Notes on the Identity of Zayton

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Source: *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London*, Vol. 44 (1874), pp. 112-118

Published by: Wiley on behalf of The Royal Geographical Society (with the Institute of British Geographers)

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translation from those medieval works of Chinese navigators to which he refers in the latter part of his paper.

H. YULE.

NOTE.—After this was in proof, I received from Dr. C. Douglas further notes, ably supporting the substance of Mr. Phillips's views; and which have modified mine, not about Fuchau, but about Zayton, so far that I admit the likelihood that Amoy Harbour may have been embraced by the terms *Port of Zayton* or *Port of T'swanchau*, though the Zayton city of Polo I must continue to regard as T'swanchau.

Palermo, February 22, 1874.

Notes on the Identity of Zayton. By the REV. CARSTAIRS
DOUGLAS, LL.D., of Amoy.*

THE rival claims of Chang-chau and T'swan-chau to represent Zayton, supply a good example of a question where much can be said on each side, and where, indeed, on *each* side there are some points very difficult to explain away. To me the balance seems decidedly in favour of Chang-chau, or rather of Chang-chau city, along with some port or ports near Haiteng or Chioh-bey. But this solution is not complete without the additional position, that from a very early date the cities of Chang-chau and T'swan-chau had been confused by merchants and travellers. It is now established beyond question that the Portuguese "Chin-cheo" is not T'swan-chau but Chang-chau; though, in recent times, the name "Chin-chau" or "Chin-chew" has become the regular foreign name of T'swan-chau, Chwan-chau, or T'sieuen-chau. Now, as this confusion has unquestionably prevailed for several centuries, may not a similar cause have produced a similar confusion in the time of Zayton's glory? It might thus well happen that authorities which *seem* to be on the side of T'swan-chau, are really for Chang-chau. In a similar way it is not at all improbable that, after the lapse of centuries, the first edition of Colonel Yule's 'Marco Polo' may be quoted as proving that Zayton is Chang-chau; for he identifies Zayton with the Portuguese "Chin-cheo," which is unquestionably Chang-chau, as nearly as possible.—Q. E. D. Also the view which Colonel Yule gives of the harbour of Zayton is really a view of the mouth of the *Chang-chau* River. Doubtless Captain

* N.B.—It ought to be said that Dr. Douglas gave no authority to print these notes; but I feel confident that he will not object to my doing so, and they ought to be printed in this volume, because they do more justice to Mr. Phillips's thesis, perhaps, than his own paper does. What further I have to say on the subject will be said in the second edition of 'Marco Polo,' about to issue; it is undesirable to prolong the discussion here.—H. Y.

(now, I think, Admiral) Stoddart had been misled by the usual confusion between Chin-chew and Chin-cheo.*

But there are two other powerful causes tending to produce the confusion, namely: (1) The islands of Amoy and Quemoy belong to T'swan-chau; and (2) The harbour of Amoy, &c., serves to a large extent as the harbour of T'swan-chau.

The islands of Amoy and Quemoy, which lie at the mouth of the Chang-chau River, belong, and always have belonged, to T'swan-chau. Indeed, Aw-su-kio, on the north shore of the Chang-chau River, just opposite Hai-teng and Chioh-bey, belongs, and has always belonged, to T'swan-chau.

The channels, creeks, and bays, about the islands of Amoy and Quemoy (forming, as a whole, one of the best harbours in the world) are used, and must always have been used, as a harbour for T'swan-chau as well as for Chang-chau. At present a great part of the trade of T'swan-chau is carried on through Amoy, partly by junks touching here on the way, or transhipping their freight into smaller junks, partly by the shorter sea-passage to An-hai, which was in ancient time an important city, and which still has a magnificent bridge a mile and a quarter long. It is true that the *town* of Amoy does not appear to have been famous in ancient times; but the *harbour* must always have been the same: and, on the other hand, the harbour of Chin-chew must always have been inferior, because the channels at the mouth are narrow and rocky. At an earlier date Chang-chau itself, with all the neighbouring country, belonged to the Department (Chau) of T'swan-chau. At that time Chang-chau was not the chief city of a Chau or Department, but was merely a Hien or District, named Liong-khe. It is, therefore, quite probable that even after Chang-chau became the chief city of a Department, the management of trade on the sea-board may have remained with the T'swan-chau authorities. It is quite common in China to have such overlapping of the boundaries, *e. g.* of the civil and military officials, or of the civil government and the customs' service.

Such considerations seem very much to weaken the argument for identifying Zayton with T'swan-chau, because T'swan-chau is always spoken of as the great foreign port of Fuhkien. My

* This is a fair hit: for Dr. Douglas is, I find, quite right as to the fact; but there was no error on the part of Admiral Stoddart, who has now been consulted. Some of Admiral Stoddart's sketches were made use of by Fisher, Son, and Co., in their 'China Illustrated,' published some 30 years ago. One of these was a view from the island at the mouth of *Changchau* River (vol. iv. p. 43). But Fisher's editor converted this into 'Entrance to the *Chincheu* River,' and, to bar all doubt, identified that, in his text, with the river of "*Tseuen-tcheou-foo*." And I adopted this for 'Marco Polo,' trusting to the name of the sketcher on the plate for its genuine character.—H. Y.

explanation would be that the "Ocean port of Zayton" was so intimately related to T'swan-chau, that the two were spoken of as one.

In the same manner, expeditions really starting from Amoy harbour might most properly be said to go from T'swan-chau, as Amoy itself is in the Department of T'swan-chau, and such a phrase as "*T'swan-chau*," in Chinese, bears *equally* the meanings of the chief city or *any part* of the Department governed by it. Thus, by the existing Treaty, the ports of Chau-chau-foo, Teng-chau-foo and Tai-wan-foo are opened to trade, while the actual ports for the first two are Swatow and Chefoo; and Tai-wan again covers not only its own roadstead, but also the subsidiary ports of Ta-kao, Tam-suy, and Ke-lung. Still more analogous is the case of New-chwang. That city lies some twenty miles up the Liau River, while the very *name* of New-chwang is regularly applied by foreigners to the port of Ying-tse, at the mouth of the river, where foreign trade is carried on.

As regards the expeditions from Zayton, cited as from T'swan-chau, it seems to me very improbable that, with such a magnificent haven as Amoy close at hand, the authorities of the province would have collected vast armaments in the inconvenient harbour of T'swan-chau. I suppose that an expedition which sailed from the Mutlah might well enough be said to be sent from Calcutta.

The close relation which Marco Polo indicates between "Fuju" and the "Ocean port of Zayton," thus suits admirably for T'swan-chau and some port in the neighbourhood of Amoy. But the distance between Fuh-chau and T'swan-chau, with other circumstances about the nature of the harbours and the intervening coast, make such a relation very unsuitable and unlikely between them.

Marco Polo seems to distinguish clearly between the *city* of Zayton and the haven or ocean port of Zayton. The total absence of all notice of foreign trade at Fuh-chau, in the Mongol period, seems to destroy the possibility of its being the "Fuju" of Marco Polo. Its omission in the lists of foreign trading-ports in Colonel Yule's criticism on Mr. Phillips's paper, seems incompatible with Marco Polo's glowing description of its foreign trade. For though T'swan-chau and a port near Amoy might very well be counted as *one*, such an explanation cannot serve for two ports so far separate as Fuh-chau and T'swan-chau.

Again, the statement that Fuju is the capital and the key of the kingdom or province of Fuh-kien, will not suit for Fuh-chau; for the very authorities quoted by Colonel Yule prove that, during the time Marco Polo was in China, Fuh-chau was the capital *only for three years*, while T'swan-chau had been the

capital from time immemorial, and in the latter part of the time *neither* was the capital. It is a mere "petitio principii" to say "Marco Polo says it was;" for the very question at issue is, what city does he designate by Fuju? The name is, doubtless, a very strong argument on the other side; but it is not safe to *depend* on that—*e. g.* Ma'abar and Malabar, or the two Babylons. Possibly Marco may have confused the names of the two cities, or T'swan-chau may have sometimes been named "Fuh;" for it is common in China to speak of the capital of a province, and the province was then, as now, named Fuh-kien. There is also one part of the description of Fuju which does not suit Fuh-chau. The river does not flow through the middle of that city, and in all probability never did. The River Min is now about three miles from the city, and the noble bridge proves that it was always there in the same channel, since the Sung dynasty at least. There is, indeed, a large suburb, but it is on the north side of the river, connected with the city by a straggling street; there is scarcely anything on the south side except the foreign houses and hong's, and their appendages. But the description of the river flowing through the city applies to T'swan-chau even now. The river flows within a few hundred yards of the walls, and the intermediate space is occupied by a dense suburb, running about a mile and a half along the banks; and even now there is a very considerable suburb on the south side. When the city was the capital of the province, this suburb, doubtless, was much larger, and the description would be extremely accurate.

I need not dwell on the Christian remains, admitted on all hands to be a strong argument for Chang-chau. But I may remark, that though I have been scores of times at T'swan-chau, I never heard of the slightest trace or tradition of Christianity: nor even now are there any Roman Catholics within forty miles of T'swan-chau.*

The statement of Rashiduddin, that Zayton alternated with Fuh-chau as the capital of the province, seems at first sight to fix T'swan-chau as Zayton: but he may, like other people, have confused the Chang-chau and T'swan-chau. And, *certainly*, his information about Zayton was extremely inaccurate, as he places it at the end of the Great Canal. (Yule's 'Marco Polo,' ii. 137.) So that his testimony is not very formidable.

But to return to Chang-chau; the notice of Ibn Batuta's journey from Zayton to Canton and back, both times *by the river*, is sufficient of itself to settle the question: for that is a common route between Chang-chau and Canton, all by river,

* Martini's Atlas shows Roman Catholic churches in and near T'swan-chau-Fu, none in Chang-chau-Fu (circa 1650).—H. Y.

with the exception of some short portages. But no one could possibly go by river to or from T'swan-chau, for there is no river communication. Again, when Ibn Batuta goes on from Zayton towards Hang-chau, he still travels by the river, a most natural thing if Zayton be Chang-chau, as the North River gives an excellent route (with but short portages) to the centre of the province, en route for Hang-chau, with a choice of roads afterwards. This will suit whatever "Kan-ján-fu," or "Fan-jan-fu" may be: whether it be Fuh-chau, or Kien-ning-foo, or some place in Kiangsi, the North River would equally give a good route from Chang-chau. But no one going from T'swan-chau to Hang-chau *could* travel by river, whatever route he might take.

The Arabic expression of the Chinese name of Zayton, namely Shan-ju, or Shangiou, or Shengiu, is a very strong argument for Chang-chau. For, both in Mandarin and in the local vernacular, the name of T'swan-chau begins with TS; the spelling with Ch is an English blunder; the sound of TS is unmistakable, and that is a sound quite familiar to Arabs and easily expressed by their alphabet: on the other hand, the Ch of Chang-chau (exactly the same as the English Ch) would perplex them, and be naturally expressed by Sh. We have, therefore, the distinct contemporaneous statement that Zayton is Chang-chau. The silk-manufacture of Chang-chau is also a strong argument. Just as Zayton gave the name to Satin, so at present there is a sort of silk-stuff *named* from Chang-chau.

The derivation of the *name* Zayton is very uncertain. The idea of its derivation from "Tseu-thung" is a pure myth. T'swan-chau was *never* named "Tseu-thung," any more than Calcutta is named "Palaces," or New York named "Empire." It was, indeed, designated "Thung-ching" or "Tseu-thung-ching," but never without "ching," *i. e.* "city," that is, "the city of thung trees," but that, not as a name used in speaking of it, but as an elegant designation in polite literary composition; just as Chang-chau is the "City of Banians" and Canton the "City of Rams." I cannot speak with quite so much confidence about the hypothesis that "The City of Olives" is a *translation* of "Thung-ching;" but this also is very improbable, for the "Tseu-thung" or "prickly Thung," which the Chinese say was planted round the walls, is not the species of Thung from which oil is made.

If Zaitun be a *translation*, it is a strong argument for Chang-chau: for there is a tree which abounds in the mountains of Chang-chau, a sort of *Camarium*, called by the Chinese "Kamlam," the fruit of which is so like an olive that foreigners all call it the "olive." The Chinese eat it pickled as a condiment, much like olives. At present this tree is found in great abundance among the mountains, and but rarely near the river;

but there are proofs, in the names of places, that it was formerly abundant where it is now less common ; and even now the stalls in the streets of every town and village, and at every wayside rest, are full of these pickled "olives." What more likely than that, as we now call this *Canarium* the "olive," the Arabs had done the same, and called it the "City of Olives"? But in T'swan-chau, even in the mountains, the tree is not found.

If it be, on the other hand, an imitation of the *sound* of a name, perhaps Hai-teng is the most likely. It was not indeed till the Mong dynasty that the district (Hien) of that name was erected out of parts of three old districts ; but the name might well have been in use long before the district was removed from it. But all these suggestions about the *name* Zayton are made as simple conjectures. That from the *Canarium* seems the most likely.

In Marco Polo's description of "Fuju," the ship-building suits about equally for either. The tendency to sudden disturbances or commotions cannot be used as the *differentia* of either city. The sugar suits *better* for T'swan-chau than Fuh-chau.

The more I consider the very strong language about the extraordinary excellence of the haven and harbour, the more it appears that T'swan-chau does not suit ; for it would be a sad case for the commerce of the world if there were not abundance of harbours incomparably better than T'swan-chau can ever have been ; while really few can be found to equal the noble estuary which forms the outer harbour of Amoy, where the whole navies of several kingdoms might anchor in safety.

I trust that I have shown sufficient reason, if not to substantiate the claims of Chang-chau and its ports, at least to support Martini in his double verdict for both ; yet with the balance in favour of Chang-chau.

There is abundant evidence to prove that Chang-chau rose to great importance in and near the Mongol period. Formerly the city now named Chang-chew was named Liong-khe (Mandarin "*Lung-ki*,") the "Dragon River," while the name of Chang-chau belonged to the city of Chang-poo, which was then the capital of the Chau or Department. Originally Liong-khe belonged to the department of T'swan-chau ; but in 731 Liong-khe was transferred from T'swan-chau to Chang-chau, *i. e.* placed under Chang-poo. About 790 the name of the city was changed from Liong-khe to Chang-chau, as it was then made the capital of the Department. I should hardly say changed, for Liong-khe is still the name of the city when viewed as a hien or district. Again in 1296 it was raised to be the capital of a *loo*,—a word sometimes used to mean a subdivision of a province, containing several Chau departments, somewhat like the "circuit" now governed by a Tau-tai ; but

the word Loo sometimes seems to have a higher rank, almost like a province. A few years later we find officials at Chang-chau almost of the rank of the provincial authorities; for at the time of the downfall of the dynasty it was the residence of a Commander-in-Chief (Yuen-shwae). It is not, therefore, at all strange if a writer at a distance might have spoken of Chang-chau, under the name of Zayton, as the capital of a province.

About 1325 the region was so prosperous that a new district, Nan-tsing, was erected on the west of Chang-chau; and under the Ming dynasty the new district of Hai-teng was erected.

Chang-chau is now the seat of a Tau-tai, who governs about a quarter of the province. T'swan-chau is the seat of the General (Ti-tuh) who commands all the Chinese land-forces of the province. The city walls have a circuit of seven or eight miles, but a great deal of the interior is vacant ground. The mission of the English Presbyterian Church has had a chapel in the city for about ten years.

The city of T'swan-chau, when spoken of as a Hien district is called *Chin-kang*, which may perhaps be the original of Marco Polo's *Chon-ka* (for the syllable Chin is, in Cantonese, pronounced Tsun), and is probably the cause of the name *Chin-chew*, as used by foreigners. On the other hand, the people of T'swan-chau call Chang-chau "*Cheng-chau*," which would help to create the confusion of the names of the two cities.

VII.—*Notes of a Journey in Yemen.* By CHARLES MILLINGEN, M.D. Edinburgh.

[*Read*, February 23rd, 1874.]

I WILL first describe the route between al-Hudaidah and Sana'a, the immediate object of my tour, and will then dwell at somewhat greater length on the tract of country travelled over on the return journey from Sana'a to al-Hudaidah by way of Kaukabân, Tawilah, and the valley of the River Sardûd.

Starting from al-Hudaidah, we followed the usual caravan-route across the Tihâmah, passing the villages of Marâwah and Kuttây, and halting at Bâjil at the foot of the hills. The Tihâmah, or plain between al-Hudaidah and the hilly country, is about 30 miles in breadth: it is sandy, and slopes gradually toward the sea. The first half adjoining the coast is desert; the well-water is brackish, and the rainfall is scanty. The other half, however, from its vicinity to the mountains, participates in the frequent showers which fall on them throughout the year, and especially during the heavy summer rains. Hence cotton,