The Ch'ing-ching-ssü, at Ch'üan-chou, said to be the first mosque in China, is really a temple built in the Sung era. This confirms us in our opinion that the Fan-ta of the Huai-shêng-ssü at Kuang-chou may have been built in the Sung era. And also the fact that the Ch'ing-ching-ssü was built by a rich foreign trader at Ch'üan-chou, makes us imagine that the pagoda and temple at Canton may have been built by such a rich foreign trader as the P'u family. The description of the P'u family by Yüeh K'o was written towards the end of the twelfth century, and the construction of the stupa may be supposed to have been at the beginning of the South Sung era or even earlier. This may have led the author of the *Nan-hai-pai-yung* astray, so as to assign the first construction of the stupa still earlier into the T'ang era.

(B). When we suppose the *T'ing-shih* to be false. The stupa may have existed already in the T'ang or North-Sung era, long before the P'u family came to settle in Kuang-chou (Canton), and the P'u family may have built their large house near it. When Yüeh K'o came to Kuang-chou, he was only ten years of age, and he stayed there only for a short space of one year, as we know from his *T'ing-shih*; "In the winter of the third year of *Shao-hsi* (A. D. 1192), my father died at Kuang-chou. I was then only ten years old, when I returned to the north accompanying the hearse"— 紹熙壬子(三年)冬,先君捐館於廣,余甫十齡,護喪北歸, (程史,卷三). Therefore, he may not have a very clear memory of Canton, and may have mistaken the stupa outside the P'u house to be within it.

Which of these two suppositions may be correct, I shall leave to a further investigation. I simply state, for the present, my doubt as to the origin of the Fan-ta in the T'ang era, mentioned in the *Nan-hai-pai-yung*.

(32) A generation in China=30 years. The German scholar RÜMELIN says in his "*On the Definition of the Word and the Duration of a Generation*," that the average duration of a generation for Germany is $36\frac{1}{2}$ years, for England $35\frac{1}{2}$, for France $34\frac{1}{2}$; but that in such a nation like China, where early mar-

riage is the rule, a generation would be of shorter duration. Founding on this theory, Dr. HIRTH fixes the average duration of a generation for China at 31 years (*Chao Ju-kua, a new source of mediaeval geography*, J. R. A. S., 1896, pp. 79, 80).

Hsü Sŭên 許愼, the celebrated Chinese etymologist of the second century, remarks in his *Shuo-wên* that in ancient China the average duration of a generation was 30 years, — 三十年爲一世(說文解字,卷三上); indeed the Chinese character 世 meaning a generation consists of three 十(ten) combined together. Some years ago, I independently made a fuller investigation of this interesting subject from ancient and modern sources, and the result I arrived at only confirmed the truth of Dr. HIRTH's assumption (see the *Tai-yo 太陽* [the Sun], March, 1917, p. 103).

P'u Shou-kêng, though an Arab in origin, being born in a family living for generations in China, may be regarded as a Chinese. Now, the foreign trader surnamed P'u 蒲姓 mentioned in the *T'ing-shih*, was a man of the end of the twelfth century, while P'u Shou-kêng was of the latter half of the thirteenth century. So, if there be a blood-relation, as I assumed, between these two men, then, according to Dr. HIRTH's theory, P'u Shou-kêng would be the grandson of the man surnamed P'u.

(33) When the man surnamed P'u removed to Ch'üan-chou? As there is in the *T'ing-shih* a record of the sixth year of *Chia-ting* 嘉定, A. D. 1213, the book may have been written probably at a time a little later. And as there is also mentioned the declining fortune of the P'u family at Canton, this event seems to have taken place at the beginning of the thirteenth century, and so the removal of P'u K'ai-tsung, the father of P'u Shou-kêng, from Canton to Ch'üan-chou, may have occurred not long after the writing of the *T'ing-shih*.

IV

P'u K'ai-tsung 蒲開宗, the father of our P'u Shou-kêng,⁽¹⁾ removed from Kuang-chou to Ch'üan-chou, where he settled, but at first the P'u family did not seem to be very wealthy. However, in the time of P'u Shou-kêng, the pirates of the southern seas⁽²⁾ came to attack and plunder Ch'üan-chou, P'u Shou-kêng being a brave man, with his elder brother P'u Shou-ch'êng 蒲壽成,⁽³⁾ helped the Chinese authorities, and succeeded in repelling the pirates.⁽⁴⁾

This was the commencement of his good fortune, and by favour of the Sung court, he was made the superintendent of the trade-ships.⁽⁵⁾

All Chinese books from the *Min-shu* 閩書 downwards, make this event to have occurred in the tenth year of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳, A. D. 1274, in the South Sung dynasty,⁽⁶⁾ but that year is only two years before the fall of Hang-chou 杭州, the temporary residence of the Sung court through the attack of the Mongols. In the *Sung-shih*, under the first year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, A. D. 1275, it is clearly recorded, that "P'u Shou-kêng was the superintendent of the trade-ships at Ch'üan-chou, who monopolized the profits accruing from the shipping-trade for thirty years,"—蒲壽庚提舉泉州舶司,擅蕃舶利者三十年,(宋史,卷四十七,瀛國公本紀). If he was given that office on the merit of his military feat, this event must have taken place during the *Shun-yü* 淳祐 period, A. D. 1241—1252, about thirty years before the first year of *Ching-yen*. Therefore, the tenth year of *Hsien-shun*, given in various histories, would be a mistake for the tenth year of *Shun-yü* 淳祐, 1250. He would otherwise have held the post of superintendent at Ch'üan-chou long before his subjugation of the pirates. Though there are mentioned the names of successive superintendents at Ch'üan-chou in the *Chung-ts'uan-fu-chien-t'ung-chih* 重纂福建通志,(卷九十), the only name given after the end of *Shun-yü* is that of P'u Shou-kêng. This would prove that it was he only that continued to hold the post from the *Shun-yü* period to the end of the Sung dynasty.⁽⁷⁾

The superintendent of the trade-ships enjoyed a lot of perquisites accruing from his post, as all foreign commercial transactions must pass through his hand. From the T'ang era, when foreign trade-ships entered a Chinese port, the traders had to pay not only customs duty called the *hsia-ting-shui* 下碇稅 (duty of anchorage), but also make some presents of foreign goods to the court, which was then called the *chin-fêng* 進奉 (court presents).⁽⁸⁾ Besides these presents to the court, the traders had to make some bribes to local officers, including the superintendent, under the pretence of showing samples

of the cargoes they had imported, which the Chinese called the *ch'êng-yang* 呈樣 (sample showing).⁽⁹⁾ Also, in order to confiscate contrabands or to prevent the neglect of payment of tariff, the government sent officials to examine the cargoes, which was called the *yüeh-huo* 閱貨 (examination of goods) or the *yüeh-shih* 閱實 (examining the real state of things). After the inspection of the cargoes probably on expenses of the foreign traders—there was held a banquet to console the officials for their troubles, to whom once again they had to make presents.⁽¹⁰⁾ During their temporary residence in China, the foreign traders would naturally hold public or private intercourse with local officials, and even then the latter usually received some presents from the former. Sometimes, the government of the country where these traders come from, would send as presents their native products to the Chinese officials, as reward for their kind treatment of the foreign traders.⁽¹¹⁾ All these might rather be called matter-of-fact perquisites of Chinese officials. However, some of the most avaricious would go so far as to compel the traders to sell their goods below their proper prices, and make profit by selling them.⁽¹²⁾ There was even an official who was killed by an angry foreign trader, from whom he tried to extort some goods.⁽¹³⁾ As for the shipping trade of the T'ang and Sung eras, I have no occasion here to dwell on it at much length, as the subject has been fully treated of by Messrs. FUJITA and NAKAMURA.⁽¹⁴⁾

From these causes, all officials who had some connections with the foreign trade ships, were wont to acquire more or less wealth. In the *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, we see: "The Nan-hai 南海 (廣州 Kuang-chou) being the rendez-vous of the foreign trade-ships, there were rare and curious things in abundance there. The preceding viceroys made laws convenient for them, whereby they derived profit and acquired wealth. Almost all the officials at Kuang-chou, after ending their term of service, came back to the North, with carts heavily loaded with foreign goods." 一南海有蠻舶之利,珍貨輻輳,舊帥(節度使)作法興利以致富,凡爲南海者,靡不捆載而過。(舊唐書,卷百七十七,盧鈞傳). This state of

things may be gleaned here and there from history even far before the T'ang era.⁽¹⁵⁾ It was also the case in the Sung time, and therefore, from early times, officials in straitened circumstances made every possible effort to get some post in South China.⁽¹⁶⁾ It is therefore not difficult to imagine how rich P'u Shou-kêng was, who occupied the office of superintendent for thirty years, and who also may be supposed to have been engaged in the trade on his own accord.⁽¹⁷⁾

P'u Shou-kêng, who rose in the world by his exploits in repelling the pirates, was promoted, toward the end of the South-Sung era, to a still higher rank of Fu-chien-An-fu-yen-hai-Tu-chih-chi-shih 福建安撫沿海都制置使⁽¹⁸⁾ with the additional post of superintendent of trade-ships. But the Sung dynasty was then already declining in her fortune, and in the third moon of the second year of *Tê-yu* 德祐, A. D. 1276, that is, in the thirteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, of the Yüan dynasty, Hang-chou, the temporal residence of the Sung court fell under the attack of the Mongol general Bayan 伯顏, who made the last emperor Kung-tsung 恭宗(德祐帝) prisoner, and the Sung dynasty virtually came to an end.

Thereupon, the faithful subjects of the Sung court accompanied their newly-appointed emperor Tuan-tsung 端宗, elder brother of Kung-tsung to Fu-chou 福州 in Fu-chien province, that they might make an effort to avert the reverse fortune. As Tuan-tsung had to rely much on the help of P'u Shou-kêng, he gave him the highly honorable post of Fu-chien-kuang-tung-chao-fu-shih 福建廣東招撫使 (commissioner to ingratiate Fu-chien and Kuang-tung provinces) in addition to the superintendence of trade-ships in the ports there. A little later, in the eleventh moon of the year 1276, when the emperor, to avoid the attack of the Mongol army, fled on board a ship, to Chüan-chou, where he expected the assistance of the P'u brothers, he was much disappointed find his hope come to naught.

In the mean time, the Yüan army also knew only too well that, in order

to subjugate the South-eastern China, it was very necessary that they should get the help of the P'u brothers, and already before the capture of Hang-chou in the second moon of the year 1276, General Bayan had sent a special envoy to invite P'u Shou-kêng and P'u Shou-chêng to the side of the Yüan army. What part the two brothers played on that occasion, can not now be ascertained, owing to lack of records, but they seem to have already begun to waver on the side of the Yüan court.⁽¹⁹⁾ However, when the Sung army, suffering for want of ships and provisions, extorted them from those belonging to P'u Shou-kêng,⁽²⁰⁾ he became very angry, and at last, in the twelfth moon of that year, surrendered himself with his brother to the Yüan army, and openly commenced a hostile attitude to the Sung court.⁽²¹⁾

This act of P'u Shou-kêng exercised a very important effect on the fortunes of the Sung and Yüan dynasties. The Mongols, though so powerful on land that they had no rival to compete with them, were utterly powerless on sea. For them there was no hope of ever beating the Sung navy.⁽²²⁾ Therefore, the fact that P'u Shou-kêng, who was not only well acquainted with naval affairs but had a great number of sea-ships under his control, had become a partisan of the Yüan, to lend his hand at the war of the South-east, was of course a great gain to the Yüan, and an extreme disadvantage to the Sung army. It was for this reason that the Emperor Tuan-tsung 端宗 was soon after forced to leave Fu-chien and flee to Kuang-chou. In the seventh moon of the next year (1277), as soon as the Mongols left Fu-chien, the Sung general Chang Shih-chieh 張世傑 attacked P'u Shou-kêng at Ch'üan-chou. Ch'üan-chou being at that time the seat of the Nan-wai-tsung-chêng-ssü 南外宗正司 (the south outer court of Imperial Clan), there lived a number of the clansmen of the Sung royal family,⁽²⁴⁾ who must have naturally striven to restore the former power of the Sung dynasty. Therefore, P'u Shou-kêng massacred all of them on that occasion, and fortified Ch'üan-chou against the attack of the enemy.⁽²⁵⁾ Though Ch'üan-chou was surrounded by Chang Shih-

chih 張世傑 for three months, it stood the attack. When the Mongol army came by request of P'u Shou-kêng to his succour, the Sung army retired to Kuang-tung province.

About one year and a half afterward, in the sixteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1279, the entire Sung army under general Chang, with the Infant-emperor Hsiang-hsing 祥興帝(帝昀) who succeeded his elder brother Tuan-tsung, were completely annihilated at Ai-shan 崖山 island, near Macao. The Sung dynasty became thus extinct, and China came under the control of the Yüan dynasty. In the subjugation of the South-east, the merits of P'u Shou-kêng were very remarkable. So the Yüan court treated him with distinction. He was first given the honorable title of Chao-yung-ta-chiang-chün 昭勇大將軍, in the senior grade of the third official rank (正三品), and appointed the Min-kuang-ta-tu-tu-fu-ping-ma-chao-t'ao-shih 閩廣大都督府兵馬招討使 (the grand commander of Fu-chien and Kuang-tung provinces and the military commissioner for regulations of those provinces). He was afterward promoted the assistant-minister of Chiang-hsi province 江西行省參知政事, in the junior grade of the second official rank (從二品), and in the eighth moon of the fifteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1278, he was further promoted the left vice-minister of Fu-chien province 福建行中書省左丞, in the senior grade of the second official rank (正二品).

NOTES

(1) P'u Shou-kêng represented by 蒲受耕. CHENG SO-NAN, in his *Hsin-shih*, writes P'u Shou-kêng as 蒲受耕 in stead of the common form 蒲壽庚, these two forms having the same pronunciation. The authors of the *Ssu-kü-chüan-shu-tsung-mu-ti-yao* 四庫全書總目提要,(卷百七十四), take this to be a proof of the spuriousness of the *Hsin-shih*; but such an assumption is quite unreasonable. For, in Chinese books, such examples are almost innumerable; for instance, Li-lien 驪連, the name of a Chinese king in mythological times, is

written either 黎連 or 麗連 or 釐連, all having the same sound Li-lien; Wan-sū shou-lo-kan 萬俟壽洛干, a famous general of the East Wei 東魏 dynasty, is also written 萬俟受洛干; and the name of Liu Ts'ung-hsiao 留從効 of Ch'üan-chou in the Five Dynasties is written either 劉從効 or 婁從効. It will be seen thus that in China proper names are represented not infrequently by different characters, with the same or similar pronunciations. That CHENG SO-NAN gives only the form 蒲受耕, and not 蒲壽庚, while all other books give 蒲壽庚 and not 蒲受耕, seems to prove the more forcibly that the *Hsin-shih* is no spurious work of a writer of later times, for such a writer would have given an ordinary form to give weight to his book.

(2) Pirates on South-sea of China. The so-called South-sea of China, or the seas of Kuang-tung, Fu-chien and Chê-chiang 浙江 were full of dens of pirates from very ancient times. Thus Lu Hsün 盧循 of the East Chin 東晉 dynasty, T'ien Liu 田流 in the middle of the fifth century, Fêng Jo-fang 馮若芳 of the T'ang era, Chang Hsüan 張瑄 toward the end of the Sung, Fang Kuo-chên 方國珍 toward the end of the Yüan, and Chang Lien 張璉, Lin Fêng 林鳳, Ts'êng I-pên 曾一本, Chêng Chih-lung 鄭芝龍 toward the end of the Ming, or Ts'ai Chien 蔡牽 of the Ch'ing era were all pirates. According to Dr. FUJITA (Toyo-gakuho, Jan. 1918, pp. 76-78), this Chang Lien 張璉 was known among the Portuguese and Spaniards as Chang Si-lao, and Lin Fêng as Li Ma-hong. The province of Fu-chien was especially full of pirates. They not only attacked ships at sea, but often the seaports along the coast. In the T'ang era, though but for a short time, a special officer called Chao-t'ao-hai-tsei-shih 招討海賊使 (the commissioner to conciliate or attack the pirates) was appointed to protect the coasts of the modern Chê-chiang and Fu-chien provinces.

To quote from the *Enlarged Topography of Fu-chien* (重纂福建通志, 卷二百六十六), the principal raids by the pirates at Fu-chien during the South Sung era were:

- 1) The 5th year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興, 1135, the pirate Chu Tsung 朱聰 raided Ch'üan-chou.
- 2) The 6th year of the same era, 1136, Governor-general 安撫司 of Fu-chien was commanded to send a navy to capture the pirate Chêng Ch'ing 鄭慶.
- 3) The 13th of the same era, 1143, there were raids both on land and sea in Fu-chien, Governor-general Yeh Mêng-tê 葉夢得 succeeded in redeling them.
- 4) The 15th year of the same era, 1145, the pirate Ch'ên Hsiao-san 陳小二 attacked Fu-chien, whereupon Governor-general Hsieh Pi 薛弼 sent a military detachment and made him a captive.
- 5) The 8th year of *Chien-tao* 乾道, 1172, the island barbarian P'i-shê-ya 毘

舍耶 (Bisaya) made a raid.+

6) The 11th year of *Chia-ting* 嘉定, 1172, the sea pirates Wang Tsu-ch'ing 王子清 and Chao Hsi-ch'ieh 趙希邵 and others attacked the coast of Ch'üan-chou, but Governor Chên Tê-hsiu 真德秀 sent an army and successfully defeated them.

7) The 5th year of *Shao-ting* 紹定, 1232; a pirate raided the coast of Ch'üan-chou, the governor Chên Tê-hsiu defeated and made them run away.

8) The 10th year of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳, 1274, a pirate raided Ch'üan-chou, but the superintendents of trade-ships, P'u Shou-chêng and P'u Shou-kêng, who were men of Western Regions, repelled them.

This last date, however, is quite unreliable, as has been shown before.

To avoid so frequent attacks of these pirates, the trade-ports of South China in the Middle Ages, were made to lie as far inland as possible.

(3) P'u Shou-chêng 蒲壽晟. The name P'u Shou-chêng is sometimes written P'u Shou-shêng 蒲壽晟 (as in the *Yüan-shih* 元史, 世祖本紀, or the *Pa-min Tung-chih* 八閩通志 by HUANG CHUNG-CHAO 黃仲昭 of the Ming era), or sometimes P'u Shou-chêng 蒲壽歲 (as in the *Wan-hsing-tung-pu* 萬姓統譜 by LING TI-CHIH 凌迪知 of the Ming; the *Min-shu* 閩書 by Ho CH'IAO-YÜAN 何喬遠 of the Ming; the *Ta-ming-yü-ti-ming-shêng-chih* 大明輿地名勝志 by Ts'AO HSÜEH-CH'UAN 曹學詮 of the same era).

The authors of the *Ssü-k'ü-ch'üan-shu-tsung-mu-ti-yao*, say that "The name of P'u Shou-chêng does not appear in history, nor mention is made of the collection of his poems in any catalogue of books either in the Sung or Yüan history" — (蒲壽晟之名不見於史, 其集(蒲心泉學詩彙)亦不載於藝文志(欽定四庫全書總目, 卷百六十五). What the authors say is true, but we read in the *Yüan-shih*: "[In the second moon of the thirteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, 1276), Po-yen 伯顏 (Bayan, the Mongol general) sent Pu-po-chou-ch'ing 不伯周青 to invite (to surrender) the brothers P'u Shou-kêng and [P'u] Shou-shêng of Ch'üan-chou." — 伯顏遣不伯周青, 招泉州蒲壽庚, 壽晟兄弟(元史, 世祖本紀). As to the question which of the three characters 歲, 晟, 歲 is correct, the same authors say: "Now to decide the question, in every volume of the *Yung-lo-ta-tien*, where his name occurs, the character 歲 is written, which could not be an accidental mistranscription, and so, when it is written 晟 or 歲 in all other books, we must say almost decisively that it is a mistake in transcription." — 今案永樂大典, 卷々皆作歲字, 當非偶誤, 其作晟, 歲者, 殆傳寫譌也. But, seeing that even the great *Yung-lo-ta-tien* contains sometimes false characters, we could not always lay an implicit reliance on the encyclopaedia, and, therefore, the above-cited conclusion does not seem to be conclusive.

Chinese customs of giving personal names. In giving personal names to

+ For P'i-shê-ya, see HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 165, 166.

children, the Chinese, since about the East Han dynasty, commonly observed a certain fixed rule: in case of brothers, when the name consists of but one character, either left or right part of the character is the same, for instance, of the children of Liu Piao 劉表 towards the end of the East Han, the elder was named *chi* 琦 and the younger *tsung* 琮, the left half 王 being common to them. When the name is made up of two characters, one character is common to both, thus the elder is named Shou-chêng 壽成 and the younger Shou-kêng 壽庚. This practice would sometimes enable us to rectify a mistake in names in history, but in the present case, it is impossible.

The style called *tsu* 字 which the Chinese take on their coming of age, has commonly some connection with the name 名 given in infancy, thus making us able to find out the mistake of one from the other. For example, in the middle of the East Han, there was a man whose full name was Yüan Ho 袁賀, and his style 字 was Yüan-fu 元服. Some malicious people, from his style, argued that, as the character *fu* 服 means 'to be in mourning,' he must have been born while his parents were in mourning. But YING SHAO 應劭 toward the end of the East Han proved that the accusation was quite false, arguing that, as his infant name was Ho 賀 (congratulation) and the adult name, connected with it in meaning, was Yüan-fu 元服 (the ceremony of putting on the crown), it follows that he must have been born at the time of Emperor An-ti's 安帝 ceremony of coronation, when his father went to the court to congratulate him (風俗通義卷二).

The name of Ou-yang Hsiu 歐陽脩, the famous scholar of the North Sung dynasty, is written 歐陽修 in most of the popular books, nay, even in the dynastic histories. But inferring from his style Yung-hsü 永叔, the character 脩 must be correct, for *hsiu* 脩 has the same meaning as *yung* 永, both connoting a long duration of time. In the same way, the style of a certain Fu Yung 傅永 towards the end of the fifth century is Hsü-ch'í 脩期. (see 資治通鑑齊紀七).

Though in this way the *ming* 名 (infant name) and the *tsu* 字 (adult name) can be corrected by referring to each other, but as unfortunately we do not know the style of P'u Shou-chêng, the same method could not be applied here.

(4) Why P'u brothers lent their hand in repelling pirates? That the P'u brothers should have lent their hand in attacking the pirates is quite natural, for these marauders were a common enemy to the Chinese authorities as well as to the foreign residents. As the foreign traders at Chüan-chou, as has been mentioned before, contributed much fund towards building coast-guard ships, they would naturally comply with the request of the government in repelling the pirates, or even come forward on their own accord to help the authorities.

We have analogous examples. (1) During the reign of Emperor Shih-tsung

世宗 of the Ming, i. e. in the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese traders helped the Chinese government in repelling the pirates at Canton, for which they are said, as a reward, to have been given, or allowed the eternal leasehold of Macao, (see Dr. YANO'S, "*The Origin of the Portuguese Colony of Macao*," Shi-rin, Jan. 1920, pp. 3—9). (2) The Japanese, Yamada Nagamasa 山田長政, living in Siam about 1627, at the request of the Siamese King, put down the insurgents, and for his prowess, was given a high rank and made a lord of Ligor.

Such examples would make clear the case of the P'u brothers, who on their merit began to rise in good fortune in China.

(5) Talented men employed in China regardless of their nationality. There is or has been no very strong anti-foreign feeling in China, as is commonly supposed, nay, the Chinese may be said to be a nation that welcomed foreigners. From very ancient times, they practised the so-called principle of Ch'u-tsai-chin-yung 楚材晉用 (a talented man of Ch'u country in the employ of Chin country), that is, employing any talented man regardless of his nationality. In the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書(卷二百十七下,回鶻傳), we read that Emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 commanded his trusted minister Li Tê-yü 李德裕 to prepare the biographies of the thirty foreigners who were conspicuous for their services to China, since the time of the Ch'in 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties, in two volumes, which book was called the *I-yü-kuei-chung-chuan* 異域歸思傳 (the lives of the men of foreign regions, that became naturalized and rendered faithful services in China). This work was finished, and in the *Hui-ch'ang-i-p'in-chi* 會昌一品集(卷二), the collection of literary works of Li Tê-yü, we can see the preface composed by him for the *I-yü-kuei-chung-chuan*. As the biographies mentioned in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書(卷五十八,藝文志) and also in CH'ÊN CHÊN-SUN'S 陳振孫 Descriptive Catalogue(直齋書錄解題,卷七), written about the middle of the thirteenth century, are not extant now, so we can not know who those thirty men were. But there is no doubt that, since very old times, there were many foreigners serving in the Chinese court. The Emperor Wu-ti 武帝 of the Western Han dynasty had as a minister Chin Mi-ti 金日磾 who was of Hsiung-nu 匈奴 origin (see 漢書,卷六十八), and An T'u-ken 安吐根, a trader from Bukhara 安息 in Central Asia, was promoted to the high rank of I-tung-san-ssu 儀同三司 (one treated equally as the three highest ministers of the state) in the latter half of the sixth century (see 資治通鑑,卷百七十,陳紀四), to mention only a few examples.

Examples of foreign high officials in the T'ang era. In the T'ang dynasty, more foreigners were employed at the court at Ch'ang-an 長安, from Japan and Korea in the east, and India and Persia in the west. Lo Hao-hsin, 羅好心 who was a cousin on the mother's side of Pradjñā 般若三藏, and translated a Buddhist text (六波羅蜜多經) in collaboration with Ching-ching 景淨 of the

Ta Ch'in monastery 大秦寺 (i.e. Adam, a Nestorian missionary), came from India, served under the Emperor Tê-tsung 德宗, and became the grand marshal of the Imperial guard. In the *Chên-yüan-hsin-ting-shih-chiao-mu-lu* 貞元新定釋教目錄(卷十七), are enumerated the honorary titles Lo Hao-hsin received: 右神策馬軍十將, 奉天定難功臣, 開府儀同三司, 檢校太子詹事, 上柱國, 新平郡王, 羅好心. We read in the *Pei-mêng-so-yen*, 北夢瑣言 written by SUN KUANG-HSIEN 孫光憲 about the middle of the tenth century, that "Ts'ui Shên-yu 崔慎由, who lived about the middle of the ninth century, said: Recently the whole cabinet ministers are all barbarians." — 近日中書盡是蕃人(北夢瑣言[雅雨堂叢書本], 卷五). Here Ts'ui Shên-yu was alluding to such men as Pai Min-chung 白敏中 or Pi Hsien 畢誠, who, though real Chinese, had each a surname, common with foreigners, and so we could not take seriously what the satirist said only as a joke. Anyhow, it is a fact that, in the T'ang era, there were a great many foreign officials of high rank; especially about a half of the military posts were filled by men of foreign origin. It is, therefore, not surprising that in the Sung era the P'u brothers should be appointed governors of the district for their military merits.

(6) Were P'u brothers superintendents before their achieving military merits or after? Ho CHIAO-YÜAN 何喬遠 of the Ming, in his *Min-shu* 閩書, says of P'u Shou-kêng: "The forefather [of P'u Shou-kêng] was a man of Western Regions..... When he was young, P'u Shou-kêng was a turbulent and depraved fellow, but towards the end of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳 or about 1274, he succeeded with his brother Shou-ch'êng in repelling sea-pirates. For this merit, he was successively appointed the governor-general of Fu-chien province and the chief defender of the sea-coast 福建安撫, 沿海都制置使. During the period of *Ching-yen*, A. D. 1276-7, he was further promoted the commissioner-general of Fu-chien and Kuang-tung provinces 福建廣東招撫使, and also the superintendent of the sea-ships of those provinces." — 其先西域人..... 壽庚少時豪俠無賴, 咸淳末, 與其兄壽歲, 平海寇有功, 累官福建安撫沿海都制置使, 景炎(元)年, 授福建廣東招撫使總海舶(閩書卷百五十二). Not very different are the descriptions in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* 泉州府志 (Topography of Ch'üan-chou Prefecture) or in the *Ta-ming-yü-ti-ming-shêng-chih* 大明輿地名勝志 (Ming Description of Interesting Places), both books of the Ming era.

But an utterly different version is given in the *Chung-tsu-an-fu-chien-t'ung-chih*: "In the tenth year of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳, A. D. 1274, when pirates attacked Ch'üan-chou, men of Western Regions, who were superintendents of trade-ships, called P'u Shou-ch'êng and P'u Shou-kêng, succeeded in repelling them." — 咸淳十年, 海賊寇泉州境, 西域人提舉市舶蒲壽歲蒲壽庚擊退之(重纂福建通志, 卷二百六十六). This would imply that they were not appointed superintendents for their military merits, but that they repelled the

pirates when they were in the post.

(7) History of superintendents of trade-ships at Fu-chien. On this subject, the best authority is the *Fu-chien-shih-po-t'i-chü-ssü-chih* 福建市舶提舉司志 (History of Superintendents of Trade-ships in Fu-chien Province), by KAO CH'U 高岐 of the Ming dynasty, but unfortunately the book is rather imperfect in the descriptions before the Ming era, making no mention of P'u Shou-kêng among the superintendents of the Sung era.

What seems contradictory to the assertion that P'u Shou-kêng was thirty years in the post of the superintendent of trade-ships, is the description in CHOU MI's *Kui-hsin-tsa-shih* (周密, 癸辛雜識) that it was Wang Mao-yüeh 王茂悅 who was the superintendent of trade-ships at the beginning of the *Hsien-shun* period. "Lin Chiao 林喬 was a man of Ch'üan-chou……was a friend of an official at the trade-ship office surnamed P'u, and leased of the latter a piece of land on which he built a house. Wang Mao-yüeh 王茂悅 was then the superintendent of trade-ships. Now a man called P'u Pa-kuan-jên 蒲八官人 was detected evading duties on ships. Lin received of him a bribe of 800 pieces of silver and promised to speak for him to the superintendent. Afterward, when Wang went away from his post, then P'u began to accuse him, and deprived him of the leasehold of the land." – 林喬泉州人……與蒲舶交,借地作居,王茂悅爲舶使,蒲八官人者漏舶事發,林受其白金八百錠,許爲言之,既而王罷去,蒲併攻之,且奪其所借地(癸辛雜識,外集上).

This passage would imply that the superintendent was then Wang Mao-yüeh 王茂悅, and P'u Pa-kuan-jên 蒲八官人 was a man that committed an offence, and that Lin Chiao 林喬 received a bribe of the latter and made every effort to alleviate his crime. And this event must have taken place, as is clearly written before and after the passage quoted, between the first year of *Ching-ting* 景定, 1260, and the fifth of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳, 1269. It will thus be seen that P'u Shou-kêng could not yet be in his post of superintendent. But the above-quoted passage seems to contain some ambiguities, so that from it alone, it would be too rash to reject the assertion of the *Sung-shih*, that he was in that office for thirty years. The more so, as we do not find the name of Wang Mao-yüeh 王茂悅 either in the *Chung-tsan-Fu-chien-tung-chih* 重纂福建通志 or in the *Fu-chien-shih-po-ti-chü-ssü-chih* 福建市舶提舉司志. Anyhow, for the present, we would rely rather on the *Sung-shih* than on the *Kuei hsin-tsa-shih* 癸辛雜識.

(8) Foreign presents rewarded with corresponding prices. In the generous edict of the eighth year of *T'ai-ho* 太和, A. D. 830, issued by the Emperor Wên-tsung 文宗 of the T'ang dynasty, it is stated, with regards to the foreign traders at Yang-chou 揚州, and in Ling-nan, Fu-chien provinces, that "except the po-chiao 舶脚, shou-shih 收市 and chin-fêng 進奉, no additional taxes

should be imposed on the foreign traders."—除舶脚,收市,進奉外……不得重加率稅(全唐文,卷七十五).

The po-chiao, otherwise called hsia-ting-shui 下碇稅 is the tax for casting anchor, that is customs duty. The shou-shih means the purchase of goods by the court, for which of course proper prices were paid. The chin-fêng originally meant tributes or presents to the court. All traders were not bound to make presents to the court, but it had become customary that the foreigners coming to China should make presents of their native products to the court, for which the court seems to have given equivalent presents in return.

Thus, we read in the *Sung-hui-yao*, that "In the fourth year of *T'ien-shêng* 天聖, A. D. 1026, the governor of Ming-chou 明州 wrote to the court: According to the report of the trade-office, there was come an envoy of the Dazaifu 太宰府 of Japan, by name Chou Liang-shih 周良史, who said that he had come by order of the commander of the Dazaifu to offer presents of their native products to the court, and on my making a further investigation of the matter, I found that he had brought with him no official letter to confirm his words, so I did not allow him to proceed to the capital. In my own judgment, it seems better that I should reply to the envoy, as if coming from my own judgment, that I should find it difficult to introduce him to the court, without an official letter of his own country; but that, if the envoy was willing to deposit his goods at the local office, he should be given proper prices for them; and that, if unwilling to do so, he should be given back his presents, and sent away. The decision of the governor was approved by the court." —明州言,市舶司牒,日本國太宰府進奉使周良史狀,奉本府都督之命,將土產物色進奉,本府看詳,即無本處章表,未敢發遣上京,欲令明州只作本州意度,諭周良史,緣無本國表章,難以申奏朝廷,所進奉物色,如肯留下即約度價例迴答,如不肯留下,即却給付,曉示令迴,從之,(宋會要,天聖四年十月條).

This would prove that chin-fêng (tribute) was given its proper price by the Chinese court.

We may find many similar examples in the *Sung-shih*. In the first year of *Chih-tao* 至道, A. D. 995, when P'u Hsi-mi 蒲希密, a ship-master of the Ta-shih, made presents to the court, he was given in return gold corresponding to the presents in price. …答賜蒲希密黃金,準其所貢之直,(宋史,卷四百九十,大食國條).

This custom was observed before as well as after the Sung era. In the thirteenth of *Chêng-tê* 正德, 1518, when the envoy of Fo-lang-chi 佛郎機 (Franks), that is, 波而都瓦爾 (Portugal) came to China for the first time, he went home receiving proportional rewards for the presents that he brought to the court (明史,卷三百二十五,佛郎機國條; BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches*, vol. II, p. 316).

(9) Ch'eng-yang or sample-presents. The word ch'eng-yang 呈樣 appears in the *Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih*, in which is described the purity of Chou T'ung 周種 who towards the end of the North Sung became the governor of Kuang-chou: "When foreign ships came to Kuang-chou, they used to make presents of rhinoceros-horns, ivory, incense, pearls, all the choicest of them, to the governor, which act was called the ch'eng-yang 呈樣 (sample-presents), but Chou T'ung would receive none of them. Nay, through all the term of his service there, he never set foot in the shipping office." —蕃舶抵郡,犀象香珠之屬,悉選以充獻,曰呈樣,種一無所受,終仕不至船務。(廣東通志卷,二百三十八).

The same fact is stated in the *Kuang-tung-hsin-yü* by CH'Ü TA-CHÜN 屈大均 of the Ch'ing dynasty, as follows: "It is an old custom to make presents of rhinoceros-horns, elephant-tusks, incense, pearls [to the local authority], which was called ch'eng-yang." —故事蕃舶抵郡,犀象香珠之屬,悉選以獻,曰呈樣。(廣東新語,卷十).

We see the same word also in the records of the T'ang dynasty (see 資治通鑑,唐紀五十), but we are not sure whether it was used in the sense here meant. According to CH'Ü TA-CHÜN, this ch'eng-yang had become an established custom already in the North Sung era.

(10) Another kind of presents during examination of foreign cargoes. HAN YÜ 韓愈, the most eminent man of letters in the T'ang era, in his epitaph of K'ung Kuei 孔戣 who was the governor-general of Kuang-tung 嶺南節度使 in the first half of the ninth century, says: "When foreign ships came to the port [of Canton], they had to pay what was called the anchorage-tax. There was then held a grand feast to console the trouble of the Chinese officials who were despatched to examine the cargoes. Rhinoceros-horns and pearls there were in abundance, of which the foreign traders made presents, even down to the lowest Chinese servants. But our lord put a stop to all this." —蕃舶之至泊渠,有下碇之稅,始至,有閱貨之燕,犀珠磊落,賄及僕隸,公皆罷之。(全唐文,卷五百六十三所收,正議大夫尚書左丞孔公墓誌銘).

In the *Yü-ti-chi-shêng* 輿地紀勝 by WANG HSIANG-CHIH 王象之 of the South Sung, we read: "At Kuang-chou there is the shipping office. Whenever a sea-ship arrives, some officers were appointed and despatched to make the so-called yüeh-shih 閱實 (to examine the reality)." —廣州領市舶司,每海商至,選官閱實。(輿地紀勝,卷八十九). Here the word yüeh-shih is used in the same sense as the yüeh-huo 閱貨.

And the *Ping-chou-k'o-tan* states, that "On the arrival of a trading ship, the governor-general 帥 and the chief commissioner of the transports 漕, with the superintendent of customs 市舶監官 would examine the cargoes and levy duties." —凡舶至,帥漕與市舶監官,蒞閱其貨而征之。(萍州可談,卷二). From this statement we learn that, beside the custom-house officers, such high digni-

taries as the governor-general and chief-commissioner of the transports joined in the examination of imported cargoes. The word shuai 帥 meant in the T'ang era the Chieh-tu-shih, 節度使, but in the Sung era Ching-lüeh-an-fu-shih, 經略安撫使, and, therefore, when HIRTH and ROCKHILL in their "*Chau Ju-kua*," p. 21, translated the words 帥漕 simply as chief-commissioner, they of course committed a mistranslation.

So far with the superintendency of foreign ships at Kuang-chou. It may also be the case with that of Ch'üan-chou. In the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* by YANG Ssü-CH'EN 楊思謙 of the Ming era, there occurs the following passage: "Hu Ta-chêng 胡大正 [a man of the beginning of the South Sung era] became secretary to the viceroy of Ch'üan-chou.....Ch'üan-chou was a resort of foreign traders. Whenever a foreign ship arrived, the examiners [of the imported cargoes] derived not a little profit, but Hu Ta-chêng would not take anything at all." ——胡大正簽判泉州.....郡爲蕃商之會,每(海)舶至,檢視者得利不貲,大正毫無所取(泉州府志,卷十). Here the word Ch'ien-p'an 簽判 is a contracted form of the full official name 簽書節度判官廳公事, that is secretary to the viceroy 節度使 of the province.

The same book says: "Lin Hsiao-yüan 林孝淵, during the *Chien-yen* 建炎 period, A. D. 1127—1130, was sub-prefect of Ch'üan-chou and superintended the trade-ships. Once, when he went to examine and levy a tax on the imported goods, his subordinate officers, according to custom, received a box of camphor [from a foreign trader], whereupon he cried in an angry voice: "It is either a public property of the government, or a private goods of the merchant. Custom has nothing to do with it.' And he made the fellow hand back the box." ——林孝淵建炎間通判泉州.....提舉市舶,接收舶貨,吏循例收(龍)腦——匣以納,孝淵厲聲曰,公則官物,私則商貨,何例之有,反之. This custom of making a present of a box of camphor seems to be a little different from the above-mentioned ch'êng-yang 呈樣.

(11) Bribes taken by Chinese officers at open ports. YÜEH K'ò 岳珂 in his *T'ing-shih* describes the abundant presents made by the foreign traders at the banquet and says: "They scattered gold like dust, and the meanest servants were not without some share of it." ——揮金如糞土,興皂無遺(程史,卷十一).

We read in the *Sung-hui-yao*: "In the fifth year of *Yüan-fêng* 元豐, A. D. 1082, the sub-commissioner of transports for the province of Kuang-tung and superintendent of the shipping office, Sun Ch'üung 孫適 said, that the head-man of the south-sea, bearing a letter written in Chinese of the King of Djambi in San-fo-ch'i country as well as of his princess who was then governing for the king, made him a present of two hundred and twenty-seven cattles of camphor and thirteen rolls of cloth. But, as he could not receive such a present, he would ask the government to receive it, paying a proper price for it." ——元豐五年,廣東轉運副使兼提舉市舶司孫適言,南蕃綱首

持三佛齊詹畢國主及主管國事國主之女唐字書，寄臣熟龍腦二百二十七兩，布三十段……不敢受，乞估直入官(宋會要)。

Though Sun Ch'ung was too scrupulous a man to take a bribe, others were not so pure, as we read in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu*: "The Emperor Yang-ti appointed Ch'iu Ho 丘和 governor of Chiao-chih 交趾 (present Tongking). When he went there, he humoured the local magnates, and became very popular with the barbarians……All the countries west of Lin-i (Champa) vied with each other to send him bright pearls, beautiful rhinoceros-tusks, gold and other costly things, whereby his wealth rivalled that of a king." ——[隋]煬帝遣(丘)和爲交趾太守，既至，撫諸豪傑，甚得蠻夷之心，……林邑之西諸國竝遣和明珠文犀金寶之物，富埒王者，[舊唐書，卷五十九，丘和傳]。

(12) Strong profiteering spirit of Chinese officers at open ports. In the *Liang-shu*, we read: "The sea-ships come several times every year; then the foreign traders make barter with the Chinese. In old times, the officers of the local government used to buy goods for a half of the current price, and sell them instantly. Thus their profit was very great. And it has become the custom for successive generations." ——海船每歲數至，外國賈人以通貿易，舊時州郡以半價就市，又買而即賣，其利數倍，歷政以爲常，[梁書，卷三十三，王僧孺傳]。

Also the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* mentions that "[Wei Chêng-kuan] was by special favour appointed the viceroy of Ling-nan province. Formerly when the south-sea ships came to Kuang-chou, a viceroy used to buy elephant-tusks, rhinoceros-horns, pearls, and other precious things at low prices. But, on his arrival there, Wei Chêng-kuan never aimed at any such profit." ——[韋正貫]擢嶺南節度使，南海舶賈始至，大帥必取象犀明珠上珍，而售以下直，正貫既至，無所取，[新唐書，卷百五十八，韋臯傳]。

From all such examples we see that Chinese officials from a viceroy down to the lowest were all eager to fatten their own purses.

In the Sung era, the monopoly system for some foreign imports was established, and all such misdemeanours of officials were strictly interdicted. Thus in the *Sung-hui-yao*, we read: "The Imperial edict of the sixth moon of the first year of *Chih-tao*, A. D. 995, decreed that the the inspector of shipping office, the governor, the sub-prefect and others should not hereafter make purchases of miscellaneous goods from foreign traders and the forbidden goods; if they violate this regulation, they should be liable to heavy penalties." ——至道元年六月詔，市舶司監官及知州通判等，今後不得收買蕃商雜貨及違禁物色，如違，當重置之法，先是，南海官員及經過使臣，多請託市舶官，如傳語蕃長，所買香茶多虧價直，至是，左正言馮拯奏其事，故有是詔，[粵海關志，卷二所引，宋會要]。

To quote another passage from the same book, "In the third year of *Chêng-ho* 政和, A. D. 1113, the superintendent of the maritime office in Liang-chê province (present Chê-chiang) memorialized to the throne, that the edict

of the year 995 prohibits the purchase of goods from foreign traders, and in case the said prohibitions be violated, all government officials and those in the maritime office, should be struck out of the list of officers (*i. e.* dismissed). But as the said edict being directed and confined to Kuang-nan province only, the government should extend and promulgate the same prohibitions to the whole of China." —政和三年七月十二日,兩浙提舉市舶司奏,至道元年六月二十六日敕,應知州通判諸色官員并市舶司官等,今後竝不得收買蕃客香藥禁物,如有收買,其知通諸色官員,並市舶官竝除名,……緣止係廣南一路指揮,詔申明行下。

Such prohibitions and regulations, though announced several times, seem to have had little effect on the strong mammon worship of Chinese officials.

(13) Indignation of foreigners at cupidity of Chinese. A good example of excessive cupidity of a local officer is given in the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien*: "In the first year of *Kuang-chai* 光宅, A. D. 684, the commander of Kuang-chou, Lu Yüan-jui 路元叡 was killed by a K'un-lun man. He was a stupid and timid man. The petty officers serving under him were licentious and avaricious. When a foreign trade-ship came, those petty officers were inordinately extortionate, whereupon the foreign traders appealed to the commander. He, however, not only rejected the appeal, but even imprisoned the merchants. So a great many of them became angry. There was a brave K'un-lun among them, who with a dagger rushed into the office and killed Lu Yüan-jui as well as more than ten of his attendants. But there being no one courageous enough to interfere, the assassins got on board a ship and put out to sea. When pursuit was made, it was then too late." —光宅元年,廣州都督元叡爲崑崙所殺,元叡闇懦,僚屬恣橫,有商舶至,僚屬侵漁不已,商胡訴於元叡,元叡索枷欲繫治之,群胡怒,有崑崙袖劍直登廳事,殺元叡及左右十餘人而去,無敢近者,登舟入海,追之不及。(資治通鑑,唐紀十九)。

Also YAO T'UNG-SHOU 姚桐壽, in his *Lo-chiao-ssu-yü* 樂郊私語, respecting the maritime office of Kan-p'u 澱浦 in Chê-chiang province, says: "Of late years, all officers from the governor down to the policeman 巡徼 (*lit.* one who makes a tour of inspection) are given to cupidity, causing deplorable moral lapses. Whenever a foreign ship arrives, all cry with joy, 'Let us build a warehouse, for the family fortune is come!'……Last year the foreigners became so angry that they committed murder, causing the death of three persons serving in the maritime office. But the principal officer concealed the matter, and did not dare to make a report to the court. I fear the unlimited cupidity of our officials might sow the seeds of discord with foreign countries and cause a great calamity to this district in future." —近年長史巡徼,上下求索,孔竇

+ This Kan-p'u is Gampu of Marco Polo, for which see YULE and CORDIER's *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 198.

百出,每番舶一至,則衆僇呼曰,亟治廂廩,家富來矣……昨年番人憤至露刃相殺,市舶勾當者三人,主者隱匿,不敢以聞,射利無厭,開罽海外,此最爲本州一大後患也,(樂郊私語(學海類編本)).

In such cases, however, the foreigner was allowed to appeal directly to the court. In an Arab record of the tenth century, we find a description of how a merchant from Khorassan 呼羅珊, indignant that he should be forced by a Chinese eunuch who was sent to Khanfou by the emperor to sell his goods at an unduly low price, went up to the capital Chang-an 長安 to lay the case before the court to demand justice, (REINAUD, *Relations des Voyages*, Tome I, pp. 106—110).

According to the *Sung-hui-yao*, in the third year of *K'ai-hsi* 開禧, A. D. 1207, the emperor knowing the cupidity of the officials at Kuang-chou and Ch'üan-chou, ordered, that "Excepting those goods received by the government according to the regulations of *ch'ou-chieh* 抽解 (tariff) and *ho-mai* 和買 (official purchase), all other goods should never be detained by the officials, nor should the traders be forced to sell them to the officials under various pretences. If this law be violated, the foreign merchants are allowed to appeal to the court, and the offending officers should be punished according to their crimes."——照條抽解和買入官外,其餘貨物,不得毫髮拘留,巧作名色,違法抑買,如違,許番商越訴,犯者計贓坐罪,(粵海關志,卷三).

We see also in the *Ming-shih* (明史,卷三百三十二), that in the twenty-third year of *Ch'eng-hua* 成化, 1487, a Mussulman by name A-li 阿立 (Ali?) came to see his brother Na-ti 納的 (Nadi?) who lived in China for more than forty years, and when A-li arrived at Canton with a large quantity of precious things, he was plundered by Wei Chüan 韋眷, a eunuch who served in the maritime office, and went to Peking to make an appeal.

Justice was thus administered to foreigners, but if they appealed to the court, they often suffered much trouble and disadvantage, so that they seem to have refrained from seeking justice done them, and the Chinese continued to practise iniquitous deeds for centuries.

(14) Fujita's and Nakamura's essays. Dr. FUJITA's essay, "*The Maritime Office and Its Regulations in the Sung Era*" (Toyo-gakuho, May, 1917), and Mr. NAKAMURA's essay, "*Canton in the T'ang Era*" (Shigaku-zasshi, March to June, 1917), are both valuable, but Dr. FUJITA's is the more worthy of notice, for it draws its materials from the *Sung-hui-yao*, which has not hitherto been utilized by many of the learned circles.

(15) Fortune hunting of officers at open ports. Examples in the Eastern Han era of the cupidity of Chinese officials in South China may be drawn from the *Hou-han-shu*: "From ancient times, Chiao-chih district is full of precious products, pearls, feathers, tusks and horns, tortoise-shells, rare incense and fine goods, all come from there. Therefore, successive governors of that district

are generally not free from weaknesses. They would flatter powerful dignitaries in the court, and hoard up bribes taken from the natives. When once sufficiently rich, they would apply to the government to be removed to other districts."——舊交趾土多珍產,明璣翠羽犀象瑤瑁異香美木之屬,莫不自出,前後刺史率多無清行,上承權貴,下積私賂,財計盈給,輒復求見遷代,(後漢書卷六十一,賈琮傳).

The same book further describes how in the latter half of the first century, Chang Hui 張恢, governor of Chiao-chih, made vast wealth by unlawful means, for which he was punished and his property was confiscated:——顯宗卽位,徵[意]爲尙書,時交趾太守張恢坐臧千金,徵還伏法,以資物簿入大司農,詔班賜群臣,意得珠璣,悉以委地而不拜,(後漢書,卷七十一,鐘離意傳).

That the same tendency became still stronger in the Chin era and downwards, we may easily suppose from the frequent occurrence of similar descriptions in the dynastic histories. To give a few extracts, the *Chin-shu* says: "The district of Kuang-chou has the mountains behind, and the sea in front, and is a place full of curious and costly products, a basket of which would suffice to feed several generations. So the successive governors there were all liable to pilfering."——廣州包帶山海,珍異所出,一筐之寶可資數世……故前後刺史皆黷貨(晉書,卷九十,吳隱之傳).

The same book: "The trade-people of the southern countries with precious goods came by sea to South China to make barter. The governor-general of Chiao-chou and the governor of Jih-nan were mostly avaricious. It was the custom for them to buy at a price twenty or thirty percent lower than the current price……When Chiang Chuang 姜壯 came there as governor-general, he appointed Han Chi 韓戢 as governor of Jih-nan, and the latter forced the foreign traders to sell to him at half-price, whereupon all of them became very indignant."——初徵外諸國,嘗齎寶物,自海路來,買貨賄,而交州刺史日南太守多貪利侵侮,十折二三,至刺史姜壯時,使韓戢領日南太守,戢估較太半……由是諸國恚憤(晉書,卷九十七,南蠻傳,林邑國條).

Further, the *Nan-ch'i-shu*: "The southern region of China is fertile and rich. Those appointed as officials there become very rich. It is a common proverb that once the governor-general of Kuang-chou passes the city-gate, he is in possession of thirty millions of cash."——南土沃實,在任者常致巨富,世云廣州刺史但經城門一過,便得三千萬也,(南齊書,卷三十二,王琨傳).

As regards the T'ang era, we may get some idea of the state of things from the already cited passage of the life of Lu Chün in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* (舊唐書,卷百七十七,盧鈞傳), where all officials at Kuang-chou are said to have come back very wealthy. Among the numerous dishonourable officers of Kuang-chou, the most depraved were Liu Chü-lin 劉巨鱗 and P'êng Kao 彭杲, both of whom, on account of their unlawful accumulation of wealth, were punished with death. ——南海郡,利兼水陸,瓊寶山積,劉巨鱗,彭杲,相替爲太守,五府節度,皆坐贓鉅萬而死,(舊唐書,第九十八,盧懷慎傳). And Lu Ssu-kung

路嗣恭 who appropriated for himself all private properties of the foreign traders, after punishing them under the pretence of their rebellious acts. — 大曆八年, (A. D. 773), 嶺南將哥舒晁……反, 五嶺騷擾, 詔加嗣恭, 兼嶺南節度觀察使……及平廣州, 商舶之徒, 多因晁事誅之, 嗣恭前後沒其家財寶數百萬貫, 盡入私室, (舊唐書, 卷百二十二, 路嗣恭傳). Also Wang Ê 王鏐 (舊唐書, 卷百五十, 王鏐傳), and Hu Chêng 胡證 (舊唐書, 卷百六十三, 胡證傳). The latter three men, though once, as viceroys of Kuang-chou, notorious for their immense wealth, all saw the reverse of fortune in later life.

Not very different was the moral state of Chinese officers in the Sung era, as we learn from the *Chang-shih-k'o-shu*, by CHANG CHIH-FU 張知甫 of the South Sung era: "The chief commissioner of transports for Kuang-tung province gave up his post and returned to the capital, with many shipfuls of incense, with which he bribed the court-eunuchs and obtained the post of governor of [the imperial prefecture of] Ying-t'ien 應天. Whereupon people gave him the nickname of Hsiang-yen-ta-yin 香燕大尹 i.e. Great Governor 'Incense' Yen." — 燕瑛罷廣漕(廣南轉運使)還朝, 載沈水香數十艘, 以遺宦寺, 遂尹應天府, 時人謂之香燕大尹, (張氏可書).

Down to the beginning of the Ch'ing era, we see no improvement in their morals. In his *Kuang-tung-hsin-yü*, CH'ü TA-CHÜN 屈大均 says: "Our Kuang-tung province has been unduly reputed for its wealth, and all officials think it a treasury. No matter what rank, when once appointed here, all officers would rejoice exceedingly. Their friends at Chang-an 長安 (capital or Peking) would congratulate the candidates for their good fortune of satisfying their avarice by the rich products of the province. So these rich friends would vie with one another in advancing them any fund at a high interest of fifty per cent." — 吾廣謬以富饒特聞, 仕官者以爲貨府, 無官之大小, 一捧粵符, 不懼欣過望, 長安戚友, 舉手相慶, 以爲十郡羶境, 可以屬饜脂膏, 於是爭以母錢貸之, 以五當十, 而厚責其贏利, (廣東新語, 卷九).

(16) Poor officials eager to get posts at open ports. In the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* (資治通鑑唐紀五十九, 長慶三年, A. D. 823 條), it is stated that Chêng Chüan 鄭權, the minister of board of works 工部尚書 had a large family and was barely able to sustain them on account of his poverty, and but that he was appointed the viceroy of Ling-nan 嶺南 by the influence of the powerful court-eunuch Wang Shou-ch'êng 王守澄. Again we read in the same book that "Ling-nan is a rich province. Recently all officials, by making rich bribes to eunuchs, got a post there." — 嶺南富饒之地, 近歲皆厚賂北司(宦官)而得之, (資治通鑑唐紀六十一, 開成元年, A. D. 836, 條). Thus, by the ninth century, it had already become a custom with poor or avaricious officials to get a post in South China by the influence of powerful court-eunuchs, to accumulate wealth there. This corrupt custom goes back to a very old time, as we see in the *Chin-shu*, where it is stated that in those days officials in straitened circumstances strived to get a post at Kuang-chou,

that they might get rich. ——唯貧窶不能自立者,求補長史,故前後刺史,皆多贖貨(晉書,卷九十,吳隱之傳).

(17) Foreign trade of Chinese officials. There is room enough to suppose that avaricious Chinese officials may have privately engaged with the southern countries in commercial transactions of their own, but we have, however, few records to prove it. The *Chiu-t'ang-shu* describes of Wang Ê 王鏐 who was the viceroy of Ling-nan province towards the end of the eighth century that "On arrival of trade-ships from the western and southern seas, Wang Ê bought up all goods that were profitable, by means of which his family property exceeded that of the public treasury. He sent out every day more than ten boatfuls of horns, tusks, pearls and shells, which he had bought, under the name of common goods through all seasons without interruption.——西南大海中諸國舶至,則盡沒其利,由是(王)鏐家財富於公藏,日發十餘艇,重以犀象珠貝,稱商貨而出諸境,周以歲時,循環不絕,(舊唐書,卷百五十一,王鏐傳). This passage shows that he made profits by buying the curious products of the South-sea countries and selling them to North China, but that he was not engaged in commercial ventures directly with the South-sea countries, for what he dealt in were principally the ordinary imports like horns, tusks, pearls, and shells.

But from the edict of the first year of *Chih-tao*, A. D. 995, prohibiting the officials at the capital as well as remote provinces from making any trade abroad by employing agents, we learn that at the beginning of the North Sung period there were some officials who were engaged in the trade of their own. ——至道元年三月詔,比來食祿之家,不許與民爭利,如官吏罔顧憲章,苟徇貨財,潛通交易,闕出徼外,私市掌握之珍,公行道中,靡虞蕙苴之謗,永言貪冒,深蠹彝倫,自今宜令諸路轉運司,指揮部內州縣,專切糾密,內外文武官僚,敢遣親信於化外販鬻者,所在以姓名聞,(粵海關志卷二所引,宋會要).

The *Yüan-shih* gives an edict issued in the twenty-first year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1284, prohibiting all dignitaries from engaging in foreign trade: "Any family, however powerful, should be forbidden to send any man abroad to purchase merchandise with their own fund. If this law be violated, half the property of the delinquent family shall be confiscated." ——凡權勢之家,皆不得用己錢入番爲賈,犯者罪之,仍籍其家產之半,(元史,卷九十四,食貨志,市舶條).

The effect of such an edict seems rather ineffectual. On the other hand, in the *Yüan-shih*, it is recorded that towards the end of the thirteenth century, there was an avaricious officer, who on being sentenced to death on account of his pilfering, pleaded for the postponement of the execution, until the return of the trade-agent that he had sent abroad. ——有聚斂之臣,爲奸利,事發得罪,且死,詐言,所遣舶商海外未至,請留以待之,(董)士選曰,海商至則捕錄之,不至則無如之何,不係斯人之存亡也,(元史,卷百五十六,董文炳傳).

Also T'ao Tsung-i 陶宗儀 at the end of the Yüan dynasty, in his *Chokêng-lu*, mentions, of Chu Ch'ing 朱清 and Chang Hsüan 張瑄, who were once pirates but afterwards appointed to high officials, that they were procuring much profit by sending their trade-ships to foreign countries. — (朱清張瑄)二人者,父子致位宰相,弟姪甥壻皆大官,田園宅館徧天下,庫藏倉庾相望,巨艘大舶交番夷中,(輟耕錄,卷五).

From all this it is evident that a great many officials were engaged in foreign trade from the end of the Sung to the beginning of the Yüan era. As we learn from the *Sung-shih* (宋史,卷四十七,瀛國公本紀), our P'u Shou-kêng, who was in the most convenient position in engaging in foreign trade, superintending the trade-ships for thirty years and possessing many ships of his own, would not form an exception to the general rule.

The *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* informs us, that the Hai-yün-lou was situated in the thirty-sixth district, north-east of Ch'üan-chou, a high building erected by P'u Shou-kêng towards the end of the Sung era, from which he used to see sea-ships. It is now no more." — 海運樓(泉州)府城東北三十六都海岸,宋季蒲壽庚建,以望海舶,後廢,(八閩通志,卷七十三). This tower may have been built principally to overlook his own trade-ships returning from abroad, as it is the custom of Persian merchants to build such a look-out on the sea-coast (LE STRANGE, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate*, p. 258).

(18) Fu-chien-an-fu and Yen-hai-tu-chih-chih. The Fu-chien-an-fu-yen-hai-tu-chih-chih-shih 福建安撫沿海都制置使 means the Fu-chien-an-fu-shih 福建安撫使 and the Fu-chien-yen-hai-tu-chih-chih-shih 福建沿海都制置使. An An-fu-shih is a governor-general, whose function is to administer the civil and military affairs of the province, as defined in the *Sung-shih*: 掌一路兵民之事,皆帥其屬,而聽其獄訟,頒其禁令,定其賞罰,稽其錢穀甲械出納之名籍,而行以法,若事難專決,則具可否具奏,即干機速邊防及士卒抵罪者,聽以便宜裁斷(宋史,卷百六十七,職官志).

At Ling-nan 嶺南 and other tactically important places, there was specially appointed the Ching-liao-an-fu-shih 經略安撫使, which has a somewhat wider function. The principal duty of the Yen-hai-chih-chih-shih 沿海制置使 is to guard the sea-coast, as is mentioned in the *Sung-shih*: 又有沿海制置使……然其職止肅清海道,節制水僚(宋史,卷百六十七). Though we do not find the official name of the Yen-hai-tu-chih-chih-shih 沿海都制置使 in the *Sung-shih*, it may have been established towards the end of the Sung, and was probably a senior Yen-hai-chih-chih-shih or commander-in-chief of the navy.

(19) Duplicity of P'u Shou-kêng. That P'u Shou-kêng early took an inimical and double-minded attitude towards the Sung court, when he saw its declining power, may be seen from the following passages:

(a) "In the eleventh moon of the first year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, A. D. 1276, the young emperor (景炎帝) wanted to go to Ch'üan-chou, but the chao-fu-shih 招撫使, P'u Shou-kêng entertained a treacherous mind" (*Sung-shih*). — [景炎元年十一月] 景炎帝欲入泉州, 招撫使蒲壽庚有異志, (宋史, 卷四十七, 瀛國公本紀).

(b) "Towards the end of the Sung era, Princes I 益 and Kuang 廣 from their temporal court at Fu-chou went by sea to Ch'üan-chou and lay at anchor at the mouth of the port. But Governor P'u Shou-kêng shut the town-gate and would not admit them," (*Pa-min-t'ung-chih*) — 宋季, 益(景炎帝) 廣(祥興帝) 二王, 從福州行都, 航海幸泉州, 駐驛港口, 守臣蒲壽庚拒城不納, (八閩通志, 卷八十六).

(c) "The young prince (Emperor Ching-yen) of the Sung came to Ch'üan-chou. The imperial clansmen of the Sung were going to join him, but P'u Shou-kêng, the chief-authority of that port shut the gate and refused him admittance." (*Min-shu*) — 宋幼主(景炎帝)過泉城, 宋宗室欲應之, 守郡者蒲壽庚閉門不納, (閩書, 卷百五十二).

(20) Sung army take by force P'u Shou-kêng's fleet. The *Sung-shih* mentions the state of things of that time as follows: "[In the eleventh moon of the first year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, A. D. 1276], when the young emperor came to Ch'üan-chou by ship, P'u Shou-kêng came to ask to lay his quarters in the city, but Chang Shih-chieh 張世傑 would not hear. Someone said to Chang Shih-chieh, if he kept P'u Shou-kêng in his hands, all ships at Ch'üan-chou would naturally come under his control. Chang Shih-chieh, however, not giving ear to this advice, allowed P'u Shou-kêng to go away. Soon after, the Sung army, without having a sufficient number of ships, took by force the ships belonging to P'u Shou-kêng as well as his property. Thereupon, P'u Shou-kêng became very indignant." — [景炎元年十一月] 景炎帝舟至泉, 蒲壽庚來請駐驛, 張世傑不可, 或勸世傑, 留壽庚, 則凡海舶不令自隨, 世傑不從, 縱之歸, 繼而舟不足, 乃掠其舟, 並沒其貲, 壽庚乃怒, (宋史, 卷四十七, 瀛國公本紀).

It is quite probable that when P'u Shou-kêng asked the emperor to come within the city, he intended to take him prisoner, and must have been foreseen by Chang Shih-chieh.

How the Sung army made every possible effort to muster sea ships, is seen from the *Kuei-hsin-tsa-shih* by Чоу Мi 周密 at the beginning of the fourteenth century: "At Yung-chia prefect there was a man called Ts'ai Ch'i-hsin 蔡起莘, an owner of many junks. Towards the end of *Tê-yu* 德裕, 1276?, the Sung court commanded the authorities of the said prefect to gather together all ships under their control, in order to prevent the advance of the Mongol army. Chang Ts'êng-êrh 張會二, whom Ts'ai Ch'i-hsin commissioned to look over his junks, was a crafty fellow, and concealed some portion of

the junks to escape the requisition. But when the authorities examined, his subterfuge was detected, and he was going to suffer a capital punishment. Only by his master Ts'ai's pleading, his punishment was reduced. Next year when Chang Shih-chieh, imperial commissioner of the Sung, with all the junks under requisition tried to retire towards Kuang-tung, he was to be delivered over to a court-martial. But Ts'ai once more intervened. To redeem his fault, Chang Ts'êng-êrh accompanied the imperial commissioner to Kuang-tung with all the junks under his control." ——永嘉(浙江省甌海道永嘉縣)有蔡起莘嘗爲海上市舶,德祐之末,朝廷嘗令本處,部集舟楫以爲防招之用,其處有張曾二者,頗黠健,蔡委以爲部轄,既而本州點撞所部船,有違闕,卽欲置張於極刑,蔡力爲祈禱,事從減,明年張宣使(承宣使張世傑)部舟欲入廣,又以張不能應辦,欲從軍法施行,蔡又祈免之,遂命部舟,入廣以贖罪,(癸辛雜識(津逮秘書本續集下).

In the same way, the too forcible measures taken by the Sung army to collect ships, may have incurred the indignation of P'u Shou-kêng.

(21) Date of P'u Shou-kêng's surrender to Yüan. There are various opinions as to the date when P'u Shou-kêng openly surrendered himself to the Yüan army.

(a) SHAO YÜAN-PING 邵遠平 of the Ch'ing dynasty in his *Yüan-shih-lei-pien* says: "Seeing that the Sung army could not hold long, P'u Shou-kêng surrendered with his whole army to the Mongols. In the eleventh moon of the year 1276 when the young sovereign (景炎帝) of the Sung came to Ch'üan-chou, his partisans rose to join him, but P'u Shou-kêng shut the gate, and did not allow the sovereign to enter the town." ——蒲壽庚……見宋軍不可支,以全軍來降,宋幼主(景炎帝)過泉城,衆欲起應之,壽庚閉門不納(元史類編,卷十八). This opinion seems unreliable, for if he had surrendered and Ch'üan-chou belonged to the Yüan already before the eleventh moon of the year 1276, the Sung sovereign would not seek his shelter in so dangerous a place. Therefore, the surrender of P'u Shou-kêng must have taken place after the eleventh month of 1276.

(b) In the *Yüan-shih* we read: In the sixth moon of the fourteenth year of *Chih-Yüan* 至元, A. D. 1277, P'u Shou-kêng, Yin Tê-ch'uan 印德傳, Li Chüeh 李珪 and Li Kung-tu 李公度 who superintended the two prefectures of Chang 漳 and Ch'üan 泉 in Fu-chien province, all surrendered to the Yüan with the towns under their rule." 至元十四年六月,福建漳泉二郡,蒲壽庚,印德傳,李珪,李公度,皆以城降(元史,世祖本紀). But we can not give credence to this statement, for in the fourth month of the year 1277, when Tung Wên-ping 董文炳, a Yüan general, had an audience with the Emperor Shih-tsu 世祖 (Khubilai), he said to his sovereign; "Formerly, P'u Shou-kêng of Ch'üan-chou surrendered with the town." ——昔者泉州蒲壽庚以城降(元史,卷百五十六,董文炳傳), showing that P'u Shou-kêng's surrender must have

taken place before the fourth month of year 1277.

(c) The *Sung-shih* mentions that "In the twelfth month of the first year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, A. D. 1276, P'u Shou-kêng and T'ien Chên-tzū 田眞子, the governor of Ch'üan-chou, surrendered with the town." — [景炎元年十二月] 蒲壽庚, 知泉州田眞子, 以城降(宋史, 瀛國公本紀). This is also confirmed by Ch'ên Chung-wei 陳仲微 towards the end of the Sung era, who in his *Sung-chi-san-chao-chêng-yao* says: "In the eleventh moon of the first year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, 1276, the Mongol army approached the temporal residence of the Sung sovereign (行都 or Fu-chou). Thereupon, Ch'ên I-chung 陳宜中 and Chang Shih-chieh 張世傑, the prime-ministers of the Sung, with the Emperor Ching-yen 景炎帝 and prince I 益王 to avert the enemy, left on board a ship the port of Fu-chou 福州 with a regular army of 170,000 and more than 300,000 militia. . . . They entered the port of Ch'üan-chou, and asked from P'u Shou-kêng the supply of provisions, but the latter would not hear. So the Sung army went over to Ch'ao-chou 潮州 in Kuang-tung province, In the twelfth moon of the same year, the Mongol army came to Ch'üan-chou, and P'u Shou-kêng surrendered." — [景炎元年十一月] 大元兵逼行都, 陳宜中, 張世傑 奉景炎帝益王 等登舟 發舟入海, 是時正軍十七萬, 民兵三十萬有奇 至泉州, 問蒲壽庚, 索軍糧, 不及應副, 遂趨潮州, [十二月] 大元兵 至泉州, 蒲壽庚降, (宋季三朝政要附錄(粵雅堂叢書本)).

The date of the twelfth month of the first year of *Ching-yen*, 1276, seems to be the most reliable one, and has been adopted by most historians.

(22) Mongol army without confidence in naval fight. In common with the north barbarians, the Mongols were unskilful in naval fight. They had not even good boats. When the Mongol army attacked the Western Regions, used ox-hide boats to cross rivers (ROCKHILL, *the Journey of Rubruck*, Introductory Note, p. xv), and during the reigns of T'ai-tsung 太宗 and Hsien-tsung 憲宗 when they fought with the Sung army in the present Ssü-ch'uan 四川 province, they often used the same primitive boats (二十二史劄記, 卷三十). Much less adept they were in naval fighting. That was the principal cause why they could not conquer for thirty years a Korean king who fled to Chiang-hua 江華 island (那珂通世遺書, 成吉思汗實錄續篇, p. 57).

From the *Yüan-shih*, we learn that, in the fifth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元 A. D. 1268, when the Sung and Yüan armies were contesting at Hsiang-yang 襄陽 on the Han river 漢水, Liu Chêng 劉整, a Yüan general consulting with his colleague A-shu 阿朮, said, "Our army, both foot and horse, has no rival, only our navy is inferior to that of the Sung. We must adopt their superior points and learn the art of building fighting-boats and naval tactics. This is the only way to subdue the enemy." So he rode post to the court and told his opinion to the emperor, who approved it. Coming back, he built five thousand

boats and made a daily drill of the navy. —〔劉整〕與阿朮計曰，我精兵突騎所當者破，惟水戰不如宋耳，奪彼所長，造船艦，習水軍，則事濟矣，乘驛以聞，制可，既還，造船五千艘，日練水軍，（元史，卷百六十一，劉整傳）。

At this time the Yüan army had among them many Northern Chinese, who were superior in river fight to the Mongols. But even those Northern Chinese were no match to the Southern Chinese, as is clear from the fact that when Shih-tsung 世宗 of the Later Chou 後周 intended the attack of South China, he invited the South Chinese to drill his army in naval fight. If it were not for the help of the southerners, who revolted against their Sung sovereign, the conquest of South China would have been all but impossible for the Yüan army.

(23) Influence of P'u Shou-kêng on the sea. In the *Sung-shih*, we see: "Some one said to Chang Shih-chieh 張世傑, if he kept P'u Shou-kêng in his hands, all sea-ships would naturally fall under his control." —或勸(張)世傑, 留(蒲)壽庚, 則海舶不令自隨 (宋史, 瀛國公本紀). Thus there is no doubt that the whole fleet in Fu-chien province was under the command of P'u Shou-kêng.

That the Yüan army made all possible efforts to draw on their side so powerful an ally as P'u Shou-kêng may be seen from the *Yüan-shih*, where it is stated, that "Tung Wên-ping 董文炳 further said (to the Emperor Shih-tsu): Previously P'u Shou-kêng surrendered with the town. As he was the superintendent of trade-ships, I thought it best to add to his authority, so that he might defend the better against sea-pirates, and induce various barbarians to pay fealty to our court. It was thus that I unloosened the chin-hu-fu 金虎符 (the tablet of gold-tiger) with which I was decorated and made P'u Shou-kêng wear it. I should ask your majesty to forgive so unwarrantable a presumption on the part of your humble servant.' But the emperor greatly approved him." —董文炳又曰, 昔者泉州蒲壽庚以城降, 壽庚素主市舶, 謂宜重其事權, 使爲我扞海寇, 誘諸蠻臣服, 因解所佩金虎符佩壽庚, 惟陛下恕其專擅之罪, 帝(世祖)大嘉之, (元史, 卷百五十六, 董文炳傳)。

The chin-hu-fu or tablet of gold-tiger here mentioned was generally conferred on a wan-hu 萬戶, general of ten-thousand men, —萬戶佩金虎符 (元史, 卷九十八), and is nothing but the "tablet of gold, with a lion's head on it" alluded to by MARCO POLO, who says: "Now those Tablets of Authority, of which I have spoken, are ordered in this way. The officer who is a captain of 100 hath a tablet of silver: the captain of 1,000 hath a tablet of gold or silver-gilt; the commander of 10,000 hath a tablet of gold with a lion's head on it. And I will tell you the weight of the different tablets, and what they denote. The tablets of the captains of 100 and 1,000 weigh each of them 120 *saggi*: and the tablet with the lion's head engraven on it, which is that of the commander of 10,000, weighs 220 *saggi*. And on each of

the tablets is inscribed a device, which runs: 'By the strength of the great God, and of the great grace which He hath accorded to our Emperor, may the name of the Kaan be blessed: and let all such as will not obey him be slain and be destroyed.' And I will tell you besides that all who hold these tablets likewise receive warrants in writing, declaring all their powers and privileges. (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, pp. 350—351)."

As Marco Polo used to confound a tiger with a lion (see YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. I, p. 399), his "tablet of gold, with a lion's head on it" must be the *chin-hu-fu* of the *Yüan-shih*, which sometimes is called the Hu-t'ou-chin-p'ai 虎頭金牌 or tablet of gold with a tiger's head on it (BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. I, p.). For the details of chin-hu-fu, see Dr. YANAI's article, "On the Tablets of Authority in the Yüan Dynasty" 元朝牌符考 (Man-sen-chiri-rekishikenkyu-hokoku 滿鮮地理歷史研究報告, Vol. X, 1922).

The *Kao-li-shih* 高麗史 (History of Kao-li Dynasty in Corea) describing how the Yüan emperor Shih-tsu gave a Hu-t'ou-chin-p'ai to Chin Fang-ch'ing 金方慶, the Corean prime-minister, in recognition of his military services, specially adds the following statement: "The Eastern man (Corean) who wears the golden tablet begins from Chin Fang-ch'ing"—東人(高麗人)帶金符,自(金)方慶始,(高麗史,卷百四,金方慶傳), showing what a great distinction it was to wear one.

That so distinguished an honour should be given by Tung Wên-ping to P'u Shou-kêng and the Emperor himself should have approved the presumption of his subject, shows how eager the Yüan army was to invite P'u Shou-kêng on its side.

(24) Imperial clan court at Ch'üan-chou. As regards the Nan-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu 南外宗正司, let us quote a passage from the *Sung-shih*: 崇寧三年, (A. D. 1104,) 置南外宗正司于南京(河南省開封道商丘縣), 西外宗正司于西京(河南省河洛道洛陽縣), 各置敦宗院……仍詔各擇宗室之賢者一人, 爲知宗, 掌外居宗室, ……南渡初, 先徙宗室於江淮, 於是大宗正司移江寧, 南外(宗正司)移鎮江, 西外(宗正司)移揚州, 其後屢徙, 後西外止於福州, 南外止於泉州(宋史, 卷六十四, 職官志四, 大宗正司條). During the North Sung period, at the capital K'ai-fêng 開封, there was established the Ta-tsung-chêng-ssu 大宗正司 (the court of the great imperial clan) to manage affairs connected with the clansmen living there, and at the Western capital 西京(洛陽), the Hsi-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu 西外宗正司 (the western branch of the imperial clan court), and at the Southern capital 南京(商丘), the Nan-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu 南外宗正司 (the Southern branch of the imperial clan court). When the Sung court removed to South China, these imperial clan courts also removed south. During the South Sung period, many of the clansmen lived at Fu-chou and Ch'üan-chou. Therefore, the Hsi-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu was at Fu-chou and

the Nan-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu at Ch'üan-chou. Thus the Nan-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu 南外宗正司 means the court to regulate all affairs relating to the imperial clansmen at Ch'üan-chou. When the temporal capital of Hang-chou was in danger, the Sung court, in the first moon of the second year of *Tê-yü* 德祐 A. D. 1276, in order to strengthen their ties with the clansmen at Ch'üan-chou, appointed prince Kuang 廣王 昀, who afterwards became Emperor Hsiang-hsing 祥興帝, the superintendent of the clan court at Ch'üan-chou 判南外宗正事. A few months later on, when Hang-chou fell, the Sung court further despatched Chao Chi-fu 趙吉甫, one of the Imperial clansmen, to Ch'üan-chou as the minister of the Nan-wai-tsung-chêng-ssu 知南外宗正, in order to confer with the clansmen as to the restoration of the Sung power——以秀王與昀……知西外宗正,趙吉甫知南外宗正……先入閩中,撫吏民諭同姓(宋史,卷四十七,瀛國公本紀). And so the clansmen at Ch'üan-chou remained always true to the cause of the Sung to the last moment.

(25) Date of massacre of clansmen by P'u Shou-kêng. As to the date when P'u Shou-kêng massacred the Sung clansmen, there are various opinions.

(a) In his *Hsin-shih*, CHENG SO-NAN writes: "At Ch'üan-chou there lived originally a great number of the imperial clansmen. In the second year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, A. D. 1277, on hearing that Chang Shi-chieh, the commander of the Sung army, approached near, they mustered more than ten thousand men, and were going to welcome the Imperial (Sung) army. But the rebel P'u Shou-kêng shut the town gate for three days, and massacred the Southern clansmen." ——景炎二年丁丑,泉州素多宗子,聞張少傑(世傑)至,宗子糾萬餘人,出迎王師,叛臣蒲受畀閉城三日,盡殺南外宗子(鄭所南,心史).

On the other hand, the *Sung-shih* says: "[The eleventh moon of the first year of *Ching-yen* 景炎, A. D. 1276]. Thereupon P'u Shou-kêng being angry, killed the imperial clansmen as well as the officials and also the Huai soldiers then staying at Ch'üan-chou. Emperor Ching-yen was obliged to come again to Chao-chou." ——[景炎元年十一月](蒲壽庚乃怒,殺宗室及士大夫與淮兵之在泉者,昀(景炎帝)移潮州,(宋史,卷四十七,瀛國公本紀).

Now we read in the *Min-shu*, "The seventh moon of the second year of *Ching-yen*, 1277, when the commander Chang Shih-chieh turned back his army to attack the town of Ch'üan-chou, the clansmen there were going to join with him. P'u Shou-kêng held a banquet and invited the clansmen under the false pretence of consulting the defence of the town. And during the feast he massacred all of them." ——景炎二年七月,及張世傑回軍攻城,宗室又欲應之,壽庚置酒,延宗室欲與議城守事,酒中盡殺之,(閩書,卷百五十二).

The dates given in several other books all agree with that of the *Hsin-shih*, so that we may take the year 1277 as the most reliable one.

According to the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* 泉州府志 (the Topography of Ch'üan-chou Prefecture) by YANG SSU-LIEN 楊思廉 of the Ming era, the number of

the clansmen then massacred by P'u Shou-kêng was more than a thousand.
——盡宗室千餘人(泉州府志,卷廿四).

Number of clansmen at Ch'üan-chou. As to the number of the clansmen at Ch'üan-chou during the South Sung era, we know from the *Sung-shih*: "At the beginning of *Chien-yen* 建炎, 1127?, the south branch of the imperial clan court was established at Ch'üan-chou. There were then only three hundred clansmen. They were provided for by the chief-commissioner of transports 漕司 and by the governor, as well as by the revenues arising from priests' diplomas 度牒, which were specially granted by the Imperial court. Afterwards the latter was put a stop to, while the number of clansmen grew to be more than twenty-three hundred. The prefecture, therefore, fell into a financial difficulty. Governor Chên Tê-hsiu 眞德秀 applied to the court and was provided with a hundred of priests' diplomas."——建炎初,置南外宗政(正?)司于泉,公族僅三百人,漕司與本州給之,而朝廷助度牒,已而不復給,而增至二千三百餘人,郡坐是愈不可爲,(眞)德秀請于朝,詔給度牒百道(宋史,卷四百三十七,眞德秀傳).

Just as the year 1127 as the date of the establishment of the clan court at Ch'üan-chou is not readily creditable, so the number of the clansmen 2,300 about the fifth year of *Shao-ting* 紹定, A. D. 1231, when Chên Tê-hsiu was governor is also open to question. For the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih* by YANG SSULIEN gives the more exact number of the clansmen at Ch'üan-chou during the South-Sung era as follows:

In the *Chien yen* 建炎 period (1127—1130), 349 (泉州府志卷九),

in the *Chia-ting* 嘉定 period (1208—1224), a little more than 1,820 (同上).

in the *Shao-ting* 紹定 period (1228—1233), a little more than 3,300 (同卷十).

This number 3,300 seems to me more credible than 2,300 of the *Sung-shih*, which might be a misprint for 3,300. Towards the end of the South Sung, that is forty or fifty years later than the *Shao-ting* period, the number of the clansmen at Ch'üan-chou must have increased into 5,000 or more. Therefore, P'u Shou-kêng seems to have massacred about a thousand men only that were capable of bearing arms.

According to the *Sung-shih-i* 宋史翼 (Supplements to the Sung History) compiled by LIU HSIN-YÜAN 陸心源 of the Ch'ing dynasty, Chao Pi-yu 趙必燿 a clansman and vice-minister of the imperial clan court at Ch'üan-chou, escaped the massacre and died a natural death,——趙必燿字伯暉,福建人,太宗十世孫,……貳趙吉甫南外宗正,益王卽位福州,招撫使蒲壽庚與田子眞,叛降元,……張世傑回兵圍(泉州)城,壽庚盡殺宗室,錄曹參(軍?)吳伯厚,以計出必燿,遂居泉之東陵,不復問人間事,與諸生講解經傳終身(宋史翼,卷卅二). This shows that there were a few clansmen who escaped the massacre of P'u Shou-kêng.

Licentious acts of clansmen. That these clansmen, on account of their connection with the Imperial court, had a strong influence there, so that the

local governor was always obliged to propitiate them, is proved from the *Chu-wên-kung-chi* 朱文公集 (a collection of the writings of the famous Chu Hsi 朱熹 of the South Sung) as has already been pointed out by Dr. FUJITA (Toyo-gakuho, May 1917).—"At Ch'üan-chou there was the South branch of the Imperial clan court. The officials of it, relying on their court influence, committed unlawful acts, but former governors did not dare to interfere with them. They, therefore, went so far as to rob foreign trade-ships, whereupon the foreigners appealed to the superintendency of trade-ships, but the latter would not come to any decision for three years. They, moreover, employed the soldiers of the Imperial guard for their private business, and even extracted salt from the sea-water, ignoring the regulations of the salt-monopoly of the government. They have become a nuisance to the people in general." —南外宗官寄治郡中(泉州),挾勢爲暴,前守不敢詰,至奪賈胡浮海巨艦,其人訴於州於舶司者三年,不得直,占役禁兵,以百數,復盜賣海之利,亂產鹽法,爲民病苦,(朱文公集,卷八十九,直秘閣贈朝議大夫范公(如圭)神道碑).

So when Chang Shih-chieh turned back his army to attack Ch'üan-chou, it would seem necessary for P'u Shou-kêng to take extreme measures to extirpate those clansmen, who had exercised so formidable a power there and were strong partisans of the Sung court.

In the *Ch'üan-nan-tsa-chih* 泉南雜誌 (a Miscellaneous Record of Ch'üan-chou Prefecture) by CHÊN MOU-JEN 陳懋仁 of the Ming era, we find the following passage: "Ch'üan-nan was said to be the centre of literature, but now there are extant very few books there. What is the cause of it? Master Ho Tso-an 何忞菴先生 said, during the disturbances of the P'u family, the prefecture suffered a fire and then nearly all writings were lost." —泉南號文章之藪,而載籍甚少何也,何忞菴先生曰,蒲氏之變,泉郡槩遭兵火,無復遺者,(泉南雜誌[學海類編本]卷下).

By the disturbances of the P'u family here alluded to, may perhaps be meant the events in which P'u Shou-kêng was concerned during the dynastical change of the Sung and the Yüan.

(26) Official posts of P'u Shou-kêng after the downfall of the Sung. From the *Yüan-shih* we know that after his surrender to the Yüan, P'u Shou-kêng was first appointed the Min-kuang-ta-tu-tu, Ping-ma-chao-t'ao-shih 閩廣大都督,兵馬招討使, that is, the great commander and military commissioner of Min 閩 (Fu-chien) and Kuang 廣 (Kuang-tung) provinces. —(元史,世祖本紀,至元十四年七月條).

The dates, when he was given the posts, are not mentioned in the *Yüan-shih*, but we may safely suppose that it was in the twelfth month of the thirteenth of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1276, just when he surrendered.

The *Min-shu* gives his full titles as 昭勇大將軍,閩廣都提舉福建廣東市舶事(閩書,卷百五十二). Here in this content the two characters Ming-kuang

閩廣 have no meaning. Certainly some characters must have been left out. I think the correct reading should be 閩廣[大都督兵馬招討使], as may be inferred from the *Yüan-shih*. That P'u Shou-kêng should continue to hold his post of Tu-t'i-chü-fu-chien-kuang-tung-shih-po-shih 都提舉福建廣東市舶事, that was a matter of course from his previous career.

It was in the seventh moon of the fourteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, 1277, that P'u Shou-kêng was transferred from the Min-kuang-ta-tu-tu to the San-chih-chêng-shih 參知政事 (the assistant minister) of Chiang-hsi province, but at that time he was being besieged by Chang Shih-chieh, the Sung commander, and so it was after the retreat of the Sung army that he received the former order. For which reason the *Min-shu* mentions that this transfer took place in the ninth moon of the same year.

Further, we read in the *Yüan-shih*: "[In the eighth moon of the fifteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1278], the assistant ministers So-tu 唆都 and P'u Shou-kêng, both of them were promoted the left vice-ministers of the province" —— [至元十五年八月]參知政事唆都, 蒲壽庚並爲中書左丞(元史, 卷十, 世祖本紀). P'u Shou-kêng was appointed the left vice-minister of Fu-chien province 福建行省, for at this time Chiang-hsi 江西 province was incorporated into Fu-chien province (see 元史, 卷九十一, 百官志七).

After this time, however, we do not find P'u Shou-kêng's name mentioned in any of these posts anywhere in the *Yüan-shih*. Only the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* informs us: "For his great services, the Yüan court promoted P'u Shou-kêng to the rank of prime-minister of the province, and made him govern P'ing-hai-shêng, 平海省, which was newly established at Ch'üan-chou, as the supreme court of Fu-chien province. In wealth and honour P'u was the foremost at the time." —— 元以[蒲]壽庚歸附之功, 授平章, 開平海省於泉州, 富貴冠一時, (八閩通志, 八十六).

But we can not so easily believe that he was promoted the Ping-chang 平章 (the prime-minister of province, in the junior grade of the first official rank 從一品), as no other books mention this fact at all. Moreover, the new provincial court of Ping-hai was first established in the first year of *Ta-tê* 大德, A. D. 1279, as we learn from the *Yüan-shih* —— [大德元年]改福建[行]省, 爲福建平海處行中書省, 徙治泉州(元史, 卷十九, 成宗本紀). Thus the first establishment of the P'ing-hai-shêng was probably fifty years or more after P'u Shou-kêng was appointed the superintendent of trade-ships, and therefore it is doubtful whether he lived so long.

V

P'u Shou-kêng had the merit of not only contributing very much in the conquest of the South-eastern China, but also of promoting trade between China and several countries on the southern seas.⁽¹⁾ As has been already stated, there had been a brisk commerce between them from the T'ang era, nay, even much earlier times. And especially in the Sung era, it became very flourishing. At that time the Chinese government derived from foreign trade a two-fold profit. First, the custom-duty. Though subject to variation, the government generally taxed about ten to twenty percent in kind of the cargo imported.⁽²⁾ Secondly, from the Sung era, some kinds of the imports were bought up by the government, and then were sold again to the people, that is to say, the monopoly system was instituted with a great profit to the government.⁽³⁾ And during the South Sung era, foreign trade formed a principal item of the state revenue.⁽⁴⁾

Therefore, when the Yüan Emperor Shih-tsu 世祖 extirpated the Sung dynasty and peace reigned all over South China, he naturally paid much attention to foreign trade. And in order to carry it out effectively, he had to rely on P'u Shou-kêng, who had had the longest experience in foreign trade in the capacity of the superintendent of shipping office. In the *Yüan-shih*, it is recorded that in the eighth moon of the fifteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1278, the Emperor commanded P'u Shou-kêng and others to send envoys to foreign countries, to invite them to come to the Chinese ports to carry on trade as before.⁽⁵⁾ In response to the invitation probably, two countries, Champa 占城 and Mâbar 馬八兒, first opened their trade, and afterwards other countries of the southern seas followed their examples, and foreign commerce became pretty brisk.⁽⁶⁾ Beside promoting commerce, P'u Shou-kêng seems to have been concerned, though indirectly, in the expedition to Japan of the Yüan navy.⁽⁷⁾

The records connected with P'u Shou-kêng in the *Yüan-shih* come to a stop in the twenty-first year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1284, after which his name completely disappears from the same chronicle.⁽⁸⁾ In that year he was a pretty old man, and seems to have died soon after. As has been already mentioned, he had an elder brother called P'u Shou-ch'êng 蒲壽晟. P'u Shou-kêng had a literary turn of mind,⁽⁹⁾ but was far inferior to his elder brother who was a poet of no mean order.⁽¹⁰⁾ P'u Shou-ch'êng made a name for a time as governor of Mei-chou 梅州(廣東省,潮循道,梅縣),⁽¹¹⁾ but retired from his office towards the end of the Sung, and so his official career is not so conspicuous as P'u Shou-kêng.

P'u Shou-kêng was a simple-minded soldier, no adept in military tactics, while P'u Shou-ch'êng was a crafty man. The former is said to have acted, during the turmoil of the dynastic change of the Sung and Yüan, wholly under the guidance of the latter.⁽¹²⁾ Towards the end of his life, P'u Shou-ch'êng, to evade the censure of the world, is said to have retired at Fa-shih-shan 法石山, a mountain in the south-eastern suburb of Chüan-chou city, where he lived a sequestered life.⁽¹³⁾

According to the *Min-shu* 閩書, in the family of P'u Shou-kêng, there was his eldest son P'u Shih-wên 蒲師文, who, though an active ally of his father, being a rash and violent man, seems to have achieved no distinguished career.⁽¹⁴⁾ Also according to the *Fa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志,(卷三十), towards the end of the reign of Emperor Shih-tsu, there was a man called P'u Shih-wu 蒲師武, who became the assistant-minister of Fu-chien province 福建行省參知政事 in the junior grade of the second rank, 從二品. Inferring from the name as well as the time he lived in, he was, I think, a younger son of P'u Shou-kêng and brother to P'u Shih-wên.⁽¹⁵⁾

In the *Kuei-hsin-tsa-shih* 癸辛雜識 written by CHOU MI 周密 towards the beginning of the fourteenth century, it is recorded that there was a south-barbarian Fo-lien 佛蓮, a big merchant at Chüan-nan 泉南,⁽¹⁷⁾ who was a

son-in-law of a man with the surname of P'u and died without leaving an issue, and so his property was confiscated by the Chinese government.⁽¹⁸⁾ Though we cannot prove that this man with the surname of P'u was identical with P'u Shou-kêng, yet there is some room for supposing that there was some relation between these two men.

According to the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志(卷二十七), there was, during the *T'ai-ting* 泰定 period (A. D. 1324—1327), an official called P'u Chü-jên 蒲畫仁, who held the post of Fu-chien-têng-ch'u-tu-chuan-yün-yen-shih 福建等處都轉運鹽使 in the senior grade of the third rank 正三品,——which was a high dignitary whose function it was to superintend the monopoly of salt, iron, spirit, vinegar etc. and all affairs connected with foreign ships. This man may also have been a grandson to P'u Shou-kêng.

To conclude, P'u Shou-kêng was a faithful subject of the Yüan court, attained a very high official distinction, and he and all his descendants exercised throughout the Yüan era a vast influence in Fu-chien province. At the same time, they seem to have been hated by a great number of the contemporaries. Thus we read in the *Min-shu*; "The Yüan (court), on account of P'u Shou-kêng's merits, conferred distinguished posts on his children and grandchildren. The people of Ch'üan-chou suffered from their grand influence for more than ten years. With the downfall of the Yüan dynasty, this came to an end" ——元以蒲壽庚有功,官其諸子若孫,多至顯達,泉人避其薰炎者十餘年,元亡,酒已(閩書卷百五十二). But between his first promotion and the fall of the Yüan, there intervened about ninety years, and therefore, for the above-quoted phrase "more than ten years," we should read "more than eighty years."

When the Emperor T'ai-tsu 太祖 of the Ming brought the whole China under his sway, as it was his persistent policy to promote the interests of the Chinese and to suppress the influence of all foreigners in China,⁽¹⁹⁾ the Emperor excluded all the P'u family at Ch'üan-chou from governmental posts.⁽²⁰⁾ Even without such a calamity which had fallen on them, the influence of

the so-called Sê-mu-jên 色目人 (the Westerners) had already been on the wane.⁽²⁾ Thus deprived of the official power, the P'u family naturally could not long hold their ground, and becoming gradually weak and poor, this once-powerful family have utterly vanished out of the sight of the world.

NOTES

(1) Relation between Yüan and South sea countries. As quoted before, the *Yüan-shih* says: "As P'u Shou-kêng was the superintendent of trade-ships, I thought it best to add to his authority, so that he might defend the better against sea-pirates and induce various barbarians to pay fealty to our court." — [蒲壽庚素主市舶, 謂宜重其事權, 使爲我扞海寇, 誘諸蠻臣服(元史, 卷百五十六, 董文炳傳). It will therefore be seen that the Yüan court had made it her principal object, from the beginning, to make P'u Shou-kêng, on one hand, prevent the Sung and her partisans from making disturbances along the south eastern coast of China, and, on the other hand, induce the foreign countries of the South seas to acknowledge her sovereignty.

That the South Sung was eager to recover her tottering sovereignty by the help of the South-sea countries, may be proved, for instance, by such a fact that Ch'ên I-chung 陳宜中, one of the prime-ministers of the Sung, went to Champa to ask for military aid (宋史, 卷四百十八), or that Sh'ên Ching-chih 沈敬之 also went to Champa to make a plot for the recovery of her supremacy (天下郡國利病書, 卷百二十), or that Chang Shih-chieh 張世傑 is said to have expected the aid of the foreign countries (心史), just as, at the end of the Ming dynasty, the Chinese eagerly asked for foreign aid to defend the Manchus. The South-sea countries also, for fear of an invasion by the Yüan, were secretly disposed to the side of the Sung, as the passage in the *Hsin-shih* shows: "Various foreign countries were afraid of being swallowed up by the Tartars (Mongols), so they paid a monthly fealty of gold, silver, rice and cloth, and supplied the Sung court with military provisions, in order that they might defend themselves against the invasion of the avaricious enemies." — 海外諸國懼韃(韃韃=蒙古)垂涎, 月貢金銀米帛, 充給朝廷軍需, 爲屏蔽攻賊計(心史大義略叙).

YEH Tzu-CHI 葉子奇 towards the beginning of the Ming says in his *Ts'ao-mu-tzu* 草木子: "Han Shan-t'ung made a fake pretence that he was a descendant, in the ninth generation of the Emperor Hui-tsung of the North Sung dynasty, and proclaimed to the world that he had the Imperial Seal concealed in a land of the eastern sea, and that he would muster excellent

soldiers from Japan This false proclamation, issued with the object of stirring the patriotism of the Chinese, was based upon the fact that the last Sung sovereign Kuang-wang (廣王=祥興帝) fled to Ai-shan 崖山 (an island in the south-eastern sea off Kuang-tung province) and also on the rumour that Ch'ên I-chung, the prime-minister of the Sung, went to Japan (to ask her reinforcement)".——韓山童詐稱宋徽宗九(?)世孫,偽詔略曰,蘊玉璽於海東,取精兵於日本,……蓋以宋廣王走崖山,丞相陳宜中走倭,託此說,以動搖天下,(草木子,卷三上,克謹篇).

It will thus be seen that there was formerly a rumour that Ch'ên I-chung went to Japan to ask for her aid, and that at this time Han Shan-t'ung made use of this rumour when he raised an insurrection. By the by, when YEH Tzu-ch'î says that Han Shan-t'ung was a descendant in the ninth generation of Emperor Hui-tsung, he committed a mistake, for the latter was a descendant in the eighth generation (see 明史,卷百二十二).

Emigration of the Chinese in Sung era. CH'Ü TA-CHÜN 屈大均 towards the beginning of the Ch'ing says in his *Kuang-tung-hsin-yü*: "Master Li Chu-yin of Tung-kuan district towards the end of the Sung made his son-in-law Hsiung Fei 熊飛 raise an army in the loyal cause, and he himself crossed the sea to Japan, where he lived, teaching Chinese classics. A great many Japanese came under his influence and called him the Master. When he died, his remains were sent home to China with a party of Japanese musicians. Even now the people of Tung-kuan, in a funeral procession, play the Japanese music which is called Kuo-yang-yüeh (Music from beyond sea). And the players put on Japanese dress and hats, to commemorate this ancient event." ——東莞廣東省粵海道東莞縣李竹隱先生(李用)當宋末,使其婿熊飛起兵勤王,而身浮至日本,以詩書教授,日本人多被其化,稱曰夫子,比死,以鼓吹一部送喪返里,至今(東莞)人送葬,皆用日本鼓吹,號過洋樂,樂人皆倭衣倭帽,以象之(廣東新語卷九). Though I have had no time yet to investigate whether this was a fact or not, if it was a fact, we should see an analogy between Chu Shun-shui 朱舜水 of the end of the Ming and Li Chu-yin of the Sung.

Setting apart the question of Japan, inferring from the fact that many Chinese fled to Annam towards the end of the Sung, and when the Mongols attacked Annam, Chên Chung-wei 陳仲微 fought against them on the side of Annam (宋季三朝政要附錄序), a great many Chinese must have emigrated to the islands of the southern seas.

(2) Custom-duties during T'ang and Sung eras. The custom-duties during the T'ang era are not mentioned in contemporary Chinese records, but according to the Arab records, the then Chinese government is said to have taxed three-tenths of the foreign imports (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 34). This duty would correspond to what the Chinese called the Hsia-ting-shui 下碇稅 (anchorage-tax) [see 新唐書,孔戣傳] or the Po-chiao 船脚 (lit.,

expenses of sea-ships) (唐國史補,卷下).

The duties in the Sung era are mentioned in the *Sung-hui-yao* and other contemporary records. Though varying at different times, during the North Sung era, generally one-tenth and sometimes two-tenths of the imports were taxed (抽解). In the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* by CHU YU, we read: "On the arrival of any trading ships, the governor-general and the chief commissioner of the transports with the superintendent of customs examine the cargoes and levy duties, which is called Ch'ou-chieh 抽解. On the basis of one part for the whole, [for] pearls, camphor and all articles of fine quality 細色, pay [in kind] one part (i.e. 10%). [For] tortoise-shell, sapan-wood and all coarse grade articles 麤色, pay [in kind] three parts (i. e. 30%). (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 21). —凡船至,帥漕與市舶監官,蒞閱其貨而征之,謂之抽解,以十分爲率,眞珠龍腦凡細色抽一分,瑤瑁蕪木凡麤色抽三分(萍洲可談,卷二).

It will thus be seen that all imported cargoes were divided into two kinds, that is articles of fine quality or small in size but dear in price, and those of coarse quality or bulky articles. Under the date of the seventeenth year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興, A. D. 1147, the *Sung-hui-yao* (quoted in 粵海關志,卷三) mentions that in the fourteenth year of *Shao-hsing*, A. D. 1144, on account of the dearth of state treasury, the import duties were raised, and all cargoes of both kinds, were taxed at the heavy rate of four-tenths. For the history of custom-duties in the Sung era, see Dr. FUJITA's article, "*The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping and Regulations concerning It under the Sung Dynasty*, Toyo-gakuho, May 1917, pp. 215, 216). MARCO POLO mentions that the Great Khan levied a duty of ten per cent. on all the merchandise imported at Zayton (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, vol. II, p. 235). Also in the *Yüan-shih*, we read: "In the sixth moon of the twentieth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A. D. 1283, [the Emperor] fixed the rate of duties on imports of trade-ships, the cargoes of fine quality ten percent, and those of coarse quality fifty percent." —至元二十年六月……定市舶抽分例,舶貨精者取十之一,粗者十之五(元史,世祖本紀). The last clause "those of coarse quality fifty percent" is clearly a mistake. For from another passage of the *Yüan-shih*, we learn that the cargoes of fine quality were then taxed one fifteenth —麤者十五分取一(元史,卷九十四,食貨志二,市舶條), and this statement is confirmed by that of the *Yüan-tien-chang*, which clearly mentions that the coarse grade cargoes were taxed one fifteenth, and the fine grade cargoes one tenth —麤貨十五分中要一分,細貨十分中要一分(元典章,卷二十二,市舶條). Therefore the 'fifty per cent.' of the *Yüan-shih* is clearly a mistake for one fifteenth. As the custom regulations in the beginning of the Yüan were modelled after those of the South Sung dynasty, generally speaking, the rate of the custom-duties on imports during the South Sung and Yüan was ten percent.

According to the *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu* (天下郡國利病書卷百二十), in the twelfth year of *Chêng-tê* 正德, A. D. 1517, foreign cargoes were

