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Notices of Southern Mangi

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1. ITINERARY OF JOURNEY—(continued.)

From	To	Li	From	To	Li
Hsing ho ch'eng	Shipartai	50	Wang chia ying	San tao liang	20
Shipartai	Pai miao tzü t'an.	20	San tao liang	Ma chüan tzü	30
Pai miao tzü t'an	Pan shan tu	40	Ma chüan tzü	Shai shu kou	20
Pan shan tu	Teng lo ssü	35	Shai shu kou	Liang chien fang	20
Teng lo ssü	Chang ma tzü ching.	35	Liang chien fang	Ku pei k'ou	40
Chang ma tzü ching	Hsiao ho'rh	35	Ku pei k'ou	Shih hsia	40
Hsiao ho'rh	Shang tu ho'rh	45	Shih hsia	Chao tu ch'uang	20
Shang tu ho'rh	Ta liang ti	40	Chao tu ch'uang	Mu chia yü	20
Ta liang ti	Kapach'iao	30	Mu chia yü	Mi yun hien	20
Kapach'iao	Erh teng ch'üan	30	Mi yun hien	Lo shan	30
Erh teng ch'üan	Ch'a p'eng	40	Lo shan	Niu lang shan	20
Ch'a p'eng	Dolonnor (Lama Miao)	30	Niu lang shan	San chia tien	20
			San chia tien	Sun ho	30
			Sun ho	Peking (Tung-chih Gate)	30

2. TU SHIH K'OU ROUTE.

Nan k'ou	T'u mu	125	Yun chou	Tu shih k'ou	60
T'u mu	Chang kan ling	50	Tu shih k'ou	Chilun Balgasun	50
Chang kan ling	Tiao hsiao pu	50		(Shih t'ou ch'eng)	
Tiao hsiao pu	Ch'ih ch'eng hien	45	Shih t'ou ch'eng	Shang tu ho'rh	40
Ch'ih ch'eng hien	Yun chou	30	Shang tu ho'rh	Dolonnor	170

3. DIRECT TRADE ROUTE FROM DOLONNOR TO KU PEI K'OU.

Dolonnor	Sha to Tzü	25	Kuo chia t'un	Shan shen miao	30
Sha to tzü	Ch'uan shan tzü	15		tzü liang	
Ch'uan shan tzü	Shui chüan tzü	15	Shan shen miao	Niu chüan tzü	20
Shui chüan tzü	Kou men tzü	45	tzü liang		
Kou men tzü	Ch'ing shih la	20	Niu chüan tzü	Feng ning hien	50
Ch'ing shih la	P'ien ts'ao liang	10	Feng ning hien	Po lo nao	50
P'ien ts'ao liang	Pai yang kou	35	Po lo nao	An Chiang t'un	50
Pai yang kou	Mohulu kou liang	32	An Chiang t'un	San ch'a h'ou	50
Mohulu kou liang	Kuo chia t'un	50	San ch'a k'ou	Ku pei k'ou	30

VI.—*Notices of Southern Mangi.* By GEORGE PHILLIPS, H.M. Consular Service, China. With Notes and Remarks by Colonel HENRY YULE, C.B.

[Read, February 9th, 1874.]

DURING the past ten years two editions of Marco Polo's Travels have been given to the public—one by M. Pauthier, a great Chinese savant, the other by Colonel Yule, a great Oriental scholar. Both of these editions are full of the most varied

Oriental learning and most recondite notes, reflecting the highest credit upon the industry and attainments of their respective editors, and leaving nothing, it would seem, for future critics to comment upon. There is, however, one part of the book that has not met with such accurate commentary as it deserves: I allude to that part which treats of the cities of the southern division of Mangi, passed through by our traveller on the way to his port of embarkation, Zayton, which cities have nearly all been erroneously identified. I purpose, therefore, in a few short notes to bring forward my arguments in support of what I consider the correct identification of the particular places in question, which I feel I am justified in doing from the fact of having personally gone over the greater part of this ground described by our great medieval traveller, and also from the fact of having for a long time past made the history of the localities in question my especial study.

For the cause in hand, I will take up our traveller's history at Que-lin-fu, which can, I think, without fear of contradiction, be identified with the present city of Kienning-fu. After three days' journey from this city of Que-lin-fu (Kienning-fu), our traveller informs us that he reached a city called Unguen, or Unken, where there is an immense quantity of sugar made. This Unguen or Unken I identify with the present city of Yung-chun-chow, locally called Eng-cheng. The distance from Kienning-fu to Yung-chun-chow is 300 Chinese li, a space easily travelled over in three days, which agrees with the time occupied by Marco Polo in passing from Que-lin-fu to Unguen. The resemblance in sound between Eng-cheng and Unguen is also very near. Sugar is largely grown in the neighbourhood.

Fifteen miles farther from this city of Unguen, mention is made of a city, called by Ramusio in his edition of our traveller's work, Kangiu, and in almost all others, Fuju.

Fuju has been the reading accepted by most commentators, and from its great resemblance in sound to Fouchow, has been identified with that city. From the accepting of this reading as the correct one, and the ignoring of Ramusio's reading, Pauthier, in his edition of Marco Polo, has fallen into some amusing errors, altering, in one case, the course of the Fouchow River to suit his particular views, concerning which he gravely informs us that this river (the Min) does not flow by Fouchow now as it did in Marco Polo's day; while, unfortunately for his theory, a magnificent bridge, first erected long before Marco Polo's time, spanned then, as now, the river at Fouchow, connecting its northern and southern shores.

I am in favour of Ramusio's reading, and consider his Kangiu to be the correct one, and have no hesitation in identifying it

with the city of Chuan-chow-fu, locally called Choan-chin, and commonly known among Europeans as Chinchew. There is sufficient resemblance in sound between Kangiu* and Choan-chin, to justify us in considering it one and the same place; but, apart from this, I will, from internal evidence, taken from the various descriptions of the place, prove that this Kangiu, otherwise Fujū, cannot possibly have been Fouchow.

For example, in some editions mention is made of Fujū being the capital of the kingdom called Chonka. By this Chonka, Fookien appears to be meant. Now, Fouchow or Fujū was not the capital of Fookien in Marco Polo's time, but Choan-chin was.

Further, "many vessels arrive at this port from India, freighted by merchants, who bring with them rich assortments of jewels and pearls, upon the sale of which they obtain a considerable profit."

This statement alone destroys all claims that may be brought forward in support of Fouchow being considered the Kangiu or Fujū of Marco Polo; for ships from India did not frequent Fouchow in Marco Polo's time, nor was there ever any foreign trade carried on there till the commencement of the 18th century.

The only ports in Fookien carrying on trade with foreign countries in Marco Polo's day, were Choan-chin and Geh-kong, of which latter place more anon.

After five days' journey from Kangiu, our traveller arrived at the noble and handsome city of Zaitun, which has a port on the sea-coast celebrated for the resort of shipping loaded with merchandise, which is afterwards distributed through every part of the province of Mangi.

Klaproth identifies Zaitun with Tsze-tung, an ancient name of Choan-chin.

I cannot accept this theory, feasible as it may appear.

Fortunately for us, in the edition of Marco Polo, published by the Geographical Society of Paris, there is a list given of the various readings of places as found in other editions, and among the names given to Zayton, we find Carcon, Caykong, Sarcam, and Tarcam.

These several editions of Marco Polo are not singular in giving other readings of this name Zayton.

In D'Herbelot's '*Bibliothèque Orientale*' we are informed that it is a maritime town of China, also called Scheikham by the Arabs, and, more curious still, Schengiu by the Chinese.

* The name in Ramusio is Cangiu, or rather Cāgiu. The name in the other and older forms of the work is Fugui or Fugiu, which, rendered in English spelling, is *Fujū*. But if we write Fujū, we should also write *Kanju*. So also, further on, Tingiu should, on the same system, be *Tinju*.—H. Y.

Friar Odoric makes mention of the place under the names of Carchan, Caiton, and Zaiton, and speaks of it as a city twice as large as Bologna.

With such readings of the place as Caykong, Carcam, Carchan, and Scheikham, I am enabled to fix with almost positive certainty the locality here indicated.

During the Middle ages, Chinese local histories inform us that there was situated near the mouth of the Changchow River, about twenty miles from the present treaty port of Amoy, a large commercial emporium trading with foreign countries, called Yuch-kiang, and in the dialect of the place Geh-kong. In this Geh-kong I recognise Marco Polo's Caykong, the Arab Scheikham, and Friar Odoric's Carchan.

I am unable to give any satisfactory solution as to the derivation of the name Zayton, which appears to have been the name by which Geh-kong was so well known among traders and travellers in the Middle Ages.

D'Herbelot also states that the Chinese called it Schengiu, which is really no other than the city of Changchow, situated about fifteen miles further up the river, of which Geh-kong, at its mouth, was the port.

Edrisi, in his 'Geography,' makes mention of Changchow under the name of Djankou, and speaks of it as a town remarkable for the beauty of its buildings and its fine markets, and of the fruitfulness of its gardens and its orchards. Mention is also made of its great silk manufactures, and that everything is as readily procured there as at Kanfu (Canton).

This account of Changchow given us by Edrisi dates back as far as the middle of the twelfth century; and, as early as the end of the ninth century, Chinese records inform us that foreign ships resorted to this neighbourhood.

It was about 1086 that the marshes in the neighbourhood of Geh-kong were first drained, and a commercial city founded there.

After the middle of the sixteenth century no mention whatever is made of Geh-kong, for at the time above named the city of Hai-teng was built upon its site, and the whole district was from that date known as Hai-têng, which name it bears to this day.

The great manufacture of this district in Marco Polo's time was silk, and Ibn Batuta is very truthful when he says, "In it they make the best flowered and coloured silks, as well as satins, which are therefore preferred to those made in other places." Local histories inform us that Changchow did for a long time excel the cities of Hangchow and Soochow in its silk manufactures, but its great speciality was a kind of embroidered velvet, and this, no doubt, is what our traveller

alluded to when, speaking of Zaitun, he said, "In it are many artificers in embroidered and arras work."

Silk manufactories still exist in the city of Changchow, but, owing to the devastations committed by the Taiping rebels there in 1864, this branch of industry is nearly stamped out. I saw, whilst visiting the city last year, a few looms still working, but I question very much whether this manufacture will ever again flourish there.

Tingiu, a place mentioned in the neighbourhood of Zayton as famous for its porcelain manufacture, next demands our attention.

This Tingiu is, I consider, the city of Tung-gan, locally called Tengwa, which is situated on another river to the northward of Amoy, and lies on the high-road between Choan-chin and Changchow, and must have been passed through by Marco Polo on his way from Kangu to Zayton. Much coarse porcelain (especially bowls) is made there, which finds its way to Singapore, Java, and other places in the Eastern Archipelago.

A few other notices of Zayton are to be met with in other mediæval travellers, but I will satisfy myself with a short notice of Maundeville's account of it.

As many are apt to look upon the travels of the good Knight of St. Alban's with a wary eye, I wish it fully to be understood that I am not anxious to enter the list and throw down the gauntlet to those who question our worthy knight's veracity; all I ask is that he may have fair play in regard to his account of Zayton, which contains facts that are wanting in the histories of other travellers. And I am prepared to prove that, if he really did not visit China himself, he must have had access to the notes of other travellers whose histories have not come down to us.

In speaking of Zayton, which, by some error in transcription, appears under the name of Latoryn, he says: "It is a day from the sea, and much larger than Paris. That in that city is a great river bearing ships, which go to all the coasts of the sea; for no city of the world is so well stored of ships." Further: "There are also in that country beasts taught by men to go into waters, rivers, and deep ponds, to take fish; which beast is little and called Loyres, and when men cast them into the water, anon they bring up great fishes, as many as men will."

This description of Zayton being upon a river, a day's distance from the sea, is very accurate. The main features of Maundeville's description of this city are so like those given by Odoric that they appear to have been copied.

Maundeville's description of the fishing cormorant is also to be met with in Odoric, but Maundeville tells us that men call these birds (beast he has it) Loyres. This is an important

addition to Odoric's version, for this word Loyre is, I consider, Maundeville's manner of writing Lauwa, the name given to cormorants by the natives in the district where Zayton formerly stood.

Allowing for all errors of transcription, this seems to me a most interesting fact, and goes far to show that a valuable substratum of truth underlies the gross absurdities that abound throughout our worthy knight's book.

I will, in conclusion, make a few short remarks concerning Chincheo, which Colonel Yule identifies with the "old Zayton."

The learned commentator of Marco Polo is quite right in this assertion, but Chincheo represents the city of Chang-chow-foo, and not Chuan-chow-foo.

The derivation of the name Chincheo is thus given by Navarette, in his description of Chang-chow-foo: "This city, says he, is very famous in China. All the Chinese who trade with Manilla come from this district. On this account they are called Chin-cheos (and the town Chincheo and Chinchew) by the Spaniards."

Portuguese and Spaniards with whom I have conversed at Amoy, when speaking of Changchow, always called it Chincheo. In 'Kerr's Travels,' vol. vi. p. 382, we are informed—"That the Portuguese, on being driven from Liampo (Ningpo), obtained leave in 1547, by great presents, to settle in the province of Chincheo, in a village which began to flourish in consequence of a rich trade."

In the history of Changchow there are to be found scattered notices of the Portuguese resorting to this neighbourhood. Among other matters we find that, on being driven away from the Canton waters, they tried to carry on a trade in the Changchow prefecture, which they succeeded in doing by bribing the authorities.

The rendezvous of this trade was on the island of Wuseu, one of the six islands at the entrance of the harbour of Amoy.

In 1548, the existence of this trade coming to the ears of the viceroy of the province, orders were given to attack and drive away the Portuguese vessels anchored at Wuseu, and Chinese merchants and others who had dared to trade with them were, to the number of ninety, cruelly put to death.

It does not come within the province of this paper to accompany Marco Polo further than his port of embarkation, Zayton, but one could easily do so, and find many new and interesting coincidences in the works of mediæval Chinese navigators, wherein are described every country mentioned by Marco Polo, from Zayton to Ormus, in the Persian Gulf, in the same order, and in almost our traveller's own words.

SOUTH EASTERN COAST OF CHINA
From Sir Robert Dudley's
ARCANO DEL MARE
Vol: II 1647.

Published for the Journal of the Royal Geographical Society by J. Murray, Albemarle Street 1874.

Edward Weller

From this fact I am inclined to consider that Marco Polo, when dictating his book, did, in the description of these particular places in question, now and again refresh his memory from some Chinese geographical treatise; and, if such were the case, Chinese will have to be numbered among his linguistic acquirements. I would, in conclusion, be allowed to state that I consider that a careful study of the works of Chinese geographers will throw great light upon many curious passages met with in the works of mediæval travellers: one example alone will be sufficient for our purpose.

It will be remembered by those acquainted with the works of travellers to the East in the Middle Ages, that the Pole-star is spoken of as being so many cubits, and, by Friar Jordanus, as so many digits high. Now, this expression is purely a Chinese one, and I have in my possession a set of Chinese maps, published, I believe, in the tenth century, in which the latitude of places in India indicated thereon is shown by the number of digits that the Pole-star appears to be above the horizon.

Remarks on Mr. Phillips's Paper. By Colonel HENRY
YULE, C.B.

As Mr. Phillips's Paper will appear in the 'Journal' of the Society, it seems desirable not to let it pass without reply, though I am afraid the reply will occupy more space than the subject may seem to deserve. Mr. Phillips is wrong in calling me an Oriental scholar; it is a character to which I have no pretension, and which I have expressly disclaimed in the preface of the book to which he refers. But, at the same time, Mr. Phillips does surely misapprehend the amount of care and labour which were expended in arriving at the conclusions expressed in that book, when he judges that they can be so lightly upset.

It may seem presumptuous to reject a correction by a gentleman who is acquainted both with Chinese language and with Chinese topography. And it may easily be imagined by those who do not care to enter into such matters as are under discussion, that as with the Abbé Vertôt, my conclusions are published, and I will not have them disturbed. This would be a mistake, however, for "*mon siège*" is under revision for a second edition, and sundry corrections received from Mr. Ney Elias, the Baron von Richthofen, Mr. Wylie, and others, have been gratefully welcomed and adopted. I cannot, however, adopt Mr. Phillips's views except in one point. I see strong reason to believe that he is right in judging the Chincheo of the old Portuguese navigators to mean *Changchau*, and not *T'swanchau* (or Tsiuanchéou)

as the French write it). We shall recur to this point, which is worth settling; but it has nothing to do with Marco Polo, who claims our first attention.

The identifications of which Mr. Phillips treats are, in great measure, interdependent. Let us take FUCHAU first.

Marco Polo's Itinerary from Hangchau (his Kinsay) to the coast of Fokien, after crossing the frontier of that province, which he calls the kingdom of *Fuju*, or the kingdom of *Chonka*, reaches in three days the city of Kienningfu, which he calls *Quelinfu*, i. e. *Kelinfu*. "Quelinfu," says Mr. Phillips, "can, I think, without fear of contradiction, be identified with the present city of Kienningfu." What Mr. Phillips should have said was, "More than two hundred years ago Padre Martini showed that Quelinfu must be Kienningfu, and nobody has ever doubted it."

From Kelinfu Polo arrives in three days at a city which *all* the MSS. of the slightest value call *Fugiu* or *Fugui*, i. e. in English spelling *Foojoo* or *Fuju*. Ramusio's printed text alone, of which the original has never been found, has *Cangiu*, or rather *Cāgiu*. Let us stick to *Fuju* for the present, and see what rational interpretation can be put on it.

The city which then was, and still is, called Fuchau has certainly the first claim, as the names are identical.* That is one point to score.

The next question is, could Marco Polo have reached Fuchau in three days from Kienningfu?

Mr. Phillips, indeed, has no right to ask this, because he makes Marco Polo go twice as far in the three days.

If the road lies near the river, as is probable, the distance will be about 90 miles. Thirty miles, besides winding, makes a long march for Marco Polo, whose journeys, under ordinary circumstances, are somewhat short, as Baron Richthofen, after treading many hundred miles in his footsteps, has observed. But it so happens that on this particular occasion he has indicated 30 miles as the estimate of his day's journey; for he speaks of a place that was two days and 15 miles from Kelinfu, and 15 miles from *Fuju*. Therefore Fuchau *could* be reached by him in three days from Kienningfu.

Again: In chapter lxxx.† Polo speaks of the city of *Fuju* as the capital of the kingdom of *Fuju*. In the next chapter this kingdom (or province) is called *Chonka*, and it is said, "*Fuju* is the key of the kingdom of *Chonka*, which is one of the nine

* The termination *chau*, *chow*, *tchéu*, or *tchéou*, as it is variously written by modern Europeans, is almost invariably represented by *giu* in Marco Polo. Hence *Fugiu* is precisely Fuchau, or, as Mr. Phillips writes it, *Fouchow*.

† Vol. ii. pp. 179, 180.

great divisions of Manzi; . . . and a large garrison is maintained there to keep the kingdom in peace and subjection. For the city is one which is apt to revolt on very slight provocation." The last is a characteristic, I believe, of Fuchau to this day. But let that pass.

Now, Mr. Phillips says, "Fouchow (Fuchau) was not the capital of the kingdom in Marco Polo's time."

I feel disposed to answer, "Anyhow, Marco Polo says it was!" But I suppose Mr. Phillips will not accept that. Let us turn to Rashiduddin, the great minister and historian of the Mongol dynasty in Persia. In his short account of the twelve provincial administrations of Cathay, the seventh is—"Fúchú (or Fújú). This is a city of Manzi. The *sing* (provincial administration) was formerly located at Zaitún, but afterwards established here, where it still remains. Zaitún is a great shipping port, and the commandant there is Bohá-uddín Kandári."*

For Chinese authority I must go to Pauthier. In his list of the twelve *sings* under the Mongols, Fokien does not appear at all. But this is explained by what follows. Pauthier quotes from the *Yuen-ssé*, or official history of the Yuen or Mongol dynasty, that under them Fuchau "was the chief place of the circuit so called—viz., Fuchau-lu, established in (1278). Three years later (in 1281) the seat of the government of the *province* was transferred from T'siuanchéou (T'swanchau), where it was, to Fuchau; in the next year (1282) it was removed back to T'swanchau; and in 1283 it was again recalled to Fuchau. Finally (in 1285) this government was united to that which had its seat at Hangchau, viz., Kiang-ché." The last clause accounts for its non-appearance among the twelve *sings*. Polo, no doubt, had first known the province when it was separate, and governed from Fuchau.

Thus the Yuen annals, the Persian historian, and Marco Polo, all agree in saying that Fuchau *was* the capital of the kingdom, and we therefore must reject Mr. Phillips's criterion.

Polo says further:—"There flows through the middle of the city a great river, which is about a mile in width, and many ships are built at the city which are launched upon this river."

Fuchau, strictly speaking, stands on the north bank of the Min, as London stands on the north bank of the Thames. But, as Mr. Phillips notices, a fine bridge connects Fuchau with its southern suburb, just as many fine bridges connect London with Southwark. Yet Polo himself when proceeding says, "When you quit Fuju and cross the river . . ." Fortune

* 'Cathay, and the Way Thither,' p. 268.

notices the great amount of ship-building at Fuchau, for which the pine-wood floated down the river affords facilities.

Again: "Enormous quantities of sugar are made there." Padre Martini says of Fuchau, "There is made in the district belonging to this city a huge quantity of very white sugar, and it is the first city in the eastern provinces of which this can be said."

Further, Polo says of Fujū: "Many ships of India come to these parts, bringing many merchants who traffic about the isles of the Indies. For this city is, you see, in the vicinity of the ocean port of Zayton, which is greatly frequented by the ships of India with their various cargoes of merchandise; and from Zayton the vessels pass on to the city of Fujū by the river I have told you of; and 'tis in this way that the precious wares of India come hither."

Martini observes that there was access in his time for the great Chinese junks right up to the walls of Fuchau.

Mr. Phillips asserts that "ships from India did not frequent Fuchau in Marco Polo's time, nor was there ever any foreign trade carried on there till the commencement of the 18th century."

Here, again, I might say: "We have already proved that Fujū was Fuchau (*i.e.* that Fuchau was Fuchau!), and we must be content to put Marco Polo's evidence against Mr. Phillips's." I have, indeed, no other *evidence* to adduce of the foreign trade of Fuchau in the 13th century; neither, indeed, has Mr. Phillips adduced any against it. But the capacity for trade was there, in a large city, the heart of a fertile district, with a fine navigable river, and apparently Western Asiatics at the head of the provincial administration; and the negative evidence would need to be strong.* But we see at the same time that Fujū, as regards Indian trade, is only represented as subordinate to the great ocean port, Zayton. The ships came from India to Zayton, and then they, or some of them, go on to Fujū, probably to take in that sugar which got in India the still prevalent name of *Chini*. It is possible that Mr. Phillips is misled by the notion of "foreign trade." It is evident from Ibn Batuta that the trade with India was chiefly carried on by Chinese junks and Chinese merchants.

* Since this has been in type, I have seen, through a correspondent in China, Mr. Phillips's original papers on this subject in the "Chinese Recorder." And I gather from these that the core of the negative evidence is the absence of any appointment of a collector of customs at Fuchau in the age with which we have to do. But, according to Polo's account of the secondary part played by Fuchau, one can readily understand that all such payments might be acquitted at Zayton.

Not only in name, then, but in everything else, may Fuchu and Fuchau be identified.

Now as regards ZAYTON.

This was 5 days' journey south-east from Fuchu. Polo's bearings cannot be taken strictly, for his reckonings are always on long traverses, and his whole journey from Peking to Zayton is stated as bearing south-east.

Now, we shall first show reason why T'swanchau is Zayton.

(1.) The distance as the crow flies from Fuchau to T'swanchau is about 115 miles. Add one-third for road-distance, it will be 153 miles, giving about 30 miles a day. Martini says the distance was just about 5 days' journey. I have no actual itinerary.

(2.) Zayton, according to Polo, was under the Government of Fuchu. We have seen that Fuchau was the head of the province; but as this statement about Zayton would apply to every city in Fokien, this is no argument for one or another in particular.

(3.) Zayton, it is admitted, was the great harbour and focus of Indian trade.

Now, T'swanchau was the great focus and harbour of Indian trade.

It was the habitual port of arrival of ships from Ma'bar or Coromandel (*Pauthier*, p. 604).

It is mentioned by Matwanlin, "the Chinese Pliny," as the port of departure for Cochin China and Java (*Id.* 559).

In 1370 a mission sails from T'swanchau for Borneo (*Id.* 653).

In 1282 envoys arrived from sundry kings of India, including one from Kulang, *i.e.* Coilom of Polo, or Quilon (*Gaubil*, p. 196).

In 1286 vessels arrived at T'swanchau from more than 90 foreign states, the names of several of which that are given belong to Southern and Western India (*Gaubil*, 205).

In the Yuen annals the distances to the kingdoms of Southern India are estimated from T'swanchau (*Pauthier*, 603, 643).

In 1281 envoys sent to Quilon embarked at T'swanchau (*Id.* 603).

Deguignes says, I presume on sufficient Chinese authority, that Kublai's expedition against Japan started from T'swanchau. Polo says that the expedition was fitted out at Kinsay (Hang-chau) and Zayton.

The expedition against Java was fitted out from T'swanchau (*Gaubil*, 217; *Pauthier*, 570). This was just after Polo's departure. But he mentions the great profits drawn from Java trade by the merchants of Zayton (*ii.* p. 217).

(4.) T'swanchau was the chief port of foreign commerce in Fokien.

In Pauthier's treasury of valuable quotations, again, we find Kublai issuing customs regulations in 1293, in which are named, as the seven ports of foreign commerce—T'swanchau, Shanghai, Kan'pu (in Hangchau River estuary), Wenchau, Canton, Hangchau, and Khing-yuen (*i. e.* Ningpo).

Can anyone who has read of Zayton believe that it would be omitted from such a list? But if T'swanchau be not Zayton, then Zayton is omitted.

(5.) It was T'swanchau, as we have seen above from the Yuen annals, that had alternated with Fuchau as the seat of provincial government.

It was Zayton, as we have seen from Rashîd, that alternated with Fuchau as the seat of provincial government.

(6.) Abulfeda says that the Chinese name of Zayton was *Shanju*. This I take to represent T'swanchau, but, as it might also represent *Changchau*, I will not lay stress on it.

(7.) The origin of the name of Zayton or Zaitûn, from an old name of T'swanchau, *Tsétung* or *Tseu-tung*, which Klaproth quotes from the 'Imperial Geography,' is at least fairly probable.

We may more briefly show reason why neither Changchau nor Geh-kong is Zayton:—

(1.) Because these towns are a great deal more than 5 days' journey from Fuchau, which we have shown to be Fuju.

(2.) Because neither of these towns was ever in the time of the Mongols chief city of the province of Fokien.

(3.) Because neither of these towns is mentioned among the seven great ports of foreign trade in Kublai's customs regulations of 1293.

(4.) Because neither of them is mentioned as a port of trade with India, or otherwise, in the numerous translated passages from the Mongol annals given by Pauthier; nor in Gaubil's 'History of the Dynasty;' nor in Rashîduddin's account of Cathay, so far as it is translated or published.

And T'swanchau being Zayton it cannot be Fuju, or Cāgiu as Ramusio has it. If Cangiu were the right reading, still *Canju* is not particularly suggestive of T'swanchau. The probability is that *Cāgiu* is a mere clerical error for *Fugiu*. Even in Ramusio the city is called *Fugiu* in a previous chapter.

I cannot admit, then, that Mr. Phillips has had any solid justification for his endeavour to disturb the identifications of Fuju and Zayton hitherto accepted. He has jumped to his own conclusions over several of the most essential facts: for all these passages that I have quoted were open to him, but he has taken no notice of them.*

* I find that Mr. Phillips has quoted several of these passages in the 'Chinese Recorder;' but they do not seem to have made their just impression on him.

There exists a stronger argument than any that Mr. Phillips has produced, for Zayton being *Changchau*; though it loses all real force after the grounds for identifying Zayton with *T'swanchau* have been fully stated. This is the circumstance that the Jesuit missionaries of the seventeenth century found at Changchau a variety of Christian sculptures, such as images of the Virgin and marble crosses, and also a medieval Latin Bible. This is remarkable, because Zayton, some years after Marco Polo had left China, became the seat of a Catholic bishopric and of several Franciscan convents.* Indeed, the worthy Padre Martini, who tells us about the Christian relics found at Changchau, is evidently perplexed between its claims and those of T'swanchau to represent Zayton, and appears to give a somewhat impossible verdict in favour of both cities!

Mr. Phillips does not seem to have realized what is meant by the existence of various readings of names in the medieval authors to whom he refers, such (*e.g.*) as *Cayton*, *Carcam*, *Sarcam*, *Tarcam*, for "Zayton." He cannot surely think that the travellers put down all these forms to accommodate their readers in after generations with a choice, and that he, as a reader, may adopt any one of them that suits his fancy without reference to the evidence for the correct reading, or that he may adopt now one and now another? But yet he acts as if he thought so. It is as if we found in five various copies of a medieval Italian manuscript that the great city and port of England was called *Lundun*, *Loudou*, *Londor*, *Toudou*, *Dundu*; and an Italian who had been in England should say, "People fancy *Lundun* means London; but this is very inaccurate. I have been over the ground, and I am in favour of the reading *Dundū*. This *Dundū* I identify with Dundee."

Now there is no more real doubt about *Zayton* (or *Caiton*) being the correct form, than there would be in the imagined case about *Lundun* or *London* being the correct reading. And I will add, that I at least do not feel more real doubt that *Zayton*, the great Indian port of the Yuen, was T'swanchau, than there would be doubt in the imagined case that the great city intended by the Italian's various readings was London.

I admit that the aspect of the magnificent estuary now called Amoy Harbour, answers better to the strong language of medieval travellers regarding Zayton—*e.g.* of Ibn Batuta, when he calls it the greatest harbour in the world—than anything we know of the harbour of T'swanchau in these days. But this will not stand in the face of positive proof such as has been adduced on the other side. All the rivers of that coast, as I learn

* And Mr. Phillips has referred also to this matter in the 'Chinese Recorder.'

from a valuable letter just received,* are rapidly silting up; and probably the deterioration of T'swanchau began long ago, and sent the foreign trade to T'sangchau, as the deterioration of Changchau has sent it down to Amoy. Yet even in the seventeenth century, *teste Martinio*, the largest ships (junks no doubt) could anchor beneath the walls of T'swanchau.

Mr. Phillips is hasty, again, when he attributes value to Sir John Maundeville's chapters about Cathay, and says "he is prepared to prove that, if Sir John really did not visit China himself, he must have had access to the notes of other travellers whose histories have not come down to us." I went into this matter some years ago very carefully, and the conclusion came to was expressed in these words: "The substance of his travels to the Indies and Cathay is entirely stolen from Odoric, though largely amplified with fables from Pliny and other ancients, as well as from his own imagination, and garnished with his own wonderfully clear astronomical notions."† The account of the fishing cormorants under the disguise of *beasts* is taken from one version of Odoric's 'Travels,' corrupted probably by the conceit of the scribe who did not believe about the birds. This may be seen in 'Cathay,' p. 112, *note*. The scribe there converts the cormorant into a *sea-calf* or seal. Maundeville has taken another view. The little beast called *Loyre*, is meant for the beast modern French calls *Loutre*, *i.e.* an otter. A reference to Littré's great Dictionary will show that in Provençal the word took the forms *Luria*, *Loiria*, so that probably *Loyres* is not even a clerical error for *Loutres*, as it might be. So we must acquit Sir John of knowing the Fokien dialect.‡

I will conclude with a few words about the application of the name *Chincheo*. In our maps and sea charts, *Chincheo*, or *Chinchew*, is applied to T'swanchau; and I never doubted, till I read Mr. Phillips's paper, that the *Chincheo* of the old Portuguese writers was the same. But his remarks have induced me to turn to such references as are accessible to me; and though these are not enough for the thorough understanding of the matter, I am happy to be able to say that, so far as they go, they entirely corroborate Mr. Phillips's statement that *Chincheo* really meant *Changchau*.

Thus in Astley's 'Voyages,' vol. iv., plate 10, is 'A Chart of

* From the Rev. Carstairs Douglas, LL.D., of Amoy, who himself favours Mr. Phillips's view.

† 'Cathay,' &c., p. 27.

‡ I may add, that I have seen "the little beasts called *Loyres*" employed by fishermen in the Ganges Delta. Bishop Heber describes the same, vol. i. p. 81, edition of 1844.

the Bay of Chinchew or Changchew, in China, from Montanus.' This is, in fact, a chart of Amoy Harbour. The river, entering the harbour on the western side, *i.e.* the Chang River, coming from Changchau, is marked 'R. Chinchew;' and an eminence at the south-west point of the bay, called in the modern Admiralty chart Chinha Point, is marked 'Chinchew Hill.' T'swanchau does not come within the chart; the editors of Astley call it *Suenchew* and *Tswenchew*.

In the 'Arcano del Mare,' by Sir Robert Dudley (by creation of the Emperor, "Duke of Northumberland"), published at Florence in 1647, there is a chart of the Chinese coast, in which also Chincheo occupies the position of Changchau. There is no place on this chart that I can *certainly* identify as intended for T'swanchau; but a place marked *Suadechijo*, on the north side of Amoy Harbour, is, I fancy, intended for it. The text of this work (vol. i. book ii. p. 43) says: "At the most easterly cape of the Gulf of Canton, in lat. $22^{\circ} 40'$, you should keep 5 leagues to sea, towards the south-east, to avoid certain little islands and rocks on the coast; and then running north-east by east (*seguitando il vento Greco verso levante*) you will find the harbour and beautiful city of Chincheo, in China, in lat. $24^{\circ} 15'$. This is a place of trade, and a charming place; there is especially a great trade with the city and port of Manilla." This must, I think, be Changchau, the latitude of which is about $24^{\circ} 28'$; whilst that of T'swanchau is close upon 25° .*

In Linschoten's 'Grand Routier de Mer,' also, I have tried to follow his sailing directions (chap. xxx.) from the Canton River to Liampo (*i.e.* Ningpo), and though this is not an easy matter, I am satisfied that his *Havre de Chinchon* (as it is printed) is Changchau, or rather Amoy, Harbour. Also in the rude 'Map of the Sea Coast of China,' &c., in the book of Captain Alexander Hamilton, *Chinchew* manifestly represents Changchau.

It is a curious question, then, how *Chinchew* came to be applied by our navigators to T'swanchau; or, if (as is possible) that was the original application, how it came to be transferred to Changchau; and I suppose the examination of a series of charts of the last two centuries might throw light upon it, but I have no access to such a thing where this is written. Perhaps Admiral Collinson, who has mapped the approach to Chwanchau as Chinchew, will try to solve the question.

It is to be regretted that Mr. Phillips has not given us some

* In Dudley's map, the latitude is much further from the truth. I have attached to these notes a rough reduction of Dudley's chart placed alongside of a modern outline of the coast.

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.