

On P'u Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚

a Man of the Western Regions, who was the 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

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The gist of the present essay, which is also published in Japanese with few additions,* is not much different from that which the author contributed between 1915 and 1918 to the *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌 or the *Journal of the Historical Society of Japan* under the title *On P'u Shou-kêng, a Man of the Western Regions, who was the Superintendent of the Trading Ships' Office, towards the End of the Sung dynasty*. He has now the pleasure of publishing it in English to a wider circle of readers than was his former intention, and he has since then amended it and added notes to the essay to a considerable degree, and the result is that it has become almost a new one, with almost a double the former number of pages.

In November, 1914, when I was investigating various records relating to Fu-chien 福建 province in China, I happened to come across a new and interesting fact concerning a man called P'u Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚, who was a resident of Ch'üan-chou 泉州 in that province and who seemed to be of Arabic origin. He held the post of *T'i-chü-shih-po* 提舉市舶¹⁾ or superintendent of the trading ships' office at Ch'üan-chou towards the end of the Sung 宋 dynasty. At that time, the trading ships going in and out of the Chinese ports were called *Shih-po* 市舶 (trading ships), and the office or board of foreign commerce carried on by those ships was known by the name of *Ti-chü-shih-po-ssu* 提舉市舶司.²⁾ The superintendent was called *T'i-chü-shih-po* 提舉市舶. Now P'u Shou-kêng as superintendent was not only a very influential man in the Arab-Chinese trade, but also one of the most active figures during the dynastical change of the Sung 宋 and Yüan 元 in the latter half of the Thirteenth Century, and therefore a very prominent man in Chinese history. It is curious that he should now be quite forgotten, but among the general readers of Chinese

* *Sō-matsu no Teikyo-shihaku, Suiiki-jin Ho Ju-kō no Jiseki* 宋末の提舉市舶, 西域人蒲壽庚の事蹟. Published in 1913 by the *Tōa Kokyū Kwai* 東亞攻究會 or *East Asiatic Society* in Shanghai. 1 vol. in-8°, pp. [i]+xiii+310+23 (index), with a map.

history, is there any one who knows his history or even one who has heard his name?

As I had been engaged for some times in the investigation of the intercourse between China and Arabia (Ta-shih) 大食, I felt a deep interest in this new discovery, and after further study I think I obtained a somewhat tangible result respecting the man, which I shall impart to the reader. As P'u Shou-kêng is of Arabic origin, I shall first give a rough sketch of the history of the trade in China of the Arabs or Islamites, and their life and manners in their Chinese settlements, and then speak of P'u Shou-kêng, our principal subject.

I

For about eight hundred years from the beginning of the Eighth Century to the end of the Fifteenth Century, when the Europeans came to the Far East, it was the Arabs who were most active in the commercial world of the East. Especially from the latter half of the Eighth Century, under the reign of the Abbâs dynasty when they made Baghdâd 縛達 their capital, they began seriously to direct their energies towards the eastern trade.³⁾

The Arabs, starting from the Persian Gulf, crossed the Indian Ocean, and passing round the Malay Peninsula, came to Canton, where they carried on their trade.⁴⁾ Canton at that time was called by them Khanfou (Khanfu)⁵⁾ which is nothing but transliteration of the Chinese Kuang-fu 廣府.⁶⁾ The present Canton was called Kuang-chou 廣州 or Kuang-fu 廣府 in the T'ang 唐 dynasty, and the name is seen in many contemporary records, public and private of that time, for instances in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書 or the *T'ang-liu-tien* 唐六典 etc.⁷⁾ Besides Kuang-chou, Chiao-chou 交州⁸⁾ in Ling-nan 嶺南 province, Yang-chou 揚州⁹⁾ in Chiang-nan 江南 province and also Ch'üan-chou 泉州¹⁰⁾ in Fu-chien 福建 province were the seenes of their commercial activity in the T'ang era. Of the Chinese trade-ports mentioned by IBN KHORDÂDBEH, an Arabian geographer of the Ninth Century, Loukin (el Wakin) was probably Chiao-chou 交州¹¹⁾, Djanfou was Ch'üan-chou 泉州¹²⁾, and Kantou (Kânşu) was Yang-chou 揚州¹³⁾. Among others, however, Kuang-chou (Khanfou) was the most prosperous one, and these facts may now be most accurately verified from eastern as well as western historical records¹⁴⁾.

The Arab trade, though subject to visissitude¹⁵⁾, may be said to have been carried on without interruption, from the T'ang through the Five Dynasties 五代 to the Sung dynasty. Especially during the Sung dynasty their trade became most prosperous and numerous Chinese records connected with it have come down to this day¹⁶⁾. At the beginning of that dynasty, the three ports of Kuang-chou 廣州, Ming-chou 明州 and Hang-chou 杭州 were opened for foreign trade, and at these places were instituted the offices of the trading ships

市船司 for collecting custom-duties and transacting all affairs connected with foreign trade. These offices were then called the *San-ssu* 三司 (*lit.* the three offices)¹⁷⁾. When we look into the state of the custom-duties during the North Sung 北宋 dynasty, the port of Kuang-chou was practically monopolizing all the custom revenue of the government, more than ninety percent of it having been levied at this port.¹⁸⁾ Thus we know that Kuang-chou continued to have preponderance over all others as in the T'ang era.

But from the end of the North Sung and with the coming of the South Sung 南宋 dynasty, this state of the foreign trade underwent a change, and the port of Ch'üan-chou 泉州 of Fuchien was becoming by and by more flourishing than ever. The trading ships' office in Ch'üan-chou is generally believed to have first been organized in the second year of *Yüan-yü* 元祐 of the Emperor Chê-tsung 哲宗 of the North Sung dynasty, though there are some disputes about this date;¹⁹⁾ but that the foreign ships were in reality coming often to Ch'üan-chou port already in the early North Sung epoch, was an established fact.²⁰⁾ And since the opening of the office in Ch'üan-chou it was alluded as one of the [four] "*Shih-po-ssu* of the Three *Lu* or Provinces" 三路市船司, *i.e.*, the Provinces of Fuchien 福建, Kuang-nan-tung 廣南東, and Liang-Chê 兩浙, the first comprising the port of Ch'üan-chou, the second, that of Kuang-chou, and the last, both of Ming-chou 明州 and Hang-chou 杭州.

Forty years after the opening of the Ch'üan-chou port, the capital of the Sung removed from Kai-fêng to Hang-chou 杭州 together with its court and government, and it remained as such throughout the whole South Sung epoch, though the people never called it capital 京師 (*Ching-shih*), always holding it but a temporary residence of imperial family 行在 (*Hang-tsai*). The name *Khinzai*, *Khanzai*, etc., by which the mediaeval traveller of the West called the city of Hang-chou, I presume to be the corrupted transliteration of the *Hang-tsai*.²¹⁾ After the removal to South China, the Sung court encouraged the foreign trade for the purpose of increasing the state revenues.²²⁾ Though as the result of the policy there sometimes arose troublesome questions relating to the extensive outflow of Chinese coins,²³⁾ yet throughout the South Sung era the foreign trade continued prosperously. Thus the port of Ch'üan-chou 泉州 near Hang-chou 杭州, not only on account of its convenient position, but also as the result of encouragement of foreign trade by the Government, made rapid strides and soon became a rival to Kuang-chou.²⁴⁾ For about one hundred years, from the middle of the Thirteenth to the middle of the Fourteenth Century it finally surpassed the latter port. Then all ships coming in and out of China made Ch'üan-chou their centre.²⁵⁾ MARCO POLO and IBN BATÛTA, who came to China in the Yüan 元 dynasty, each praised Ch'üan-chou as the largest trade port in the world.²⁶⁾ Ch'üan-chou was also called *Zayton*, *Zaitûn* or *Zaytoun*²⁷⁾ by the Arabs and other westerners during

the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries. These names derived their origin from the fact that about the middle of the Five Dynasties, Liu Ts'ung-chiao 留從効, the governer-general of Ch'üan-chou, rebuilt the wall of the city, and planted all round it the *Tz'u-t'ung* 刺桐 trees, whence the city was popularly called *Tz'u-t'ung-chêng* 刺桐城 (the city surrounded by the *Tz'u-t'ung* trees) or simply *T'ung-chêng* 桐城.²⁸⁵ This gave rise to the Arabic *Médinet Zeytoun* —the word *médinet* meaning a fortified city— or simply *Zeytoun*, which is of course an Arabic corruption of the Chinese *Tz'u-t'ung*.²⁸⁶

NOTE

1) *T'i-chü-shih-po* 提舉市舶 (*lit.* the superintendent of trading ships) was also called *Shih-po-shih* 市舶使 (*lit.* the commissioner of trading ships) or more briefly *Po-shih* 舶使 (*lit.* the commissioner of ships). In the Sung era, the official names of *Chih-chih-shih* 制置使, *Chao-fu-shih* 招撫使 or *Ching-lieh-an-fu-shih* 經略安撫使 were sometimes contracted into *Chih-chih* 制置, *Chao-fu* 招撫 or *Ching-lieh-an-fu* 經略安撫 and in the same way *T'i-chü-shih-po-ssu* 提舉市舶司 (*lit.* The office to superintend trading ships) into *Shih-po-ssu* 市舶司 (*lit.* the office of trading ships) or *Po-ssu* 舶司 (*lit.* the office of ships), and also *T'i-chü-shih-po-kuan* 提舉市舶官 (*lit.* the officer to superintend trading ships) into *Shih-po-kuan* 市舶官 (*lit.* the officer of trading ships) or *Po-kuan* 舶官 (*lit.* the officer of ships). From these examples, the names *T'i-chü-shih-po* 提舉市舶, *Shih-po-shih* 市舶使 and *Po-shih* 舶使 may be taken surely as a contraction of *T'i-chü-shih-po-shih* 提舉市舶使 (*lit.* the commissioner to superintend trading ships), but this full name I have never come across in any record I looked up. The name *Shih-po-shih* 市舶使 was already used in the T'ang dynasty, when it was also called *Ya-fan-po-shih* 押蕃舶使 (*lit.* the commissioner to manage foreign ships, see 柳河東集, 卷十), or *Chien-po-shih* 監[市]舶使 (*lit.* the commissioner to superintend ships, see 全唐文, 卷七百六十四). For these names, see my article *On Dr. Fujita's "The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping and Regulations concerning it under the Sung dynasty"* in the *Shigaku Zasshi* 史學雜誌, July 1918, pp. 7-13.

The posts of the *Shih-po-shih* or superintendent of trading ships and its under-officers were held from the T'ang to the North Sung dynasty by the local authorities, sometimes in conjunction with the eunuchs or courtiers sent from the Imperial court. But about the end of the North Sung dynasty, special officers were appointed at the trading ports in the provinces of Liang-chê 兩浙, Kuang-nan-tung 廣南東 and Fu-chien 福建.

In the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-k'ao* 文獻通考, we read: "In the former system,

though there was the post of the superintendent of the trading ships' office, it was mostly held by the prefectural authorities. It was first during the period of *Yüan-fêng* 元豐 (1078-1085), that the commissioner of transports held the post, and the prefectural officers ceased to take a part in it, and after that a special superintendent was appointed the commissioner of transports ceasing to take a part in it." 舊制雖有市舶司,多州郡兼領,元豐中始令轉運司兼提舉,而州郡不復預矣,後專置提舉,而轉運亦不復預矣(文獻通考,卷六十二). For the history of the *Shih-po-shih* in the Sung dynasty, see Dr. FUJITA's article *The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping and Regulations concerning it under the Sung dynasty*, (*Tōyō Gakuhō* 東洋學報 or *Reports of the Investigations of the Oriental Society of Japan*, May 1917).

Though the *Shih-po-shih* clearly was founded during the T'ang dynasty, it is not mentioned either in the *T'ang-liu-tien* 唐六典 or in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書 (卷四十二乃至四十四職官志), or in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (卷四十六乃至四十九百官志), and therefore we cannot ascertain when it was first established. The famous scholar KU YEN-WU 顧炎武 of the Seventeenth Century, in his *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-ping-shu* 天下郡國利病書, concerning the *Shih-po-shih* of the T'ang dynasty, says: "In the T'ang dynasty, the superintendency of trading ships was first established, and it was held by or under the supervision of the viceroy of Ling-nan 嶺南 province. There were opened market-places, where foreigners who came to China were allowed to hold their market, and the government derived some revenue out of it. Now, of the ships that came to Kuang-chou, the largest one was called *Tu-ch'iang-po* 獨樁舶, capable of holding cargoes of one thousand *Po-lan* 婆蘭,* the next one was called *Niu-t'ou-po* 牛頭舶, holding one-third of the cargoes of the former, the next in order came *San-mu-po* 三木舶, then *Liao-ho-po* 料河舶, holding cargoes each one third of the preceding one. In the seventeenth years of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀, A.D. 643, an imperial order was given to the trading ships' offices of the Three Provinces (三路市舶司), that, of the cargoes brought over by the foreign traders, the four kinds of camphor, gharu-wood, cloves, and cardamons should each be taxed ten per cent (in kind)." 唐始置市舶使,以嶺南帥臣監領之,設市區,令蠻夷來貢者爲市,稍收利入官,凡舟之來最大者,爲獨樁舶,能載一千婆蘭,次日牛頭舶,比獨樁得三之一,又次日三木舶,日料河舶,遞得三之一,貞觀十七年詔三路[市]舶司,蕃商販到,龍腦,沈香,丁香,白豆蔻四色,並抽解一分(天下郡國利病書,卷百二十).

Thus according to KU YEN-WU, the office of foreign ships was founded in 643, and perhaps its superintendent *Shih-po-shih* 市舶使 was appointed at the same time. In spite of his great fame as an accurate scholar, the above-quoted passage is full of errors. For the statements relating to *Tu-ch'iang-po*

* The *Po-lan* 婆蘭 is a transliteration of the Malayan *Bharan*, a weight widely used in India and the Far East in the Middle Ages, and is about four pounds (YULE and BURNELL, *Hobson Jobson*, pp. 47, 48).

獨檣舶 and *Niu-t'ou-po* 牛頭舶 etc. are clearly based on the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (卷百十六, 食貨志下八, 互市舶法條), which therefore have nothing to do with the T'ang dynasty. Also the seventeenth year of *Chên-kuan* is evidently a misreading of the seventeenth year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興, A.D. 1147, as we know from the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要. (See 粵海關志, 卷三). Moreover, during the T'ang dynasty, the word *Tao* 道 only is used, never *Lu* 路, when meaning a province, and so the appellation of *San-lu-shih-po-ssu* 三路市舶司 could only be founded in the Sung, never in the T'ang dynasty.

Misled by the fame of KU YEN-WU, the authors of the *Yieh-hai-kuan-chih* 粵海關志 (卷二) and the *Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih* 康熙廣東通志 (卷二十八) quoted him without any verification, and on the same authority Dr. HIRTH also founded his mediaeval history of the Eastern trade (*Chinesische Studien*, Bd. I, *Zur Geschichte des Orienthandels im Mittelalter*, s. 27).

In the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, we read during the *K'ai-yüan* 開元 period, A.D. 713-741, under the emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗, the superintendent of trading ships, Chou Ch'ing-li 周慶立 presented to the emperor curious foreign goods, for which he was strongly accused by Liu-Tsê 柳澤 of making the emperor corrupt and immoral. The Emperor was warned by him that "His Majesty, having newly ascended the throne, should show the world how he behaves himself abstemiously, by showing examples of frugality to the people, and not indulging in the weakness of being fond of rare and curious foreign trash." 陛下新即位, 固宜昭宣菲薄, 廣示節儉, 豈可以怪好示四方哉 (新唐書, 卷百十二, 柳澤傳). This passage clearly shows that the superintendent already existed at the beginning of the *K'ai-yüan* period. The name of the superintendent Chou Ch'ing-li is quite well known, being found in many historical records, but the date of his accusation has hitherto been vaguely known as the beginning of the *K'ai-yüan*. I, however, fortunately chanced, while reading the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 冊府元龜, to come across a passage to clear away the cloud hanging so long over the date. In this book, we see that it was in the second year of *K'ai-yüan*, A.D. 714, that Chou Ch'ing-li was so accused together with a Persian priest, Chi-lieh or Ki-lie 及烈. 柳澤開元二年爲殿中侍御史, 嶺南監選使, 會市舶使右衛威中郎將周慶立, 波斯僧及烈等, 廣造奇器異巧以進 (冊府元龜, 卷五百四十六).

In the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* 舊唐書, we see that when the famous Yang Kuei-fei 楊貴妃 (a favourite consort of the emperor Hsüan-tsung), was very influential at the imperial court, the local governors vied with each other in presenting her with curious foreign things to court her favours. The governors of Yang-chou 揚州, I-chou 益州, and those in Ling-piao 嶺表 (*i.e.* Ling-nan 嶺南) province, earnestly looked for good artisans that make curious things and strange dresses, which they would present to Yang Kuei-fei, that they might be promoted to higher positions. 揚益嶺表 [*i.e.* 交, 廣] 刺史, 必求良工, 造作奇器異服, 以奉 [楊] 貴妃獻賀, 因致擢居顯位 (舊唐書, 卷五十一, 后妃傳上).

Whatever may be the fact about I-chou 益州, the three prefectures of Yang-chou 揚州, Kuang-chou 廣州 and Chiao-chou 交州 (these latter two being in Ling-piao province) are localities long connected with foreign trade, so the presents made by the governors of these prefectures may surely have been foreign goods. This fact would account for the affair of Chou Ch'ing-li some thirty or forty years ago.

The Persian priest Chi-lieh 及烈 is clearly a Nestorian monk. In the famous Nestorian Monument of Si-ngan-fu 西安府, we read, "In the years A.D. 698-700, the Buddhists, gaining power, raised their voices in the Eastern Metropolis (Lo-yang 洛陽); towards the end of the year A.D. 713, some low fellow excited ridicule and spread slanders in the Western Capital (Chang-an 長安). At that time there were the chief priests Lo-han 羅含 and the greatly virtuous Chi-lieh (Ki-lie) 及烈, both of noble estate from the western regions, lofty-minded priests, having abandoned all worldly interests; who unitedly maintained the grand principles and preserved the fallen law." 聖曆年釋子用壯, 騰口於東周, 先天末, 下士大笑, 訕謗於西鎬, 有若僧首羅含, 大德及烈, 並金方貴緒, 物外高僧, 共振玄綱, 俱維絕紐. This greatly virtuous Chi-lieh is probably the same man as this Persian Chi-lieh 及烈. Before the fourth year of *T'ien-pao* 天寶, A.D. 745, Persia being regarded by the Chinese as the centre of Nestorians, Nestorian temples were called Persian temples 波斯寺, and Nestorian monks Persian priests 波斯僧. The Nestorian monk A-lo-pên 阿羅本 who first preached the doctrine in China, being called the Persian priest A-lo-pên in the imperial edict of the twelfth year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀, A.D. 638, (see 唐會要, 卷四十九, 大秦寺條), there is no doubt that Nestorian monks were then called Persian priests. In the fourth year of *T'ien-pao*, all Persian temples were called by the new name of Ta-ch'in temples 大秦寺 (唐會要, 卷四十九), hereafter all Nestorian monks were called Ta-ch'in priests 大秦僧. Thus, in the Nestorian Monument, set up in the second year of *Chien-chung* 建中, A.D. 781, we find, instead of the former name of the Persian priest A-lo-pên, the sentence: "In the Ta-ch'in country, there was a great virtuous man called A-lo-pên." 大秦國有上德, 曰阿羅本.

According to HELLER, the ancient pronunciation of Chi-lieh 及烈 was *Gap-liet*, and it is a mere transliteration of Gabriel. (See *Das Nestorianische Denkmal in Singanfu*, s. 68 and s. 480, in *Wissenschaftliche Ergebnisse der Reise des Grafen Bela Széchenyi in Ostasien*, Bd. II). Whatever may be the connection between Chi-lieh and Gabriel, if the Nestorian Chi-lieh who preached at Chang-an in the second year of *Hsien-t'ien* 先天 (i.e. 開元元年, A.D. 713) was the same person as the Persian Chi-lieh who courted the favours of the emperor Hsüan-tsung by presenting him with curious things, this fact would excite the curiosity of historians, as it throws some light on the contrivances of these monks for the propagation of their doctrine, just as Matheo RICCI 利瑪竇, the Jesuit in the Ming dynasty, presented a clock 報時自鳴鐘, a

curious thing for that time, to then emperor Shên-tsung 神宗, which contributed much to the dissemination of the Roman church. Though this is rather beside the main question, I mention the Persian priest Chi-lieh on account of his connection with Chou Ch'ing-li, especially as this fact seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of scholars. For more details, see my article, *Some Curious Facts Concerning the Nestorian Monk Chi-lieh*, in the *Geibun* 藝文 (*Literary Magazine of the Kyôto Imperial University*), Nov. 1915.

2) Probably the first record of the functions of the *T'i-chü-shih-po-ssu* 提舉市舶司 or the office of the superintendent of the trading ships we find in the *Sung-shih*, which runs as follows: "The office of the Superintendent of trading ships manages all the affairs concerning foreign goods, trading ships, the collecting of custom-duties 征, the monopoly of foreign goods 權, and foreign trade so as to attract distant peoples and foreign goods." 提舉市舶司掌蕃貨海舶征權貿易之事, 以來遠人通遠物 (宋史, 卷百六十七).

In the *Li-tai-chih-kuan-piao* 歷代職官表 (卷六十二), compiled by the Ch'ing 清 scholar CHI CHÜN 紀昀 and others, the *Shih-po-ssu* 市舶司 is described merely as an inspection office of custom duties, but in fact the office included other functions as well. To enumerate the principal functions of the office in the Sung era, (A) all affairs concerning foreign ships and trade: when a foreign ship arrives, the superintendent or his substitute inspects the imported goods, whether there may be some contrabands, the warehousing of imports, the collecting of duties, the purchase of monopolized goods such as incenses etc., the protection of foreign peoples, and the inspection of out-going ships, whether they carry away forbidden things; (B) all affairs connected with the Chinese trading ships abroad: the inspection of all goods on board exported from China as well as foreign goods imported to China, and the collection of duties. For details, see Dr. FUJITA'S *The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping and Regulations concerning it under the Sung dynasty*, in the *Tôyô Gakuhô* 東洋學報, May 1917, pp. 214-240.

In the *Ta-yüan-shêng-chêng-kuo-chao-tien-chang* 大元聖政國朝典章 (卷二十二, 戶部八), we find regulations concerning the trading ships in twenty two articles. Although the laws were made of the thirtieth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A.D. 1293, they were, as the preamble says, mainly founded on those of the South Sung era, from which we may therefore infer what the Sung regulations were like.

But these Yüan regulations were chiefly concerned with the Chinese trading ships going abroad, and had very little or nothing to do with the foreign trading ships coming to China.

3) Concerning the commercial activity of the Arabs, see Alfred von KREMER'S *Culturgeschichte des Orients unter den Califen*, Bd. II, ss. 274 ff, and also REINAUD'S *Relations des Voyages faits par les Arabes et les Persans dans l'Inde et à la Chine*, Tome I, Discours préliminaire, pp. xl ff.

Dr. HIRTH says in his *Chau Ju-kua 趙汝适, a New Source of Mediaeval Geography* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 57):—"There is probably no study more fascinating to the student of historical geography during the period preceding Marco Polo than that of the Oriental maritime trade, which made Arabic enterprise the ruling element in the commercial world for centuries before the rise of the Portuguese. The ocean-trade of almost every port in these waters, which may be said to reach from the Coast of Morocco in the West to that of Japan and Corea in the East, was in the hands of Arab merchants."

In fact the names of Japan and Korea (Corea) began to be known to the Arabs for the first time from the middle of the Ninth Century. In SOLEYMAN'S record written in A.D. 851 (REINAUD, *Relatiions des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 60), Korea appears under the name of Sylā (Silā), and in IBN KHORDĀDBEH'S *Le Livre des Routes et des Provinces* (*J.A.*, 1865, pp. 294, 522) of about the same date, we see also the name of Sila (Silā). This Sylā or Sila is undoubtedly a corruption of Hsin-la 新羅, as Korea was then called. Japan appears in IBN KHORDĀDBEH (*J.A.*, 1865, p. 293) as Wakwak (Wāk-wāk), which is surely a corruption of Wa-kwok 倭國, as Japan was then called by the Chinese. As the Arabs never came to Japan or Korea during the T'ang era they must have heard these names from the Chinese (see the *Shinagaku* 支那學 or *Sinology*, May 1921, p. 62). The records of the Arabs concerning Japan and Korea were made the subjects of investigation by various eminent Japanese scholars, among others the most valuable being Dr. UCHIDA'S article, *About Sila island and Gores* (*Geibun*, March 1915—Jan. 1918).

4) Concerning the route taken by the Arabs from the Persian Gulf to the Southern Sea of China, see YULE'S *Notes on the oldest records of the Sea-route to China from Western Asia* (*Proceedings of R.G.S.*, 1882, pp. 649-59), and for more original sources, see the chapter: *Seeweg von Tigrismündung nach Indien und China*, in SPRENGER'S *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, ss. 79-91, founded on the records of IBN KHORDĀDBEH and IDRYSY.

In the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (卷四十三下, 地理志七下所收, 廣州通海夷道條), the route from Kuang-chou 廣州 to the countries of the Sea-barbarians, that is, to India and Persia, is mentioned. This has been adapted from the *Huang-hua-ssu-ta-chi* 皇華四達記 (*lit.* the Book describing the Routes to Four Quarters of the World from China) written by CHIA TAN 賈耽 during the *Chên-yüan* 貞元 period (A.D. 785-804), which is therefore about half a century earlier than the record of IBN KHORDĀDBEH, and is an excellent reference on the subject. Chia Tan, on his part, seems to have got his material from the Arab traders, and though the route mentioned is just the reverse, his record nearly coincides with that of IBN KHORDĀDBEH. On this route from Kuang-chou to the West in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, see Prof. PELLIoT'S *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde à la fin du VIII^e siècle* (*Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient*, 1904), which treats of the land-route from Annam

by some to India and the upper half of the sea-route from Kuang-chou to Persia. In HIRTH and ROCKHILL'S *Chau Ju-kua* (Introduction, pp. 12-14), the lower half, that is the sea-route from India to Persia, is also treated, containing, however, not a few errors and misconstructions. For a more correct interpretation of Chia Tan's record relating to the Persian Gulf, see my article, *On the Ports for Eastern Trade in the Persian Gulf* in the *Shi-rin* 史林 (*Historical Magazine of the Kyôto Imperial University*), July 1916, pp. 6-12.

5) The name Khanfou (Khanfu) appears first in SOLEYMAN'S account (REINAUD'S *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 12) and in IBN KHORDÂDBEH'S *Le Livre des Routes et des Provinces* (*J.A.*, 1865, p. 292). Khanfou is identified by some scholars with Kuang-chou 廣州 (番禺縣) in Kuang-tung 廣東 province, and by others with Hang-chou 杭州 (杭縣) in Chê-chiang 浙江 province. This has been long an open question. REINAUDOT, who first translated SOLEYMAN'S record more than a century before REINAUD, took Khanfou as Kuang-chou (REINAUDOT, *Ancient Accounts of India and China by Two Mohammedan Travellers*, p. 31), and DE GUIGNES adopted the same opinion (*Allgemeine Geschichte der Hunnen etc.*, Bd. I, s. 629). But KLAPROTH thought that Khanfou was Gampou of MARCO POLO, and that this Gampou was Kan-p'u 澉浦 (浙江省, 錢塘道, 海鹽縣, 澉浦鎮), lying at the mouth of Ch'ien-tang 錢塘 river, about 130 Chinese miles distant from Hang-chou 杭州 (*Renseignemens sur les ports de Gampou et de Zaithoum*, *J.A.*, 1824, II, pp. 39-40). After KLAPROTH, such authorities as REINAUD (*Relations des Voyages*, Tome I, Discours préliminaire, pp. cxv-cxvi) or YULE (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, 3rd edition, Vol. I, p. 89), or RICHTHOFEN (*China*, Bd. I, s. 570) or Prof. CORDIER (*Cathay and the Way Thither*, 3rd edition, Vol. I, p. 89), all decided in favour of Hang-chou 杭州. In the meanwhile, Dr. HIRTH, (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, pp. 68-69), Prof. ISHIBASHI (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Sept. 1901, p. 49), Prof. TSUBOI (*The Method of Historical Study* 史學研究法, pp. 214-215), and Prof. PELLIOU (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1904, p. 215), all of them rejecting Hang-chou, maintained that Khanfou was Kuang-chou 廣州.

That Kuang-chou was the foremost trading port in South China during the T'ang era, is quite clear from the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, the *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, and several other sources of that time, while Hang-chou 杭州 or least of all Kan-p'u 澉浦 leave us no trace whatever of their being important ports in the T'ang era, and moreover, as these two latter ports were opened only during the Sung era, there is little doubt of Khaufou being Kuang-chou 廣州.

But ABOU ZEYD in the first part of the Tenth Century reports that Banschoua, which is a corruption of Huang-ch'ao 黃巢, a great rebel towards the end of the T'ang era, attacked and took Khanfou in the year 264 A. H (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, pp. 63-64). On the other hand, in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* (新唐書, 卷九, 僖宗本紀), we see that the rebel took

Hang-chou 杭州 in the fifth year of *Ch'ien-fu* 乾符 (264 A. H.) and took Kuang-chou 廣州 in the next year (265 A. H.). When we compare these two records of the West and East, it seems we must decide against Khanfou being Kuang-chou. But no scholar who advocated the Khanfou-Kuang-chou theory, has yet been able to clear away this knotty point. In my recent article, *The Khanfou Question and the Date of its Fall*, I investigated more fully the two points, (1) that Huang-ch'ao never took Hang-chou 杭州, and (2) that it was in the fifth year of *Ch'ien-fu* that he took Kuang-chou 廣州, and not in the next year. As a result of this study, it follows naturally that Khanfou cannot be Hang-chou 杭州, but must be Kuang-chou 廣州. For details, see my article in the *Shi-rin*, Jan. 1919.

6) That the Khanfou of the Arab record is Kuang-fu 廣府, has been first suggested by Prof. ISHIBASHI (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Sept. 1901, pp. 50, 51). PELLIOU published the same opinion just three years after.

7) We read under the heading "The office of secondary commandant of Kuang-chou" 廣州中都督府 in the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* (舊唐書, 卷四十一, 地理志四), that in the ninth year of *Wu-tê* 武德, A.D. 626, the eleven prefectures Tuan, Fêng, Sung, K'uang, Lung, Chien, Ch'i, Wei, Fu, I, Ch'in were made to appertain to Kuang-fu 廣府 And in the second year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀, 628, the two more prefectures, Hsün and Ch'ao were annexed to Kuang-fu 廣州中都督府, 武德九年以端封, 宋, 淮, 瀧, 建, 齊, 威, 扶, 義, 勤, 十一州隸廣府 貞觀二年以循, 潮二州隸廣府.

The name Kuang-fu 廣府 repeatedly appears in the records of the T'ang and Sung eras, such as the *T'ang-liu-tien* 唐六典 (卷三), the *Ta-t'ang-ch'iu-fa-kao-sêng-chüan* 大唐求法高僧傳 (卷下), the *Tò-dai-wa-jô-Kan-jin-tô-sei-den* 唐大和上鑑真東征傳 (群書類從, 第四輯, 卷六十九), the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* 太平廣記 (卷四百三十七), the *Nan-pu-hsin-shu* 南部新書 (卷戊),* and the *Ch'ing-i-lu* 清異錄 (卷下), etc. Prof. ISHIBASHI says that Kuang-fu, being the place where the *Tu-tu* 都督 (commander) resided, is a contraction of 廣州都督府 (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Sept. 1901, p. 51).

Prof. PELLIOU explains why Kuang-chou was called Kuang-fu in the T'ang era: "Canton est appelé par Kia Tan du même nom qu'il porte aujourd'hui, Kuang-tcheou. La forme complète est Kouang-tcheou-fou, ou "Préfecture de Kouang-tcheou." Les anciens voyageurs arabes paraissent avoir connu Canton sous le nom de Khanfu, qui, je crois, n'a pas été expliqué (voir le résumé de la question dans le Marco Polo de Yule, éd. Cordier, II, 199). Je proposerais d'y voir une transcription de Kuang-fou, nom abrégé de Kuang-tcheou-fou. L'usage chinois actuel connaît ces abréviations: Pao-ting-fou dans la langue courante est très souvent appelé Pao-fou. La forme Kuang-fou pour

* See the *Nan-pu-hsin-shu* in the *Yüeh-ya-tang-t'sung-shu* 粵雅堂叢書. Some edition (學津討原本南部新書) has 廣州府 for 廣府.

Kuang-tcheou-fou est attestée à l'époque des T'ang par Yi-tsing, etc." (*B.E.F.E.O.*, 1904, p. 205).

In the T'ang era, the office of commander 都督 or viceroy 節度使 was called the *Ta-fu* 大府 (great office) or the *Hui-fu* 會府 (metropolitan office), and that of governor 刺史 under the commander or the viceroy was called the *Chou-fu* 州府 (local office) or simply *Fu* 府 (office). (See 資治通鑑, 唐紀七十五, 景福元年 [A.D. 892] 條). Thus whether be a commander 都督 or not, the office of *chou* 州 or Prefecture might also be called *Fu* 府, from which fact Prof. PELLIOT's remark may be partially true.

But such appellations as Kuang-chou-fou 廣州府, or Hang-chou-fou 杭州府 for definite administrative sections, were used only after the Ming dynasty, before which time such usage is seldom met with. If Prof. PELLIOT supposed that the same usage prevailed in the T'ang as in the Ming dynasty, and so Kuang-fu is a contraction of Kuang-chou-fou, he is not correct, and the argument would rather fall to the ground. As is seen in the above-quoted passage of the *Chiu-T'ang-Shu*, ch. 41, where Kuang-chou-tu-tu-fu 廣州都督府 is contracted into Kuang-fu, and also in the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* 太平廣記, where Liu Chu-lin 劉巨鱗 is recorded to be appointed the commander of Kuang-fu 廣府 towards the end of the *K'ai-yüan* 開元 period (A.D. 713-741) 劉巨鱗, 開元末, 爲廣府都督 (太平廣記, 卷四百三十七), from these examples we would rather decide in favour of Prof. ISHIBASHI, who regarded Kuang-fu as a contraction of 廣州都督府, against Prof. PELLIOT, who thought it a contraction of 廣州[刺史]府.

8) That foreign trading ships came to Chiao-chou 交州 in the T'ang era, is clear from the memorial of Liu Chih 陸贄 to the emperor Tê-tsung 德宗 in which occurs the following passage:—"The viceroy of Ling-nan province reports that of recent years many ships go to Annam for the purpose of trade." 嶺南節度經略使奏, 近日船舶多往安南市易 (陸宣公奏議, 卷十八所收, 論嶺南請於安南置市舶中使狀). This memorial was made in the eighth year of *Chên-yüan* 貞元, A.D. 792, showing that the foreign trade was then brisk at Annam (Chiao-chou 交州). And also in the *T'ang-kuo-shih-pu* 唐國史補 written by Li Chao 李肇 of the T'ang, it is recorded, that "The trading ships of the Southern seas are foreign ones. They come every year to Annam and to Kuang-chou" 南海舶外國船也, 每歲至安南廣州 (唐國史補, 卷下, 獅子國海舶條). As the *T'ang-kuo-shih-pu* treats of the T'ang history of more than a century from *K'ai-yüan* 開元 (713-741) to *Chang-ch'ing* 長慶 (821-824), there is little doubt that foreign merchants came to Annam from the eighth to the beginning of the ninth century. Among the so-called foreign ships, there must have been Arabian ships, and by Annam is surely meant Chiao-chou 交州, the residential place of the commander of Annam 安南都護.

9) That the foreign ships came to Yang-chou 揚州, is proved from the following fact. When Liu Chan 劉展, the viceroy of the three provinces,

Huai-nan-tung 淮南東, Chiang-nan-hsi 江南西 and Chê-hsi 浙西, rose in revolt, the government to subdue it sent a general, T'ien Shên-kung 田神功, who entered Yang-chou and slaughtered many foreign traders living in that city. In the biography of T'ien Shên-kung of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, we read that "When the army of T'ien Shên-kung entered Yang-chou, they plundered the residents and exhumed graves. Several thousands of traders from Ta-shih 大食 (Arabia) and Po-ssu 波斯 (Persia) were killed." 田神功兵至揚州, 大掠居人, 發冢墓, 大食波斯賈胡死者數千人 (新唐書, 卷四十四, 田神功傳). This event, which took place in the first year of *Shang-yüan* 上元, A.D. 760, proves that in the middle of the Eighth Century many Mohammedan traders lived in Yang-chou. Furthermore, in the Imperial ordinance of the eighth year of *T'ai-ho* 太和, A.D. 834, we read: "The foreign ships from the Southern Seas are come from distant countries, expecting the merciful treatment of our Kingdom. Therefore the foreigners should of course be treated with kindness, so as to excite their gratitude. We hear, on the contrary, that of late years the local officers are apt to over-tax them, and the voice of recentment is said to have reached to the foreign countries. It is needless to say, we are striving to lead a life of frugality and abstinence. How should we desire the curious foreign things? We deeply feel sorry that those foreign peoples should be so uneasy, and even feel that the present mode of taxation is too heavy for them. We would show them lenience, so as to invite the good-will of those peoples. To the foreigners living at Ling-nan 嶺南, Fu-chien 福建 and Yang-chou 揚州, the viceroys of these provinces should offer consolations, and except the already fixed anchorage-duties, the court-purchase and the regular presents, no additional taxes should be inflicted on them, allowing them to engage freely in their trade." 南海蕃舶, 本以慕化而來, 固在接以仁恩使其感悅, 如聞比年長吏多務徵求, 嗟怨之聲, 達於殊俗, 况朕方實勤儉, 豈愛遐琛, 深慮遠人未安, 率稅猶重, 思有矜恤以示綏懷, 其嶺南福建及揚州蕃客, 宜委節度觀察使, 常加存問, 除舶脚, 收市, 進奉外, 任其來往通流, 自爲交易, 不得重加率稅 (全唐文, 卷七十五所收, 太和八年疾癒德音).

Among the foreign merchants of Yang-chou, here mentioned, it is needless to say, there were those from Arabia and Persia. HSIEH CHAO-CHIH 謝肇淛 of the Ming era, in his work *Wu-tsa-tsu* 五雜俎, says: "In the T'ang era, Yang-chou always had Persian shops, and the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* 太平廣記 several times mentions this fact" 唐時揚州常有波斯胡店, 太平廣記往々稱之 (五雜俎卷十二). I have, however, not been able to find out the references in the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi*.

10) There is no direct proof of the Mohammedan traders coming to Ch'üan-chou 泉州 in the T'ang era. Though HIRTH and ROCKHILL say that they were already trading in Ch'üan-chou in the Ninth Century or before (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17), and Dr. FUJITA mentions also that foreign ships were going to and out of Fu-chou, Ch'üan-chou and other ports of Fu-chien province

from the T'ang era (*Tōyō Gakuhō*, May 1917, p. 193), they have no direct evidence to prove it.

In the *Min-shu* 閩書, written by HO CHIAO-YÜAN 何喬遠 of the Ming era, there is a history of Islam in China, in which we read: "Mohammed, the holy man (嗎喊叭德聖人), had among his disciples four wise men, who came during the *Wu-tê* 武德 period (A.D. 618-626), to our empire, and finally promulgated their doctrine to the Middle Kingdom. The first wise man preached at Kuang-chou 廣州, the second at Yang-chou 揚州 and the other two at Ch'üan-chou 泉州, who died there and were interred in this mountain (*i.e.* Ling-shan 靈山).^{*} Therefore these two wise men were of the T'ang era." 嗎喊叭德聖人門徒有大賢四人,唐武德中來朝,遂傳教中國,一賢傳教廣州,二賢傳教揚州,三賢四賢傳教泉州,卒葬此山(靈山),然則二賢唐時人也(閩書,卷七,方域志). So early a date as *Wu-tê* 武德 is surely unbelievable, but this tradition may have originated in comparatively early times. Inferring from the content, I attribute the origin of this tradition to before the North Sung or perhaps after the middle of the T'ang era. (For details see the *Shigaku Zasshi*, Oct. 1920, pp. 42-44). That a tradition which may be supposed to have originated in the middle or late T'ang dynasty, says that Ch'üan-chou was the place of the first Mohammedan mission, seems to prove indirectly that Mohammedan traders came there frequently in that period. In the above-quoted ordinance of the eighth year of *T'ai-ho*, among the places visited by foreigners in the Ninth Century, are mentioned, beside Yang-chou 揚州, the two provinces of Ling-nan 嶺南 and Fu-chien 福建. And also in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要(卷一百), we see that in the first year of *T'ien-yü* 天祐, A.D. 904, there came to Fu-chien an envoy called P'u-ho-su 蒲訶粟 from Çribodja (Sribôdja) 三佛齊 (in Sumatra), and in the *Wên-yüan-ying-hua* 文苑英華, when in the third year of *Ch'ien-ning* 乾寧, A.D. 896, Wang Ch'ao 王潮 was appointed the viceroy of Fu-chou, the Imperial order given to him contains the words: "In the provinces of Fu-chien 福建 and Chê-chiang 浙江 there are living here and there island-barbarians" 閩越之間,島夷斯雜(文苑英華,卷四百五十七所收,授王潮威武軍節度使制). And also in the *Wu-tai-shih-chi* 五代史記, speaking of the rule of Wang Shên-chih 王審知, the younger brother of Wang Ch'ao and the king of Fu-chien, he is said to have invited foreign traders in the seas to the ports of Fu-chien 招來海中蠻夷商賈(五代史記,卷六十八,閩世家). From these facts, there is no doubt, from the middle of the T'ang era, of the foreign traders resorting to Fu-chien province. And that the port of Ch'üan-chou must have been the earliest one opened to the foreign trade, is safely inferred by the Mohammedan tradition referred to above.

* The Ling-shan 靈山 is a hillock lying 2 kilometres from the east-gate of Ch'üan-chou city. The so-called Shêng-mu 聖墓 (the holy tomb of the Mohammedan saints) is situated at the west side of the hillock. For the present state of this sepulchre, see ARNAIZ'S article *Mémoire sur les Antiquités musulmanes de Ts'üan-tcheou*, p. 702 (*T'oung Pao*, 1911).

In the *Ch'üan-nan-tsa-chih* 泉南雜誌, written by the Ming scholar CH'ËN MOU-JËN 陳懋仁 towards the beginning of the Seventeenth Century, we see that in the T'ang era, there were in Ch'üan-chou four special officers, called *San-chün-shih* 參軍事, who served as guides to the envoys to be sent abroad 唐設泉州……參軍事四人,掌出使導贊 (泉南雜誌,卷上, ed. of 學海類編). This fact clearly shows that Ch'üan-chou was the principal gate of the foreign intercourse in the T'ang era. But the officers called *San-chün-shih*, referred to in that book, is not mentioned in any T'ang book near at hand.*

11) IBN KHORDÂDBEH (*Le Livre des Routes et des Provinces*, J.A., 1865, p. 292) mentions, as the trade-ports touched by the Arabs in the first half of the Ninth Century, commencing from the South, the four ports of Loukîn, Khanfou, Djanfou and Kantou. Of these, the southernmost port of Loukîn was identified by SPRENGER with present Hanoi in Tongking, the French dominion, that is Chiao-chou 交州 of the T'ang era or thereabouts (*Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, s. 30). Nothing is more cogent than the reasoning made from the eastern and western records, that Loukîn, the southernmost port of China mentioned by IBN KHORDÂDBEH, should be Chiao-chou, the southernmost port of China in the T'ang era.

Though thus the position of Loukîn was settled once for all, what Chinese name does Loukîn stand for has long been an open question. It was Prof. ISHIBASHI who firstly offered its reasonable solution and too Loukîn to be after all a corruption of Chinese Lung-pien 龍編 (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Nov. 1901, pp. 37-38). Now Lung-pien was the name of district which lies 45 Chinese miles or about 12 English miles south-east of Chiao-chou 交州 (see the *Yüan-ho-chün-hsien-chih* 元和郡縣志,卷三十八) on the large river of Songkoi. It is mentioned in several T'ang writings: a) The theme of CH'ËN CH'ÜAN-CH'Û'S 沈佺期 poem: We crossed the Annam Sea to enter to the port of Lung-pien 度安[南]海入龍編 (石印本,全唐詩,卷四); b) A stanza of LIU KUEI-MËNG'S 陸龜蒙 poem: The way leads to Lung-pien, Sea-ships for away seen 路入龍編海舶遙 (全唐詩,卷二十三); c) In the T'ang general KAO P'ËN'S 高駢 answer to the King of Nan-chao 南詔,[†] we see that referring to his military exploits in the subjugation of Annam, he says: "Recently I led in person the army to the outlandish district of Annam and have retaken its door Lung-pien" 比者親征海裔,克復龍編 (全唐文,卷八百二所收,回雲南牒).

* This statement of the *Ch'üan-nan-tsa-chih* relating to *San-chün-shih* is probably based on the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志 (卷二十七,秩官條) which was published in the third year of *Hung-chih* 弘治, A.D. 1490. But on what authority the statement of the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* is founded I do not know.

† The Nan-chao was a kingdom established in the modern Yün-nan 雲南 province which became powerful and towards the end of the T'ang era took possession of Annam, the T'ang dominion. But in the year 866 Kao P'ien retook Annam from the hands of the Nan-chao. Here he refers to this military exploits.

At first the form Loukin seems not quite similar to Lung-pien. But the character *lung* 龍 in the T'ang era was pronounced *lii* or *li* by the Turks (CHAVANNES, *Le Cycle turc des douze Animaux*, in *T'oung-Pao*, 1906, p. 52), *loo* by the Mongols (*Ibid.*, p. 52), and *riu* or *ryô* by the Japanese. From these analogies, we may easily suppose that the Arabs may have pronounced it as *lou*. As to the sound of *pien* 編, as has been suggested by Prof. ISHIBASHI, the Arab, having no sound of *p*, substitutes *f* for it. And as the Arab character ڤ (*f*) resembles very much that ڤ (*k*), Lung-pien may have ultimately become Loukin. Whatever it may be, for the time being, the opinion that Loukin is Lung-pien must be accepted as the best one.

12) The third port Djanfou in IBN KHORDÂDBEH has not yet been definitely identified. SPRENGER thought it to be Hang-chou 州杭 (*Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, ss. 90, 91). YULE took it to be Yang-chou 揚州 (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. I, p. 136), which has afterwards been cordially approved by Prof. ISHIBASHI (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Nov. 1901, pp. 61-63, and also Dr. FUJITA (*Ibid.*, June 1916, pp. 41-43). But after comparing both the eastern and western documents on this subject, I have come to the conclusion, that it was Ch'üan-chou 泉州 of Fu-chien province. HARTMANN once expounded the same opinion (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 842), but his data rest only on vague imagination. I hope I stand on far surer grounds. For details, see my article, *On the Trade Ports of China mentioned in Ibn Khordâdbeh, especially on Djanfou and Kantou* (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Oct. 1920, pp. 33-60).

13) As to the location of Kantou dark clouds still hang over it, with little hope of elucidation. RICHTHOFEN locates it at Chiao-chou 膠州 in the modern Shan-tung 山東 province (*China*, Bd. I, s. 57), Prof. ISHIBASHI at Lai-chou 萊州 in the same province (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Oct. 1901, pp. 62-63), Dr. FUJITA at Yung-p'ing 永平 in the modern Chih-li 直隸 province (*Ibid.*, June 1916, pp. 50-65), to mention only the most important opinions. But all these seem to me quite unreliable. In my opinion, inferring both from various records of the T'ang dynasty and the fact that Yang-chou 揚州 was then the emporium of foreign trade, Kantou is surely Yang-chou in the modern Chiang-su 江蘇 province, and it is nothing but a corruption of Kiang-tu 江都, another name for Yang-chou. For details, see my article, *On the Trade Ports of China mentioned in Ibn Khordâdbeh, especially on Djanfou and Kantou* (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Oct. 1919, and Oct. 1920).

14) The foreign trade at Kuang-chou 廣州 in the T'ang dynasty, on the Arabic side, may be studied principally from REINAUD's *Relation des Voyages* (Tome I, *Discours Préliminaire*, pp. xii-xiii, xxxiv-xxxv, lxxi-lxxvi, cvi-cx), and on the Chinese side, from Mr. NAKAMURA's *Kuang-tung (Canton) in the T'ang era* (*Shigaku Zasshi*, March, April, and May 1917).

15) Kuang-chou 廣州, though the most flourishing port in the T'ang

era, was subject to vicissitude, principally owing to the avarice of local authorities. The *Hsin-t'ang-shu* gives the state of the port, about the fourth year of *Ta-li* 大曆 (A.D. 769): "Li Mien 李勉 was appointed the viceroy of Ling-nan Of the foreign ships from the south-west, there came barely four or five there a year..... Li Mien being a righteous man did not make a heavy extortion. [Thereupon] the next year, the ships came more than four thousand." 李勉...拜嶺南節度使...西南夷舶歲至纔四五.....勉既廉潔,又不暴征,明年至者乃四千餘柁(新唐書,卷百三十一,李勉傳). Thus the once forlorn port had made so rapid a stride in trade, simply owing to the non-extortion of local authorities. Again we know from the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 that "In the eighth year of *Chên-yüan* 貞元, 792, the viceroy of Ling-nan reported to the court: of recent years the sea-ships importing foreign rare articles mostly trade at Annam [and a few of them come to Kuang-chou] [貞元八年]嶺南節度使奏,近日海舶珍異,多就安南市易,(資治通鑑,唐紀五十). And this decline of the foreign trade at Kuang-chou was owing to the avarice of local authorities, as had been pointed out in the memorial of Liu Chih 陸贄. (See 陸宣公奏議,卷十八所收,論嶺南請於安南置市舶中使狀). After the rebellion of Huang-ch'ao 黃巢 towards the end of the T'ang era, with moral corruption prevailing through the whole country, extortion on the foreign traders became so severe that the foreign inhabitants of Kuang-chou, once said to contain more than a hundred and twenty thousand, decreased rapidly, and the foreign trade of course declined very much. (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, pp. 67, 68; MAÇOUDI, *Les Prairies d'Or*, Tome I, p. 308).

16) Of the Arab trade and also the foreign trade in general during the Sung dynasty, the fundamental Chinese document is the section of the trading ships 市舶部 in the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要. For the origin and history of the *Sung-hui-yao*, see the Ch'ing scholar YU CHÈNG-HSIEH 's 俞正燮 postscript to the re-collected *Sung-hui-yao* (癸巳類稿,卷十二所收,宋會要輯本跋). This *Sung-hui-yao* has long been lost to the world, but in the fourteenth year of *Chia-ch'ing* 嘉慶, 1809, Hsü Sung 徐松 gleaned from the *Yung-lo-ta-tien* 永樂大典 belonging to the Imperial Library at Peking, the scattered passages of the *Sung-hui-yao*, which he collected into a book of five hundred chapters. For details, see the *I-fêng-tang-wên-chi* 藝風堂文集(卷一所收,徐星伯先生事輯) and the *I-fêng-tang-wên-hsi-chi* 藝風堂文續集,卷四所收,永樂大典考), both written by MIU CH'UAN-SUN 繆荃孫, a recently deceased Chinese scholar.

The *Yung-lo-ta-tien* is a grand Encyclopædia compiled under the reign of the emperor Yung-lo 永樂 (1402-1424) of the Ming. It contained 22,937 books. This enormous work was finished in the year 1407 (see WYLLIE, *Notes on Chinese Literature*, pp. 185, 186 and COULING, *Encyclopædia Sinica*, p. 296).

This collection is now in possession of Mr. LIU CHÈNG-KAN 劉承幹, and

has not been published, to our great regret. Dr. FUJITA in 1916, through introduction of Mr. LO CHÊN-YÜ 羅振玉, made a copy of the section relating to the trading ships in the same collection, from which I have through the courtesy of Dr. FUJITA, made a transcription. But the passages concerning the foreign trade at Kuang-chou in the *Sung-hui-yao* were already made use of in the Ch'ing scholar LIANG T'ING-NAN 梁廷柟's *Yüeh-hai-kuan-chih* 粵海關志. Though the book is anonymous, my colleague Prof. YANO confirms me that there is no doubt whatever that the author was Liang T'ing-nan. The regulations on the foreign trade, given in the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (卷百八十六所收, 互市舶法) is nothing but an abbreviation of those of the *Sung-hui-yao*.

Dr. FUJITA's article, *The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping and Regulations concerning it under the Sung Dynasty* (*Tōyō Gakuhō*, May 1917), being founded on the *Sung-hui-yao* and other documents of the Sung era, is worthy of notice. I would also recommend Prof. ISHIBASHI's *On the Foreign Trade along the Coast of China and the Trade Ports in the T'ang and Sung eras* (*Shigaku Zasshi*, Aug., Sept., Nov., 1901), and also HIRTH and ROCKHILL's *Chau Ju-kua*, Introduction.

17) In the *Sung-hui-yao* we see: "In the second year of *Ta-chung-hsiang-fu* 大中祥符, A.D. 1009, an Imperial edict was issued, that 'hereafter the *T'ou-shih* 鑰石, imported by the foreign traders, would be bought, at the three offices of Hang-chou 杭州, Kuang-chou 廣州 and Ming-chou 明州, at the rate of 500 cash per *chin* 斤 (pound).' This was the first time that the *T'ou-shih* was made an object of monopoly. Before this time, the *T'ou-shih* had been bought at these three offices (*San-ssu* 三司), for 200 cash per *chin* 斤 (or Chinese pound), but was now raised to the present rate." 大中祥符二年...詔: 杭, 廣, 明州市舶司, 自今番商齎鑰石至者, 官爲收市, 斤給錢五百, 以初立禁科也, 時三司定直斤錢二百, 詔特增其數 (粵海關志, 卷二所引, 宋會要). The trade office at Kuang-chou 廣州 was opened in the fourth year of *K'ai-pao* 開寶, A.D. 971, and those of Hang-chou 杭州 and Ming-chou 明州 a little later towards the end of the Tenth Century, and all three were in full swing in the second year of *Hsien-p'ing* 咸平, A.D. 999. For the date of the opening and history of these ports, see Dr. FUJITA's *The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping, etc.* (*Tōyō Gakuhō*, May 1917, pp. 172-185). The *T'ou-shih* of the Chinese is brass. According to Dr. LAUFER, in the Chinese *T'ou-shih*, the second element *Shih* (Stone) does not form part of the transcription; the term means simply *T'ou* stone, and *T'ou* reproduces the first syllable of Persian *titiya*, (*Sino-Iranica*, p. 513).

18) LIANG T'ING-NAN 梁廷柟, in his *Yüeh-hai-kuan-chih*, quoting from the *Chung-shu-pei-tui* 中書備對 of PI CHUNG-YEN 畢仲衍 of the North Sung era, mentions the state of the foreign trade in the tenth year of *Hsi-ning* 熙寧, A.D. 1097, as follows: "According to the *Chung-shu-pei-tui*, the trading

ships' office in the three provinces received 354,449 [Chinese] pounds of frankincense, of which Ming-chou 明州 received only 4,739 pounds, Hang-chou 杭州 still less, or 637 pounds; all the rest, 348,673 pounds, were received at Kuang-chou 廣州. Though there are three offices, the most flourishing is only Kuang-chou. 謹按備對所言三州市舶司[所收]乳香三十五萬四千四百四十九斤,其內明州所收,惟四千七百三十九斤,杭州所收,惟六百三十七斤,而廣州所收者,則有三十四萬八千六百七十三斤,是雖三處置司,實祇廣州最盛也(粵海關志,卷三).

This fact is confirmed by CHU Yü 朱彥, an author towards the end of the North Sung dynasty, in his *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談, in which he says: "At the beginning of *Ch'ung-ning* 崇寧 (A.D. 1102), the three provinces (Kuang-nan-tung, Fu-chien and Liang-chê) had each its special superintendency of trading ships. Of the three, Kuang-chou alone was the most prosperous." (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 20). 崇寧初三路[廣南東,福建,兩浙]各置提舉市舶司,三方唯廣[州]最盛(萍洲可談,卷二).

19) In the section of the trading ships regulations of the *Sung-shih*, it is written, that "in the third year of *Yüan-yü* 元祐, A.D. 1088, was established at Pan-ch'iao 板橋 in Mi-chou 密州 (in the modern Shan-tung province), the superintendency of trading ships, and in the preceding year, A.D. 1087, another one at Ch'üan-chou 泉州. 元祐三年置密州板橋市舶司,而前一年亦增置市舶司於泉州(宋史,卷百八十六,食貨志下八,互市舶法).

Thus the establishment of the office of Ch'üan-chou must surely have been in the year 1087. But in the section of offices and their functions 職官志 of the *Sung-shih*, we read: "in the first year of *Yüan-yü* 元祐, 1086, the emperor [Chê-tsung] commanded the province of Fu-chien to establish an office of trading ships at Ch'üan-chou." 元祐初詔福建路於泉州置[市舶]司(宋史,卷百六十七,職官志). On the other hand, WANG HSIANG-CHIH 王象之 of the South Sung era (輿地紀勝,卷百三十,泉州條), and MA TUAN-LIN 馬端臨 towards the beginning of the Yüan dynasty (文獻通考,卷六十二,職官考十六,提舉市舶條), both affirm that "in the second year of the ascension of Emperor Chê-tsung 哲宗, Ch'üan-chou was first commanded to establish the trading ships' office." 哲宗即位之二年,始詔泉置市舶.

According to the Chinese custom of counting the reign of an emperor from the year in which he succeeded the former one, the first year of a new reign would overlap with that of the former one. In this case, therefore, the second year of the reign of Emperor Chê-tsung would fall in the first year of *Yüan-yü* 元祐 or 1086. Then the description of the *Wên-chien-t'ung-kao* 文獻通考, and that of the *Yü-ti-chi-shêng* 輿地紀勝, and also that of the section of offices and their functions in the *Sung-shih*, would fall in with one another.

Though there are thus discrepancies as to the date of the first establishment of the trading ships' office at Ch'üan-chou, as there is an explicit state-

ment in the *Sung-hui-yao*, as has been pointed out by Dr. FUJITA, that "In the second year of *Yüan-yü*, 10th moon, 6th day, an additional trading ships' office was established at Ch'üan-chou" 元祐二年十月六日, 詔泉州增置市舶, it would be safe to adapt the second year of *Yüan-yü*, 1087, as the date of first establishment of the Ch'üan-chou office. (See the *Tōyō Gakuhō*, May 1917, p. 194).

20) Concerning the commercial state of Ch'üan-chou before the *Yüan-yü* 元祐 period (1086-1093), the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 says: "At the beginning of *T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo* 太平興國, A.D. 979, was instituted in the Capital (K'ai-feng 開封) an office called *Chieh-i-yüan* 權易院 (license office or monopoly bureau), for the state monopoly of foreign goods. On that occasion, an imperial order was issued, that all imported incense, medicine and other precious articles, arriving either at Kuang-chou 廣州, Chiao-chih 交趾 (Tongking), Ch'üan-chou 泉州 or Liang-chê 兩浙 province (the modern Chê-chiang province), were to be deposited in government warehouses, and that all these foreign goods were to be purchased only through the hands of the government, prohibiting private trade with the foreigners." 太平興國初, 京師置權易院, 乃詔, 諸蕃國香藥寶貨, 至廣州, 交趾, 泉州, 兩浙, 非出於官庫者, 不得私相市易 (粵海關志, 卷二所引, 宋會要).

It will thus be seen that the foreign ships came to Ch'üan-chou in very early times. At that time, all incense, medicine and other precious articles were made a monopoly of the government, and all goods imported at Kuang-chou, Chiao-chou, Ch'üan-chou, etc. were bought up by the government, and the people were prohibited to deal in them. As to the foreign trade carried on at Ch'üan-chou since *T'ai-p'ing-hsing-kuo* 太平興國 to *Yüan-yü* 元祐 period, the *Sung-hui-yao* gives too many instances to be quoted here.

CHAO JU-KUA 趙汝适 in his *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 says: "In the *Yung-hsi* 雍熙 period (A.D. 984-988), a priest by name Lo-ha-na (Rahula?) arrived in Ch'üan-chou by sea; he called himself a native of India. The foreign traders, considering that he was a foreign priest, vied with each other in presenting him gold, silks, jewels, and precious stones (things?), but the priest had no use for them himself. He bought a piece of ground and built a Buddhist shrine in the southern suburb of Ch'üan-chou; it is the Pao-lin-yüan 寶林院 of the present day" (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 111). 雍熙間, 有僧囉護哪, 航海而至, 自言天竺國人, 蕃商以其胡僧, 競持金繒珍寶以施, 僧一不有, 買隙地, 建佛刹于泉之城南, 今寶林院是也, (諸蕃志, 卷上, 天竺條).

We see thus that a great number of the foreign traders resided at Ch'üan-chou early in the North Sung era.

The Arab monument at the temple Ch'ing-ching-ssu 清淨寺 in Ch'üan-chou, recently published by ARNAIZ and MAX VAN BERCHEM (*Mémoires sur les Antiquités musulmanes de Ts'üan-tcheou, T'oung Pao*, 1911, pp. 704, 705),

was erected in the year 710 A.H., that is A.D. 1310-11. According to the inscription of the monument, the temple was built in the year 400 A.H. (A.D. 1009-10) or the second to third year of *Ta-chung-hsiang-fu* 大中祥符 of the North Sung dynasty. If this be reliable, then Ch'üan-chou must have been the chief emporium of the foreign settlers of that time, and principally of the Arabs. In order to control the number of foreign traders coming to Ch'üan-chou, already from the *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 period (A.D. 1068-1076) the government felt the necessity of instituting there the superintendency of trading ships, which was at length realized in the *Yüan-yü* period, A.D. 1086-1093. (See *Tōyō Gakuhō*, May 1917, p. 193).

21) Hang-chou 杭州 was known to the Westerners of the Middle Ages by the names of Khinsai, Khinzai, Khansa, Khanzai, etc. For those names see YULE and CORDIER'S, *Book of Ser Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 212-214, and also IVAR HALLBERG'S *L'Extrême Orient dans la Littérature et la Cartographie des XIII^e, XIV^e, et XV^e Siècles*, pp. 425-429.

The name Khinsai or Khanzai was thought by PAUTHIER (*Le Livre de Marco Polo*, Tome I, p. 458), and by YULE (*Cathay*, 2nd edition, Vol. II, p. 192) to be a transliteration of *King-sze* (*Ching-shih*) 京師, for Hang-chou being the seat of the temporal residence of the South Sung court, it was then simply called the *King-sze* or Capital, which had been corrupted by the foreigners into Khinsai, etc.

This elucidation has universally accepted, but I cannot so easily agree with it. The late Dr. NAKA said that Khinsai was not a transliteration of *King-sze* 京師 but of *Hing-tsai* (*Hsing-tsai*) 行在, but without giving a full reason why it should be so (那珂通世遺書所收, 成吉思汗實錄續編, 十七及十八頁). Dr. FUJITA also independently expressed the same opinion (the *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Nov. 1913, p. 444) but I think on rather insufficient grounds. I almost independently came to the same conclusion as the two predecessors but founded on somewhat surer grounds.

In their adversity, the South Sung court was very eager in recovering the former capital of K'ai-fêng 開封 and the Mausolea of their Imperial ancestors at Kung district 鞏縣 (in the modern Ho-nan 河南 province), both of which were in the hands of the Nü-chên 女真 (Golden Tartars) their dead enemy, so that they called the Imperial cemetery of Hui-chi 會稽 district in the modern Chê-chiang 浙江 province, the *Tsan-so* 墳所 (the temporal cemetery) and not the *Shan-ling* 山陵 (the Imperial Mausoleum), as should be the custom, and they called their residence at Hang-chou the *Hsing-tsai* 行在 (the temporal residence) and not the *King-sze* (the capital). In the geographical section of the *Sung-Shih*, there are mentioned all Imperial cities during the Sun dynasty, and with regards Hang-chou, it writes: "Hang-chou, a temporal residence; in the third year of *Chien-yen* 建炎 (A.D. 1129), the emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 removed from Chien-k'ang 建康 (in the modern

Chiang-su 江蘇 province) to Lin-an 臨安 (Hang-chou in the modern Ché-chiang province), and made the governor's *Ya-mên* (official residence) his temporal residence 行宮, 行在所, 建炎三年閏八月, 高宗自建康如臨安, 以州治爲行宮 (宋史, 卷八十五, 地理志一).

Hang-chou, though in reality the seat of Imperial court, was then called *Hsing-tsai*. The geographical books *Ch'ien-tao-lin-an-chih* 乾道臨安志 and *Hsien-shun-lin-an-chih* 咸淳臨安志, both the works of the South Sung era, describe Hang-chou as *Hsing-tsai*, the place as temporal residence of the emperor and never *King-sze*. For in the South Sung era, the name *King-sze* 京師 (the capital) would generally mean K'ai-fêng 開封 (Pien-ching 汴京, the seat of court in the North Sung era), in the modern Ho-nan 河南 province. However in the *Tu-chêng-chi-shêng* 都城紀勝 (Description of the sights of the metropolitan city) published in the second year of *Tuang-p'ing* 端平 (A.D. 1235), Hang-chou is called *Tu-chêng* 都城 (the metropolitan city) and not *Hsing-tsai*. This fact seems to weaken my argument, but when we examine more closely, we see in the preface where the author, one with pseudonym of *Nai-tê-wêng* 耐得翁, compares the respective prosperity of K'ai-fêng and Hang-chou, and calls the former *King-sze* and the latter *Hsing-tu* 行都 (temporal capital), which means the same as *Hsing-tsai*: 聖朝祖宗開國, 就都於汴, 而風俗典禮四方仰之爲師, 自高宗皇帝駐驛於杭, 而杭山水明秀, 民物康阜, 視京師 [汴京] 其過十倍矣, 雖市肆與京師相侔, 然中興已百餘年... 其與中興時又過十數倍也; ... 況中興行都 [杭州] 東南之盛, 爲今日四方之標準.

In the imperial ordinance, the eleventh moon, the fourteenth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, A.D. 1277, the Mongol emperor commanded that "the central government should proclaim far and near, that, as the South China being already subdued, the Sung should now be called the late Sung and the *Hsing-tsai* 行在 should be called Hang-chou 杭州." 命中書省, 檄諭中外, 江南既平, 宋宜曰亡宋, 行在宜曰杭州 (元史, 卷九, 世祖本紀, 六). This conclusively proves that Hang-chou continued to be called *Hsing-tsai* as late as the beginning of the Yüan dynasty, and the custom with the foreigners of using the quasi-name *Hing-tsai* would have persisted to a later time.

Now, the present Peking pronunciation of the two characters 行在 is *Hang-tsai* or *Hsing (Hing)-tsai*, but whether the ancient pronunciation of the character 行 was *Hang* or *Kang* or *Khang* awaits still a further investigation. The late Dr. NAKA and Dr. FUJITA, in their thesis that Khinsai is *Hing-tsai* 行在, have, in my opinion, utterly neglected this very important point. In order to know the sound of their character 行 in the South Sung and the beginning of the Yüan era, the most effective method is to make a comparative study of Pagspa Mongol 八思巴蒙古字 and Chinese characters. When we examine the K'ung-miao pei 孔廟碑 (Tablet in Confucius temple), erected in the eleventh year of *Tai-tê* 大德 (A.D. 1307), and the Mêng-miao-pe

孟廟碑, erected in the second year of *Chih-shun* 至順 (A.D. 1331), both at Ch'ü-fu 曲阜 district, in the modern Shan-tung province, and also the Hsüeh-kuang-pei 學官碑 at Sung-chiang 松江 district in the modern Chiang-su 江蘇 province, erected in the thirty-first year of *Chih-yüan* 至元 (A.D. 1294), we see that the Pagspa Mongol character corresponding to the initial sound of the Chinese character 行 is *h* (ᠬ). Thus it will be seen that in these monuments of the Yüan era, whether in North China or South, the Chinese characters must have had the identical, that is the Northern, pronunciation, and the initial consonant of the character 行 must have been *h*, and not *k* or *kh*.

On the other hand, according to the *Kuang-yün* 廣韻, the sound of the character 行 is composed of the two characters 胡 and 郎, or 戶 and 庚, so that in the middle of the T'ang dynasty, the three characters 行, 胡, 戶 must have had the same initial consonant. According to KARLGREN the ancient sound of 胡 is *γuo* (*Prononciation ancienne de caractères chinois*, T'oung Pao, 1919, p. 112). The author of the *Ta-t'ang-hsi-yü-chi* 大唐西域記 transcribed the geographical name Gokan in Central Asia by the three characters 胡寔健 (MARQUART, *Eransāhr*, s. 80), and in the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 of the South Sung era, the characters 胡茶辣 are used to transcribe Guzerat in India. In the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (卷四百八十九, 三佛齊國條), 悉利胡大 stand for Sērī Kuda, the name of King of San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊 (FERRAND, *Le K'ouen-Louen*, J.A. 1919, II, p. 217). Moreover in the official seals of the Yüan dynasty the both characters 胡 and 戶 have the sound *χu*, represented by Pagspa Mongol characters. (See the *Shirin*, Apr. 1917, p. 138).

From all these examples we come to the conclusion that the initial consonant of the character 行 in the T'ang era at least, must have been not *h*, but rather *g*, *k*, *γ*, or *χ*. According to Dr. MITSUDA, the pronunciation system of the *Chung-yüan-yin-yün* 中原音韻, written by CHOU TÊ-CH'ING 周德清 of the Yüan dynasty, represents the sound of the Chinese characters from the South Sung to the beginning of the Yüan era (*Geibun*, March 1919, pp. 19, 20). And we learn from this book that the sound of 行 is the *Fan-ch'ieh* 反切 of 何 and 岡 or 霞 and 浪. The *Fan-ch'ieh* is a Chinese system which, by the use of two characters, one giving the sound of the initial and the other the sound of the final, represents the pronunciation of each character. For example, 那 *Na* and 含 *Han* in *Fan-ch'ieh* *N(a) + (h)an* or *Nan*, serves to make the pronunciation of 南 *Nan* (see COULING, *Encyclopaedia Sinica*, p. 297). Thus we know from the *Fan-ch'ieh* of 何 and 岡 or 霞 and 浪 that the initial consonant of 行 must be same as that of 何 or 霞. Now the initial consonant of 何 (see 事林廣記, 丁集, 卷十,) and 霞 (see PAUTHIER, *L'Alphabet de Pa-sse-pa*, J.A., 1862, I, p. 25), represented by Pagspa Mongol is *χ* (ᠬ), which proves that the initial consonant of 行 is also *χ*. Besides, when we take into consideration that the present pronunciation of 行

at Fu-chien province is *kiang* (GILES, *Chinese and English Dictionary*, p. 578) its initial sound in South China from the Sung to the beginning of the Yüan must have been not *h*, but *kh* or χ . When we consider that the Chinese characters 漢, 寒, 汗, 罕, 何, 呼, 胡, 湖, 虎, 賀, 鶴, 海, 黑, etc. have probably passed through their successive stages of vocal change *k, g, > kh, \chi \gamma, > h*, the character 行, on the same principle, may have changed from its Sung sound of *kh(\chi)ang* or *kh(\chi)ing* to the present sound of *hang*, or *hing*. As the ancient pronunciation of Chinese characters bears a most important position on the study of Chinese history, I would earnestly wish that some able scholars of Chinese phonology would appear to solve this knotty point on a more scientific basis.

Therefore, assuming that the sound of the character 行 in the South Sung era was *kh(\chi)ang* or *kh(\chi)ing*, and as the sound of the character 在 was invariably through all ages was *zai* or *tsai* (KARLGREN, *prononciation ancienne, etc.*, *T'oung Pao*, 1919, pp. 110, 120), various names for Hang-chou used by the foreigners who came to South China in the Middle Ages, such as Kinsay (MARCO POLO), Cansay (ODORIC), Khanzai (WASSÂF), were nothing but corruptions of *kh(\chi)ang-ts(z)ai* or *kh(\chi)ing-ts(z)ai*. Though I do not make so strong an assertion that Khinsai can never be *King-sze* 京師, I am more in favor of the Kinsai=*Hing-tsai* 行在 theory, from all the contemporary evidences.

22) The Ordinance of the seventh year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興 (A.D. 1137), issued by the emperor Kao-tsung 高宗 of the South Sung has the following passage: "The profit derived from foreign trade is most great. When the management was proper, the income was sometimes counted by millions (of cash). Is this not far better than taxing the people? It is why we pay much attention to it. We could thus be lenient to the people, and let them be a little more prosperous." 市舶之利最厚,若措置合宜,所得動以百萬計,豈不勝取之於民,朕所以留意於此,庶幾可以少寬民力爾(粵海關志,卷三所引,宋會要). Also the ordinance in the sixteenth year of *Shoo-hsing* 紹興 (A.D. 1146) says: "The profit of marine trade contributes much to the national income. Therefore, pursuing the former custom, the people of far-away countries should be encouraged to come and import an abundant supply of foreign goods." 市舶之利頗助國用,宜循舊法,以招徠遠人,阜通貨賄.

These two passages show how earnestly the Sung government encouraged the foreign trade. And when the national finance had become very straitened, the income derived from the foreign trade formed a principal one, as has been remarked by KU YEN-WU 顧炎武 in his *Tien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-p'ing-shu* 天下郡國利病書: "After the removal of the Sung court to South China, the national finance become very difficult, and depended wholly on that derived from marine trade. Though the latter income was not insignificant, gold, silver, copper, tin and cash thereby had been drained out of our Empire, and scarcity of cash was most extreme. Though the law against it was very

severe, people become more crafty, and the disaster had at last become inexpressible.” [宋]南渡後，經費困乏，一切倚辦海舶，歲入固不少，然金銀錫錢幣亦用是漏泄外境，而錢之泄尤甚，法禁雖嚴，奸巧愈密，弊卒不可言（天下郡國利病書，卷百二十，海外諸蕃條）。

23) Of the foreign trade of the Sung era, the exports consisted principally in gold, silver, copper cash, silk and porcelain, etc., while the imports were incense, medicine, precious stones, elephant tusks, rhinoceros horns, etc. (see 宋史，卷百八十六，互市舶法條). Chinese cash at that time was widely spread throughout the Orient from Japan in the east to the islamic countries in the west.

To Japan was imported a vast quantity of Chinese cash from the end of the Fujiwara era, and in the fourth year of *Ken-kyū* 建久, A.D. 1194, an Imperial edict was issued to prohibit the use of Chinese cash (法曹至要抄，卷中), but without avail. All through the Kamakura and Ashikaga eras, Japanese currency consisted chiefly of Sung and Ming copper coins (大日本史，食貨志，十五). From the fact that we have even now a great number of them, though not in actual use, we may imagine what an immense number of them had been imported.

Also through the South Sea islands, Chinese cash spread, and has long been in use as currency (CRAWFURD, *A descriptive Dictionary of the Indian Islands*, p. 94). In the early part of the Fifteenth Century, MA HUAN 馬歡, the author of the *Ying-ai-shêng-lan* 瀛涯勝覽, says, respecting Java 瓜哇國: “In commerce, they use Chinese copper coins of successive dynasties” 買賣交易，行使中國，歷代銅錢; and respecting the Chiu-chiang Country 舊港國 (Palembang in Sumatra), that “In the market, they use copper coins of the Middle Kingdom.” 市中交易，亦使中國銅錢. Those coins were mostly of the Sung era, as very little was minted in the Yüan era.

In 1827, the coins exhumed near Singapore were mostly Sung ones, (CRAWFURD, *op. cit.*, p. 94), and thirty coins found at Djokjokerto in Java in about 1860 were mostly of the same era (SCHLEGEL, *Geographical Notes, T'oung Pao*, 1897 p. 265). At Mabar in South India, where many Chinese trading ships frequented towards the end of the Thirteenth Century, Chinese coins were picked up along the coast in the middle of the Nineteenth Century (YULE and GORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 337), which I presume must have contained Sung ones. Lastly, in Zanzibar of Africa which is probably the Ts'êng-pa Country 層拔國 of CHAO JU-KUA 趙汝适 (HIRTH, *Die Länder des Islam nach chinesischen Quellen, T'oung Pao*, 1894, supplement, s. 34; HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 126), Sung coins were exhumed by an Englishman in 1888, and also in Mucedoshu on Somali coast of Africa, which is the Mu-ku-tu-shu Country 木骨都束國 of the *Hsing-ch'á-shêng-lan* 星槎勝覽 written by FEI HSIN 費信 in the Fifteenth Century (SCHLEGEL, *Geographical Notes, T'oung Pao*, 1895, p. 368; ROCKHILL's *Notes on the*

Relation and Trade etc., *T'oung Pao*, 1915, p. 617), copper coins of the Sung era are said to have been exhumed (HIRTH, *Early Chinese Notices of East African Territories*, *J.A.O.S.*, 1909, pp. 55, 57).

From all these, what a man of the Sung era said: "Coins are originally treasures of the Middle-Kingdom, but are now in common use with the barbarians of the four quarters." 錢本中國寶貨, 今乃與四夷共用 (宋史, 卷百八十一, 食貨志下三), is not an exaggeration. To meet the demand, the mint of the Sung government was set in full swing for many successive years, but the outflow so exceeded the supply, that at last took place what was called the *Ch'ien-luang* 錢荒 (*lit.* Cash-famine).

Such a financial state naturally attracted the attention of the Sung statesmen. During the reign of Shêng-tsung 神宗 (1067-1085) Chang Fang-p'ing 張方平 complained: "At the frontiers, heavily loaded carts go out to the North, and the sea ships fully laden go away to the South." 邊關重車而出, 海舶飽載而向, (宋史, 卷百八十, 食貨志下二). Similarly such patriots as Wang Chü-an 王居安 in the reign of Ning-tsung 寧宗 (1194-1224), (宋史, 卷四百五, 王居安傳) or Ch'ên Ch'iu-liu 陳求留 in the reign of Li-tsung 理宗, (1224-1264) (宋史, 卷百八十, 食貨志下二) declared that foreign trade was only harmful, for the imports were all luxurious things and the exports were all coins, and that from a moral as well as an economical point of view, it should be either prohibited or restricted. In spite of such patriotic cries, the outflow of cash never ceased, and this question was one of the gravest questions throughout the Sung dynasty, just as during the *Chia-ch'ing* 嘉慶 (1796-1820) and *Tao-kuang* 道光 (1821-1850) periods of the Ch'ing dynasty, coins flowed out by importation of opium (ROCKHILL, *Notes on the Relation and Trade of China etc.*, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, pp. 420-423).

Whatever may be the reality, the Chinese government of the T'ang era made it their principle to prohibit the outflow of coins. The edict of the second year of *K'ai-yüan* 開元, A.D. 713, has it: "Gold and iron should not be bartered with all foreigners." 金鐵並不得與諸蕃互市 (唐會要, 卷八十六). Also that of the first year of *Chien-chung* 建中, A.D. 780, mentions: "Silver, copper, iron, male and female slaves should not be bartered with all foreigners." 銀, 銅, 鐵, 奴婢並不得與諸蕃互市 (冊府元龜, 卷九百九十九), in which copper coins must be presumed to be included. In the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, we see that in the first year of *Chên-yüan* 貞元, A.D. 785, at Lo-ku 駱谷 (in the modern Shen-hsi 陝西 province) and San-kuan 散關 (in the modern Kan-su 甘肅 province), all travellers were forbidden to take even a piece of cash with them out of these places. 貞元初駱谷散關禁行人以一鐵出者 (新唐書, 卷五十四, 食貨志). This was a precaution against the outflow of coins to such western regions as T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibet) or Nan-chao 南詔 (a kingdom established in the modern Yün-nan province).

This prohibitive law became severer in the Sung dynasty, as we see in

the imperial proclamation at the beginning of the dynasty:* “Copper coins unduly go out to South China, beyond the northern frontiers and to the countries of south barbarians. The following punishments should be dealt to the offenders proportionally to their crimes: for taking out two strings (2,000) of cash, one year’s imprisonment; for above three strings, execution at the square; and informers were invited with rewards” 銅錢闌出江南塞外及南蕃諸國,差定其法,二貫者徒一年,三貫以上棄市,募告者賞之(宋史,卷百八十,食貨志下二). In the eleventh year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興, A.D. 1147, whether Chinese ships going abroad (販蕃船) or foreign ships going home (回蕃船), all ships going out of the ports of Kuang-tung and Fu-chien were inspected by officers dispatched for the purpose to see whether they had cash on board (粵海關志,卷三所引,宋會要). And in the twelfth year of *Chia-ting* 嘉定, A.D. 1219, silks, brocade, porcelain, and lacquered wares were made to pay for foreign goods instead of coins. (宋史,卷百八十五,食貨志下七,香條). But in spite of all these efforts, the prohibitive measures were simply dead letters, as is always the case with the Chinese. As early as the T’ang era, not a little cash had flown out to foreign countries. The *Tzu-chih-tung-chien* 資治通鑑(唐紀五十八) records in the first year of *Chang-ch’ing* 長慶, A.D. 821, that a great deal of cash had then flown out to the barbarians of the four quarters. From the *T’o-dai-wa-jō-Kan-jin-tō-sei-den* 唐大和上鑑真東征傳(群書類從,第四輯,卷六十九), we learn that when Kan-shin 鑑真, an eminent Chinese priest about the middle of the Eighth Century, intended to go to Japan for his Buddhist mission, he secured a great quantity of cash to bring with him. The record of Abou Zeyd (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, pp. 72, 73) testifies the spreading of Chinese coins towards the Persian Gulf at the end of the T’ang dynasty. And this tendency became much stronger during the Sung era, as has been already shown. It would be an interesting as well as important study to investigate more closely the relation between the foreign trade of China and the outflow of cash.

24) In the first year of *Ch’ien-tao* 乾道, A. D. 1165, a memorial was presented to the throne that Fu-chien (Ch’üan-chou) and Kuang-nan (Kuang-chou) provinces have each the superintendency of foreign trade. As the foreign goods arriving there are considerable, it is well that there should be a superintending office there. But in Liang-chê 兩浙 province (the modern Chê-chiang province) such an office would be superfluous, [as few trading ships come there]. 福建廣南皆有市舶,物貨浩漭,置官提舉實宜,惟兩浙冗蠹可罷

* It is not exactly known when this imperial proclamation was issued, but there is no doubt that it was before the third year of *Chien-tê* 乾德, A.D. 965. (See 宋史,卷百八十,食貨志). At that time the Sung army could not yet subjugate the South China, which was in the hands of several independent kingdoms such as the Nan-han 南漢, the Wu-Yüeh 吳越 and the Nan-t’ang 南唐. Therefore the emperor T’ai-tsu prevented the outflow of cash into these kingdoms.

(宋史, 卷百六十七, 職官志七, 提舉常平茶馬市舶等職條). And that petition was granted. From this fact we see that among the seaports of South China, Ch'üan-chou 泉州 and Kuang-chou 廣州 were the most important ones, and also from the public documents thenceforth, the expression *San-lu-shih-po-ssu* 三路市舶司 gave place to *Ch'üan-Kuang-shih-po-ssu* 泉廣市舶司 (the Superintendent offices of trading ships at Ch'üan-chou and Kuang-chou).

As Ch'üan-chou was the central emporium of foreign trade, the Superintendent of the port, CHAO JU-KUA 趙汝适 naturally acquired extensive information from the foreigners who came there, which enabled him to write his book, *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 (the description of various foreign countries). In the preface of this book, written in the first year of *Pao-ch'ing* 寶慶, A.D. 1225 (for this date see Prof. PELLIOT'S *Notice sur Chao Ju-kua, T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 449), CHAO JU-KUA says: "Our country established offices at Ch'üan-chou and Kuang-chou to inspect the foreign trade" 國朝置官于泉廣, 以司互市.

From the above-quoted passages of the *Sung-shih* and the *Chu-fan-chih*, we may safely conclude that the foreign trade at Ch'üan-chou and Kuang-chou had been carried on prosperously ever since about the middle of the Twelfth Century to the first quarter of the Thirteenth Century.

25) WU TZU-MU 吳自牧 of the South Sung, in his book *Mêng-liang-lu* 夢梁錄, says: "If you wish to go abroad by ship for trade, you should start from Ch'üan-chou" 若欲船泛外國買賣, 則自泉州, 便可出洋 (夢梁錄, 卷十二, ed. of 知不足齋叢書). This book being written in the tenth year of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳, A.D. 1274, we learn that towards the end of the South Sung era, all Chinese going abroad took ship from Ch'üan-chou. As for the *Mêng-liang-lu*, see HIRTH'S *Ueber den Schiffsverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit* (*T'oung Pao*, 1894, pp. 386-388). In the *Yüan-shih*, we read that "Those who start on board a ship from Ch'üan-chou, first arrive at Champa 占城 and then go to that country (Java)" 自泉南登舟海行者, 先至占城, 而後至其國 (元史, 卷二百十, 外夷傳, 瓜哇國條). The same book says concerning Mâbar, "Among the foreign countries, only Mâbar and Koulam (Quilon) may have represent other foreign countries and Koulam makes the support of Mâbar. There is about 100,000 (Chinese) miles from Ch'üan-chou to Mâbar" 海外諸蕃國, 惟馬八兒與俱籃足以綱領諸國, 而俱籃又爲馬八兒後障, 自泉州至其國, 約十萬里 (元史, 卷百二十, 馬八兒國條). It will thus be seen that Ch'üan-chou formed the principal gate of foreign intercourse throughout the Yüan dynasty. On Ch'üan-chou as trade-port in the Yüan era, see YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 239. Also ROCKHILL'S *Notes on the Relations and Trade of China with the Eastern Archipelago and the Coast of the Indian Ocean during the Fourteenth Century*, *T'oung Pao*, 1914, is worthy of notice, as it is principally founded on Chinese materials.

26) MARCO POLO says: "At this city what you must know is the Haven of Zayton, frequented by all the ships of India, which bring thither spicery and all other kinds of costly wares. It is the port also that is frequented by all the merchants of Manzi, for hither is imported the most astonishing quantity of goods and of precious stones and pearls, and from this they are distributed all over Manzi. And I assure you that for one shipload of pepper that goes to Alexandria or elsewhere, destined for Christendom, there come a hundred such, aye and more too, to this Haven of Zayton: for it is one of the two greatest havens in the world for commerce." (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 234, 235).

IBN BATÛTA says, "Der Hafen von Zaytûn ist einer der grössten der Welt, oder—besser gesagt—die grösste. Ich sah in ihn etwa 100 grosse Dschunken; die kleinen aber waren unzählbar." (HANS VON MÛZIK, *Reise des Arabers Ibn Batûta durch Indien und China*, s. 422).

For foreign records concerning Ch'üan-chou in the Yüan dynasty, see YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 237, 238.

27) Zaitûn is variously spelt as Zayton, Zeytoun etc. For these names, see PAUTHIER'S *Le Livre de Marco Polo*, Tome II, pp. 528, 529; IVAR HALLBERG'S *L'Extrême Orient dans la Littérature et la Cartographie de l'Occident etc*, pp. 95, 96; CORDIER'S *L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V (Bulletin de Géographie historique et descriptive, 1895)*, p. 48.

Now when the name Zaitûn was first used among the westerners is not known. SCHEFER says in his *Notice sur les Relations des Peuples Musulmans avec les Chinois*, pp. 6, 7, that "Maçoudy donna la seconde édition de son ouvrage des 'Prairies d'Or' en 332 (945), deux ans avant sa mort; il nous dit qu'à cette époque..... Les navires partis des ports du golfe Persique se rendaient dans les ports du Sud de la Chine, à Khanfou et à Zeitoun, après avoir relâché à Kallah qui se trouvait à peu près à la moitié du chemin." But this statement is not found in MAÇOUDI'S *Prairies d'Or*, translated by BARBIER DE MAYNARD and PAVET DE COURTEILLE. And, as is shown below from the Chinese records, Ch'üan-chou may have been called Zaitûn only from the latter half of the Tenth Century, which clearly shows that what SCHEFER says is unreliable.

The name of Zaitûn first appears in MARCO POLO or ABULFEDA, that is from the end of the Thirteenth to the beginning of the Fourteenth Century. The name however must have been known to foreign traders before that time. HARTMANN says that it was IBN SAÏD (IBN ZAYD) who perhaps mentioned it for the first time among the Islamites (*Encyclopædia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 843); IBN SAÏD'S geography was written about the middle of the Thirteenth Century, or towards the end of the South Sung dynasty. See REINAUD, *La Géographie d'Aboulféda*, Tome I, Introduction, p. 141, and FERRAND, *Relations de Voyages et Textes géographiques relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, Tome II, p. 316.

28) That Liu Ts'ung-hsiao 留從效 (the Surname written also Lou 婁 or Liu 劉) planted *Tz'u-tung* 刺桐 trees around Ch'üan-chou city is described in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* 八閩通志, written by HUANG CHUNG-CHAO 黃仲昭 of the Ming, as follows: "During the so-called Five Dynasties, Liu Ts'ung-hsiao again repaired the city walls, and planted *Tz'u-tung* trees all round the city. The Sung poet Lü Tsao 呂造 composed a poem lamenting that while the trees planted by him were thriving as formerly, he and his descendants were no more. The *Tz'u-tung* tree grows high, and has bushy leaves. In early summer it has very red flowers. People believed that when the leaves come before the flowers, they would have an abundant harvest that year. The tree was therefore called *Jui-tung* 瑞桐, or auspicious 'tung' tree." 五代時留從效,重加版築,傍植刺桐環繞,宋呂造詩,閩海雲霞繞刺桐,往年城廓爲誰封,鷓鴣啼困悲前事,荳蔻香消滅舊容,其木高大而枝葉蔚茂,初夏開花極鮮紅,如葉先萌芽而其花後發,則五穀豐熟,故謂之瑞桐(八閩通志,卷八十).

The biography of Liu Ts'ung-hsiao is given in the *Pa-min-t'ung-chih* (八閩通志,卷二十七,封爵,泉州府條), and also in the *Wu-tai-shih-chi-chu* (五代史記註,卷六十八,閩世家) by P'ENG YÜAN-JUE 彭元瑞 of the Ch'ing dynasty. When the powerful Wang's clan 王氏 was on the decline, which had once established the Min 閩 Kingdom over the whole Fu-chien province, Liu raised an army at Ch'üan-chou in the first year of *K'ai-yün* 開運, A.D. 944, and ruled over the prefecture. In the following year, when the Nant'ang 南唐 Kingdom annihilated and incorporated the Min Kingdom, he received the honorable title of the *Chin-chiang-wang* 晉江王 from the Nant'ang. Under him the two prefectures of Ch'üan 泉 and Chang 漳 became a half-independent kingdom. He died in the third year of *Chien-tung* 建隆, A.D. 962. When he planted the *Tz'u-tung* trees, is not certain, but it must be clearly after A.D. 944. The name of Zaitün became known to the foreigners most probably after Ch'üan-chou had become a trade port. We cannot therefore agree with YULE, who supposed that the city received its name of Zayton in the Seventh or Eighth Century (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 237).

According to Prof. MATSUMURA, the *Tz'u-tung* tree is scientifically known as *Erythrina Indica* LAM (植物名彙,百十八頁), and Prof. Tsuboi told me that it grows in Liu-kiu 琉球 and Formosa islands, but not in the mainland of Japan, and that the Liu-kiu people call it *Deiko* (梯沽), using the character 桴, perhaps coined in imitation of the shape of the flower, which much resembles a Chinese brush (筆).

29) For the elucidation of the name of Zaitün or Zeytoun, there are five different opinions:—

1) In 1824, KLAPROTH explained it as a corruption of *Tz'u-tung*

(*Renseignemens sur les ports de Gampou et de Zaithoum, J.A.*, 1824, II, p. 44), and had many followers.

2) Dr. HIRTH insisted that it is a corruption of *Jui-tung* 瑞桐 rather than *Tz'u-tung* 刺桐 (*Ueber den Schiffsverkehr von Kinsay zu Marco Polo's Zeit, T'oung Pao*, 1894, p. 388). He perhaps considered that the sound of Zaitûn approaches more to *Jui-tung* than to *Tz'u-tung*.

3) KLAPROTH, as another explanation of the name quoting a Turkish geographical book, said that as there are many olive trees in Ch'üan-chou prefecture, the Arabs called the city Zaitûn, which means in Arabic the olive (*Recherches sur les Ports de Gampou et de Zaithoum, Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, Vol II, pp. 208, 209). DOUGLAS, who approved PHILLIPS' Zaitûn Chang-chou 漳州 theory, said that the name of Zaitûn must be taken not a transcription of the Chinese term, but rather as a literary epithet given by the Arabs to the place. For in the mountains of Chang-chou 漳州 there is a kind of canarium, much resembling the olive tree, which bears a fruit called olive by the Europeans living there even to-day. In the same way, the ancient Arabs coming to Chang-chou must have called this canarium the olive (or Zaitûn). Hence they called Chang-chou, where the trees abound, by the name of Zaitûn or city of olive. But it is said that in Ch'üan-chou prefecture no such tree grows. (See *Notes on the Identity of Zaytown, J.R.G.S.*, 1874, pp. 116, 117).

4) DOUGLAS also proposes an alternative explanation. If Zaitûn stands for the name of locality, it may be a corruption of Hai-têng 海澄 near the mouth of Chang-chiang 漳江 running through Chang-chou 漳州 prefecture. Though the Hai-têng 海澄 district was established in the Yüan or rather Ming dynasty, the geographical name Hai-têng must have existed before (*J.R.G.S.*, 1874, p. 117).

5) PHILLIPS, seeing that Zaitûn has come down under another name of Caykong or Carchan (though he does not say explicitly, he is likely to think Caykong or Carchan is a correct name and Zaitûn is its corruption) thinks that it originated from Geh-kong 月港, the name of an auxiliary port of Chang-chou (*Notices of Southern Mangi, J.R.G.S.*, 1874, p. 100).

Of these five opinions, the second one that Zaitûn is a corruption of *Jui-tung* 瑞桐 can not be so easily accepted as the Zaitûn=*Tz'u-tung* 刺桐 theory. For the name of *Tz'u-tung-ch'êng* 刺桐城 occurs repeated in the writings of the Sung era, for instances a line of CHAO LING-CH'IN's 趙令衿 poem, "By chance I play the rôle of officer at Tz'u-tung city" 偶然游官刺桐城; or a line in WANG SHIH-P'ENG's 王十朋 poem, "Tz'u-tung trees form the city walls, and stone is like bamboo sprout."* 刺桐爲城石爲

* Outside the west-gate of Ch'üan-chou city, there is the Sun-shan 筍山 (*lit.* Bamboo-sprout mountain or rock). Of this mountain, KU TSU-YÜ 顧祖禹 towards the end of the Ming dynasty

筍 (both poems are quoted in 輿地紀勝, 卷百三十). But the name of *Jui-tung-ch'êng* is seldom or never seen, which fact makes it difficult to accept the opinion that Zaitûn stands for *Jui-tung* 瑞桐.

The third opinion cannot hold its ground, for IBN BATÛTA, who personally visited Zaitûn towards the end of the Yüan era, clearly says: "So war die erste Stadt, zu der wir gelangten, nachdem wir das Meer durchfahren hatten, die Stadt Zaitûn. In dieser Stadt gibt es keine Oliven, wie auch sonst nicht in ganz China und Indien; dennoch erhielt sie diesen Namen (HANS VON MĀZIK, *Ibn Batûta*, s. 422). The Turkish geographical book alluded to by KLAPROTH being a compilation of a later time, can never have the same value as the accounts of IBN BATÛTA. As the latter explicitly says there is no olive-tree in Zaitûn city, the explanation that the place was called Zaitûn for having many olive trees would of course be erroneous. DOUGLAS says Chang-chou 漳州 was called Zaitûn by the Arabs from having many olive-like canarium trees, while there is no such tree in Ch'üan-chou. But IBN BATÛTA'S statement there is no olive tree in Zaitûn would make it difficult to accept his theory that Chang-chou is Zaitûn, and force us fall on the Zaitûn-Ch'üan-chou theory.

The fourth and fifth opinions may be disposed of as easily. Since PHILLIPS who in 1874 expounded his thesis that Zaitûn is Chang-chou 漳州, had the support of DOUGLAS, he devoted himself to the study of this question, and for about twenty years either in the *Journal of the China Branch of the R.A.S.* or in the *T'oung Pao*, he dilated on the subject. In opposition to PHILLIPS, YULE persisted in his Zaitûn-Ch'üan-chou theory to last, but unfortunately for him, as he was unable to make use of Chinese materials, he found much difficulty in maintaining himself against PHILLIPS (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 241). And Prof. CORDIER, who supplied amendations to YULE'S *Marco Polo* after the death of the author somewhat hesitated which he should adopt, Ch'üan-chou or Chang-chou (CORDIER, *L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas Catalans*, p. 48).

Thus it will be seen that PHILLIPS' Zaitûn-Chang-chou theory has had a great influence on the learned world. But this theory is utterly false. Those who know that, according to Islamic records, Zaitûn was the most important Chinese trade port in the Middle Ages, and at the same time that according to Chinese records Ch'üan-chou was the foremost Chinese trade port for about one hundred years from the middle of the Thirteenth Century to the middle of the Fourteenth Century, must necessarily conclude that Zaitûn was

describes: "On the coast of the Chin-chiang 晉江 river there is a [large] stone about twenty feet in height, standing upright in the form of a bamboo-sprout, hence the name.—江岸有石, 高二丈許, 卓立如筍, 因名 (讀史方輿紀要卷九十九, 泉州府條). Again the *Fu-chien-t'ung-chih* says of this stone: "There is a stone about twenty feet in height. It is called the Shih-sun 石筍 (*lit.* stone bamboo-sprout)—龜山在城西南.....有石卓立二丈, 名石筍 (重纂福建通志, 卷八, 泉州府晉江縣條). The phrase 石爲筍 may be an allusion to this stone.

Ch'üan-chou. There is no evidence of Chang-chou 漳州 being a trade port during the Sung era, and even in the Yüan era, it was far from being a rival of Ch'üan-chou in commercial activity. (BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Rescarches*, Vol. I, pp. 186, 187; and HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, introduction, p. 18). The identity of Zaitün with Ch'üan-chou may be decided on this point alone. In DOUGLAS' endeavour to identify Zaitün with Hai-têng 海澄, there is not only some disagreement in the sounds of these two names, but as has been shown above, the Zaitün-Chang-chou theory being erroneous, it follows naturally the fourth and fifth opinions can not hold their ground.

Though PHILLIPS says Caykong is Geh-kong 月港, but as we see both in IBN BATÛTA and in ABULFEDA (quoted in KLAPROTH, *Mémoires relatifs à l'Asie*, Vol. II, p. 208), that Zaitün means olive in Arabic, and that in the letter dated A.D. 1326 by Bishop Andrew, the Christian name Zaitün (Cayton) was adopted from that of the Arabs (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. III, p. 72), though we may find in an edition of MARCO POLO the name Caykong is used instead of Zaitün, it would be too rash to make it stand for Geh-kong 月港, and forthwith to try to solve this complicated question. Even PHILLIPS seems to be conscious of this weakness in his argument, for while on one hand he tried to solve the Caykong question, he confessed inability to give a satisfactory explanation of the name of Zaitün (Zayton). (*Notices of Southern Mangi*, *J.R.G.S.*, 1874, p. 100). Strictly speaking, it is a question whether his thesis is to be counted as one of the elucidations of the name of Zaitün.

That it is difficult from the geographical and documental points of view to identify Zaitün with Chang-chou and Hai-têng (=Geh-kong) has clearly been pointed out by Mr. ARNAIZ (See *Mémoires sur les Antiquités musulmanes de Ts'üan-tcheou*, *T'oung Pao*, 1911, pp. 681, 682, 685-691).

I would therefore concur with KLAPROTH in making Zaitün stand for *Tz'u-tung* 刺桐. Finally, though Dr. HARTMANN takes Zaitün to be a corruption of Ch'üan-chou (*The Encyclopaedia of Islam*, Vol. I, p. 84), it seems to me a very weak argument, not worthy of much criticism.

II

When we look at the life led by the Arab traders at the open ports of China, we see that there they had a fixed quarter assigned to them by the Chinese government, though as a fact they lived sometimes within the city together with the Chinese.¹⁾ The fixed quarter was then called the *Fan-fang* 蕃坊, or foreign quarter.²⁾ The settlement at Ch'üan-chou 泉州 was in the southern suburb of the city, usually called Ch'üan-nan 泉南 or South of

Ch'üan-chou, which lay on the Chin-chiang 晉江 river, a convenient place for navigation.⁸⁾ That of Kuang-chou 廣州 I suppose was in a similar position, and a place lying on the Chu-chiang 珠江 river was probably made the foreign quarter.⁴⁾

To preside over the quarter, an office was established called *Fan-chang-ssu* 蕃長司 (*lit.* foreign headman's office), the headman being called *Tu-fan-chang* 都蕃長 or *Fan-chang* 蕃長.⁵⁾ This headman seems to have been selected by the Chinese government from the most popular and influential foreigners,⁶⁾ and had not only in charge of all foreign residents, but also assisted the Chinese government in encouraging foreign traders to come to China.⁷⁾

In the Sung era, the Chinese government made it her policy to promote the foreign trade,⁸⁾ consequently she treated the foreign traders with kindness⁹⁾ and even in cases of their committing crimes, she administered them with mild justice.¹⁰⁾ The crimes committed among the foreigners were from the T'ang dynasty left to them to be disposed of, the Chinese government making it her principle not to interfere with them.¹¹⁾ But in the Sung era, she went a step further, and when a foreigner committed an offence against a Chinese, the case, unless it be very serious, was left to the foreigners to decide according to their own law. According to the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談, written by CHU Yü 朱夔 towards the end of the North Sung, in case a foreigner committed a crime more serious than a misdemeanor, he was arrested and punished by the Chinese authority, but lesser offences were left to the justice of the foreign headman.¹²⁾ But when we read the *Sung-shih* we learn they were actually more mildly treated. They seem indeed to have enjoyed virtually the rights of extraterritoriality.¹³⁾

In the Sung era, the foreigners living at various trade-ports were chiefly Arabs, who never ate pork.¹⁴⁾ They were very rich and led a luxurious life, as we see from the contemporary Chinese records.¹⁵⁾ Occasionally by their contributions, the local authorities at the trade-ports repaired the city-walls and built coast-guard ships.¹⁶⁾

At the foreign quarter, there lived of course many foreign women, and they were called by the Chinese *Po-ssu-fu* 波斯婦 (*lit.* Persian women),¹⁷⁾ perhaps because most of them came from near the Persian Gulf.¹⁸⁾ During the Five Dynasties 五代 (907-959), Liu Chang 劉鋹, king of the Nan-han 南漢, had in his harem a young Persian woman, whom he doted upon so much that he utterly neglected the governmental affairs. This woman I suppose was a resident at Kuang-chou.¹⁹⁾ The foreign women at Kuang-chou were also called by the Chinese *P'u-sa-man* 菩薩蠻, which seems to be a somewhat corrupt transliteration of Bussulman or Mussulman.²⁰⁾ The name of *P'u-sa-man* was known since the T'ang era, as a theme of the *Yüeh-fu* 樂府²¹⁾ (songs set to music), though it is quite a question whether it meant there an Islamaic woman.²²⁾ Be that as it may, it is a fact that towards the

end of the North Sung era, an Islamate was called *P'u-sa-man* at Kuang-chou.

Not a few foreign traders were married to Chinese women. CHU Yü 朱彙 in his *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談 tells, that towards the end of the North Sung, an Arab with the Surname of Liu 劉 married a Chinese lady out of the Imperial family 宗女, and was promoted to the official dignity of *Tso-pan-tien-chih* 左班殿直,²⁵⁾ and the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要 records that a Chinese called Ts'êng No 曾訥, of the rank of *Yu-wu-tai-fu* 右武大夫, living at Kuang-chou, towards the beginning of the South Sung era, gave his sister in marriage to a rich Arab, P'u A-li 蒲亞里 (=Abu Ali?)²⁴⁾ Such Arab-Chinese marriages may be also confirmed from the records of a westerner who came to the East in the Yüan era.²⁵⁾ Among the foreign residents, there were some who studied Chinese learning,²⁶⁾ and even some who underwent the state examination of candidates for officials.²⁷⁾

The foreign ships that came to the coast of China were usually called *Shih-po* 市舶 or *Hu-shih-po* 互市舶 (both meaning trading ships). We find also such various names for the foreign ships as follows:—

Nan-hai-po 南海舶 ships of southern seas (唐國史補, 卷下).

Fan-po 番舶 barbarian ships (新唐書, 卷百六十三, 孔巢父傳).

Po-ssu-po 波斯舶 Persian ships (大唐求法高僧傳, 卷下).

K'un-lun-po 崑崙舶 ships from K'un-lun country (唐大和上東征傳).

K'un-lun-ch'eng-po 崑崙乘舶 ,, ,, ,, ,, (舊唐書, 卷八十九, 王方慶傳).

Hsi-yü-po 西域舶 ships of the western regions (*Ibid.*, 卷百三十一, 李勉傳).

Man-po 蠻舶 Barbarian ships (*Ibid.*, 卷百七十七, 盧鈞傳).

Hsi-nan-i-po 西南夷舶 ships of south-west countries (新唐書, 卷三十一, 李勉傳).

Hai-po 海舶 sea ships (梁書, 卷三十三, 王僧孺傳).

Nan-fan-hai-po 南蕃海舶 sea ships of south barbarians (癸辛雜識, 後集).

Po-lo-mên-po 波羅門舶 ships of Brahman country, *i.e.* Indian ships (唐大和上東征傳).

Shih-tzu-kuo-po 師子國舶 ships of the country of Lion (Sinhala dvipa), *i.e.* Ceylon ships (唐國史補, 卷下).

Wai-kuo-po 外國舶 foreign ships (南史, 卷五十一, 梁宗室傳, 上, 蕭勵傳).

These ships were of course all sailing ships, taking much time in navigation. The Arab trader usually took two years to make a voyage to China and back to home.²⁹⁾ The foreigners coming to China mostly came naturally on board of ships of their own countries. Not a few, however, took Chinese ships. Especially during the Sung and Yüan eras, the Ta-shih 大食 merchants generally preferred Chinese ships.³⁰⁾ The construction and

equipments of the Chinese ships were more perfect than those of other countries.³¹⁾ All ships, whether Chinese or foreign, being sailing ships, the wind was everything to them. The ships from the southern seas came to China with the south-west wind from the end of the fourth moon to the sixth moon, and the outgoing ships went with the north-east wind from the end of the tenth moon to the twelfth moon,³²⁾ so that the half year from May to October was the busiest time at the sea-ports. Most of the foreigners living at the foreign quarter made the homeward voyage in winter, but not a few remained, the latter being called *Chu-t'ang* 住唐, *i.e.* staying in T'ang(China).³³⁾ There were some who continued to stay for five and even ten years or more.³⁴⁾ In the fourth year of *Chêng-ho* 政和, A.D. 1114, a law was issued for disposing of the property left by those foreigners who had lived in China for a duration of five generations, which law shows that there were then some foreign residents who lived in China for a very long time.³⁵⁾ The children born to such permanent residents were then called *T'u-shêng-fan-k'o* 土生蕃客 or foreigners born in the land, *i.e.* in China.³⁶⁾ I think P'u Shou-kêng 蒲壽庚, the subject of the present essay, was a *T'u-shêng-fan-k'o*.

NOTES

1) Yo K'ò 岳珂 of the South Sung dynasty, in his *Ch'êng-shih* 程史 says: "Many Hai-lao 海獠 live within the city-walls of Kuang-chou (Canton) together with the Chinese. The most prominent among them was a man surnamed P'u 蒲 who was by birth a noble of Chan-ch'êng 占城 (Champa). Later on he took up his permanent residence inside the city." 番禺 [廣州] 有海獠雜居, 其最豪者蒲姓.....本占城之貴人也.....定居城中 (程史, 卷十一, ed. of 津逮祕書). This proves that about the middle of the South Sung foreigners lived within the city-walls of Kuang-chou. (For the Hai-Lao and the Surname P'u, see *infra*). LOU YAO 樓鑰 of the South Sung in his *Kung-k'uei-chi* 攻媿集, says: "The foreign traders live promiscuously among the citizens" 蕃商雜處民間 (攻媿集, ed. of 武英殿聚珍版全書, 卷八十八所收, 贈特進汪公 [大猷] 行狀). This also proves that at Ch'üan-chou the foreigners lived within the city. However, that the foreigners were not given any legal sanction to live within the city is proved from the remarks of CHU HSI 朱彥, celebrated scholar of the South Sung: "Foreigners should not be allowed to reside inside the city" 化外人, 法不當城居 (朱文公集, 卷九十八所收, 朝奉太夫傅公 [自得] 行狀). This shows that if the foreigners lived inside the city, it was owing to the oversight or mute sanction of the local authorities.

2) CHU Yü 朱彥, who wrote the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談 in the first year of *Hsüan-ho* 宣和, A. D. 1119, says: "In the foreign quarter (*Fan-fang* 蕃坊) in Kuang-chou (Canton) reside all the people from beyond

the seas. A foreign head-man 蕃長 is appointed over them and he has charge of all public matters connected with them (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17). 廣州蕃坊海外諸國人聚居, 置蕃長一人, 管勾蕃坊公事 (萍洲可談, 卷二, ed. of 守山閣叢書). The name *Fan-fang* 蕃坊 therefore must have been in use already towards the end of the North Sung era.

KU YEN-WU 顧炎武, in his *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-p'ing-shu*, quotes from the *T'ou-huang-lu* 投荒錄 the following passage: "Some years since I lived at the foreign quarter of Kuang-chou. The feast there used much sugar, honey, camphor and musk. The fish, though sweet and fragrant, retained its stinking smell" 頃年在廣州番坊, 獸食多用糖蜜腦麝, 有魚俎, 雖甘香而腥臭自若也 (天下郡國利病書, 卷一百四所引, 投荒錄). But I know not the name of the author of the *T'ou-huang-lu*, nor the date of its publication, nor have I seen it mentioned in any of the bibliographies of the T'ang and Sung eras. In the bibliographical section of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, mention is made of a book called *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu* 投荒雜錄, written by FANG CH'ÏEN-LI 房千里, and the notes under it says: "He had the style or literary name of Ku-chü 鵠舉. In the early year of *T'ai-ho* 太和, A.D. 827, he passed the high civil service examination, afterwards became the governor of Kao-chou 高州 prefecture in the modern Kuang-tung province" 字鵠舉, 太和初進士第, 高州刺史 (新唐書, 卷五十八, 藝文志). CH'ËN CH'ËN-SUN 陳振孫 of the South Sung, in his *Chi-chai-shu-lu-chieh-ti* 直齋書錄解題, quoted in the *Wên-hsien-t'ung-kao* 文獻通考, gives a more detailed notice of this book: "The *Nan-hang-lu* 南行錄 written by FANG CH'ÏEN-LI, who during the *T'ai-ho* period, A.D. 827-835, was banished to Kao-chou prefecture. Afterwards, when he returned to the North he compiled this book, describing remarkable mountains and rivers, curious products and strange customs of the Southern districts. This book was also known by another name of *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu* 投荒雜錄." 南行錄一卷, 唐房千里撰, 太和中謫高州, 既北歸, 編山川物產之奇, 人民風俗之異, 爲此書, 一名投荒雜錄 (文獻通考, 卷二百, 經籍考所引, 直齋書錄解題. By the way, the now-extant text of *Chi-chai-shu-lu-chieh-ti* does not contain the above-mentioned passage relating to the *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu*, which I suppose, when it was extracted and recompiled from the *Yung-lo-ta-tien* 永樂大典 of the Ming dynasty, the transcriber failed to notice through his carelessness.

Anyhow the book *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu* is not now extant. Though an abstract of it is given in the *Shuo-fu* 說郛 (蜀二十三), compiled by T'AO TSUNG-I 陶宗儀 towards the beginning of the Ming, unfortunately the passage describing of the foreign quarter quoted in the *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-p'ing-shu* is not given there. We are thus unable to decide whether or not the *T'ou-huang-lu* 投荒錄 and *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu* 投荒雜錄 are the same book. However, according to my own investigation, the passage relating to the "insect-antidotal grass" 治蟲草 from the *T'ou-huang-lu* quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-*

kuang-chi 太平廣記 (卷四百八) is exactly the same as that of *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu*, quoted in the *Shuo-fu*, and also the passage relating to the "female labour in Ling-nan province" 嶺南女工 from *T'ou-huang-lu*, quoted in the *T'ai-p'ing-kuang-chi* 太平廣記 (卷四百八十三) is the same as that from *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu*, quoted in the *Shuo-fu*. It is therefore almost certain that the two books are the same.

The name *Fan-fang* 蕃坊, appearing as it does in such a book as the *T'ou-huang-lu*, must have been already familiar in the T'ang dynasty. As neither the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* nor the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* gives the biography of FANG CHIEN-LI 房千里, we know little concerning him beyond the brief notice quoted above. While he is mentioned in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* as passing the state-examination in the early years of *T'ai-lo* period, A.D. 827, we see from the content of the *T'ou-huang-tsa-lu* he lived as far down as the beginning of *Ch'ien-ning* 乾寧 period, A.D. 894. We therefore doubt whether he lived to such a great age. How to account for this incongruity of date and from what original sources KU YEN-WU has quoted the passage concerning the foreign quarter in the *T'ou-huang-lu*, we must await a further investigation.

3) Dr. HIRTH in his *Chau Ju-kua, a New Source of Mediaeval Geography* (*J.R.A.S.*, 1896, p. 75), respecting the settlement at Ch'üan-chou, says: "The Southern suburbs of that city probably contained the foreign settlement, which, moreover, is most likely to have occupied a site facing the harbour, or as near as possible to the anchorage, which is actually in the south of the city."

The great trader Shih-na-wei 施那緯 (Shilâvi)—so called because he was a native of Sirâf (Shilâv) in the Persian gulf (for details see *infra*), — this trader, mentioned in CHAO JU-KUA'S *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志, lived at the settlement of Ch'üan-nan, and bought for the burial ground of foreign traders a piece of land lying south-east of Ch'üan-chou city. Also the Indian priest Lo-hu-na 囉護哪 (Rahula?) built a Buddhist temple called Pao-lin-yüan 寶林院 in the southern suburb of Ch'üan-chou, and merchants from Nan-p'i 南毗 (Malabar), called Shih-lo-pa-shi-li-kan, 時羅巴智力干, father and son, lived at Ch'üan-nan. (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 88, 111, 119). Those facts I think would confirm what Dr. HIRTH says.

4) HUANG TSO 黃佐 of the Ming dynasty in his *Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih* 廣東通志 says: "The superintendent office of trading ships in the Ming dynasty was situated at the suburb about one Chinese mile south-west of the city (Canton). It is the old site of the *Hai-shan-lou* 海山樓, a building belonging to the *Shih-po-t'ing* 市舶亭 (*lit.* trading ships' pavilion) of the Sung dynasty" 明市舶提舉司署, 在府城外西南一里, 卽市舶亭海山樓故址 (道光重刊廣東通志, 卷二百十八所引). This *Hai-shan-lou* is described in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* as follows: "The *Shih-po-t'ing* 市舶亭 of Kuang-chou stands close to the water side [of Chu-chiang 珠江 river]. There is the *Hai-*

shan-lou. It (the *Hai-shan-lou*) faces the Wu-chou 五洲 (*lit.* five islands). Below this (the river) is called the Hsiao-hai 小海 (*lit.* little sea) 廣州市舶亭枕水, 有海山樓, 正對五州, 其下謂之小海 (萍洲可談, 卷二). WANG HSIANG-CHIH 王象之 of the South Sung, in his *Yu-ti-chi-shêng* 輿地紀勝, says: "The *Hai-shan-lou* lies to the south of the city, and commands an extensive view of thousand miles. It is a sight worth going up to see." 海山樓在城南, 極目千里, 爲登覽之勝 (輿地紀勝, 卷八十九). As for the *Shih-po-t'ing* I have no exact knowledge. But for the present, I am inclined to take it as a special building for welcoming or lodging the foreign-traders who came from beyond the seas, just as the special building for Koreans was then called the *Kao-li-t'ing* 高麗亭.*

Inferring from the position of the *Hai-shan-lou* or the *Shih-po-t'ing*, the foreign quarter at the Sung era must have been to the southern suburb of the Kuang-chou city, on the north shore of Chu-chiang river (see HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 29). My colleague, Prof. YANO informs me, on the authority of the *Ling-hai-yü-t'u* 嶺海輿圖 by YAO YÜ 姚虞 of the Ming, that the place called the *Huai-yüan-i* 懷遠驛, where the foreigners settled during the Ming era, was in the southwestern suburb of Kuang-chou city, lying a little higher up than the trading ships' office. The foreign quarter at the Sung era, I suppose, must have been near the same place. Though Dr. FUJITA maintains that the foreign quarter at Kuang-chou during the Sung era must have been within the city (*Tôyô Gakuhô*, May 1916, pp. 179, 180), the law already cited that foreigners should not be allowed to reside within the city walls, must have held good at Kuang-chou also as at Ch'üan-chou, which makes it very difficult to accept Dr. FUJITA's assertion.

IBN BATÛTA, respecting the Moslem settlement of Kuang-chou towards the end of the Yüan era, says: "In einem Teile dieser Stadt (*i.e.* Sin Kalän =Kuang-chou) befindet sich das Quartier der Muslime, wo sie die Hauptmoschee, das Hospiz und den Markt haben. Sie haben auch einem Richter und einem Religionsvorsteher. In jeder der Städte Chinas ist unbedingt ein Šeih el-Islâm, den alle Angelegenheiten der Muslime in letzter Instanz vorge-tragen werden, und ein Richter, der zwischen ihnen entscheidet." (HANS VON MŽIK, *Die Reise des Arabers Ibn Batûta*, ss. 424, 425).

* In the North Sung era, along the routes taken by the Koreans who came to China to pay tribute, there were built for their convenience station houses, which called the *Kao-li-t'ing* 高麗亭 (*lit.* pavilions for Koreans) or the *Kao-li-kuan* 高麗館 (*lit.* station houses for Koreans). Of the *Kao-li-t'ing* CHU YÜ says:—京師置都亭驛待遼人, 都亭西驛待夏人, 同文館待高麗, 懷遠驛待南蠻. 元豐待高麗人最厚, 沿路亭傳, 皆名高麗亭. 高麗人泛海而至明州, 則由二浙遡汴至都下, 謂之南路. 或至密州, 則由京東陸行至京師, 謂之東路. 二路亭傳一新, 常由南路, 未有由東路者. 高麗人便於舟楫, 多齎輜重故爾 (萍洲可談, 卷二). The *Kao-li-kuan* of Yang-chou 揚州 was outside the south-gate of the city, of which the *Chiang-tu-hsien-chih* 江都縣志 says:—高麗館在南門外, 宋元豐七年詔京東淮南, 築高麗館, 以待朝貢之使 (江都縣志, 卷十六, 古蹟條).

Though the Yüan era was the age in which foreigners had the freest rights of settlement in China, which makes it a little difficult to apply the same state of things to the Sung era, still it is a matter worthy of consideration.

5) CHU Yü 朱彧 of the North Sung says: "In the foreign quarter in Kuang-chou reside all the people from beyond the seas. A *Fan-chang* 蕃長 (*lit.* foreign head-man) is appointed over them and he has charge of all public matter connected with them. He makes it his special duty to urge upon the foreign traders to send in tribute (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17). 廣州蕃坊, 海外諸國人聚居, 置蕃長一人, 管勾蕃坊公事, 專切招邀蕃商 (萍洲可談, 卷二).

LI CHAO 李肇 in the early part of the Ninth Century says of the foreign trading ships which then visited Kuang-chou: "There was a *Fan-chang* 蕃長 who presided over all the foreign traders 有蕃長, 爲主領 (唐國史補, 卷下). Also in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要, we read the following passage: "In the sixth moon of the first year of *T'ien-yu* 天祐, A.D. 904, the [T'ang] court conferred the honorable title of *Ning-yüan-chiang-chün* 寧遠將軍 to P'u-ho-su 蒲訶粟 the *Tu-fan-chang* 都蕃長 (*lit.* prime foreign head-man), who came from San-fo-chi 三佛齊 through Fu-chien province to the court to bring her tribute" 天祐元年六月, 授福建道, [三] 佛齊國入朝進奉使, 都蕃長, 蒲訶粟, 寧遠將軍 (唐會要, 卷一百, 歸降官位條). Though whether this *Tu-fan-chang* or *Fan-chang* had the same functions as in the Sung dynasty is not certain, it is clear that such names already existed from the middle of the T'ang era.*

LIU HSÜN 劉恂 towards the end of the T'ang says: "At the house of *Fan-shou* 番酋 (*lit.* foreign chief), I once ate the Persian dates brought over from his own country. The fruit had sugar-like colour, soft skin and flesh, and tasted as if it was first baked and then boiled in water." 劉恂曾于番酋家, 食本國將來者 [波斯棗], 色類沙糖, 皮肉軟爛, 餌之乃火爍水蒸之味也 (嶺表錄異, 卷中, ed. of 武英殿聚珍版全書).

The appellation of *Fan-chang-ssu* 蕃長司 is found in the *Sung-shih* 宋史: "During the *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 period, 1068-1077, Hsin-ya-t'o-lo 辛押陀羅, the emboy of Ta-shih country, asked the Chinese government to allow him to superintend the public affairs at the foreign headman's office 蕃長司". 熙寧中, 其 [大食國] 使辛押陀羅, 乞統察蕃長司公事 (宋史, 卷四百九十, 外國傳, 大食國條).

6) Respecting the Moslem settlement of Kuang-chou, SOLEYMAN the Arab trader says: "À Khanfou, qui est le rendez-vous des marchands, un musulman est chargé par le souverain du pays de juger les différends qui

* In our text of the *T'ang-hui-yao*, the name of the country is written as Fo-ch'i 佛齊 but it is clearly an error for San-fo-ch'i 三佛齊. The *Sung-shih* describing the same fact gives San-fo-ch'i as the name of the country (宋史, 卷四百八十九, 三佛齊國條).

s'élèvent entre les hommes de la même religion arrivés dans la contrée. Telle a été le volonté du roi de la Chine. Les jours de fête, cet homme célèbre la prière avec les musulmans; il prononce le Khotba et adresse des vœux au ciel pour le sultan des Musulmans. Les marchands de l'Irac s'élèvent jamais contre ses décisions; en effet, il agit d'après la vérité et ses décisions sont conformes au livre de Dieu (l'Alcoran) et aux préceptes de l'islamisme." (REINAUD, *Relations des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 13). He who is in charge of these functions is no other than the foreign *head-man* 蕃長 in Chinese documents. The Arabian Kâdi, though originally a judge of civil and criminal affairs must have in course of time taken over religious affairs (RENAUDOT, *Ancient Accounts of India and China*, Remarks, p. 13, [Q]). In ordinary times, the Kâdi alone managed all affairs, but sometimes, as is mentioned by IBN BATÛTA cited above, the Kâdi and the Šeih managed religious and secular affairs separately.

In the Sung as in the T'ang era, the foreign head-man seems to have been appointed by the Chinese government. According the *Sung-hui-yao*, in the fifth year of Hsi-ning 熙寧, A.D. 1072, when Hsin-ya-t'ò-lo 辛押陀羅, seemingly a head-man who was returning home, asked the government to appoint his successor, the Emperor Shên-tsung 神宗 left the matter to the judgment of the governor of Kuang-chou. The following year, when P'u-t'ò-po-li-tz'u 蒲陶波離慈, the Arab head-man (都蕃首) asked the government to appoint his son Ma-hu 麻忽 as successor he was refused (See *Tôyô Gakuhô*, May, 1917, pp. 180, 181). That the foreign head-man appointed by the government was attired like a Chinese official in the official robe given by the Court, is seen from the following extract from the *P'ing-chou-k'ò-t'an*: "He wears a hat, gown, shoes and (carries) a tablet just like a Chinese (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 17) 巾袍履笏, 如華人 (萍洲可談, 卷二).

7) CHU-YÛ 朱彥 says, "The foreign head-man makes it his special duty to urge upon the foreign traders to send in tribute to the Chinese court" 專切招邀蕃商 (萍洲可談, 卷二).

Also in the *Sung-shih* 宋史, we have the report of P'u Hsi-mi 蒲希密 (Abu Hamid?): "When I was at home, I received the invitation of the foreign head-man of Kuang-chou to urge upon me to send tribute, saying much in praise of the emperor's virtues, who had commanded a liberal treatment towards the foreigners to the viceroy of Kuang-nan (Kuang-chou) province, in order to console the foreign traders and make them import things from distant countries" [臣] 在本國, 曾得廣州蕃長, 寄書招諭, 令入京貢奉, 盛稱皇帝盛德, 布寬大之澤詔, 下廣南, 寵綏蕃商, 阜通萬物 (宋史, 卷四百九十, 外國傳, 大食國條).

8) From the beginning of the Sung dynasty the Chinese government laid much importance on the foreign trade, and had in their hands the monopoly of principal imports. So the Sung court spared no efforts to encourage

the foreign traders to come to China. According to the Sung-hui-yao in the fourth year of *Yung-hsi* 雍熙, A.D. 987, the emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 sent his envoys abroad: "The emperor sent eight courtiers, who took with them credentials under the Imperial seal as well as gold and silks. They were divided into four parties, each party going to the barbarian countries of the South Seas, urging on them to send in tribute and at the same time exchanging gold and silks for the aromatics, rhinoceros horn, ivory, pearls and camphor. Each party brought with them three imperial licences for trading without an address and presented them to the countries where they happened to go" 遣內侍八人, 齎敕書金帛, 分四綱, 各往海南諸蕃國, 勾招進奉, 博買香藥犀牙真珠龍腦, 每綱齎空名詔三道, 於所至處賜之 (粵海關志, 卷二所引, 宋會要).

It is of course clear that though one of the objects of these missions was to buy foreign goods, their principal aim was to invite the foreign traders to come to China, as is shown by the phrase "to urge upon them to send in tribute" 勾招進奉. The words *Chün-fêng* 進奉 mean literally "to bring tribute" but in reality mean "to open the trade," as we know in the case of P'u Hsi-mi 蒲希密, and also by their taking with them the unaddressed Imperial licences, which served as passports for the foreign traders who came to China. Moreover we learn from the same book that in the sixth year of *T'ien-shêng* 天聖, A.D. 1028, but few foreign traders came to China, and the emperor Jên-tsung 仁宗 commanded the governor and the chief commissioner of transports of Kuang-chou to consider proper measures to invite and encourage them to come.

We have already seen how eager the Chinese government in the South Sung era was to increase the national revenue by encouraging foreign trade. To those foreigners who promoted the object, the government conferred official rank, as is shown by the following passage in the *Sung-shih* 宋史: "In the sixth year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興, A.D. 1136, the governor of Ch'üan-chou, Lien Nan-fu 連南夫, asked the government to confer proper official rank to those head-men of the foreign trading ships who helped much in bringing in many ships and so contributing to the revenue derived from the import duties, to the amount of 50,000 or 100,000 strings of cash respectively" [紹興] 六年, 知泉州連南夫奏請, 諸市舶綱首, 能招誘舶舟, 抽解物貨, 累價及五萬貫十萬貫者, 補官有差 (宋史, 卷百八十五, 食貨志, 香條).

In this way the Arab trader P'u Lo-hsin 蒲囉辛 and the head-man of foreign trading ship Ts'ai Ching-fang 蔡景芳 were given the dignity of *Ch'êng-hsin-lang* 承信郎, Junior grade of the Ninth official rank 從九品. This custom existed in the North Sung era, as we know from Dr. FUJITA's article, *The Superintendency of Merchant Shipping and Regulation concerning it under the Sung Dynasty* (*Tôyô Gakuhô*, May, 1917, p. 237).

9) Let me mention a few examples how courteously the foreign traders

during the Sung era were treated by the Chinese government:

a) When they went home in the tenth moon of every year, the local authorities gave them a public feast, which the Chinese called *K'ao-shê* 犒設 (*lit.* entertainments). CHOU CH'U-FEI 周去非 of the South Sung dynasty, in his *Ling-wai-tai-ta* 嶺外代答 says: "Every year in the tenth moon the superintendency of merchant shipping establishes a large fair for the foreign traders, [and when it is over] sends them home." (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 23) 歲十月提舉[市舶]司, 大[犒]設蕃商而遣之(嶺外代答, 卷三, ed. of 知不足齋叢書). We read also in the *Sung-hui-yao*: "Every year in the tenth moon, as is the custom, with the public expenditure of three hundred strings of cash, a feast is laid for entertaining the foreign traders by the superintendency of trading ships in conjunction with the local governor". 每年於十月內, 依例支破官錢三百貫文, 排辦筵宴, 係本司 [*i.e.* 市舶司] 提舉官, 同守臣, 犒設諸國蕃商等 (宋會要, 紹興十四年 [A.D. 1144] 條). It is said not only foreign traders but also the principal shipmates of foreign trading ships were entertained in such cases.

b) In the *Sung-shih*, we read: "The governor of Kuang-chou superintended the *Fan-po* 蕃舶, or trading ships. Whenever the ship of traders entered the port, he appointed a special official to examine the imported goods. The custom was that a ceremony of interview was made on the footing of equality with the official" 廣州領蕃舶, 每商至, 則擇官閱其貨, 商皆豪家大姓, 習以客禮見主者 (宋史, 卷四百四十六, 蘇緘傳). The words *Fan-po* 蕃舶 in Chinese usually mean foreign ships, but sometimes are used in the sense of Chinese ships going abroad. Hence, the words in the above-quoted passage might have either meaning. Consequently the traders might have been foreign or Chinese. Anyhow it is clear that the government warmly treated the traders of foreign goods.

The *Tung-tu-shih-liao* 東都事略, written by WANG CH'ENG 王偁 of the South Sung, describes the same fact more fully: "Su Chien 蘇緘 was a secretary of Nan-hai 南海 district. The governor of Kuang-chou superintended the trading ships' office. When the sea traders come, the governor appointed a special official to examine the imported goods. The chief traders were all of influential families in their native districts. So they were wont to slight the authorities, and would have an interview with the official on equal footing. When Su Chien 蘇緘 was appointed to examine the imports, a rich merchant with the surname of Fan 樊 came to have an interview with him, and unceremoniously ascended the steps and took a seat. Su Chien, angry at the rudeness of the man, caught and whipped him with a heavy bamboo stick. The merchant surnamed Fan appealed to the local government. Whereupon the military officer of the local government called Su Chien, accusing him of inflicting the punishment without consultation with his superiors. Su Chien replied, "A secretary though of a low grade is still an official, a sea

trader though a rich man is still a common member of the locality. When a common person commits an offence and a local officer punishes him, is there anything wrong?" [蘇緘] 爲 [廣州] 南海 [縣主] 簿, 廣州領市舶司, 每海商至, 選官閱實貨, 其商皆州里右姓, 至則陵轢官府, 以客禮見主者, 緘以選往, 大商樊氏入見, 遽陞階就榻, 緘繫杖之, 樊氏訴于州, 州將召緘, 責以專決罪, 緘曰主簿雖卑邑官也, 舶商雖富部民也, 部民有罪, 而邑官杖之, 安得爲專 (東都事略, 卷一百十, 蘇緘傳). The meaning of sea traders 海商 here is also very ambiguous, but as they are described as influential families of the districts 州里右姓 and Su Chien calls Fan an ordinary person, the sea traders are most probably Chinese.

Whatever the true meaning of the traders 商 of the *Sung-shih* or of the sea traders 海商 of the *Tung-tu-shih-liao*, it is quite certain that the foreign traders were then received most cordially. For as we have already pointed out, the emperor Jên-tsung 仁宗, under whose reign Su Chien lived, was most anxious to receive the foreign traders with proper courtesy and to encourage them to come to China. Consequently the local prefect then must have treated them at least on an equal footing with, and sometimes even better than, the Chinese traders.

10) The laws concerning the foreign traders in the Sung era were generally liberal. Yo K'ò 岳珂 of the South Sung, in his *Ch'êng-shih* 程史, says: "In Fan-yü 番禺 (Kuang-chou) there live many Hai-lao 海獠 together with the Chinese. The most prominent among them was surnamed P'ü 蒲. He called himself a white barbarian 白番人, and was by birth a noble of Chan Ch'êng 占城. Once when he was crossing the seas he met violent winds and waves, wherefore he was afraid of making a return voyage. He asked his king to allow him to remain in China and export and import goods. The King granted his petition, and the shipping business was placed in his hands. In course of time he took a permanent residence inside the city. His house and rooms were very luxurious even trespassing the laws. But as the inspector of trading ships' object was to encourage the coming of foreign traders, thereby to increase the national revenue, and also as he was not a Chinaman, the authorities did not make any investigation of the matter" 番禺 (廣州) 有海獠雜居, 其最豪者蒲姓, 號白番人, 本占城之貴人也, 既浮海而遇風濤, 憚於復反, 乃請于其主, 願留中國, 以通往來之貨, 主許焉, 舶事寔賴給, 其家歲益久, 定居城中, 屋室稍侈靡踰禁, 使者 [市舶使] 方務招徠, 以阜國計, 且以其非吾國人, 不之問 (程史, 卷十一). The white barbarian here is used perhaps in opposition to the black barbarian or negro.

It may easily be imagined that the liberal laws and regulations concerning the foreign traders, after a long intercourse between officials and foreign traders, and through the presents or bribes of the traders, became still more and more loose in course of time. KU YEN-WU 顧炎武, towards the beginning of the Ch'ing dynasty, respecting the foreign traders of Kuang-chou in the

Sung era, says: "Since the T'ang dynasty established a special officer called *Chieh-hao-shih* 結好使 at Kuang-chou to keep friendly relations with foreign traders, the traders continued to come to live in the city until the Sung era. They wore strange garments and spoke a strange language. They lived mostly near the sea-shore, within the quarter surrounded with stone walls, and for generations increasing their descendants..... The regulations concerning them were loose: the foreigners with their countrymen engaged in business walking freely within the city. There were some barbarian women hawking the simples." 自唐設結好使於廣州，自是商人立戶，迄宋不絕，詭服殊音，多流寓海濱灣泊之地，築石聯城，以長子孫.....禁網踈濶，夷人隨商，翺翺城市，至有蠻媼賣葯(天下郡國利病書，卷一百四)。

The name of *Chieh-hao-shih* 結好使 first appears in the letter of thanks for receiving the imperial rescript by P'EI Tz'U-YÜAN 裴次元 of the T'ang era, contained in the *Wen-yüan-ying-hua* (文苑英華，卷六百三十所收，奏廣州結好使事由，奉詔書謝恩狀). And this *Chieh-hao-shih* seems to be nothing but another name for *Shih-po-shih* 市舶使。

The foreign woman selling medical herbs is more fully described in the *T'ou-huang-lu* 投荒錄: "When I was at Fan-yü (Kuang-chou) on the festival day of *Tuan-wu* 端午 (=the fifth day of the fifth moon), I heard in the streets loud cries of a hawker of love-potion. When I, feeling curious and smiling looked towards the voice, I saw an old woman who held up curious herbs, which she sold to rich ladies as medicine to attract men. The herb, when collected on that day, is said to be miraculously effective. There were some ladies, who, taking off gold hair-pins and ear-rings, bartered for the simples." 在番禺逢端午，聞街中喧然賣相思藥聲，訝笑觀之，乃老媼舊揭山中異草，鬻于富婦人，為媚男藥，用此日採取為神.....婦人遇之，有抽金簪，解耳璫，而償其值者(太平廣記，卷四百八十三所引，投荒錄). The phrase 舊揭山中異草 in the above-quoted passage is difficult to interpret. But the same phrase in the *T'ien-hsia-chün-kuo-li-p'ing-shu* is written 荷山中異草(天下郡國利病書，卷一百四)，that is, "bearing strange herbs of the mountain," and again is quoted in the *Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih*, as 採山中異草(康熙廣東通志，卷二十八)，that is, "gathering strange mountain herbs." From all these I think that the phrase 舊揭山中異草 is a mistranscription of 日採山中異草 "gathering everyday rare herbs of the mountain." Finally, in my opinion these foreign old women are the aborigines of the Ling-nan 嶺南 districts, and not foreigners from the southern seas.

11) According to the code of the T'ang era, "As to the *Hua-wai-jên* 化外人 (*lit.* men outside the Chinese influence=foreigners) living in China, all offences committed by persons of one nationality shall be tried according to the laws of that nation, but the offences committed between a person of one nationality and that of another shall be tried according to the Chinese laws." 諸化外人，同類相犯者，各依本俗法，異類相犯者，以法律論(唐律疏義，卷六，

名例). The commentary says: "By the *Hua-wai-jên* 化外人 are meant those foreigners who have a sovereign of their own. They each have different customs, and their laws are not same. Therefore if the offenders be of one and the same nationality, they shall be judged according to their own laws and customs; on the other hand if the offenders be of different nationalities, for example a Kao-li 高麗 man against a Pai-chi 百濟 man,* they shall be judged according to the Chinese laws" 化外人謂蕃夷之國, 別立君長者, 各有風俗, 制法不同, 其同類自相犯者, 須問本之制, 依其俗法斷之, 異類相犯者, 若高麗百濟相犯之類, 皆以國家法律, 論定刑名.

The fact that offenders of one and the same nationality were judged according to their own laws is confirmed also by SOLEYMAN, the Arab trader (REINAUD, *Relations des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 13). The offenders of different nationalities and the offences of foreigners against the Chinese were all tried according to the Chinese laws. The code of the Sung dynasty is not extant, but it was in the main similar to that of the T'ang (清: 薛允升, 重校唐律疏義序). In the code of the Ming dynasty, we read: "All the *Hua-wai-jên* 化外人 who commit offences, shall be tried according to the Chinese laws." 凡化外人犯罪者, 並依律擬斷 (明律, 卷一, 名例). Though the Ming laws seem to be very different from those of the T'ang, the *Hua-wai-jên* of the Ming Code means only those foreigners naturalized in China, as the commentary explicitly defines: "By the *Hua-wai-jên* here are meant those foreigners who surrendered themselves to China, as well as those foreign captives who are found scattered in various localities of China." 化外人, 即外夷來降之人, 及收捕夷寇, 散處各地方者, 皆是. It will thus be seen that the words 化外人 are used in quite different senses in these two codes. Indeed Chinamen are rather notorious in their habitual looseness in the use of words, so that one is apt to be easily misled if he is not very careful in reading Chinese books.

12) We find in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* the following: "When a foreigner commits an offence anywhere, he is sent to the local government of Kuang-chou, and if the charge is proved [before the Chinese authorities?], he is sent to the foreign quarter to suffer his condign punishment.—Offences entailing banishment or more severe punishments are carried out by the Department Magistrate of Kuang-chou (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chou Ju-kua*, p. 17). 蕃人有罪, 詣廣州鞠實, 送蕃坊行遣, 徒以上罪, 則廣州決斷 (萍洲可談, 卷二). The phrase 蕃人有罪—a foreigner committing an offence—is a little vague in meaning. But the offences committed against those of the same nationality were tried according to the laws of that nation, as has been shown before, the phrase here must be taken as meaning an offence of a foreigner against a Chinese. See the biography of Wang Ta-yu 汪大猷 infra.

* The commentary of the T'ang Code was compiled in the fourth year of *Yung-hui* 永徽, A.D. 659. At that time the Korean peninsula was divided into the following three independent kingdoms—(1) Kao-li 高麗 or Kao-chü-li 高句麗, (2) Pai-chi 百濟 and (3) Hsin-lo 新羅.

13) In the biography of Wang Huan-chih 王渙之 of the *Sung-shih*, we read: "Wang Huan-chih was appointed the governor of Fu-chou. Before he went there in that capacity, he was again transferred to Kuang-chou. Here a foreigner killed a slave. The superintendent of trading ships, according to the judicial precedent, was for sending the offender to the foreign quarter to undergo flogging. But Wang Huan-chih would not bear, and tried him according to the regular laws." [王渙之]知福州,未至復徙廣州,蕃客殺奴,市舶使據舊比,止送其長,杖笞,渙之不可,論如法(宋史,卷三百四十七,王渙之傳). According to the T'ang and Ming Codes, when a master executed a guilty slave without official sanction, he received one hundred blows; when, however, the slave was innocent, he was banished for one year. The Sung Code must be almost the same. Though the real circumstances of the case cannot now be ascertained, the foreigner indicted by Wang Huan-chih was going to be sent to the foreign quarter because the slave was a guilty one, and the foreigner did not deserve the banishment.

In the biography of Wang Ta-yu 汪大猷 of the *Sung-shih*, we read: "The old custom has it that when a foreign trader quarrels with another person, unless it be bodily injury, the offence was indemnified with payment of an ox. Wang Ta-yu, then the governor of Ch'üan-chou, said: 'Why should the Middle Kingdom adopt the barbarian custom? When a foreigner chances to be within our borders, he should be tried according to our laws.' 故事蕃商與人爭鬪,非傷折罪,皆以牛贖,大猷曰安有中國用島夷俗者,苟在吾境,當用吾法(宋史,卷四百,汪大猷傳). The phrase "to quarrel with another person" 與人爭鬪 here means virtually the same as the phrase "to quarrel with the local people" 與郡人爭鬪 of LOU YAO 樓鑰, who describes the same fact as follows: "The foreign traders live together with the Chinese people, and according to the old custom, when they quarreled with the local people, unless it be bodily injury, they were tried according to their own laws." 蕃商雜處民間,而舊法與郡人爭鬪,非打傷,皆用其國俗(攻媿集, ed. of 武英殿聚珍版叢書,卷八十八所收,贈特進汪公行狀). The above two passages refer to a case between the foreigner and a Chinese, and in such a case, unless the offence be bodily injury, the foreigner was tried according to the laws of his own country. According to the T'ang Code, he who strikes another person, injuring his body, mangling his fingers, or giving severe injury to the eye, ear etc., was banished. Therefore the words *Chê-shang* 折傷, (*lit.* break and injure), in the above-quoted passages are used in the meaning of the offences deserving banishment 徒罪 in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談. From the biographies of Wang Huan-chih 王渙之 and Wang Ta-yu 汪大猷, we learn that the offences of the foreigners were punished at the foreign quarter according to their own laws. The very fact that the *Sung-shih* specially describes these two governors who desired to punish the foreign offenders according to Chinese laws proves that the foreigners were then beyond the control of the Chinese authorities.

The most remarkable case is that of a Japanese sailor who quarrelled with and killed a Chinaman at Ming-chou 明州 (modern Ning-po 寧波). The *Sung-shih* describes this event as follows: "In the second year of *Shun-hsi* 淳熙, A.D. 1175, a Japanese sailor (火兒, *lit.* companion=crew) called T'êng-t'ai-ming 滕太明 struck to death a man of the name of Chêng Tso 鄭作. The emperor commanded him to be put into fetters, and delivered him to the headman 綱首 of the Japanese crew, and let him take the offender back to his country and punish him according to the Japanese laws." 淳熙二年, 倭船火兒, 滕太明, 毆鄭作死, 詔械太明, 付其綱首, 歸治以其國之法 (宋史, 卷四百九十一, 外國傳, 日本國條). The man Chêng Tso was probably a Chinese, and even in such a serious case as manslaughter the foreign law was observed, going beyond the case mentioned in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談. This fact is further confirmed by the *Ming-shih* 明史, in which we see that in the fourth year of *Ch'êng-hua* 成化, A.D. 1468, when the Shôgun of Japan, Ashikaga Yoshimasa 足利義政, sent his envoy the priest Sei-kei 清啓 to China, one of his followers hurt a Chinese. When the Chinese authority was about to try him, Sei-kei made an objection, alleging that foreigners should be tried according to their own laws. 犯法者, 當用本國之刑 (明史, 卷三百二十二, 外國傳, 日本國條). Seeing that the Chinese government acceded to this objection, the rights of extra-territoriality were not temporary concessions on the part of the Chinese government, but must be recognized as a prevalent law common to all nations of the East at that time. The author of the *Kuang-tung-t'ung-chih*, describing how in the thirty-sixth year of *Wan-li* 萬曆, A.D. 1608, the magistrate of Hsiang-shan 香山 district in Kuang-tung province, called T'sai Shan-chi 蔡善繼, punished a foreigner (Portuguese?) at Macao, says: "According to the old custom, a foreigner never received flagellation, but T'sai Shan-chi was an upright and independent man, who was naturally feared by the foreigners..... So the offender obediently received the blows and went away." 故事番人無受笞者, 獨 [蔡] 善繼廉介, 素爲番人所服, 故弭耳受笞而去 (道光重刊廣東通志, 卷二百四十七).

From all these examples of the Ming era, we may know the foreigners in that dynasty were similarly treated as in the Sung dynasty.

14) On the food of the foreigners at the foreign quarter at Kuang-chou, Chu Yü, in his *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, says: "Even now the foreigners never take pork flesh..... Even now, the foreigners never eat any flesh of the animals that they did not kill in their own way..... As to fish or tortoise, whether dead or alive, they eat all." 至今蕃人, 但不食豬肉而已, 至今蕃人, 非手刃六畜, 則不食, 若魚鼈, 則不問生死, 皆食 (萍洲可談, 卷二). This clearly shows that the foreigners living at the foreign quarter were mostly Islamites. For the Moslem forbids to eat pork rigorously (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, pp. 130, 629), and they do not take any other meat unless killed in their own fashion (*Ibid.*, p. 130). Thus they did not like to eat meat killed

by the peoples of other religions, and among the pork-eating Chinese especially they were most scrupulous on this point (BROOMHALL, *Islam in China*, p. 226).

The conspicuous custom of the Islamites, that is their total abstinence from pork-eating, might have attracted the attention of the Chinese in the T'ang or Sung era, but it is singular that we should find little or no allusion to this point in the Chinese histories of those times. The first mention of this Moslem custom is perhaps that of TU HUAN 杜環 (or 杜選) of the T'ang era, who in his *Ching-hsing-chi* 經行記 says: "The religious laws of the Ta-shih 大食 country forbid the eating of the flesh of pork, dog, mule etc. 大食法者.....不食猪狗驢馬等肉 (杜佑, 通典, 卷百九十三, 大秦國條所引). The Islamites look on dog as an unclean animal, and forbid the eating of flesh of the hyena, donkey and mule as well as pork (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 130), as is described by Tu Huan. This man, when in the tenth year of T'ien-pao 天寶 A.D. 751, China was at war with the Ta-shih (Arab) country near Tarâz 怛邏斯 in Central Asia, was made a captive. After being confined in the Islamic countries more than ten years, he returned home by sea in the first year of Pao-ying 寶應, 762, and wrote the book *Ching-hsing-chi* 經行記 (*lit.* the Records of pilgrimage). The book is not now extant, but we have only a few passages of it quoted in the *T'ung-tien* 通典 (卷百九十三).

In the *Kuei-hsin-tsa-shih* 癸辛雜識, written by CHOU MIH 周密 towards the beginning of the Fourteenth Century, we read: "In the thirtieth year of Chih-yuan 至元, A.D. 1293, in the twelfth moon, in the villages a false rumor was circulated that the government would not allow the keeping of pigs. Whereupon all owners killed and sold all the pigs they had. The price was extremely cheap. What omen it was we do not know!" 至元癸巳十二月內, 村落間忽僞傳, 官司不許養猪, 於是所有悉屠而售之, 其價極廉, 不知何祥也 (癸辛雜識, 續集, 下). Such rumor perhaps arose from the great influence of the so-called *Sé-mu-jên* 色目人 or Islamites in that time. And the rumor proved to be false, but in the reign of Wu-tsung 武宗 of the Ming dynasty, the keeping of pigs was in fact forbidden. FU WEI-LIN 傅維麟 of the Ch'ing era, in his *Ming-shu* 明書, says: "In the ninth moon, the fourteenth year of Chêng-tê 正德, 1519, the emperor lodged at Pao-ting 保定 prefecture (in Chih-li 直隸 province). There he forbade people to keep pigs. It was made a law." 九月上次保定 (直隸省, 保定道, 清苑縣), 禁民間畜猪, 著爲令 (明書, ed. of 畿輔叢書, 卷二十二, 武宗本紀, 正德十四年條). Also in the *Huang-ming-shih-lu* 皇明實錄, we see: "The emperor Wu-tsung, in his tour, forbade the keeping of pigs in every place he went. Far and near the butchery was made, annihilating all pigs. Those pigs in farm houses were thrown into the water." 上巡幸所至, 禁民間畜猪, 遠近屠殺殆盡, 田家有產者, 悉投諸水 (皇明實錄, 武宗實錄, 卷百八十一).

The most worthy of notice is the proclamation issued in the twelfth moon, the fourteenth year of Chêng-tê 正德, which runs as follows: "The left vice-

president of the Board of War, Wang Ch'ung 王瓊 by order of Chu Shou 朱壽, the commander-in-chief of the Military affairs (總督軍務),.....grand preceptor (太師) and noble with the title of Chên-kuo-kung 鎮國公,* issues the following proclamation. His Highness makes the august suggestion that though keeping pigs and killing hogs is an ordinarily practised affair, the *Chu* 猪—which means both pigs and hogs—corresponds to his natal year, and it has the same sound as his surname *Chu* 朱. Not only on that account but also the eating of the pork flesh is accompanied by ulcers and other distempers, which would not conduce to physical comforts. A proclamation therefore should be issued to all districts and localities, prohibiting, except cattle and sheep or such like, the feeding, keeping, selling, buying, cooking and eating of pigs and swine. If there be any one who does not obey this command, the principal culprit together with his whole family shall be banished to the most extreme part of the empire, and [males] shall be forever enrolled as conscripts.” 兵部左侍郎王[瓊], 抄奉欽差總督軍務,.....太師鎮國公朱[壽]鈞帖, 照得, 養豕宰猪, 固尋常通事, 但嘗爵本命, 又姓字異音同, 況食之隨生瘡疾, 深爲未便, 爲此省諭地方, 除牛羊等不禁外, 即將豕牲, 不許喂養易賣宰殺, 如若故違, 本犯並當房家小, 發極邊, 永遠充軍(野獲編, 卷一). Chu Shou 朱壽 with so many ostentatious titles is no other man than the emperor Wu-tsung 武宗 who was pleased with such a pseudonym. (See 皇明通紀, 卷十, 正德十三年條).

Yü CH'ENG-HSIEH 俞正燮 of the Ch'ing era, in his *Kuei-ssu-ts'un-kaio* 癸巳存稿, gives the following commentary on the above-quoted passage: “Wu-tsung had many Mussulmans in his enchanted palace called *Pao-fang* 豹房. It was these Mussulmans who urged on him to take the prohibitory measure, under the pretention that his surname was Chu 朱, and he was born in the year of the hog. Hence this proclamation.” 武宗.....其豹房實多回人,回人憊患之, 託之曰姓朱, 武宗亥生, 故有此鈞帖(癸巳存稿, 卷八, 正德禁殺猪者條). What the commentator says is only too true. The *Pao-fang* is a palace in the Imperial courtyard built by the emperor for his recreations and self-indulgence (see 明史, 卷三百七, 錢寧傳, 江彬傳). The emperor had many Mussulmans among his courtiers, and also kept Moslem ladies in the harem (see 野獲編, 卷三; and 明宮史, 卷二十). ; It will thus be seen that the emperor took this measure, either because he was urged to take it by his favorites of both sexes, or simply because he could not resist the strong influence of the Islamites.

That he was born in the fourth year of *Hung-chih* 弘治, 1496, or in the year of the hog (辛亥) of the Chinese Zodiacal cycle, and the characters 猪 and 朱 have both the same sound *Chu* in modern Peking pronunciation are

* During the Ch'ing dynasty, the titles of *Chên-kuo-kung*—奉恩鎮國公 or 不入八分鎮國公—were conferred on members of the Imperial House or on the chieftains of the Mongol tribes. (See MAYERS *Chinese Government*, p. 3). But as for the *Chên-kuo-kung* under the Ming dynasty, I am not well acquainted with.

facts well known to every Chinaman of that time, and were used for a pretence to enforce the law.

15) The luxurious life of the Mōhamedan residents attracted the attention of many Chinese in the T'ang dynasty. In the miscellaneous writings of the time we may find many allusions to it, for which see Mr. NAKAMURA'S article, *Kuang-tung (Canton) in the T'ang dynasty*, (*Shigaku Zasshi*, April 1917), p. 46. In the *Tsa Tsuan* 雜纂 (ed. of 古今說海, 卷上) written by LI SHANG-YIN 李商隱 about the middle of the Ninth Century, are enumerated as examples of self-contradictory terms 不相稱, a poor Po-ssu (Persian) 窮波斯, sickly doctor 病醫人, emaciated wrestler 瘦人相撲, stout new bride 肥大新婦, which shows that the Ta-shih people or Persians were reputed to be very rich in so early a time. So also in the Sung era, the wealth of the Ta-shih traders were reputed to be the first among foreigners, as we see in the *Ling-wai-tai-ta*: "No barbarian state, in their rich and prosperity and in the abundance of precious goods, excelled the Ta-shih country." 諸蕃國之富盛, 多寶貨者, 莫如大食國 (嶺外代答, 卷三, 海外夷條). Yo K'ō 岳珂 of the South Sung, in his *Ch'êng-shih* 程史 minutely describes the luxuries of the house, furniture and various other appendages of the foreign trader surnamed P'u 蒲. It is further described that "when this man (the P'u) was invited to the house of the governor of Kuang-chou, he distributed gold as if it was rubbish among the inmates of the house, down to the meanest servants. He brought a great many pearls, incense and shells and scattered them all over the room, so showy was he of his wealth." 其揮金如糞土, 輿阜無遺, 珠璣香貝狼籍, 坐上以示侈 (程史, 卷十一). KU YEN-WU says, "In the Sung dynasty, the foreign traders were exceedingly rich. Their dresses were all of gauze-silk covered with gold and pearls, their furniture and flate were all of gold and silver." 宋時 [蕃] 商戶鉅富, 服飾皆金珠羅綺, 器用皆金銀器皿 (天下郡國利病書, 卷一百四).

16) In the *Sung-shih*, we see, during the *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 period, 1068-1077, the envoy of Ta-shih, Hsin-ya-t'ō-lo 辛押陁羅, proposed a donation of each and silver towards the fund for the repair of Kuang-chou walls, but his proposal was refused by the Chinese authority. 熙寧中其 [大食] 使辛押陁羅 進鐵銀, 助修廣州城, 不許 (宋史, 卷四百九十, 外國傳, 大食國條). The famous writer SU CHÊ 蘇轍 towards the end of the North Sung also mentions this man as a millionaire of the time: "The foreign merchant Hsin-ya-t'ō-lo lives at Kuang-chou for several decades. His wealth amounts to several million strings of cash." 番商辛押陁羅者, 居廣州數十年矣, 家資數百萬緡 (天下郡國利病書, 卷一百四所引, 龍川志略). However the repair of Ch'üan-chou walls was effected by the contributions of foreign trader, as is described in the *Ch'üan-chou-fu-chih*, by YANG SSU-LIEN 陽思廉 of the Ming dynasty: "In the fourth year of *Chia Ting* 嘉定, 1211, the governor Tsou Ying-lung 鄒應龍 with the fund contributed by the foreign trader, Pu-lu 簿錄, and

with the consent of the government, made a thorough reparation of Ch'üan-chou walls, which then became very strong." 嘉定四年, 守郡鄒應龍, 以賈胡簿錄之貲, 請于朝而大修之, 城始固(泉州府志, 卷四). Dr. FUJITA, on the authority of YEH HSIH 葉適 of the South Sung dynasty, introduces a noteworthy fact, that Lin Ti 林湜, who was in the latter half of the Twelfth Century the magistrate of Chin-chiang 晉江 district of Ch'üan-chou, built coast-guard ships with the contributions of the foreigners at Ch'üan-chou (*Tôyô Gakuhô*, May 1917, p. 202). That the traders in foreign quarters could make contributions either for the shipbuilding or wall repair show that they were extremely rich.

17) Concerning the *Po-ssu-fu* 波斯婦, i.e. the Persian women, CHUANG CH'Ō 莊綽 towards the beginning of the South Sung, in his *Chi-lei-pien* 雞肋編, says: "The *Po-ssu-fu* at Kuang-chou make holes all round their ears. There are some who wear more than twenty ear-rings." 廣州波斯婦, 繞耳皆穿穴帶環, 有二十餘枚者(說郛, 弓二十七所收雞肋編). The ear-rings were much in fashion among the Persians in the reign of Sāsān (SPIEGEL, *Eranische Alterthumskunde*, Bd. III, s. 659), and after the conquest of the Saracens, the Moslem ladies had a still stronger passion for them (HUGHES, *Dictionary of Islam*, p. 102).

18) CHU YŪ, in his *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, says: "There is a *Yüeh-fu* 樂府 called *P'u-sa-man* 菩薩蠻. I did not at first understand what it meant. When I was at Kuang-chou, I saw that the foreign (Moslem) lady was called *P'u-sa-man*, and then I did understand [the meaning of that *Yüeh-fu*]" 樂府有菩薩蠻, 不知何物, 在廣中, 見呼蕃婦爲菩薩蠻, 因識之(萍州可談, 卷二). *P'u-sa-man* is a Chinese corruption of Mussulman or Bussurman, as has already been explained by HIRTH and ROCKHILL (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 16). In the records of the Yüan period, Mussulman or Bussurman is represented by several Chinese characters, such as 木速蠻(元史, 卷五, 世祖本紀二), 木速魯蠻(元史, 氏族表), 鋪速滿(西遊記), 謀速魯蠻(西遊錄), or 沒速魯蠻(北使記), etc. For details, see BRETSCHNEIDER's *Mediaeval Researches* (Vol. I, p. 70), and HUNG CHÜN's 洪鈞 *Yüan-shih-i-wên-chêng-pu* 元史譯文證補(卷二十九, 元世各教名考).

19) The earliest record of *P'u-sa-man* is found in the *Tu-yang-tsa-pien* 杜陽雜編 by SU Ê 蘇鶚, towards the end of the T'ang era, in which we read: "In the early years of *Ta Chung* 大中, A.D. 847?, a party from the country called *Nü-man* 女蠻 (*lit.* female barbarians) paid a tribute to the Chinese court. They had on their head towering coiffures and gold crowns. They wore long-hanging necklaces round their bodies. So they were called *P'u-sa-man* 菩薩蠻 (Bodhisattva-like barbarians). The actors and singers of that time composed a *Yüeh-fu* called *P'u-sa-man* in commemoration of the event, and even literary men followed their example." 大中初, 女蠻國貢, 其國人危髮金冠, 瓔珞被體, 故謂之菩薩蠻, 當時倡優製菩薩蠻曲, 文士亦往々聲其詞(杜陽雜編, ed. of 學津討原, 卷下). What CH'ÏEN I 錢易 of the

beginning of the North Sung era writes in his *Nan-pu-hsin-shu* (南部新書 ed. of 學津討原, 戊), is a mere copy of the above-quoted passage of the *Tu-yang-tsa-pien*. There are some scholars who would put the origin of the song of *P'u-sa-man* before the *Ta-chung* period, but such a supposition is quite unwarrantable as clearly shown by HU YING-LIN 胡應麟, a Ming scholar, in his *Pi-ts'ung* 筆叢 (卷四十一, 莊嶽委譚, 下).

20) According to the *Tu-yang-tsa-pien*, the name *P'u-sa-man* is given to the people of the Nü-man country, because they much resemble in appearance a *P'u-sa* or Bodhisattva in paintings. A similar expression we may find in the *Hsi-shih-chi* 西使記 by LIU YÜ 劉郁 of the Yüan dynasty, in which he describes the manners and customs of Europe as follows: "West of the sea is the Kingdom of Fu-lang 富浪 (=Franks). The covering of the head for women there resemble much what we see in our painting representing the *P'u-sa* 菩薩 (=Bodhisattva)." 海西有富浪國, 婦人衣冠如世所畫菩薩狀 (BRETSCHNEIDER, *Medieval Researches*, Vol. I, p. 142).

It seems to us that CHU YÜ 朱彙 was rather rash when he tried to explain the *P'u-sa-man* a theme of the *Yüeh-fu* of the T'ang era by the *P'u-sa-men* which meant in the Sung era foreign women living at Kuang-chou.

The name of Nü-man country is not found in any other book that I know of that time, nor can we find any mention of a foreign country paying tribute in the early years of *Ta-chung*. Thus we are quite unable to know what this Nü-man country was. In the T'ang dynasty, however, there were the countries of Hsi-nü 西女 (western women) and Tung-nü 東女 (eastern women). Both countries are described in HSÜAN-CHUANG's 玄奘 *Ta-T'ang-hsi-yü-chi* 大唐西域記, the former lying to the west of T'u-fan 吐蕃 (Tibet) and south of Yü-t'ien 于闐 (Khotan), the latter lying to the west of Persia. HU SAN-SHÈNG 胡三省 of the Yüan dynasty identified the country of Tung-nü with the *P'u-sa-man* of the T'ang era (see 資治通鑑, 唐紀五十, 貞元九年, A.D. 793, 條). But as HSÜAN-CHUANG gives no description of the costumes of the people of these 'women' countries, we can make no comparison with that of the Nü-man country in the *Tu-yang-tsa-pien*. The *Liang-shu* 梁書 (卷五十四, 諸夷傳, 扶桑國條) mentions a country of women in the Eastern Seas, and the *Chu-fan-chih* 諸蕃志 gives a country of women in the Southern Seas (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chu-fan-chih*, p. 151). But these countries seem to have no connection with the Nü-man 女蠻 country.

If we believe the description in the *Tu-yang-tsa-pien*, the costumes of the Nü-man country resemble very much those of countries in the Southern Seas. On the costumes of Chan Ch'êng 占城 (Champa), we know that "the king wears a vestment with decorated necklace like that of a Buddhist image" 其王者著法服, 加纓絡, 如佛像之飾 (冊府元龜, 卷九百五十九); as to the costumes of Chên-lo 真臘 (Cambodja), "the king has on his head a crown adorned with gold flowers, has a necklace set with pearls, ... gold ear-rings, and

wears cotton clothes. All his subjects are dressed almost in similar styles” 王頭戴金寶花冠, 被真珠纓絡……耳懸金璫, 身服白疊……巨人服裝, 大抵相類 (同書同卷); of Po-li 波利 country,* “the King wears about his body long-hanging necklaces; on his head a gold crown” 王以纓絡繞身, 頭著金冠; lastly, of Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙修 country, “the women wear long-hanging necklaces” 女子則以纓絡繞身. Inferring from these customs, the so-called country of female barbarians 女蠻國 would seem to be in the Southern Seas.

My colleague, Prof. SUZUKI, suggested to me a passage in the *Ch'i-nan-tzu-chuan* 奇男子傳, said to be written by HSÜ T'ANG 許棠 of the T'ang dynasty. The story tells us that during the reign of the emperor Hsüan Tsung 玄宗 (712-754), a man called Kuo Chung-hsieng 郭仲翔, a staff-officer under General Li Mêng 李蒙, in the expedition against the south barbarians, while stationed at Y'ao-chou 姚州 in Yün-nan province, was made a captive, and wandered in barbarian districts. “He was sold to the Nantung 南洞 (*lit.* South Cave=South barbarian village), the ruler of which was a severe and cruel man. While in his hands, Kuo was put into a very hard work, and flogged in the most cruel manner. Kuo deserted his master and ran away, but at last was recaptured and sold to another barbarian village called P'u-sa-man.” [郭仲翔轉賣于南洞, 洞主嚴惡, 得仲翔苦役之, 鞭笞甚至, 仲翔棄而去, 又被逐得, 更賣南洞中, 其洞號菩薩蠻. This place I suppose was in Yün-nan province, but whether this *P'u-sa-man* be the same as that of the *Tu-yang-tsa-pien* must await further investigation.

21) The name Po-ssu 波斯 in the Chinese records of the T'ang and Sung times is rather ambiguous, and we see cases in which Po-ssu of the West (Persia) is often confounded with Po-ssu in the Southern Seas. For the latter see Dr. LAUFER's article *The Malayan Po-su and Its Products (Sino-Iranica)*, pp. 468-487). By the Po-ssu woman 波斯婦 in question, it is not clear which Po-ssu is meant. The Po-ssu woman 波斯女 kept by Liu Chang 劉鋹, King of the Nan-han 南漢, is said to be of dark skin, which may therefore be the Po-ssu of the Southern Seas. But even of the Persians, those who dwell on the coast of the Persian Gulf, that is the inhabitants of Siráf and Hormuz were of dark colour (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 108; OUSELEY, *Oriental Geography of Ebn Haukal*, p. 114). The Musulmans who came to China in the T'ang and Sung times were mostly those from Siráf and Hormuz. This fact would make us hesitate to affirm whether this Po-ssu woman was of Malayan origin simply from the colour of her skin.

22) In the *Wu-tai-shih-chi* 五代史記, we read, “Liu Chang then with his court-ladies and Po-ssu woman, indulged in amorous affairs in the harem

* The names of Po-li 波利 (=P'o-li 婆利) and Lang-ya-hsiu 狼牙修 first appear in the *Liang-shu* 梁書 (卷五十四, 諸夷傳, 海南諸國傳). I have no exact knowledge of their locality. But for the present I am inclined to identify Po-li with Bali, the next island east of Java, and to place Lang-ya-hsiu in the Malay Peninsula or there about.

and did not come out to see governmental business.” [劉] 銀乃與宮婢波斯女等淫戲後宮，不復出省事（五代史記，卷六十五，南漢世家）。In the *Ch'ing-i-lu* 清異錄 (ed. of 惜陰軒叢書) attributed to T'AO KU 陶穀 towards the beginning of the North Sung era, we have a minute description of Liu Chang's licentious conduct with the Po-ssu woman, but decency would forbid as to give quotations from the book.

23) In the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, we read: “During the *Yüan-yü* 元祐 period, A.D. 1086–1094, in the foreign quarter of Kuang-chou, there was a man surnamed Liu 劉, who was married to a lady of the Imperial household 宗女, and was promoted to the rank of *Tso-pan-tien-chih* 左班殿直. He died, and the lady gave to no issue. The surviving family quarrelled about the division of property. The widow appealed to the court, sending a man to beat the *T'eng-wên-ku* 登聞鼓 (*lit.* a drum for appealing to the court). On making inquiry, the court came to know for the first time that a woman of the Imperial household married a foreigner. Thereupon the court laid the rule that it is possible for a foreigner to marry a woman of the Imperial household only after his family shall have lived in China for a duration of three generations provided also that one generation must have been appointed to a governmental official.” 元祐間，廣州蕃坊，劉姓人娶宗女，官至左班殿直，劉死，宗女無子，其家爭分財產，遣人搥登聞鼓，朝廷方悟宗女嫁夷部，因禁止三代，須一代有官，乃得取宗女（萍州可談，卷二）。The *Tso-pan-tien-chih* was a military official rank, the Senior grade of the ninth rank 正九品（宋史，卷百六十九，職官志九）。

On the *T'eng-wên-ku*, we read in the *Sung-shih*: “The *T'eng-wên-ku-yüan* 登聞鼓院 or office of the drum of appealing to the court, receives the appeal or complaints of military and civil officers as well as the common people in general. Those who would criticize the governmental measures, the public welfare, the military affairs, or who would ask for a proper recompense or would cleanse themselves of false accusations, all sent their appeal through this office; if they were obstructed in their appeal, they applied to the *Chien-yüan* 檢院 (*lit.* office of supervision). Both these two offices were situated before the gate of the Imperial court.” 登聞鼓院……掌受文武官及士民章奏表疏，凡言朝政得失，公私利害，軍期機密，陳乞恩賞，理雪冤濫……者，先經鼓院進狀，或爲所抑，則詣檢院，並置局于闕門之前（宋史，卷百六十一，職官志，中書省條）。This custom of providing a drum for appealing to the court by the people is a very ancient one in China. For its history I should refer to the *Sung-tung-ching-kao* 宋東京考（卷六，登聞檢院條），written by CHOU CH'ENG 周城 of the Ch'ing dynasty.

In later times there were many Mussulmans with the surname of Liu 劉, for examples, Liu Chih 劉智, the famous author of 天方典禮擇要解, 天方性理 and 天方至聖實錄年譜; or Liu San-chieh 劉三傑, the author of 回々原來; or Liu Fa-hsiang 劉發祥, who wrote 咸陽王撫演績, etc. (See VIS-

SIÈRE, *Études Sino-Mahometanes*, Tome II, pp. 106-133). To investigate whether they have any connection with Liu mentioned in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* would be an interesting study. Dr. FUJITA made a conjecture that the surname Liu might be a transliteration of the Arabic article *Al* (*Tôyô Gakuhô*, May 1919, p. 254), but I cannot agree with him. As it was a prevailing practice of the Chinese authorities to confer Chinese surnames on foreigners since the T'ang dynasty on, it seems to me very probable that the surname Liu may have been given by the Liu family, kings of the Nan-han 南漢, on the Moslem traders who came to Kuang-chou or thereabouts during the Five Dynasties.

24) The *Sung-hui-yao* informs us: "A great trader, P'u A-li 蒲亞里 already arrived at Kuang-chou. There was an officer of the rank of *Yu-wu-ta-fu* 右武大夫 by name Ts'êng Na 曾納, who, on account of P'u's wealth, gave in marriage his sister, whereon A-li remained in China and did not go home." 大商蒲亞里者, 既至廣州, 有右武大夫曾納, 利其婚, 以妹嫁之, 亞里因留不歸 (宋會要, 高宗紹興七年條). It was an event in the seventh year of *Shao-hsin* 紹興, A.D., 1137, during the reign of Kao-tsung 高宗 of the South Sung. The *Yu-wu-ta-fu* is a military official rank, the senior grade of the sixth rank 正六品 (宋史, 卷百六十八, 職官志八). Ts'êng Na is also written Ts'êng No 曾訥 in some transcription of the *Sung-hui-yao*. Which is correct I can not decide for the present. But we know from the *Hui-chu-hou-lu* 揮塵後錄, written by WANG MING-CH'ING 王明清 of the South Sung that in the first half of the Twelfth Century, there lived at Kuang-chou a rich trader by name Ts'êng No 曾訥 (See 揮塵後錄, ed. of 學津討源, 卷四). I have some reason to conjecture this Ts'êng to be the same person as that Ts'êng of the *Sung-hui-yao*, so I am inclined to prefer the name Ts'êng No as correct instead of Ts'êng Na.

25) In the Yüan era, marriages between foreigners and the Chinese were easily contracted, as we see in IBN BATÛTA: "Will jener ein Konkubinat eingehen, so erstet er ihm eine Sklavin, gibt ihm als Wohnung einen Raum, dessen Tür sich in Innern des Gasthauses befindet, und machet die Ausgaben für beide. Die Sklavinnen stehen billig in Preise; ausserdem verkaufen die Bewohner Chinas insgesamt ihre Söhne und Töchter. Das gilt bei ihnen nicht als Schande; nur zwingen sie nicht, mit denen zu reisen, die sie gekauft haben, halten sie auch anderseits davon nicht ab, wenn sie es wünschen. Ebenso halten sie es, wenn sich der Kaufmann verheiraten will: er mag sich eine Frau nehmen" (HANS VON MŽIK, *Ibn Batûta*, S. 421).

Indeed this was the age in which it was easiest for the foreigner to come and settle in China, and naturally there were many a marriage contracted between them. But looking through Chinese history, we find that even in very ancient times this intermarriage with foreigners happened frequently. For examples, in the harem of Hsiang Wang 襄王 (B.C. 651-619), emperor of the Chou dynasty, had Ti Hou 狄后 (*lit.* Queen of North barbarian birth);

Hsien Kung 獻公 (B.C. 676-652), prince of Chin 晉 Kingdom, had five wives of which four were of non-Chinese, and one of these foreign wives gave birth to Wên Kung 文公 (635-628), most famous as one of the Five powerful Princes 五霸 of the Ch'un Ch'iu 春秋 era; and a wife of Ling-Kung 靈公 (B.C. 581-554), prince of Ch'i 齊 Kingdom, was also of foreign origin, for she was named Jung-chi 戎姬 (*lit.* lady of west barbarian birth). Since Ch'in 秦 and Han 漢 dynasties, with the increase of the foreign people coming into China from beyond the frontiers, especially during the Fourth, Fifth and Sixth centuries, when the so-called Wu-hu 五胡 (*lit.* five barbarian tribes), took possession of the northern part of China, mixed marriage in North China became a common occurrence. Once a present Chinese scholar, HUANG CHIEH 黃節, expressed his indignation at finding so many pseudo-Chinese who pretended to be descendants of genuine ancient families: "The descendants of I T'o 猗菴* adopted Chinese culture, assumed Chinese surnames, and since the Sui 隋 and T'ang 唐 dynasties, his descendants passed for genuine Chinese, were promoted to officials of high rank, and at last succeeded in passing for great ancient families. Thus, five out of ten great families of the Middle Kingdom are not of genuine blood, but in course of time, on account of intermarriages, the genealogies have become almost undistinguishable." 猗菴之裔 [拓跋魏]..... 乃假中國之禮樂文章, 而冒其族姓, 隋唐以降, 胥爲中國之民, 且進而爲士大夫, 以自旌其門閥, 高門大姓十五, 而非五帝三王之支庶, 婚官相雜, 無與辨之矣 (黃史頻復記 in 國粹學報 of 光緒卅二丙午年).

This is a case of mixed marriage of a foreigner who settled in China, but as to the marriage of a foreigner, who lived for a time in China but did not become naturalized, a law was laid in the T'ang era: "The edict of the 16th, 6th moon, 2nd year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀, A.D. 628, says: "Any foreign envoy may marry a Chinese woman. He shall however not take her away to his own country." 貞觀二年六月十六日勅, 諸蕃使人, 所娶得漢婦女爲妾者, 並不得將還蕃 (唐會要, 卷一百). This is almost the same what IBN BATÛTA says some seven hundred years after.

During the reign of Tê-tsung 德宗 (779-805), the Tibetans (吐蕃) impeded the passage to the west, and all envoys from the west staid in the capital, Chang-an 長安, and there they married Chinese women. This fact is given in the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 as follows: "The foreigners lived in Chang-an for a long time, some even more than forty years. They all had wives and children." 胡客留長安, 久者四十餘年, 皆有妻子 (資治通鑑, 唐紀四十八, 貞元三年, A.D. 787, 條). There are passages in the records of the T'ang era, which at first seem to prohibit the intermarriage of the Chinese

* I T'o 猗菴 is one of the chiefs of the Hsien Pei 鮮卑 tribe and the ancestor of North Wei 魏 dynasty which reigned over the North China for about one hundred and fifty years.

with foreigners. For instance, in the *Ts'e-fu-yüan-kuei* 册府元龜, we read: "In the sixth moon, the first year of *K'ai-ch'eng* 開成, A.D. 836, the Ching-chao-fu 京兆府 (Governor of the Metropolitan prefecture) reported to the Emperor, that according to the laws and regulations the Chinese are forbidden without special permission of the Court to communicate, to trade, to marry or to make friends with foreigners, or to borrow money of them, or to mortgage their business or slaves. Therefore he would again ask the Emperor to interdict such illegal acts." 開成元年六月京兆府奏.....准令式, 中國人不合私與外國人交通, 賣買, 婚娶, 來往, 又舉取蕃客錢, 以產業奴婢爲質者, 重請禁之 (册府元龜, 卷九百九十九). Here the principal motive of the governor was, I believe, to prevent the Chinese from contracting a prival marriage with foreigners, and not intermarriage in general.

Also we see in the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑, "The Emperor commanded that those Hui-ho 回紇 (Uigurs) and other foreigners who live in Chang-an shall wear their own dresses and not imitate Chinese ones. The authors of the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* interpreting this command say: "Before this time, the Uigurs living in the capital usually numbered as many as a thousand, and they put on Chinese dresses, and seduced and married Chinese women. Hence this decree." 詔, 回紇諸胡, 在京師者, 各服其服, 無得効華人, 先是回紇留京師者常千人,或衣華服, 誘取妻妾, 故禁之 (資治通鑑, 唐紀四十一, 大曆十四年, A.D. 779 條).

Lu Chün 盧鈞 who was in 836 appointed the viceroy 節度使 of Ling-nan 嶺南 province, adopted strict measures to prohibit the intermarriage between Chinese and foreigners, which the *Chiu-t'ang-shu* describes as follows: "Before this time, the natives (Chinamen) of Kuang-chou lived and intermingled with barbarians (foreigners). They intermarried with each other, and the barbarians bought rice fields and built houses. If the local authority tried to interfere with them, they combined and rose in revolt. When Lu Chün came he made laws, forced the barbarians to live in a separate quarter and interdicted them not to marry with the Chinamen or buy lands or build houses." 先是土人與蠻獠雜居, 婚娶相通, [占田營第], 吏或撓之, 相誘爲亂, [盧]鈞至, 立法, 俾華蠻異處, 婚娶不通, 蠻人不得立田宅 (舊唐書, 卷百七十七). This is perhaps a temporary policy to prevent the Chinese people from keeping intimate relations with foreigners, lest the people should have their property in the name of foreigners. After all, we see that during the T'ang era, the mixed marriage as such was not strictly forbidden, and there were many cases of such a marriage. Hsü Ching-tsung 許敬宗 who was the president of the Board of Ceremonies 禮部尚書 in the middle of the Seventh Century, gave his daughter to the son of Fêng Ang 馮盎,* a rich chief of aborigines near

*) Fêng Ang was a descendant of Fêng Po 馮跋, King of the Pei-Yen 北燕. Therefore he was a genuine Chinese. But as his family for generations settled near the southern frontiers of China and intermarried with the influential aborigines of those districts, he and his family

the frontier of the present Kuang-tung province, as is described in the *Chiu-T'ang-shu* 舊唐書 (卷八十一). And also in the *T'ieh-ai-chi* 鐵崖集 (元詩選, 第一集辛集, 小姑謠) by YANG WEI-CHÊN 楊維禎 towards the end of the Yüan era, we see a poem on the occasion of the marriage between a young daughter of a noble with the highest titles of honour such as the *I-t'ung-san-ssu Shang-chu-kuo* 儀同三司上柱國* and a rich aborigine lad in the present Yün-nan province. Seeing that even men of high rank did not hesitate to give their daughters to rich foreigners or aborigines, the common Chinese worshippers of Mammon must have been very eager to form so advantageous connection, as has been alluded to by Ibn Batûta.

26) TS'AI T'AO 蔡條 who lived towards the beginning of the South Sung dynasty says, in his *T'ieh-wei-shan-ts'ung-t'an* 鐵圍山叢談, "During the *Ta-kuan* 大觀, A.D. 1107-1110, and *Chêng-ho* 政和, 1111-1117, periods, peace reigned in the Middle Kingdom. The barbarians from all four quarters, under her influence, came to pay their tributes. The provinces of Kuang-chou 廣州 and Ch'üan-nan 泉南 asked to establish foreign schools (one edition has Kuang-nan 廣南 for Kuang-chou and Ch'üan-nan). Kao-li 高麗 (Korea) also sent her scholars to study at the Imperial University, and when they had finished their courses, the emperor Hui-tsung 徽宗 called them to the court and examined them. The thesis was of the chapter *Hung-fan* 洪範 in the *Shu-ching* 書經, one of the Five Classics of China, for the chapter was the answer given to the first Chou 周 emperor, Wu-wang 武王, by Chi-tzu 箕子, who is said to be the founder of Korea." 大觀政和之間, 天下大治, 四夷嚮風, 廣州泉南, 請建番學 (張本云, 廣南請建番學), 高麗亦遣士就上痒, 及其課養有成, 於是天子召而廷試焉, 上因策之, 以洪範之義, 用武王訪箕子故事, 高麗蓋箕子國也 (鐵圍山叢談, ed. of 知不足齋叢書, 卷二). In this passage, the meaning of *Fan-hsieh* 番學 (*lit.* foreign school) is very ambiguous. Indeed the usage of words in China is very vague, for instance, *Fan-po* 蕃舶 (*lit.* foreign ship) may mean sometimes 'a foreign ship coming to China,' sometimes 'a Chinese ship engaged in foreign trade,' and *Fan-shang* 蕃商 or *I-shang* 夷商 (both, *lit.* foreign trader), may mean either 'a trader from foreign country' or 'a Chinese engaged in foreign trade.' In the same way, *Fan-hsieh*

were looked on as the southern aborigines. When he was young, Fêng Ang came to pay court to Yang Su 楊素; one of the influential ministers of the Sui 隋, who, struck with admiration, exclaimed: "One would never expect such a man to be born among the barbarians"—不意, 蠻夷中乃生是人 (新唐書, 卷百十, 馮盎傳).

*) The *I-tung-san-ssu* was a honorary title, meaning one who receives an equal treatment to the *San-kung* 三公 (*lit.* the Three Lords=太師, 太傅, 太保), that is the recipient of the title should be treated in the same way as the *San-kung*. This title dates from the East Han 東漢 dynasty and continued to be used till the Sung and Yüan eras.

The title of *Shang-chu-kuo* is said to have originated towards the close of the Chou 周 dynasty (辭源, 子, 五十一頁). In the Sung and Yüan eras, the *Shang-chu-kuo* was the highest order of merit for civil as military officials.

may be either 'a school of foreign learning for foreign settlers,' or 'a school of Chinese learning for foreigners,' or 'a school of teaching foreign learning to Chinese.' Dr. FUJITA takes it in the sense of 'teaching Chinese learning to foreigners' (*Tōyō Gakuhō*, May 1916, p. 249), which the present context seems to justify. He also suggested to me a noteworthy passage in the *Chung-wu-chi-wên* 中吳紀聞 written by KUNG MING-CHIH 龔明之 of the South Sung. When Ch'êng Shih-mêng 程師孟 was governor of Kuang-chou during the *Hsi-ning* 熙寧 period, A.D. 1068-1077, "he patronized schools, gave lectures every day of the students of schools, who came in flocks, and even the young foreigners asked to be admitted to the Chinese schools" 程子孟.....大修學校, 日引諸生講解, 負笈來者相踵, 諸番子弟皆願入學 (中吳紀聞, ed. of *學海類編*, 卷三). Among these foreigners we might well suppose that there were Moslem students. It is a well-known fact that foreigners were at schools of the capital since the Han and T'ang times, but it is rather a rare thing for China to admit them to local schools, not to mention setting up a special school for them.

27) KU YEN-WU 顧炎武 says, "[At Kuang-chou] there were many [foreigners] with P'u 蒲 and Hai 海 surnames. In course of time they contracted marriage with the Chinese. Some passed the court examination." [廣州] 多蒲及海姓, 漸與華人結姻, 或取科第 (天下郡國利病書, 卷百四, 海獺條) The author is perhaps alluding to an event during the Sung era, but I have not been able to find any real example of a foreign candidate in Sung history. We have however an instance in the T'ang era of a foreigner passing the court examination. CH'EN YEN 陳黯 towards the end of the T'ang, in his *Hua-hsin-shuo* 華心說 (*lit.* the elucidation of Chinese spirit) says: "In the early year of *Ta-chung* 大中, A.D. 847, Lu Chün 盧鈞, the viceroy of *Ta-liang* 大梁 (the present K'ai-fêng 開封 district in Ho-nan 河南 province) recommended Li Yen-shêng 李彥昇, a *Ta-shih* 大食 man, for a candidate of state examinations to the court, and the emperor ordered the Board of Ceremonies to examine him. In the next year, he passed with the highest honours, surpassing all Chinese candidates." 大中初年, 大梁連帥范陽公 [宣武軍節度使盧鈞], 得大食國人李彥昇, 薦於闕下, 天子詔春司 [禮部], 考其才, 二年以進士第名顯然, 常所賓興者, 不得擬 (全唐文, 卷七百六十七). Everything in China being done after a precedent, the Sung era would not be much different in this respect also. As Lu Chün was once in Kuang-chou as viceroy, as noticed before, he may have made an acquaintance of Li Yen-shêng there.

CH'EN I 錢易 of the beginning of the North Sung era, in his *Nan-pu-hsin-shu* 南部新書 says, "Since the *Ta-chung* 大中 period, A.D. 847-859, whenever the Board of Ceremonies (which takes charge state examinations) announced a list of successful candidates, there appeared every year two or three men with strange (or foreign?) surnames. They were called *Sé-mu-jên* 色目人 or *Pang-hua* 榜花 (*lit.* ornaments of the list)." 大中以來, 禮部放榜,

歲取三二人姓氏稀僻者，謂之色目人，亦謂曰勝花（南部新書，ed. of 學津討原，丙）。Thus it will be seen that there were towards the close of the T'ang dynasty many a *Sê-mu-jên* or foreigners who stood successfully for candidates of the state examinations, and of course among them must have been found some Mussulmans.

In the Yüan era, the candidates were divided into *Mêng-ku-jên* 蒙古人 (Mongols), *Sê-mu-jên* 色目人 (men of western regions), *Han-jên* 漢人 (northern Chinese), *Nan-jên* 南人 (southern Chinese), and among the subjects of examination for *Sê-mu-jên*, were elucidations of Chinese classics and essays in Chinese (元史，卷八十一，選舉志一)。The name *Sê-mu-jên* of so frequent occurrence in the Yüan dynasty, had already been in use in the T'ang time, as a name of all races beyond the frontiers as well as the western peoples, of course including also the Mussulmans. For the meaning of *Sê-mu-jên*, see infra.

28) The ships of K'un-lun 崑崙 country means ships of the Southern Seas. Respecting K'un-lun country, we read in the *Hui-ch'ao-chuan* 慧超傳* written in the first half of the Eighth Century and recently discovered by Prof. Pelliot: "The Persians go toward Shih-tzu country 師子國 (Ceylon), taking in precious gems there, and then go toward K'un-lun country, taking in gold there. They further go by ship toward China 漢地 directly to Kuang-chou, where they take in figured cloth, silks etc." [波斯人]向師子國，取諸寶物，……亦向崑崙國取金，亦汎舶漢地，直至廣州，取綾絹絲綿之類。From this passage we may safely infer that the K'un-lun country was situated between Ceylon and Kuang-chou (Canton).

The so-called South Sea countries between India and China were famed for gold from ancient times. The Greek geographer's Chrysé, or the Golden Island, is usually identified with the Malay Peninsula (SCHOFF, *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, pp. 258, 260), and some scholars identify the Sanscrit Suvarna-dvîpa or the Gold Island with the Malay Peninsula (GERINI, *Researches on Ptolemy's Geography of Eastern Asia*, p. 78), while others with Sumatra, which is called Chin-chou 金洲 or Gold Island by I-ching 淨義 (CHAVANNES, *Mémoire sur les Religieux Eminents*, p. 37). So also the 'Pays de l'Or' of the Arabs are said to be nothing else than Sumatra or Java (VAN DER LITH et Marcel DEVIC, *Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, p. 217), the Malay Peninsula and Sumatra being famed till recent times for their gold mines (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 279, 287). Thus, inferring from its position, and seeing that it is a country of gold mines, the K'un-lun must be without doubt a country of the Southern Seas.

From the *Chiu-t'ang-shu*, we learn, that "South of Lin-i 林邑 (another

* A long lost work written by Hui Ch'ao, a monk from Hsin-lo 新羅, recently discovered from the "Thousand Buddhas" of Tun-Huang by Prof. Pelliot. We have now several editions of it, among which the facsimile one in PELLIOT and HANEDA, *Tonko Isho* 燉煌遺書, Série in-f°, fasc. I, is most recommended.

name for Champa), the people have curled hair and dark bodies. They are generally called the K'un-lun' 林邑以南, 卷髮黑身, 通號崑崙 (舊唐書, 卷百九十七, 南蠻傳). Strictly speaking, therefore, the K'un-lun country must be the land of negroes, but practically, it seems to be used in a wider sense, also including the countries inhabited by the Malay tribes (FERRAND, *Le K'ouen-louen et les anciennes Navigations interocéaniques dans les Mers du Sud*, J.A., 1919, I, pp. 332, 333). On this subject, see CHAVANNES, *Mémoire sur les Religieux Eminents*, p. 63, 64; PELLIOU, *Deux Itinéraires de Chine en Inde*, B.E. F.E.O., 1904, p. 208-220; and HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 31, 32.

The negroes of the Southern Seas were commonly called in Chinese K'un-lun-nu 崑崙奴 = K'un-lun slaves, sometimes *Sêng-ch'i-nu* 僧祇奴* = Negro slaves (新唐書, 卷二百廿二下, 南蠻傳, 訶陵國條), or *Kuei-nu* 鬼奴 = Devil slaves (萍洲可談, 卷二) or *Yeh-jên* 野人 = Wild men (萍洲可談, 卷二), or *Hei-hsiao-ssu* 黑小厮 = Black servants (異域錄), or *Fan-hsiao-ssu* 番小厮 = Barbarian servants (南越筆記, ed. of 函海, 卷七) or *Fan-nu* 蕃奴 = Barbarian slaves (嶺外代答, 卷三), etc. The K'un-lun slaves were principally the negroes of the Southern Seas, but as, during the T'ang and Sung eras, the negroes of Africa seem to have been brought into China through the hand of the Arabs, the latter also may have been included in the same appellation. (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, pp. 32, 150; FERRAND, *Le K'ouen-louen*, pp. 330, 331).

The K'un-lun people seem to have been imported to China from very early times, for we read in the *Chin-shu* 晉書 about the Empress Li 李后, the consort of Emperor Chien-wên 簡文帝 (A.D. 371-372): "At that time the Empress entered the court as a court-lady and worked in the weavery department. She was tall and black. All the courtiers called her K'un-lun (black one)." 時[李]后爲宮人, 在織坊中, 形長而黑, 宮人皆謂之崑崙 (晉書卷卅三, 后妃傳下). This shows that negroes were familiar to the Chinese already in the middle of the Fourth Century. About the middle of the Fifth Century, Emperor Hsiao-wu 孝武帝 (453-465) of the Sung dynasty had a favourite black slave, a K'un-lun-nu, whom he made to insult or strike the courtiers (資治通鑑, 宋紀十一, 大明七年, A.D. 463, 條). The *K'un-lun-nu-chuan* 崑崙奴傳 (ed. of 古今說海), said to be a work written in the T'ang era, describes a story of a K'un-lun slave called Mo-lê 磨勒 in service of one surnamed Ts'ui 崔生, who lived in Chang-an about the *Ta-li* 大曆 period, A.D. 766-779. There is no doubt, K'un-lun slaves were much employed in North China in the T'ang era.

During the Yüan era, all great officers and rich men deemed it to be unworthy of their dignity if they did not keep Kao-li 高麗 (Korean) maid-servants and K'un-lun slaves. YEH TZU-CH'Í 葉子奇 in the latter part of the

* *Sêng-ch'i* of *Sêng-ch'i-nu* 僧祇奴 is a transliteration of *Zangi*, which in the Persian or in the Arabic dialect of Omán represents the negroes (GROENEVELDT, *Notes on Malay Archipelago and Malacca. Essays relating to Indo-China*, Vol. I, p. 140; PELLIOU, *Deux Itinéraires*, pp. 290, 291; FERRAND, *Le K'ouen-louen*, J.A., 1919, II, p. 211).

Fourteenth Century, says: "With the northerners (men living in North China), maid-servants were without fail Kao-li girls, man-servants were negroes. Otherwise, they were said not to be perfect gentlemen." 北人女使, 得高麗女孩童, 家僮必得黑駱, 不如此, 謂之不成仕宦 (草木子, 卷三下, 雜制篇). The male and female Koreans were imported to China as slaves from the T'ang era (see 新唐書, 卷二百二十, 新羅國條), but as the Emperor Mu-tsung 穆宗 (A.D. 820-824), prohibited it (唐會要, 卷八十六, 奴婢條), we see no more of them towards the end of the T'ang. But with the rise of the Yüan dynasty, the Korean girls began once more to be imported, and at last it became part of the duty of a Korean king to present the emperor or high dignitaries of the Yüan with pretty Korean girls. CHÜAN HÈNG 權衡 in the beginning of the Ming dynasty writes in his *K'eng-shên-wai-chih* 庚申外史: "The Empress Ch'í 祁后 [the consort of Shun-ti 順帝 (A.D. 1333-1368)], who was of Korean origin also kept many pretty Korean maids; if she found great influential officer, she presented him with one; then the high officials and nobles in the capital (present Peking) must have Korean women, after which they were deemed to rank as illustrious families." 祁后亦多蓄高麗美人, 大臣有權者, 輒以此女送之, 京師達官貴人, 必得高麗女, 然後爲名家 (庚申外史, ed. of 學海類編, 卷下).

Khubilai, the famous Yüan emperor had a favourite and influential minister Sang-ko 桑哥. To court the favour of this minister, Chung-lieh-wang 忠烈王, king of Korea, presented him with a daughter of his subject, Ts'ai Jên-ku'ei 蔡仁揆. In the year 1291, Sang-ko was executed on the charge of unwarrantable usurpation of authority, and the Korean lady was detained in court. Soon after, when Po-ha-li 李哈里, son of the King of Mâbar 馬八兒, came to pay his homage to the Yüan court, the emperor gave her to the prince. Afterwards, the prince after a quarrel with his father left his country and lived at Ch'üan-chou. In the year 1298, through this connection, he gave to the Korean king Chung-lieh-wang various presents, such as a hat ornamented with silver-threads 銀絲帽, gold-embroidered handkerchiefs 金繡手帕, aloes-wood, native cloth 土布, etc. (See 東國通鑑, ed. of 朝鮮古書刊行會, 卷四十, p. 40). As the history of Mâbar at that time is very obscure, it cannot be ascertained who it was the Po-ha-li, prince of Mâbar 馬八 [兒] 國王子李哈里, mentioned in the Korean history *Tung-kuo-t'ung-chien* 東國通鑑. According to WASSAF of the beginning of the Fourteenth Century, Jamal-ud-Din, prince of the Kish island in the Persian Gulf, had a son by name Fakhr-ud-Din Ahmad, who, in the year 1297, as an envoy of Ghazan 合贊汗, the Ilkhan of Persia, came by sea to China. He was granted an audience to the Yüan emperor, and by his order married to a noble lady of the court. After living in China some years, he took his return voyage to Persia and died two days before his arrival at Mâbar (ELLIOT, *History of India*, Vol. III, pp. 45-47). Po-ha-li and Fakhr seem to coincide in several points:

(a) the name Fakhr has some resemblance to Po-ha-li, (b) both by the order of the Yüan emperor were married to a court lady, and (c) in the year 1298 both lived in China, probably at Ch'üan-chou. As, at that time, the Moslem of Persia had a great influence at several places in South India, and especially as Jamal-ud-Din had a deep connection with Mâbar, this Fakhr may have been taken to be a prince of Mâbar. The Po-ha-li of Korean history may probably be the same person as the Fakhr-ud-Din Ahmad of the Mohammedan writers. Though the story of lady Ts'ai of Korea and the prince of Mâbar have little connection with our principal theme, this fact is added here, as it has not yet been introduced before by any scholar.

29) The number of days taken by the voyage between Ta-shih country and China, in the Ninth Century, is mentioned in IBN KHORDÂDBEH'S *Le Livre des Routes et des Provinces* (SPRENGER, *Die Post- und Reiserouten des Orients*, ss. 79-83), and also in CHIA TAN'S 賈耽 *The Routes from Kuang-chou to the Sea-barbians' Countries* (新唐書, 卷四十三下所收, 廣州通海夷道). Both agree in counting it about 90 days. SOLEYMAN, a contemporary of IBN KHORDÂDBEH, gives 130 or 140 days as the usual time taken in the sea route from Persia to China (REINAUD, *Relations des Voyages*, Tome I, pp. 13-19). He says that the route from the port of Siráf, in the Persian Gulf, through Mascate of the Omân, to Koulam (故臨國 or 古林國 of the *Sung-shih* and 俱藍國 of the *Yüan-shih*) in South India took a little less than 40 days; and from Koulam to Kalâh-bâr (箇羅國 of the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* and 古羅國 of the *Sung-shih*) in the Malay Peninsula, took about a month. All this is quite probable, but when he says that it took 70 days from Kalâh-bâr to Khanfou or Kuang-chou, even making allowance for some circuitous course, the time is too long. And when HIRTH and ROCKHILL said, on the authority of SOLEYMAN, that it took about 34 days from Kalâh-bâr to Khanfou (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 15), I think it is a miscalculation.

In the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* 嶺外代答 (卷二, 故臨國條), written by CHOU CH'Ü-FEI 周去非 in the fifth year of *Shun-hsi* 淳熙, A.D. 1178, it is stated that the time taken from Kuang-chou to Lan-li 藍里 (Lanri), Soleyman's Al-Ramny, at the north-west corner of the present Sumatra is 40 days; from Lan-li to Koulam 故臨 about a month; from Koulam to Ta-shih 大食 (Persia) about a month; thus counting about 100 days for the voyage from China to Persia, it would almost agree with what IBN KHORDÂDBEH and CHIA TAN recorded.

The hundred or ninety days is of course the time of a voyage made under favourable winds, and excludes the days of anchorage at several ports the ship would touch. The usual time taken by trading ships from China to Persia or from Persia to China must have much exceeded that space of time. According to the *Ling-wai-tai-ta* (卷三, 大食諸國條), a ship starting from China in the mid-winter (the eleventh moon), arrives at Lan-li 藍里 (Lanri) in about

40 days, trading there, and avoiding the southwest monsoon of summer, would stay there for several months, then availing itself of the northeast wind of the next year, would begin to sail, and passing through Koulam, arrive at Ta-shih country. Thus a trading ship usually would take more than a year from Kuang-chou to Ta-shih. And the return voyage would also take the same duration of time. Therefore CHOU CH'Ü-FEI says: "All foreign ships coming to China may make a return voyage within a year, only Ta-shih ships take two years." 諸蕃國之入中國, 一歲可往返, 唯大食必二年而後可 (嶺外代答, 卷三, 航海外夷條). Again he says, "The Chinese marine traders who make a voyage to Persia in going and coming back pass two years." 中國舶商, 欲往大食,往返經二年矣 (*Ibid.*, 卷二, 故臨國條).

30) During the Sung and Yüan eras the Chinese trading ships going to or returning from Persia, India or the Southern Seas, had on board many a foreign trader. In the *Yüan-tien-chang* 元典章 (卷二十二, 市舶二十二條), there are given the regulations concerning the Chinese ships that take foreigners on board. There regulations were made after those of the South Sung dynasty, and therefore it proves that from the South Sung era foreigners were on board Chinese ships. CHOU CH'Ü-FEI 周去非 in the latter half of the Twelfth Century, describing the marine traffic of that time, says: "A Chinese marine trader going to Persia must change his ship and take a smaller one at Koulam" 中國舶商, 欲往大食, 必自故臨易小舟而往 (*Ibid.*, 卷二, 故臨國條). The Chinese ships being of a large bulk (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, pp. xliii, 14) seem to be inconvenient for a further voyage. On the contrary, the Persians coming to China took big Chinese ships at Koulam, as shown: "When the Ta-shih trader makes a voyage to the East, he comes southward in a small ship to Koulam, and there he changes into a large ship and goes eastward" 大食國 [人] 之來也, 以小舟運而南行, 至故臨國易大舟而東行 (*Ibid.*, 卷三, 航海外夷條). For these large ships were able to bear winds and waves (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chan Ju-kua*, p. 24). Thus in the South Sung era, at the latest, the Moslem traders usually must have taken Chinese ships.

But looking further back, MAÇOUDI of the middle of the Tenth Century, respecting a trader from Samarkand who came to Killah on a Persian trading ship from Basrah in the Persian Gulf, says: "Killah est à peu près à moitié chemin de la Chine. Aujourd'hui cette ville est le rendez-vous général des vaisseaux Musulmans de Siraf et d'Oman, qui s'y rencontrent avec les bâtimens de la Chine; mais il n'en était pas ainsi autrefois. Les navires de la Chine se rendaient alors dans le pays d'Oman, à Siraf, sur la côte de Perse et du Bahrain, à Obollyh et à Basrah, et ceux de ces pays naviguaient à leur tour directement vers la Chine. Ce n'est que depuis qu'on ne peut plus compter sur la justice des gouvernans et sur la droiture de leurs intentions, et que l'état de la Chine est devenu tel que nous l'avons décrit, qu'on as rencontre sur ce point intermédiaire. Ce marchand s'écrit donc em-

barqué sur un bâtiment chinois pour aller de Killah au Port de Khanfou." (*Les Prairies d'Or*, Tome I, p. 308). This Killah is SOLEYMAN'S Kalâh-bâr. Bâr means in Arabic a country (REINAUD, *Relation des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 17; FERRAND, *Relations des Voyages*, Tome I, p. 12), thus Kalâh is nothing but another transcription of Killah. Arab geographers usually call it Kalah or Kala (FERRAND, *Le K'ouen Louen*, pp. 252, 253). The Ko-lo 簡羅 mentioned in the *Hsin-t'ang-shu* 新唐書 (卷四十三下所收, 廣州通海夷道條), and the Ku-lo 古羅 of the *Sung-shih* 宋史 (卷四百八十九, 外國傳, 注鞏國條), stand for this Kalah (Killah). Kalah is generally believed to be situated in the Malay Peninsula, but its exact position has not yet been identified. GROENEVELDT identified it with Kora at the west coast of the Malay Peninsula (*Notes on the Malay Archipelago and Malacca*, pp. 242-243); VAN DER LITH with Kedah (Kadah), a little more south of Kora (*Livre des Merveilles de l'Inde*, pp. 258-262); and recently FERRAND with Patani in the east coast of the same peninsula (*Le K'ouen Louen*, pp. 259-264).

Whatever may be the exact position of Kalah, it is evident that in the time of MAÇOUDI, that is from the end of the Ninth Century to about the middle of the Tenth Century, most of the Ta-shih traders who came to China must have taken Chinese ships. From the South Sung era on to the Yüan, they seem more and more to have relied on Chinese ships. Therefore IBN BATÛTA went so far as to say that the voyage from India to China could be possible only on Chinese ships (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. IV, p. 25).

31) As already remarked, during the Sung and Yüan eras, almost Moslem traders boarded Chinese ships. As for the shape, size, construction of the Chinese ships in the Southern Seas, and their art of navigation, we may refer to the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談 (卷二) written by CHU YÜ 朱彙 in the first year of *Hsüan-ho* 宣和, 1119; the *Kao-li-t'u-ching* 高麗圖經 (知不足齋叢書本, 卷三十四) written by HSÜ CHING 徐兢 in the fifth year of *Hsüan-ho*, 1123; the *Mêng-liang-lu* (夢梁錄卷十二, 江海船艦條) written by WU TZU-MU 吳自牧 in the tenth year of *Hsien-shun* 咸淳, 1274; the regulations concerning the trading ships under the Yüan dynasty issued (or established) in the thirtieth year of *Chih-yüan* 至元, 1293 (元典章, 卷二十二所收, 市舶則法); also the records of the westerners such as MARCO POLO (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 249-251), IBN BATÛTA (HANS VON MŽIK, *Ibn Batûta*, ss. 303-305) etc. From all these sources, we may form the idea what the Chinese trading ship was like:—

1) A large ship had several hundred men on board. WU TZU-MU 吳自牧 speaks of five or six hundred souls. ODORIC mentions a good seven hundred sailors and merchants (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. II, p. 131), and IBN BATÛTA even says it had on board a crew of a thousand men (HANS VON MŽIK, *Ibn Batûta*, s. 304).

2) There were the head-man 綱首, the sub-headman 副綱首, and the

purser 雜事, all chosen from influential traders on board and given the power of punishing disobedient fellows.

3) The trading ship was provided with an official license 公憑 from the trading ships' office. It was also called the Red Seal 朱記, in which were given the names of the head-man, the sub-headman and others, as well as the number of the crew, the size and structure of the ship, etc.

4) The trading ship was armed for the attack of pirates. According to the *Yüan-tien-chang* 元典章, these arms were, during the anchorage of the ship, kept in the government warehouse, and handed back on weighing anchor. IBN BATÛTA says, in the Chinese ships there were many archers, target-men, and cross-bow men to shoot naphtha (HANS VON MŽIK, *Ibn Batûta*, s. 304).

5) The ship was broad, and almost square in shape (萍洲可談, 卷二). It was made narrower and narrower towards the bottom, so as to make it easy to pass through the water (高麗圖經, 卷卅四). MARCO POLO says the ship was made of pine and the sides were double, one plank laid over the other. JORDANUS says the lower part of the ship is constructed with three-fold planks (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 252), and according to IBN BATÛTA on each ship four decks were constructed. (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. IV, p. 26).

6) The ship in the Yüan era was divided into many compartments, so formed that if one part be shattered the water would not pass from one compartment to another. (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, pp. 249, 250, 252).

7) According to the *Kao-li-t'u-ching* 高麗圖經, the ship had two kinds of sail, the cloth-sail 布帆 and mat-sail 利蓬. When the wind was favourable, the cloth-sail was in use; if it were on the beam, the mat-sail was used. What is mentioned in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* 萍洲可談, that the sail was made of mat, one end of which was fixed to the mast like a gate-door, capable of being adapted to all kinds of wind, is probably the mat-sail of the *Kao-li-t'u-ching*. Marco Polo says that the masts were usually four in number, sometimes five or six. IBN BATÛTA speaks of as many as twelve sails made of bamboo lath woven into a kind of mat. A fair idea what the ship looked like may be had from the picture of the trading ship with five masts and sails sailing near Java (Illa Iana) in the Catalan map made in the latter half of the Fourteenth Century. (CORDIER, *L'Extrême-Orient dans l'Atlas Catalan de Charles V*, pl. I).

8) The ship had two anchor-stones, a large one called the *Chêng-ting* 正碇 (*lit.* principal anchor-stone) and small one called the *Fu-ting* 副碇 (*lit.* auxiliary anchor-stone), both placed at the prow. They were tied with rattan ropes, and lowered and drawn up with a pulley.

9) If the wind was still they had recourse to rowing. The ship had eight or ten sweeps (great oars), and sometimes more. IBN BATÛTA speaks of

twenty sweeps. The sweep was so big that one had to be rowed by four men, and, according to IBN BATŪTA, by ten, fifteen or even thirty men.

10) The author of the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* says: "The traders occupy each a separate space of a few feet and there keep their goods; at night they sleep on their goods." MARCO POLO, who wrote two centuries after, says that the ship had fifty or sixty cabins—one hundred, according to JORDANUS,—thus the voyagers' inconvenience was much removed. These cabins were all in the stern of the ship (see the model-picture of an ancient Chinese ship showing the individual cabins in the stern-structure, in SCHOFF's *The Periplus of the Erythraean Sea*, p. 247).

11) Each ship was accompanied with small boats. The small boat is used while at anchorage for taking in fuel, water, etc. In the *Yüan-tien-chang* these boats are called the *Ch'ai-shui-ch'uan* 柴水船 (*lit.* a boat for fuel and water).

12) For various services on board the negroes were employed.

13) When some one fell very ill during the voyage he was enveloped in mats before he expired, and with a weight attached to him, was thrown overboard.

14) The master of navigation (ship-master 舟師 or sea-master 海師) directed the course of ship at night by the stars, in the day time by the sun, and in the cloudy weather, by the mariner's compass. In the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, we read: "The ship-master 舟師 or captain ascertain the ship's position, at night by looking at the stars, in the day time by looking at the sun; in dark weather he looks at the mariner's compass or the south-pointing-needle (指南針). 舟師...夜則觀星, 晝則觀日, 陰晦觀指南針. The mariner's compass is sometimes called the *Chih-nan-fu-chên* 指南浮針 (高麗圖經), or the *Nan-chên* 南針 (夢梁錄), or the *Chên-p'an* 針盤 (*Ibid.*).

15) During the voyage the ship-master from time to time with a hook attached to a long rope hooked up mud from the bottom of the sea, and from the smell of the mud he inferred the position of the ship; or letting down a plumb, they measured the depth of water.

The record of the mariner's compass in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* is probably one of the oldest records we know of its use for navigation. According to KLAPROTH, the authentic record of the mariner's compass in European literature first appears at the end of the Twelfth or the beginning of the Thirteenth Century, and no earlier one has yet been found. (See Mr. HASHIMOTO's article *On the south-pointing chariot* 指南車考, *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Sept. 1918, pp. 363-367). REINAUD says that the earliest record of the Arabians is of about the same date as the European, that is the beginning of the Thirteenth Century (*Géographie d'Aboulfeda*, Tome I, pp. CCIII, CCIV). Thus the record in the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* precedes by a century either the European or Arab ones. As remarked above, CHU YÜ 朱彥 wrote his *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* in the year

1119 (see 直齋書錄解題, 卷十一). But what he writes on Kuang-chou is based on the information of his father Chu Fu 朱服 (四庫全書總目提要, 卷百四十一), who was the governor of Kuang-chou from the second year of *Yüan-fu* 元符, 1099, to the first year of *Ch'ung-ning* 崇寧, 1102 (道光廣東通志, 卷十五, 職官表). This will show beyond any doubt that the ships at Kuang-chou had used the mariner's compass at the end of the Eleventh or the very beginning of the Twelfth Century.

The use of the magnetic needle as a guide to mariners is a very important invention. But when or where it originated and how it spread in the world has not yet been ascertained. Dr. HIRTH investigated the history of the mariner's compass in China in some length (*The Ancient History of China*, p. 126-136). The result of his investigation is that the Chinese knew comparatively early the polarity of the magnetic needle, but did not know its use on shipboard, while the Arabs in their intercourse with the Chinese got the knowledge of the magnetic needle, applied it to the navigation, and the mariner's compass was then brought back to China, just as the Chinese, who probably invented gun-powder, learned its application to firearms from the Europeans.

As has been pointed out by WYLIE long ago (*Chinese Researches*, [*Scientific*], p. 156), the polarity of the magnetic needle is clearly mentioned in the *Mêng-ch'i-pi-t'an* 夢溪筆談 (ed. of 學津討原, 卷二十四) written by SHÊN KUA 沈括 about the middle of the Eleventh Century, while no contemporary Arabian literature alludes to it; it is very probable that the latter had acquired its knowledge from the former. But there is no evidence whatever that the Arabs applied the magnetic needle to navigation before the Chinese, nor that the Chinese learned its application from the Arabs. Therefore HIRTH's assertion that the Chinese learned the use of the mariner's compass from the Arabs is simply a supposition, unsupported by any evidence. The greatest defect in HIRTH's investigation is the misinterpretation of the text of the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, which runs as follows:—"According to the regulations concerning trading ships, large [Chinese] sea-going ships have several hundred men on board, and small ones a hundred and more men. . . . The ship-master knows the configuration of the coasts; he ascertains the ship's position at night by looking at the stars, in the day time by looking at the sun; in dark weather he looks at the mariner's compass of the south-pointing needle" 甲令, 海舶大者數百人, 小者百餘人, . . . 舟師識地理, 夜則觀星, 晝則觀日, 陰晦觀指南針 Here the words *Chia-ling* 甲令 mean the regulations or laws (see 佩文韻府, 卷八十三), that is the regulations concerning the Chinese trading ships, which Dr. HIRTH unfortunately mistook for a proper name (Kling?) and misinterpreted the phrase 甲令海舶 as a foreign (Arab or Persian) ship (*Chau Ju-kua*, p. 30-32 and *Ancient History of China*, p. 136). Thus what CHU Yü says about the Chinese ship HIRTH erroneously took to be a description of the foreign (Arab or Persian) ship. On this erroneous premise he founded his

argument that the Chinese learned the use of the mariner's compass from the Arabs.

According to the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an* and also the *Kao-li-t'u-ching*, it is evident that the Chinese already used the mariner's compass in their ships at the end of the Eleventh or the beginning of the Twelfth Century. Thus in the now known records, that of the use of the magnetic needle in the navigation on Chinese seas is earlier than that of the use on Arabian or Mediterranean seas. Under these circumstances, I am rather inclined to presume that the Arabs, learning the use of the mariner's compass from the Chinese, spread it to the West. Anyhow the origin of the mariner's compass must be decided by more accurate investigation in the future.

Setting apart the question of the mariner's compass, the Chinese trading ships before the T'ang era were inferior in all respects to those of the South Sea countries. But after that era the trading ships of China developed more and more, become larger, better equipped and improved in the art of navigation. Especially during the South Sung and Yüan eras, they made a most rapid development. This is proved clearly by the facts that while Fa-hsien 法顯, I-ching 義淨 and other Chinese priests who went to or returned from India in the Fifth or Seventh Century, all took foreign ships, some seven or eight centuries after, Odoric, Ibn Batûta and other foreigners who came to China mostly took Chinese ships. The emperor Shih-tsu 世祖 (Khubilai) of the Yüan dynasty concentrated his energy towards foreign conquest and foreign trade, and his government built ships with state funds to send them abroad for trade purposes (元史, 卷九十四, 食貨志二, 市舶條). All this helped the development of ships in China (YULE and CORDIER, *Marco Polo*, Vol. II, p. 253). What IBN BATÛTA records towards the end of Yüan dynasty shows an unprecedented development of the Chinese ships in construction, in equipments and capacity. But this development came to an end with the close of Yüan dynasty. During the Ming era, though we have read of marine adventures, such as the expedition of Chêng Ho 鄭和 to the Southern Seas, the government made it its principal object to guard the coast, and forbade the Chinese to communicate with the foreigners or to go abroad, observing the hereditary teaching that no ship whatever should be allowed to go to sea 寸板不許下海. (See Prof. YANO's article, *The opening of China*, *Shigaku Zasshi*, May 1922). This must have had detrimental influence on the development of Chinese ships.

Not to mention T'ang and Sung eras, all Chinese ships of the Southern Seas were sailing boats relying on winds and on rowing. No recourse was ever had to the mechanical propelling powers. But the Chinese as early as the middle of the T'ang era, constructed a paddle-wheel, though a simple one. In the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 册府元龜, we see: "Wang Kao 王皐 of the T'ang dynasty was appointed the Inspector of Hung-chou 洪州觀察使. He was an inventive man. Once he constructed a fighting boat. Two wheels were at-

tached to either side of the boat, and when the wheels were treaded by foot the boat would go against wind and raising waves. Its speed was like a sailing boat.” 唐王臯爲洪州觀察使，多巧思，嘗爲戰艦，挾以二輪，令蹈之，颯(?)風波浪，其疾如掛帆席(册府元龜，卷九百八)。As Hung-chou 洪州(江西省，豫章道，南昌縣) lies near the P'o-yang 鄱陽 Lake, trial run of the wheel boat must have been made on that lake. But the name of Wang Kao 王臯 is not mentioned in any record of the T'ang dynasty. The emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 of the T'ang had a son called Li Ming 李明, the prince of Ts'ao 曹王, whose great grandson was Li Kao 李臯, a descendant in the fifth generation of the emperor T'ai-tsung. (See 新唐書，卷七十下，宗室世系表)。This Li Kao was appointed the viceroy of Chiang-hsi 江西 in the latter part of the Eighth Century. As we learn from the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, the viceroy of Chiang-hsi 江西節度使 is nothing but another name of the Inspector (viceroy) of Hung-chou 洪州觀察使(新唐書，卷六十八，方鎮表)。The *Chiu-t'ang-shu* says of Li Kao as follows: “Li Kao was always eager for invention. Once he constructed a fighting boat. Attaching two wheels on either side of the boat, when the wheels were treaded by foot the boat would fly like a wind and raise waves, as quick as a sailing boat.” 常運心巧思，爲戰艦，挾二輪蹈之，翺風[鼓浪]，疾若掛帆席(舊唐書，卷百三十一)。The *Hsin-t'ang-shu* also gives a similar description: “Li Kao taught the construction of a fighting boat, with two wheels attached on either side of the boat. When the wheels were treaded by foot, the fighting-boat, raising waves, rushes on, quicker than a war-charger” 教爲戰艦，挾二輪蹈之，鼓水疾進，駛于陣馬(新唐書，卷八十)。In my opinion, as Li Kao 李臯 inherited the title of the prince of T'sao 曹王, he was called by the contemporaries as Ts'ao-wang-kao 曹王臯, that is Li Kao, the prince of Ts'ao. But the authors of the *Ts'ê-fu-yüan-kuei* 册府元龜, through their carelessness, omitted the first character and wrote his name simply as Wang Kao 王臯. Li Kao was the viceroy of Chiang-hsi from the fourth year of *Chien-chung* 建中, 783, to the first of *Chên-yüan* 貞元, 785, in which year he was removed to the viceroy of Ching-nan 荆南. Thus we may easily affirm an approximate date of the invention of the paddle-boat.

The paddle-boat is also mentioned in the Sung era. When in the fifth year of *Shao-hsing* 紹興, 1135, Yo Fei 岳飛, the patriotic general of the South Sung attacked the rebels of the Tung-t'ing 洞庭 Lake, the rebels used paddle-boats, of which the *Sung-shih* describes: “Their boats with wheels rush through the water, like a thing flying” 以輪激水，其行如飛(宋史，卷二百六十五，岳飛傳)。WU Tzu-mu 吳自牧, towards the end of the South Sung, describing the wheel boats on the Hsi-hu 西湖, the western lake of Hang-chou 杭州, says: “On the deck there was no one rowing. Only wheels were used, which were treaded on by foot. It went on like a thing flying.” 船棚上無人撐駕，但用車輪，腳踏而行，其速如飛(夢梁錄，卷十二)。Though not a few examples of the paddle-boats were seen in the T'ang and Sung eras,

simply through the lack of the motive power they were only in use on lakes, and were not applied to longer marine navigation. Even the result of such a boat on a lake does not seem very satisfactory, for we hear no more about it in the Yüan and Ming eras.

32) As we learn from the *Periplus of the Erythraean Sea* (SCHOFF, p. 45), Hippalus, a navigator of Alexandria in the middle of the First Century came to know of the regularity of the monsoon in the Indian Seas and for the first time took advantage of this wind to hold a direct course to India. After him the wind was made use of in the voyages east of India, and all the ships coming from the Southern Seas to Chiao-chou 交州 (Tongking) or Kuang-chou 廣州 (Canton) came generally between the fifth and sixth moon. The Envoy of An-tun 安敦 (= Marcus Aurelius Antoninus), the King of Ta-ch'in, 大秦 came to the capital Lo-yang 洛陽 in the ninth moon of the ninth year of Yen-hsi 延熹, A.D. 116, so that he must have arrived at Chiao-chou between the fifth and sixth moon, which proves that he came with the Southwest monsoon (HIRTH, *China and the Roman Orient*, p. 42). Also Fa-hsien 法顯, in his home-voyage from Ceylon, started on the sixteenth day of the fourth moon, the fourteenth year of I-hsi 義熙, A.D. 414, from Yavadvîpa 耶婆提 and arrived on the fourteenth of the seventh moon at about the present Chiao-chou 膠州 Gulf in Santung province (RÉMUSAT, *Foe-Koue-ki*, pp. 360, 367). On the other hand, the month in which I-ching 義淨 started from Kuang-chou for India was the eleventh moon of the second year of Hsien-hêng 咸亨, A.D. 671 (CHAVANNES, *Religieux Eminents*, pp. 117, 118) and the Japanese prince Takawoka 高岳親王 started from the same place for India to study the Buddhist doctrine on the seventh day of the first moon of the seventh year of Hsien-t'ung 咸通, A.D. 866. (See Mr. WASHIO's article *The Life of Prince Takawoka, Shigaku Kai* 史學界, Nov. 1900, p. 39). It will thus be seen that both sailed with the northeast monsoon.

In the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, it is clearly stated that, "All sea-ships start in the eleventh and twelfth moon with the north wind, and come in the fifth and sixth moon with the south wind." 船舶去以十一月十二月, 就北風, 來以五月六月, 就南風 (萍洲可談, 卷二). So every year in the fifth moon the local officers devoutly prayed for the south wind to send in sea-ships (萍洲可談, 卷二), and the Moslem residents at Kuang-chou ascended a height to look for their trading-ships to bring tidings from their homes (程史, 卷十一).

33) In the *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, we read: "The Northern people [the Chinese] who go beyond the seas and do not come back the same year are called *Chu-fan* 住蕃 (*lit.* to stay in foreign countries), and the various foreigners who come to Kuang-chou and do not go back the same year are called *Chu-t'ang* 住唐 (*lit.* to stay at T'ang, *i.e.* China)." 北人過海外, 是歲不還者, 謂之住蕃, 諸[蕃]國人至廣州, 是歲不歸者, 謂之住唐 (萍洲可談, 卷二). In the Sung era, the people of the Southern Seas usually called China by the

name of T'ang. Thus, in the *Sung-hui-yao* 宋會要(粵海關志,卷二所引), we read that in the fifth year of *Yüan-fêng* 元豐, 1082, the King of Chanpei 詹畢 (Djambi in Sumatra) sent a letter in T'ang character 唐字書 to Sun Ch'ung 孫迥, the assistant commissioner of transports of Kuang-tung province 廣東轉運副使. Here "T'ang" character means of course the Chinese character. In the *P'ing-chow-k'o-t'an*, there is a noteworthy passage: "In the Han era, the Chinese influence was strongly felt in the Northwestern countries, so the northwesterners called China by the name of Han; the influence of T'ang was strongly felt in the Southeastern countries, so the southeastern barbarians called China T'ang; during the *Ch'ung-ning* 崇寧 period, A.D. 1102-1106, the Chinese officials memorialised to the throne that the frontier-peoples (foreigners) have the old custom of calling China as Han or T'ang and wrote to that effect in their public documents, and asked that the throne would order them to use the present dynastical name Sung for China, and the request was acceded to." 漢威令行於西北,故西北呼中國爲漢,唐威令行於東南,故蠻夷呼中國爲唐,崇寧間臣僚上言,邊俗指中國爲漢唐,形於文書,乞並改爲宋……詔從之(萍洲可談,卷一). But all the efforts of the government to make the foreigners use the name of Sung for China proved ineffectual, and all foreign countries continued to call China T'ang, down to the Yüan and Ming eras, as we see in the *Ming-shih*: "The *T'ang-jên* 唐人, i.e. the man of T'ang is an appellation for the Chinese by foreigners. All the people of countries beyond the seas call the Chinese by that name" 唐人者,諸蕃呼華人之稱也,凡海外諸國盡然(明史,卷三百二十四,真臘國條).

The Moslem of the Middle Ages called China as *Tamghaj*, *Tomghaj* or *Toughaj* (YULE and CORDIER, *Chathay*, Vol. I, p. 33). These names are considered to have a connection with *Taugas* of the Greek historian THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATA (COEDÈS, *Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins relatifs à l'Extrême-Orient*, pp. XXIX, XXX). We see, in the T'u-chüeh 突厥 monument of the T'ang era that the Chinese are called *Tabgač* (THOMSEN, *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, pp. 26, 109); the Uigurs in the North Sung era called them *Tapkač* (RADLOFF, *Kudatku Bilik*, Bd. II, s. 18); and the western peoples in the Thirteenth Century called them *Tao-hua-shih* 桃花石 (BREITSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. I, p. 71). All these names are now recognized unanimously to be derived from one and the same source. But the problem why the Chinese is called *Tamghaj* or *Taugas* and what is the meaning of *Tamghaj* or *Taugas* is not clearly explained. To enumerate the representative opinions hitherto published:—

a) DE GUIGNES says, *Tamghaj* or *Taugas* is a corrupted pronunciation of *Ta-göei* 大魏(拓跋魏), the name of the dynasty which reigned over North China for more than one hundred and fifty years, A.D. 386-550 (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. I, p. 32).

b) RICHTHOFEN recognizes it to have some relation to the *Tagazgaz* of

the Arab geographers, the name of a Turkish tribe near the northwest border of China (*China*, Bd. I, s. 565).

c) Dr. HIRTH considers it to be a corrupted pronunciation of *T'ang-kia* 唐家 which originally meant the imperial house of T'ang, and then came to mean the land or of the people under its reign (*Nachworte zur Inschrift des Tonjukuk*, s. 35). Dr. LAUFER seems to agree with this opinion (*The name China*, *T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 723).

d) Prof. SHIRATORI takes *Tabgač* to be the original and correct name, and the Chinese *Tak-bat* 拓跋, the tribal name of the *Ta-göei* 大魏, to be a corrupted transcription of *Tabgač* (*On the Tung-lu Tribes* 東胡民族考, *Shigaku Zasshi*, Nov. 1911, pp. 16, 17). The same *Tabgač-Thak-bat* 拓跋 theory was published one year after by Prof. PELLLOT (*L'origine du nom de Chine*, *T'oung Pao*, 1912, p. 732).

All these opinions, however, seem to me very unsatisfactory. To point out their inadequacies:—

a) First, it is true that the *Ta-göei* 大魏 had some influence beyond the northwest frontiers of China, but this influence was of rather short duration. The name *Ta-göei* has not been proved by any record whatever to have been widely used in so representative way among foreigners.

Secondly, the sound of *Ta-göei* has very little resemblance to *Taugas* or *Tamghaj*.

b) The Arabian *Tagazgas* (*Tuḡuzḡuz*) is nothing but a corruption of *Toquz Oruz* of the Orkhon Inscription which generally speaking is identified with the Uigurs (Dr. HANEDA's 羽田 *On the Relation of the Chiu-hsing Hui-lu* 九姓回鶻 to the *Toquz-Oruz*, *Tōyō Gakuhō*, Jan. 1919, pp. 55–57).

c) Dr. HIRTH's opinion is far more probable, but his proofs are rather inadequate. Moreover, as he himself confesses, he is at a loss to account for the final *j* or *č* of *Tamgha(j)* or *Tabga(č)*.

d) Dr. SHIRATORI's opinion is worthy of hearing, but I cannot agree with him.

First, the name of *Tak-bat* 拓跋 has not been proved from any record whatever to have been used among foreigners as the representative name of China.

Secondly, the people of *Ta-göei* dynasty were commonly called, I believe, by a more general tribal name of *Hsien-pei* 鮮卑, but not *Tak-bat*.

Thirdly, the sound of *Tak-bat* has very little resemblance to *Tamghaj*, *Tabgač* or *Taugas*, as we easily understand when we compare $T(a)k B(a)T$ with $T(a)MGh(a)j$, $T(a)BG(a)Č$ or $T(a)UG(a)S$.

In my opinion, *Tamghaj*, *Tabgač* and *Taugas* are after all a corrupted pronunciation of *T'ang-kia-tzu* 唐家子, which is a designation of a Chinaman of T'ang dynasty. I shall give the reasons for it:

(A) The influence of the T'ang was widely felt in the four quarters

of the East. According to the oft-quoted *P'ing-chou-k'o-t'an*, her influence is said to be felt only in the southeast, and not in the northwest part. But this is surely not true. That the T'ang emperor was not only the sovereign of China, but also the supreme ruler of all the peoples and countries beyond the northern and western frontiers, and that in this capacity he enjoyed the boastful title of *T'ien-k'o-han* 天可汗 (see *資治通鑑*, 唐紀九, 貞觀四年, A.D. 630, 條), proves conclusively that he held a strong influence on the northwestern as well as on the southeastern regions. And it is quite natural that so influential a name of T'ang should be widely known all over the world and that it should pass at last the representative name of China.

(B) To prove this fact more positively by documents: In the *Chiu t'ang-shu* and the *Hsin-t'ang-shu*, we find numerous examples of the name T'ang-kia 唐家 used to designate China by the foreign countries and tribes, such as Hsin-lo 新羅 (in Korea), Mo-ho 靺鞨 (a country in the northern part of Manchuria), Tu-chüeh 突厥 (Turks), Hui-hu 回鶻 (Uigurs), and Kao-ch'ang 高昌 (Turfan), etc. T'ang-kia originally means the Imperial household of T'ang, but it came by extension to mean the whole China under that household. The eminent Japanese priest, Kōbō Daishi (弘法大師 or 空海), in the first half of the Ninth Century, in his *Shō-ryō-shū* 性靈集 (卷四), respecting the writing-brushes he made himself, writes: "I, Kū-kai 空海, examined the newly-made brushes, and found them not inferior to those made in *T'ang-kia* or China." 空海自家, 試看新作者, 不減唐家. Also another Japanese priest Shu-shō 宗性 in his book *Ni-hon-kō-sō-den-shi-shi-shō* 日本高僧傳指示抄, says, in praise of the calligraphy of Kōbō-daishi, "There is no rival even in *T'ang-kia* or China." 唐家無並 *Shigaku Zasshi*, September 1901, p. 81). In the sixteenth year of *Jō-gwan* 貞觀, A.D. 874, the Japanese emperor Sei-wa 清和 sent an envoy to China to seek for incense and medicine. This fact is stated in the *San-dai-jitzu-roku* 三代實錄 (卷廿五) as follows: "In *T'ang-kia* to buy incense and medicine" 唐家市香藥.

The *Huang-sung-lei-yüan* 皇宋類苑, compiled by CHIANG SHAO-YÜ 江少虞, early in the South Sung, gives as the most positive documentary evidence for my argument, the following quotation from the *Chüan-yü-lu* 倦遊錄: "The T'ang emperors T'ai-tsung 太宗 and Ming-huang 明皇 (another name for the emperor Hsüan-tsung 玄宗) extended the Imperial power on all sides, made a captive of the King of Middle-India, subdued the country of Kuei-tz'u 龜茲 (present Kutch 庫車 in Chinese Turkestan), where were established four military stations, and several countries of Central Asia became Chinese provinces and prefects. In consequence of this, even now all the foreigners living at Kuang-chou call China *T'ang-kia* 唐家 and Chinese language *T'ang-yin* 唐音 (T'ang-language)." 太宗泊明皇, 擒中天竺王, 取龜茲爲四鎮, 以至城郭諸國, 皆列爲郡縣, 至今廣州胡人, 呼中國爲唐家, 華言爲唐言 (皇宋類苑, 卷七十七所引倦遊錄). CHAO KUNG-WU 晁公武 of the South Sung says, the book

Chüan-yu-lu was written by CHANG SHIH-CHÈNG 張師正 at the beginning of the *Yüan-fêng* 元豐 period, ? A.D. 1078. (See 郡齋讀書志, 卷十三). Thus it will leave little doubt that the name *T'ang-kia* 唐家 was widely used for China through the T'ang and Sung eras, confirming my assertion that *T'ang-kia-tzu* 唐家子 was the original of the name *Tamghaj*.

(C) From very ancient times the Chinese had the custom of suffixing the character *tzu* 子 to a place-name to designate its inhabitants, or to a name of dynasty to designate the people under its reign. Thus the natives of Fu-chien province are addressed as *Fu-chien-tzu* 福建子, and the natives of South China as *Chiang-nan-tzu* 江南子, or the natives of the regions south of the Yang-tzu 揚子 River (see 佩文韻府, 卷卅四下), and the Chinese while under the Han dynasty were called *Han-kia-tzu* 漢家子 or by contraction *Han-tzu* 漢子, which continued to be in use even after the downfall of the Han dynasty. In a stanza of SHIH CH'UNG 石崇 who lived towards the end of the Third Century, we find a good example: "I am by birth a *Han-kia-tzu* (Chinese of Han dynasty), but am now going to the court of *Shan-yü* 單于 (title of the sovereign of the Hsiung-nu 匈奴)." 我本漢家子, 將適單于庭 (文選, 卷二十七)* alluding to a Chinese court lady named Wang Chao-chün 王昭君 being sent in marriage to the court of the north barbarians. Also we find similar examples in the *Pei-ch'i-shu* 北齊書. When the emperor Wên-hsüan 文宣帝 (A.D. 550-559) who was a non-Chinese by birth, found fault with his crown-prince, he said, "My prince acquired the *Han-kia[-tzu]* (Chinese characteristics, and has not taken after me." 太子得漢家[子]性質, 不似我 (北齊書, 卷五). The same sovereign also in contempt of a Chinaman named Wei K'ai 魏愷 exclaimed, "What a *Han-tzu* (Chinese)." 何物漢子 (*Ibid.*, 卷二十三). In the same way, the Chinese under the T'ang dynasty might be easily supposed to have called themselves *T'ang-kia-tzu* 唐家子 or *T'ang-tzu* 唐子, and all foreigners may have followed their example. Of this I have not yet been able to find any positive documentary evidence in the contemporary literature, but when the foreigners called China *T'ang-kia*, as we have shown above, it is quite probable that they had called the Chinese *T'ang-kia-tzu*. And this usage must have continued among the foreigners long after the downfall of the T'ang dynasty.

(D) The ancient pronunciation of the characters 唐家子 is *T'ang-k'ia-tsi* (KARLGRÉN, *Prononciation ancienne de Caractères Chinois*, *T'oung Pao*, 1919, pp. 113, 118, 120), and therefore may be easily identified with *Tamghaj* or *Tabgač*. In the Yüan era, the foreigners called Yang-chou 揚州 as *Ianzai*

* During the Chin dynasty, the character *Chao* 昭 being the name of the ancestor of the Imperial household, people in general did not dare to use it, hence the name "Wang Chao-chün 王昭君 was altered into Wang Ming-chün 王明君, the two characters *Chao* and *Ming* having the same meaning.

or Iamsai (IVAR HALLBERG, *L'Extrême Orient dans la littérature etc.*, p. 273), and also in the T'ang era, they called the capital Chang-an 長安 as Khumdan or Khubdan (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. I, p. 31). Just as *Yang* 揚 became *Iam* (*Yam*), so *T'ang* 唐 may become *Tam*; and as *Khum* is mispronounced as *Khub*, *Tam* again may become *Tab*. The character 家 *K'a* stands generally for the sound *Ka* or *Ga* (JULIEN, *Méthode etc.*, p. 122), so that in the Sung era, the name Pekalongan was written 蒲家龍 P'u-kia-(chia)-lung (HIRTH and ROCKHILL, *Chau Ju-kua*, p. 79); and in the Yüan era, the name Tringganu was written 丁家盧 Ting-kia(chia)-lu(nu). (See *infra*). The characters 資 *tzu* and 紫 *tzu* having the same sound as 子, were not unfrequently used to transcribe the sounds *dj(j)* or *tsh(č)* (JULIEN, *Méthode etc.*, p. 221). From these premises, we must accept that *T'ang-k'a-tsi* 唐家子 phonetically represent *Tamghaj* or *Tabgač*.

Next, let us consider concerning *Taugas*. The sound of *Lung* 龍, with the Turks of the T'ang era, was *Liii* or *Lu* (CHAVANNES, *Le Cycle turc des douze Animaux*, *T'oung Pao*, 1906, p. 52), while with the Arabs, the place-name Long-pien 龍編 was pronounced Loukfn. From these examples, the sound of *T'ang* (*Tam*) 唐 may possibly become *Tau*. In fact, the Japanese pronunciation of 唐 is *Tau*, and with the Arab geographer *Tamghaj* or *Tomghaj* is written sometimes *Toughaj* or *Toughâdj* (REINAUD and GUYARD, *La Géographie d'Aboul-feda*, Tome II, a, p. 123). Again in Japan, the character 子 is pronounced *Si* or *Su*. In the *Yüan-shih* 元史 (卷六十二, 地理志, 西北地附錄), the place name Shuls of Persia is transcribed Shê-la-tzu 設刺子 (BRETSCHNEIDER, *Mediaeval Researches*, Vol. II, p. 127), which could prove that 子 is approximately *S*. In this way, I think the phonetical transformation from *T'ang-k'a-tsi* 唐家子 to *Taugas* may be accounted for without much difficulty.

(E) Not a few Orientalists say that THEOPHYLACTUS SIMOCATTA who mentioned first the name *Taugas*, was a contemporary of the reign of Roman emperor Maurice (A.D. 582–602), and therefore that the name *Taugas* must have existed before the T'ang era. But as we find in his history, the record of the death of the Persian king Chosroes II, which occurred in A.D. 628 (YULE and CORDIER, *Cathay*, Vol. I, pp. 29, 30), the author may be supposed to have lived at least till about the year 630 (SMITH, *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology*, Vol. III, p. 1091), that is down to the T'ang period. Mr. COEDÈS assigns for the times of THEOPHYLACTUS the first half of the Seventh Century (*Textes d'Auteurs Grecs et Latins*, p. 138). After all, there is, I believe, no positive objection for supposing that THEOPHYLACTUS lived till 630 or even a few years after and continued to complete or supplement his history.

On the other hand, according to the *Tzu-chih-t'ung-chien* 資治通鑑 (唐紀, 三), in the second year of *Wu-tê* 武德, A.D. 619, several countries east of the Ts'ung-ling 蔥嶺 were paying tribute to the T'ang court, therefore the word

Tang-kia 唐家 must have been in use among these countries at that time. Furthermore, we see in the *T'ang-hui-yao* 唐會要 (卷九十九, 東謝蠻條), that in the third year of *Chên-kuan* 貞觀, A.D. 629, many remote countries came to pay tribute to the Chinese court and Yen Shih-ku, 顏師古, vice-minister of the cabinet 中書侍郎, made a suggestion to the emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗, that in imitation of the example of the Chou 周 dynasty, a book of illustrations called *Wang-hui-t'u* 王會圖 (*lit.* pictures or illustrations of the assemblage before the imperial audience) should be compiled, representing various costumes of the envoys and retainues of the different countries, to which proposal the emperor acceded. In the next year or 630, the same emperor conquered the Eastern Turks, and received the glorious title of *T'ien-k'o-han* 天可汗 from various northern tribes which came under his yoke. Thus by the year 630 at the latest the name of T'ang must have spread far beyond India, to Persia and even to Rome, and therefore the Taugas of THEOPHYLACTUS may without any serious inconsistency be taken as a corruption of *T'ang-kia-tzu* 唐家子.

The above is but a brief outline of my essay *On Taugas and Tamghaj* which I contributed to the *Shirin* 史林, Oct. 1922. I am conscious my *T'ang-kia-tzu* = *Tamghaj* (*Taugas*) theory is not without some weak points, but I believe it is preferable to the other opinions hitherto published.

34) In the *Sung-shih*, we see P'u-ya-t'o-li 蒲押陀黎, the head-man of tradingships of the Ta-shih 大食 (Arabs), who in the first year of *Chih-tao* 至道, A.D. 995, went to the Imperial palace to pay his respects to the emperor T'ai-tsung 太宗 and in the audience replied the throne: "My father P'u-hsi-mi 蒲希密 (Abu Hamid?) seeking commercial profits, took ship and came to Kuang-chou, and till now it has passed five years and yet he does not come back. My mother made me come to see him. I have already seen him at Kuang-chou." 父蒲希密因緣射利,泛航至廣州,迄今五稔未歸,母令臣遠來尋訪,昨至廣州見之(宋史,卷四百九十,外國傳六). This trader P'u-hsi-mi thus lived in China five years, while another trader Hsin-ya-t'o-lo 辛押陀羅 mentioned above lived for several decades.

35) The *Yieh-hai-kuan-chih* 粵海關志 quotes from the *Sung-hui-yao* the following passage: "The imperial edict, the 18th, the 5th moon, 4th year of *Chêng-ho* 政和, A.D. 1114: In case those foreign traders, who had come to China and lived for five generations, leave some property after their death, and as all their relatives live abroad, have no one connected with them who might inherit their property, or in case the deceased leave no will as to the disposal of the property, the same property shall, according to the laws of extinct families, be taken charge of at the trading ships' office." 政和四年五月十八日詔,諸國蕃客,到中國民住,已經五世,其財產依海行無合承分人,及不經遺屬者,並依戶絕法,仍入市舶司拘管(粵海關志,卷三所引宋會要). This is a conclusive proof that there were some traders living in China for five generations.

36) In the *Yieh-lai-kuan-chih*, there is another quotation from the *Sung-hui-yao*, “The imperial edict of the date, 28th, 5th moon, 3rd year of *Ch’ung-ning* 崇寧, A.D. 1104: Those foreigners who came from abroad or who were born and grew up in China (土生蕃客), in case they are desirous of going to another province or to the eastern capital (東京=K’ai-fêng 開封) in order to dispose of their merchandise, should first apply to the trading ships’ office, and (when so applied) the officials should examine into their motives and real facts, and then supply them with passports, at the same time giving information that they are coming to the province where they should go, and the officers of those provinces should be very careful in their inspection, lest they should take with them contraband goods or suspicious fellows.” 崇寧三年五月二十八日詔, 應, 蕃國及土生蕃客, 願往他州或東京販易物貨者, 仰經提舉市舶司陳狀, 本司勘驗詣實, 給與公憑, 前路照會, 經過官司, 常切覺察, 不得夾帶禁物及姦細之人 (粵海關志, 卷二所引, 宋會要). Here *T’u-shêng-fan-k’o* 土生蕃客 means the foreigners who were born and grew up in China.

(To be continued)

